

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING
FOR THE
SPANISH-SPEAKING IN BOSTON

by
Barbara Beelar
B.A., Northwestern University
(1964)
M.A., University of North Carolina
(1969)

SUBMITTED IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
MASTER OF CITY PLANNING
at the
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF
TECHNOLOGY

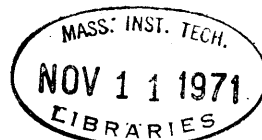
September, 1971

Signature of Author Department of Urban Studies
and Planning, August 15, 1971

Certified by Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by Chairman, Departmental Committee
on Graduate Students

Rotch





Room 14-0551
77 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02139
Ph: 617.253.2800
Email: docs@mit.edu
<http://libraries.mit.edu/docs>

DISCLAIMER

**Page has been omitted due to a pagination error
by the author.**

Pg. 317

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING FOR THE SPANISH-SPEAKING IN BOSTON

by Barbara Beelar

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning on 16 August 1971 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in City Planning.

The thesis is an investigation of the educational planning which has been done by the Boston School Department for the Spanish-speaking community. The context of the planning process is described, including discussion of the unique characteristics of the Spanish-speaking immigrants and migrants; a brief description of the Spanish-speaking community in Boston and a brief review of information relevant to the educational planning. (A more detailed presentation of this information focusing on the research on bilingualism, the evaluation of the educational programs, and information available on the educational needs and problems of the Spanish-speaking is included in Appendix A of the thesis.)

There are four case studies which are described and analyzed. These are the English as a Second Language program, Title VII--Bilingual Education, the Bilingual Transitional Clusters, and the Blackstone School. Five components of the planning process are investigated through the case studies: program initiation, initial planning, program operations and planning, parental and community involvement, and educational goals. A summary of the studies compares the findings and describes some common themes.

In the conclusion, the new Department of Bilingual Education is discussed. A case is made for a reassessment of the present direction of the programs and planning procedures. Recommendations are made to accomplish this reassessment.

Thesis Supervisor: Lisa Peattie
Title: Professor, Department of Urban Studies and Planning.

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

The New Colossus: Inscription
for the Statue of Liberty, New
York Harbor

--Emma Lazarus

I like to be in America
Okay by me in America
Everything free in America
For a small fee in America.

Buying on credit is so nice
One look at us and they charge twice.
I have my own washing machine.
What will you have though to keep clean?

Skyscrapers bloom in America
Cadillacs zoom in America
Industry boom in America
Wealth without room in America.

Lots of new housing and space
Lots of door slamming in our face
I'll get a terrace apartment
Better get rid of your accent.

Life can be bright in America
If you can fight in America
Fighting all right in America
If you are all white in America.

Her you are free and you have pride
So long as you stay on your own side
Free to by anything you choose
Free to wait tables and shine shoes.

Everyone's crying in America
Organized crime in America
Terrible time in America
You forget I'm in America.

"America" (West Side Story)

--Stephen Sondheim

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis represents the conclusion of a major phase of my life--the end of my formal education. There have been many people along the way who have guided me, who have educated me. I would like to dedicate this thesis to them, with the full understanding that they have given, I am responsible for what I have done with their gifts.

--to my parents, first and foremost, who provided what must have seemed to be never-ending support, but with sorrow that my mother did not live to share the end of this phase with me;

--to Mr. Rice, my sixth grade teacher who helped me write my Latin American scrapbook, my first research on Latin America;

--to the Rosenblum family who shared their home and love with me, and especially to Vic who encouraged me to develop alternatives and enthusiasm;

--to the Club de Las Madres and the others in Los Cerritos who will probably never know about this work but who contributed most through teaching me about human dignity;

--to Professor Federico G. Gil (El Jefe) who kindly helped me through a difficult period, as a true gentleman and a scholar;

--to the many friends along the way, particularly Linda, Hunter, Dean, Joyce, Henry, Reiners, Shostaks and Stewarts, the gang at Fat Chance, and most especially my friend Ken, with love.

I would also like to thank the M. I. T. professors--Lisa Peattie, my advisor; Herbert Gans; Rob Hollister; and Ron Walter--who have suffered through many drafts of this thesis, giving advice, kindness, and trying to make me focus on the central issues.

I want to acknowledge the financial support given to me by the Department of Urban Studies and Planning, particularly the funds to attend a conference on education in Puerto Rico, and Dr. David Smith at Boston College who gave me access to the data from the Spanish-speaking project and free computer time.

And, finally, I would like to thank Sara Jane (once with W, now with S, but never with H) Stewart, friend and typist, who made this readable.

The people I have interviewed have given me a lot of their very precious time. They have educated

me. I hope that there is something within these pages that they can use toward the realization of our common goal--creation of effective and relevant education for the Spanish-speaking in Boston.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | 2 |
| INTRODUCTION | 16 |
| PART I. CONTEXT | |
| Chapter | 22 |
| I. IMMIGRATION AND MIGRATION | 23 |
| II. SPANISH-SPEAKING IN BOSTON | 30 |
| III. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM RESPONSE | 41 |
| IV. INFORMATION RELEVANT TO THE EDUCATION OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING IN BOSTON | 51 |
| A. Research on Bilingualism | 52 |
| B. Evaluation of Boston Projects for the Spanish-Speaking | 54 |
| C. Information on the Educational Needs and Problems of the Spanish-Speaking in Boston | 56 |
| D. Conclusion | 60 |
| PART II. CASE STUDIES | |
| V. INTRODUCTION | 63 |
| A. Participants | 64 |
| B. Chronology | 67 |
| C. Program Operations and Planning | 72 |
| D. Parental and Community Involvement | 73 |
| E. Educational Goals | 73 |
| A. Precedents | 73 |
| B. Program Initiation | 77 |
| C. Program Operations and Planning | 78 |
| D. Parental and Community Involvement | 85 |
| E. Educational Goals | 86 |

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| VII. | TITLE VII. BILINGUAL EDUCATION | 88 |
| | A. Program Initiation | 88 |
| | B. Initial Planning | 91 |
| | C. Program Operations and Planning | 93 |
| | D. Parental and Community Involvement | 97 |
| | E. Educational Goals | 99 |
| VIII. | BILINGUAL TRANSITIONAL CLUSTERS | 108 |
| | A. Program Initiation | 109 |
| | B. Initial Planning | 114 |
| | C. Program Operations and Planning | 119 |
| | D. Parental and Community Involvement | 122 |
| | E. Educational Goals | 124 |
| IX. | BLACKSTONE SCHOOL | 128 |
| | A. Initial Planning | 128 |
| | B. Problems of Planning and Community Involvement | 138 |
| X. | SUMMARY | 149 |
| | A. Program Initiation | 150 |
| | B. Initial Planning | 152 |
| | C. Program Operations and Planning | 158 |
| | D. Parental and Community Involvement | 160 |
| | E. Educational Goals | 163 |
| | F. Conclusion | 165 |
| | CONCLUSION | 180 |
| | A. Department of Bilingual Education | 181 |
| | B. Planning Constraints | 185 |
| | C. Educational Goals | 189 |
| | D. Planning Model | 200 |
| | E. Involvement of Partisans | 204 |
| | F. Some Ideas | 211 |
| | EPILOGUE | 234 |
| | METHODOLOGY | 236 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| APPENDIX A Information Relevant to the Educational Needs and Problems of the Spanish-speaking in Boston | 248 |
| I. RESEARCH ON BILINGUALISM | 249 |
| A. Bilingualism and Thought Processes | 251 |
| B. Bilingualism and Academic Achievement | 256 |
| C. Method of Introduction of the Second Language | 262 |
| D. Bilingualism and Biculturalism | 268 |
| E. Conclusion | 273 |
| II. EVALUATION OF BOSTON PROJECTS FOR THE SPANISH-SPEAKING | 277 |
| A. Description of Evaluations | 277 |
| B. Problems and Limitations of Evaluations | 282 |
| C. Conclusion | 288 |
| III. DATA ON THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING IN BOSTON | 292 |
| A. Primary Studies | 295 |
| B. Estimates of the School-aged Children | 297 |
| C. Other Information on Education and Schooling | 301 |
| D. Adult Education and Pre-School Programs | 306 |
| E. Conclusion | 311 |
| APPENDIX B The Spanish-speaking Project Analysis and Implications of Educational Variables. | 315 |
| A. LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF BOSTON'S SPANISH-SPEAKING | 321 |
| B. INTEREST IN ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES | 323 |
| C. SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN | 333 |
| D. THE POTENTIAL FOR INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL AND EDUCATIONAL ISSUES | 342 |
| E. CONCLUSIONS | 348 |
| F. TABLES. | 355 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 416 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | | |
|----|--|----|
| A. | Size of Birthplace by Country of Childhood | 31 |
| B. | Reasons Came to the United States by Country of Childhood | 31 |
| C. | Work Situation of Spanish-Speaking by Country of Childhood | 33 |
| D. | Evaluation of Present Economic Situation by Country of Childhood | 34 |
| E. | Comparison of Present Economic Situation with Situation in Homeland | 34 |
| F. | Ability to Read Spanish by Country of Childhood. | 35 |
| G. | Ability to Write Spanish by Country of Childhood | 35 |
| H. | Ability to Speak English by Country of Childhood | 37 |
| I. | Ability to Read English by Country of Childhood. | 37 |
| J. | Ability to Write English by Country of Childhood | 37 |
| K. | Contacted by 1970 Census by Country of Childhood | 38 |
| L. | Of Those Contacted, Those who Received Census Forms in Spanish | 38 |
| M. | Belief That Americans Help One Another by Country of Childhood | 40 |
| N. | Discrimination in the United States by Country of Childhood | 40 |
| O. | Boston School System Responses to the Spanish-Speaking | 45 |

| | |
|---|----|
| P. Census of Children and Teachers in the Boston Public Schools, 1968-1969 | 46 |
| Q. Census of Children in Boston Public Elementary, Intermediate, and High Schools, 1968 | 47 |

APPENDIX A TABLES

| | |
|--|-----|
| One. Number of Grade Levels Behind Whites (Coleman Report) | 257 |
| Two. Mean IQ Scores and Reading Grade Levels of School Children in New York, In-Migrants and Indigenous | 258 |
| Three. Percentage of Families having One or More Children Aged Six or Over who are not Registered in School (BRA data) | 298 |
| Four. ABCD-BC data on Percentage of Children not Attending School | 300 |

APPENDIX B TABLES

| | |
|---|-----|
| One. Percentage Comparison of Weighted and Unweighted Samples (Table Seventeen) | 355 |
| Two. Percentage Comparison of Weighted and Unweighted Samples (Table Twenty-One) | 356 |
| Three. Percentage Comparison of Weighted and Unweighted Samples (Table Fourteen) | 357 |
| Four. Percentage Comparison of Weighted and Unweighted Samples (Table Sixty) | 358 |
| Five. Percentage Comparison of Weighted and Unweighted Samples (Table Fifty-Six) | 359 |
| Six. Percentage Comparison of Weighted and Unweighted Samples (Table Forty-Seven) | 360 |
| Seven. Ability to Read Spanish Compared with Country of Childhood | 361 |
| Eight. Ability to Write Spanish Compared with Country of Childhood | 361 |
| Nine. Ability to Speak English Compared with Country of Childhood | 362 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Ten. Ability to Read English Compared with Country of Childhood | 362 |
| Eleven. Ability to Write English Compared with Country of Childhood | 363 |
| Twelve. Year of Arrival on Mainland Compared with Country of Childhood | 363 |
| Thirteen. Year of Arrival on Mainland Compared with Ability to Write Spanish | 364 |
| Fourteen. Year of Arrival on Mainland Compared with Ability to Speak English | 365 |
| Fifteen. Year of Arrival on Mainland Compared with Ability to Read English | 365 |
| Sixteen. Year of Arrival on Mainland Compared with Ability to Write English | 366 |
| Seventeen. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of Spanish Compared with Ability to Read Spanish | 366 |
| Eighteen. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of Spanish Compared with Ability to Write Spanish | 367 |
| Nineteen. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Ability to Speak English | 367 |
| Twenty. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Ability to Read English | 368 |
| Twenty-One. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Ability to Write English | 368 |
| Twenty-Two. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of Spanish | 369 |
| Twenty-Three. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Ability to Read Spanish | 370 |
| Twenty-Four. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Ability to Write Spanish | 370 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Twenty-Five. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Year of Arrival on Mainland | 371 |
| Twenty-Six. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Frequency of Visits with Non-Spanish-Speaking Neighbors | 372 |
| Twenty-Seven. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Hours per Day Spent Watching Television | 373 |
| Twenty-Eight. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Possession of a Radio | 374 |
| Twenty-Nine. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Income | 375 |
| Thirty. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Minimum Level of Education Parent Desires for Child | 376 |
| Thirty-One. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Belief that Education Helps to Better One's Situation | 377 |
| Thirty-Two. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Interest In Homeland Activities | 377 |
| Thirty-Three. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Perception of Discrimination in Boston | 378 |
| Thirty-Four. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Organizational Membership | 379 |
| Thirty-Five. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Concept of Amount in Common with Spanish-Speaking Community of Boston | 380 |
| Thirty-Six. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Evaluation of Organizational Potential of the Spanish-Speaking | 381 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Thirty-Seven. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Having Taken a Course in English | 382 |
| Thirty-Eight. Year of Arrival on Mainland Compared with Having Taken a Course in English | 382 |
| Thirty-Nine. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Interest in Attending English Classes if Respondent Was Paid \$50 Weekly | 383 |
| Forty. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Interest in Attending English Classes at Night if Respondent Was Paid "A Small Sum" | 384 |
| Forty-One. Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English Compared with Interest in Attending Classes if Paid \$30.00 Monthly Plus Lunch and Transportation | 384 |
| Forty-Two. Assessment of Schools' Effort for Spanish-Speaking Compared with Number of School Personnel Home Visits | 385 |
| Forty-Three. Visits of Spanish-Speaking School Personnel Compared with Assessment of Schools' Effort for Spanish-Speaking | 386 |
| Forty-Four. Children Having Problems in School Compared with Number of School Personnel Home Visits | 386 |
| Forty-Five. Minimum Level of Education Parent Desires for Child Compared with Number of School Personnel Home Visits | 387 |
| Forty-Six. Country of Parent's Childhood Compared with Sending Children to School | 388 |
| Forty-Seven. Assessment of Schools' Effort for Spanish-Speaking Compared with Number of Children in Pre-School Programs | 389 |
| Forty-Eight. Assessment of Schools' Effort for Spanish-Speaking Compared with Interest in Sending Child to a Day-Care Center | 390 |
| Forty-Nine. Children Having Trouble in School Compared with Country of Parent's Childhood | 391 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fifty. Language-Dominance Preference for Children's Classes Compared with Ability to Read Spanish | 392 |
| Fifty-One. Language-Dominance Preference for Children's Classes Compared with Ability to Read English | 392 |
| Fifty-Two. Language-Dominance Preference for Children's Classes Compared with Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English | 393 |
| Fifty-Three. Language-Dominance Preference for Children's Classes Compared with Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of Spanish | 393 |
| Fifty-Four. Language-Dominance Preference for Children's Classes Compared with Year of Arrival on Mainland | 394 |
| Fifty-Five. Language-Dominance Preference for Children's Classes Compared with Assessment of Schools' Effort for Spanish-Speaking | 395 |
| Fifty-Six. Language-Dominance Preference for Children's Classes Compared with Country of Parent's Childhood | 395 |
| Fifty-Seven. Language-Dominance Preference for Children's Classes Compared with Number of School Personnel Home Visits | 396 |
| Fifty-Eight. Parental Desire for Child to Remain in School as Long as Possible Compared with Country of Parent's Childhood. | 397 |
| Fifty-Nine. Parental Desire for Child to Remain in School as Long as Possible Compared with Income. | 397 |
| Sixty. Minimum Level of Education Parent Desires for Child Compared with Country of Parent's Childhood | 398 |
| Sixty-One. Country of Childhood Compared with Father's Educational Attainment | 399 |
| Sixty-Two. Minimum Level of Education Parent Desires for Child Compared with Income | 400 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Sixty-Three. Belief that Education Helps to Better One's Situation Compared With Income | 401 |
| Sixty-Four. Belief that Education Helps to Better One's Situation Compared with Year of Arrival on Mainland | 402 |
| Sixty-Five. Belief that Education Helps to Better One's Situation Compared with Country of Childhood | 402 |
| Sixty-Six. Belief that Politicians Pay Attention to "Opinions of People Like You" Compared with Country of Childhood | 403 |
| Sixty-Seven. Perception of Discrimination in Boston Compared with Country of Childhood | 404 |
| Sixty-Eight. Organizational Membership Compared with Country of Childhood | 405 |
| Sixty-Nine. Organizational Membership Compared with Year of Arrival on Mainland | 405 |
| Seventy. Organizational Membership Compared with Income | 406 |
| Seventy-One. Expressed Interest in Local Community Affairs Compared with Country of Childhood | 407 |
| Seventy-Two. Expressed Interest in Local Community Affairs Compared with Year of Arrival on Mainland | 408 |
| Seventy-Three. Concept of Amount in Common with Spanish-Speaking Community of Boston Compared with Country of Childhood | 409 |
| Seventy-Four. Concept of Amount in Common with Spanish-Speaking Community of Boston Compared with Year of Arrival on Mainland | 410 |
| Seventy-Five. Opinion of Means by which People Who have the Same Goal Should Achieve that Goal Compared with Country of Childhood | 411 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Seventy-Six. Opinion of Means by which People who have the Same Goal Should Achieve that Goal Compared with Year of Arrival on Mainland . | 412 |
| Seventy-Seven. Evaluation of Organizational Potential of the Spanish-Speaking Compared with Country of Childhood | 413 |
| Seventy-Eight. Evaluation of Organizational Potential of the Spanish-Speaking Compared with Year of Arrival on Mainland | 414 |
| Seventy-Nine. Assessment of Schools' Effort for Spanish-Speaking Compared with Evaluation of Organizational Potential of the Spanish-Speaking | 415 |

MAP

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| Spanish-Speaking in Boston | 24 |
|--------------------------------------|----|

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a synthesis of two main threads in my life--an interest in Latin America and a concern about contemporary America. My mother claimed that she wove the first thread when she read me Donald Duck goes to Latin America, and thus, so began my interest in Latin America. My first academic work on Latin America was in sixth grade where we made a Latin American scrapbook. Mine was a diary of an imaginary tour of all the Latin American countries. Since that time the main interest of my academic career has been Latin American studies. Two years in the Peace Corps in Venezuela was the most personally meaningful extension of this educational process.

After two years in graduate school in Latin American studies I felt the need to develop some kind of skill to complement my interest in Latin America. So I applied to planning school. The first semester here I took a course on Model Cities. The related field work introduced me to what I feel is the second thread--concern about contemporary America. I saw that the human struggle I had become involved in in my barrio in Venezuela was also taking place in this country. Just as

real, and perhaps more immediate, because this is my country.

When it came time for me to select a thesis topic I decided that I should combine these two threads. It was obvious that I should write a thesis about the Spanish-speaking in Boston.

I was also committed to the idea that this effort should not be wasted. That it should be useful to a group of people involved in the struggle. I hoped to work with a community group and develop information which would be useful to them, tailored to their needs, from which I could write a theses. I had had the experience of writing a purely academic thesis and was hoping that this thesis would reflect my own activist orientation. It did not take long to discover that one of the main articulated concerns of the Spanish-speaking community was education. Following my ideal, it seemed obvious to me that I should write my thesis on education for the Spanish-speaking in Boston. Needless to say, I knew nothing about education, except that I had spent most of my life in educational institutions. I was hoping to look at various kinds of education efforts--schools, social agencies, jails, and what-have-you.

I have spent the last year and a half on one of these educational institutions--the Boston Public Schools. I was unsuccessful in finding a group for which I could

work. I do not believe there is a community group in Boston concerned about education which is ready to use information such as I have developed. As it turns out, I believe that the school system itself could use this information.

The format of the thesis reflects where I have been in these last two years. Primarily, it reflects my concern to develop information which can be used by others. It also reflects what came to be the most compelling aspects of the topic to me--the issues and dilemmas which shape the education and educational planning for the Spanish-speaking. And, finally, the thesis is an exploration into the field, a testing of what I would do if I were a planner dealing with these issues.

The thesis is organized in the following manner: I will first provide you with some information on the context of the education of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. I will then turn to the programs which have been developed for the Spanish-speaking, discussing four main aspects of each program: program initiation, initial and program planning, parental and community involvement, and basic education assumptions inherent in the program. I will conclude with the discussion of the newly-formed Department of Bilingual Education, presenting what I see as the central issues of education for the Spanish-speaking

and some policy recommendations. I will use the Appendices to include several essays on information relevant to education of the Spanish-speaking in Boston but tangential to the focus of this thesis.

PART I

CONTEXT

There are a few topics which I will briefly present which will help you understand the setting of the school system's responses to the Spanish-speaking. I will discuss the nature of the Spanish-speaking immigration and migration to Boston, comparing it with previous immigrations to the city. I will give some brief information about the general conditions of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. I will briefly describe the nature of the Boston Public Schools' responses to the Spanish-speaking. And, finally, I will make a brief presentation of information relevant to the education of the Spanish-speaking in Boston, including a review of the research on bilingualism and bilingual education, the evaluation of projects in Boston, and data which has been developed on the Spanish-speaking population, on their educational needs and problems. (A more extensive treatment of this information can be found in Appendix A of this thesis.)

I hope that this context will provide you with an understanding of some of the setting in which the case studies take place, basic information on the Spanish-speaking population and their educational needs and problems, and insight into some of the issues which relate to education of the Spanish-speaking population.

CHAPTER I
IMMIGRANTS AND MIGRATION

Boston has always impressed me as a city of immigrants. There are so many communities--the North End, South Boston, East Boston, Chelsea, Chinatown, and the late West End--where the "old immigrants" have settled and made their homes. And, there are the Blacks who have come to Boston more recently and settled in the South End, Roxbury, and now Mattapan.

The Spanish-speakers are the newcomers. They have come from all over Latin America and Puerto Rico. The two largest groups are the Puerto Ricans and the Cubans. They have come to Boston for different reasons. The Puerto Ricans first came to New England as migrant farm workers after World War II. Some came to Boston and settled.

In 1960 there were just less than 1000 Puerto Ricans in the city. Since 1960 the number of Puerto Ricans has increased sharply. The 1970 census figures have not been released; the estimate of Puerto Ricans ranges from 10,000 to 22,000. Refugee Cubans have also come to Boston during the sixties, with perhaps up to 5,000 by the end of the decade. Other Latin Americans,

MAP 2⁵³



numbering several thousand, have come, too. This makes the total Spanish-speaking population between 17,000 and 28,000.

The Spanish-speaking will experience the strains and tensions of their uprooted situation as have other immigrant groups before them. They will know the conflicts between generations, the strain between the pressures for assimilation and the maintenance of a separate identity. They will have mixed feelings about their homelands, lack of self-confidence and problems of self-identity.

The Puerto Ricans share a common experience with other migrants--the Blacks and Appalachian Whites.¹ They are citizens of this country, and yet foreigners. By law they share the duties and rights of every citizen, but they do not share the majority's life style and culture. The Puerto Rican position in this country is even more removed--he comes from an island separated from the mainland, and does not even speak the language.

There are unique conditions of the Spanish-speaking population which distinguish it from the "old" immigrant groups. The previous immigrants arrived in Boston in an era of rapid economic expansion. Unskilled or semi-skilled

¹"These Appalachian Whites--of the oldest and purest U.S. stock--have at least as much initial difficulty adjusting to the city as do the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans." (Charles E. Silberman, "The City and the Negro," in Education of the Disadvantaged, ed. by A. Harry Passow, Miriam Foldberg and Abraham J. Tannebaum (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), p. 6).

laborers with little or no education and English ability could find jobs. The lack of experience and education did not set them too apart from the norm. However, today's chances for employment are slim. The economy is not expanding as rapidly, there are only limited employment opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and usually there are schooling and language criteria. Their lack of education and experience sets them apart from the norm. Even the professional from Cuba has found that his degrees are not acceptable in the States and that he must learn English before he can pursue his professional career. Finally, a large number of women--married and single--have participated in the influx of the Spanish-speaking. Many are young, of child-bearing age, which heightens the possibility of marriages within the population and means that there will be a sizable proportion of the population which will be children.²

Another unique feature of the Spanish-speaking community is that many of them are citizens when they arrive; they are Puerto Ricans. Yet their citizenship seems to be of little asset to them. They encounter the same dislocations as if they were foreigners: they do not speak the language; their culture is alien; their

²C. Wright Mills, Clarence Senior, and Rose Kohn Goldson, The Puerto Rican Journey (New York: Russell and Russell, 1950), p. 87.

social patterns different; and they are discriminated against. All the clues around them pressure toward assimilation, pressure them to become Americanized. Yet, ironically, they are Americans.

The Puerto Rican migration to the mainland is unique. The decision to come to Boston is not monumental; there are no red tape, no quotas, no visas, and no records kept on their arrival. And, as Clarence Senior suggests, they are the first airborne immigrants--there are several air flights daily from the island to Boston and the fare is low. Those who do come maintain close contact with their families and friends on the island; there is frequent exchange of visits. Finally, the return to the island is not traumatic; it is not a sign of failure, and it is possible, politically and economically. Thus the move here is not permanent; many have returned to the island.

There has not developed in the Spanish-speaking or Puerto Rican populations a strong sense of mutual support, common to other immigrants groups such as the Italians and the Irish. There is no community which will help to buffer the effects of social and personal disorientation resulting from the move to Boston. Reasons for the absence of the sense of community are numerous. Within the Spanish-speaking community there are many nationalities. The sense of nationalism tends to produce divisions within the population; traditional antipathies, such as that between Cubans and Puerto Ricans, are not easily

overcome. Also, within the population there is a wide range of social and economic levels, which tend to be divisive. Some because of their previous status (and "acceptable" light color) can easily assimilate into the larger society; others face the many barriers to integration. Finally, there is a high mobility within the population. For the Puerto Ricans there is the mobility between the island and Boston. Also for most, there is mobility within the city. There is no one geographical area which has become the center of the Spanish-speaking or Puerto Rican community. There is no one place where enough housing is available. Limited low-income housing stock, the vast demolition connected with urban renewal, the scatterization effect of public housing and general decay of the central city has necessitated the location of the population wherever housing could be found. And there is constant movement of the population within the city in search of better housing.

The Puerto Ricans are not moving toward assimilation. Glazer and Moynihan recently revised their assessment of the direction the Puerto Ricans in New York City are going.

. . . when we wrote Beyond the Melting Pot, the alternative seemed to lie between assimilation and ethnic group status; they now seem to lie somewhere between ethnic group status and separation . . .³

³Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1970) p. xxiii.

Joshua Fishman, drawing from an extensive socio-linguistic study of a New York Puerto Rican community, echoed the Glazer and Moynihan position.

. . . maintenance of Spanish is a reality among New York Puerto Ricans because they do associate language with this most important cluster-family kinship, and ethnic ties . . . Spanish is not only necessary for conversation with aged grandparents, but also with younger relatives in Puerto Rico who frequently visit and who are frequently visited.⁴

The language, social patterns and culture are being maintained. However, their perception of the Puerto Rican's status vis-a-vis the larger society is also important.

. . . Puerto Ricans still see themselves in the immigrant-ethnic model; that is they see their poor economic and political position as reflecting recency of arrival and evil circumstances that can still be overcome. They have an explanation for their poor circumstances that does not demand revolutionary change . . .⁵

The Puerto Ricans see themselves as gradually being assimilated into the society. But the future is unclear if there is no change in their poor economic and political position.

⁴Joshua Fishman, et. al., "Bilingualism in the Barrio," August, 1968, ERIC ED 026 546.

(Citations similar to the preceding are references to documents which are available from the Office of Education, Educational Resources Information Center. The documents are available from ERIC in hard-back or microfiche. The ones cited in this thesis are available at Longfellow Library, Harvard School of Education.)

⁵Glazer and Moynihan, Melting Pot, p. lxix.

CHAPTER II

SPANISH-SPEAKING IN BOSTON

There is little information available on the Spanish-speaking population. This is because of the recency of their arrival, their linguistic isolation and high mobility within the city. The most accurate data comes from a survey sponsored by the Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD) and carried out by Dr. David Smith, Institute of Human Sciences of Boston College. Five hundred and thirty-five Spanish-speaking residents of Boston were interviewed last summer. While the final report has not been released on the study, I was able to use some of the data.¹

The majority of the Spanish-speaking heads of households in Boston is Puerto Rican (58.7%) The remainder is 25.3% Cuban, 13.9% from other Latin American countries, and 2.1% born on the mainland. The non-Puerto Rican population comes from predominately urban background; the Puerto Ricans are predominately rural.

¹An analysis of the educational variables is included in Appendix B of this thesis. Also, a discussion of the sampling methodology and reliability of the data is presented. In the tables which follow I have used the weighted sample. This sample was derived from the unweighted sample (N=535) and is designed to be representative of the total Spanish-speaking population in Boston.

TABLE A

SIZE OF BIRTHPLACE BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=7198)

| SIZE OF COMMUNITY | COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------|
| | Total of all Spanish- Speaking | U.S. | Puerto Rico | Cuba | Other |
| Rural | 12.9% | 5.7% | 20.0% | 2.8% | 2.0% |
| Under 10,000 | 28.9 | 0 | 36.3 | 20.8 | 16.3 |
| 10,000- 50,000 | 25.4 | 0 | 29.4 | 23.0 | 17.1 |
| 50,000-150,000 | 13.2 | 13.3 | 10.0 | 17.2 | 19.2 |
| Over 150,000 | 19.6 | 80.0 | 4.2 | 36.1 | 45.4 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 99.9% | 99.9% | 100.0% |
| | | (150) | (4244) | (1826) | (1008) |

TABLE B

REASONS CAME TO THE UNITED STATES BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=7320)

| REASONS | COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------|
| | Total of all Spanish- Speaking | U.S. | Puerto Rico | Cuba | Other |
| Political | 24.2% | 0 | .2% | 89.5% | 9.1% |
| Economic | 35.6 | 13.3% | 50.2 | 5.6 | 32.3 |
| Meet Spouse | 4.8 | 6.7 | 7.1 | 0 | 4.0 |
| Meet Relatives | 9.6 | 13.3 | 12.6 | .5 | 13.1 |
| Job Intention | | | | | |
| agriculture | 4.4 | 0 | 6.8 | 0 | 3.0 |
| other | 4.3 | 0 | 6.8 | 0 | 2.0 |
| Job Promise | | | | | |
| agriculture | .1 | 0 | .2 | 0 | 0 |
| other | .3 | 0 | .2 | 0 | 1.0 |
| Other | 16.7 | 66.7 | 15.8 | 4.4 | 35.5 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 99.9% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | (150) | (4294) | (1868) | (1008) |

Seventy per cent of the population has arrived in the States since 1960. And, an even larger percentage has come to Boston within the last decade. The reasons for leaving their homelands vary. The majority of the Cubans came because of political reasons. Approximately half of the Puerto Ricans and one-third of the other Latin Americans came for economic reasons.

It would seem that those Puerto Ricans who came for economic reasons would be disappointed, for less than a third of the Puerto Ricans have been able to find a job. In comparison, one-half of the mainlanders and three-fourths of the Cubans and other Latins are employed. Overall, one-third of the total Spanish-speaking population is on welfare; almost half of the Puerto Ricans are on welfare. While most of the Puerto Ricans (57.3%) and mainlanders (66.7%) evaluate their own economic situation as meager or just barely enough to get by, there is a feeling that things are economically better here than they were or would be in the homeland. The Cubans were the only group with a substantial number (41.8%) who feel that comparatively speaking they are economically worse off here than they were in Cuba.

Spanish and English literacy varies considerably within the Spanish-speaking population in Boston. 76.8% of the population can read Spanish and 75.6% can write it. The Spanish illiteracy is centered in the mainlanders and

TABLE C

WORK SITUATION OF SPANISH-SPEAKING BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD
(N=7250)

| SITUATION | COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------|
| | Total of all Spanish- Speaking | U.S. | Puerto Rico | Cuba | Other |
| Working | 49.1% | 46.7% | 31.0% | 75.4% | 77.8% |
| Laid Off | .6 | 0 | 1.1 | 0 | 0 |
| Unemployed | 3.6 | 0 | 4.9 | 1.6 | 3.0 |
| Retired | .4 | 0 | .5 | 0 | 1.0 |
| Student | 1.3 | 0 | 1.8 | 0 | 2.0 |
| Housewife | 9.5 | 13.3 | 10.9 | 10.0 | 2.0 |
| Welfare | 34.3 | 40.0 | 48.8 | 12.5 | 13.2 |
| Other | 1.2 | 0 | 1.0 | .5 | 1.0 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | (150) | (4254) | (1868) | (978) |

TABLE D

EVALUATION OF PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=7280)

| SITUATION EVALUATION | COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------|
| | Total of all Spanish- Speaking | U.S. | Puerto Rico | Cuba | Other |
| Meager | 21.3% | 20.0% | 32.0% | 3.9% | 7.9% |
| Just Enough | 22.1 | 46.7 | 25.3 | 15.4 | 16.9 |
| Sufficient | 15.6 | 13.3 | 15.5 | 19.2 | 9.9 |
| Enough | 18.9 | 13.3 | 17.5 | 23.0 | 18.3 |
| Good | 17.2 | 6.7 | 8.4 | 27.7 | 36.9 |
| Very Good | 4.9 | 0 | 1.2 | 10.8 | 10.1 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 99.9% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | (150) | (4254) | (1868) | (1008) |

TABLE E

COMPARISON OF PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION WITH SITUATION IN HOMELAND (N=7210)

| PRESENT SITUATION | COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------|
| | Total of all Spanish- Speaking | U.S. | Puerto Rico | Cuba | Other |
| Much better | 29.2% | 37.5% | 33.6% | 15.0% | 36.1% |
| Some better | 33.4 | 25.0 | 39.9 | 14.9 | 40.7 |
| Same | 18.3 | 25.0 | 16.0 | 28.4 | 9.0 |
| Little worse | 12.5 | 0 | 7.1 | 26.3 | 11.2 |
| Much worse | 6.6 | 12.5 | 3.5 | 15.5 | 3.0 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.1% | 100.1% | 100.0% |
| | | (80) | (4274) | (1858) | (998) |

TABLE F

ABILITY TO READ SPANISH BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=6662)

| <u>ABILITY</u> | <u>COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD</u> | | | | |
|----------------|---|-------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| | <u>Total of all Spanish- Speaking</u> | <u>U.S.</u> | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>Cuba</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| Yes | 76.8% | 28.6% | 67.6% | 90.9% | 96.7% |
| Some | 11.1 | 28.6 | 13.5 | 9.1 | 2.2 |
| No | <u>12.1</u> | <u>42.9</u> | <u>18.9</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1.1</u> |
| | 100.0% | 100.1% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | (140) | (3800) | (1714) | (908) |

TABLE G

ABILITY TO WRITE SPANISH BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=6662)

| <u>ABILITY</u> | <u>COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD</u> | | | | |
|----------------|---|-------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| | <u>Total of all Spanish- Speaking</u> | <u>U.S.</u> | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>Cuba</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| Yes | 75.6% | 28.6% | 66.1% | 90.3% | 95.6% |
| Some | 10.5 | 21.4 | 12.4 | 9.1 | 3.3 |
| No | <u>13.9</u> | <u>50.0</u> | <u>21.5</u> | <u>.6</u> | <u>1.1</u> |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | (140) | (3800) | (1714) | (908) |

Puerto Ricans. The mainlanders show what is probably a loss or atrophy of their first language. 42.9% cannot read Spanish and 50% cannot write Spanish. Of the Puerto Ricans, 18.9% cannot read Spanish and 21.5% cannot write it.

There has been only a limited acquisition of English. Of the total Spanish-speaking population, 20.4% can speak English; 28.2% can read it; 23.5% can write it. Predictably the mainland population has the highest English literacy level. All can speak and read English and 93.3% can write it. On the other hand, the Puerto Ricans are the least literate in English. Only 24.4% can speak English; only 22% can read it; only 17.2% can write it.

The language barrier of the Spanish-speaking population tends to isolate the community from normal channels of access to the larger society and its services. One example of the lack of access is the very low number of contacts made by the 1970 census takers. 33.5% of the total Spanish-speaking population was not contacted by the census. Almost half (44.6%) of the Puerto Ricans were not contacted. Of those who were, less than 15% were provided a form in Spanish. Given the low level of English literacy in the population, there is little chance that the census data on the population will be reliable.

We have briefly discussed some objective measures of the conditions of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. We have seen that most of the population feels that their

TABLE H

ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=7290)

| ABILITY | COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------|
| | Total of all Spanish- Speaking | U.S. | Puerto Rico | Cuba | Other |
| Yes | 30.4% | 100.0% | 24.4% | 35.7% | 35.3% |
| Some | 43.4 | 0 | 44.0 | 43.7 | 46.4 |
| No | 26.3 | 0 | 31.5 | 20.7 | 18.3 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 99.9% | 100.1% | 100.0% |
| | | (150) | (4264) | (1868) | (1008) |

TABLE I

ABILITY TO READ ENGLISH BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=7310)

| ABILITY | COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------|
| | Total of all Spanish- Speaking | U.S. | Puerto Rico | Cuba | Other |
| Yes | 28.2% | 100.0% | 22.0% | 35.4% | 30.7% |
| Some | 30.2 | 0 | 27.0 | 37.3 | 35.7 |
| No | 41.6 | 0 | 51.0 | 27.3 | 33.7 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.1% |
| | | (150) | (4294) | (1868) | (998) |

TABLE J

ABILITY TO WRITE ENGLISH BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=7320)

| ABILITY | COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------|
| | Total of all Spanish- Speaking | U.S. | Puerto Rico | Cuba | Other |
| Yes | 23.5% | 93.3% | 17.2% | 31.2% | 25.4% |
| Some | 21.0 | 0 | 15.6 | 29.6 | 31.2 |
| No | 55.5 | 6.7 | 67.1 | 39.3 | 43.4 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 99.9% | 100.1% | 100.0% |
| | | (150) | (4294) | (1868) | (1008) |

TABLE K

CONTACTED BY 1970 CENSUS BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=7290)

| <u>CONTACTED</u> | <u>COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD</u> | | | | |
|------------------|---|-------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| | <u>Total of all Spanish- Speaking</u> | <u>U.S.</u> | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>Cuba</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| Yes | 66.5% | 73.7% | 55.4% | 79.6% | 88.1% |
| No | <u>33.5</u> | <u>26.3</u> | <u>44.6</u> | <u>20.4</u> | <u>11.9</u> |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | (150) | (4264) | (1868) | (1008) |

TABLE L

OF THOSE CONTACTED, THOSE WHO RECEIVED CENSUS FORMS IN SPANISH (N=5950)

| <u>FORMS IN SPANISH</u> | <u>COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD</u> | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| | <u>Total of all Spanish- Speaking</u> | <u>U.S.</u> | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>Cuba</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| Yes | 14.8% | 20.0% | 28.3% | 4.5% | 12.8% |
| No | <u>85.2</u> | <u>80.0</u> | <u>71.7</u> | <u>95.5</u> | <u>87.2</u> |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | (110) | (2392) | (1570) | (888) |

economic perspective and general outlook is bright. However, there is some dissatisfaction, which stems from their assessment of American society. The interviewees were asked if people helped one another. Only 5.5% of the Puerto Ricans, 12% of the Cubans, 13.1% of the other Latin Americans, and no mainlanders responded positively. 53.3% of the mainlanders and 38.5% of the Puerto Ricans expressed the opinion that the American people were out for themselves only. Mainlanders and Puerto Ricans also report the greatest feelings of discrimination. 53.9% of the mainlanders and 45.5% of the Puerto Ricans reported they encounter a lot or very much discrimination.

TABLE M

BELIEF THAT AMERICANS HELP ONE ANOTHER BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=7278)

| HELP | COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------|-------------|--------|--------|
| | Total of all Spanish-Speaking | U.S. | Puerto Rico | Cuba | Other |
| Yes | 8.1% | 0 | 5.5% | 12.0% | 13.1% |
| Some yes, some no | 60.6 | 46.7% | 56.0 | 70.6 | 63.7 |
| Out for themselves | 31.3 | 53.3 | 38.5 | 17.5 | 23.2 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.1% | 100.0% |
| | | (150) | (4252) | (1868) | (1008) |

TABLE N

DISCRIMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES BY COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=7278)

| AMOUNT OF DISCRIMINATION | COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------|-------------|--------|--------|
| | Total of all Spanish-Speaking | U.S. | Puerto Rico | Cuba | Other |
| None | 29.0% | 7.7% | 19.9% | 52.1% | 46.0% |
| Little | 9.3 | 15.4 | 7.6 | 11.5 | 14.3 |
| Some | 23.3 | 23.1 | 26.6 | 16.7 | 15.9 |
| A lot | 21.5 | 15.4 | 26.0 | 10.4 | 15.9 |
| Very much | 16.9 | 38.5 | 19.9 | 9.4 | 7.9 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | (150) | (4252) | (1868) | (1008) |

CHAPTER III
THE SCHOOL SYSTEM RESPONSE

The rapid growth of the Spanish-speaking has taken place within a national context of urgency. In the last decade we have seen the rise of the "urban crisis" and the fall of the "melting pot" myths. The Blacks have drawn attention to the decay of our cities and the inhumanity of the social conditions in which they live. They have struggled and set forth the idea of Black power and pride, of a struggle for group identity based on shared culture and experience. Blacks have demanded of the American system that it make a commitment to the realization of the American ideal of cultural pluralism.

One focus of the Black struggle has been the schools. In Boston there have been many efforts on the part of the Black community to change the public schools. School boycotts and strikes, electoral efforts, lobbying, pressuring, negotiating and disruptions have all punctuated the decade. And the struggle

continues.¹ METCO busses Black children to suburban schools, to free them from the chains of the Boston schools. Free schools are growing throughout the city as educational alternatives.

But the one vital school system model for schools all over the country, and noted for its progressiveness, has been slow to shape its responses. The public schools are facing a myriad of problems. Many of the facilities are old and decaying. There has been an influx of minority groups and departure of the middle class and the greatly needed tax base. The bureaucracy of the system has grown and is well-entrenched; it is over 90% white.

The administration, the School Committee, the teachers, the city's political ethnic past, its geographical and political situation, its economy, all fit together to produce an attitude and set of practices that keep the school system functioning and basically undisturbed.²

Now the Spanish-speaking are making demands on the school system. The Spanish-speaking are sending their children to the schools, with high expectations for their

¹For stories of this struggle see William Ryan, "Strategies for Change: A Case Study of the Struggles to Integrate Boston's Schools," September, 1967 (mimeographed); Barbara Jackson, "Roxbury Alternatives to the Neighborhood School," revised edition, January, 1969 (mimeographed); Peter Schrag, Village School Downtown (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967); Jonathan Kozol, Death at an Early Age (New York: Bantam Books, 1967).

²Peter Schrag, Village School, p. 67.

success. The school is seen as the one source for social and economic mobility for the immigrant population.³ The Spanish-speaking feel that if their children go to school, learn English and graduate, that they will be able to get a job and get along in American society. However, the Spanish-speaking are realizing that the school system is failing them also. The children are not doing well in school, academically nor socially. The children are the brunt of the discriminatory attitudes present in the school system. The children are dropping out in large numbers.⁴

The school system has developed programs for the Spanish-speaking. It had to start from practically nothing. The only program which it was operating which could be drawn upon for the Spanish-speaking was the Day School for Immigrants, recently renamed the English

³This myth has been romanticized. For a critique see Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 53-61.

⁴The number of children that drop out each year is not really known. In a recent statement by the Superintendent of Schools, William Ohrenberger, it was reported that of the 176 Puerto Rican high school students, 12 freshmen and 5 sophomores (no juniors or seniors) had dropped out in the 1970-1971 school year. This is questionable and does not include the drop out of other Latin Americans nor of younger children. (William H. Ohrenberger, "Statement Before the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights" (12 May 1971, Mimeographed), p. 6

Language Center. An English as a Second Language program was started in September, 1967; Title VII, Bilingual Education program in September, 1968; and the Bilingual Transitional Clusters in January, 1970. The Department of Bilingual Education was created in September, 1970, to coordinate these responses. It is important to emphasize at this point that the responses, like Topsy, just grew. It was only at the point that there were over a million dollars and four major programs involved that the school system developed the Department of Bilingual Education.

These programs have come into existence within a short period of time. During this time the student population has grown rapidly.

Collection of data on the number of Spanish-speaking children in the Boston Public Schools is very difficult. On the following pages I have included the most complete set of data, though it is dated. From the 1968 to the 1969 school year, the Spanish-speaking children increased in number from 2,505 (or 2.63% of the total) to 3,505 (3.8%); this represents a 28% increase in student population, making them the most rapidly growing minority except the very small number of American Indians. The growth has been primarily in elementary school level. The growth of the number of Spanish-American teachers

TABLE 0

BOSTON SCHOOL SYSTEM RESPONSES TO THE SPANISH-SPEAKING

| <u>Program</u> | <u>Started</u> | <u>Ages</u> | <u>No. of Pupils 1970-1</u> | <u>No. of Spanish-Speaking Pupils</u> | <u>Funding</u> |
|---------------------------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| English Language Center | 1911 | 14-18; adults | 390 | c.100 (30%) | City |
| English as a Second Language | 1967 | all grades | 600 | 520 | 1/3 classes from federal via Title I, ESEA; 2/3 city |
| Bilingual Education | 1968 | 6-14 | 160 | 160 | Federal, Title VII, ESEA |
| Bilingual Transitional Clusters | Jan., 1970 | 6-14 | 250 | 250 | City |

TABLE P

CENSUS OF CHILDREN AND TEACHERS IN THE BOSTON PUBLIC
SCHOOLS, 1968-1969

| | <u>STUDENTS</u> | | <u>TEACHERS</u> |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| | <u>1968</u> | <u>1969</u> | <u>1969</u> |
| White | 68,703 (69.11%) | 62,657 (66.03%) | 4251 (94.6%) |
| Black | 25,190 (26.50%) | 27,276 (28.75%) | 226 (5.0%) |
| SPANISH- AMERICAN | 2,505 (2.63%) | 3,205 (3.38%) | 10 (.2%) |
| Oriental | 1,617 (1.70%) | 1,643 (1.73%) | 8 (.2%) |
| American Indians | <u>56</u> (.06%) | <u>106</u> (.11%) | <u>0</u> |
| | 95,071 | 94,887 | 4495 |

Source: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare,
"School System Report," July, 1970.

TABLE Q

CENSUS OF CHILDREN IN BOSTON PUBLIC ELEMENTARY, INTERMEDIATE,
AND HIGH SCHOOLS, 1968

| | <u>Elementary</u> | <u>Intermediate</u> | <u>High</u> | <u>Special</u> | <u>Boston</u> |
|----------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| White | 66.84% | 68.33% | 76.98% | 47.27% | 79.11% |
| Black | 28.06 | 29.57 | 19.50 | 29.43 | 26.50 |
| SPANISH | 3.31 | 1.65 | 1.02 | 16.15 | 2.63 |
| Oriental | 1.73 | .43 | 2.43 | 7.16 | 1.70 |
| Indian | <u>.07</u> | <u>.02</u> | <u>.07</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>.06</u> |
| | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |
| | (57,587) | (16,324) | (20,392) | (768) | (95,071) |

Source: Boston School Department as reported in U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, "School System Report," July, 1970.

has not kept pace. In 1969 there were only 10 (0.2% of the total) Spanish-American teachers in the schools.⁵

At present, there is no alliance nor sense of a common cause against the school system between the Blacks and Spanish-speaking. However, the struggles of the Blacks have probably had some kind of effect on the struggle that Spanish-speaking are undertaking and the nature of the responses that the system will give. Nevertheless, the Spanish-speaking will probably not repeat the pattern of protest against the schools. It has been said, enough times that even if it is not true it is widely believed, that the Puerto Ricans are not as militant as the Blacks. Puerto Ricans will turn out for meetings or attend hearings at the State House on Bilingual education, especially if the clergy organize the mobilization. It is hard to imagine a massive Puerto Rican boycott of the schools. There are many explanations which have been put forth to explain this reaction, all of which probably have some validity.

1. The Puerto Ricans, the majority of the Spanish-speaking population in Boston, are colonial peoples. (One can say that Puerto Rico is a commonwealth,

⁵U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "School System Report," July, 1970.

but their condition is closest to a colony.) They are not accustomed to having control over their own lives. They do not have organized intermediate levels of association which promote interest articulation.

2. Puerto Ricans and other Latins in Boston are Latin people. They have respect for authority such as the school teachers and administrators and are reluctant to challenge this authority. The social and political organizations reflect the same pattern. The leaders are respected and followed; they are not challenged nor is it expected that the leadership will maintain close contact with their followers to discover their feelings about particular issues.

3. The Spanish-speaking in Boston are a new, extremely diverse population. Cohesion, let alone a concerted action, around the schools and educational issues would seem highly improbable.

4. The Latins in Boston have many concerns, only one of which is their children's education. Many are living from day to day, struggling for survival. Schools and education are very abstract concerns in such a context.

5. The language barrier between the Spanish-speaking and the majority community probably prevents exchange of information and intimidates the Spanish-speaking, which in turn inhibits them from action against its institutions.

6. The school system has responded to the Spanish-speaking. They have created a number of programs. This activity would tend to mitigate organization against the schools, since it seems that the system is trying.

7. There is a group of what I call the educational leaders. They are well-educated, middle-class, and concerned about the education of the Spanish-speaking. They have been active in the past few years and, through pressuring, they have been instrumental in the creation of the present programs. They are recognized by the system as the legitimate representatives of the community. The contact between the leadership and the Spanish-speaking community is limited. Their modus operandi is productive and they are not interested in changing, becoming more aggressive, or broadening the involvement.

In conclusion, the growth of the Spanish-speaking in Boston creates a challenge to the school system.

With increasing vehemence members of today's second generation--who in Boston are primarily Negro, Puerto Rican and Chinese--say that they will not be treated by the schools as earlier groups have been treated. They are asking, not always clearly, that teachers find ways to help children mature according to their respective ethnic standards and still teach them the freedom and strength they will need in contemporary society. They are asking that schools open new ways of living without ignoring inherited ones.⁶

The challenge to the School Department is to respond to and respect the diversity of its pupils.

⁶Joseph Cronin, Organizing An Urban School System for Diversity (Boston: Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, 1970), p. 11.

CHAPTER IV
INFORMATION RELEVANT TO THE EDUCATION
OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING IN BOSTON

When I first began this thesis I thought that there would be almost no information available relevant to the education of Spanish-speaking in Boston. Once I began the search I discovered that there is a lot of information (which I have included in my bibliography). At the same time, this information has not been drawn together and analyzed; policy implications and recommendations for educational programs for the Spanish-speaking have not been developed. As part of my own self-education, I have tried to draw the information together in three fields which are relevant to the education of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. The topics covered in these essays are research on bilingualism, evaluations of the Boston projects, and data on the educational needs and problems of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. These essays are incorporated in Appendix A for those who are interested in any or all of these topics in greater depth. Here I will present summaries of the essays.

A. RESEARCH ON BILINGUALISM¹

A perusal of the literature on bilingualism shows that many of the studies which have been conducted have been poorly designed, uncontrolled for variables which have inadvertently affected the outcome, employed biased research tools, and are not oriented toward the development of educational programs.

A lot of the present information available is centered around trying to explain why the non-English speaking have trouble in the schools. There is plenty of information which documents that comparatively speaking, the Spanish-speaking students tend to perform worse than the whites or blacks in the schools. The once widely accepted thesis that bilingualism per se negatively effects mental development has been challenged. Presently various studies suggest that the Spanish-speaking may be linguistically handicapped by his bilingualism, may suffer learning disabilities (which are not a function of his bilingualism), and may be disadvantaged by inappropriately designed educational programs.

¹This research is based on studies which are relevant to the Spanish-speaking in Boston. Many linguistic, social, economic and cultural variables will have influence on the outcomes of studies. I have tried to include information which would be comparable to the situation of the Spanish-speaking in Boston, studies which seem well-designed and/or high suggestives.

It is assumed by most educators involved in the education of Spanish-speaking children that the best medium for initial instruction is the native tongue, with the gradual introduction of English as a subject. The goal is fluency in both languages. This approach is known as bilingual education. (This contrasts with the English as a Second Language approach, which teaches English without introduction of the mother tongue. The goal is fluency in English.) For teenagers and adults it is generally assumed by the educators that the bilingual approach is no longer effective and that English as a Second Language method is preferable.

The presently available research consists of mixed findings on when which of the methods of instruction is preferable. There are several significant studies which suggest that the English as a Second Language approach is effective for young children (first graders) and that there is considerable transference of language development between languages.²

The whole question of the interrelationship between bilingualism and biculturalism has been largely left

²W. E. Lambert, M. Just, and N. Segalowitz, "Some Cognitive Consequences of Following the Curricula of the Early School Grades in a Foreign Language," in Report of the Twenty-First Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies: Bilingualism and Language Contact: Anthropological, Linguistic, Psychological and Sociological Aspects, ed. by James E. Alatis (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970), pp. 229-279.

unexplored. The linguists do seem to be moving very tentatively in this area but the extent that the environment, personnel, and content of the instruction need to reflect the bicultural, as well as bilingual, situation of the learner is unclear. The question of whether classes should be linguistically integrated or segregated to produce more effective learning and/or promote a more harmonious social environment is also clouded.

In short, at present it is difficult to draw any firm guidelines for the development of bilingual educational programs from the present research. The one thing that is clear is that the programs should be flexible and experimental in nature. The oft-repeated guidelines, such as "the child learns best in his mother tongue," are not necessarily proven true by the research.

B. EVALUATION OF BOSTON PROJECTS FOR THE SPANISH-SPEAKING

There have been four evaluations conducted on the Boston school system projects for the Spanish-speaking.³

³Heuristics, Inc., "An Evaluation of the English as a Second Language Program of the Boston Public Schools, 1968-1969," (Dedham, Massachusetts: August, 1969, mimeographed); "An Evaluation of the English as a Second Language Program of the Boston Public Schools, 1969-1970" (Dedham, Massachusetts: October, 1970, mimeographed); "Evaluation of the Title VII, Bilingual Education Project of the Boston Public Schools, 1969-1970" (Dedham, Massachusetts: August, 1970, mimeographed); and Marvin G. Cline and John F. Joyce, "An Evaluation of the EDC Role in the Bilingual Transitional Clusters of the Boston Public Schools" (Newton, Massachusetts: Educational Development Center, January, 1971).

Evaluations are a form of research,, designed to assess the progress of an individual, class or program. Because they are research, they reflect the lack of sophisticated measuring instruments which we found to be characteristic of the research on bilingualism discussed in the previous section. Thus, few tools exist. Those that do exist have been developed to assess objective performance criteria, such as oral/aural comprehension and reading level.

As with research on bilingualism, the evaluators have not been able to develop reliable and valid measures of effective growth, interrelationships among people, and socio-cultural variables. Thus, for example, the whole question of comparison of segregation or integration was not considered in any of the evaluations. The most effective way these educational components have been described is through in-depth interviews with the participants. In the evaluation of the Bilingual Clusters, the interview method was utilized and the analysis clearly illustrated the problems which existed among the staff as a result of differing perceptions of what represents "good education" for the Spanish-speaking. There has been no effort to conduct in-depth interviews with the students in the programs.

At present one of the major limitations of the evaluation process is that what information is developed is not available as feedback for the planning process. The evaluations are year-end reports of the overall progress of the project. These reports do not reach the hands of the project personnel until well into the following school year, at which time they best serve as histories of the projects. The evaluations, instead, are used as part of the request for project refunding. (They are required for all projects funded under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.)

In short, the evaluation process is limited by the lack of development of valid and reliable measurement instruments. Also, the process at present is not designed to provide information for program planning.

C. INFORMATION ON THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING IN BOSTON

The school system has not made an effort to compile information developed inside or outside of the system on the educational needs and problems of the Spanish-speaking. The system is even reluctant to keep such information as grades, test scores, or grade-levels by minority groups. Furthermore, information basic to planning and decision-making on the children involved in the special programs for the Spanish-speaking is not developed.

The school system has not complied with a state law which requires a census of the number of school-aged children in and out of school. The number of children out of school has become an important issue for those concerned about the education of the Spanish-speaking. Several estimates have been made which suggest up to 7,800 Spanish-speaking children, or about 60%, are not attending school.⁴ These estimates have been based on very tentative data, but have been repeated often enough and cited in enough reports that they are regarded as if they were accurate figures. The school system's response to this information has been a "show-me" attitude: bring them in the 7,800 children who are out of school and they will believe the figure.

There have been a number of primary studies conducted on the Spanish-speaking population which contain some information on education concerns. However, most of those studies have been parochial in outlook; the interviewing has not been conducted in such a manner as to be representative of the population under consideration, let alone the total Spanish-speaking population in Boston.

⁴In chronological order: Rosemary Whiting, "An Overview of the Spanish-Speaking Population in Boston" (Office of Public Service, August, 1969, mimeographed); Rosly Walter, "Proposal for Bilingual Transitional Clusters Within Boston Public School Districts" (Educational Development Center, August, 1969, mimeographed); Task Force on Children Out of School, "The Way We Go to School: The Exclusion of Children in Boston" (Boston, 1970, mimeographed).

The best study was sponsored by the Action for Boston Community Development, the anti-poverty agency, and conducted by Dr. Smith at Boston College. Analysis of the educational variables of the ABCD-BC study is included in Appendix B.

A brief survey of the data suggests that most of the Spanish-speaking are anxious for their children to learn English. The ABCD-BC study found that 88.3% of the population prefers classes taught in English, with help in Spanish, over classes taught in Spanish, with English as a second language (the format of the bilingual education approach). The question of integrated or segregated classes was raised in only one small survey; the results were inconclusive; those interviewed were divided between those preferring integrated classes and those preferring segregated ones.⁵ Only two surveys included questions on citizen involvement in the schools; most of those interviewed thought that there should be some community participation in the programs for the Spanish-speaking children.⁶ None of the surveys asked the interviewees to define the components of "good education."

⁵Emergency Tenants Council. "Emergency Tenants Council Blackstone School Interviews" (Boston: August, 1969, mimeographed).

⁶Ibid.; and Educational Planning Center of the Boston Public Schools, "Appendix A, Appendage to Summer Survey" (Boston: n.d., mimeographed).

There is a widespread need and interest in adult education classes, particularly in English and Spanish. Also, about half of the population is interested in some kind of day-care or pre-school program for the Spanish-speaking children.

In short, the information on the Spanish-speaking in Boston is presently based on a number of small, unrepresentative studies. The ABCD-BC study is the one effort which has tried to be representative of the population; but the analysis of the data is presently unavailable, except for the work I have included in Appendix B. The school system has been remiss in its responsibility to develop information on the Spanish-speaking population. Because of this, much of the effort which has been made outside of the system has been around the basic question: the number of children in and out of school. The questions which have not been answered in the section on research and evaluation--such as integration or segregation, nature of "good education," method of instruction--have not been adequately addressed in the various studies to provide the planner with guidelines for program development which are reflective of the interests of the population which he is trying to serve.

D. CONCLUSION

To conclude, I would like to emphasize that the information which has been summarily presented above (and is found in more detail in Appendix A) represents the original collection of this information. People who are involved or concerned about the education of the Spanish-speaking in Boston have been acting with only partial understanding of the dimensions of some of the issues, inconsistencies in research, the tentativeness of the current "ideas in good standing." It is a bit of concern to me that so many decisions have been made and programs created without some effort to make the collection of information which I had presented. At the same time, it has been clear from the analysis of the data available that some of the more basic questions on the education of the Spanish-speaking have not been answered, nor even good guidelines for alternative forms of approaches been developed.

The one direction that is clear is that there are extensive needs for development of information relevant to the formulation of programs to meet the educational needs of the Spanish-speaking. However, collection of this information will take time, and the planner must act now. How can he develop plans which are responsive to the needs of the Spanish-speaking? The planning process can not be

dependent on the information which is available from research, evaluations and surveys. Information must come from people directly involved in the education of the Spanish-speaking. Teachers, teacher-aides and community coordinators must have a role in planning. Also, educators and other knowledgeable people about the problems of the Spanish-speaking must be able to participate. The community people must also be involved, the people in the community concerned about education, parents of children in the program, and the students themselves. Channels must be developed in which the greatest number of people from the widest possible backgrounds can make their opinions heard and be given a chance to participate in the planning for the education of the Spanish-speaking. There are no firm answers or proven methods for the education of the Spanish-speaking.

In the following section, I will present case studies of the various programs which have been developed to meet the needs of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. These studies will show how the project personnel have included people in the planning and implementation of the programs. They will also show how the various questions which have been raised in the review of the information have been faced and resolved. What is the linguistics emphasis in the classes? What methods of instruction are utilized?

Are the classes integrated or segregated? To what extent is the bicultural component of the curriculum developed? What are the components of what is considered to be good education for the Spanish-speaking?

PART II
CASE STUDIES

CHAPTER V
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to describe and analyze the educational planning which has been done for the Spanish-speaking in Boston. In the first section I have tried to describe some of the components of the context in which this planning has taken place. In this section I will present case studies of the various programs which have been created for the Spanish-speaking. The components of the planning process will be investigated: 1) program initiation; 2) initial planning; 3) program operations and planning; 4) parental and community involvement; 5) educational goals.

I have intentionally selected a rather broad focus on the overall planning process for a number of reasons. First, this is the initial study on the subject. Thus it was necessary for me to scan the broadest spectrum of the planning process in order to identify what were the significant themes. Also, as a first study, I think this broad perspective will be more useful and suggestive to others. Furthermore, the planning process which I will be describing is not a highly differentiated function.

There is no educational planner as such; the planning functions tend to be an integral, undistinguished component of the administrative process. And, finally, I was not able in the time I spent on the research for this thesis and in the position of someone outside the system to collect enough information on any one particular aspect of the planning process which would have alone been sufficient as a topic for a thesis.

The planning process up through the end of the case studies which are presented in this thesis has been focused around the initial planning and development of a particular set of programs. There has been no comprehensive planning considered. I will present a description of the programs which have been developed by the school system to respond to the educational needs of the Spanish-speaking. The English Language Center (formerly the Day School for Immigrants) was the one residual program which could be used to help the Spanish-speaking. Created in 1911, the English Language Center continues to perform its original function of English instruction for immigrant adults. The Center is funded by the City and holds classes in a once-condemned schoolhouse in the South End.

The English as a Second Language program was started in 1967 with funding from the federal government under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, a

compensatory education program. In the ESL programs, teachers instruct non-English speaking students for a short period each day, pulling them out of their regular classrooms. The ESL classes are now funded by both the city and the federal government.

The Title VII, ESEA, is the Bilingual Education Act which provides federal assistance for bilingual instruction. Boston was one of the first cities to receive funding under this Title and is presently offering bilingual classes in several schools in the South End and North Dorchester.

The last program to be developed has been the Bilingual Transitional Clusters, a city-funded program. The Clusters have been designed as reception centers for the newly-arrived Spanish-speaking students. There are two Clusters--one in the South End and the other in North Dorchester.

I will also present a case study of the initial planning for an elementary school. The Blackstone School is proposed for the South End and has been designed to specifically serve the Spanish-speaking population of that neighborhood.

Before you start, I have included a list of participants and a schematic representation of the chronology of major events to help orient you and serve as a reference.

A. PARTICIPANTS1. Boston School Department

William Ohrenberger, Superintendent of Schools.

Alice Casey, was Area V Assistant Superintendent during the initial response of the system to the Spanish-speaking. Now is Assistant Superintendent of Special Services.

Jeremiah Botelho, Director, Department of Bilingual Education, responsible to Alice Casey.

Department of Bilingual Education

William Mallon, Vice-Principal in charge of the English Language Center.

Ana Marie Diamond, new project director for English as a Second Language Program, was a Title VII teacher.

Joseph Ford, initial English as a Second Language project director, now with Educational Planning Center.

Martha Shanley Hass, director of Title VII, Bilingual Education program, was an English as a Second Language teacher, reports to Mrs. Carliner, project supervisor, the Office of Education.

Carmen Necheles, Teacher-in-charge of the Bilingual Transitional Clusters, was an English as a Second Language teacher.

Educational Planning Center (EPC), the planning arm of the Boston School Department responsible for proposal development and new school planning. Originally funded under Title III, ESEA and currently scheduled for termination as result of School Committee austerity move.

Roger Beattie, planner who was responsible for the Blackstone School project.

Dave Robinson and Rick Holmes, worked with the Planning Center, developed the "Infill School" proposal which was considered during the Blackstone School planning process.

Public Facilities Commission (PRC), responsible for the construction of the school plant.

Mike Plumer, a consultant to PFC, worked with Roger Beattie in writing the Blackstone proposal.

2. Community Groups

South End Community Educational Council (SECEC), a group concerned about educational reform worked with Roger Beattie on the development of the Blackstone proposal.

Emergency Tenants Council (ETC), a grass-roots organization of the Puerto Rican community in the South End, was concerned about the Blackstone school proposal.

Association for the Protection of the Constitutional Rights of the Spanish-Speaking (APCROSS), the Spanish-speaking arm of the Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD)--the anti-poverty agency; was included in the Ad Hoc Planning group for the Bilingual Clusters, sponsored study on the Spanish-speaking in the South End.

Education Committee of the Spanish-speaking Federation, now in a state of reorganization, played a leadership role in the Ad Hoc Planning group for the Bilingual Clusters, includes most of the key staff in the Bilingual Department and some of the others deeply concerned about educational problems of the Spanish-speaking.

Alianza Hispanica, a new organization which is composed of educators concerned about the problems of the Spanish-speaking; based in North Dorchester, was involved in the Ad Hoc Planning group for the Bilingual Clusters and is pressuring to get one of the clusters moved from its present temporary site.

En La Brecha, a militant, pro-independence organization which has been peripherally involved in education issues; its head was a community coordinator for the Clusters, but was fired.

3. Outsiders

Robert Saites, Professor of Education at Boston University, consultant to the English as a Second Language program and the Title VII program.

Heuristics, Inc., educational evaluators who have worked on the English as a Second Language program and the Title VII program.

Sister Francis Georgia, Consultant on Puerto Rican affairs of the Mayor's Office of Public Services, was instrumental in getting the Bilingual Clusters program started, got Educational Development Center involved in the Clusters issue, one of the most active people.

Educational Development Center, a regional educational laboratory sponsored by the Office of Education, became involved in the Bilingual Clusters program, provided money for the initial training programs for the staff.

Rosly Walter, the main contact from the Educational Development Center with those working on the Bilingual Clusters, wrote the original proposal for the Clusters.

Marvin Cline, professor at Boston University, made an evaluation of the Clusters' training program.

Israel Feliciano, director of Emergency Tenants Council, wanted to get the issue of the site location for the Blackstone school settled so sent his staff to work, but was not interested in educational issues.

John Sharratt, architect, working with Emergency Tenants Council, involved in the drafting of the Blackstone proposal.

Victor Feliciano, President of Emergency Tenants Council, fleeting interest in the educational issues surrounding the Blackstone School.

Nancy Cynamon, Urban Field Service student, worked with Emergency Tenants Council and with the group on the Blackstone School proposal, tried to develop discussion of the educational issues around the Blackstone School, made a community survey.

Linda Feldman, Urban Field Service student who worked with Nancy Cynamon on the Blackstone School program.

CRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS FOR THE
NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING STUDENTS*

| School Year | Total Enrollment** | Total Funding** | PROGRAMS | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|-----------------|--|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| | | | English Language Center (formerly Day School for Immigrants) | Title VII | Bilingual Clusters | Blackstone School |
| 1911-1912 | ? | ? | | | | |
| 1967-1968 | 250 | \$95,329 | | plan & pre development - Title VII | | |
| 1968-1969 | 450 | \$110,000 | | add of funding | planning & proposal development | planning & EDC training |
| 1969-1970 | 1166 | \$434,610 | | | Ad Hoc Group proposal development | proposal development EPC with SECEC & ETC |
| 1970-1971 | 2825 | \$1,331,248 | Department of Bilingual Education | | | ? |

*From William H. Ohrenberger, "Statement Before the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights," May 12, 1971, Mimeographed.

**N.B. Information for all non-English speaking students; Comparable information on Spanish-speaking not available, nor could it be developed from the information available to me.

CHAPTER VI
ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

In many ways the English As a Second Language program is the most difficult of the case studies to present. It is the largest program operating in Boston, with 70 teachers. However, the program is the most fragmented of all the programs in Boston and it is presently undergoing a substantial shift in orientation.

A. PRECEDENTS

New York City schools experienced a large influx of Spanish-speaking students in the post-World War II period. Many of the teaching methods which were developed by the school system have been used as models for other cities and programs. The "C" class, or orientation classes were developed as special elementary level classes for the newly-arrived Puerto Rican students. These classes provide intensive instruction in English and "orientation" to New York City, including American history, health and hygiene, nutrition, and field trips to familiarize the students with the city. At the junior high school level, "V" classes, comparable to the "C" classes, were organized, including a skill level dimension.

Different roles were created to help the new student. One was the "buddy system." A Puerto Rican child who had been in New York for some time would be assigned to help a newcomer. He would translate for him, explain the rules and regulations and give him other tips on how to adjust to the schools. In the schools where there was a high concentration of Puerto Rican enrollment, Substitute Auxiliary Teachers (SAT) were assigned. The SAT's were of Spanish-speaking background, were qualified to teach, but could not pass the speech test required for a regular teacher's license. The particular duties of the SAT were determined by the principal of the school to which she was assigned. It was assumed that a substantial portion of her time would be spent as a liaison between the school, the child and his parents.

English As a Second Language (ESL) was the most widely used method for English language instruction of non-English speakers. In this approach, students with some understanding of English were assigned to regular classrooms. They were pulled-out of the classroom for a short (30 to 60 minute) class daily or at least once a week. The children were given intensive instruction in English, with particular emphasis on speaking and understanding. It was assumed that once the child grasped the oral-aural aspects of the language that reading and writing would develop easily, with sufficient guidance

coming from his regular classroom teacher. The ESL lessons were not integrated into the normal school work.

By the mid-1960's many educators had begun to criticize the ESL approach. They felt that many children in the ESL classes were not receiving sufficient instruction in English to help them in regular classroom work. The children sat through the regular classes understanding little of what was said. As they were very gradually acquiring English in the ESL classes, they were falling behind in other subject matters. They became discouraged. They were held back. And, eventually dropped out of school.

Boston had used the various approaches which had been developed in New York City. By the mid-sixties there was a "buddy system" in a couple of the schools in the South End. However, no "C" or "V" classes were created. Instead, a residual program which was initially designed for the "old" immigrants was used. The Day School for Immigrants (now the English Language Center) was created in 1911. It was designed to teach English to immigrants and even sent English teachers to factories to give classes.

The English Language Center still continues to function, much in the same fashion. English is presently being taught to 390 newly-arrived teenagers between 14 and 18 years old, and to adults. There are 37 different

countries represented in the student body, with approximately 30% Spanish-speakers, half of whom are Puerto Rican. The teaching of English continues in the traditional manner, stressing purely cognitive development and English grammar. It is the goal of the program that the students who remain in the school for a full year will be capable of speaking English well enough to enter the regular school classroom or find a job.

The English Language Center's age shows. It is located in the Rice School in the South End. The building was condemned in the early sixties but was reopened to house the Center.¹ The crumbling Victorian structure was not fully rehabilitated and is not well maintained. Windows are broken, the desks (somewhat too small for adults and teenagers) are bolted to the worn wooden floors, the classrooms are overcrowded, and some spaces are not being utilized at all for lack of funds to rehabilitate them.

The operations of the school have also been neglected. It is very evident that the Center is low in priority within the school system. It is understaffed, headed by a vice-principal, lacks special

¹By 1962 the Rice School had already been abandoned. It and the adjacent school were recommended for demolition in a report sponsored by the School Committee. Cyril Sargent, "Boston Schools - 1962" (Boston School Committee, n.d., Mimeographed), p. 11-16.

services, materials and relevant teacher-training programs, and is underfunded.² The Center also seems to be politically isolated. Decisions pertaining to its operations such as the age levels of those eligible to attend the school, are made without consultation of the vice-principal or any one else on the staff.³

The English Language Center was inadequate to meet the growing needs for schooling for the Spanish-speaking. The program was designed for adults. New programs had to be created for the children.

B. PROGRAM INITIATION

In the fall of 1967, the Boston Public Schools initiated an English As a Second Language program. The impetus for the program came from two sources:

1. The passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965. One of the programs eligible under Title I of this Act was ESL.

2. An ad-hoc committee from the South End urged the school system to make application for ESL as one way to start a concerted effort to respond to the

²See a series of memoranda from William Mallon to Alice Casey, re: Space Report, Personnel Budget, and Intensive Training, dated 3 November 1970.

³Interview with William Mallon, 29 November 1970.

educational needs of the growing number of non-English speaking students in the schools.⁴

The school staff saw that the ESL approach was one way to respond to the non-English speaking students and knew that funds were available to finance the program. Thus, an application was made, and eventually, funds received.

At this time, it does not seem that the system was committed to the development of a full program for all non-English speaking students nor did the school system see that the responsibility for such an effort was totally theirs. In a memorandum of 1967, an Assistant Superintendent asserted,

The teaching of English as a Second Language should be encouraged if not required in all schools in Puerto Rico. This should alleviate the language difficulty greatly when Puerto Rican families decide to migrate to the United States.⁵

C. PROGRAM OPERATIONS AND PLANNING

Initially the ESL program lacked space and coordination. The ESL classes were added on to the normal demand for classroom space. Therefore they were allocated

⁴I was not able to obtain information on this effort. The Assistant Superintendent who talked with the ad hoc group is deceased. The members of the group (M. I. T. Professor Frank Bonilla and VISTA volunteer Cecilia Rostow) have since moved from the city.

⁵Boston Public Schools, "Revised and Expanded Language Programs for non-English Speaking Pupils" (n.d., Mimeographed).

to unused, unwanted areas, often in basements, hallways, closets and other such places. In addition, the original teachers had no supervisory staff. Each teacher was left to her own ingenuity to develop lesson plans. Many sought help from a teacher in South Boston who had been teaching Spanish-speaking students for several years. Eventually this teacher could not respond to all the teachers' needs for assistance and a psychological examiner was named to head the program.

Since 1967, Boston's ESL program has grown; the problems have remained the same. There is still the problem of adequate space. Evaluators writing about the 1969-1970 school program said,

Generally the instruction took place in an atmosphere which, though not ideal, was not detrimental to instruction. However, in some instances ESL instruction was relegated to a setting which would have challenged the skills of the most remarkable teachers.⁶

The ESL program still remains without strong supervision. The psychological examiner was transferred to the Educational Planning Center in early 1970. From then until February 1971 there was no one person responsible for the overall program operation, coordination or planning. The new supervisor is a Mexican-American,

⁶Heuristics, Inc., "Evaluation of the English As a Second Language Program of the Boston Public Schools, 1969-1970" (Dedham, Massachusetts: October 1970) Mimeographed, p. 3.

former Title VII bilingual teacher and president of Alianza Hispanica, a group of concerned Spanish-speaking educators. Her job will be difficult because of the relationship of the program to the school system, the existence of two funding sources, and differences within the staff in terms of teaching methods.

The positions of the ESL program within the school system created a situation similar to being between "the devil and the deep blue sea." The "devil" (or devils in this case) are the principals of each school where there is an ESL teacher. As presently organized, ESL teachers are responsible to the principal, and secondarily to the ESL supervisor. Some principals have been very uncooperative with the new supervisor, and in theory could prevent her from seeing the ESL teachers during school hours. The principals can prevent the ESL teachers from making home visits and having meetings with parents. Finally, the ESL classes are often misused by the school administration. They are seen as dumping grounds for the problem students, a way to get them out of the classroom at least for a short period during the day.

The "deep blue sea" is the Title I office in the State Department of Education. The administration and funding of the federally-sponsored portion of the local ESL program is directed from the state level. The ESL

program is just a small project among the many Title I projects. (Overall fiscal 1969 spending on ESL represented only 1.9% of the Title I expenditures.)⁷ And the Boston ESL program is just one of many in the state.

The funding mechanism is an obstacle to the development of a cohesive program. The Boston ESL project is composed of two sets of teachers--those funded by the Boston School Department (45 teachers) and those funded under Title I (20 teachers). In essence there are two programs masquerading as one. Those teachers funded under Title I are the rich cousins. They have many advantages that federal money can buy: there are 9 teaching aides, 3 community coordinators, in-service training programs, a \$9.20/hour stipend for all meetings attended, and sufficient audio-visual aids. The Boston teachers have none of these. As a result, the two groups

⁷Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, History of Title I, ESEA (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 28. The Title I Division of the Office of Education had tried to encourage the local and state educational agencies to allocate additional funds to the non-English speakers but there was little response. Commissioner Howe wrote a memorandum in March 1968 with the following directive:

"Every applicant should be aware of the needs of the non-English speaking and bilingual children who live in the eligible attendance areas. Special efforts should be made to meet the needs of these children through Title I or through another program in order that they may learn to participate fully in the life of their community. The strengths of their ethnic backgrounds should be utilized in the development of special programs related to their needs."

(Memorandum from Harold Howe, II, to Chief State School Officers, March 18, 1968, in Title I, ESEA Program Guides Numbers 44 and 45A, Office of Education, Department

have different lesson plans and can develop different approaches to teaching ESL. There has never been an effort made to bring all the ESL teachers together for a meeting. Such a meeting would be difficult to arrange; it would have to be held after school hours, and the Boston teachers (who do not receive a meeting stipend) would less likely attend and probably be resentful of their paid federally-funded counterparts.

Another problem with the present funding mechanism is that it is virtually impossible to determine exactly what the program costs. Cost figures for the program are scattered in at least three different places: the Title I department, the various principals' offices, and the school system's central business office. Each of these positions can account for some of the expenditures, but none is responsible for bringing together all the figures to show what the program costs nor the costs of program components. Each fragment of the expenditures

of Health, Education and Welfare, May 1970, p. 9.)

This encouragement seems to have had little effect on the Department of Education in Massachusetts. In the guidelines used by the state somewhat after the memorandum, there is not a repetition of Howe's statement nor even mention of the possibility of use of Title I funds for non-English speaking children. (Guidelines Title I of Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Public Law 89-10 developed by the Department of Education of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, July 1968, Mimeographed.)

is subject to different decision-making processes.

Thus, different decision processes are responsible for overall decisions about the allocation of federal and local funds at different times of the year. One group makes the basic Title I budget decision in May and June, and another group makes basic budget decisions regarding local funds for the same schools in December and January. Two different budgetary years are involved, as are two sets of administrative decision-making processes. And in each process is fragmentation of decision-making power.⁸

There is one further categorization of ESL teachers which divides them. In the 1970-71 school year there were 20 bilingual-method ESL teachers; 30 ESL teachers of elementary school; and 25 ESL teachers of high school. The bilingual-method teachers have their own self-contained classrooms. They teach in the mother tongue and English for half of each day. The mother tongue is used as a basis for the development of English with the help of contrastive analysis. If a particular grammatical concept is not understood, it would be taught first in the native tongue, and then the lesson would be drawn from that understanding to demonstrate the usage in English.

The pull-out ESL teachers will have different concerns depending on the age group with which they are

⁸Joseph M. Cronin, Organizing an Urban School System for Diversity (Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, 1970, Mimeographed), p. 239.

working and the linguistic mixture in the classroom. It is not unusual for a teacher to have more than two language groups in the classroom.⁹

For the coming school year there is yet another classification which will be added: a master teacher. The master teachers will be those who have experience with ESL teaching. They will act as trainers and supervisors of the less-experienced teachers. There are 100 ESL teachers proposed for the 1971-72 school years.

With this vast differentiation of approaches it is not surprising that evaluators of the program found there was a lack of a basic pattern of instruction,

. . . there ought to have been some underlying instructional techniques. The observation of the teachers seemed to indicate that if a pattern of instruction existed, it was too heavily dependent upon the individual teacher's planning, rather than from direction offered by a central source. Without direction from a central source, such a widely diffused program as ESL in the Boston Schools appeared to be in danger of instructional disintegration.¹⁰

The lack of basic pattern of instruction might actually be an asset. It would mean the teachers would

⁹In November, 1967, there were 477 students in the ESL program. The language breakdown was 297 Spanish-speaking, 44 Chinese, 23 Portuguese, 20 Greek, 4 French, 3 Italian, 2 Lebanese, 2 Turkish and 43 from the mainland (language unspecified) and 5 unknown. In April, 1969, there were 727 students; the breakdown was 506 Spanish-speaking, 40 Italians, 30 Portuguese, 17 Greek, 10 French, 4 Japanese, 4 Arabic, 3 Korean, 2 Lebanese and 1 Norwegian. (Boston Public Schools, "Report of Survey of November, 1967 and April 1969, on English as a Second Language," n.d., Mimeographed.)

¹⁰Heuristics, Inc., "Evaluation 1969-1970," p. 7.

have freedom to innovate and develop their teaching to respond to the specific needs of their students. However, it seems as if most of the teachers are not familiar enough with teaching techniques to provide them with a sound foundation for innovation.

Teachers indicated uncertainty about the objectives of instruction, questioned the general organization of the ESL program in the Boston schools and indirectly demonstrated a desire for a more concerted instructional strategy because they overwhelmingly felt that new ESL teachers needed special training before engaging in ESL instruction.¹¹

D. PARENTAL AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The ESL program has incorporated one of the components of the New York City program--the Substitute Auxiliary Teacher. Under the present programs the SAT is referred to as a teachers-aide. Initially under ESL the teachers-aides served two functions: 1) assistant in the classroom; and 2) liaison with the parents of children in the ESL classes. Members of the Spanish-speaking community were hired to fill these positions.

During this past year there were 16 teacher-aides under the ESL program. A new position was also created --that of community field coordinator. The aides now remain close to the classroom, serving as teachers'

¹¹Heuristics, Inc., "Evaluation 1969-1970," p. 16.

assistants. The community field coordinators serve the liaison function with the parents and community.

There are three city-wide Title I Advisory Councils. These councils are elected from parents of students enrolled in Title I classes. They oversee the operations of the Title I programs and make recommendations. There are no Spanish-speaking representatives on these Councils. Nor is there any other mechanism for including the parents of the ESL students in program planning or decision-making.

E. EDUCATIONAL GOALS

In the evaluations of the ESL program, the evaluators found that there was general lack of understanding of program goals and absence of clearly stated program objectives.¹² In a program that is as fragmented as the ESL program and one that has not had strong leadership, lack of a clear statement of program goals and objectives is to be expected.

At present the ESL program is in a state of transition. It is yet to be determined whether this transition will be guided by goals set by the staff and community people. The transition is being instigated now because the idealized conception of the ESL approach

¹²Ibid., p.15; and Heuristics, Inc., "Evaluation of the English As a Second Language Program of the Boston Public Schools, 1968-1969," (Dedham, Massachusetts: August, 1969, Mimeographed), p. 2.

has not been successful. Many children have fallen behind in school and have dropped out because ESL alone was not sufficient support for their academic endeavor. Further, in high density areas such as the South End and North Dorchester, often half the children in the classroom will need some kind of help. In this kind of situation where there is such a widespread need, ESL is not the answer. The regular teacher can not pursue a standard curriculum when half the children can not understand what she is saying, while at the same time she has not been trained to teach ESL. Therefore, in the future there will probably be a greater number of bilingual classes. Also, it is probable that the program will be used in conjunction with or as follow-up to other bilingual programs, such as Title VII and the Bilingual Clusters. Finally, there will be a growing differentiation of the kinds of teachers included in the program.

The challenge to the ESL project director is to lessen the destructive fragmenting tendencies within the program while responding to a wide variety of educational needs. To achieve the necessary balance, program goals need to be defined and clearly stated.

CHAPTER VII
TITLE VII, BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Bilingual education is the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction . . . [and] includes the study of history and culture associated with mother tongue.¹

Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was passed to provide federal assistance to bilingual education projects.

The Boston Title VII program has been operating for two years. During that time the differences in outlook between the federal government and the local project have been one of the major issues. The other has been the effort to develop community involvement in the project.

A. PROGRAM INITIATION

After several years of implementation of the English as a Second Language Program under Title I,

¹"Programs under Bilingual Education Act (Title VII, ESEA), Manual for Project Applicants and Grantees," 20 March 1970, draft Mimeographed, p. 2. Henceforth referred to as Project Manual.

educators and others concerned about the problems of the non-English speaking children began to pressure for change. It had become evident that ESL was not a high priority program under Title I funding and many educators were dissatisfied with the limited pedagogical methods of ESL. Bilingual education was advocated.

In 1967, Senator Yarborough of Texas introduced an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act providing for the creation of a bilingual education program. The Bilingual Education Act (Title VII) was passed with little opposition in Congress.² Appropriations were not approved until the following year, and then at a level substantially below the amount requested.³

Title VII was conceived of as a five-year program to gain knowledge and guidance for the development of bilingual education. The funds were to be spent on

²U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, A Bill to Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to provide Assistance to local educational agencies in establishing bilingual American educational programs and to provide certain other assistance to promote such programs, Hearings, before a subcommittee of Bilingual Education, Senate, on S. 428, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1967; and U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Education and Labor, Bills to Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to assist Bilingual Education Programs, Hearings, before a subcommittee on Education, House, on H.R. 9840 and H.R. 10224, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1967.

³"Politics: Passage of the Bilingual Act," The Center Forum, Vol. 4, No. 1 (September, 1969), for detail on the political pressure behind passage and funding of Title VII.

1) demonstration projects, and 2) research. The term "bilingual education" was not defined in the Act, leaving the administrators with wide latitude for action. However, over time the implementation of the Title has changed from its original intent. The Bilingual Office of the Office of Education has focused on project development; research has virtually been abandoned. Furthermore, the Office has developed its own definition of bilingual education which denies funding of many innovative approaches.⁴

The Office of Education has retained discretionary and supervisory powers over the implementation of Title VII. These powers were allocated to the States in the previous ESEA titles. Under Title VII, the state is merely kept informed of the project operations and may make recommendations about the project to the Office of Education.

It must be emphasized here that Title VII is not an act for the support of a national policy of bilingualism. Its incorporation into the Elementary and Secondary Education Act delineated its function as an anti-poverty program. Programs and funds are limited to low-income

⁴The guidelines for Title VII are in the Project Manual. The actual operational guidelines deviate from the formally delineated ones found in the manual.

target areas where there are a substantial number of non-English speakers. English acquisition (without the loss of mother tongue and culture) is seen as the way to break the cycle of poverty.

These people need bilingual education because this is the only way they can be reached. If any system of communication doesn't work we do not certainly rely on it. But if we cannot communicate with others in English we have placed the blame and responsibility on the noncommunicators. It is impossible to educate--by that I mean literally to lead out--those with whom we can not communicate.⁵

B. INITIAL PLANNING

In Boston, a VISTA volunteer heard about the passage of the Title VII Act. She spoke with an ESL teacher, Martha Shanley (now Martha Hass) about the potential for the program in Boston. Miss Shanley presented the idea to the Area Superintendent who also agreed that there was a need for such a program in Boston. Miss Shanley was released from her teaching position and put in charge of drawing up the proposal.

The funding proposal was shaped from four sources:

1. The guidelines issued by the Bilingual Office.

⁵Robert Roeming, "Bilingualism and the National Interest," in Report of the Twenty-First Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies: Bilingualism and Language Contact: Anthropological, Linguistic, Psychological and Sociological Aspects, ed. by James E. Alatis (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970) p. 373.

2. Miss Shanley's own experiences as an ESL teacher.

3. Discussions with various people from the South End who supported bilingual education and with whom the VISTA volunteer was working. They met together to discuss the proposal. However, Mrs. Hass felt that they had limited information and understanding of the problems.⁶ There were two major issues that the community people were concerned about: the low salaries of the teacher-aides, and hot lunches. The issue of the salaries was settled with a proposal that they receive \$3.00 per hour, with no benefits. The hot lunch issue was dropped when it was realized that such a program might create more trouble than it was worth. For example, other children in the school might not be getting lunches (hot or cold) and this would lead to antipathy between the haves and the have-nots.⁷

4. Dr. Robert Saites from Boston University had been a consultant to the ESL program, and was brought in to help write the Title VII proposal. He did research on materials which were available, developed class scheduling, and went to Puerto Rico to assay resources there.

The Area Superintendent was also instrumental in shaping the initial proposal. She worked closely

⁶Interview with Martha Hass, 11 February 1971.

⁷Ibid.

with Miss Shanley. She performed a system review function, considering the acceptability of the proposal and operational feasibility from the system's perspective.

The Bilingual Office funded the Boston proposal and Miss Shanley was named project director.

C. PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

The Title VII program in Boston was one of the first to be funded. It has been in operation for two years. During this time, the program has become differentiated and has developed in three major areas: classes for bilingual education, parental and community involvement, and curriculum development.

1. Bilingual classes. There are eight bilingual classes and one bilingual-social readjustment class in the second year of project operations.

The eight regular classes can be categorized by the different approaches to bilingual education. There

are three classes which are linguistically integrated and five classes which have only Spanish-speaking students, four of which have cooperating English-speaking classes.

The integrated classes are composed of an equal number of English and Spanish-speaking pupils. These groups are separated for communication skills development by primary language groups. There is an effort to teach the language of one group to the other. There are joint activities such as art, science, games and singing.

In the all Spanish-speaking classes the children are taught communications skill and subject matter initially in Spanish with English taught intensively as a subject. As the children develop their English competency, it is gradually introduced as the instructional medium. The cooperating classes are the same age level and composed of all English-speaking children. The regular teacher and the bilingual teacher exchange classes for a short period each day during which the regular teacher teaches English to the Spanish-speaking students and the bilingual teacher teaches Spanish to the English-speaking students.

These two approaches to bilingual education are representative of the majority of programs funded under Title VII. However, as we have seen, there is no pure bilingual class. The English-speaking children in the

integrated classes will not learn as much Spanish as their Spanish-speaking counterparts will learn English.

The Boston program is designed as a cumulative effort. Children do not learn enough English to function easily in an English-only class in one year. Hence, the project was created to provide the same children with a program which lasts for at least two years. Theoretically, expansion of the project was designed to be vertical, not horizontal. However, the project director has had to compromise with this goal because of the high mobility of the student population. Only 40 out of the 120 students who were in the first year program continued in the second year.⁸

Most of the materials available are inappropriate for the use in bilingual education for Puerto Rican children. Thus, the staff has spent some time in curriculum development. Most of the curriculum development is done by each teacher on her own time as she prepared her lesson plans. Support and guidance for such development is often the function of weekly in-service staff meetings. Any materials and other aids for curriculum development are adequately provided for under Title VII funding.

⁸Ibid.

The science teacher is hired to teach part time; the remainder of her time is allocated to development of appropriate materials. She has kept a log of the classes she has taught, materials used, and children's reactions to her presentations. The Educational Development Center may publish this log, which will be a useful guide for other bilingual science teachers.

Overall, the day-to-day operations of the Title VII project are shaped by the individual teachers and the staff. The teachers are all experienced in bilingual education and they are given flexibility to develop their own approaches. The staff meets weekly to discuss a wide-range of project-related topics. "These meetings focus on human growth and development of the teachers and of the students."⁹ These discussions guide and support the teachers in their own classroom work and give the project director information about the status of the project.

⁹Other areas of the topics of these discussions were "goals of bilingual education; effective utilization of classroom aides; identification and referral of emotionally disturbed children; need for curriculum development in Spanish history and culture; attitudes and values that bear on interaction between teacher and pupil; need for continuous evaluation of each child; methods of individualizing instruction; problems with non-program staff members." Heuristics, Inc. "Evaluation of the Title VII Bilingual Education Project, 1969-1970, Boston Public Schools" (Dedham, Massachusetts: August, 1970, Mimeographed), p. 10.

The project director has primary responsibility for project operations. The input for her decision-making comes from a) the staff meetings; b) discussions with individuals involved in the program; and c) frequent observation of the classrooms. She acts on an incremental basis, by offering suggestions, drawing from her own teaching experience. She also synthesizes information from all these sources to guide the planning of the program and its development.

D. PARENTAL AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Members of the community are directly involved in the program as teacher aides. There are 7 aides. The position of the aide is based on two goals:

- 1) provision of greater individualized instruction for the pupils; and
- 2) providing the children with someone from their own community who can support their transition from family to school and who can act as a linguistic and cultural interpreter.

The aides are paraprofessionals who have little or no training or experience in teaching. Most of their training takes place in the classroom, growing out of the

relationship between the teacher and the teacher-aide. The project director would like to develop a summer training program for the teacher-aides but has not been able to find funding.

The second year of the program saw the addition to the staff of a community coordinator. Her role is two-fold: 1) increase parental participation in the project; and, 2) adult education. The coordinator has contacted parents of children in four classes in the South End and has encouraged them to come to the Title VII classrooms.¹⁰ She is able to offer an incentive: the parents receive \$2.50 an hour, plus transportation and day care costs. The parents are welcomed by the coordinator to the classroom and are encouraged to take an active role in the classroom events. The teachers try to make the parents feel at ease and include them in the instruction, being sure that the parents as well as the students understand the lesson.¹¹ About twenty parents have participated in the classroom, with some attending regularly.¹²

¹⁰ Though the classes are located in the South End, half of the parents live in North Dorchester, making contact and coordination difficult.

¹¹ Interview with Kelley O'Rourke, January 7, 1971.

¹² A recent success story was the day 8 women attended a class in sub-zero weather. A truly remarkable event for people accustomed to a tropical climate.

The community coordinator also tutors the parents in their homes. This program component was created to teach parents of the participating children English so the children could have support for their own English language development in the home. However, most of the parents come from limited educational backgrounds and the community coordinator spends most of her time teaching basic Spanish literacy.¹³

One of the long range goals of the parental involvement component is the formation of a project advisory group, which is required in the Bilingual Office project guidelines.¹⁴ The coordinators had a couple of meetings with parents, but there was only limited attendance. Those who came seemed to enjoy the opportunity to meet other parents.¹⁵ But, this group is a long way from the envisioned advisory group.

D. EDUCATIONAL GOALS

The staff has not been free to develop the educational goals of the Title VII program. The project must comply with the general operational guidelines set up by the Bilingual Office of the Office of Education.

¹³Interview with Linda Gilbrandsen, 29 January 1971.

¹⁴Project Manual, pp. 67-68.

¹⁵Interview with Linda Gilbrandsen, 29 January 1971.

However, these guidelines have varied considerably during the past two years, and they have been interpreted by four different project supervisors who have been responsible for the Boston project. Thus, the federal intervention into the Boston project for the purpose of influencing program planning and implementation has been sporadic and often incoherent.

The major issue in the brief history of the Boston Title VII project has been the discordant relationship between the local project and the Bilingual Office of the Office of Education. It is difficult to describe this relationship precisely since it has fluctuated greatly. However, at an overall level, it can be said that there have been three primary concerns of the Bilingual Office with regard to project implementation. These three areas of contention are integration, individualized instruction and performance objectives. The position of the Office on these concerns has frequently been a nuisance or actually obstructive to the implementation of the local project.

1. Integration. One of the areas of wide disparity of opinions on bilingual education is on classroom composition. Many educators feel that the classroom should be integrated: composed of English and non-English speakers. Rationales for the integrated

approach can be classified into two groups. Some feel that the close exposure to the other language group in the classroom will motivate the children to learn the second language, provide peer models, and give opportunities for its usage, such as during recess, lunch, and other times of informal contact. Others who support the integrated approach do so for social reasons. They feel that segregated classes promote isolation of the non-English speaking children and often tend to be discriminatory. Linguistic integration of the classroom is seen as the chance for equal educational opportunity and as the child's first step toward assimilation. The end goal of the integrated educational process is the children's linguistic, social and/or cultural integration into the larger society.

The other approach is the creation of special, segregated classes for the non-English speakers. The rationale for this approach is based primarily on pedagogical terms. With segregated classes, the children can receive special attention and specially trained teachers and will move more rapidly toward acquisition of English. These classes offer a supportive environment between the home and the entrance into the regular school and English-speaking society. Other advocates of the segregated approach see it as the method for promotion of language and cultural maintenance. Through

the segregated class, the child will have an opportunity to develop language skills in his mother tongue and learn about his history and culture. In this way the child will be able to develop a positive self-image and understand his own identity separate from the larger society. Therefore, the segregation approach can have several goals; it may aim for eventual integration into the larger society or language and cultural maintenance and, perhaps, separation.

The Bilingual Office has been a wavering advocate for the integrated classroom. The basis for this policy has not been delineated by the Office. (In fact, the Office's position has been challenged for its legality.)¹⁶ Unquestionably the position of the Office is linked to racial integration. The issue has not been clearly delineated to its linguistic and racial components and therefore has been confused, because the term integration has a racial connotation. The real issues--racial and linguistic integration/segregation--have not been evaluated in terms of which provides the most effective method for education of the non-English speaker.

¹⁶New York Commissioner of Education questions the legality of the Bilingual Office's stand on integrated classes. He maintained that this policy-making function is a Congressional responsibility, and would apply to all the actions of the Office of Education, not just to the Bilingual Office. He said, "We assume that funds for the bilingual program are to be allocated for the purpose of strengthening education for bilingual Americans, whether or not 'desegregation' is involved." New York Times, 1 January 1971.

The policy of the Bilingual Office has created problems for the Boston project. First, the commitment to the policy has greatly fluctuated, up to the extreme that no project would be funded if all the classes were not integrated. With such fluctuation, it has been difficult for the local project to determine the real importance of classroom integration and thus has not known where to place it within the planning priorities. Furthermore, the implementation of the integrated classroom is difficult. It has been hard for the project director to locate English-speaking parents who want their children to participate in the project. Also, there is some reluctance to make a total commitment to the integrated approach on the part of the project director. The director does feel that this method is the best for language development, but she also feels that the Spanish-speaking child can be put at a disadvantage.¹⁷ These children start off first grade behind the English-speaking children who have been to kindergarten or to a Head Start program. Placing them in the same classroom is unfair to the Spanish-speaking child and may have long-lasting detrimental effects. The other problem with this method is that the Bilingual Office has been unwilling to

¹⁷Interview with Martha Hass, 10 December 1970.

fund salaries for two teachers for each class. This means that in the typical classroom situation with a teacher and a teachers-aide, the Spanish-speaking children will be in an inferior learning situation. They will be taught by the teachers-aide who speaks Spanish, while the teacher, who speaks English, will work primarily with the English-speaking children. Until the Bilingual Office is willing to fund two teachers per class, the project director is unwilling to make a total project commitment to the integration approach to bilingual education.¹⁸

2. Individualized Instruction. The Bilingual Office has emphasized the importance of individualized instruction in bilingual education.¹⁹ No one in the local project would disagree with this position. The problem is implementation. As mentioned above, the Office is not willing to fund two teachers per classroom, which would bring the project closer to realization of individualized instruction. In addition, the Office has not felt responsible for funding of a teacher-aide summer institute which would provide the aides with teaching skills so they could assume greater and more effective teaching roles in the classroom.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Project Manual, pp. 36-37.

Finally, the Office has not recognized the inconsistency between the required project evaluation, which is a summary statement of class progress, and the kind of evaluation which would be more consistent with individualized instruction, focusing in on each child's individual progress.

3. Performance objectives. In order to demonstrate project accountability, the Bilingual Office has insisted on statements of performance objectives. Delineation of these objectives are expected in two areas--instructional or operational products, and instructional or operational processes. The project supervisors have consistently insisted on compilation of these objectives. (This position is supported by the guidelines in the project manual.)²⁰ However, formation of these objectives seems to be bothersome to the teaching staff because of the ambiguity of the level of expected specificity, inability to understand the necessity for this work, and frustration with the time that must be spent when there seem to be other, more important things to be done.

The use of these performance objective statements is unclear. The Bilingual Office staff does seem to feel

²⁰Ibid., pp. 40-42.

that they have an intrinsic value, that it is good for the project personnel to do them.²¹ In truth, these statements seem best to serve to simplify (and also limit) the evaluators' task, because only those performances which are measurable in the first place are recorded.

Underlying the difference on the three issues discussed above seems to be a fundamental lack of understanding between the local project and the Bilingual Office. This misunderstanding is based on an unrealistic perception of the other's role, potential, and constraints. The project supervisor is guided by policies set at the federal level which do not seem to reflect the realities of the Boston project (and probably most other projects). The Bilingual Office insists on selective compliance to its guidelines in situations which are not tenable, at least in the short run, and especially when there is not necessary funding from the Office to support such compliance.²²

At the local level there is some misunderstanding as to the nature of the Title VII programming. It is not

²¹Interview with Mrs. Carliner, 1 December 1970.

²²The Bilingual Office has selectively enforced its own guidelines. Threats of suspension of funding have been used for segregated classrooms. At the same time no mention has been made about the non-existence of the project advisory groups, as outlined in the guidelines. In fact, not one of the bilingual programs has such an advisory group. Ibid.

a funding mechanism similar to Title I. Rather, it is a discretionary, demonstration program with certain guidelines to which a few selected projects must comply. The program was not designed to try to meet the needs of the many non-English speaking children. It was designed to work systematically and closely with a few projects and a few children. The local project staff sees the great number of children who need bilingual education, knowing that they can only reach a few. The disparity is difficult for them to accept.

CHAPTER VIII
BILINGUAL TRANSITIONAL CLUSTERS

The case study of the formation and operations of the Bilingual Transitional Clusters is illustrative of two basic components of educational planning--citizen involvement and goal setting. People outside the school system initiated the Clusters program and were the main force during the initial planning period. Their involvement indicates the degree to which outsiders can have influence on the educational programs and set significant precedents for the future.

The events of the operation of the Clusters illustrate the problems of educational goal setting. The educational goals--the definition of what constitutes good education and the direction the children should go--have not been resolved in the Clusters. The project staff have differing perceptions of the program goals. These differences have created tensions which have not been addressed. While the Clusters case is particularly illustrative of the problem of setting goals, this problem is probably inherent in all the programs for the Spanish-speaking.

A. PROGRAM INITIATION

The formation of the Bilingual Clusters was initiated and directed by forces outside the Boston Public Schools. By the summer of 1969, the discussions around the creation of the Title VII program and increasing awareness of the irrelevancy and inadequacy of the schools' efforts to meet the needs of the Spanish-speaking children had promoted an atmosphere on which outsiders were able to capitalize and eventually help establish the Bilingual Clusters. Two key participants in formation of the Clusters were Sister Francis Georgia, the consultant for Puerto Rican affairs to the Mayor's Office of Public Service (OPS), and the Boston Resource Team of the Educational Development Center (EDC). Sister Francis Georgia had contacted EDC for some assistance for a school in South Boston which was experiencing an influx of Spanish-speaking students. The Associate Superintendent for Elementary Education seconded the invitation to EDC by suggesting that they could provide valuable assistance to the school system by helping to develop bilingual programs, similar to those proposed under Title VII.¹ EDC accepted. It

¹Memorandum to Jack Alexander from Mary Lela Sherburne, re: Meeting of 16 April 1969 with Miss Mary Vaughan, Boston School System, dated 23 April 1969. Educational Development Center files.

provided some assistance to the school and helped to develop a bilingual summer program for South Boston.²

During the same summer, Rosly Walter from EDC made a compilation of the data from various studies of the Spanish-speaking in Boston.³ She deduced that there were approximately 5,000 school-aged children in Boston, and up to 2850 were not attending school.⁴ She charged that the school system was to blame; the system had not developed adequate programs for the Spanish-speaking children. She proposed a new program for the Spanish-speaking: a bilingual transitional cluster. Her proposal included possible goals, location, enrollment, personnel, and cost estimates for 25 bilingual classrooms.

The Area Superintendent's response to the bilingual clusters proposal was reserved. She felt that there was a lack of hard data to support the claim that a large number of children were not in school.

²Boston Resource Team, Educational Development Center, "Notes on the Chronological Development of Transitional Bilingual Clusters in Boston Public Schools" (August, 1969, Mimeographed). Also see Reverend John J. Connell, "Proposal for a Bilingual Summer Program for Children in South Boston" (20 April 1969, Mimeographed), and "Evaluation of the Bilingual Program" (Summer, 1969, Mimeographed).

³Rosly Walter, "Proposal for Bilingual Transitional Clusters within Boston Public School Districts" (draft, 7 August 1969, Mimeographed).

⁴Ibid., p. 5.

She also expressed concern that the system could not initiate a new program because there was inadequate space for the classes. Both of these responses-- skepticism about the large number of children out of school and lack of space for the Spanish-speaking-- continued to be the system's response to the Clusters proposal throughout the effort to start the program.⁵

A group of educational leaders concerned about the Spanish-speaking rallied around the EDC bilingual clusters proposal. In August they began their drive to see that the system enact the proposal. Individuals from EDC, Office of Public Service, Archdiocesan Planning Office for Urban Affairs, Old Boston College High School, and the Spanish-speaking Federation met singly and in groups with the head of the School Committee, State Commission of Education, Deputy Mayor of Boston, Superintendent of Schools, and Director of Administrative Services of Boston. Their aim was singular: to enact the bilingual clusters proposal. Their claim for the necessity of the program rested on the EDC estimation that there were 2850 Spanish-speaking children not attending school.

⁵Racial Imbalance has not been an issue in bilingual education. The school system can justify the temporary segregation of any group if special education is necessary. Hence, the importance of the "transitional" word in the title of the project.

The result of this extensive lobbying for the cluster was the consideration of the cluster proposal in the August 20, 1969 School Committee meeting. The outcome was classical. After an hour of debate, a vote of intent was unanimously passed.⁶ Then a vote was passed to write a letter to Mayor White to ask him for the requested \$100,000, since there was no money available in the 1969 school budget.⁷ In the letter, the School Committee tried to shift the burden of responsibility to the Mayor.

The Committee also instructed me to remind you that it is compelled under the law to provide education for all children between the ages of 7 and 16, and that failure to provide funds requested would preclude the Committee from meeting its obligations. Your Honor would then be an instrument in making it impossible for the School Committee to comply fully with the compulsory attendance law.⁸

The barrier to implementation had become money; the problem was--who had the money for the clusters. The advocates for the bilingual program went back and

⁶The vote of intent fooled Sister Francis Georgia and others at the meeting. They thought it was a vote passing the proposal. Instead it is a standard preliminary vote which is later followed by the approval vote. Many hours were spent trying to figure out what really happened at the meeting and trying to get copies of the minutes. Interview with Sister Francis Georgia, 5 March 1970.

⁷The school fiscal year is the calendar year.

⁸Letter from Mr. Winter, Secretary to the School Committee, to Kevin White, Mayor of Boston, dated 22 August 1969. Educational Development Center files.

forth between the City and the School Committee, with each claiming that they had no money and confidentially offering assurances that the other had sufficient funds.⁹

Help came from an unexpected source. Committed to following through with its effort, EDC voted in September to provide the School Committee with \$60,000 for the implementation of the Bilingual Clusters proposal. The conditions were

1. The School Committee had to vote for the inclusion of the bilingual program for 1970;
2. The funds were to be used for teacher and staff and program preparation;
3. The system would agree to continue the teachers and staff trained by EDC in the bilingual schools.¹⁰

At the School Committee meeting of 14 October 1969 the proposal for the Bilingual Cluster and budgetary allocation of \$200,000 for the fiscal year 1970 was unanimously approved.

⁹Mr. Winter told Sister Francis Georgia that "the Committee's vote of intent really meant that no program was possible unless the Mayor voted the money. Mr. Kerrigan [sponsor of the proposal] knew all along that the city would be unable to give any money." Boston Resource Team, Educational Development Center, "Chronological Development," pp. 20-21.

¹⁰Letter and Memorandum to William Ohrenberger from Mary Lela Sherburne, 19 September 1969. Educational Development Center files. There was an additional constraint: funds had to be used prior to 30 November 1969, because of EDC's budgetary guidelines set by the Office of Education. Extension of these funds was approved through December 1969 by the Office of Education.

B. INITIAL PLANNING

The advocates of the Bilingual Clusters were able to step into a unique situation. The school system did not have the personnel, funds, or interest to lay the ground work for the Clusters. The advocates were able to step into this vacuum and take charge of the initial planning of the Clusters. A loosely-knit ad hoc planning group was formed which included members of three Spanish-speaking community organizations (the Spanish-speaking Federation, the Alianza Hispanica, and the Association for the Protection of the Constitutional Rights of the Spanish-speaking), staff from EDC, the South End Neighborhood Action Program, Denison House (a settlement house in North Dorchester), and Martha Hass, Director of the Title VII program.

The ad hoc planning group constructed a flow chart of necessary tasks and jobs assigned.

1. Site location. The Society of Jesuits had agreed to let the school system lease part of their Old Boston College High building. But additional space was needed; Sister Francis Georgia led the search.¹¹

¹¹Sister Francis Georgia made a herculean effort to find classroom space. She talked with the Boston Redevelopment Authority, Public Facilities, priests, social workers, and various other individuals. She looked at space held by the schools and other places such as a garage, movie theater, abandoned convent, private home, and furniture store. The acquisition and rehabilitation costs were prohibitive according to Public Facilities and they did not meet the space requirements for safety and sanitation set by the State Department of Public Safety.

Finally, two temporary locations were found--St. Paul's Center and the Denison House.

2. Staff Recruitment and Hiring. The ad hoc group drew up its criteria for teacher-in-charge, teachers, teacher-aides, and community coordinators. An interview committee was selected, consisting of a representative from the School Department, the Spanish-speaking community and EDC. An ad was placed in the papers and job descriptions were circularized within the system.

Interviews were held. By the end of November, the staff had been hired. The ad hoc planning group was able to obtain from the State a waiver on teacher certification for the several hired staff without the required teaching credentials.¹² The School Committee granted \$7.00 per teacher per day increase over the regular teaching salary, when the ad hoc planning committee was able to show that the extra stipend could be granted and still remain within the budget.

3. Training. EDC agreed to train the staff for the Clusters. This program incorporated a variety of components, including group dynamics, discussions

¹²"EDC wrote the letter for the Boston School Department which requested certification of teachers. They found someone to sign it and then the State approved it." Interview with William Warren, 24 September 1970. Certification was the only problem the program ran into with the teachers' union. EDC finally got Mr. O'Reilly, the head of the union, to agree.

with bilingual consultants, visits to Title VII classes, work on curriculum development, and several weeks at EDC's Workshop for Learning Things preparing classroom materials.

4. Student recruitment. Guidelines for eligible students were drawn up and agreed upon by the School Department and the ad hoc planning group. These were

1. Only children who are not or have not been registered in the Public schools in the last year will be accepted.
2. Only children who do not have a working knowledge of English will be accepted.
3. Only children who are walking distance of each of the clusters (less than one mile) will be accepted.¹³

The standard channels of communications were used to locate potential students--including leaflets, posters, community meetings and personal contacts.¹⁴ The staff was used in recruiting during their training program.

Two controversies arose during the training period which had deep effect on the training of the staff and the future operations and orientation of the program. The community coordinators from the South End took an

¹³"Memorandum to All Participants in the Development of the Bilingual Transitional Schools" from Alex Rodriguez (Chairman, Spanish-Federation Education Committee) 17 November 1969, Educational Development Center files.

¹⁴A list of students which had been compiled to support the EDC proposal was of little help. The list included names, addresses, and ages of potential students in North Dorchester area. Though compiled less than six months before the recruitment campaign began, it was only partially useful because at least half of the people had moved.

active role in trying to encourage the staff to develop curriculum promoting Puerto Rican independence and politicization of the students through the study of Puerto Rican history and culture and exposure to local Puerto Rican struggles. Eventually the coordinator was fired by the ad hoc personnel committee. They expressed their reluctance, but decided the project and the system could not absorb nor accept his political orientation and militancy.¹⁵

The teachers were split on the firing and several quit in protest. The schism between the teachers was not broached and EDC, which was incorrectly blamed for the firing, lost all ability to work with the teachers. (The last segment of the training program EDC focused on education of the teacher-aides.)

The other controversy centered around the position of teacher-in-charge. The ad hoc planning group had not been able to agree on the person to be the head of the program. Thus, as the training period started, the EDC trainers had full responsibility for laying the groundwork for staff development and

¹⁵"This was an unfortunate loss to the project because the coordinator would have been very useful in material development. He has done a lot of thinking along these lines and has developed proposals for the use of art and music for cultural expression." Interview with William Warren, 24 September 1970.

orientation. The trainers promoted the idea that the Clusters was an innovative program and every effort should be made to incorporate into the program innovative teaching techniques such as student-directed learning, open classrooms. The trainers asserted that the teachers and teacher-aides should take the initiative to develop this innovative program, and much of the training program was centered around program and curriculum development.

The teacher-in-charge, Mrs. Necheles, was finally selected in December. She had little opportunity to shape the program development. She was an ESL teacher and could not get released from her position until January. When she was able to visit the training session she was greeted with hostility. The staff had coalesced and was developing its own program; they saw little reason to have a teacher-in-charge, someone with authority over them. Furthermore, Mrs. Necheles was concerned that the Clusters develop in such a manner to be successful and accepted within the school system. She did not want to jeopardize the program and its continuance because of what the system policy-makers might consider a too-innovative program.

C. PROGRAM OPERATIONS AND PLANNING

The Bilingual Clusters is in its second year of operations. There are approximately 250 pupils attending 11 classes in two locations: one in the South End and one in a smaller site in North Dorchester. The Clusters has become the reception program for students newly arrived to Boston from Spanish-speaking countries, primarily Puerto Rico. The Clusters receives these students throughout the year. The Clusters has developed a Latin ambience in which most of the children feel comfortable. One problem is that most of the parents also feel so comfortable with the school program they do not want their children to be transferred to another school. In some cases this feeling is counterproductive; parents have instructed their children not to speak English for fear that they might be transferred from the Clusters.

The Clusters is a program, not a school. As such it does not receive many of the supplementary services (guidance counselors, truant officers, doctors, reading specialists, music teachers, physical education teachers, health facilities, and in-service and pre-service training). The Clusters is not held to the system requirements and is free to develop its curriculum and operational guidelines. This freedom does provide the opportunity for innovative programming; nevertheless, needed extras and specialists to implement the innovative ideas are not provided. In

addition, along with autonomy comes isolation and lack of support from the system. The teacher-in-charge wistfully commented, "It would be nice for people from the system to come around from time to time to show that they care."¹⁶ Another disadvantage of the present arrangement is that the Clusters can not evolve into a full K-12 bilingual transitional school with a specially designed, sequential program to meet the needs of the Spanish-speaking children. It is not a school and would have to make substantial changes to become one.

The important issues manifest in the present operation of the Clusters are essentially a continuation of the themes which grew during the initial planning period.

1. Site. There continues to be a problem with the acquisition of needed space for the Clusters. The classes at St. Paul's Center were phased out this year and some efforts are being made to remove the classes from the Denison House. Many of the classes in these two locations had to share their rooms with other activities, were poorly heated in the winter, not soundproof and the sense of camping-out was not overcome.

¹⁶Interview with Carmen Necheles, 7 October 1970.

2. Recruitment. There were fewer students initially enrolled for the Clusters than anticipated. The failure to attain full enrollment was frequently cited by the school system to demonstrate that the problem of the Spanish-speaking children out of school was not as serious as had been claimed.

For the opening of school in the fall, adjustments in attendance criteria were made and additional students recruited. The classrooms were full and a waiting list was started.

A problem for the Clusters now is the high mobility and inconsistent attendance of the students.¹⁷ Two teachers conduct special, flexible classes for the new students. But the inconsistent attenders are a problem. Students who have some command of English are needed at home to interpret for their non-English speaking parents; students return to Puerto Rico for Christmas vacation and do not return until spring; fifty students left the program permanently to return to Puerto Rico.¹⁸ In short, it is a real challenge to create a classroom situation in which the students who attend regularly, those who attend irregularly, and the new-comers can all be accommodated and educated.

¹⁷The teacher-in-charge would like to be able to limit acceptance of the new-comers after May 15th because after that time the school can do little for the child that year and his presence can be disruptive to the others. However, there are problems: welfare will not pay unless the children are in school. Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

3. The Teacher-in-charge. The relationship between the teachers and the teacher-in-charge did not improve after the training program. In fact, the situation became so bad that toward the end of the year some of the teachers did not even speak to the teacher-in-charge.¹⁹ Only three of the teachers returned for the second year.

The teacher-in-charge is in effect the principal; but since the Clusters is not a school, she does not have the attendant status, staff and salary. The teacher-in-charge must cope with the usual administrative tasks, among other things, the program planning. However, as a result of too many things to do, many of which demand immediate attention, program planning tends to be put off for another day, and that day never comes.²⁰

D. PARENTAL AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

There is one theme which was not carried over from the initial planning of the Clusters; this is the extensive and powerful involvement of outsiders in the school system. The object of the ad hoc group which created and designed the Clusters was the actual opening of the school. Once this goal was achieved, the group

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

disbanded, having achieved its purpose--the creation of the Bilingual Clusters. This powerful coalition--EDC, community people and the Church--which had been able to combine its forces to make the school system agree to the concept of the Clusters in the first place, was not able to stay together to oversee the actual operations or even to assure a permanent location for the program. Thus, within six months the contrast in operations is evident. The ad hoc group had done the recruitment and hiring of staff in November. In the following summer, the teacher-in-charge acted alone in the selection of staff replacements.

There has been no group which has filled the vacuum left by the ad hoc planning group. A group in North Dorchester (Alianza Hispanica) is trying to assure that the Clusters will not meet in the temporary rooms at Denison House next year. It is hard to tell at this point if they will be successful. They have met with constant frustration in trying to deal with the system on this matter.

The relationship with the Spanish-speaking community is generally supportive. Parents must consent to their children attending the classes and this has not been a problem. The parents support the program, as manifest by the hot lunch prepared weekly by the staff, for which many parents send in a contribution--a small

packet of rice, a tomato--giving their support, Latin style.

E. EDUCATIONAL GOALS

Present within the staff of the Clusters is a widely different view of what consists "good education" for the Spanish-speaking children. Some of this difference was that there has never been a setting of the educational goals of the program. Questions are left unanswered: Is the Clusters to be a transitional program whose function is to quickly prepare the newly-arrived migrant and immigrant to attend the regular Boston classrooms, or is it a special program for the Spanish-speaking children for the carefully guided development of bilingualism? Is its program one which will gradually develop a bilingual-bicultural student, or is its sole function linguistic development?

The teachers were split about these question. The Anglos were drawn to the program because of what promised to be an opportunity for the implementation of innovative ideas. They were interested in developing the self-awareness and pride of the students and using the community people and resources to this end. The Clusters was seen as a special program for the Spanish-speaking within the goal of development of bilingual-bicultural children.

The Latin teachers were unfamiliar with the teaching style and orientation of the Anglo teachers. The Latins were interested in trying to prepare the children for the English-speaking classroom; the concepts of development of self-awareness and pride and emphasis on Latin culture and history were seen as unnecessary frills to the goal of teaching English. Their style of teaching was much more traditional and directive in nature.

It is also this difference in style which appears to have demoralized the feeling of the Anglo-American teachers. Much to their surprise they found themselves in opposition to just those people toward whom they felt the greatest responsibility--the community and their representatives.²¹

The teacher-aides were in a difficult position. Their role was originally conceived of as one with wide responsibilities. The teacher-in-charge states, "The most appropriate functions for the aides are to be responsible for the hard-to-handle children, the non-learning, and the advanced children."²² The Anglo teachers expected there would be an equal relationship between themselves and the aides, and they hoped the aides would take the leading role in discussions of

²¹Marvin G. Cline and John F. Joyce, "An Evaluation of the Bilingual Transitional Clusters of the Boston Public Schools" (Educational Development Center, January, 1971, Mimeographed), p. 18.

²²Ibid., p. 12.

culture and history. Yet the aides were unprepared by experience and training.²³ The Anglos revised their expectations and took a dominant role. The aides came to understand their limitations within the situation and actually felt satisfaction with their jobs.

They were pleased that they could help keep classes under control, and they felt they were performing an important service in taking children to the doctor, when necessary, in meeting with parents, and in giving guidance and support to the children.²⁴

However, there did continue to be a role conflict between the teachers and the aides. The aides did not understand nor support the Anglo teaching style and its permissiveness, especially with regard to discipline. Yet the aides deferred to the teachers because of their status as professionals, even though in most cases the teachers were considerably younger than their aides. And in a few cases, the teachers could not speak Spanish very well and were often misunderstood by the students and the aides.²⁵

The questions surrounding the conception of what is good education for the Spanish-speaking children were never resolved by the staff. These questions still remain unanswered. Yet they are fundamental to the planning of the future of the Clusters. However there is little guidance for the seeking of a direction. Discussion of the issues would bring to the surface the

²³Ibid., p. 25.

²⁴Ibid., p. 29.

²⁵Ibid., p. 27.

perhaps unresolvable differences among the staff. There is little guidance from the outside. The original group which was instrumental in the creation of the program has since disbanded and become involved in other educational issues. The parents and other community people are only peripherally involved in the Clusters, with the one exception of the site location issues in North Dorchester. Thus, the shaping of the future for the Clusters rests with the teacher-in-charge and the staff, and we have already mentioned their reluctance to discuss these issues. And

Until it is clear what the goals of the Clusters are, it will be difficult to develop a well-defined set of strategies for instruction or curriculum development.²⁶

²⁶Ibid., p. 30.

CHAPTER IX
BLACKSTONE SCHOOL

The Blackstone case study is a description of the initial part of the planning for a new school. The Blackstone will be an elementary school, located in the Puerto Rican community in the South End. The school is designed to serve the Spanish-speaking community.

This study covers the efforts of the Educational Planning Center, the planning arm of the Boston School System, and its work with the community in the development of the proposal for the Blackstone. The story is one of frustration of well-intended efforts by those involved in the proposal development, the limitations of the educational planner, and inability to expand the planning discussion into the target community.

A. INITIAL PLANNING

There have been three different groups which have been involved in trying to transform the dream of the school into reality. The directing agency for the planning has been the Educational Planning Center (EPC).

The Planning Center is part of the Boston School Department, and was initially funded under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. EPC is responsible for all new school planning and proposal development. The modus operandi of the staff is to work with a community group in the initial development of a proposal for the school. A public hearing is called to discuss, adapt, and approve the community-developed proposal. This approved proposal serves as an input into the development of the EPC official school proposal. Drafts of the EPC proposal are circulated among the individuals who have been concerned in the development of the community proposal. Finally, adjustments are made and the EPC proposal is then submitted for the consideration of the school system policy-makers.

The Educational Planning Center made contact with the South End Community Educational Council for assistance in developing a proposal for the Blackstone School. This council was originally formed in response to the Racial Imbalance Plans for the South End, which provided for no new construction and relied heavily on the bussing of South End minority children from the area to white neighborhoods. SECEC was able to convince the School Department to change the Racial Imbalance

proposal.¹ The Council continued to exist after its victory and was the one organization in the South End expressly organized around educational issues. It is a middle-class, predominately white, reform-oriented group.

In January, 1969, Roger Beattie, a new employee of the Educational Planning Center, made initial contact with SECEC and proposed joint development of a plan for the Blackstone School. SECEC agreed and these two groups met regularly for several months. One of the major ideas discussed during this time was the "infill school" proposal. Rick Holmes and Dave Robinson from EPC, drawing on Paul Goodman's "mini-school" concept, developed a proposal for the construction of many small neighborhood schools on vacant lots owned by the city. These schools

¹With the assistance of the Joint Center for Urban Studies and federal support under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1965, the Committee supervised a community-run survey of the child population of the South End. The Committee found 5,424 children up to age 18 living in the South End and projected an increase of 84% to 10,023 by 1973. The child population survey and a petition signed by a large number of South End residents whose children would have been bussed to South Boston convinced the Racial Imbalance Task Force to reconsider its plans for the South End. The competent and complete survey, involvement of community residents, and the support of the Joint Center combined to create the necessary ingredients to force a change in plans. See Ad Hoc Committee for New South End Schools, "Child Population Census of Boston's 'South End': Summary Report" (Joint Center for Urban Studies of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, 11 October 1968, Mimeographed).

would be linked to resource centers which would house special classes, programs, materials and administrative facilities. Universities, museums, and other public facilities would also be used as educational resource areas.²

The Infill School concept was proposed as an alternative to the trend toward larger elementary schools, which was seen as the one way to conform to the Racial Imbalance guidelines. Advocates of the Infill School suggested that its advantages included 1) a gradual transition for the child as he moves from his home environment; 2) a more flexible and intimate space; 3) a mechanism for promoting community participation in the schools; 4) provision of a wider range of resources than available under traditional schools; and 5) a way to move teachers away from the ever-watchful eye of the school administrators.

SECEC thought that the Infill concept was worth pursuing as an alternative for the Blackstone School site location.

At this point the Emergency Tenants' Council (ETC) became involved in the school planning. ETC was developed in response to the demolition-oriented urban renewal plans for the South End. Under the leadership of Israel Feliciano

²Boston Public Schools, Educational Planning Center, "Boston Infill Schools" (n.d., Mimeographed).

ETC developed an alternate plan for the Puerto Rican neighborhood, comprising residential rehabilitation and new construction and creation of an ambience reflecting the Latin residents. ETC also served as a social services referral agency and ombudsman for the Puerto Rican community. It was the only well-known grassroots organization representing Puerto Ricans in the South End.

ETC found out about the Infill School discussion from the renewal agency, the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA). By mid-March, 1969, it had become evident that the BRA did not really want to plan with community groups, such as ETC, as Director Hale Champion had claimed.³ The unsettled question of the site location for the Blackstone School was being used as a barrier to further discussions between ETC and the BRA. Israel Feliciano asked his architect, John Sharratt, and an Urban Field Service student, Nancy Cynamon, to work with SECEC and help resolve the site issue as fast as possible. (Feliciano personally preferred a centralized site.)⁴

Nancy Cynamon and John Sharratt were warmly received by both SECEC and the Planning Center. The SECEC members were glad to have representatives from the Puerto Rican

³Interview with John Sharratt, 11 April 1970.

⁴Ibid.

community for they were willing to admit that though they were concerned about educational issues, they were not representative spokesmen for the heterogeneous South End community.⁵ The planners were also glad. Roger Beattie went so far as to say that Cynamon and Sharratt were "the saviors of the school project, though they didn't know it. They added the necessary voice of the minority group in the planning process."⁶ Also, Beattie felt that progress had been slow up to that point. "Because of their middle class background, they [SECEC] got hung up on philosophic issues. For example, they had long discussions on how to emulate the Leicestershire model in the school."⁷ The ETC input helped to concretize the discussions.

It was unclear to all involved in the planning meetings what the real product of their efforts would be and in what areas of the planning process they would be able to exercise influence. Beattie was in a difficult position because he was new with the Planning Center and was not given responsibility for the proposal development until six months of discussion with SECEC/ETC had passed. The SECEC/ETC combination decided to take initiative. Joyce King, wife of black educational leader Mel King, expressed the sentiments of the group: "I had assumed that EPC had an outline to guide them in planning

⁵Interview with John Chandler, 21 April 1970.

⁶Interview with Roger Beattie, 17 April 1970.

⁷Ibid.

a school program. Since they do not I think we must now put together our own ideas on what a school should be."⁸ Mrs. King's recommendations included an ungraded school system, a bilingual-bicultural education for all students, human relations training for all teachers prior to any teaching, minority history, a vital and varied library, and flexible space arrangements.⁹ These proposals were the basis of the various Blackstone proposals.

By July, Nancy Cynamon and an organizer working with SECEC had prepared a statement of "just thoughts and observations."¹⁰ The statement incorporated Mrs. King's recommendations. Basic principals of education for the Blackstone School were delineated as 1) individualized learning with teachers serving as guides, not as directors of education; 2) an ungraded system, so that the school could serve the number of migrant children--Puerto Ricans and Blacks; 3) cooperative teaching using local residents as teacher's aides; 4) close school-community relationship; and 5) the use of community resources as instrumental and educational media. The site plan included the dispersed scheme with six "houses" each for 150 students

⁸Joyce King, "What Do I Think a School Should Be?" (n.d., Mimeographed).

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Emergency Tenants Council, "Blackstone School Program" (1 July 1969, Mimeographed).

throughout the area. A central facility would be tied into the already existing Little City Hall, its auditorium, library and health center.¹¹

The summer and fall of 1969 were spent in the refinement of these ideas for the Blackstone and in a few attempts to reach out into the community. By October, the final community proposal had been written.¹² In this document appears for the first time a large section on the school administration. There were three bodies which were designed for school decision-making:

1. A Community Advisory Council to be composed of parents, staff and representatives from the community. Tasks of the Council included a) implementation of the school proposal; b) equal voice in all decision-making in the school; c) selection of staff; and d) sponsorship of workshops and seminars for the staff. SECEC was to serve as the interim Advisory Council until the school was constructed and the Council elected.¹³

¹¹Ibid.

¹²South End Community Educational Council and Emergency Tenants Council, "Proposal for the Program and Plant for the New Blackstone Park School in Boston's South End" (1 October 1969, Mimeographed).

¹³Ibid., p. IV.1.

2. A Parent Association. "Its activities will be informal and a major part of its function will be education of and communication with parents."¹⁴

3. Student Council, which should participate in the governing of the school.¹⁵

In short, the final SECEC/ETC proposal includes a strong set of relationships for the students, parents and community in the decision-making processes of the Blackstone School.

The SECEC/ETC proposal was the community input in the writing of the EPC proposal for the Blackstone School. It is the EPC proposal which is reviewed by the system, modified, and when eventually accepted will be the basis for the creation of the new school. In the EPC proposal many of the features of the SECEC proposal were eliminated. The site was defined as a central one. Bilingual education was included as an important concept but its delineation did not include bilingual education for English- and non-English-speaking children, nor was there an emphasis on the bicultural component of bilingual education, which had been included in the SECEC proposal. The community participation in the administrative

¹⁴Ibid., p. IV.2.

¹⁵Loc. cit.

operations through the Community Advisory Council and the Parents Association were omitted in the Planning Center proposal also.¹⁶

There was little community reaction to the revision of the Planning Center proposal. SECEC's goal had been the writing of the school proposal. When this task was achieved, their interest rapidly diminished along with their organizational cohesion. The initial reason for ETC's involvement--resolution of the site issue--was no longer salient. The new BRA Director saw that the BRA relationship with ETC was beneficial and had removed the site question as an obstacle to further planning discussions. Several individuals were concerned about the removal of what they saw as key components of the community's proposal for the school. However, they were not going to protest unless others did so. No one did.¹⁷

Beyond the scope of this study, there will be many changes made in the Blackstone proposal. The proposal will be discussed by the various affected departments within the Boston Public schools, including elementary education, physical education, cafeteria, and personnel. At the State level, the Task Force on Racial

¹⁶Educational Planning Center of the Boston Public Schools, "Recommendations for the Blackstone School--Preliminary Draft"(March, 1970, Mimeographed).

¹⁷Interview with Rowena Conkling, 22 April 1970.

Imbalance and the Emergency Finance Board must approve the proposal. It then returns to the Board of Superintendents for final revisions and approval. The Boston City Council must approve the necessary funds. And, finally, the proposal will return to the school system for implementation: for curriculum development, school construction, staff recruitment, materials and so forth. At the writing of this paper, the system review is in process. We can not predict how this review will change the final outcome: the Blackstone school and the educational process which will take place there.

B. PROBLEMS OF PLANNING AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

There are three issues which developed out of the initial planning for the Blackstone School. These issues illustrate various dimensions of the nature of a bureaucratic organization and its effort to plan a school with a community organization.

1. The Infill School Concept. The Infill proposal was created in a vacuum by Holmes and Robinson. They became its advocates and tried to interest others in the merits of the concept. It happened that at the same time, the Planning Center was beginning its involvement with SECEC in planning the Blackstone School. Holmes and Robinson saw that the Blackstone project would be an opportunity for implementation of the Infill concept. The

concept did not develop in response to the educational needs and desires of the community.

SECEC was willing to consider the Infill scheme as one alternative to site location. The ETC representatives also became interested in the concept and saw its advantages!¹⁸ Nancy Cynamon tried several times to extend the discussion over the site issues to the community. During the summer, Nancy Cynamon talked with twenty-four families.¹⁹

In the fall Nancy and another student, Linda Feldman, tried again to interest the community in the Infill debate. With the assistance of Victor Feliciano, brother of Israel and President of ETC, they went from door to door presenting information on the two alternatives for site location. They were met with polite disinterest. Linda later wrote:

The initial reaction of those parents in the area with whom I discussed the idea was most often either polite interest without understanding or concern for the educational rationale behind such an innovation, or outright anger that someone had felt them unworthy of getting a 'real school' like those other communities have. In no case did

¹⁸Interview with John Sharratt, 11 April 1970.

¹⁹Emergency Tenants Council, "Blackstone School Interviews" (13 July 1969, Mimeographed). Nancy feels that her translator may have biased the responses. For example, in order to explain a question, the translator would use a particular example. These examples tended to show up with a high frequency in the responses given. (Interview with Nancy Cynamon, 15 April 1970).

a parent consider the issues worth fighting for if it would further delay the building of a school in the neighborhood, and in almost every home, the parents soon changed the topic of conversation to what they viewed as the more pressing education concerns for their children and for the community (such as the need to abolish physical punishment in the schools, the need for hot lunch programs, the lack of teachers sympathetic to the needs of their children, the problem of fighting in the schools and in the Puerto Rican families, the need for bilingual teachers and bilingual instruction).²⁰

The SECEC/ETC proposal included the dispersed site scheme with six houses, each for 150 students. However the final blow to the concept came in the fall. A representative from Public Facilities Commission proposed that EPC could hire an architect to do a feasibility study of the Infill scheme. SECEC agreed to accept the judgement of the firm.²¹

Stull Associates was hired to do the feasibility study.²² The first step was a community survey. Stull Associates designed a brochure which was to be sent to the residents in the Blackstone School district describing both the advantages and disadvantages of the dispersed and central site plans. Attached to the brochure was a tear-off pre-paid postcard where the respondent was supposed to mark an X for his preference--dispersed or central site--and mail it to Stull Associates.

²⁰Linda Feldman, "Failure to Organize Effectively for Educational Change: A Case Study" (unpublished paper, January 1970).

²¹Notes of SECEC meeting, 6 November 1969, taken by Nancy Cynamon (Files of John Sharratt).

²²Stull Associates had been involved in the Infill housing plan, and several of its members helped Holmes and Robinson write the Infill school pamphlet.

There were several shortcomings of this brochure. Foremost, it was printed only in English, which thus excluded a large segment of the target population, the same population whose opinions had not been adequately heard during the earlier phases of the planning process. In addition, this survey tool probably produced biased results.²³ The results of the survey showed a strong preference for the central site scheme. Thus, the dispersed site issue was dead; the central site was included in the Planning Center proposal.

The issue of the Infill School was created by people outside the community. These people put forth the concept of the Infill schools as a physical innovation which would foster change in the quality of education offered in the schools. These outsiders were able to get some support from SECEC but this support was not strong enough to energize an Infill school campaign. Several efforts were made to broaden the discussion on the dispersed site issues. However, the responses tended

²³"Even under the best of circumstances, a sizeable proportion does not return mailed questionnaires. The people who do return them are usually the less mobile [and thus more likely to have received the questionnaire], the more interested, and the more partisan section of the population." From Claire Sellitz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Science, rev. 1st. ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962) p. 242.

to be one of disinterest; the implications of possible improvement of education were not fully comprehended, nor made in terms relevant to community concerns. In fact, it is possible that the Infill scheme was not consonant with the perception of desired school held by the target community.

2. The role of the Education Planning Center in school planning. The function of EPC is new school planning and proposal development, with emphasis on the former. There have been no guidelines set down by the school system for the operations of EPC nor delineation of its operational parameters. The ambiguity of the situation was described by an educational planner at EPC: "Sometimes I have gotten involved in things and then have been told they were not part of EPC's role, though they were legitimate in other circumstances."²⁴

The power of EPC seems to be undermined by its relationship to the system as a whole. The reasons for this weakness include the following:

a) EPC's role is one of innovation in a system threatened by change;

b) Funded by Federal monies, EPC is seen as an outsider that can be ignored or restrained if it gets too bothersome;

²⁴Interview with Roger Beattie, 17 April 1970.

c) The incentive and promotional systems of EPC are not tied into those of the larger system; many of its activities, such as working with community groups, are often considered to be non-professional by the system;

d) It is only two years old; and

e) Its location in Roxbury is far removed from the center of educational decision-making at 15 Beacon Street.

The position of the Center vis-a-vis SECEC was also weak. Roger Beattie was a new staff member and his responsibility for the development of the Blackstone proposal was not clarified until he had been working with SECEC for several months. He could not provide assurance nor guidance to the group or to the planning process.

But, more importantly, EPC was limited by its relationship with SECEC. Beattie realized that SECEC was not a broad-based community group which could be said to represent the varied interests and groups of the South End. EPC could not intervene to change SECEC's representation. At the same time, he was dependent on SECEC for the community input into the planning process. He was temporarily relieved when ETC sent its two representatives for they were from the community group seen to be representative of the target population. Soon, however, Beattie became aware that the ETC representatives were responsible

only to the ETC staff, which in turn was not supportive of extension of the school discussions in the Puerto Rican community. Beattie did not speak Spanish and could not enter the Puerto Rican community without some organizational support. He could do only one thing. He sponsored a survey of the community. One hundred and sixty people were asked about the various facilities and programs they would like to have in the new school.²⁵ The survey results were used as a guide for writing the EPC proposal.²⁶

In short, the EPC planner was greatly constrained in the planning of the Blackstone School: SECEC did not measure up to Beattie's expectations for representativeness; however, he was powerless to alter the situation. He was dependent on their organization and its relationship with other community groups, such as ETC. While dissatisfied, Beattie could not jeopardize the time commitment and his position with SECEC by trying to develop another more representative group.

3. Community input into the planning process. As has been suggested, the community input into the school planning process limited to the work of SECEC, with

²⁵Educational Planning Center of the Boston Public Schools, "Appendix A, Appendage to Summer Survey" (Mimeographed).

²⁶Interview with Roger Beattie, 17 April 1970.

ETC staff assistance, and one EPC-sponsored survey. Several people did try to broaden the input, but their efforts were abortive.

Nancy Cynamon, the Urban Field Service student working for ETC, conducted a survey of 24 families. The purpose of the study was twofold: to gather information about the Puerto Rican community's education preferences, and to raise the awareness of the educational issues surrounding the Blackstone discussions. She was able to get some information and some people interested in the Blackstone planning. However, she was not able to take this interest further. She considered inviting some of the people she had met during her survey to SECEC meetings. But she was handicapped by her inability to speak Spanish. And, more importantly, she was reluctant to bring any community person into the on-going planning discussion held by the monolingual middle-class SECEC. She felt that community people would be intimidated by their exposure to an SECEC meeting.²⁷

Later in the fall, Nancy Cynamon along with another student, Linda Feldman, and ETC President Victor Feliciano tried to recapture interest in the school that had been expressed during Nancy's survey. They invited some people to a meeting. Five or six came and were very

²⁷Interview with Nancy Cynamon, 15 April 1970.

excited; they wanted to talk more about the issues, and read the SECEC proposal, which Linda Feldman had translated into Spanish. Victor Feliciano took the initiative to call another meeting, but never carried out his responsibility.²⁸

Linda Feldman convened a meeting of representatives from various South End agencies involved in education and teachers in the bilingual programs. The purpose of the meeting was to inform those present of the various issues and proposals for the Blackstone. Israel Feliciano took the opportunity to present the ETC slide show and talk about the housing problems in the area. By the time these introductory remarks were over, the meeting had run late and there was no time to talk about the school. People left the meeting upset and several were very angry that they had not been included in the school planning discussions.²⁹

The final effort to involve community people was at a public hearing to discuss the SECEC proposal. Nancy Cynamon and Linda Feldman were responsible for promotion of the hearing. They were overburdened and the needed organizational support was not forthcoming. The turnout for the meeting was small. Only a dozen community people

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Interview with Linda Feldman, 27 April 1970.

came.³² Representatives from local agencies and the bilingual programs came to the meeting. The various alternatives for the Blackstone School were presented and discussed. Several people objected to the closed planning process and suggested that the work done was not representative of the community's interest. It was agreed that a parents' advisory council should be formed, as per the SECEC proposal. This was never done. The sense of the meeting was to support the SECEC proposal so that the planning process could proceed and the school could be built.

Very few people were actually included in the planning process for the Blackstone. Though efforts were made, mostly by students working with ETC, there was no real extension of the Blackstone School planning into the community. The students who did make an effort to get the community involved were working for an organization which did not support their concerns and frustrated their efforts.

In conclusion, the Blackstone study shows the failure and frustration of reformers trying to make changes through school planning. Holmes and Robinson through the Infill school proposal, Beattie and SECEC/ETC through the planning process, and Cynamon and Feldman through community organizing were all trying to shape the future of the

³²Interview with Nancy Cynamon, 15 April 1970.

Blackstone School in such a manner as to provide innovative, quality education. These performers were operating from weak positions. They were constrained by their own relationship within the planning process and they lacked legitimacy within the target community. They were acting from their own goals of what constitutes good education; these goals were typical of progressive education--decentralized schools, community involvement in the schools, the Leicestershire system and the like. These components of the reformers' conceptions of good education were never explained to residents of the community nor was a dialogue established to encourage residents of the community to discuss their conceptions of good education. A synthesis of ideas was never achieved; the reforms will probably not be enacted.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY

There are presently operating in the Boston Public Schools four distinct programs for the Spanish-speaking pupils, and one new school is being designed to serve the Spanish-speaking community. Each of these programs is unique; each has its own characteristics, problems and ambience. The oldest effort is the English Language Center. Funded by the city, the Center is struggling for survival within an unconcerned school system. The English as a Second Language program is funded by Title I, ESEA and the city. The program is highly fragmented and in a transitional stage. The Title VII project is a select program well-funded by the federal government but with difficulties in asserting local control over project operations. The Bilingual Transitional Cluster is a locally-funded program whose doors are open to the Spanish-speaking students, attempting to provide them with a supportive transitional school mediating between the demands of two societies. And the new Blackstone School, envisioned as an integrated, truly bilingual experiment, has an uncertain, unpredictable future.

These programs have been described in the preceding case studies, a method of presentation which tends to emphasize the differences. However, there are some marked similarities which need also to be discussed. These similarities are manifest in five particular areas: program initiation; initial planning; program development and planning; parental and community involvement; and educational goals.

A. PROGRAM INITIATION

The Boston Public School programs for the Spanish-speaking children have all been initiated by individuals or groups outside the school system.¹ There were differences in approaches and differences in system response. The Title VII effort was suggested by a VISTA volunteer who had learned about the passage of the Bilingual Education Act. In the ESL and Clusters cases, ad hoc groups were organized to advocate the creation of the particular program for the Spanish-speaking. The initiators focused their energies on the creation of the program as the way to help solve the problems of the Spanish-speaking, and particularly the

¹Unfortunately there was no information available on the initiation of the Day School for Immigrants. This author perused histories of Boston of this period but could find no reference to the school. This period was a time of educational reform, and it is likely that settlement house workers who were trying to help the immigrant population were instrumental in the creation of the School.

Puerto Ricans. These two ad hoc groups were composed of middle-class Anglos and Latins. To my knowledge, there was no island-born Puerto Rican participant nor parent whose child eventually was enrolled in the program involved in these initiating groups.

There was little effort needed on the part of the initiators of the ESL and Title VII programs to realize their goals. The initiation efforts took place in response to the passage of federal legislation which provided federal funds for such programs. Nevertheless, there was some reluctance on the part of the school system to act. In both instances, the school system seemed to feel that the schools did not have the responsibility for the creation of special programs for the Spanish-speaking children. However, the needs were evident; and, most importantly, the school system did not have to expend any of its funds to support the programs.

The real challenge to the initiators was the creation of the Bilingual Clusters. There was no obvious federal funding source to back the Clusters proposal; the school system would have to pay for the additional costs. The advocates pulled together a most formidable group--representatives from the Spanish-speaking community, educators and clergy. They were familiar with the failures of the then existing programs and could present cogent arguments for the bilingual cluster concept.

In addition, the advocates had time and know-how to lobby for their program. In spite of this powerful coalition, those involved agree that this group could not have been successful if the Educational Development Center had not been able to offer funds to start the program development of the clusters.²

Aside from the financial issues in the Clusters, there was a reluctance based on a sense of lack of responsibility which we have seen in the previous efforts. The school system was skeptical of the estimate of thousands of Spanish-speaking children out of school. The School Committee blamed the Mayor for lack of funds to provide education for the Spanish-speaking who were out of school. The Committee told the Mayor that he would share the moral and legal burden of the many children who were out of school. Having passed on the blame, they made no effort to secure funds until EDC made its generous offer.

B. INITIAL PLANNING

The planning for the educational programs for the Spanish-speaking has taken place in two distinct

²Interviews with Rosly Walter, 1 May 1970, and William Warren, 24 September 1970.

stages: the initial planning, which leads to the creation of the program; and the program planning, which takes place during program implementation. There are different goals for each stage: the initial planning focuses on program development; program planning focuses on program operation and future development. There have been different people and processes which have characterized these two stages.

There are two general models of the initial planning process. One, typical of the earlier programs, is a centralized planning process with minimal advice and participation from community residents and outsiders to the system. The other is a more decentralized process, with outsiders taking an active role in shaping the process and plans.

The centralized planning process model is based on the initial planning for the ESL program and the Title VII program. The planning which was done was to conform to operational guidelines and criteria for funding which were set outside of the system by the federal and state funding agencies. There was not much room for creative program development. In these two cases, there was one person responsible for the development of the funding proposal, the fundamental ideas of the program, and, when funded, its implementation. This planner sought advice. In both instances, the group which

had acted as the catalytic agent for the program in the first place was asked to advise the planner. However, because of limited experience with educational programs for the Spanish-speaking, the advice given was limited, and peripheral to the overall planning decisions. In the Title VII case, the advisors recommended a hot lunch program and a decent salary for the teacher-aides. These recommendations were not specifically drawn from educational goals or programs for the Spanish-speaking children, but were more in the nature of a general complaint against the school system's program operation.

The other planning model is decentralized; people outside the system have had a significant role in formulating alternatives and shaping the decisions which are made. The two cases which fit this model are the two more recent studies, the Bilingual Transitional Cluster program and the Blackstone School. In both cases a group outside the system participated in the initial planning process. The entrance of these outside groups was through different doors in each study.

In the Clusters case, the ad hoc group was the catalyst to the initiation of the program and actually took over the initial planning process and program development, with cooperation from the school system. In the Blackstone case, the SECEC/ETC combination was asked to participate with the Educational Planning Center

in developing the proposal for the Blackstone School. The EPC planner was in an ambiguous situation and the SECEC/ETC group decided that they would take the initiative and shape the planning process.

The two ad hoc groups were able to play significant and creative roles in the planning process for a number of reasons.

1. There were no pre-set guidelines for the creation of the programs. The EDC proposal did provide some suggestions as to some of the possible components for the Clusters, but the group itself had to make decisions about these possible recommendations. In the Blackstone School case, the Planning Center did not have any guidelines for the planning for a school. The SECEC/ETC combination decided to take matters into their own hands and created their own guidelines.

2. Each group was able to capitalize on the school system's inability to take the lead in the planning process.

3. Those involved were knowledgeable middle-class people committed to change of the existing educational situation. They had time to develop their ideas and proposals, sophistication to set goals and create ways to meet these goals, capacity to utilize and develop the necessary resources, and a sense of political efficacy and understanding of how to get things done.

These two groups had one goal: the development of a particular program. Both had some vision of continued community input into the program planning and decision-making. However, both groups ceased to function. Their demise came at different stages in the planning process. The ad hoc group was able to take an active role in the implementation of its plans through the recruitment and selection of staff, site location and student recruitment. Yet once the classrooms opened, the ad hoc group disbanded. The timing for the SECEC/ETC was less propitious as a result of the lengthy review and approval stage between proposal development and proposal implementation. The group had disbanded prior to the circularization of the EPC proposal for the Blackstone School.

What was the influence of these two groups in the initial planning process? Both groups were able to make significant contributions to the shaping of the content of the program and the planning process, and the ad hoc group for the Clusters was the key in the initial program development. However, in retrospect, the influence of these two groups was minimal. The loss of involvement in the program led to a loss in the uniqueness which the two groups had contributed. The components of the Blackstone proposal which were unique--the focus on a bilingual-bicultural school oriented to the community, a

strong parent and community role in the school's decision-making, and the dispersed site proposal--were not included in the EPC official proposal for the Blackstone. In the Clusters case, the involvement of community-oriented outsiders in the selection of staff, site location and student recruitment, and overall influence in program operations, was lost by the beginning of the new school year in 1970. In short, the two ad hoc planning groups had focused exclusively on the development of the programs. They were not able to sustain interest once the programs began, and they were not integrated well enough into the community to assure that the innovative ideas which they had proposed and initiated were understood, supported, and continued.

What has remained is that precedents have been set which provide for community participation in the shaping of the content and planning of programs for the Spanish-speaking. And some expertise has been developed on the educational issues and programs for the Spanish-speaking. It is left to be seen whether these residues of community involvement in the initial planning process of the Blackstone and Clusters cases will be utilized again.

C. PROGRAM OPERATIONS AND PLANNING

The program planning which is done in the projects described in the case studies tends to be undifferentiated from the overall administrative function. What is done is centralized and tends to be incremental in nature.

There are several components of the programs which tend to inhibit any effort toward comprehensive program planning.

1. The fragmentation of the ESL program mitigates against a coordinated planning effort.

2. Development of a program for students is difficult because of the high mobility of the population. Students participate in one program for a period of time, drop out, and reappear elsewhere in the city and are put in another program. There is no system-wide set of records which could provide background information for the new teacher; there is no placement office which would help to find the student the best program consistent with his past educational preparation. The failure of the Title VII program to keep its select students and the frustrations of the Clusters to try to teach a continually changing group of students are illustrative of the planning programs.

3. The project directors do not have control over their own programs. Therefore, it is very

difficult to plan. The ESL project director must share operational responsibilities and planning with the Title I office at the State level, the school system and its Title I office and the principals in whose schools the ESL classes are located. The Title VII project has had continual problems with the Bilingual Office in Washington with regard to program planning objectives.

4. The project directors often lack necessary information for program planning. The evaluations do not serve as a feedback function. The system does not develop information which would be of assistance. The responsibility for the finances of the projects is fragmented, which hampers ability to plan.

5. Finally, there is no consideration that the planning function is a necessary function distinct from the administrative operations. Thus, there is usually little time actually set aside by the program administrators to plan.

The most explicit program planning which is carried out is in the ESL and Title VII projects. However, this happens only in compliance with federal guidelines which require plans for the coming year for refunding consideration. These plans are drafted to conform to the model of a good project, as defined formally and informally by the funding agency. Thus, the plans are written for

refunding and should only be considered within the light of the necessities of the funding requirements.

D. PARENTAL AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Parental and community involvement in the program operations for the Spanish-speaking is minimal. There is a sense of support for the programs illustrated by the fact that parental permission is necessary for attendance in the programs. There are also quiet gestures of support, such as the sending of food for the Clusters' weekly Latin meal.

There are several roles which have been institutionalized to channel community involvement into the programs for the Spanish-speaking. These are the teacher-aides, the community coordinators, and the advisory councils.

1. Teacher-aides. The ESL, Title VII and Clusters programs have teacher-aides. The role of the aides is greatly influenced by the teachers with whom they work. Some teachers expect the teacher-aides to equally share in the teaching responsibilities. Some hope the teacher-aides can contribute to discussions relevant to the history and culture of the students. Others relegate the teacher-aides to menial tasks such as grading papers and running ditto machines.

The teacher-aides are often handicapped in their activities by their own lack of education and teaching experience. There has been a dearth of training programs for the teacher-aides to help them overcome their handicaps and to assume greater roles in the classrooms. And, as the Clusters case study suggests, there was a lack of discussion and mutual education about the educational goals and objectives between the teachers and the teacher-aides.

2. Community coordinators. The ESL, Title VII and Clusters programs have community coordinators. These coordinators tend to serve a liaison function between the program and the parents. They find out why students were absent, if they have been sick, help to find medical care for them, recruit students for the program, and so forth. The coordinators have from time to time tried to bring together groups of parents to observe classes, attend school programs, and meet together to talk about school and educational concerns. These types of activities are usually not well attended.

The community coordinator for the Title VII project uses a different approach. She has encouraged the parents to observe in the classroom, and has received a good response, in part because she has been able to offer a stipend as an incentive for participation. About 20 parents regularly attend four classes in the South End. The same coordinator also visits homes of the children

in the Title VII classes and tutors the parent in English and/or Spanish. Progress in these efforts has been slow, but there has been progress.

3. Advisory groups. There are no organizations nor incipient organizations of parents in any of the programs for the Spanish-speaking children. There are no Spanish-speakers on Boston's Title I Advisory Boards. The project advisory group required in the Title VII Project Manual does not exist. In fact, there is only one organization which is directly concerned about the functioning of a program for the Spanish-speaking. This organization is the Alianza Hispanica, a community-oriented group of Spanish-speaking educators in North Dorchester, which has spent the first months of its existence in trying to find a permanent location of the Cluster in their area. Members of the Alianza are involved as teachers in the programs for the Spanish-speaking children.

All in all, the effort to encourage meaningful parental and community involvement in the programs for the Spanish-speaking has met with little success. Even where there are parents observing classes and community people acting as teacher aides, there is still the lack of support, guidance, and education which would promote more meaningful participation.

E. EDUCATIONAL GOALS

The present programs for the Spanish-speaking seem to all suffer from the lack of clearly articulated educational goals. There are divisions and misunderstandings within the program staff because of this shortcoming.

In the ESL and Title VII programs the goals have really been set outside the program by the Title I and Title VII administrating offices and interpreted through their operational guidelines. The supervision, locally and from the state level, of the ESL has not provided a clear understanding of the goals of the program. The supervisory officers of the Title VII program have been more successful at articulation of the program goals, but they have also been inconsistent. Further, in the Title VII case, the goals and interests of the Bilingual Office often have been at odds with those of the local project staff. In the case of one of the mutually agreed-upon goals--integration--the Bilingual Office has been unwilling to provide necessary funds for its attainment.

The Clusters program was also initiated under goals set by outsiders to the project. The Clusters proposal written by EDC staff set out many of the educational goals and functions of the program. Much of the

initial planning was based on these goals. Once the program was started, however, the goals were not clearly stated nor was there program-wide agreement on the goals. There have been tensions among the staff based on the failure to discuss and resolve the differences in educational goals.

The development of the proposal for the Blackstone School was the one time when there was opportunity for setting of educational goals without already-prescribed guidelines. However, the Blackstone study is a story of frustration, as those goals which were set were eventually erased in the Planning Center proposal. The goal-setters were not members of the community which is to be served by the new school. As middle-class educated people, they were able to sit with the planner, discuss abstract educational goals, and develop a proposal. When efforts were made to extend this discussion into the community which is to be served by the school, they were met mostly with disinterest. The community's concerns about education were more fundamental--hot lunches, problems of discipline in the schools, need for more sensitive teachers. The reasons for the educational goals proposed by the middle-class reformers were not communicated nor explained in terms which would relate to the educational concerns of the community.

F. CONCLUSION

The planning process which has been described in the previous case studies had been program-oriented. There has been no intra-project coordination; thus from an overall perspective the process has been disjointed in nature.

The program initiation has been from the impetus of people outside the school system. They have been successful in their efforts because they have been able to find funding for the programs they were advocating. These outsiders have recently continued to be involved in the initial planning for the projects. However, they have not been able to maintain influence in the program planning once the school program started. Also, the innovative ideas and precedents which they had initiated have been slowly lost in program operations.

The program planning is undifferentiated and fairly incremental in nature. There is almost no outsider involved in the program planning. The only outsiders in the programs are those few parents who observe the Title VII classes, and the teacher-aides.

Throughout the case studies there have been indications that there is a widespread lack of program-level goal definition. There has been little or no effort to set the goals and thus no goals exist to guide the planning and program development.

There does exist at a general level a number of threads which are evident throughout the system's responses to the Spanish-speaking: emphasis on English acquisition through bilingual education approach; absence of emphasis on bicultural components of bilingual instruction; segregation of the Spanish-speaking students; and a failure to define components of good education. These are the same areas of education of the Spanish-speaking which have appeared here in the Context of the case studies. Questions about these particular areas of concern were raised from the review of the literature relevant to the education of the Spanish-speaking. As I tried to point out from this review, these particular areas are not resolved. I will reconsider these unresolved components of the education of the Spanish-speaking in terms of the information developed in the case studies.

1. Emphasis on English language acquisition. The most evident feature of the programs for the Spanish-speaking is the acquisition of English.

The English Language Center and the ESL pull-out classes are the most obvious examples of emphasis on English instruction. The focus of these two efforts is on a purely cognitive task: English language acquisition, with little or no effort for the development of contrastive analysis, instruction in the mother tongue, reference to cultural aspects of human growth nor affective development.

The bilingual programs--the 10 bilingual-ESL classes, the Title VII and Clusters programs--also focus on English acquisition; the pedagogical methodology is different. The children are taught English and Spanish, and initially taught subject matter in Spanish. This method is utilized because it is believed to be the best way to learn a second language. However, this method is developed within the context of the child moving into an English-speaking environment. Spanish is taught in order to learn English. Subject matter is taught in Spanish so that the child will be able to compete in the English-language classroom. Spanish is taught because a Spanish-English bilingual will have certain (read economic) advantages in an English-speaking society. In short, the use of the bilingual approach for the instruction of non-English speaking children seems to differ little in fundamental intent from the English as a Second Language. Both approaches are employed in order to facilitate the child's entrance into the English-speaking society.

There is no alteration of focus in the linguistically integrated classes in the Title VII program. The English-speaking children are included in the classrooms to help the Spanish-speaking children learn English; in a sense they are being used to help the Spanish-speaking without consideration of their own needs.

In return for being used, the English-speaking children are taught some Spanish. However, there is no

question that the Spanish-speaking children are taught and exposed to more English than the other way around. Furthermore, there is no systematic program to continue to provide the English-speaking children with Spanish-language development, nor is the environment in which they live supportive to this goal.

Thus, in a way, the question of which method is used to teach the Spanish-speaking children is secondary to the objective of the method. In Boston, both the English as a Second Language approach and the bilingual approach have the same goal--the instruction of English. The first method is somewhat more direct than the second. There is a trend toward the bilingual approach, even in the English as a Second Language program. This trend is based on the assumption that the child learns best first in his native tongue.

However, it is unclear what method teaches English best. I pointed out in the Context that a review of the studies on bilingualism does not necessarily support the assumption of the native language first. The evaluations made have no comparison of the bilingual and ESL approaches, and, the Spanish-speaking population seem to be strongly in favor of the English-dominant classes, which are similar to the English as a Second Language instruction.

The decisions which have been made emphasizing the bilingual approach have been based on the assumption

that the bilingual method is the best approach. This is the basic assumption which led to the creation of Title VII. The Bilingual Clusters were designed to be similar to Title VII but locally funded. The transition to the bilingual approach in the ESL classes comes from a concern on the part of the teachers that the ESL approach is not effective. The obvious decision is to go bilingual. However, there has not been an examination of the ESL method to suggest improvements. Nor have questions been raised as to what are the possible uses of the ESL method which are better than the bilingual approach.

2. Bilingualism and biculturalism.

Emphasis on English language acquisition has given way to the bilingual-bicultural approach proposed in the bilingual programs. There has been only minimal effort to deal with the bicultural aspect of the children's education. Each teacher is left to her/his own resources. Experiences may be shared among the teachers, but there is no effort being made to systematically compile relevant information and lesson plans to assist them.

One of the reasons for the lack of emphasis on cultural awareness is the gap between a generally-held assumption on how the bilingual program would operate, and its functional reality. It was assumed that the teachers would be bilingual and bicultural, coming from the same country as the students (in the case of Boston,

primarily Puerto Rico). Ideally these teachers would be able to promote understanding and help the students as they confronted the dilemmas and contradictions of their own biculturalism. However, only a limited number of teachers have fit into this ideal mode. The vast majority of the teachers are not Puerto Rican; the majority are Anglos.

To adjust to the reality, the role of the teacher-aide was expanded to include the one of cultural interpretation. However, this role has not been met. Many of the teacher-aides are Puerto Rican. But they themselves are not well-educated in Puerto Rican history and culture, and many are not familiar with American society and culture. Thus, they have not been able to perform this cultural interpreter function.

The community coordinator hired for the Clusters program has been the only Puerto Rican who has taken a strong stand on the significance of cultural understanding and awareness. He had developed curricula for the introduction of Puerto Rican history and arts and music. He was fired because this position was seen as too radical and too threatening.

Finally, the most important reason that bicultural component of bilingual education has not been developed and promoted is that the school system is focusing on the eventual acculturation of the students. Only a minority

of the teachers support the development of awareness of the child's native culture as a means to understand his own separate identity. For most of the teachers, this cultural awareness is not seen as crucial to the student's educational and human development. And, given the pressure and need to learn English as quickly as possible, the cultural awareness efforts have been sacrificed for expediency.

The interrelationship between the language and culture is little understood or explored in the research on bilingualism. The evaluations of the projects have not touched on the subject nor has the data from the Spanish-speaking population been developed so as to represent an expression of the community's concern and preferences in this area. The one thing that we do know is that the system's focus on acculturation seems to run counter to the reality of the conditions of the Spanish-speaking. They are maintaining their separate communities in this country, and for many, they are only temporary residents here. Immigration or migration to the mainland does not necessarily mean a commitment to starting a new life here.

3. Integration or segregation. The classes for the Spanish-speaking in Boston are for the most part segregated. This segregation is not ostensibly based on racism; it has been developed from the fact that

the Spanish-speaking children are provided with some education which is atypical of the normal student population. In the English Language Center and the Clusters, the students are in totally separate buildings. In most of the ESL programs, the students spend most of their time in regular classes, being removed for their special education. Only in some of the Title VII classes are there efforts to integrate the classes with English-speaking children.

The special schools and classrooms are separate but not equal. They are special classes which means they are in low priority in space allocation decisions. In an overcrowded system like Boston, this means that these classes meet in temporary spaces, in basements, hallways, and closets and in unheated areas, or, as in the case of the English Language Center, in a condemned building which was reopened to house the Center after some cosmetic rehabilitation.

The staff maintains that the children do not feel discriminated against by being assigned to separate classrooms. In the evaluation of the 1968-1969 ESL program,

On the question of whether participation in the ESL program accented the difference between these students and their classmates, seventy-five per cent of the ESL teachers and seventy-nine per cent of the home-room teachers indicated that no such effect was perceived.³

³Heuristics, Inc., "Evaluation of the English as a Second Language Program of the Boston Public Schools, 1968-1969" (Dedham, Massachusetts: August 1969, Mimeographed), p. 13.

In the 1969-1970 evaluation, "Eighteen teachers (64%) indicated that using the pull-out system for structuring ESL instruction did not embarrass ESL students."⁴

Nevertheless, the children must be aware of their isolation and this awareness must be compounded by the poor conditions of their ESL classrooms in comparison with the regular classrooms.

The Title VII program is the one attempt to integrate the English and Spanish-speaking students. The children may be integrated in a particular classroom. However, within that classroom, except for a few common activities, they remain segregated. There seems to be little interaction between the two groups. After six months of class, the children of one linguistic group did not seem to know the names of the children of the other group.

Thus the programs for the Spanish-speaking are predominately segregated from the other classes in the Boston system. This segregation has developed as a result of pedagogical design; it is seen as the most effective way to provide education for the non-English speaking students. In contrast, also for pedagogical reasons, the

⁴Heuristics, Inc., "Evaluation of the English as a Second Language Program of the Boston Public Schools, 1969-1970" (Dedham, Massachusetts: August 1970, Mimeographed), p. 13.

Title VII project director and project supervisor feel that the integrated classrooms provide the best learning environment for the Spanish-speaking children. However, the Bilingual Office has not been willing to fund the additional teachers which the local project director feels are necessary for the creation of a totally integrated program.

Decisions on the segregation or integration of the Spanish-speaking have been based on pedagogical rationales; yet, there are two different viewpoints as to which approach is the most effective. The research available on the issues of integrated or segregated classes does not suggest which method is preferable from a pedagogical or sociological perspective. The project evaluations have not compared the segregated and integrated classes of the Title VII project. There is practically speaking no information available on how the community feels about the integration or segregation of the Spanish-speaking children.

4. Components of good education for the Spanish-speaking. This last thread that runs through the programs is more general. There are at least two distinct perceptions of good education held by the staff participants in these programs. Generally speaking, the Latins feel that traditional teaching methods with particular emphasis on discipline and respect are desirable. Good education will prepare the Spanish-speaking children to

perform successfully in the English-dominant classroom and society. The Anglos are concerned about both cognitive and affective components of education. Innovative forms of instruction are preferable and utilized. Good education will impart self-developed knowledge and a positive perception and understanding of the bicultural situation in which the children find themselves.

There is little information on this topic because the differences have not been brought out so no controversy has erupted. I will cite from two other sources to try to illustrate more clearly the various components of this topic.

In the formal atmosphere of the classroom the [Spanish-speaking] child is expected by his parents not to speak unless he is spoken to by his teacher, not to move around and not to play; in other words, he is not to disturb the teacher. He is to respect his teachers in terms of the definition of respect he has been taught at home. As a token of this respect he will address his teachers as "Teacher" instead of by name. The expectations of the [Anglo] teacher are quite different, however. Teachers expect children to volunteer to speak as a way of demonstrating their interest in the class, and schools encourage play and games. Parents look askance at these procedures. They say with reference to the latter that in Puerto Rico children learn more in school than here because there is too much play at school . . .

In the eyes of recently arrived Hispano parents, the privileges and obligations of teachers and school authorities are similar to those expected of all adult persons--whether friends, kin or personas particulares (acquaintances and strangers)--who are in charge of children outside their homes. They are expected to ask permission of the parents to take the children out and are expected to report to the parent on the child's behavior. Should this report contain complaints (quejas) about a child, however, these are

considered to be an imputation of censure of the parents' method of rearing their child, and a parent may enter into a defense of his child and rearing techniques if a teacher or some other adult of respect complains to him.⁵

Another observer reports,

Many [community interns, similar to teacher-aides] reflected in their own attitude toward the children the rather authoritarian perspective of the community: children should be still and obedient. Their struggle to reconcile such attitudes with the kind of curriculum and classroom structure that the project proposed and that at some level most of them accepted suggests that some of the optimism educational reformers have had about installing programs modelled on the open-ended British infant schools is ill-founded. But, a more serious difficulty, I think, lies in the attitudes of people to the interns themselves . . . the idea of people from the community working in the schools.⁶

The expectations of the functioning of a good educational program differ greatly between the Latins and Anglos.

The Latins tend to expect a more authoritarianly run classroom, with the children obedient and quiet.

Schooling is serious; games are seen not as educational instruction but as a waste of time. Even when the idea of the open classroom is understood and supported intellectually, operationalization of the concepts in the classroom by the Latins may be difficult. Finally, the

⁵Elena Padilla, Up From Puerto Rico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 206-209.

⁶Paul Lauter, "The Short, Happy Life of the Adams-Morgan Community School Project," Harvard Educational Review, Vo. 28, No. 2 (Spring, 1968), 235-262.

schools seem to be considered less professional if community residents such as teacher-aides are brought into the classroom. The feeling about the aides would make it difficult for them in the community.

With the Clusters, the tensions around these issues of two very different perceptions of components of educational instruction did exist. The problem was not so much that the difference exists, as much as the reluctance of those involved to confront these differences and resultant tensions. Without confrontation and discussion of these basic assumptions of education, there will be no growth. Instead, there is disillusionment and lack of mutual understanding about the very thing they are all trying to do--provide good education for the Spanish-speaking children in Boston.

These threads which are common to the programs for the Spanish-speaking have been created in the initiation and operation of the individual projects. There has been no overview of the totality of the programs being designed for the Spanish-speaking nor has there been intra-project coordination or planning.

The foundations on which some of these directions have been based is shaky. The assumptions which are supporting the actions are questionable, as illustrated by the review of the research, the evaluations of the projects and the information available on the Spanish-speaking in Boston.

What is more interesting is that the directions which have been taken have not created controversy. Those inside the system who have been involved in the programs for the Spanish-speaking, and those educational leaders who have been instrumental in shaping the programs from outside the system seem to be in basic agreement. The primary concern up to this point has been that there are a large number of children who are out of school and not receiving help. The questions about the nature of the programs and the quality of the education which is being provided are not being raised. The only open controversy which has developed was the firing of the community coordinator from the Clusters program. He was advocating an education approach which heavily emphasized development of cultural awareness for the children. The difference in opinion among the Latin and Anglo staff as to what constitutes a good educational program for the Spanish-speaking has not developed into an open controversy, though it has the potential.

Controversy has not brought the issues surrounding the education of the Spanish-speaking out into the spotlight. Those in the system and the educational leaders have similar viewpoints. And, once the programs begin these leaders do not maintain a close involvement anyway.

There are no advisory councils concerned about the overall program development of the Spanish-speaking or particular programs. There seem to be no other channels of expression for differing points of view.

CONCLUSION

Up through the action which has been described in the case studies, there was no central coordinating body for the programs for the Spanish-speaking in Boston. The educational planning which was done was oriented toward the initiation and operations of particular programs. Each of the programs has evolved fairly independently of the others; decisions have been made without a consideration of the overall set of problems which must be met.

A. DEPARTMENT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

With the creation of the Department of Bilingual Education in September 1970 comes the opportunity for comprehensive educational planning for the Spanish-speaking in Boston. The impetus for the creation of the department was the rapid growth of the School Department's involvement in programs for the non-English speakers, described in the case studies. The school system policy makers agreed with various people concerned about the non-English speaking students, and, most vocally, the advocates of the Bilingual Clusters, that a department was needed to coordinate the system's growing program of bilingual education.

The description for the job of Director of the Department was circularized in the school system in March. Among the duties of the Director were

- a. To coordinate the programs and services now available for students for whom English is a second language;
- b. To evaluate systematically these programs and organize additional programs to meet changing needs;
- c. To be responsible for whatever functions, such as budget preparation and control, ordering of supplies and equipment, are necessary for efficient administration;
- d. To supervise staff, professional and para-professional, and stimulate professional growth in the field;
- e. To maintain and promote those relationships --human, professional and community--necessary to advance the goals of this Department.¹

Hired to coordinate, evaluate, administer, and supervise was Mr. Jeremiah Botelho, a high school teacher from a poor Portuguese family, who can speak English, Portuguese, and Spanish.

When Mr. Botelho took over as Director of the Department in September he had two goals: to pull together a department and to educate himself on bilingual education. To pull together a department he located the ESL, Title VII, and Clusters offices at 21 James Street in the South End, location of one of the Clusters. He centralized the staff work and held bi-monthly meetings of

¹Boston Public Schools, "Superintendent's Circular," 6 March 1970, Mimeographed. (Educational Development Center files).

the staff. Informal contact with the staff was promoted by propinquity.

The self-education of Mr. Botelho was carried out by reading available materials on bilingualism and bilingual education, talking with the staff, observing classes and attending conferences.

Reviewing the accomplishment of the year, Mr. Botelho feels that he met his two goals. "While I was trying to accomplish these two goals, I took a position of status quo on current programs, a 'band-aid' approach to problems."² He is challenged by the future and pleased with his position. He frequently notes, "They [the school decision-makers] thought they were giving me a crumb; instead they gave me a jewel."

Mr. Botelho's plans for next year include the creation of the foundation for a "true" bilingual school, which he would like to see opened by 1972 or 1973. This school would be half English and half Spanish-speaking students. Education of both groups would be aimed toward fluency in both languages.

Development of a planning mechanism is also on Mr. Botelho's agenda. He has an ideal educational planner in mind: "Someone who would come to staff

²Interview with Jeremiah Botelho, 14 May 1971.

meetings take their ideas, discuss the constraints, draw up a draft and present it to the staff for feedback."³ The planner would also work with a bilingual task force. This group would have representatives from staff and curriculum development division, and individuals outside the system who are knowledgeable about bilingual education. This group of experts would meet regularly and develop ideas. The planner would pull the ideas together, discuss implementation and constraints and develop proposals for action.

Eventually Mr. Botelho envisions the creation of parents' advisory groups organized around each of the programs. These groups would probably also need the assistance of the planner, to work with them and help channel their opinions and recommendations into the planning process.

The question of who is going to do the planning is very much up in the air, unresolved by a year of operation. Mr. Botelho would like the Educational Planning Center to provide him with a planner. This is unlikely for several reasons. First and foremost, the School Committee voted to terminate the Educational Planning Center as of 31 August 1971, as part of an economy move. If the Center does manage to continue, it

³Interview with Jeremiah Botelho, 21 May 1971.

is still unlikely they would provide the planner described. EPC will provide technical assistance to the Department, but feels that the Department should do the goal setting and then ask for specific assistance.⁴ EPC will write proposals, develop in-service training, and do technical writing for the Department. It would probably mean, therefore, that the Department would have to hire its own planner.

B. PLANNING CONSTRAINTS

Regardless of who is going to do the planning, there are some constraints which will be operating on the educational planning and implementation. Mr. Botelho says that there are two main constraints which he faces: money and space. However, the question of money is not as grim as it might be. At present the school system has taken a favorable attitude toward the funding of programs for the Spanish-speaking. In the past year's austerity move which may bring the end to the Educational Planning Center, the Department of Bilingual Education was given an increase of 35 new teachers for the next year. The Department was one of only two which were allowed increases in operating expenses.

⁴Interview with John Coakley of the Educational Planning Center, 26 July 1971.

Federal funding is less likely to be expanded. It is at present unlikely that there will be any new categories of assistance for the education of non-English speaking children. The two programs which are receiving federal assistance--ESL and Title VII--will continue at least for a couple of years. (Built into the Title VII Act was a five-year life; however, it does seem unlikely, given the way government funding goes, that it would be cut off at the end of the five-year period.) There will come the normal acceptable yearly increase of project budgets, but more than this is unlikely.

There may be new funds available from the State Department of Education through the bilingual education bill presently pending in the General Court. If the bill is passed and funded, Boston would receive a substantial share of the total funding--\$7 million over the next five years. The requirement on these funds is that they be spent for bilingual education. At present the plans are to use these funds to expand the bilingual component of the ESL program.

In short, there is never enough money, but given the past funding level, the assurance of continued federal support, the present support from the School Committee and the possibility of additional funds from the state, the financial outlook for educational programs

for the Spanish-speaking is fairly rosy and the state funds could provide a chance for creation of new approaches.

The question of space is less optimistic, at least for the short run. As I have pointed out in the case studies, the English Language Center, many of the ESL classes, and one of the Bilingual Clusters are all meeting in temporary locations which are not necessarily conducive to a supportive educational environment. During the development of the most recent program, the Clusters, there was a very thorough effort to find classroom space in the whole North Dorchester area. Temporary arrangements were made, but they are inadequate. The problem of classroom space for the Cluster has still not been resolved a year and a half later.

There are several new schools being planned, among them the Blackstone School which is designed to be especially for the Spanish-speaking. Other schools, such as the New Quincy School, the Carter Complex, and the Fuller School, are all having bilingual instructional components--language laboratories and other facilities--written into the educational specifications. However, the earliest that any of these schools will be open is the fall of 1973. And at present, there are problems with the needed state share for the financing of any new

school construction in Boston, which might delay the construction. In the interim the Department may well be hampered by lack of space in any expansion plans.

The relationship with the rest of the system creates some constraints on the planning alternatives for the Department. For the most part, the Department operates fairly autonomously from the school system. Mr. Botelho commented: "The Department as departments go in the system, works independently. The less relationship the better."⁵ However, he does feel that he would have greater chance of getting through the necessary programs if the Department were directly responsible to the Superintendent of Schools. At present, it is under the Associate Superintendent of Special Services.

Also, there are some constraints which exist because the Departmental staff are not completely under its jurisdiction. The project directors of the ESL and Title VII programs are in part responsible to the funding agencies and thus operate under two sets of authority structures. Also, some of the teaching staff is not directly responsible to the Department. The ESL teachers are primarily responsible to the principals in whose schools they are working. Neither Mr. Botelho nor the project director can exercise much direction over them, especially

⁵Interview with Jeremiah Botelho, 14 May 1971.

where the principal is uncooperative. In addition, the English Language Center remains on the periphery of the Department, with ties and allegiances to the Adult Education Division.

And, finally, the existence of the programs themselves creates a constraint on planning. The programs do exist, and, as I have indicated, their funding is likely to continue at least for a couple of years. Only the ESL program may change as it becomes a predominately bilingual project.

C. EDUCATIONAL GOALS

At another level, the development of the programs for the Spanish-speaking has produced a set of themes which run through the program. These themes are an emphasis on English-language acquisition, evolution toward predominately bilingual approach, segregation of the non-English speaking students, a lack of development of a bicultural instructional component. Running through these is an absence of agreement on what constitutes good educational practice for the Spanish-speaking. Generally speaking these themes have emerged without having been intentionally created nor decided upon in the course of the development of the individual projects;

there has been little or no concern about the overall direction these programs were taking nor that they were evolving into more or less the same approach.

I feel that a reconsideration of these themes is the most immediate and crucial task before the Department of Bilingual Education. There needs to be an assessment of where the individual projects have come from, what the needs are of the population which these projects are to serve, what the values are which should be considered, what degree of flexibility each of the programs has, and what constitutes quality education. The Department must ask if the present themes are the ones they want to pursue in the future. The Department has been created at a point in time where there are a large number of children in the various programs. These programs should not be accepted as the only models for education of the Spanish-speaking. The present themes have been developed in a disjointed incremental manner. The review of the literature on bilingualism, the project evaluations, and the information on the Spanish-speaking population in Boston has shown that there is a questionable foundation for the present themes and most clearly that the education of the Spanish-speaking should be flexible, perhaps experimental in nature and that several kinds of educational approaches should be developed. Furthermore, there is a need to change from the orientation of concern

over the number of children in and out of school to a concern about the quality of education the children who are in school are receiving.

The programs have been developed without an explicit consideration of the educational goals for the Spanish-speaking. The planning and programmatic decisions which have been made now constitute a series of programs and precedents. Within these programs and precedents an unintentional set of themes has been created. (Comprehensive educational planning would have made an effort to first articulate a set of goals, delineate objectives, and then try to create programs which would meet these goals.)

The setting of the goals for the education of the Spanish-speaking lies within the domain of the Department of Bilingual Education responsibilities. There seems to be no other segment of the school system which would challenge this effort.

Goal setting received little attention in the Boston Public Schools. At least two dozen departments are involved in developing programs, but only in some curricula guides do any educational goals appear. The amount of time the School Committee devotes to educational policy appears to be limited; this demonstrates a lack of long-range educational planning.⁶

⁶Joseph M. Cronin, Organizing an Urban School System for Diversity (Boston: Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, 1970), p. 31.

The Educational Planning Center has said that it will help with technical planning but feels that it is the responsibility of the Department to set its goals and objectives.

The themes which have developed in the programs for the Spanish-speaking can be said to represent one ideological position about the education of immigrant or minority children. This orientation is reflected in the direction and function of the socialization component of the educational process. The instruction of the Spanish-speaking children is more than just instruction of English and imparting of a body of knowledge. Piaget well described the inter-relationship between education and socialization:

To educate is to adapt the child to an adult social environment, in other words, to change the individual's psychobiological constitution in terms of the totality of the collective of realities to which the community consciously attributes a certain value. There are, therefore, two terms in the relation constituted by education: on one hand the growing individual; on the other hand the social, intellectual, and moral values into which the educator is charged with initiating that individual.⁷

This initiation which Piaget refers to is particularly crucial when the social, intellectual, and moral values of the educator and the dominant society comprise one set and those of the child comprise another. Does the

⁷Jean Piaget, Science of Education and the Psychology of the Child (New York: Orion Press, 1970), p. 137.

educator and the society have the responsibility to initiate the Spanish-speaking children into their set of social, intellectual and moral values; to teach the child those of his own; to explain, but not initiate, both sets; or to help try to find a new synthesis? These are the challenges which are at the center of planning and goal setting for the education of the Spanish-speaking.

The acquisition of English for the Puerto Rican child (if necessary and inevitable) is no great problem; . . . what is more important to the Puerto Rican child (and to American society) is the process of acculturation. How does the Puerto Rican child retain his identity, his language, and his culture? In substance, this remains the crucial problem and in this crucial context the role of the school in American society needs to be carefully assessed.⁸

In the case of an alien or minority group, the initiation or socialization function can be described in terms of three general ideological tendencies.

. . . we may say that the 'Anglo conformity' theory demanded the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon cultural groups; the 'melting pot' idea envisaged a bio-merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with the immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type; and 'cultural pluralism' postulated the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society.⁹

⁸Francesco Cordasco, "The Puerto Rican Child in the American School," in Education and the Urban Community, ed. by Maurie Hillson, Francesco Cordasco and Francis Purcell (New York: American Book Company, 1969), p. 93.

⁹Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 85.

I have interpreted these ideological orientations in terms of the educational themes which run through present operations. This is portrayed schematically below.

TPOLOGY

IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

| | <u>Anglo Conformity</u> | <u>Melting Pot</u> | <u>Cultural Pluralism</u> |
|------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Instruction Method | ESL; goal: fluency in English | Bilingual; goal: fluency in English | Bilingual; goal: fluency in Spanish and English |
| Integration/ Segregation | Segregation for special classes in language, or integration; goal: assimilation | Segregation for special instruction; goal: eventual assimilation | Segregation; goal: maintenance of language and culture. |
| Cultural Instruction | Citizenship, orientation to American way; goal: assimilation | Citizenship, orientation to American way and some Latin heritage; goal: a new synthesis of American way. | Latin culture, history, and values, and study of American society; goal: cultural maintenance. |
| Components of Good Education | Defined by U.S. standards, no special program needs except English | Defined by U.S. standards with some adjustment, possible special programs | Defined by Latin standards. |

Continuing with the ideological orientation model, I would maintain that the present programs and orientation of the education of the Spanish-speaking in Boston fall within the "Anglo-conformity" and "melting pot" orientations. An education program consonant with the "cultural pluralism" outlook would have been developed differently from the way the present ones have been. The focus of such program development would be

. . . of preserving cultural traits, of dignifying qualities and practices different from our own and of creating a feeling of pride in the mores, customs, conventions and social patterns of the immigrant in his homeland. . . . Education, therefore, under this theory assumes a totally different role. It begins by discovering their character, by magnifying them, by dignifying them, and by creating a feeling of pride in them.¹⁰

In the American past there has been a continuing debate on the proper role of education with regard to these three orientations. The large immigration at the end of the last century prompted debate on the role of education. According to the educational historian Cremin, the "Anglo-conformity" or Americanization outlook was the most dominant. Some advocated the concept of the "melting pot" (taken from a play of the period). Only a small group of intellectuals advocated a pluralistic

C. Wright Mills, Clarence Senior and Rose Kohn Goldson, The Puerto Rican Journey (New York: Russell and Russell, 1950), p. 84.

culture perspective.¹¹ Reacting to World War I and the fear that schools would become the tools of foreign elements, most of the states expressly prohibited teaching in public schools (and often in private schools) in any language other than English.¹²

In the light of the past, the passage of the Title VII, Bilingual Education Act represents a real turning point. It overrules the states' linguistic prohibitions and actually provides federal funding for instruction in languages other than English. Though the intent of the act is not an across-the-board support of the development of linguistic and cultural pluralism in America, it is and reflects an alteration in an exclusive support for the "Anglo-conformity" and "melting pot" ideological orientations.

¹¹Lawrence A. Cremin, Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957 (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), p. 69.

¹²Arnold Leibowitz, "English Literacy: Legal Sanction for Discrimination," Revista Juridica de la Universidad de Puerto Rico (Vol. XXXIX, No. 3). Tied into the question of instruction in other than English was the issue of public subsidy of such instruction. Similar to the division of the end of the 19th century, only the intellectuals were in favor of the public subsidizing instruction in a foreign language.

"All in all, the concept received its greatest opposition until recently from members of minority ethnic groups and religious groups who seemed unprepared to see subsidized pluralism in American society as the fulfillment of 'the American idea' in modern intercultural relations."
(Joshua A. Fishman, "Public Subsidized Pluralism: The European and American Context," in School and Society, Vol. 87, supplement of 23 May 1959, p. 247)

The passage of the Title VII program was due in part to a change in the time. The concept of the "melting pot" has been challenged as not presenting the American reality. Among others, Glazer and Moynihan's Beyond the Melting Pot, and the less well known book by Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, document the fact that the melting process has not taken place. These authors find instead a continued existence of structural pluralism in American society. With this realization comes the necessity to reassess the old myths held which influenced social policy planning and particularly educational planning. Gordon offers the following advice.

Immigration-adjustment agencies, then, should not waste their time and energy in attempting to promote structural assimilation on a massive scale but should accept the functional desirability of communal life with good grace . . .¹³

The role of the schools in the socialization process has been a position of particular controversy in the past few years. Led by the Blacks, minority groups have begun to challenge the schools' rights in socialization of the minority children into the dominant society. Reasons for this challenge are clearly articulated by a Black educational leader in Boston.

Control of the schools becomes an integral and necessary part in the establishment of the Black Community. Education is part of the socializing

¹³Gordon, Assimilation, p. 242.

process through which the cultural heritage, the values as well as the skills necessary to control one's own destiny are learned.

Control of educational institutions also represents the re-distribution of power necessary to establish the legitimacy of the Black Community as a powerful and viable identity in the society. thus, community control of schools becomes more than a means for educational reform; it becomes a political expression of the new Black Community.¹⁴

The uniqueness of the present set of immigrants (and migrants) just adds further support in favor of a more pluralistic orientation of the educational process. As I have tried to demonstrate in the Context, there are several unique characteristics of the Spanish-speaking community in Boston. The Spanish-speaking are linguistically, socially, culturally and racially different from the dominant Anglo society and its school system. While it is hard to imagine that there will be no adaptation of the Spanish-speaking to their new environment, the New York City experience indicates that for the Puerto Ricans at least there will be a maintenance of the Puerto Rican language and culture.¹⁵ Their ties with the island are close. They have not come to the mainland to start a new life in America; they are already Americans and are just moving within the country in which

¹⁴Barbara Jackson, "The King-Timilty Council, the Black Community of Boston and the Boston Public Schools: An Analysis of Their Relationship" (September 1969, Mimeographed).

¹⁵Joshua Fishman et al., "Bilingualism in the Barrio," August 1968, ERIC ED 026 546; and Gordon, Assimilation, p. 76.

their language and culture should and does have some validity and respectability just because it is America. However, the Puerto Rican culture and language are not considered to be American by normal standards.

The situation of the Cubans and other Latin Americans in Boston is less clear. They are foreigners. Many of the Cubans still maintain hopes of returning to the island; there continues to be rumor of invasions to overthrow Castro. Until there is some resolution of this struggle or acceptance of Castro's position, there will probably be a maintenance of the Cuban community, culture and language. I do not know enough about the people from the other Latin American countries to comment on their situation, nor probability of their adaptation.

Thus the objective reality of immigrant groups overall and, relevant to this study, the Puerto Rican community if not the whole Spanish-speaking community, contrasts with the "Anglo-conformity" and "melting pot" orientations of the educational programs presently available for them. I believe when there is such contrast on such a fundamental issue, the professionals are at least minimally obligated to make a reassessment of

their position. I agree with Herbert Gans' assertion:

. . . planners and other professionals do not monopolize wisdom about goals and values, that diversity is valuable, and that people are entitled to live the way they choose, unless that way can be proved destructive to them or to their fellow man.¹⁶

However, it does seem that educators are frequently reluctant to consider the contrast.

All too often they [schools] demand styles of behavior antithetical not only to social and ethnic minorities but also to most other original or 'difficult' children, no matter what their backgrounds. They are the instruments of social selection, and as such, they screen out misfits for the middle class, regardless of race, color or national origin . . . the school in short, is not an instrument of pluralism, but of conformity.¹⁷

The challenge to the educational planner for the Spanish-speaking is to develop a way in which the schools become less of an instrument for conformity and more for pluralism, which is reflective of social reality.

D. PLANNING MODEL

If the Department or its educational planner does decide to make a reassessment of the present orientation of the programs for the Spanish-speaking there will be a need to develop a planning process which will be tailored to the situation. Development

¹⁶Herbert Gans, People and Plans (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. ix.

¹⁷Peter Schrag, "Why Our Schools Have Failed" in The Politics of Urban Education, ed. by Marilyn Gittell and Alan G. Hevesi (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 315.

of a planning process which is drawn from the rational decision-making model is not complementary to the context of the planning environment or needs. Such a model described by Meyerson and Banfield, based on their conception that planning is a "rational selection of course of action":

1. The decision-maker considers all of the alternatives (courses of action) open to him . . .
2. He identifies and evaluates all of the consequences which would follow from the adoption of each alternative . . .
3. He selects that alternative the probable consequences of which would be preferable in terms of his most valued ends.¹⁸

In order to take the first step in this rational planning model, the planner must make an analysis of the situation. I think that the most obvious conclusion that the planner would deduce from the situation is that there is not enough information presently available and that the first step would be an extensive collection and development of relevant information. However, having made the review of the information we also know that the basic questions which would guide the development of the programs are not resolved in the research and are laden with value considerations.

In short, the planner needs a model which is less "rational," by which information and values can be

¹⁸Martin Meyerson and Edward C. Banfield, Politics, Planning and the Public Interest (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 315.

generated without the constraint of artificial or irrelevant criteria. Charles Lindbloom describes a model for decision-making which seems more nearly to meet the needs of our educational planner. This model is called "partisan mutual adjustment."¹⁹ In this model, decisions are arrived at by agreements among those involved, without the existence of a central coordinating process which is independent of the decision-making process. Lindbloom refers to those involved in this mutual adjustment as partisan.

In a group of decision-makers a decision maker is a partisan with respect to the others if (a) he does not assume that there exists some knowable criteria acceptable to him and all the other decision-makers that is sufficient, if applied, to govern adjustments among them; and (b) he therefore does not move toward coordination by a cooperative or deliberate search for and/or application of such criteria or by an appeal for adjudication to those who do so search and apply.²⁰

Thus, the key to the process which Lindbloom describes is that it is agreed and accepted among those involved that "knowable criteria" for decision-making do not exist. Acceptance of the lack of pre-formulated criteria and inclusion of people concerned about a particular set of problems would open the planning process, allowing for

¹⁹For a full discussion see Charles Lindbloom, Intelligence of Democracy (New York: Free Press, 1965).

²⁰Ibid., p. 29.

the process to serve as a forum for expression of opinions, development of information and debate.

Furthermore, this mutual adjustment model is tailored to the situation of a minority group, such as the Spanish-speaking in Boston. They will continue to remain a minority within the city. And, they are not a homogeneous group; there are many separate interest groups within this population. If the decision-making process were to be guided by some kind of majoritarian principle, the Spanish-speaking and the various interest groups within the community would not have a voice in influencing the decisions which would affect them.²¹ By not having set criteria and encouraging all those interested to participate in the discussion, the partisan mutual adjustment process allows the weight of influence in the decision-making to be adjusted to take into account the

²¹ Gans suggests that the shortcomings of American democracy, particularly in its dependence on majority rule, are in large part due to the present crisis in the country.

"America has been a pluralistic society for almost a century, but the shortcomings of the majority rule have not become a public issue before, mainly because previous generations of outvoted groups had other forms of redress. The outvoted of the past were concentrated among poor ethnic and racial minorities, as they are today, but in earlier years, the economy needed their unskilled labor so that they had less incentive to confront the majority, except to fight for the establishment of labor unions. Moreover, they had little reason to think about majority rule for government plays a smaller role in the economy and in their lives."

(Herbert Gans, "We Won't End the Urban Crisis Until We End Majority Rule," New York Times Magazine, 3 August 1969.)

intensity of feeling and of expression by those who have particular interests in a policy area.²²

E. INVOLVEMENT OF PARTISANS

It could be argued that to some degree the initial planning process for the Bilingual Clusters and the Blackstone School resembled the partisan mutual adjustment model as delineated by Lindbloom. Groups which were interested were able to participate in the planning process. There was little guidance; few criteria were set which guided the planning. There was no strong centralized decision-making body.

From a planning perspective these two cases suggest the problems inherent in the model when it is operationalized. The two citizen groups were involved for as long as they were interested in the issue. Both groups had organized around limited objectives: the ad hoc group advocating the Clusters focused on the opening of the Clusters; the SECEC/ETC combination focused on the writing of the Blackstone proposal. Neither of these groups were able to sustain interest to establish a new set of goals once the original goal was met. The ad hoc group was not concerned about the operations of the

²²Charles Lindbloom, Intelligence, pp. 246-290.

Bilingual Clusters; the SECEC/ETC group was not able to promote interest in continued discussions and preparation for a school which will not be built at least for two more years. Thus, the planner is left without the involvement of the original partisans and no new groups have stepped forward to become involved.

The other limitation of the partisan mutual adjustment model is that it assumes that interested parties will know about the planning and will want to become involved. However, from the case studies, I have tried to show that only a small part of the heterogeneous Spanish-speaking community has participated. The partisans have been professional, middle-class, assimilated Latins. These participants are "public regarding"; no one who has been involved has had children who have been involved in the programs. These participants are willing to act on behalf of the community. However, in reality they have little contact with the Spanish-speaking community, especially with the poor, the newcomers and those who are not Puerto Ricans.

This group has become recognized by the school system as the legitimate spokesmen of the Spanish-speaking community. They are middle-class like the people in the school system. They speak English. They are professionals who have become knowledgeable about the educational programs and issues and thus can talk with the educators who are

involved at a level of specificity about the issues which is commensurate with the level of interest of the educators. They understand how to deal with the system from a political standpoint. However, the planner who is concerned about developing a wider participation will meet with many frustrations. The Blackstone case illustrates the frustration of the Educational Planning Center planner, encountered when he realized that the SECEC/ETC combination was not representative of the community, or of the various interests in the community.

The Blackstone case illustrates a number of problems of trying to encourage wider participation in the planning process. Efforts to organize the community residents and concerned people were abortive for a number of reasons. First, those who were concerned about organizing did not have the support of the organization with which they were working; they did not have legitimacy, time, nor command of Spanish. When they did try to make efforts to discuss the issues, they were met with some polite interest but soon found out that the real concerns of the community people were about specific school operational issues, such as hot lunches and discipline. The educational questions posed by the organizers were too abstract and seemingly unconnected with the specific issues the community people were concerned about. Finally, the organizers were reluctant

to try to include some of the community people into the proposal development discussion because the proposal writers did not speak Spanish (the community people did not speak English) and they were conducting discussions at an abstract level; the organizers feared that these factors would inhibit and intimidate the community residents.

The case studies also document the general failure to get parents and other community residents involved in program operations. There has been involvement where there has been money available to hire people as teacher-aides or pay for observation of the classes. But there is not enough money to pay for widespread involvement and payment for involvement can be questioned since it may be co-optive. Once included in the programs, the community people have not been given the kind of support in terms of education, training and guidance which is needed for them to learn most in their roles as aides and observers and to give the most to the program. Their opinions about issues have not been sought out. As the only community representatives involved in the program, they have not been given special consideration in the program planning, as might be inferred from the Lindbloom decision-making model.

If the planner is going to develop a planning process in which those who have interest in the decision-making know about the process, can and do participate,

the reasons for the failure of parental and community involvement in the past need to be understood and mechanisms should be created to overcome these shortcomings. The case studies of this thesis, as well as other studies of the Spanish-speaking participation in school and education issues, indicate an overall lack of involvement in the schools.²³ Reports on Puerto Ricans reaffirm these findings.²⁴

²³At a general level, many studies of participation have forewarned us that the low-status, poorly educated will not tend to become involved in school issues. Almond and Verba found in their five-nation study that participation in decisions in schools (e.g., feeling free to complain, talking about social issues) rises with level of education. (Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture [Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963], p. 277). Otis found that social rank and urbanization indicators related to amount and quality of information about schools. (John Albert Otis, "The Relationship between Citizen Interest in Schools and Social Rank and Urbanization" [Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966]).

²⁴J. J. Osuna, "Report on Visits to New York City Schools," in Puerto Rican Children in Mainland Schools, ed. by Francesco Cordasco and Eugene Bucchioni (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1968) pp. 235-236; Henry Miller, "New York City's Pupils: A Problem of Acculturation," in School and Society, Vol. 76, No. 1967 (August 30, 1952), pp. 129-132; Annette T. Rubinstein, "Visiting Ocean Hill-Brownsville in November, 1968 and May, 1969" in Schools Against Children, ed. by Annette T. Rubinstein (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), p. 240; Elena Padilla, Up From Puerto Rico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 207-208; and Harold W. Weissman, ed., Employment and Educational Services in the Mobilization for Youth Experience (New York: Association Press, 1969).

Two authors have described wide involvement in the schools. Sexton describes P.S. 108 in Manhattan, a new school which has 450 parents attending school meetings

I will present my impressions for the reasons there has been a lack of involvement of the Spanish-speaking community in Boston in the educational program planning. These are initial ideas and should be compared with other interpretations of the reality. Such ideas should be used in the development of mechanisms to encourage greater participation in the planning process.

1. At the most obvious level, there is the language barrier between the Spanish-speaking and the dominant society, and its institution, the school. Many of the school personnel (particularly in the English Language Center and the English as a Second Language program) speak only English. In any effort at communications--through messages to the parents, conferences or general meetings--some form of translation is necessary, but it is a burdensome problem which does not promote an ease of interaction. The language barrier is a reaffirmation of the distance between the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking, dominant society.

because of the Latin ambience the school personnel willingly promote. Rubinstein relates her interview with Luis Fuentes who tells her about the participation of the Puerto Ricans in the Bilingual Advisory Committee. The impetus for involvement was the awareness of the community control issue in this sub-school within the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district. (Rubinstein, "Ocean Hill-Brownsville"; and Patricia Cayo Sexton, Spanish Harlem [New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1965].)

2. The Latin's perceptions of the schools and school teachers inhibits involvement. For Latins, teachers are esteemed members of the community, respected professionals. Thus, the Latins are likely not to question or challenge the teachers' or schools' policy or actions.

3. Many of the Latin Americans in Boston have had little schooling themselves, and with the exception of about 5%, have never attended schools on the mainland United States. They do not know what is expected of them and their children; they are easily intimidated by the school personnel by their own lack of education.

4. Many of the Latins in Boston are poor. They are preoccupied with a multiplicity of problems--employment, housing, health. Problems are confronted on a crisis-oriented basis. Within the demands of their lives, the problems of the schools and education of their children is just one of many concerns.

5. There is a lack of leadership in the community which is concerned about raising school and educational issues. There is no effort to mobilize the community around these issues. Therefore, no one is attempting to educate the community; no one is raising issues which create controversy, and yet the differences of opinion do exist. The leadership is acting on behalf of the community and by doing so is keeping the community uninformed and preventing the issues from rising to the surface.

6. There has been a general shortcoming on the part of the school personnel to find ways to greater involvement in the programs and planning. And where there are people involved, there has been an absence of support for them. This lack of commitment to community involvement in the program assumes that the educators have most of the answers; I would assert that they do not.

F. SOME IDEAS

I suggested in the introduction to this thesis that one thought behind the research and preparation of the thesis was the question of what I would do if I were the educational planner. How would I act? Sitting in this comfortable room in Belmont, removed from the immediacy of the situation, the political considerations, I would like to share with you ideas I have had about some of the directions I would take if I were the planner.

I do want to emphasize that these are just some ideas. I can not sit here and make useful recommendations. I am not the planner. I do not have a grasp of the political considerations which would influence the planning priorities and possibilities. Further once one decision was made, the consequences, which I can not determine from here, would be constraints for future

planning decisions. And, finally, I would want to try to operate within the intent of the Lindbloom decision-making model. By making recommendations absent from the influences of the possible interest groups which would be involved, I would be setting criteria for decision-making. I would be offering for their consideration recommendations and the decision-making process would then center around their approval, veto, or adaptation.

The ideas that I will present do rest on the assertion that there is the need for the Department of Bilingual Education to plan for the future development and expansion of the school system's response to the Spanish-speaking and to reverse the past trend of disjointed, incremental program-oriented development processes. In order to achieve this end the Department must create an intentional planning process. Three levels of planning must be developed. At an overall level, educational planning would set educational goals and objectives, set long range goals, establish priorities, assess the present programs and develop ideas for new programs given the needs of the community, and develop methods for intra-project coordination. The program planning would continue as it has in the past--an orientation toward the development and expansion of the particular programs, with an additional concern for the development of intra-project support mechanisms

(such as a resource center and coordination). And, finally, if the Educational Planning Center does continue, there needs to be a closer, working relationship created between the Department and the Center. As I have argued, there is a need for this planning process to be open, accessible to those interested in the educational and school issues which affect the Spanish-speaking. Through every means conceivable (pamphlets, posters, school communiqués, newsletters, TV and radio, personal contact, agency contacts, mass meetings, small meetings, fiestas, etc.), the Department must inform the community of its efforts to include the community residents in the planning and to keep them in touch with the decisions which have been made. And, finally, up to the present, the primary concerns of the system has been the Puerto Rican community. People from other nationality groups, probably with other needs and interests, should be included in the planning.

Just keeping the community informed is not sufficient; the Department must organize channels for participation. I would like to briefly outline some of the possible kinds of organizations:

1. Departmental Task Force. This Task Force has already been proposed by Mr. Botelho, and already operates informally. The Task Force would include the educational leaders who by their training

and involvement in past issues have become knowledgeable about the problems of the education of the Spanish-speaking. Along with the outside experts, the project directors, the Director of the Department, and representatives from the various groups suggested below would sit on this committee. Because of the overall level of sophistication, the Task Force would be the most capable of dealing with the abstract, educational planning issues, setting goals and objectives. However, just because they are the most capable does not necessarily mean that they are the only ones who should make such decisions. Other groups must be developed and educated to participate in the Task Force.

2. Project advisory groups. Groups should be formed around the various programs, as recommended (required) in the Title I and Title VII guidelines. The function of these groups would be to work with the project director on program planning. Representatives from the advisory groups along with the project director would act as project specialists in the educational planning and decision-making of the Task Force.

3. Parents groups. Parents groups could be organized around the various schools where there are large numbers of Spanish-speaking and at the classroom level. Among the several functions of these groups would be to serve as input into the program planning and educational planning.

4. Youth Council. This council would be composed of older students from the intermediate and high schools, and the English Language Center. Among their functions would be interpretation and articulation of the students' points of view.

5. Paraprofessionals. The teacher-aides and the community coordinators have a unique contribution to make as the individuals in the programs who are closest to the community. An organization of paraprofessional and community aides would provide the opportunity for them to express their concerns and goal for the programs in which they are working as well as communicate the attitudes and feelings of the community about the programs and educational goals for the Spanish-speaking.

I do not envision the immediate formulation of all these groups, nor do I believe that they might all exist at one time, sometime in the future. Further, I would suspect that the groups which are organized would be very fluid in membership, given the high mobility of the community. However, I do not see this as an overriding concern. In fact it is probably advantageous, because there would be no narrow definition of group membership. In turn, decision-making would be more conducive to the "partisan mutual adjustment" model in which those who are interested in a particular issue would have the opportunity to try to influence the outcome of the decision-making process.

These groups and other groups which might be organized can not be created just as an end in themselves nor just because it is good for people to get involved. With the possible exception of the Task Force, these groups can not be considered as just forums for discussion of abstract educational issues. The group must satisfy and reflect the needs of its participants. There are two possible kinds of orientations that the groups could take: task orientation, and social-education orientation.

The Youth Council could be organized around a task. Through the work-study program for the high school Spanish-speakers, the teenagers could be employed as tutors for children in the lower grades. There are many children in the present programs who need special assistance which they can not receive because of the total amount of demands on the teachers and teacher-aides. These tutors could help. The creation of such a Council would perform several functions: employment for the students; increase in needed manpower for the education of the Spanish-speaking children; an introduction into the teaching profession; development of mutual support among the members of the Youth Council; and, perhaps serve a counselling function for the younger children. The result of this tutoring program would be that the

Youth Council members would have a particularly unique perspective on the program for the Spanish-speaking both as receivers of the services and as participants in the teaching. This perspective would be useful in the program and educational planning processes, adding a dimension to the discussion which would probably be ignored otherwise.^{2 5}

A social-educational orientation could be the basis for the organization of the Parents Groups. These groups are perhaps the most difficult of all the groups to organize. And, at the same time, they are perhaps the most important because their goal is to recruit and educate people who would not otherwise become involved in school and planning issues. The teachers and the teacher-aides will probably have to initiate these groups.

^{2 5}A project of this nature has been developed in La Puente, California.

"Mexican-American high school students identified as potential dropouts will be offered the opportunity to be employed as tutors in the elementary school program. They will receive pre- and in-service training and teacher assistance to aid them in their tutoring."

(U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Educational Resources Information, Projects to Advance Creativity in Education, Pacesetters in Innovation, Fiscal Year 1969 [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, n.d.], p. 103.)

What will bring the parents to meetings? One school in New York found

Parents came to see their children honored or to see their work of performances. They came to see Spanish films, purposely held at the end of the meeting. Coffee was served, at first American coffee; when few drank, the staff switched to Puerto Rican con leche. The government of Puerto Rico selected and loaned Spanish educational films.²⁶

Other gimmicks would include fiestas, celebration of Latin holidays, performances of various groups in the community.

Other ways to attract the parents is to offer services and/or a community agency referral system. Services which could be offered include adult English classes, vocational and trade classes, medical and dental clinics, immigration assistance, employment and housing referrals, and the like. The school personnel do not have to be involved directly in these services; the school could be opened in the evenings to agencies. Staff could invite agency representatives to come to parents meetings to explain their services, or the school could keep a referral list of useful phone numbers with names of the Spanish-speaking staff.

Interconnected with the offering of the social activities and services should be the presentation of

²⁶Patricia Cayo Sexton, Spanish Harlem, p. 150.

the school's programs, goals, and discussion of the program and educational issues, and the activities of the parents groups. Every effort must be made to avoid the domination of these meetings by the school staff.

By coming to meetings the parents will have some idea of the school's concerns. However, actual observation in the classrooms is much more effective as a method.

The success of the Title VII community coordinator in involving parents suggests that there is substantial untapped interest in the classroom activities, especially if personal contact is made with the parents, they are encouraged to come to the classes, made to feel welcome and there is a financial incentive available. I would like to see this involvement taken one step further. The parents are only observers in the classroom. The teachers and teacher-aides have not given them a lot of attention nor helped them participate in the classroom activities. There is a need for education and training of the observers. In New York City both the Bronx United Parents, a community group, and the Center for Urban Education, a regional educational laboratory, have developed successful parent training programs. These should be looked into for their applicability.²⁷

²⁷Ellen Lurie, How to Change the Schools (New York: Vintage Books, 1970); and U. S. Senate, Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Hearings, Equal Educational

In trying to bring the parents into the school decision-making, efforts should structure with consideration of the following facts: the parents are likely to be hesitant about coming to the schools because of their own lack of education and respect for the school authority; and the parents are not familiar with the educational methods and attitudes; efforts should be made to inform them and elicit responses about their suitability for education of Spanish-speaking children.

I think there is a need to reconsider the present programs, and particularly the English Language Center and the English as a Second Language program. A complete reassessment of the English Language Center should be made with an effort to improve the quality of education, affecting a reorientation from English acquisition to consideration of the whole individual. The present facility needs to be renovated. The staff need to be trained in English as a Second Language methodology. And, a reorganization of the Center should bring it under the auspices of the Department of Bilingual Education.

Opportunity for Puerto Rican Children, Part 8, November 23, 24, and 25, 1970. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970) pp. 3855-3858.

The English as a Second Language program is in a transition, and seems to be headed toward an almost total commitment to the bilingual approach. There is an immediate need to consider the potentials of English as a Second Language instruction and develop program components which would utilize the ESL approach when and where it is most effective. Teachers, other staff and interested individuals should be brought together for a pre-service workshop in which the potential and direction for the ESL program could be set.

From the information which I have developed on the Spanish-speaking in Boston and their educational needs, it would seem that there are several groups which are not receiving needed educational attention.

1. Pre-schoolers. The Department could take a lead in the development of bilingual kindergarten programs for the Spanish-speaking children. (Kindergartens will be required by the city by 1973 anyway.) Also the Department could put pressure on Head Start programs to increase the number of Spanish-speaking students in the programs and provide technical assistance on educational techniques for bilingual instruction.

Part of the program should be the consideration of an experimental program of the early introduction of

English, following the Lambert, Just, and Segalowitz research in Canada.²⁸

In addition, since Sesame Street has been so successful for the introduction of the pre-school children to English, groups of children could be brought together to watch the program and supplementary activities developed.

Parents could be incorporated into pre-school and kindergarten programs to increase manpower and to familiarize them with the school, teaching methods and ideas for home instruction. A project in Tucson has the children and parents meet together once a week for a two-hour session in which the teachers demonstrate activities and equipment which could be easily duplicated at home.²⁹

2. Junior and Senior High School. The focus of the programs for the Spanish-speaking has been

²⁸W. E. Lambert, J. Just, and N. Segalowitz, "Some Cognitive Consequences of Following the Curricula of the Early School Grades in a Foreign Language," in Report of the Twenty-First Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies: Bilingualism and Language Contact: Anthropological, Linguistic, Psychological and Sociological Aspects, ed. by James E. Alatis (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970), pp. 229-280.

²⁹U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Pacesetters in Innovation, p. 102.

on the elementary school group. There are unmet educational needs at the junior and senior high school levels. One strong indication of problems is a high dropout rate at these levels.³⁰

The Department should determine why the students leave school, and from there develop relevant programs which fit the student's needs. Probably some of the students drop out because they need to go to work. Work-study programs need to be made available (the Youth Council being one such program). Probably some students drop out because they find the education irrelevant. A school-without-walls might be a very useful approach because it would provide the students with an opportunity to find things that do interest them and at the same time would provide the students with an opportunity to get to know the community and city facilities and resources. Finally, some of the students will drop out because they do not have the necessary educational background. Special tutorial programs aimed toward the development of Spanish and English literacy as well as subject matter instruction need to be created.

3. Adults. At present the only adult programs being offered are the English Language Center and the small program component of Title VII. As I have illustrated with the data on the Spanish-speaking,

³⁰The exact figure is not available from the school system.

There is a great need and interest in adult language classes. One-third of the population is interested in taking Spanish classes, and two-thirds in taking English classes. The present programs can not fulfill the demand.

Innovative methods must be developed to make the classes more relevant to the needs of the adults. One suggestion is that the classes be convened in a variety of convenient locations including meeting halls of churches, people's homes, community agencies, and the like. Another idea is the use an educative city approach. This would mean taking the adults around the city, familiarizing them with the various sources and teaching English which would be instrumental in those situations. Finally, the development of adult literacy classes shown on television would probably be successful. (Sesame Street is developing an adult program which might be very useful for this purpose.)

4. Special Education. There is a need for the development of classes which would consider the bilingual-bicultural situation of students with special education needs, stemming from emotional and physical problems.

Throughout the development of the new programs and in the reassessment of the present programs there must be an effort to develop and clearly articulate

the goals of the programs. This goal setting should be accomplished within the framework of the overall needs of the Spanish-speaking and the resources of the Department.

There are some operational changes I would suggest. However, I readily recognize my limited knowledge and information in this area. The most important, and probably the most difficult politically, is the consolidation of departments. At this point the English Language Center is on the periphery of Departmental operations; the English as a Second Language program is subservient to the whims and interests of the principals in whose schools the classes are held. With so little control over these programs, planning and administration becomes a continuing battle for control. Ideally a sub-system for the non-English speaking could be created.

There are a whole series of informational needs pointed out in this thesis. The Department should develop a method for collecting program information such as pupils' records and operational costs. This collection would serve a number of purposes: it would provide a central location for pupils' records, which could be utilized to keep track of the highly mobile population; it would aid in student placement; it would provide a mechanism for follow-up of students who have moved into

the regular classroom; assist in program evaluations, serve as an easy source for development of information for the public, and provide project administrators necessary information for decision-making.

In order to resolve the continuing question the Department should pressure the School Department to carry out a census of children in and out of school. If nothing else, this question has become so dominant in the minds of many that its resolution might mean that attention could be devoted to other, more crucial, issues.

The Department needs to develop a research and evaluation orientation. Support is necessary for the promotion of a useful evaluation process. For example, at present the evaluations do not begin until the middle of the year because of contractual problems with the School Committee. The Department should pressure for the contract to be ready in September so that necessary base-line data and assessment of the full year's progress could be made by the educational evaluators. Also mechanisms should be developed to create an evaluation process which would provide information for the staff as the programs develop and at the end of the school year so that plans could be developed for the following year using the evaluations as feedback information. Finally, the Department should suggest to the evaluators the consideration of certain key topics, such as a comparison

of classrooms with strong bicultural components and ones without. Cooperation of the Department in setting up control groups would be essential.

One last area of information is the nature of the education needs of the student population. There is a lack of information on the educational needs of the total population and most particularly those who are not Puerto Ricans.

Finally, the Department should become an information-coordination center. This could be achieved in the creation of bilingual resource center which could be used by the teachers and interested public. This center would include books, audio-visual aids and other materials, and listing of other resources which are available on the market. The Center could serve as a intraproject communications center where people interested in developing the same ideas could get together. Information relevant to cultural aspects of bilingual education should be readily available. Through the center Puerto Rican and Spanish-speaking college students could be encouraged to develop relevant curriculum material on the history and culture of Puerto Rico and the Latin American countries, and history of the Spanish-speaking peoples in the United States.

Throughout the discussion which will be generated by the planning activities suggested above, the educational planner and others involved must be sure to continually try to develop a clear understanding of the issues and values. The implications and consequences must be considered in terms of objective educational measures and as significantly in terms of the socio-cultural outcomes.

The previous disjointed and incremental efforts of the school system have developed an overall orientation toward the education of the Spanish-speaking. The classes are segregated, the instruction dependent on the bilingual approach and an absence of the bicultural component in the curriculum. This overall orientation and implication for cultural pluralism, and its various components, must be continually reassessed and the demand for alternate approaches or provision for a variety of approaches considered. This reconsideration can come at an abstract level through discussion of educational planning and goals. However, the partisans in the planning should be mindful that the more concrete decisions should also be reassessed in these terms.

There are a number of questions which should be addressed independent of the creation of specific programs and integrated into the discussions of program development.

Should the classes be taught in an English as a Second Language method or a bilingual method? Are there alternate methods which should be considered?

Is the method's effectiveness a function of the age of the student? Is the age a chronological measure or do other factors enter in, such as reading readiness?

Is the method's effectiveness a function of the educational background of the student?

When can the English as a Second Language method be utilized as an effective complement to the bilingual method?

Are the educational instructional methods which are typical of Puerto Rican, Cuban or other Latin American schooling which should be used in the education of the Spanish-speaking in Boston?

If so, should there be a combination of the Anglo and Latin methods, or should there be a reliance on either the Anglo or Latin method?

Should these methods be used at different times such as a strong emphasis on the Latin methods for the children who have just arrived?

Should the programs or some programs be oriented to helping the students make the transition into the Boston schools?

Should the programs or some programs be developed so that they can offer an educational

program independent of the school system?

Should the programs or some of the programs offer courses which are being given in Puerto Rico and other countries so that the large number of children who return will not fall behind there?

Should the classes here be integrated or segregated?

What are the pedagogical effects of an integrated and a segregated class?

Do these effects vary by age?

If so, what are the implications?

Does the integration or segregation of the class have an effect on the kind of instructional methods which should be utilized?

What should be the nature of the socialization function of the educational process?

Should there be an orientation toward "Anglo conformity" or "melting pot" or "cultural pluralism"?

Should the reality of the community and its relationship to the dominant society affect the nature of this instruction?

Is the bicultural component integral to bilingual education?

Can a language be taught without consideration of the society and culture which it comes from?

These questions and many more are intertwined in the education of the Spanish-speaking. They are issues which make the field fascinating and compelling to me. There seem to be no answers; valid arguments exist on all sides of each question.

The planner is in a difficult position. He must act, he must plan, aware of the many issues which remain unresolved. To help guide him there are two major areas which he should develop: communications and information. The planner should develop communications networks with the people who can help him find answers to the questions I have posed above. These people are the experts in the field and the people for whom the planning is being done. One of the main communications mechanisms is the kind of groups which I have suggested above.

To be sure that the channels of communication serve the planner and the communicators, the planner must prove his sincerity about the involvement of a wide variety of people in the planning process. He must be prepared to keep alternatives open, to enter the planning discussion without setting the criteria for decision-making previously. He must also be able to raise the issues, their implications and their implicit value judgements. In these discussions weighted influence must be assured

to those with strong interests in the discussion and those who will be affected by them.

Information will be developed through a wide variety of contacts. There is also a need for the planner to delve into particular areas for additional information. Specific areas have been identified in this thesis for additional work: research on bilingualism, evaluations of project and information of the educational needs and problems of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. Information which is developed should not be for the sole use of the planner. Ways should be found to disseminate this information to those concerned in ways which will be meaningful to them.

The number of ideas which I have presented for the planner would keep one person very busy for a long time. There is a lot of work to be done. The work will be difficult. Educational planning is not a recognized function nor profession. He will be promoting change in a system which is threatened by change. He will be trying to include a large number of people in the planning and programs in a system which is threatened by outsiders, which literally locks the school doors to keep people out. He will be working in a new department which does not have the political strength within the system to provide the needed support.

However, the most difficult task for the educational planner will be trying to involve people in the planning process. He can start various advisory groups. He can develop relevant information. He can identify crucial issues and raise questions about the value orientations of them. He can be sensitive, understanding and supportive. In short, he can be the ideal planner and still fail. He will fail because of the liberal stance he must take as a planner. Acting on behalf of an institution he must work through integrative processes.

The functions of the schools is to educate and part of education is socialization of the children into the society. As an integral part of the dominant society, the school will work toward the socialization of the Spanish-speaking children into the dominant society. The people who have been involved in the planning to date are generally supportive of this goal. They themselves are middle-class and assimilated. They have not challenged this orientation; no controversy has developed. However, I have tried to suggest that such an orientation is not reflective of the pluralistic reality of this society and integration will probably not take place, especially for the Puerto Ricans. A change will occur in the symbiotic relationship between the educational leaders and the school policy-makers when others in the Spanish-speaking community realize the contradiction between the orientation of the school and their own reality. When they determine to define their own position in the society; to name their own reality, they will not have to be encouraged to become involved in the planning process; they will demand control of it.

EPILOGUE

I started this thesis with a brief statement about why I decided to write my thesis on educational planning for the Spanish-speaking in Boston. So, I feel that it would be appropriate to end the thesis with a brief note about where I might go from here.

Two things have struck me as I did the research for the thesis: the lack of concern for adult education for the Spanish-speaking ;and, the imposition of certain preconceived orientations on the educational process. To work from these two features about the state of education for the Spanish-speaking I propose to develop adult education classes. These classes would be different from the ones presently being offered at the English Language Center and through the Title VII program. Instead, I would like to work with several small groups of adults and develop an educational program around their needs and problems and their situational reality. In essence what I would like to try to do is try to apply Paulo Freire's methods in the Boston context.

Thus, if the adults determined that one of their greatest problems was health, I would help

them develop several lessons on the problems of health care. We would go to the emergency room of Boston City Hospital, talk with the staff there, I would teach them the English words which they would need to get by in an emergency health situation, and we together would explore our feelings about the visit to the hospital. Through this approach to education I would hope that at a minimal the adults would develop a useful vocabulary and an understanding of the various resources which are available to them in Boston.

As Freire says,

To affirm that men are persons and as persons should be free, and yet to do nothing tangible to make this affirmation a reality, is a farce.¹

¹ Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970) p.35.

METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

The topic of this thesis was chosen because I felt the area of education was of primary concern to the Spanish-speaking in Boston. I knew little about education and schools before I started working on the thesis, and, then, only from the perspective of citizen participation in educational decision-making. I know now that to write this thesis I should have been well read in a variety of subjects, including techniques and methodology of second language instruction, linguistics and sociolinguistics, teacher training, educational planning, data analysis, educational evaluation, paraprofessional training, organizational theory, community organization and participation in educational decision-making, history of immigration to the United States, Latin American history and culture, and Spanish. During the preparation of the thesis I did have the opportunity to delve into these topics, some of the information, particularly in the field of education was necessary before I began. However, I did not know this at the time. I made an initial survey of information available on Latin Americans in the United States and

began my interviews.

The main method for the collection of information for this thesis has been through interviews. I interviewed thirty-five individuals over a period of a year and a half. These interviews were open-ended discussions which averaged about an hour and a half. I came to the interviews with a brief list of specific questions to develop specific information and a general set of questions which served as the main areas of discussion. I did not rigidly hold to these questions if they seemed not to be suitable.

As I became more familiar with the field and the people (especially in those cases where I interviewed people more than once), I tended to enter into the discussion more and explore the issues with the interviewees. I feel that I did not shape the interviewees responses but was able to clarify their position on issues through my involvement.

For my first interview I talked with Sister Francis Georgia. I first met her at a conference at Boston City Hall on the problems of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. She has been involved in the educational problems of the Spanish-speaking in Boston for a long time. She was able to present me with an overview of the various projects in the school system, the key people(and their phone numbers) and some of the pertinent issues. From this initial interview I was able to map a strategy for

for selection of people to interview.

I decided at the outset that I would try to focus on one program at a time. This way the issues would be fresh in my mind and it would help to define the end of the time period that I would be concerned about. I chose the Title VII project first because Sister Francis Georgia told me that the project director was friendly and could be very helpful. Martha Shanley(now Hass) was friendly and helpful, but my lack of understanding of such basic things as the difference between ESL and bilingual education overwhelmed and embarrassed me. I pulled back and focused on the Blackstone School study.

The Blackstone School study was perhaps the easiest of the cases for me. I was working in the South End at the time and knew some of the people involved. In addition, many of those involved were people like me- they had similar concerns about educational reform and similar backgrounds. They clearly understood why I was interviewing them, volunteered information which was important to the study, and felt comfortable in voicing their frustrations and personal opinions. Even so, I found setting up interviews an incredibly time-consuming process. By the end of the Spring of 1970 I guessed that I had averaged ten hours trying to set up an interview for every hour spent interviewing.

My mother died in early June and I spent the rest of the summer at home. Fortunately home for me is Washington, D.C. and I was able to take advantage of one of its best resources- the Library of Congress. I spent many hours thumbing through the card catalogue and tracing books and articles which seemed relevant. By the end of the summer I had a much better idea of what was involved in education of the Spanish-speaking.

In the fall I renewed my interviewing efforts. As I began to talk with people in the school system I realized that the information that I was getting was limited. They responded to my questions, but unlike the people outside the system, they were unwilling to volunteer information or talk about touchy issues. I also became aware that as an outsider I would not be able to accurately describe the educational planning process because 1) the planning process was not clearly delineated within the system and 2) it was a part of the politics of the Boston school system which is unknowable to an outsider.

A conference on the education of mainland Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico provided an opportunity for me to get to know the people who are working in the Boston school system on the education of the Spanish-speaking. By the end of the conference I was on a first name basis with everyone and had been able to establish myself as someone interested in the topic and someone who could be trusted. Interviewing

after that was much easier and I felt there was a greater willingness to be open with me. I also became involved in the efforts to set-up a state-wide organization for the Spanish-speaking which was promoted by the conference attendees and in the lobbying efforts for the passage of the state bilingual education bill. I was also invited to several meetings of an ad hoc group composed of the project directors and the head of the Department of Bilingual Education and the educational leaders in the Spanish-speaking community.

To supplement my interviewing I observed 10 classes, at least one from each of the programs presently being offered under the Department of Bilingual Education.

The Department of Bilingual Education encompasses four programs which are fairly innovative and has attracted competent and concerned individuals to teach in them. The special nature of the programs and the fair degree of autonomy of the Department has meant that I was not exposed to the problems of education as described in Death at an Early Age. My one experience had a very deep effect on me.

I went with Wendy Wilkins, State Department of Education ESL Supervisor, on her visit to the English Language Center. The instant I stepped into the building I cringed; I became aware of all my reformer instincts. The events of our visit reaffirmed my initial reaction. Mr. Mallon, the Vice-Principal

in charge, showed us around to the classrooms. He knocked on the door, entered, interrupted the teachers in the midst of their lesson, introduced us to the teachers, talked (often disparagingly about the students) with the teacher and then guided us out. There was no recognition of the fact that the students existed nor that we had barged into their classes.

The overall impression of the school was consistent with the image of immigrants in worn clothes huddled in masses. The classrooms were overcrowded. In some rooms the all-too-small desks were bolted to the worn floor. In other rooms, the space had been partitioned and was very crowded and noisy. There were large spaces upstairs which were completely unused. Many windows were broken. In all these classes the teachers were literally shoving English down the throats of the students with no considerations for them as individuals.

We returned to Mr. Mallon's office to talk. At that point he clarified that I was a student and it was evident that I could not have obtained an interview with him on my own. Furthermore, he told Wendy that any report that she was planning to make about the Center would have to be approved by the teachers union. Mr. Mallon's opinions about bilingual education, Puerto Ricans, Blacks and the school system reflected an outlook alien to me and not typical of the Department of Bilingual Education.

The English as a Second Language

program presented another set of difficulties. There was no one to talk with. Up until February of this year, the ESL program had no one person in charge of it. The teachers in the program are responsible to the principals in their school and not knowing which of the principals would be amenable to my entrance to their school I held off. After the new project director took over, I waited for a while to interview her so she could become familiar with her responsibility. However, when I did talk with her I found that she was still not on top of the project. Understanding of the problems of ESL program is hindered by its fragmentation and transitional nature of the project itself. So, I feel like I was not able to develop sufficient information on ESL, yet, at the same time, I feel that this problem is reflective of the very nature of the project at this point. I do not know how I could have remedied this inadequacy.

There were two major areas of interviewing where I felt blocked. I had little opportunity to make contact with the teacher-aides. Those contacts that I did make were informal, during the occasions when I was observing classes. I felt that they did not understand who I was nor what I was trying to do. They were hesitant in responding to my questions and in the atmosphere of the classroom I was not able to

be more supportive . This blockage was overcome to a large extent by the excellent interviews with the teacher-aides in the Bilingual Clusters, which were reported by Cline and Joyce.

The other problem area was that of the organizations which in some way or another have been concerned with the education of the Spanish-speaking. There was no turning point, such as the conference in Puerto Rico, which changed this situation. By the time I had developed contacts with the Education Committee of the Spanish-speaking Federation, the Committee was in a state of reorganization. The Association for the Protection of the Constitutional Rights of the Spanish-speaking, is perhaps the most powerful Spanish-speaking organization, but I was not able to make contacts with them, nor were they directly involved in any of the events which took place while I was interviewing. This same held true for the militant En la Brecha organization. Finally, the Alianza Hispanica, a new organization, presented a chronical of their efforts to find a new location for the Bilingual Clusters in North Dorchester at the hearing held by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. My contact with them was limited to this presentation.

I feel that the problem of making contacts with and interviewing the members of the various organizations in the Spanish-speaking community

was not just a problem of lack of contacts to start with. The organizational meetings are not open to outsiders. The organizations themselves are instable, and there is continuing internal struggles for power which I am sure they would not be willing to expose. Others who have tried to get closer to these organizations have run into the same problems as I.

The failure to become involved in the organizations of the Spanish-speaking community was particularly disappointing to me because I had originally hoped to work with an organization in the development of information for my thesis. However, as it turned out, I do not think that there is any community organization which at this point is capable of using an outside research-oriented person. Instead I feel that I served a more important function in my close work with people in the system. I hope that the information that I have developed will be useful to them. Furthermore, while I was interviewing I often served a intra-project communications function and was able to tell people about the resources I had developed in the course of my research.

Finally, I do not claim that this is an objective thesis. Yet, I have tried to make my feelings clear when I did express them. The following shows the impossibility of keeping ones feelings removed from the research.

While I was interviewing Mr. Mallon at the

English Language Center, an event took place which describes more clearly than many theses on the topic the agonies which exist. While we were talking the school secretary was talking with several women. As the conversation developed I came to understand who the people were. The most aggressive woman was young, perhaps in her mid-twenties, and a social worker from the Welfare Department. In her college Spanish she was talking with a Puerto Rican woman, who was not much older than I but who seemed twice my age, worn down and sobered by poverty and struggle. The object of their conversation was the Puerto Rican woman's daughter. I think her name was Elena. I originally thought she was about 10 or 11, but as I think back on the scene she could have been older. The woman and her daughter were not happy about being at the English Language Center. They shrunk when they were spoken to. Elena's eyes reminded me of a doe's eyes: one quick flash, just before they dart away.

The reason why they were there soon became clear. The mother was on welfare. Elena was not attending school. In order for the mother to receive welfare her daughter would have to go to school. They were at the Center to register Elena. The welfare worker was there to help, and to be sure that she registered.

The secretary asked Elena a question in English. The welfare worker translated. But, Elena did not respond. What was it- fear, shyness? No, the answer was obvious. Elena was born with two club feet. Where she grew up, people did not know that club feet could be

corrected with an early operation, and the people probably did not have the money to pay for the operation anyway. So Elena grew up and stayed close to home. Her parents did not expect that she would lead a normal life. She was not sent to school, or if she was, she did not stay long and probably was teased about being a mocha. She stayed home and helped her mother care for the younger children. The relationship between the mother and daughter was close; they depended on one another. Elena's environment did not demand that she be normal and with the help of her family she had found a niche. Then she moved to Boston and eventually encountered the Welfare Department and its rigid regulations. Elena had to go to school or there would be no money for the family. It was that simple. But it wasn't that simple for Elena and her mother. There is hurt. And, there is no place where Elena can go to school and receive the special physical, educational and emotional attention she already has at home. Why should the Welfare take this away if it has nothing better to offer?

I didn't talk with Elena or her mother. I don't know what happened to her. I do know that she is very much a part of this thesis and of the demand I make on the whole school system to consider each of the human beings they are dealing with as human beings.

APPENDIX A

INFORMATION RELEVANT TO EDUCATIONAL NEEDS
AND PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING
IN BOSTON

SECTION I
RESEARCH ON BILINGUALISM

The non-English speakers who come to this country have little choice--they must become bilingual. Their bilingualism may be limited, consisting of only a few phrases in English, or it may be balanced bilingualism, which is equal fluency in both languages. The foundation of education for the non-English speakers lies in the understanding of bilingualism, its development, and methods which promote it. Therefore, review of the literature on bilingualism is essential.

Initial perusal of the literature on bilingualism is very discouraging. The linguists have not developed a theory of bilingualism. There is not even a widely accepted definition of "bilingualism."¹ The research that has been conducted also seems to be inadequate. Many of the studies are based on poor research designs, do not control for significant exogenous variables, and include basic assumptions which bias the results. Furthermore, the research tools are at an early stage of

¹J. Vernon Jensen, "Effects of Childhood Bilingualism, II," Elementary English, Vol. XXXIX, No. 4 (April, 1962), 365.

development, and their inaccuracy often influences research conclusions. From a programmatic perspective, there has been little effort to design evaluations of the effectiveness of bilingual teaching methods. And, finally, there has been no effort to draw together surveys of the research which would have programmatic implications.²

Research discussed will be limited to those studies which are applicable to the Spanish-speaking in Boston. Social and cultural variables influence outcome of research. Thus, conclusions about the Mexican-Americans in the Southwest may not be generalizable to the Puerto Ricans in Boston. Furthermore, linguistic relationships between one set of languages, e.g. English and Spanish, may not be comparable to another set, e.g. English and Chinese. The syntax, phonology and morphology of one language will influence acquisition of another. Unfortunately, the discussion will be limited to data on the Puerto Ricans since no suitable research studies are available on Cubans, mainland Spanish-speakers or other Latin American groups.

²Several authors have done surveys on the research trying to draw out the programmatic implications. However, these efforts are justifications of the bilingual approach, not objective assessments of the research. See Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer, Bilingual Schooling in the United States, Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 41-55; Horacio Ulibarri, "Interpretive Studies on Bilingual Education" (March, 1969, ERIC ED 028 428), pp. 5-16.

We will not include in this discussion research which may well affect the education and teaching of bilinguals, but is not explicitly related to bilingualism. Thus, we will not include the Rosenthal studies which demonstrate how teacher expectations will affect the students' scholastic development: teachers who feel that all Puerto Ricans are stupid will have a negative influence on their language and scholastic achievement. The omission of similar studies does not deny their validity and applicability to the Spanish-speaking in Boston. Their inclusion must be left for another, more extensive essay.

The following discussion will cover the four major aspects of bilingualism and bilingual education as they relate to the situation of the Puerto Ricans in Boston: bilingualism and thought processes, bilingualism and academic achievement, method of introduction of a second language, and bilingualism-biculturalism.

A. BILINGUALISM AND THOUGHT PROCESSES

The relationship between language and thought processes is one of the major areas of concentration for linguistic research. In the field of bilingualism, there has been extensive discussion on the effect bilingualism has on thought processes.

Many of the early studies of bilinguals tried to measure the effect of their language competency through IQ tests. Most of the research showed that bilinguals were inferior in intelligence to monolinguals.³ These studies were highly biased against the bilinguals. The children were tested in their weaker language with culturally-biased testing tools. Therefore, the low results attributed to the bilinguals were a function of the testing mechanisms, not the children's intelligence.⁴ Just giving the test directions in the

³For surveys of these studies see J. Vernon Jensen, "Effects of Childhood Bilingualism, I and II," Elementary English, Vol. XXXIX, Nos. 2 and 4 (February and April, 1962), 132-143, 358-366; Natalie Darcy, "A Review of the Literature on the Effects of Bilingualism upon Measurement of Intelligence," The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. LXXXII (December, 1953), 21-57; Natalie Darcy, "Bilingualism and the Measurement of Intelligence: Review of a Decade of Research," The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. CIII (December, 1963), 259-282.

⁴See C. P. Armstrong, E. M. Achilles, and M. J. Sacks, Reactions of Puerto Rican Children in New York City to Psychological Tests (New York: Special Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, New York State Chamber of Commerce, 1935); Stanley W. Caplin and Ronald A. Ruble, "A Study of Culturally Imposed Factors on School Achievement in Metropolitan Areas," The Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 58, No. 1 (September, 1964), 16-21; Morton J. Keston and Carmina Jimenez, "A Study of the Performance on English and Spanish Editions of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Tests by Spanish-American Children," The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 85 (1954) 263-269; Jack Kittell, "Intelligence Test Performance of Children from Bilingual Environments," Elementary School Journal, Vol. 64 (November, 1963), 76-83; Ulibarri, "Interpretive Studies."

child's first language is enough to influence the test results.⁵

The use of more carefully developed research tools and non-verbal testing have been used in recent studies. The results of these tests show that bilingualism does not negatively affect intelligence, if socio-economic variables are held constant.⁶ The carefully designed Peal and Lambert study of bilingual teenagers in Canada found that the bilinguals were superior to the monolinguals on verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests.⁷

⁵See Armstrong, Achilles and Sacks, Reactions; A. J. Mitchell, "The Effect of Bilingualism on the Measurement of Intelligence," Elementary School Journal, Vol. 38 (1937), 27-37; Anne Anastasi and Fernando A. Cordova, "Some Effects of Bilingualism Upon the Intelligence Test Performance of Puerto Rican Children in New York City," Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 44 (January, 1953), 1-47.

See Jensen, "Effects"; Anne Anastasi and C. de Jesus, "Language Development and Nonverbal IQ of Puerto Rican Preschool Children in New York City," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 48 (July, 1953), 357-366; Seth Arsenian, "Bilingualism and Mental Development," (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937); John Macnamara, "Bilingualism and Thought" in Report on the Twenty-First Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies: Bilingualism and Language Contact: Anthropological, Linguistic, Psychological and Sociological Aspects, ed. by James E. Alatis (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970), pp. 25-44; W. E. Lambert, M. Just and N. Segalowitz, "Some Cognitive Consequences of Following the Curricula of the Early School Grades in a Foreign Language," ibid., pp. 229-279.

⁷Elizabeth Peal and William E. Lambert, "The Relation of Bilinguals to Intelligence," Psychological Monograph General and Applied, Vol. 76, No. 546.

Rejections of the thesis that bilingualism negatively influences thought processes, as measured through IQ tests, is consistent with the research in the field of linguists in the last decade. Influenced by the work of Jean Piaget, linguists seem to feel that thought is essentially distinct from language and, to the degree that there is an interrelationship, language is dependent on thought.⁸ These findings run contrary to the ubiquitous Whorf's Hypothesis. The general interpretation of the hypothesis is: language has substantial effect on cognitive abilities, and different languages will produce different areas of cognitive ability. While this hypothesis is widely debated in linguistic circles, little evidence has been found to support it.⁹

In summary, we see that the negative relationship of bilingualism on intelligence has been recently challenged. Nevertheless, there does still seem to be

⁸Jean Piaget, Science of Education and the Psychology of the Child (New York: Orion Press, 1970).

⁹John Macnamara, "Bilingualism and Thought" in Alatis, Report, pp. 25-27. William Mackey suggests that Whorf's hypothesis is really two hypotheses.

"The first . . . meaning that languages slice up reality in a different way . . . The other is what you might call the hypothesis of determinism: meaning that because languages do slice up things in different ways, people speaking them are forced to think in different ways."
in Alatis, Report, pp. 41-42.

some residual influence of the earlier studies suggesting the inferiority of intellectual development of bilinguals.¹⁰

On the asset side, it has been generally held that the bilingual child is more creative than the monolingual, due to his linguistic and perhaps cultural flexibility. Research in this area is very muddled because the concept of creativity is differently defined by the researchers. Some studies have been based primarily on non-verbal measures of creativity, e.g. drawing.¹¹ Some studies are more dependent on verbal measures, e.g. story-telling.¹² These studies

¹⁰Recent research findings have not been effectively disseminated to educators. We find continued dependence on the use of standard IQ testing for assessment of bilingual children in the schools. Often the results are disastrous for the children. Bruce Gaarder from the Office of Education reports:

"Recently in California . . . there was a random study made of children (Spanish-speaking) . . . who had been classified as mentally retarded but educable, and therefore placed in special education classes . . . They made a random selection of 47 of these children and then had them retested with a Spanish language test and by a competent psychologist --competent in Spanish and psychology--and 42 of the 47 were completely above the range of intelligence which would have placed them among the retarded children."

in Alatis, Report, p. 44.

¹¹Calvin Jansen, "A Study of Bilingualism and Creativity" (March, 1969, ERIC ED 034 269); John T. Jacobs and Marnell L. Purce, "Bilingualism and Creativity," Elementary English, Vol. XLIII (May, 1966), 499-503.

¹²Richard Landry, "Bilingualism and Creative Abilities" (ERIC ED 039 603); Lambert, Just and Segalowitz in Alatis, Report; Peal and Lambert, "Relation."

have found that there does seem to be some relationship between bilingualism and creativity, expressed verbally and non-verbally. Several studies indicate that this creativity is manifested late, developing by the late elementary school grades.¹³

The research results are tentative, given the varying conceptions and measures of creativity and general lack of validity of tools used in assessment of creativity.

In conclusion, in the preceding section we have found that contrary to early research, bilingualism is not detrimental to the intellectual development of the child, as measured by IQ tests. And, perhaps, bilingualism may be a positive asset for creativity.

B. BILINGUALISM AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Puerto Rican pupils tend to fall behind their classmates in school. Data from the Coleman reports compare Puerto Ricans, Blacks and Whites sampled.

¹³Jacobs and Purce, Bilingualism; Jensen, "Effects"; and Landry, Bilingualism.

Table One

| <u>NEGRO</u> <u>(Metropolitan</u> <u>Northeast)</u> | <u>Number of Grade Levels Behind Whites</u> | | |
|---|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| | <u>Verbal</u> <u>Ability</u> | <u>Reading</u> <u>Comprehension</u> | <u>Math</u> <u>Achievement</u> |
| Grade 6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.0 |
| Grade 9 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.8 |
| Grade 12 | 3.3 | 2.9 | 5.2 |
| <u>PUERTO RICAN</u> | | | |
| Grade 6 | 2.7 | 3.1 | 2.8 |
| Grade 9 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 3.4 |
| Grade 12 | 3.6 | 3.7 | 4.8 |

Source: James S. Coleman and Associates, Equal Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 274-275.

The figures speak for themselves. Unfortunately, we cannot deduce the reasons for the low level of achievement from the data, for the sample drawn was too small.¹⁴

¹⁴James Fennessey, "An Exploratory Study of Non-English Speaking Homes and Academic Performances" (ERIC ED 011 613). These findings are similar to another large study carried out in a school district (not as bad as the South End, according to the author) in New York City:

| <u>CHILDREN</u> | <u>CHILDREN AT GRADE LEVEL</u> | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| | <u>Grade 3.5</u> | <u>Grade 8.5</u> |
| Puerto Rican | 489 (9.80%) | 235 (13.19%) |
| Negro | 626 (18.69%) | 138 (28.99%) |
| Whites, others | 606 (54.79%) | 489 (52.77%) |
| Total percentage at Grade Level | 21.58% | 38.77% |

Source: Alan Cohen, "Some Learning Disabilities of Socially Disadvantaged Puerto Rican and Negro Children" (ERIC ED 022 818).

Data from a study of New York City suggests that in-migrants to the city have greater difficulty than those children who were born here; Puerto Ricans have more trouble than other groups.

Table Two

MEAN IQ SCORES AND READING GRADE LEVELS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN NEW YORK, IN-MIGRANTS AND INDIGENOUS

| MEAN IQ SCORES | IN-MIGRANTS | | INDIGENOUS | |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| | 3rd Grade | 6th Grade | 3rd Grade | 6th Grade |
| Puerto Rican | 85.0 | 79.0 | 87.9 | 84.5 |
| Negro | 88.4 | 85.8 | 91.4 | 90.0 |
| Other | 100.4 | 100.7 | 104.4 | 109.9 |
| All Pupils | 88.1 | 86.3 | 95.8 | 100.2 |

| READING GRADE LEVELS | IN-MIGRANTS | | INDIGENOUS | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----|------------|-----|
| Puerto Rican | 2.4 | 4.2 | 2.7 | 4.6 |
| Negro | 3.0 | 4.9 | 3.0 | 5.0 |
| Other | 3.6 | 6.5 | 4.1 | 7.1 |
| All Pupils | 2.7 | 5.0 | 3.4 | 6.1 |

Source: Miriam L. Goldberg, "Factors Affecting Educational Attainment in Depressed Urban Areas," in Education of the Disadvantaged, ed. by A. Harry Passow, Miriam Goldberg, and Abraham J. Tannebaum (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), pp. 46, 48.

Note: Use of measures dependent on verbal abilities probably does handicap the Puerto Rican student. However, it is also important to mention that these are the indicators that the teachers use to evaluate the children, and for that reason alone have some kind of warped validity. Note how the mean IQ scores of both Puerto Ricans and Negroes decrease with length of time in school.

Some researchers have pointed out that the differences between Puerto Ricans and other children are manifest in some areas more than in others. Differences tend to be less significant in the non-verbal subjects such as mathematics.¹⁵

Explanations for the manifestation of low academic achievement have not been widely pursued in the literature. We have already reviewed widespread explanation--the low level of intellectual development of the bilingual, and have discarded it as invalid. Other explanations follow:

1. Bilingualism per se. There are several potential problems which might affect academic achievement which are a function of bilingualism. Fishman has found existence of interference between languages which will prevent the development of balanced bilingualism, and in turn the ability to perform equally in either language. This interference will be manifest in the second language, according to Fishman.¹⁶ Also,

¹⁵Ulbarri, "Interpretive Studies"; Natalie Darcy, "Performance of Bilingual Children on Verbal and on Non-language Tests of Intelligence," Journal of Education Research, Vol. XLV, No. 7 (March, 1952), 499-506; Jacobs and Purce, "Bilingualism"; Hilda P. Lewis and Edward R. Lewis, "Written Language of Sixth Grade Children of Low Socio-Economic Backgrounds," Journal of Experimental Education, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Spring, 1965), pp. 237-241.

¹⁶Joshua Fishman, "Bilingualism, Intelligence and Learning Language," Modern Language Journal, Vol. 49, No. 4 (April, 1965), pp.227-237.

linguistic bifurcation may develop, when one language is used in a particular setting (e.g. the home) and another used elsewhere (e.g. the school). The major problem of bifurcation is the contextual restriction in language learning.¹⁷

2. Bilingualism and learning disabilities.

Recent reports have shown that there are learning disabilities in some Puerto Rican bilinguals which need therapeutic treatment.¹⁸ However, it has been suggested that these disabilities are not a function of the bilingualism, but rather of the low socio-economic environment in which the Puerto Rican children were living.

3. The educational program. The most recent research has shifted away from blaming the pupils for low academic achievement and is now focusing on the nature of the educational programs and personnel to which they are subjected. A psychiatrist carried out in-depth interviews with 45 Puerto Rican families to ascertain reasons for scholastic difficulties. He concluded that bilingualism per se and the home environment were not the key variables. The school programs

¹⁷Anastasi and Cordova, "Some Effects"; Anastasi and de Jesus, "Language Development."

¹⁸Cohen, "Some Disabilities."

which were not designed to specifically meet the needs of the low-status Puerto Rican children were the major factor in the children's difficulties.¹⁹ Cohen finds that the learning disabilities which were present in some of the Puerto Rican children were overlooked by the school personnel who were trying to teach the lower class Puerto Rican children as if they were middle class Anglos.²⁰

Some researchers have blamed the schools for the low academic achievement of the Puerto Ricans. The specifics of the failure of the schools have not been identified. Other possible factors for the comparatively low achievement have not been studied. These might include motivation, personality factors, degree of fluency, level of acculturation, and family environment.

In conclusion, the objective measure of academic achievement (age: grade level) indicates that Puerto Rican pupils are not able to keep up with their classmates. Research has not adequately delved into this disparity between the Puerto Rican and others; there are many variables unstudied.

¹⁹Alexander Thomas, "Retardation in Intellectual Development of Lower Class Puerto Rican Children in New York City," (ERIC ED 034 370); also see Bruce A. Gaarder, "Organization of the Bilingual School," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (April, 1967), 110-120.

²⁰Cohen, "Some Disabilities."

C. METHOD OF INTRODUCTION OF THE SECOND LANGUAGE

How and when should the second language be introduced? Contemporary educators seem to agree that the goal should be fluency in both languages. Most maintain that the child whose mother tongue is not English should be taught initially in the mother tongue, and gradually he should be introduced to the second language. This position is held for two reasons: 1) these two separate steps toward bilingualism will prevent the loss or erosion of the first language, and 2) a child will learn the second language faster and better if he has developed a firm grasp of the workings of his first language.²¹

There are two studies which are repeatedly referred to in the discussion of introduction of the second language. These are 1) Modiano's research with three Indian groups in Chaipas, Mexico;²² and 2) the practical experience with the education of the Peruvian

²¹This position seems to have become an "idea in good standing" with the pronouncement made by a group of international educators. They said, "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue." (UNESCO, The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education, cited in Andersson and Boyer, Bilingual Schooling, p. 44.)

²²Nancy Modiano, "National or Mother language in Beginning Reading: A Comparative Study," Research in the Teaching of English, Vol. I, No. 2 (Spring, 1968), 23-43.

Indians by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.²³ Both studies show that initial schooling in the mother tongue is better than in the second language.

There are two recent studies which challenge the previously described approach to second language instruction. Lambert, Just and Segalowitz have run a two-year study of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadian children. The English-speaking children were placed in a predominately French-speaking school program for two years. The researchers found that this experimental group was comparable with the English-only control group and with the French-speaking, French-only control group. In other words, by the second year, the experimental group children were at par in French with native French-speaking children taught in French and at par in English with the native English-speaking children taught in English. This study suggests there is a great deal of transfer of skills that takes place across languages. And, more importantly, the study challenges the widely held notion that the child learns best if taught initially in his mother tongue.²⁴

²³Alan C. Wares, comp., Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1935-1968 (Santa Ana, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1968).

²⁴Lambert, Just, and Segalowitz, "Cognitive Consequences" in Alatis, Report.

However, we must be cautious in generalizing the findings of the Lambert, et al. study to the education of Puerto Ricans in Boston. As one observer notes:

In the Montreal environment, English-speaking children have no sense of inferiority or disadvantage in the school. Their teachers do not have low expectations for their achievements. Their social group has power in the community; their language is respected, is learned by Francophones, and becomes a medium of instruction later in the school. In the classrooms, the children are not expected to compete with native speakers of French in a milieu which both expects and blames them for their failures, and never provides an opportunity for them to excel in their own language.²⁵

There is one study with similar results which looks at the Puerto Rican child. The producers of Sesame Street have done extensive studies of their viewers to measure the program's impact. In one large sample drawn, there were 43 Spanish-speaking children. While the sample is not statistically large enough, and few of the Spanish-speaking children watch the program regularly, the results for the children who did watch are very interesting.

Those frequent-viewing children (N=18) gained almost incredible amounts [on all tests] ; in fact, the gains among the Q3 viewed 4 or 5 times a week Spanish-speaking children were as high as those for

²⁵Susan Evan-Tripp, "Structure and Process in Language Acquisition" in Alatis, Report, p. 314. The essence of this criticism is supported by Einar Haugen in Alatis, Report, p. 310.

Q4 [viewed more than five times a week] in the rest of the study. In the letters test, the Q4 Spanish-speaking children started lowest at pretest and highest at post-test. Other letters subtests and tests of numbers, scoring terms and classification showed the same phenomenon: a low start with subsequent very high gains for the children who viewed the most.²⁶

The language did not prevent the children from learning in English. Furthermore, for undetermined reasons the children who were regular viewers learned more than most of their English-speaking counterparts.

In short, we find contradictory evidence on the question of when the child should be introduced to the second language. This issue becomes even more confusing when the age factor is included. Jensen in his 1962 survey of the literature on bilingualism concluded: "All agree that by the age of eight the normal child has acquired all the essential aspects of his native tongue."²⁷

So, if second language learning is held back until the child has a firm grasp on his mother tongue, the second language could be introduced by the third grade.

²⁶Gerry Ann Bogatz and Samuel Ball, "Some Things You've Wanted to Know About Sesame Street," American Education, Vol. 7, No. 3 (April, 1971), 15. For a more complete report see Bogatz and Ball, The First Year of Sesame Street: An Evaluation, (Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, 1970) pp. 223-238.

²⁷Jensen, "Effects," p. 362.

Several researchers have demonstrated the success of second language introduction with very young children, about 2- to 3-year olds.²⁸ Evan-Tripp delineates the difference. She maintains it is preferable to introduce the child to the second language at an early age, say by 3 years. There will be considerable ease in learning the language without detrimental effects on the first language. Phonological development will be particularly easy at this age. On the other hand,

From a standpoint of efficiency, there is another kind of consideration, which is that an older child has a very highly developed semantic system. To the extent that most of this system consists of semantic universals, he has an apparatus available for very rapidly learning a tremendously complex semantic system in the second language which he does not have as a young child.²⁹

Phonetic development will be more difficult for the older child.

There is in the research a general assumption that there is an upper limit for easy language acquisition. Support for this assumption comes from the work of neurologist Dr. Penfield. He reports "the speech areas

²⁸See ibid.; Evan-Tripp, "Structure," in Alatis, Report, p. 345; Andersson and Boyer, Bilingual Schooling, p. 46.

²⁹Evan-Tripp, "Structure," in Alatis, Report, p. 345. This transferral of language development also seems to be a key of the Lambert, Just and Segalowitz research.

of the brain began to lose their sensitivity after a child reached the age of 10 and were 'senescent' by the age of 14."³⁰ If this is true, then second language acquisition will be difficult for the teenager and the adult.

The language which will compose the bilingual set should be probably considered when determining when the second language should be introduced. For example, Spanish is easier to learn initially than English, primarily because of its simple phonetic structure. In an extensive study of island Puerto Ricans, given the identical school material in their native tongue, the Spanish-speakers were more advanced than the English-speakers at all elementary grade levels.³¹ Thus, if the Spanish language is the mother tongue, we could expect that firm grasp of the language is acquired earlier than for the English speaker. Therefore, introduction of the second language could begin earlier than eight years of age.

³⁰Quoted in Jensen, "Effects," p. 362.

³¹International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, A Survey of the Public Education System of Porto Rico (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926).

The irony of the situation is inescapable. The Puerto Rican child has an advantage over the English speaking child in terms of his phonetically simple language, and hence he can learn more rapidly in the elementary school years. However, the situation as it exists on the mainland requires that the Puerto Rican child learn English to function in the schools. Having the burden of learning the second language gives the Puerto Rican an academic disadvantage in comparison with his classmates.

In conclusion, the question of how and when to introduce the second language is not resolved by the research. Recent studies seem to question the widely held opinion that a second language acquisition is best after the development of the first language.

D. BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

The interrelationship between language and culture is practically a virgin territory for research. Only just recently have linguists and others realized that a focus on just the cognitive aspects of language learning was inadequate.³² Thus, from the research available we will be able to present only a few pieces of a very complex picture.

The Coleman Report suggests that the more similar the school is to the pupil's family environment (socially and culturally) the more likely the child will be successful. We find this same hypothesis presented in the literature on Puerto Ricans and their schooling experience in the States.³³

One observer notes that for many Puerto Rican children the initial introduction into the school

³²Ervin-Tripp, "Structure," in Alatis, Report, p. 315.

³³Caplin and Ruble, "Study of Factors."

may be traumatic. The differences between the home and school languages, values, and norms cause an emotional upheaval. In this state learning ceases.³⁴

The teacher is the personification of the school culture. She may act to soften the initial period of adjustment and act as cultural interpreter for the Puerto Rican child. However, teachers often do not seem to be aware of the cultural differences and do not understand where such differences might influence academic performance.³⁵ Tensions may develop between the students and the teacher as a result of the different cultural backgrounds.³⁶

As a result of the cultural difference between home and school the child may suffer. Many descriptive articles have reported on the struggles, the weakened self-concept, the development of passivity and

³⁴Sophie Elam, "Acculturation and Learning Problems of Puerto Rican Children," Teachers College Record, Vol. 61, No. 5 (February, 1960), 258-264.

³⁵Ulibarri, "Interpretive Studies"; Horacio Ulibarri, "The Effect of Cultural Differences in Education of Spanish-Americans" (Ph.D. dissertation, College of Education, University of New Mexico, 1958); Elam, "Acculturation"; Ada Stambler, "A Study of Eighth Grade Puerto Rican Students at Junior High School 65, Manhattan, with Implications for their Placement, Grouping and Orientation," National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, Vol. 46 (January, 1962), 298-299.

³⁶Bucchioni, "A Sociological Analysis of the Functioning of Elementary Education for Puerto Rican Children in the New York Public Schools" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1965); Robert Marks Willis, "An Analysis of the Adjustment and Scholastic Achievement of Forty Puerto Rican Boys who Attended Transition Classes in New York City" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1961).

alienation of the children coming from non-English speaking homes into American schools.³⁷ There is the initial effect of the difference between the home and the school which is difficult for the child. The impact of diminished sense of self-worth as a result of ethnic status and problems with English has been found in young school-age children.³⁸ By high school self-acceptance is reported to be more negative for Puerto Ricans than for a comparable group of Black students.³⁹ At the same time, the students' relationships

³⁷For the best compendium of such articles see Francesco Cordasco and Eugene Bucchioni, Puerto Rican Children in Mainland Schools (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1968). Also, Francesco Cordasco, "The Puerto Rican Child in the American School," in Education and the Urban Community, ed. by Maurie Hillson, Francesco Cordasco, and Francis Purcell (New York: American Book Company, 1969), pp. 89-94; Ulibarri, "Interpretive Studies"; Chester C. Christian, "The Acculturation of the Bilingual Child," Modern Language Journal, Vol. XLIX, No. 3 (March, 1965), 160-165.

Unfortunately this author could not find any autobiographical reports, recollections or interviews of children's perceptions of American schools which would be valid social science data. There is one good sociological report on the school day of an English-speaking teacher with Spanish-speaking pupils, which clearly illustrates the constant frustration and misunderstanding. See Eugene Bucchioni, "The Daily Round of Life in the School," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, Mainland Schools, pp. 279-311.

³⁸Anastasti and Cordova, "Some Effects."

³⁹Dorothy Jessup, "School Integration and Minority Group Achievement," in The Urban R's: Race Relations as the Problem in Urban Education, ed. by Robert Dentler, Mernard Mackler, and Mary Warshauer (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), pp. 78-98; Dorothy Schaefer, "Prejudice in Negro and Puerto Rican Adolescents," in Dentler, Mackler and Warshauer, Urban R's, pp. 117-125.

with their families has weakened. Berkowitz reports that 69% of Puerto Rican junior high school pupils as compared with 45.6% of non-Puerto Rican pupils whom he interviewed said they could not find much understanding at home.⁴⁰

Many researchers have assumed that there is a relationship between the degree of adjustment and the shade of the color of skin. This hypothesis states: the darker the skin of the Puerto Rican, the more likely he will maintain Spanish and his Puerto Rican culture. One study was designed to examine this hypothesis and found that skin color is not a variable. It suggests that the degrees of verbal and behavioral acculturation are variable in the maintenance of Spanish language and culture.⁴¹

In the schools the Puerto Rican children may come into contact with children of other races. Only a few researchers have looked at the effect of integration. Jessup found that low status Negro and Puerto Rican children in segregated classrooms showed a decline in achievement levels between second and fifth

⁴⁰Elaine Berkowitz, "Family Attitudes and Practices of Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican Pupils," Highpoints, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 (March, 1969), pp. 25-34.

⁴¹Susana Bouquet, "Acculturation of Puerto Rican Children in New York and Attitudes toward Negroes and Whites" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1961).

grades in spite of a distinctly superior program as compared with control groups in integrated classrooms.⁴²

Despite integrated programs, social relations between Black and Puerto Rican pupils are characterized by lack of mutual understanding and often antipathy.⁴³ These observations contradict the more generally accepted position among educators, which have been supported by the Peal and Lambert study. (They found the French-English bilinguals were more likely to feel favorable toward members of their second language group than monolinguals in either language felt. Thus French monolinguals felt less favorable toward English monolinguals, and vice versa, than bilinguals felt toward either. Peal and Lambert also found a halo effect operant: the bilinguals believed their parents to be more tolerant of the second language groups than monolinguals did.)⁴⁴

There were no studies which discussed integration of Puerto Ricans with whites.

⁴²Jessup, "School Integration."

⁴³Schaefer, "Prejudice in Adolescents"; Shirley Jenkins, "Intergroup Empathy: An Exploratory Study of Negro and Puerto Rican Groups in New York City" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1957).

⁴⁴Peal and Lambert, "Intelligence."

E. CONCLUSION

The most evident conclusion to be drawn from the preceding survey of research on bilingualism is that there is need for more work in this area. In addition, it is very difficult to draw programmatic implications from the research discussed.

Some of the tentative implications we have found in the research follow:

1. Contrary to the generally held opinion, bilingualism does not seem to be detrimental to intellectual development. In fact, bilingualism may actually promote verbal and non-verbal creativity. Thus, programs for the development of bilinguals can be encouraged.

2. Puerto Rican children manifest consistently lower academic achievement than other children. A few reasons for this disparity have been presented in the research. Some of the children may have trouble, especially in their early school years, because of their bilingualism. This should be understood by school personnel. Some children may actually have learning disabilities, which are typical of low socio-economic groups. Screening and specially developed programs oriented toward helping the Spanish-speaking children with learning disabilities must be developed. Finally, some researchers have blamed the poor academic

performance of the Puerto Ricans on the poorly designed, inappropriate programs and teaching methods. Relevant teaching methods need to be developed for the Puerto Rican children.

3. It is unclear from the research discussed whether the schools should teach in the native language first, and then make the transition to the second language, or teach from the beginning in the second language. Also, the timing for the introduction of the second language is unclear. Thus, a variety of approaches should be developed and compared.

4. The whole area of bilingualism and biculturalism has been little studied. It seems that the child will perform better in school if the school setting tends to reflect the social-cultural environment of his home. Thus, ways should be developed to make the schools similar to the home setting for the Puerto Ricans. The schools can play a crucial role in the transition from the home to the school. Teachers should be sensitized and helped to understand the effects that different backgrounds will have on the pupil's performance. Guidance and program development relevant to the child should be developed to help the child overcome negative self-image, which is a result of the ethnic status. It is unclear what the role of integration and segregation of the classroom plays in academic performance and human growth of the Puerto Rican children.

There are extensive research needs in the field of bilingualism and bilingual education. Overall, the studies should be designed and administered more carefully. Terms need to be defined. Subjects need to be more carefully described in terms of linguistic development in both languages, level of acculturation, socio-economic status, motivation, and many other characteristics. From a programmatic perspective, more research should be developed which would provide guidance in the planning and development of bilingual education.

Research areas which need to be studied follow:

1. The reasons for the low academic performance of the Puerto Rican children in the schools. Many aspects should be investigated, including handicaps from having to function in the second language, presence of learning disabilities, and program design.

2. The whole area of when and how to introduce second language instruction needs to be systematically studied with comparisons made of experimental and control groups developed around various approaches to the introduction of a second language.

3. The area of social-cultural variables which influence education and growth should be studied. Particularly the aspects of the Puerto Rican household which could be translated to the schools to make the

learning environment most supportive to the Puerto Rican child. The question of integrated and segregated classes, their effect on learning and social interaction, should be considered.

In summary, the methodology of bilingual education is not based on sound research. Some studies show conflicting evidence. Thus, educational planners should not be inflexible, should not settle for one approach. Various approaches should be tried and compared. Research, especially programmatic research, should be encouraged and supported.

SECTION II
EVALUATIONS OF BOSTON PROJECTS
FOR THE SPANISH-SPEAKING

Evaluations are a form of research, designed to assess the progress of the individual, class or program. Thus, many of the inadequacies found in the previous section will be encountered in any evaluation effort and will necessarily limit the findings.

I will briefly describe the evaluations which have been made of the programs being offered for the Spanish-speaking in Boston. I will evaluate the techniques used and present a brief summary of the findings. Drawing from this discussion I will try to formulate some policy implications.

A. DESCRIPTION OF EVALUATIONS

There have been four evaluations conducted on projects for the Spanish-speaking.

1. English as a Second Language program, 1968-1969, conducted by Heuristics, Inc.

a. Methodology. The evaluation design was based on a questionnaire administered to ESL and homeroom teachers who had ESL students. The respondents

were asked to rank a set of statements about the program on a strongly-agree--strongly-disagree continuum, a Likert type scale. The responses were discussed and compared for differences in opinion between the ESL and homeroom teachers. Also, both sets of teachers were asked to rank order improvement in language skills to assess the areas of language development.

b. Findings. The teachers reported that they did not feel that the goals of the program were clearly enough delineated and the program was not well organized. Half of the teachers felt that the bilingual approach would be preferable to ESL. The ESL and homeroom teachers reported no disruption nor undesirable side effects from the pull-out program. Both sets of teachers reported considerable growth in listening and speaking skills, and the homeroom teachers reported improvement in reading and writing skills.¹

2. English as a Second Language program, 1969-1970, conducted by Heuristics, Inc.

a. Methodology. The ESL teachers were asked to rank order a set of statements about the program. A sample of ESL classrooms were observed. The amount of talking done by the teachers and students was tabulated and notes on instructional techniques were taken and efforts were made to compare them.

¹Heuristics, Inc., "An Evaluation of the English As a Second Language Program of the Boston Public Schools, 1968-1969" (Dedham, Massachusetts: August, 1969, Mimeographed).

Students from some of the schools with ESL were tested for aural and oral competence by use of the Lado Test of Aural Comprehension and the Sentence Production Test. In an effort to make the students feel at ease in the test situation, the evaluators asked them for their opinions about school and the program.

Individuals from five local agencies were questioned about their impressions of the ESL programs.

b. Findings. As with the previous evaluation, there was reported by the teachers, as supported by the classroom observations, a general lack of definition or goals of the program and clearly developed instructional methods. Half the teachers favored the bilingual approach and the majority did not feel that the pull-out method was embarrassing to the students.

The students reported that they liked the program and school. They said that they felt that they were learning English. The individuals in the community were critical of the program, citing the detrimental effects of the pull-out program, poor facilities, and lack of development of an ESL instructional approach.

The evaluators reported development in oral and aural comprehension. Development of aural competency was demonstrated in the new students who had been in the program for less than six months; development of oral

competency was demonstrated in students who had been in the program more than six months.²

3. Bilingual Education program, Title VII, 1969-1970, conducted by Heuristics, Inc.

a. Methodology. This evaluation is by far the most thorough evaluation that has been conducted. A wide variety of evaluation techniques was employed.

The attitudes of the students toward the program were described from the anecdotal records kept by the teachers and the rate of absenteeism.

Tests were administered in January and June to assess improvement in academic performance. Reading in Spanish was tested by use of Preubas de Lecturas, which provides measures for vocabulary and speed and level of comprehension. Listening comprehension was tested by Comprehension of Oral Language--English Edition, a relatively new test without supportive data on reliability and validity. No test is commercially available to measure the speaking ability of bilingual students; several tools were pre-tested and rejected. A standardized Stanford Achievement Test was used to assess progress in arithmetic but no base line data was available nor was comparison to standardized scores valid.

²Heuristics, Inc., "An Evaluation of the English As a Second Language Program of the Boston Public Schools, 1969-1970" (Dedham, Massachusetts: August, 1970, Mimeographed).

Increase in parental and community interest in the program was measured by the nature and frequency of contacts between parents and the teaching staff.

The interchange between the teachers and the project director and the impact of the program as a model for other bilingual programs were briefly described. No measures for evaluation of the success of these interactions were attempted.

b. Findings. The teachers' records showed a generally positive attitude toward the program by the students. While the absenteeism was greater than described by the teachers, it was low for urban schools.

Significant gains in reading Spanish were found in most of the classes. The evaluators were not able to explain why certain classes did not show gain. The evaluators found high scores in the oral comprehension tests in English, actually to such an extent as to make them question the applicability of the test utilized, especially for the most advanced classes.

No data was developed on proficiency in English speaking ability and no comparisons were made with the arithmetic tests to the national norms.

The attempt to tabulate the frequency and content of teacher-parent interactions yielded little information

on the increase of parental and community interest in the program since the majority of the contacts were made by the school personnel.³

4. Educational Development Center training program for the Bilingual Clusters staff, 1970, conducted by Marvin G. Cline and John F. Joyce.

a. Methodology. In-depth interviews of the teacher-in-charge, teachers and teacher-aides were conducted to find out their needs, problems, and evaluation of the EDC training program.

b. Findings. The EDC emphasis on the training program on the "open classroom" style of teaching with inductive problem-solving materials and less authoritative role for the teacher was supported by the Anglo teachers and little understood by the Latin staff. This difference in fundamental conceptions of what is the best approach to education of the Spanish-speaking was clearly described in analysis of the interviews.⁴

B. PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF EVALUATIONS

These four evaluations demonstrate many of the problems which are inherent in any evaluation effort of

³Heuristics, Inc., "An Evaluation of the Title VII Bilingual Education Project of the Boston Public Schools, 1969-1970" (Dedham, Massachusetts: August, 1970, Mimeographed).

⁴Marvin G. Cline and John F. Joyce, "An Evaluation of the EDC Role in the Bilingual Transitional Clusters of the Boston Public Schools" (Educational Development Center, January, 1971, Mimeographed).

bilingual programs. We can see an evolution of techniques utilized by the Heuristics evaluators over time, with a growing degree of sophistication. Also, the evaluators have been open about the limitations of their methods, willing to discard tests which have not been reliable nor valid measuring instruments.

The measurement instruments for bilingual pupils and programs are not well developed. From the Title VII evaluation we find that there are areas of academic growth which are not subject to reliable and valid testing instruments. Evaluators did fall back on the use of standardized tests in areas where no specifically designed testing instrument had been developed. These standardized tests present a number of problems for the Spanish-speaking student. If the tests are given in English, the child whose first language is Spanish will be unduly handicapped. If the test is translated into Spanish, there continues to be a problem. There is a wide variation in standard word usage of Spanish reflected by national, regional, and local differences. Also, if the tests are translated and not adapted to the Spanish-speaking situation in the States, socio-cultural biases will be included and again present handicaps for the Spanish-speaking student. In short, the use of standardized tests is limited. They are devised for comparative analysis, to evaluate students of comparable educational

experience. Clearly such a comparison between a Spanish-speaking student and an English-speaking student is not valid. Only in a limited scope should these tests be used, testing the development of a group over time.

There was no effort made to look at bilingualism per se. The individual students were not tested to measure and describe the nature of their bilingualism, based on such characteristics as fluency, balance interference or bifurcation.

Affective growth of the students was not considered in the evaluation. This area in investigation is particularly difficult because of the bicultural situation of the pupils. Also focus in this area is mitigated by the overall emphasis of the evaluation which is on the assessment of the project as a whole, not progress of the individual students in the project.

Student attitudes about the program were measured by asking them a few questions as part of a "warm-up" for an oral-aural proficiency test or by asking the teachers about the student's attitudes. Neither of these methods gives the pupil a situation in which he can freely talk about his feelings and problems.

There was also difficulty in the evaluations in the assessment of relationships between groups of people, such as the classroom student-teacher, the

staff-director; inter-staff; and project-community. Cline and Joyce effectively used in-depth open-ended interviews. From the information gathered, they were able to describe the nature of the strains in the relationships within the staff and how they affect the project operations.

The most recent trend in evaluations is the measurement of data which will assess the attainment of the stated performance objectives. (This is the framework for the Title VII evaluation.) There are problems with this approach. First, the evaluator is dependent on these objectives as guides for the evaluation. Also, the staff are unaccustomed to stating such objectives and recording responses to them.

The entire professional staff was pre-tested, using the Instructional Objective Preference Check List. These data indicated that with the exception of the project director, who scored very high, all full-time staff members were untrained in the preparation and use of behavioral objectives.⁵

The staff is somewhat reluctant to use performance objectives in teaching because their utility is unclear and given all the time demands on them, low in priority. Performance objectives tend to be concrete, measurable, specific, easily identifiable, cognitive outcomes of teaching. Focusing on these components of education makes

⁵Heuristics, Inc., "Evaluation of Title VII," p. 75.

evaluation easy, but is also limited to those features. The less identifiable, more general, affective outcomes are usually not included.

The project evaluators are working under very difficult circumstances. Though they are supposed to develop data, they can not control events which might influence the data. Thus, after collection of the data, they may not be able to understand what caused changes and differences. For example, in the Title VII project, the conclusion of the Prueba de Lectura test was

It is difficult to interpret these data since it may have been either teacher, pupil, or instructional variables operating to cause one class to improve significantly while the others did not.⁶

The evaluators for the federally funded projects are in a difficult situation. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act requires evaluations to be made of the projects which are funded. At the same time, there is little Office of Education support for such evaluation. The local educational evaluator made efforts to develop a nation-wide exchange of information on the evaluation techniques being used in Title VII projects. This attempt was frustrated by the Bilingual Office.⁷

⁶Ibid., p. 53.

⁷Interview with Robert Consalvo, Educational Evaluator, Heuristics, Inc., 8 December 1970.

The contracts for evaluation of the federally funded projects must go through the City Council. The earliest that one of these contracts has been negotiated was in January. Thus the evaluators can not make any assessment of the development of academic achievement of the project since no base line data is gathered at the beginning of the school year. And, since comparison with national norms is invalid, the evaluators are severely curtailed in what they can do.

Finally, there seems to be a lack of concern and support for evaluation efforts by the teachers involved. Cline worked with the teachers and aides in the Clusters to develop an assessment chart to be used by the teachers. He got little cooperation, and though the tool was developed it has not been utilized.⁸

There is another fundamental problem with the evaluation effort. It is unclear who is to be served by the evaluation. Since the Office of Education requires and funds the projects and uses them in their review and funding decisions, it seems that the evaluations are really for the federal government, not the local level.

This orientation to the Office of Education is compounded by the method of releasing evaluation information. The data is collected and analyzed at the end of

⁸Interview with Marvin G. Cline, 29 April 1971.

the school year. A report is written and printed. By the time the report reaches the hands of the project supervisor it is well into the following year and the evaluation serves to be little more than a history. It is too late for the information obtained to be used in program planning and development. Cline has developed a method for evaluation which gives the staff initial feedback in May, providing the staff with time to react, plan and prepare for the coming year.⁹

C. CONCLUSION

The previous summary of the evaluations which have been made of the programs for the Spanish-speaking shows clearly the limitations of evaluation efforts. One of the limitations is that the evaluations are not available for the project personnel until the following year. I will, therefore, only briefly discuss the policy implications drawn from the findings. I will suggest some directions for future evaluation efforts.

Information from the evaluations of the two ESL programs provided similar directions for policy development. These are:

1. The ESL program is achieving its goals of development of oral and aural proficiency.

⁹Ibid.

However, there should be a reconsideration of the teaching methodology for at least half the teachers feel that the bilingual method would be more effective.

2. There is a need for the development of program goals and instructional methods to meet those goals.

3. Communication with community groups should be established so as to explain the objectives of the program and seek advice for improvement.

The evaluation of the Title VII project does not provide us with information for policy recommendations.

The evaluation of the EDC training program for the Bilingual Clusters staff shows clearly the problems which result when there is not a clear understanding on the part of all the staff as to the program goals, objectives and methods.

1. EDC should try to develop a training program which is suited to the interests and needs of the Latin and Anglo teachers.

2. The Teacher-in charge of the Bilingual Clusters needs to develop communication and open discussion within her staff to resolve the differences of approach of the Anglo and Latin teachers and teacher-aides.

There is a need for an effective evaluation process. Possible areas for development of this objective include:

1. Department and system support of the evaluations so that they can be begun at the beginning of the school year, not the middle.

2. Development of two kinds of evaluation programs:

a. Continuation of the present approach, which is directed primarily at the funding agency. Emphasis of these efforts should be on the program achievements.

b. Development of a new approach which would focus on providing information to the project personnel for programming and planning. The progress of the individual students as well as the whole class and project should be monitored. This kind of evaluation needs to be readily accessible to the teachers and staff of the program. Mechanisms need to be developed to provide continuing assessment and information.

3. Appropriate tools are needed for evaluation of educational programs for bilinguals. The school system and the various projects should cooperate with the evaluators in the pre-testing and development of such tools. Areas of affective growth and interpersonal relations are fundamental to education and are the most difficult to develop evaluation mechanisms for. Staff personnel can be particularly helpful in suggesting ways to evaluate these areas.

In summary, the evaluators can not be helpful until the programs clearly describe their goals and the ways they plan to meet those goals. Then the evaluators can begin to develop techniques to assess the attainment of the stated goals, and evaluate the methods which were used. It is only within a context of statement of objectives that evaluation efforts can prove useful.

SECTION III

DATA ON THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND
PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING
IN BOSTON

The failure to support program evaluations is symptomatic of the system-wide failure to develop school and educational data on the Spanish-speaking. This failure is manifest by the lack of collection of data developed within the system and failure to assess data developed outside the system.

Even the simple task of the description of the number of Spanish-speaking in the system becomes a difficult hurdle. First, there is the problem of terminology. Several labels have been differentially applied to describe the Spanish-speaking. Often the total population is referred to as Puerto Ricans, though other Latin Americans are included. A school census this year used categories for Puerto Rican, Cuban, and "other," which included an unspecified number of Spanish-speaking.¹ For purposes of federal data collection, the Spanish-speaking are collectively referred to as "Spanish-Americans."

¹Boston Public Schools, "Survey #1: City-wide Survey of all Pupils Born Outside the Continental Limits of the United States" (Boston: December, 1970, Mimeographed).

Another problem is that the school system has been reluctant to keep separate records on minority groups. (Somehow keeping such records is implicitly discriminatory, and to be avoided at all costs.) In the past couple of years, this reluctance has been overcome by the need to conform to the guidelines for federally-supported education programs. However, the pupils' grades and test scores are still not available by minority group.²

Finally, the school system only maintains a census of the children in school. By Massachusetts State Law the system is required to take a census of all school-aged children in and out of school. The Boston School Department has not complied.

At another level, the data on the children being served by the special programs for the Spanish-speaking is not systematically compiled. Only when the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights recently held a hearing to investigate possible discrimination against Puerto Ricans was there an effort to bring together data on Puerto

²Such information would probably not be helpful anyway since in the last three years six different standardized tests have been used system-wide. No analysis of change over time could be made. Joseph Cronin, Organizing an Urban School System for Diversity (Boston: Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, 1970), p. 36.

Ricans. This compilation is not complete, provides little indication of actual expenditures, and includes no information on Spanish-speaking other than Puerto Ricans.³

Those involved in program administration seem to lack information fundamental to decision-making and planning. After almost a full year as head of the Department of Bilingual Education, Mr. Botelho did not know or have information available on per-pupil expenditures nor student composition of the various programs; no analysis of cost effectiveness could even have been considered.⁴ The Director of the English as a Second Language program had no idea of the total cost of the program she was administering.⁵

There has been no concerted effort to compile and analyze the data which has been developed on the Spanish-speaking by individuals and groups outside the school system. I will try to do this. First I will briefly describe some of the primary studies which include information relevant to schooling and educational issues.

³William H. Ohrenberger, "Statement Before the Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights," 12 May 1971, Mimeographed.

⁴Interview with Jeremiah Botelho, 21 May 1971.

⁵Interview with Ana Marie Diamond, 26 May 1971. For a discussion on the problems of financial coordination, see page 82.

Then I will extract the relevant data and summarize and compare the findings.

A. PRIMARY STUDIES

1. The Boston Redevelopment Authority study of 500 families to be relocated by urban renewal in the South End. 18% of the families were Puerto Ricans. This information was not developed to be representative of the Puerto Rican population in the South End; it was developed to assess the needs of the population which was to be relocated.⁶

2. "Puerto Ricans in Transition." 49 Puerto Rican families in the South End were interviewed for this undergraduate honors thesis written by Manuel Teurel. While the families were not drawn systematically, Teurel does believe that the data is representative.⁷

3. The Child Population Census. Conducted by a group in the South End fighting the Racial Imbalance Plans for the area, this survey is limited only to a census of school-aged children.⁸

⁶Boston Redevelopment Authority, "Residents of the South End Urban Renewal Project," June, 1967, Mimeographed.

⁷Manuel Teurel, "Puerto Ricans in Transition," Undergraduate Honors Thesis, Harvard University, March 1969.

⁸Ad Hoc Committee for New South End Schools, "Child Population Census of Boston's 'South End': Summary Report" (Joint Center for Urban Studies of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, October, 1968), Mimeographed.

4. The Migrant Summer Project. The Massachusetts Department of Education and the Association for the Protection of the Constitutional Rights of the Spanish-speaking (APCROSS) sponsored a study to obtain as much information as possible on the Spanish-speaking population in Boston. However, only residents of the South End were interviewed; of 261 only one was Cuban.⁹

5. Nancy Cynamon conducted a survey of 24 families in conjunction with the development of the proposal for the Blackstone School. The respondents were Puerto Rican.¹⁰

6. Educational Planning Center survey of the South End for the Blackstone School proposal. One hundred sixty people were interviewed, an undetermined number of whom were Spanish-speaking.¹¹

7. The Spanish-speaking project. The Action for Boston Community Development sponsored a study of the Spanish-speaking in Boston which was conducted by Dr. David Smith at Boston College. A well-constructed

⁹Delia Vorhauer, "A Profile of Boston's Spanish-speaking Community" (ABCD, August, 1969) Mimeographed.

¹⁰Emergency Tenants Council, "Emergency Tenants Council Blackstone School Interviews" (August 1969), Mimeographed.

¹¹Boston Public Schools, Educational Planning Center, "Appendix A, Appendage to Summer Survey," n.d., Mimeographed.

sample was drawn and 535 Spanish-speakers were interviewed. This is the first successful effort to obtain a representative sample of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. Unfortunately the final report has not been released. I have made a preliminary analysis of the educational variables. (This analysis is included as Appendix B.)

In conclusion, with the exception of the ABCD-BC study, none of the data developed on the Spanish-speaking has included information on the total population. The ABCD-BC study is the only one which includes the Spanish-speakers other than Puerto Ricans and also includes people living outside the South End.

B. ESTIMATES OF THE SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN

The major focus on the collection of data on the Spanish-speaking has been the estimation of the number of school-aged children in and out of school. As mentioned, the school system has not complied with its legal responsibility to collect this data. Several groups have made estimates of the number of children as a means to force the school system to be more responsive to the Spanish-speaking and to develop programs.

The first city-wide effort to estimate the number of Spanish-speaking was undertaken by the Mayor's Office

of Public Service.¹² Using estimates from various local agencies, OPS reported,

This [data] seems to lead to a high estimate of 20,000 Puerto Ricans and 9,500 Cubans, and a low estimate of 12,000 Puerto Ricans and 5,500 Cubans. This is to say, possible totals are from almost 30,000 Spanish-speaking citizens in Boston to 17,500 at this time. The lower estimate appears to a statistical consultant to be the more probable one in view of the other figures produced by various agencies, particularly Public Welfare.¹³

No estimate of the number of school-aged children was made.

The OPS data and conclusions were incorporated in the Educational Development Center's compilation of data on the Spanish-speaking and proposal for the Bilingual Transitional Clusters.¹⁴ The EDC report included an estimate of the number of Spanish-speaking children in and out of school. Drawing from the OPS data and the primary studies, EDC estimated that the total "Puerto Rican" population was 20,000; the child population was

¹²The Office of Public Service took the information gathered from their study and created a map of residential location of the Spanish-speaking in Boston.

¹³Rosemary Whiting, "An Overview of the Spanish-speaking Population in Boston" (Office of Public Service, August, 1969, Mimeographed), p. 2. The addition of the various local estimates was incorrect; the figures should range between 16,500 and 28,200. Though previously in the report there was mention of other Latin American groups ("... Columbians, Bolivians, and people from Santo Domingo, Mexico and Costa Rica, etc. . ."), they were forgotten when the estimate was made.

¹⁴Rosly Walter, "Proposal for Bilingual Transitional Clusters within the Boston Public School Districts (Educational Development Center, August, 1969, Mimeographed). The

12,000, with 7,800 children between 6 and 18 years old.¹⁵ Extracting from the school system its estimate of the number of Spanish-speaking children in school (a maximum of 2825), EDC made a simple subtraction and concluded that there were approximately 4,975 Spanish-speaking children not attending school, or 63% of the total number of school-aged Spanish-speaking children.¹⁶

The EDC figures, based on questionable computations and estimates, were included in the report of the Task Force of Children Out of School, with only slight adjustments.¹⁷ Depending on which of the upper estimates is used for the total number of Spanish-speaking in

17,500 to 29,500 estimate was used, without mention of the statistical consultants' evaluation that the lower number was probably more likely. The EDC compilation cited an additional estimate made by the Office of Human Rights which put the number of Spanish-speaking in Boston at 32,000 (22,000 Puerto Ricans; 5,000-6,000 Cubans; and 4,000-5,000 others). (Walter, "Proposal," p. 6.)

¹⁵Ibid., p. 5. The reasons for the selection of the 20,000 and 7,800 figures were not cited.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 6. The number of children in school is higher than the official estimate given the Office of Education for the same year, 1968-1969 (See Table, page 46). Also note that the estimate of total number of Spanish-speaking children in school was subtracted from the estimate of the total number of "Puerto Ricans" in the city.

¹⁷Task Force on Children Out of School, "The Way We Go to School: The Exclusion of Children in Boston" (Boston: 1970, Mimeographed), pp. 15-18.

Boston, the Task Force reported

Thus, we can state with a marked degree of confidence --and alarm--that between 2650 and 7800 Spanish-speaking children of school age in Boston are not in school.¹⁸

The ABCD-BC data indicates that the number of children out of school is substantially less than indicated in the previous reports.

TABLE FOUR

ABCD-BC DATA ON PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL (N=318)

| | |
|---------------|-------|
| Mainlanders | 80.0% |
| Puerto Ricans | 30.5% |
| Cubans | 15.1% |
| Other Latins | 27.6% |
| Total | 29.2% |

Cross tabulation analysis indicated that there is a positive correlation between the country of childhood and attendance in the schools. The mainland and Puerto Rican children attend school significantly less than other Latin Americans. (See Table Forty-six, Appendix B.) Previous estimates which have been cited were drawn from the Puerto Ricans so some difference is explicable.

In conclusion, there is a large number of Spanish-speaking school-aged children who are not attending

¹⁸Ibid., p. 17.

school. The exact number is unclear, the estimates range from 29% to 63%. It is evident that the most repeated figures (those from the OPS, EDC and Task Force reports) have not been carefully developed and yet they have been repeated enough times to become widely respected and treated as if they were legitimate.

C. OTHER INFORMATION ON EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING

The studies which have been made do include some additional information relevant to educational planning for the Spanish-speaking. The ABCD-BC study found that despite the high truancy rates in the Spanish-speaking population, at least half of the population feels that the schools are doing little or nothing. There is a significant correlation between a positive assessment of the schools and having been visited by Spanish-speaking (but not English-speaking) school personnel. (See Tables Forty-one and Forty-two, Appendix B.)¹⁹

¹⁹These figures can be roughly compared with those developed for the Cronin Report.

Parental Rating of Quality of Education in the Boston Public Schools

| | |
|------------|-------|
| Very Good | 16.9% |
| Good | 39.8% |
| Fair | 27.5% |
| Poor | 9.1% |
| Don't Know | 6.7% |

It would seem that the Spanish-speakers' estimate of the school system is lower than the overall population's estimate. (Cronin, Organizing for Diversity, p. 16.)

The truancy rates are inconsistent with parental desires for education of their children. Spanish-speaking parents want to keep their children in school as long as possible. There is only one variable which changes this feeling; this is the parent's income. Those with the lowest income tend to want their children to start to work as soon as possible. (See Tables Fifty-eight and Fifty-nine, Appendix B.) Also, the interviewees seem to have typical American expectations for their children's education: 29.2% want their children to at least complete high school; 54.5% want them to at least graduate; 15.8% expect some graduate work or a professional degree. The level of aspiration varies with the country of childhood of the interviewee; Puerto Ricans have a substantially lower expectation than other Spanish-speakers. (See Table Sixty, Appendix B.) This aspiration does not correlate with present salary level. (See Table Sixty-Two, Appendix B.)

Are the Spanish-speaking children having trouble in school? Teurel found that 82% of his sample of South End Puerto Ricans said that their children experience no problems in the schools. Those problems which were mentioned were 9% inappropriate grade level, 6% truancy, and 6% language difficulties.²⁰ Because the evidence he

²⁰Teurel, "Puerto Ricans," p. 65.

collected indicated a much wider occurrence of school-related problems, Teurel feels that the respondents tended to understate the situation.

The ABCD-BC study found approximately the same incidence of reported problems in the schools. 80.8% reported no problems; 9.1% reported occurrence of problems once or twice; 10.2% reported a lot of problems. The frequency of problems of the Puerto Rican and mainland children were significantly greater. (See Table Forty-nine, Appendix B.)

One indicator of the existence of school problems is the grade-to-age comparison. This data is not available from the school system. The Bilingual Clusters proposal and the report of the Task Force on children Out of School both included a table on the Grade Level of Spanish-speaking pupils; this information²¹ is attributed to the Summer Migrant Project but does not appear in the report of the Project.

²¹Walter, "Proposal," p. 11; and Task Force on Children Out of School, "The Way," p. 21. This table is as follows:

Grade Level of Spanish-Speaking Pupils

| | |
|---|-----|
| Proper Grade Level | 13% |
| Held Back One Grade | 26% |
| Held Back Two Grades | 25% |
| Held Back Three Grades | 12% |
| Held Back Four Grades | 5% |
| Held Back Five Grades or Dropped Out | 8% |
| Unknown | 11% |

Several efforts have been made to determine the kind of classes preferred for the Spanish-speaking children by the Spanish-speaking community. The Educational Planning Center survey which was conducted in conjunction with the development of the Blackstone proposal found that 75% of the interviewees said that English was the most important subject that their children could learn in elementary school.

The ABCD-BC study presented the interviewees with two alternatives: Spanish-dominant classes with English as a second language, or English-dominant classes with help in Spanish. 88.3% of those interviewed preferred the latter alternative. Various significant correlations to this selection were determined. They are 1) greater Spanish and English language competency; 2) greater interest in adult language classes; 3) longer time in the United States; and 4) the more positive perception of the school system's efforts to help the Spanish-speaking. (See Tables Fifty through Fifty-five, Appendix B.) Exactly what the preference for English-dominant classes means programmatically is unclear. However it is evident that the early bilingual classes which teach subject matter in Spanish, and Spanish and English as subjects would not conform to this preference.

The Summer Migrant study asked the parents what they felt was the most important need of the schools.

Bilingual teachers were requested the most often.²² The EPC and ETC surveys showed that the vast majority of the respondents wanted the schools to provide hot lunches for the children.²³

Only in one survey was the integration-segregation issue brought up. In the ETC survey of 24 families, half the respondents felt that the schools should be just Puerto Rican schools so that there could be sensitive teachers responsive to the needs of the Puerto Rican children. The other half preferred integrated schools so that the Puerto Rican children would be able to break down their isolation from the larger community.²⁴

Little information has been developed on the desirability of parental and community participation in the schools. The EPC study found that 60.9% of the respondents were interested in greater community involvement.²⁵ The ETC survey also found interest in parental participation. The suggested areas for this involvement were 1) teaching carpentry, cooking and sewing; 2) bringing children to schools; 3) helping with the distribution of materials in class, and 4) assisting

²²Vorhauer, "Profile," p. 17.

²³Boston Public Schools, Educational Planning Center, "Appendix A"; and Emergency Tenants Council, "Blackstone."

²⁴Emergency Tenants Council, "Blackstone."

²⁵Boston Public Schools, Educational Planning Center, "Appendix A."

teachers. The interviewees also felt that there should be monthly parent-teacher meetings in Spanish.²⁶

The ABCD-BC data suggests that there is little likelihood of the Spanish-speaking community developing a community-wide organization around school and education issues. There is a belief that the community can be organized and generally wide-held feeling that the Spanish-speaking should organize. However, such an organization can best be developed around the general problems faced by all the Spanish-speaking in Boston, not on one specific issue such as education and the schools. (Tables Seventy-three through Seventy-nine, Appendix B.)

D. ADULT EDUCATION AND PRE-SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Throughout the studies which have been made on the Spanish-speaking population there is seen a need and interest in adult education classes, particularly English classes. There is a generally low level of educational achievement in the Spanish-speaking population.

1. The BRA study of relocatees found that 52% of the Puerto Ricans had less than a sixth-grade education. (This compares with 15% of the Negroes, 20% of the Whites, and no Chinese.)²⁷

²⁶Emergency Tenants Council, "Blackstone."

²⁷Boston Redevelopment Authority, "Residents," p. 18.

2. Teurel's study of the South End found that 39% had less than a sixth-grade education and only 14% had completed high school. The women had an appreciably lower level of education.²⁸

3. The Summer Migrant data shows 69% of the 438 respondents had not completed seventh grade. The women were lower.²⁹

The language development in the population is reflective of the educational level. Teurel reports 28% of the men and 24% of the women know how to speak both Spanish and English.³⁰ The Summer Migrant study found 33% of the men and 20% of the women respondents could read and speak English.³¹

The ABCD-BC study developed extensive data in the area of language development of the Spanish-speaking. The overall rate of literacy of the Spanish-speaking is low. Cubans and other Latin Americans were comparatively high, over 85% being able to read and write Spanish. Only 61% of the Puerto Ricans know how to read Spanish and 59% know how to write it. The low level of Spanish literacy for the mainlanders suggests the loss of the native language. (Tables Seven and Eight, Appendix B.)

²⁸Teurel, "Puerto Ricans," p. 68.

²⁹Vorhauer, "Profile," p. 15.

³⁰Teurel, "Puerto Ricans," p. 64.

³¹Vorhauer, "Profile," p. 16.

The data on English language development is distressing. Aside from those born on the mainland, we find a low percentage of the respondents functional in English. Of the Cubans, other Latins and Puerto Ricans interviewed, 40.8% could not speak English; 45.7% could not read English; and 67.4% could not write English. (See Tables Nine through Eleven, Appendix B.)

There is no change of Spanish skills over time. There is a significant correlation between length of time in the States and English language competence. (See Table Twelve, Appendix B.)

One-third of the respondents indicated interest in improving their Spanish and two-thirds indicated interest in improving their English. Looking at those who were so inclined, one trend is clear: those people who already have some competency in a language are those who are most interested in improving their ability. (See Tables Sixteen through Twenty, Appendix B.) There is also a considerable overlap between the people interested in taking English classes and those interested in taking Spanish classes. (See Table Twenty-one, Appendix B.)

Interest in taking English classes relates positively with a number of variables. These include length of time in the States, visits with non-Spanish speaking neighbors, exposure to television (but not radio), and concept of amount in common with the Spanish-speaking community. (See Tables Twenty-five through

Twenty-eight and Table Thirty-five, Appendix B.) This interest does not relate to income level of the respondent, to perceptions about need for education, nor to interest in homeland activities. (See Tables Twenty-nine and Thirty-two, Appendix B.)

The data did not provide sufficient information as to the kind of classes which would be preferred by the population. It does seem that incentives such as stipends, transportation and day-care costs are important. Night classes seem preferable. (See Tables Thirty-seven through Forty-one, Appendix B.)

There has been little discussion about pre-school education for the Spanish-speaking children. The Clusters proposal quoted Sister Francis Georgia's findings that out of 1170 Head Start pupils, only 50 were Spanish-speaking.³² The BRA study found a comparatively high percentage of Puerto Ricans had pre-school-aged children, 42% as compared with 13% for the Negroes, 6% for the Whites and no Chinese. Of those families with pre-schoolers, 35.1% of the Puerto Ricans, 34.9% of the Negroes, and 60% of the Whites had their children enrolled in a pre-school program. The Negroes expressed the greatest interest in enrolling their children in a pre-school program. 74.4% of the Negroes as compared with 54.1% of the Puerto Ricans

³²Walter, "Proposal," p. 14.

and 20% of the Whites expressed an interest in a pre-school program.³³

The ABCD-BC study documents less involvement in the pre-school programs for the Spanish-speaking. Of those who had children, 16.2% of the families had children registered in a pre-school program.³⁴ The propensity to send children to pre-school programs does not relate with a positive evaluation of the efforts of the Boston School System's efforts for the Spanish-speaking. (See Table Forty-seven, Appendix B.)

The women interviewees of the ABCD-BC study were asked if they would send their children to day-care centers. 43.9% responded positively; 42.4% negatively; and 13.6% were uncertain. Again, the belief that the schools are helping the Spanish-speaking does not influence women's willingness to send their children to day-care centers. (See Table Forty-eight, Appendix B.)

³³ Boston Redevelopment Authority, "Residents," p. 15.

³⁴ It is uncertain whether this question excluded all but those who had pre-school-aged children or those who had children, regardless of age. 82.6% of the total respondents answered the question; it is hard to believe that this percentage of all Spanish-speaking families have pre-school-aged children!

E. CONCLUSION

The information which has been developed about the Spanish-speaking in Boston is spotty and with the exception of the ABCD-BC study, not representative of the total population. However, there is enough consistency within the discussion to present some tentative policy recommendations.

1. There is definitely a need for the school system or another agency to conduct a careful census of school-aged children, in and out of school. This is the only way to finally settle the question of the number of children out of school.

2. Whatever the exact number of Spanish-speaking school-aged children, it is safe to say that there are a considerable number of Spanish-speaking children out of school. Employment of attendance officers to force them into the classrooms will be counterproductive. There is a need for a sensitive study of the children who are out of school to determine the reasons why they are not attending and recommend ways the programs can be improved to respond to their needs.

3. There is a need to develop programs for the Spanish-speaking so that they do not fall behind their appropriate grade levels, become discouraged and eventually drop out.

4. If the school system continues with its present orientation toward expansion of the bilingual approach to education of the Spanish-speaking children, there will be a need for the system to explain to the community why this approach is taken, since at present the community is in favor of English-dominant classes. There should be consideration of other methods of instruction which would conform to the community's preference of English-dominant classes, at least as an alternative to the bilingual approach.

5. More bilingual teachers and hot lunches have been requested.

6. There is a widespread need and demand for adult education classes. These classes should include a wide variety of levels. Of particular interest are English and Spanish classes.

7. Some of the Spanish-speaking are interested in day-care facilities and pre-school programs. Such programs should be developed to meet their special needs.

There is a wide variety of informational needs which must be considered and developed in order to plan.

1. Inside the school system.

a. The system should conduct a census of school-aged children.

b. Educational information on the Spanish-speaking should be systematically collected. This information would include tests' scores, grades, and age-to-grade-level data. Analysis of this information should be made in order to assess the effectiveness of the school system's response to the Spanish-speaking. This information should be made available to the public.

c. Information on the various programs which are presently being offered to the Spanish-speaking should be developed. Comparison of the effectiveness of each program should be made, and strengths and weaknesses identified in order to determine the particular capabilities of each. Follow-up information is necessary on the progress of students who have been in the programs and are in the regular classroom.

2. Outside the system. The Department of Bilingual Education should try to establish a two-way communication with the Spanish-speaking community. Various mechanisms to establish this communication are formation of parent advisory groups for each of the programs, increased home visits by school personnel to the parents of children in the programs, forums with various community organizations, and with agencies which serve the Spanish-speaking community.

Some of the topics for discussion with the community are how to develop effective communication mechanisms, the

preference for English-dominant classes, the integration/segregation issue, kinds of courses desired for adults, day-care and pre-school programs, as well as regular school programs.

In short, the Department of Bilingual Education and other components of the school system are failing to respond to all the educational needs of the Spanish-speaking. The system will not know how best to serve the Spanish-speaking until basic information about the community is developed. Since information does not exist which will give the system a complete picture of the educational needs and problems of the Spanish-speaking community, the system must reach out and start asking questions.

APPENDIX B

THE SPANISH-SPEAKING PROJECT-
ANALYSIS AND IMPLICATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL VARIABLES

THE SPANISH-SPEAKING PROJECT--
ANALYSIS AND IMPLICATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL VARIABLES

In the summer of 1970, a survey of the needs and problems of the Spanish-speaking people of Boston was conducted under the auspices of the anti-poverty agency, Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), and the Institute of Human Sciences at Boston College. A total of 535 Spanish-speaking people were asked questions about their general background, family composition, immigration or migration, employment and economic condition, education, health, housing, recreation, interaction with the community, and personal opinions.

Selection of the representative sample of the Spanish-speaking residents was difficult.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Smith. He kindly provided me access to this data, assistance from his staff--Bert Baldwin and Joan Hunter, computer time and guidance.



Room 14-0551
77 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02139
Ph: 617.253.2800
Email: docs@mit.edu
<http://libraries.mit.edu/docs>

DISCLAIMER

**Page has been omitted due to a pagination error
by the author.**

Pg. 317

Because of the recency of arrival of most Spanish-speaking people to Boston . . . and because of the general inattention to their existence as a special linguistic-cultural community with special needs and problems, no adequate list or directories existed (or exist) to permit adequate sampling.¹

The area sampling technique was used. The method follows these steps:

1) The block faces of Boston were divided into three types: "span streets," "near streets," and "none streets." Streets with high Spanish-speaking population were called span streets; those nearby with possible Spanish-speaking population were near streets; those with no known Spanish-speaking population were none streets. Designation of streets was based primarily on a map showing the areas of high Spanish-speaking concentration constructed by the Office of Public Service.

2) A sample of the span block faces was drawn.

3) Using the reputational method, screeners (for the most part native Spanish-speakers) visited these streets and questioned residents to determine the number and location of native Spanish-speaking people on the block.²

¹ David Horton Smith, "Sampling Procedures and Research Methods of the ABCD-BC Survey of the Needs and Problems of the Spanish-speaking People of Boston," mimeo, p.1.

² The investigators felt that the reputational method was sufficiently valid for their purposes, even though in a cross-checking they did remark: "The accuracy and reliability of people's knowledge about their block face were not outstandingly high." Ibid., p. 8.

4) Less exhaustive samples were taken from the near street and none street face blocks.

5) Interviewees were selected from the sample. The interviews were conducted from late July through early September by seventeen trained native Spanish-speakers. The nationality of the interviewer was matched with the nationality of the interviewee to promote completion and honest responses. Five hundred thirty-five people were interviewed, with each interview averaging about one hour.

The analysis of the data collected has not been completed. The purpose of this particular effort is to make an analysis of the responses of the education variables. We will look at the educational level and language development of the Spanish-speaking population, the perception of the Boston school system, and indicators of potential community involvement in the schools. From the analysis we will draw policy implications.

The analysis will depend on the utilization of the chi-square test, which measures the correlation between variables. We will use the unweighted sample (N=535) for two reasons: 1) the emphasis of our study is on the interrelationship between variables more than the representativeness of the variables to the total population; and 2) generalizations from the unweighted sample to the total

population seem to be valid, especially when the chi-square test is significant within 1% of probability.³

The analysis will be limited by three factors:

1) Important and relevant background information is not available because the overall analysis has not been completed.

2) We are limited by the questions which were included in the education component. These focus extensively on adult-centered educational problems and needs. Specific questions on present school programs, educational goals and preferred programs were limited. The receivers of the thrust of the present educational effort--the children--were not interviewed.

3) The study was very carefully constructed. It is hard to question the randomness of the population sampled. However, no such study can ever be said to be

³ The weighted sample had an N of 7370. This sample is constructed to be more reliable for generalizations about the total population. This author made a comparison of percentage distribution of six sets of variables from the weighted and unweighted samples. The variables compared were selected because of the high frequency with which they were used for this analysis and their susceptibility to variation in the weighted data. (The weighted sample increased the near street and none street populations, who were less likely to be Puerto Ricans.) Comparisons made are to be found on Tables One through Six in Appendix B. Tables One through Three show an average of less than 1.4% variation in responses. Tables Four through Six, which are broken down by country of childhood, reflect the non-Puerto Rican population increase. There is a greater variation, as much as 3.1%. Therefore we should be cautious about the generalizations. At the same time, the vast majority of the chi-square tests which were significant were at the 1% level, which would tolerate a small amount of variation without affecting the validity of the correlation.

truly representative unless everyone concerned is questioned. Our conclusions can only be suggestive of possible trends.

A. LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF BOSTON'S SPANISH-SPEAKING

The overall literacy rate of the Spanish-speaking is rather low. The Cubans and other Latin Americans demonstrated a rather high literacy rate, over 85% being able to read and write Spanish. The Puerto Rican population is deficient by comparison, with only 61% knowing how to read Spanish and 59% knowing how to write Spanish.⁴ (Tables Seven and Eight.)

The mainland-born population (N=15) showed a surprising characteristic. Only 4 respondents could read and write Spanish, even though they were native speakers of the language and able to verbally respond to the questionnaire in Spanish.

The data on English language development is distressing. Aside from those born on the mainland, we find a very low per cent of the respondents functional in English. Of the Cubans, other Latins and Puerto Ricans interviewed,

⁴ There were two variables which could have been used to determine the effect of different perceptions by countries. These were place of birth or place where the interviewee grew up. This author decided that the latter had most significance and has used it throughout the analysis.

40.8% could not speak English, 45.7% could not read English, and 67.4% could not write English. (Tables Nine through Eleven.)

Is there a change in the language skill related to the length of time spent in the States? There is no change in Spanish skills related to time in the States. (Tables Twelve and Thirteen.) However, there is a statistically significant relationship between time spent in the States and development of English language competency. The longer the person has been in the States the greater the chances he will speak, read and write English. (Tables Fourteen through Sixteen.) However, time is not the complete panacea. There still remain many with little or no English language ability, even after a number of years in the States.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1) The schools should not assume knowledgeable parents who can provide support to their children's acquisition in either Spanish or English.

2) Communiqués to parents must be written in Spanish to be sure that the message is understood. Even then, almost half of the Puerto Ricans and about ten per cent of other Spanish-speakers will have trouble understanding the message.

3) There is a wide-spread and immediate need for adult classes in Spanish and English literacy. One-fourth

of the population needs classes in reading and writing Spanish, and three-fourths needs classes in speaking, reading and writing English. These classes should be located near and designed primarily for and by Puerto Ricans.

B. INTEREST IN ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES

Of those interviewed, 86.3% responded that they needed additional schooling in order to have a better future. (This feeling was not a function of the present income level of the respondents.) The objective for additional study varied extensively, with 3% wanting to receive a high school diploma and 15.2% wanting a college degree. There was also a wide variation in the areas of specialization sought; auto mechanics and clerical training were the highest ranked.

The need for language classes has been clearly demonstrated above. One-third of the respondents want to improve their Spanish and two-thirds want to improve their English.

In looking at the responses for those who are interested in improving their Spanish and English abilities there is one very clear trend: those people who already have some competency in the language are the same people who would be interested in language classes. (Tables Seventeen through Twenty-one.) There is also a considerable

overlap between the people interested in taking Spanish classes and those interested in taking English classes. (Table Twenty-two.) Of those interviewed who were interested in improving their Spanish abilities, two-thirds said they would be interested in improving their ability to speak, read, and write English.

While there is this marked tendency for those with some language competency to want to improve their language ability, there are also some people with little language background who desire to do so. Of those interviewed who expressed interest in improving their English language competency, 22% do not speak English, 32.8% do not read English, and 42.4% do not write English. Of this same group interested in English language improvement, 8% do not read Spanish and 9.3% do not write Spanish.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1) There is a widespread interest in adult education. There is interest in continuing education toward degrees at all levels.

2) There is a demand for a wide variety of adult classes, with the highest requests made for auto mechanics and clerical training.

3) There is a widespread interest in language classes. One-third of the respondents want Spanish and two-thirds want English classes.

4) These adult language classes cannot be designed monolithically.

5) Most of those interested in learning a language already have some knowledge of it. Thus, the first part of the course should be review and should not be too long.

6) For those interested in learning English, the majority have a fair grasp of Spanish and thus the English lessons can be based on contrastive analysis with Spanish. (Tables Twenty-three and Twenty-four.)

7) About 15% of those interested in learning English have little or no reading and writing ability in Spanish. Research in adult education should be made to determine whether it is better to take these people directly into a basic English instruction or whether knowledge of Spanish language should be developed first.

8) About one-third of the population is interested in learning both languages. Perhaps special classes could be developed for them which would simultaneously teach English and Spanish.

9) Over one-fourth of the population expressed no, little, or some interest in English classes. However they tend to be the same people who have little English ability and who need help the most. The system must make an effort to reach out to these people and provide courses which would be most interesting to them. Basic literacy courses, small classes in convenient locations such as homes, churches and other local sites, mini-courses to prevent the tedium of language acquisition, and relevant

courses, perhaps using a school-without-walls concept, are some of the ways which might attract the least interested people.

What are some of the other variables which influence the individual's interest in taking classes? They include the following:

1) Length of time in the States. There is a significant relationship between the length of time a person has been in the States and his interest in improving his English. (Table Twenty-five.)

2) Visits with non-Spanish-speaking neighbors. There is a positive relationship between visits with non-Spanish-speaking neighbors and interest in bettering English capacity. (Table Twenty-six.) This correlation can be interpreted in two ways. The first could be supportive of residential integration, and second as a result of residential segregation. In the first instance, those Spanish-speakers who spoke with non-Spanish-speaking neighbors (and possibly by extension with co-workers, co-students and the like) were more interested in improving their English. Thus, it could be said that contact with English speakers increases interest in learning English. Or we could conclude that only those who already know some English can speak with their English-speaking neighbors. The initial language barrier has been broken down by the Spanish-speaker's capacity to communicate in English. In

addition, since these respondents have non-Spanish-speaking neighbors, they are not living in conditions of linguistic segregation. Both interpretations might have validity.

3) Exposure to television and radio. Exposure to television does influence the respondent's interest in bettering his English capacity. (Table Twenty-seven.) Exposure to the radio does not. (Table Twenty-eight.)

4) Economic status. Incomes of the respondents do not vary with their interest in attending English classes. (Table Twenty-nine.)

5) Attitudes. There is no relationship between the educational variables--such as the minimum education desired for their children, nor belief that education betters one's life situation--and interest in taking English classes. (Tables Thirty and Thirty-one.) In addition, there is no relationship with political variables such as interest in homeland activities, perception of discrimination, nor organizational propensity. (Tables Thirty-two through Thirty-four.) However, for reasons which may be related to political efficacy, there is a significant relationship between interest in taking English classes and belief that the Hispanic community has a lot in common and that the Hispanic community should unite. (Tables Thirty-five and Thirty-six.)

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1) Interest in attending English classes grows with length of time in the States. There is little that the school system can do about this. However, it should be aware of the situation and know that in areas which Spanish-speakers have been settled for a longer time, it will probably be easier to recruit students for English classes.

2) Interest in attending English classes increases with the number of visits made to non-Spanish-speaking neighbors. The system might send out school volunteers and perhaps high school and college students with some knowledge of Spanish, to visit with the non-English-speaking residents. There should be no hidden agenda in these visits, just providing the Spanish-speaker with someone to talk with in English in a non-threatening situation such as their homes.

3) Almost half of the respondents watch television at least an hour a day and at the same time expressed interest in improving their English abilities soon or immediately. Use of the television for adult English classes is recommended. Perhaps there should be a 21-Inch Classroom series for English development for the adults. And schools should be organized around the forthcoming Sesame Street for adults.

4) There should be no rigid fixing of a fee of English instruction because there is no relationship between economic status and interest in learning English. Thus, the low income group should not be excluded and those who can pay a larger sum should do so.

An expressed interest in taking language classes does not necessarily mean that the person will actually attend such classes. From the data we cannot compare the intent with the reality of the situation in the present nor can we project the future trends. We can look to see if present interest is related to having taken an English course. There is no relationship between these two variables. However, of 522 respondents, 107 had taken some kind of English course outside of their normal schooling. (Table Thirty-seven.) But, of those who had taken a course over half expressed interest in further language development which might suggest a feeling of dissatisfaction with the courses taken.

Does having spent a longer time in the States have any relationship to having taken an English course? We might suspect that the longer a person has been here the greater his opportunity would have been for taking such classes. However, this is not a statistically significant relationship. (Table Thirty-eight.)

The question was raised in the previous section of the payment of a fee for language classes. The question of financing adult education courses is an area of debate. Should the student be expected to pay a fee? One approach suggests that if the student does pay a fee he has a stake in the course and this will assure his continued attendance and hence a greater achievement potential. If this is true, should the fee vary according to the ability to pay? Or, on the other hand, should attendance be financially rewarded? Advocates of this approach would argue that English acquisition for the non-English-speakers will benefit the society (i.e., "people would get off welfare and be able to earn a decent living"). Therefore, the society should absorb the burden of the cost of this education and possibly add a financial incentive to encourage (and enable) non-English-speakers to go to English classes. This approach is often proposed for the poor because they cannot afford to pay even a minimal course fee, pay for baby-sitting, transportation costs and class materials.

The ABCD study did not investigate the relationship between payment of fees with interest in attending English classes. The study does provide data on the correlation of an attendance stipend with interest in classes. "Would you be seriously interested in attending classes to improve your English if you were paid \$50.00 weekly to attend?" There is a statistically significant

relation between interest in attending classes and receiving \$50.00 per week. (Table Thirty-nine.) However, it is interesting to note that there are 34% of the respondents who expressed a desire to improve their English but would not attend classes, even if paid. One variable sheds some light onto this seeming inconsistency. When the respondents were asked if they would go to night classes for English if paid "a small fee," there were less respondents who expressed interest but would not attend English classes than in the previous relationship. (Table Forty.) Thus, scheduling of classes at night seems to remove one obstacle for attendance for some people who are interested in attending classes, and is more important than the amount of money offered to attend. (This variable also relates positively with interest in improving ability to read and write English.)

Welfare recipients were asked if they were interested in daytime English classes, if they were paid \$30.00 monthly plus lunch and transportation. 48.1% were not interested; 43% were. 23% expressed strong interest in improving their English but would not attend this class. (Table Forty-one.)

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

- 1) Several different levels of English courses should be offered. Many who have already taken English courses are interested in continuing their education.

2) A stipend of \$50.00 per week would encourage many to take English classes.

3) Night classes seem preferable for many, even if they had to forego the large stipend (\$50.00 weekly) for a smaller one.

4) About half of those on welfare expressed interest in daytime classes, if they received a stipend of \$30.00 monthly plus lunch and transportation. About one-fourth of those on welfare interested in classes probably would not attend. Reasons for this inconsistency should be investigated.

5) There are several factors which probably influence class attendance. These include the time of day, whether the person is employed or not, responsibility for the home and care of children. A program which is designed to reach as many adults as possible should schedule classes at convenient hours for those who work and should provide back-up services, such as day care, transportation, as well as stipends.

6) The issue of fees versus stipends is not resolved through analysis of the responses. It should be considered further knowing that many can afford some kind of fee, and that the stipend is not the only incentive for class attendance.

C. SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

In the previous section we have considered those variables which were relevant to adult education. We will now turn to those variables relevant to the schooling and education of Spanish-speaking children.

About half of those interviewed believed the schools were doing a lot or all that is possible to help the Spanish-speaking child. At the same time it should be mentioned that over one-fourth of the respondents believe that the schools are doing little or nothing for the Spanish-speaking. What is the foundation for these evaluations? There is no correlation between having been visited by school personnel and orientation toward the schools. (Table Forty-two.) However, there is a significant corollary to the above relationship: Those who were visited by Spanish-speaking school personnel tended to have a positive assessment of the school. (Table Forty-three.) The purpose of the school visits seems to have been general in nature. There is no relationship between a child having problems in school and visits by the school staff. (Table Forty-four.) At a more abstract level, there is also no relationship between the visits and the minimal education level desired for the children by the parents. (Table Forty-five.)

The generally positive assessment of the Boston School system does not seem to affect the actual school

attendance of the Spanish-speaking children. Of those respondents with children of school age (N=318), 29.2% of the interviewees did not send their children to school. The lack of attendance related to place where the child's parents grew up, with children of the mainland Spanish-speaking the most delinquent. (Table Forty-six.) (80% of the mainlanders, 30.5% of the Puerto Ricans, 15.1% of the Cubans, and 27.6% of the other Latin Americans did not send their school-aged children to school.) However, comparison of the mainlanders is difficult since the occurrence is exaggerated because of the small sample, N=10. Belief that the schools are helping the Spanish-speaking is not generalized to willingness to send children to pre-school or day care centers. (Tables Forty-seven and Forty-eight.)

Of those children who do go to school, how many have trouble? Only 3.6% of the Cuban and 8% of the other Latin American children experience problems in the schools, as reported by their parents. In comparison, one-fourth of the mainland the Puerto-Rican children have trouble. (Again, the mainland occurrence is probably overstated because of the small sample, N=4.) (Table Forty-nine.)

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

- 1) While the majority of the Spanish-speaking do believe that the school system is doing something for

their children, one-fourth of the population is dissatisfied. Efforts should be made and programs should be developed to improve the school's image and the programs for the Spanish-speaking community.

2) Spanish-speaking school personnel should be used to make home visits, if the school system wants to improve its image.

3) There should be a greater effort made to visit homes of children who are having trouble in school. Other specific reasons for home visits, such as explanation of school regulations and expectations, various programs available, should be encouraged.

4) School attendance is low. Truancy is particularly noted among the mainland and Puerto Rican Spanish-speakers. Reasons for their lack of support of their children's schooling should be investigated and efforts should be made to remedy the situation. The development of relevant programs related to the needs of the Spanish-speaking children is necessary to assure attendance and learning.

5) Children of Puerto Rican and mainland parents report a greater incidence of problems in the schools. Reasons for these problems should be determined; reasons why the problems center in these two groups should be identified and appropriate systemic responses should be developed.

One of the controversial findings of the study is that the vast majority of those interviewed (88.3%) want their children to attend English-dominant classes. This position is different from the one taken by the educational leaders who have been advocating some form of bilingual education. Because of the importance of this question and the disparity between the community and the educational leaders, we will look closely at this issue.

The question was clearly posed to the interviewees:

¿Cuál de estos cree Ud. que sea mejor para sus hijos?

1. ¿Que tomen casi todos cursos en español con inglés como segundo idioma? o
2. ¿Que tomen todos cursos en inglés con ayuda especial en español? o
3. No tiene opinión?

(Which do you believe to be the better for your children?

1. That they take almost all their classes in Spanish, with English as a second language? or
2. That they take all their classes in English, with special help in Spanish? or
3. No opinion.)

The issue is clear; it is not a misleading question.

The investigators are asking which language should be the dominant medium for instruction. They are not posing an exclusionary situation.

The response was also clear. 88.3% preferred English-dominant classes and 9.6% preferred Spanish-dominant ones. (201 respondents did not answer the question, an unusually high "no response" for this study.

The reasons for lack of response is unclear. It may be related to people who do not have school-age children, N=217, who did not feel that the question was directed to them.)

The preference of linguistic dominance correlated with several variables. These are as follows:

1) The ability to read Spanish and the ability to read English. The greater the language competency in English and Spanish the more likely the respondent would prefer English-dominant classes. (Tables Fifty and Fifty-one.) The desire to improve one's ability to read and write English does not affect the language preference for one's children's classes. (Table Fifty-two.) However, those respondents who were interested in improving their ability to read and write Spanish were very much concerned that their children attend English-dominant classes. (Table Fifty-three.) This relationship suggests that those who know the pain of not having full mastery of their mother tongue are most concerned that their children do not suffer the same handicap. And, being on the mainland, these people are the most anxious for their children to learn English.

2) The length of time in the States. The longer a person has been on the mainland, the more likely that he will prefer English-dominant classes. (Table Fifty-four.)

3) Perception of help being given to the Spanish-speaking children by the schools. The more

positive the assessment of the school system's efforts to help the Spanish-speaking the more likely the respondent will want English-dominant classes for his children. (Table Fifty-five.) This relationship is probably based on trust in the schools and perhaps lack of alienation from the American society.

The language preference does not correlate with where the interviewee grew up nor the number of home visits made by the school personnel. (Tables Fifty-six and Fifty-seven.)

The programmatic response to this preference for English-dominant classes with help in Spanish is unclear. However, it would seem that the present position of the educational leaders and the school system in support of bilingual education is not consistent. Bilingual classes, especially in the first year of a sequence, are Spanish-dominant. Subject matter is taught primarily in Spanish, and Spanish-language skills are taught. There is gradual introduction of English into the curriculum, but it remains the secondary language. Thus, bilingual education more closely fits the Spanish-dominant class with English as a second language alternative, the approach preferred by only 9.6% of those interviewed.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

- 1) The school system's support of bilingual instruction and presentation of subject matter in Spanish

is contrary to the desires of most of the Spanish-speaking. If the system is convinced that the present approach is the best method, efforts must be made to explain to the community the reasons why this method is preferable to a Spanish-dominant one. The campaign to promote bilingual education will be most effective if directed toward those who read English. Probably the most difficult group to convince will be those who do not have full mastery over Spanish. The system should also direct its energy to those who have a positive perception of its efforts on behalf of the Spanish-speaking children.

2) School personnel who make home visits should take the opportunity to explain the value of the bilingual approach.

In the previous subsection we have dealt with those variables related to the specifics of schooling. We will now turn to a more abstract level, to consider the educational aspirations of the Spanish-speaking.

Spanish-speaking parents want their children to stay in school as long as possible, regardless of where the parents grew up. (Table Fifty-eight.) There is one variable which changes this attitude: the parent's income. Those with the lowest income tend to want their children to start working as soon as possible. (Table Fifty-nine.)

The interviewees have typical American expectations for their children's minimal educational attainment.

29.2% want their children to at least complete high school, 54.5% want them to at least graduate from college, and 15.8% expect some graduate work or professional degree. The expectation varies with where the interviewee grew up. Puerto Ricans have a substantially lower expectation than the other Spanish-speakers. (Table Sixty.) Puerto Rican expectations conform to their experience; interviewees' fathers had significantly lower educational attainment than those from other countries. (Table Sixty-one.) (The father of 50% of those from the mainland, 36.3% of those from Cuba, 34.5% of those from other Latin countries, and 92.2% of those from Puerto Rico had less than a sixth grade education.) Fathers of 47.8% of the Puerto Ricans interviewed had no formal schooling. Though Puerto Rican aspirations are lower, they represent a large jump for two generations. 47.8% of the Puerto Rican interviewees' fathers had no formal schooling; 48% of the Puerto Rican interviewees hope their children will at least finish high school.

Aspirations for children's education do not correlate with present salary levels. (Table Sixty-two.)

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

- 1) Financial assistance is needed for approximately 2.5% of the Spanish-speaking students. These children come from the lowest economic level and their parents feel they

must start to work as soon as possible. Work-study programs, scholarship and other forms of financial assistance need to be developed in order to enable them to remain in school.

2) Spanish-speakers have normal expectations for their children's educational advancement. Almost one-third expect at least a high school diploma and another 50% expect a college degree. To maintain credibility with the Spanish-speaking community, the school system should create ways for the children to reach their parents' expectations.

3) The implications of the great education jump from grandparent to grandchild, particularly among the Puerto Ricans, should be studied. For example, with the educational disparity, the schools cannot depend on academic guidance from the home. How should this affect the assignment of homework? Also, the psychological impact on the children should be evaluated. Do the comparatively high expectations create dysfunctional pressures for academic achievement? If so, how can these tensions be mitigated by the school system?

The interviewees asked, "Do you believe that a good education betters one's life opportunities?" The vast majority responded positively. These responses did not correlate with one measure of the good life--money. (Table Sixty-three.) Neither did length of time affect

the belief that education plays a role in shaping a better future. (Table Sixty-four.) Mainlanders, and to a lesser degree Puerto Ricans, do not tend to support the position that education will bring the good life. (Table Sixty-five.) It is interesting to note that these are the same two groups which are the most delinquent in sending their children to school. (Table Forty-six.)

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1) Puerto Ricans and mainland Spanish-speakers are not convinced of the importance of education in bettering one's life chances as are other Spanish-speakers. More efforts will have to be directed toward them if the school system is to encourage support for education.

D. THE POTENTIAL FOR INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL AND EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

In the previous sections we have shown that there is some dissatisfaction in the Spanish-speaking community with the Boston Public Schools. Approximately one-fourth of the population believes that the schools are doing little or nothing for them. In addition there is little contact by school personnel with parents whose children are having problems in the schools.

At another level, the Spanish-speaking community is almost unanimously opposed to the major focus of the

schools' efforts to meet the needs of the Spanish-speaking children--the bilingual programs. Parents want their children to learn English. The schools have not effectively communicated their reasons for preference for the bilingual initially Spanish-dominant approach.

Most symptomatic of the problems between the school and the parents is the high percentage of the children who do not attend school. This act of non-participation in the system is based on many different kinds of negativism and/or feelings of irrelevancy held by the parents and their children; and, is particularly significant when contrasted with the high educational expectations held by the parents.

Within this relationship between parents and their children with the school, we see many signs of disaffection and seeds for protest. What is the likelihood that members of the Spanish-speaking community will make efforts to change the schools?

The ABCD survey did not ask the interviewees directly if they were going to organize against the school system. However, there are several sets of questions which will suggest the potentiality for such action. We will look at the indicators of present political participation and feelings about political matters.

Two-thirds of the Spanish-speaking population are American citizens; of those, only one-third are registered to vote. In other words, only one-fourth of the total

Spanish-speaking population is eligible to vote in elections, such as those for the School Committee. (By country of childhood, 26.7% of the mainlanders, 35.5% of the Puerto Ricans, 18.8% of the Cubans and 50.4% of the other Latins are registered.) Most of those who are registered are Puerto Ricans (87.4%).⁵

The Spanish-speaking community is a minority group in Boston. With only one-fourth of its members registered to vote (and it is unclear if the Puerto Ricans are registered in Boston or Puerto Rico), any effort to change school policies through elections would be futile, that is without making alliances and the necessary compromises.

In addition, the Spanish-speaking tend to feel marginal to the political process. They feel that politicians hold a low opinion of them and that they are discriminated against. This sense of low political efficacy is particularly manifest in the Puerto Rican group, the one

⁵ These figures are based on the weighted sample, supra, footnote 3. A question was asked to determine whether those who were registered actually voted. However, this author feels that the phrasing of the question was misleading. "En los últimos cuatro años, ¿cuántas veces le ha sido posible ir a votar en las elecciones del estado o de la nación?" (In the last four years, how many times has it been possible for you to go to vote in state or national elections?) This question asked the number of times it has been possible to vote, not the number of times the interviewee had actually voted.

group with potential voting power because of its relatively large numbers in Boston. (Tables Sixty-six and Sixty-seven.)

The organizational membership patterns in the Spanish-speaking community is best described as predominately non-participatory. 79.2% do not belong to any organization, 16.3% belong to one, and only 4% belong to more than more than one organization. Organizational membership tendencies are not affected by the country of childhood, the length of time in the States, nor income. (Tables Sixty-eight through Seventy.) Lack of wide participation in organizations does not preclude the development of political influence to shape school policies by a particular organization.

Because the Spanish-speaking population is composed of newly-arrived groups to Boston, they may still retain an interest and loyalty to their homeland and homeland politics and events. This loyalty might tend to affect the propensity to get involved in local affairs in Boston, such as school issues. However, expressed interest in homeland activities does not in fact preclude interest in local community affairs. According to the study, 67.7% of those interviewed expressed "a lot" or "very much" interest in local community affairs. This interest is unaffected by where the respondent grew up and is static; it does not change with length of time in

the United States. (Tables Seventy-one and Seventy-two.) (These two questions on the interest of homeland and local community affairs were designed to tap a general attitude; prediction of actual involvement cannot be drawn from them.)

Will the Spanish organize themselves? Over three-fourths of them do believe that they have things in common with the Spanish-speaking people in Boston. Puerto Ricans, perhaps because of their majority, feel this sense of common interest and identity more than other country groups. (Table Seventy-three.) This feeling of having things in common with other Spanish-speaking decreases over time. (Table Seventy-four.)

Would it be possible to translate the sense of common identity to an organizational reality? The interviewees were asked what people should do if they have the same goals. The vast majority (71.5%) said they should organize. This feeling was particularly evident in the mainlanders and Cuban groups. (Table Seventy-five.) The opinion did not change with length of residence in the United States. (Table Seventy-six.)

Approximately three-fourths of the Spanish-speaking population believe they have some things in common and believe that people who have common goals should organize. Those interviewed were asked if such an organization was possible among the Spanish-speaking in Boston. More than

half responded positively (60.6%); 9.3% were doubtful. This assessment was not affected by country of childhood nor length of time in the United States. (Tables Seventy-seven and Seventy-eight.) Most important, it is unlikely that the Spanish-speaking will organize specifically around school or education issues. There is no correlation between the evaluation of the school system's efforts to meet the needs of the Spanish-speaking and the assessment of the potential for organization of the Spanish-speaking community. (Table Seventy-nine.)

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

1) The Spanish-speaking community is a minority group in Boston. At best only one-fourth of the total population is registered to vote. Therefore, there is almost no chance of success if the Spanish-speaking were to attempt an electoral campaign alone. To be successful, those interested in raising issues about the Spanish-speaking will have to align with other groups. Accompanying any such electoral effort there would have to be two corollary campaigns: a) a registration campaign; and b) a creation of a sense of Spanish-speaking power and pride, which would help to mitigate the sense of marginality to politics and feeling of discrimination presently manifest in the population.

2) Change could be brought through pressure from already existing organizations. Since the tendency for

participation in such organizations is low, there would be no wide grassroots involvement in this effort. However, these organizations (as a whole) do not seem to exhibit tendencies markedly different from the Spanish-speaking population (as a whole), at least as shown by country of childhood, time in the United States, and income indicators.

3) The potential for organization of large numbers of Spanish-speaking around school or education issues seems slight. There is a potential to organize the Spanish-speaking community as a group. However, the focus of such an effort should be around the common problems shared by the Spanish-speaking in Boston. Focusing on a particular issue, such as the schools and education, should be avoided if the goal is to develop a widespread organization in the community. The more recent arrivals and Puerto Ricans will respond to the idea of the common experience of the Spanish-speaking in Boston. The mainlanders and Cubans will respond to the necessity to organize the community in order to achieve common goals. Any such organizational effort should continually build the belief that the organization of the Spanish-speaking in Boston is possible.

E. CONCLUSION

The data from the ABCD-BC study does provide the educator and educational planner with a lot of information, much of which was unknown or incorrectly understood

previously. After having analyzed the data we find that there are still large areas of information needed. These gaps lie primarily in the area of school and education issues for the children. There was no specification of the various kinds of programs preferred (except the issues of the English versus Spanish dominance in classes), reaction to specific programs presently operating and potential ones which could be developed, suggestions for the integration of the education of the children who move back and forth from Puerto Rico, feelings about integration versus segregation, issues which would involve adults in school and educational matters, importance of community involvement in the schools, and the like. Data on the number of changes in schools the children have made and the teen-age drop-out rate were not collected. And, as usual, the questions were asked to adults, not to those who really know--the children who are or are not attending schools in Boston.

There was extensive information drawn on adult education issues. The two important areas which are yet to be resolved are those of the fee versus stipend for class attendance and the best format for courses--i.e., daytime or nighttime, full time or part time.

To conclude we will present a brief summary of the policy implications drawn from the analysis of the ABCD study.

SUMMARY OF POLICY IMPLICATIONS

A. Language Development of Boston's Spanish-speaking

1) One-fourth of the adult population needs classes in Spanish, and three-fourths of the population needs classes in English.

2) The schools should not count on the ability of the parents to provide guidance for the children in their language studies. Revisions of pedagogical methods should be made to reflect the capacities of the population.

3) Comminiqués to the parents should be written in Spanish. Even then, almost half of the Puerto Rican parents will have trouble understanding the message.

B. Interest in Adult Education

1) There is a wide spread interest in adult education courses among the Spanish-speaking in Boston. Courses should be developed for completion of degrees from high school on up, as well as vocational courses, particularly in office work skills and auto mechanics.

2) There is a widespread interest in adult language classes. One-third of the adult population wants Spanish classes and two-thirds want English classes.

3) The majority of the English-language classes should be designed on the assumption that the students have a good command of Spanish and be developed on a contrastive analysis basis.

4) About 15% of those interested in learning English have little or no reading and writing ability in Spanish. Research in adult education should be made to determine whether it is better to take these people directly into a basic English course or whether knowledge of Spanish should be developed before introduction to English.

5) One-third of the people want classes in both English and Spanish. Specially-designed classes should be developed to help simultaneous development of these languages.

6) For the most part, those who expressed little interest in language classes are the same people who need these classes the most. Efforts should be made to develop creative and relevant classes which would attract this group, one-fourth of the population. Basic literacy courses, small classes in convenient locations such as homes, churches and other community locations, mini-courses to prevent the tedium of language acquisition, and innovative courses perhaps using a school-without-walls concept, are some possible ways which would attract this group.

7) The use of television as a medium for language instruction for adults should be studied. Twenty-One Inch Classroom and Sesame Street versions for adults should be tested for effect, and possible classes should be created around these programs.

8) There seem to be several different incentives available to encourage the Spanish-speaking to take adult education classes. These include stipends and flexible scheduling.

9) The issue of charging a fee or providing a stipend for attendance was not resolved. If a fee is charged, it should be done according to ability to pay, since there is no relationship between interest in taking language classes and income level. If a stipend should be possible the planner should remember that it is not the only incentive that the population is interested in. Many would choose a night class with a small stipend over a day time class with a substantial stipend.

C. Schooling and Education of Children

1) The majority of the Spanish-speaking believe that the schools are doing a good job in helping the Spanish-speaking children. One-fourth are dissatisfied.

2) Home visits should be made by the Spanish-speaking school personnel, if the schools are interested in improving their image. These visitors should take advantage of the opportunity to explain the various programs and rationale of bilingual education to the parents. There should be a greater attempt to visit the homes of those children who are having trouble.

3) School attendance of the Spanish-speaking is very low. 29.2% of the interviewees did not send their

children to school. (80% of the mainlanders, 30.5% of the Puerto Ricans, 15.1% of the Cubans, and 27.6% of the other Latins did not send their children to school.) The system needs to understand why there is such a high truancy rate among this population and devote all its energies to developing appropriate responses.

4) Mainland and Puerto Rican children tend to have more problems in school than the other Latin Americans. Reasons for these problems should be investigated and proper responses created.

5) 88.3% of the Spanish-speaking population wants its children to attend classes which are in English and offer some assistance in Spanish. This position is in opposition to the present trend of the school system which is the development of bilingual education programs, which at least initially focus on development of Spanish competency. If the system feels bilingual education is the best approach, it should launch a widespread campaign to promote and explain bilingual education and its objectives. The easiest to influence in such a campaign will be those parents who understand English; the most difficult to convince will be those parents who do not have full mastery over Spanish, let alone English.

6) Some kind of financial assistance is needed for about 5% of the Spanish-speaking children, if the schools want to support their attendance.

7) In contradiction to high truancy, the Spanish-speaking population has high educational expectations for their children. Almost one-third expect at least a high school diploma and another 50% expect a college degree. The schools will lose support if they are not able to help the children live up to these expectations. At the same time, the schools should be aware that these expectations may be high and might be causing dysfunctional tensions.

8) There is some tentative information about the organizational potential of the Spanish-speaking community. The data suggest that it would be possible to organize the Spanish-speaking community. However, any organizational effort interested in including a large number of Spanish-speaking should focus on the common experiences and problems of the community, and not focus on a specific issue such as the schools. Possible avenues for change in the schools might be through elections, via alliances with other educational reform-oriented groups, existing organizations, or small groups concerned about educational issues. Behind any organizational effort there should be effort on the part of the leadership to convince the people that they can organize and achieve their goals. The leaders need to help create a sense of pride, a sense of "Spanish-speaking power," which would help counteract the sense of marginality to the political process and feelings of discrimination present in the community.

TABLE ONE

PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF WEIGHTED AND UNWEIGHTED SAMPLES

Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of Spanish
Compared with Ability to Read Spanish (Table Seventeen)

| <u>ABILITY TO READ SPANISH</u> | <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING SPANISH</u> | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|-----------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Perhaps</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Yes | | | |
| unweighted | 23.7% | 4.9% | 45.7% |
| weighted | 21.3 | 4.2 | 51.7 |
| Little | | | |
| unweighted | 4.9 | 3.1 | 3.5 |
| weighted | 3.9 | 4.2 | 3.0 |
| No | | | |
| unweighted | 8.2 | 1.2 | 4.7 |
| weighted | 7.0 | .9 | 4.3 |

AVERAGE DIFFERENCE 1.4%

TABLE TWO

PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF WEIGHTED AND UNWEIGHTED SAMPLES

Interest in Improving Reading and Writing of English
 Compared with Ability to Write English (Table Twenty-One)

| ABILITY TO WRITE ENGLISH | INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | none | little interest | some interest | want to soon | want to now |
| Yes | | | | | |
| unweighted | 8.6% | 1.9% | 2.3% | 4.8% | 3.0% |
| weighted | 8.8 | 2.1 | 1.9 | 6.8 | 3.4 |
| Little | | | | | |
| unweighted | 1.1 | 1.9 | 1.7 | 9.7 | 6.5 |
| weighted | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 10.3 | 6.5 |
| No | | | | | |
| unweighted | 6.7 | 3.8 | 5.5 | 23.0 | 19.4 |
| weighted | 6.4 | 3.6 | 5.6 | 21.1 | 19.4 |

AVERAGE DIFFERENCE 0.5%

TABLE THREE

PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF WEIGHTED AND UNWEIGHTED SAMPLES

Year of Arrival on Mainland Compared with Ability to
Speak English (Table Fourteen)

| ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH | YEAR OF ARRIVAL | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | Pre- 1951 | 1951- 1955 | 1956- 1960 | 1961- 1965 | 1966- 1970 |
| Yes | | | | | |
| unweighted | 4.2% | 5.0% | 6.4% | 8.5% | 4.4% |
| weighted | 4.0 | 5.3 | 6.0 | 8.6 | 5.1 |
| Little | | | | | |
| unweighted | .8 | 3.8 | 7.3 | 14.0 | 15.7 |
| weighted | .4 | 4.2 | 8.0 | 14.0 | 16.8 |
| No | | | | | |
| unweighted | .2 | 1.8 | 2.4 | 7.0 | 19.4 |
| weighted | .6 | 1.1 | 1.6 | 7.0 | 16.0 |

AVERAGE DIFFERENCE 0.6%

TABLE FOUR

PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF WEIGHTED AND UNWEIGHTED SAMPLES

Minimum Level of Education Parent Desires for Child
 Compared with Country of Parent's Childhood (Table Sixty)

| <u>MINIMUM NUMBER OF YEARS</u> | <u>COUNTRY</u> | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>All Other Countries</u> |
| 10-12 | | |
| unweighted | 30.1% | 8.5% |
| weighted | 27.9 | 12.1 |
| 13-15 | | |
| unweighted | 4.9 | 1.5 |
| weighted | 3.8 | 2.3 |
| 16 | | |
| unweighted | 24.5 | 19.3 |
| weighted | 19.7 | 20.3 |
| 17-25 | | |
| unweighted | 3.3 | 8.5 |
| weighted | 3.4 | 8.6 |

AVERAGE DIFFERENCE 1.7%

TABLE FIVE

PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF WEIGHTED AND UNWEIGHTED SAMPLES

Language-Dominance Preference for Children's Classes
 Compared with Country of Parent's Childhood (Table Fifty-Six)

| LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE | COUNTRY | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>All Other Countries</u> |
| Spanish | | |
| unweighted | 7.5% | 2.1% |
| weighted | 5.4 | 2.2 |
| English | | |
| unweighted | 60.7 | 25.5 |
| weighted | 55.1 | 33.2 |
| No Opinion | | |
| unweighted | 2.4 | 1.8 |
| weighted | 2.2 | 1.9 |

AVERAGE DIFFERENCE 2.6%

TABLE SIX

PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF WEIGHTED AND UNWEIGHTED SAMPLES

Children Having Problems in School Compared With Country
of Parent's Childhood (Table Forty-Seven)

| CHILDREN HAVING PROBLEMS | COUNTRY | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>All Other Countries</u> |
| No | | |
| unweighted | 51.5% | 29.5% |
| weighted | 46.6 | 38.9 |
| Once, Twice | | |
| unweighted | 8.6 | .4 |
| weighted | 6.6 | .3 |
| Many Times | | |
| unweighted | 8.6 | 1.6 |
| weighted | 6.6 | 1.1 |

AVERAGE DIFFERENCE 3.1%

TABLE SEVEN
 ABILITY TO READ SPANISH COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD
 (N=530)*

| READ SPANISH | COUNTRY | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | <u>U.S.</u> | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>Cuba</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| Yes | 4 (26.7%) | 213 (61.1%) | 87 (88.8%) | 59 (86.9%) |
| Little | 4 (26.7%) | 44 (12.6%) | 6 (6.1%) | 2 (2.9%) |
| No | <u>7</u> (46.7%) | <u>92</u> (26.3%) | <u>5</u> (5.1%) | <u>7</u> (10.3%) |
| Total | 15 | 349 | 98 | 68 |

$\chi^2 = 59.932$, significant 1%

TABLE EIGHT

ABILITY TO WRITE SPANISH COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD
 (N=530)*

| WRITE SPANISH | COUNTRY | | | |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | <u>U.S.</u> | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>Cuba</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| Yes | 4 (26.7%) | 205 (58.6%) | 86 (87.7%) | 58 (85.0%) |
| Little | 3 (20.0%) | 42 (12.3%) | 6 (6.1%) | 3 (4.5%) |
| No | <u>8</u> (53.5%) | <u>102</u> (29.1%) | <u>6</u> (6.1%) | <u>7</u> (10.4%) |
| Total | 15 | 349 | 98 | 68 |

$\chi^2 = 60.398$, significant 1%

* The "no answers" were included in the "no" responses in this table. These responses were extremely high (N=45) and atypical of the rest of the interview. It is assumed therefore that the interviewees were unwilling to admit to their lack of Spanish reading and writing ability.

TABLE NINE

ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD
(N=527)

| SPEAK ENGLISH | COUNTRY | | | |
|------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>U.S.</u> | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>Cuba</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| Yes | 15 (100%) | 83 (24.0%) | 29 (29.6%) | 24 (35.3%) |
| Little | 0 | 141 (40.8%) | 44 (44.9%) | 32 (42.1%) |
| No | <u>0</u> | <u>122</u> (35.3%) | <u>25</u> (25.5%) | <u>12</u> (17.6%) |
| Total | 15 | 346 | 98 | 68 |

$\chi^2 = 49.182$, significant 1%

TABLE TEN

ABILITY TO READ ENGLISH COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD
(N=530)

| READ ENGLISH | COUNTRY | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>U.S.</u> | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>Cuba</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| Yes | 15 (100%) | 68 (19.5%) | 33 (33.7%) | 19 (28.4%) |
| Little | 0 | 97 (27.8%) | 34 (34.7%) | 24 (35.8%) |
| No | <u>0</u> | <u>184</u> (52.7%) | <u>31</u> (31.6%) | <u>24</u> (35.8%) |
| Total | 15 | 349 | 98 | 68 |

$\chi^2 = 63.414$, significant 1%

TABLE ELEVEN

ABILITY TO WRITE ENGLISH COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD
(N=530)

| WRITE ENGLISH | COUNTRY | | | |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>U.S.</u> | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>Cuba</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| Yes | 14 (93.3%) | 58 (16.6%) | 27 (27.6%) | 15 (20.6%) |
| Little | 0 | 60 (17.2%) | 26 (26.5%) | 23 (33.8%) |
| No | <u>1</u> (6.7%) | <u>231</u> (66.2%) | <u>45</u> (45.9%) | <u>31</u> (45.6%) |
| Total | 15 | 349 | 98 | 68 |

$\chi^2 = 69.520$, significant 1%

TABLE TWELVE

YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO READ
SPANISH (N=493)*

| YEAR OF ARRIVAL | READ SPANISH | |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 15 (3.0%) | 11 (2.2%) |
| 1951-1955 | 35 (7.1%) | 18 (3.6%) |
| 1956-1960 | 44 (8.9%) | 28 (5.6%) |
| 1961-1965 | 110 (22.3%) | 30 (6.1%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>142</u> (28.8%) | <u>60</u> (12.2%) |
| Total | 348 (70.1%) | 147 (29.7%) |

$\chi^2 = 6.401$, not significant

* Mainland-born Spanish-speakers are not included. "No answers" and "little ability" were included in the "no" responses.

TABLE THIRTEEN

YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO
WRITE SPANISH (N=534)*

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>WRITE SPANISH</u> | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 14 (2.6%) | 12 (2.3%) |
| 1951-1955 | 37 (6.9%) | 20 (3.5%) |
| 1956-1960 | 54 (10.1%) | 28 (5.3%) |
| 1961-1965 | 107 (20.0%) | 49 (9.2%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>141 (26.4%)</u> | <u>72 (13.5%)</u> |
| Total | 353 (66.0%) | 181 (33.8%) |

$\chi^2 = 3.371$, not significant

* Mainland-born Spanish-speakers are not included. "No answers" and "little ability" were included in the "no" responses.

TABLE FOURTEEN

YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO
SPEAK ENGLISH (N=510)

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>SPEAK ENGLISH</u> | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 21 (4.1%) | 4 (.8%) | 1 (.2%) |
| 1951-1955 | 25 (4.9%) | 19 (3.7%) | 9 (1.8%) |
| 1956-1960 | 32 (6.3%) | 37 (7.2%) | 12 (2.4%) |
| 1961-1965 | 43 (8.4%) | 71 (13.9%) | 35 (6.9%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>22 (4.2%)</u> | <u>80 (15.7%)</u> | <u>99 (19.4%)</u> |
| Total | 143 (27.9%) | 211 (41.3%) | 156 (30.7%) |

$\chi^2 = 185.0$, significant 1%

TABLE FIFTEEN

YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO
READ ENGLISH (N=512)

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>READ ENGLISH</u> | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 17 (3.3%) | 5 (.9%) | 4 (.8%) |
| 1951-1955 | 22 (4.3%) | 19 (3.7%) | 12 (2.3%) |
| 1956-1960 | 27 (5.3%) | 21 (4.1%) | 34 (6.6%) |
| 1961-1965 | 37 (7.2%) | 52 (10.1%) | 60 (11.6%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>23 (4.5%)</u> | <u>56 (10.9%)</u> | <u>123 (24.1%)</u> |
| Total | 126 (24.6%) | 153 (29.7%) | 233 (46.7%) |

$\chi^2 = 66.352$, significant 1%

TABLE SIXTEEN

YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO
WRITE ENGLISH (N=515)

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>WRITE ENGLISH</u> | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 16 (3.1%) | 2 (.4%) | 8 (1.5%) |
| 1951-1955 | 17 (3.3%) | 8 (1.5%) | 28 (5.4%) |
| 1956-1960 | 26 (5.0%) | 16 (3.1%) | 41 (7.9%) |
| 1961-1965 | 31 (6.0%) | 42 (8.1%) | 78 (15.1%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>18 (3.5%)</u> | <u>38 (7.3%)</u> | <u>146 (28.3%)</u> |
| Total | 108 (20.9%) | 106 (20.4%) | 201 (58.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 56.693$, significant 1%

TABLE SEVENTEEN

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF SPANISH
COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO READ SPANISH (N=528)*

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING SPANISH</u> | <u>READ SPANISH</u> | | |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Yes | 115 (23.7%) | 24 (4.9%) | 49 (9.3%) |
| Perhaps | 24 (4.9%) | 15 (3.1%) | 7 (1.5%) |
| No | <u>222 (45.7%)</u> | <u>17 (3.5%)</u> | <u>55 (10.4%)</u> |
| Total | 361 (73.3%) | 56 (11.5%) | 111 (21.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 47.645$, significant 1%

* The "no answers" were included in the "no" responses.

TABLE EIGHTEEN

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF SPANISH
 COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO WRITE SPANISH (N=528)*

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING SPANISH</u> | <u>WRITE SPANISH</u> | | |
|--|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Yes | 112 (23.0%) | 19 (3.9%) | 57 (10.8%) |
| Perhaps | 22 (4.5%) | 15 (3.1%) | 9 (1.7%) |
| No | <u>217 (44.7%)</u> | <u>20 (4.1%)</u> | <u>57 (10.8%)</u> |
| Total | 351 (72.2%) | 54 (11.1%) | 125 (23.3%) |

$\chi^2 = 51.746$, significant 1%

TABLE NINETEEN

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH (N=522)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>SPEAK ENGLISH</u> | | |
|--|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 23 (4.4%) | 16 (3.1%) | 47 (4.0%) |
| Little Interest | 12 (2.3%) | 11 (2.1%) | 17 (3.3%) |
| Some Interest | 7 (1.3%) | 25 (4.8%) | 18 (3.4%) |
| Want to Soon | 60 (11.5%) | 96 (18.4%) | 41 (7.9%) |
| Want to Now | <u>55 (10.5%)</u> | <u>69 (13.2%)</u> | <u>25 (4.8%)</u> |
| Total | 157 (30.1%) | 217 (41.6%) | 148 (28.4%) |

$\chi^2 = 59.668$, significant 1%

* The "no answers" were included in the "no" responses.

TABLE TWENTY

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO READ ENGLISH (N=524)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>READ ENGLISH</u> | | |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 33 (6.3%) | 7 (1.3%) | 46 (8.8%) |
| Little Interest | 17 (3.2%) | 8 (1.5%) | 14 (2.7%) |
| Some Interest | 16 (3.1%) | 21 (4.0%) | 13 (2.5%) |
| Want to Soon | 88 (16.8%) | 75 (14.3%) | 34 (6.4%) |
| Want to Now | <u>83 (15.8%)</u> | <u>45 (8.6%)</u> | <u>24 (4.6%)</u> |
| Total | 237 (45.2%) | 156 (29.8%) | 131 (25.0%) |

$\chi^2 = 67.202$, significant 1%

TABLE TWENTY-ONE

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO WRITE ENGLISH (N=525)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>WRITE ENGLISH</u> | | |
|--|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 35 (6.7%) | 6 (1.1%) | 45 (8.6%) |
| Little Interest | 20 (3.8%) | 10 (1.9%) | 10 (1.9%) |
| Some Interest | 29 (5.5%) | 9 (1.7%) | 12 (2.3%) |
| Want to Soon | 121 (23.0%) | 51 (9.7%) | 25 (4.8%) |
| Want to Now | <u>102 (19.4%)</u> | <u>34 (6.5%)</u> | <u>16 (3.0%)</u> |
| Total | 307 (58.5%) | 110 (21.0%) | 108 (20.6%) |

$\chi^2 = 74.568$, significant 1%

TABLE TWENTY-TWO

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND
 WRITING OF SPANISH (N=521)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING SPANISH</u> | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 64 (12.3%) | 7 (1.3%) | 15 (2.9%) |
| Little Interest | 27 (5.2%) | 4 (.8%) | 9 (1.7%) |
| Some Interest | 29 (5.6%) | 6 (1.2%) | 13 (2.5%) |
| Want to Soon | 104 (20.0%) | 11 (21.%) | 80 (15.4%) |
| Want to Now | <u>66 (12.7%)</u> | <u>16 (3.1%)</u> | <u>70 (13.4%)</u> |
| Total | 290 (55.7%) | 44 (8.4%) | 187 (35.8%) |

$\chi^2 = 31.569$, significant 1%

TABLE TWENTY-THREE

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO READ SPANISH (N=525)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>READ SPANISH</u> | | |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 23 (4.8%) | 12 (2.5%) | 47 (9.7%) |
| Little Interest | 5 (1.0%) | 7 (1.4%) | 19 (3.9%) |
| Some Interest | 1 (.2%) | 6 (1.2%) | 40 (8.3%) |
| Want to Soon | 19 (3.9%) | 15 (3.1%) | 152 (31.5%) |
| Want to Now | <u>20 (4.1%)</u> | <u>15 (3.1%)</u> | <u>102 (21.1%)</u> |
| Total | 68 (14.1%) | 55 (11.4%) | 360 (74.5%) |

$\chi^2 = 30.286$, significant 1%

TABLE TWENTY-FOUR

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO WRITE SPANISH (N=525)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>WRITE SPANISH</u> | | |
|--|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 25 (5.2%) | 14 (2.9%) | 43 (8.9%) |
| Little Interest | 5 (1.0%) | 7 (1.4%) | 19 (3.9%) |
| Some Interest | 2 (.4%) | 4 (.8%) | 41 (3.5%) |
| Want to Soon | 24 (5.0%) | 14 (2.9%) | 148 (30.6%) |
| Want to Now | <u>23 (4.8%)</u> | <u>14 (2.9%)</u> | <u>100 (20.7%)</u> |
| Total | 79 (16.4%) | 53 (11.0%) | 351 (72.7%) |

$\chi^2 = 32.286$, significant 1%

TABLE TWENTY-FIVE

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH COMPARED WITH YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND (N=505)

| YEAR OF ARRIVAL | INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>None</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>Soon</u> | <u>Now</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 12 (2.5%) | 1 (.2%) | 3 (.5%) | 7 (1.3%) | 3 (.5%) |
| 1951-1955 | 8 (1.5%) | 6 (1.2%) | 7 (1.3%) | 18 (3.5%) | 13 (2.5%) |
| 1956-1960 | 16 (3.3%) | 7 (1.3%) | 7 (1.3%) | 26 (5.1%) | 23 (4.5%) |
| 1961-1965 | 25 (4.9%) | 15 (2.9%) | 17 (3.3%) | 43 (8.5%) | 39 (7.5%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>28 (3.5%)</u> | <u>11 (2.2%)</u> | <u>16 (3.3%)</u> | <u>90 (17.8%)</u> | <u>74 (14.6%)</u> |
| Total | 79 (14.7%) | 40 (7.8%) | 50 (9.7%) | 184 (36.2%) | 152 (29.6%) |

$\chi^2 = 36.60$, significant 1%

TABLE TWENTY-SIX

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH FREQUENCY OF VISITS WITH NON-SPANISH-SPEAKING
 NEIGHBORS (N=525)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>FREQUENCY OF VISITS</u> | | |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | <u>Never</u> | <u>Sometimes</u> | <u>Often</u> |
| None | 33 (6.3%) | 40 (7.6%) | 13 (2.5%) |
| Little Interest | 26 (5.0%) | 11 (2.1%) | 3 (.6%) |
| Some Interest | 27 (5.1%) | 16 (3.0%) | 7 (1.3%) |
| Want to Soon | 118 (22.5%) | 68 (13.0%) | 11 (2.1%) |
| Want to Now | <u>72 (13.7%)</u> | <u>68 (13.0%)</u> | <u>12 (2.3%)</u> |
| Total | 276 (52.6%) | 203 (38.7%) | 46 (8.8%) |

$\chi^2 = 20.849$, significant 1%

TABLE TWENTY-SEVEN

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH COMPARED WITH HOURS PER DAY SPENT WATCHING TELEVISION (N=459)*

| INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH | TELEVISION-WATCHING HOURS/DAY | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Less Than 1</u> | <u>1-2</u> | <u>3-4</u> | <u>Over 4</u> |
| None | 18 (3.9%) | 33 (7.1%) | 17 (3.7%) | 11 (2.3%) |
| Little Interest | 9 (1.9%) | 14 (31.%) | 21 (2.4%) | 4 (.9%) |
| Some Interest | 4 (.9%) | 19 (4.1%) | 10 (2.2%) | 6 (1.2%) |
| Want to Soon | 46 (10.0%) | 73 (15.8%) | 41 (8.9%) | 14 (3.1%) |
| Want to Now | <u>37 (8.0%)</u> | <u>54 (11.7%)</u> | <u>18 (6.1%)</u> | <u>13 (2.8%)</u> |
| Total | 114 (24.7%) | 193 (41.7%) | 106 (23.1%) | 48 (10.3%) |

$\chi^2 = 23.260$, significant 5%

* Includes only those who have television.

TABLE TWENTY-EIGHT

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH POSSESSION OF A RADIO (N=524)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>POSSESSION OF A RADIO</u> | |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 12 (2.3%) | 74 (14.1%) |
| Little Interest | 4 (.8%) | 36 (6.9%) |
| Some Interest | 8 (1.5%) | 42 (8.0%) |
| Want to Soon | 46 (8.8%) | 151 (28.8%) |
| Want to Now | <u>38 (7.3%)</u> | <u>113 (21.6%)</u> |
| Total | 108 (20.8%) | 416 (79.4%) |

$\chi^2 = 8.549$, not significant

TABLE TWENTY-NINE

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH COMPARED WITH INCOME (N=201)

| <u>HOURLY WAGE</u> | <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|
| | <u>None</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>Soon</u> | <u>Now</u> |
| \$.80 - \$1.70 | 2 (.9%) | 1 (.4%) | 1 (.4%) | 3 (1.4%) | 3 (1.4%) |
| 1.80 - 2.70 | 15 (7.1%) | 10 (4.3%) | 16 (7.6%) | 51 (24.3%) | 31 (14.3%) |
| 2.80 - 3.70 | 8 (3.8%) | 5 (2.4%) | 2 (.9%) | 26 (12.4%) | 14 (6.2%) |
| 3.80 - 4.70 | 1 (.4%) | 1 (.4%) | 1 (.4%) | 3 (1.4%) | 3 (1.4%) |
| 4.80 - 5.70 | 2 (.9%) | 1 (.4%) | 0 | 3 (1.4%) | 2 (.9%) |
| 5.80 - 6.70 | <u>3 (1.4%)</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2 (.9%)</u> | <u>0</u> |
| Total | 28 (13.1%) | 18 (7.9%) | 20 (9.3%) | 86 (40.9%) | 58 (24.3%) |

$\chi^2 = 30.314$, not significant

TABLE THIRTY

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH COMPARED WITH MINIMUM LEVEL OF EDUCATION PARENT DESIRES FOR CHILD (N=529)

| INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH | MINIMUM NUMBER OF YEARS | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>3-6</u> | <u>7-10</u> | <u>11-12</u> | <u>13-16</u> | <u>17-25</u> |
| None | 0 | 0 | 14 (3.5%) | 35 (8.8%) | 14 (3.5%) |
| Little Interest | 0 | 0 | 10 (2.5%) | 14 (3.5%) | 4 (1.0%) |
| Some Interest | 0 | 1 (.3%) | 17 (4.3%) | 16 (4.0%) | 1 (.3%) |
| Want to Soon | 2 (.5%) | 1 (.3%) | 73 (18.4%) | 69 (17.4%) | 15 (3.8%) |
| Want to Now | <u>1 (.3%)</u> | <u>1 (.3%)</u> | <u>35 (8.8%)</u> | <u>62 (15.7%)</u> | <u>11 (2.8%)</u> |
| Total | 3 (.8%) | 3 (.8%) | 149 (37.6%) | 196 (49.5%) | 45 (11.4%) |

$\chi^2 = 25.761$, not significant

TABLE THIRTY-ONE

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH BELIEF THAT EDUCATION HELPS TO BETTER
 ONE'S SITUATION (N=525)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>EDUCATION HELPS BETTER SITUATION</u> | | |
|--|---|-----------------|-----------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Perhaps</u> | <u>No</u> |
| None | 81 (15.5%) | 4 (.8%) | 1 (.2%) |
| Little Interest | 36 (6.9%) | 3 (.6%) | 1 (.2%) |
| Some Interest | 45 (8.6%) | 4 (.8%) | 0 |
| Want to Soon | 188 (35.9%) | 7 (1.3%) | 2 (.2%) |
| Want to Now | <u>145 (27.7%)</u> | <u>7 (1.3%)</u> | <u>0</u> |
| Total | 495 (94.5%) | 25 (4.8%) | 4 (.6%) |

$\chi^2 = 6.042$, not significant

TABLE THIRTY-TWO

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH INTEREST IN HOMELAND ACTIVITIES (N=525)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>INTEREST IN HOMELAND ACTIVITIES</u> | | |
|--|--|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>No</u> |
| None | 55 (10.5%) | 15 (2.9%) | 16 (3.0%) |
| Little Interest | 25 (4.8%) | 12 (2.3%) | 3 (.6%) |
| Some Interest | 25 (4.8%) | 15 (2.9%) | 10 (1.9%) |
| Want to Soon | 136 (25.9%) | 33 (6.3%) | 28 (5.3%) |
| Want to Now | <u>104 (19.8%)</u> | <u>27 (5.1%)</u> | <u>21 (4.0%)</u> |
| Total | 345 (65.7%) | 102 (19.4%) | 78 (14.9%) |

$\chi^2 = 12.104$, not significant

TABLE THIRTY-THREE

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH COMPARED WITH PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION IN BOSTON (N=498)

| INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH | AMOUNT OF DISCRIMINATION PERCEIVED | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | None | Little | Some | Much | Very Much |
| None | 21 (4.2%) | 6 (1.2%) | 22 (4.4%) | 17 (3.4%) | 14 (2.8%) |
| Little Interest | 11 (2.2%) | 4 (.8%) | 9 (1.8%) | 7 (1.4%) | 7 (1.4%) |
| Some Interest | 13 (2.6%) | 2 (.4%) | 11 (2.2%) | 8 (1.6%) | 11 (2.2%) |
| Want to Soon | 68 (13.7%) | 15 (3.0%) | 39 (7.8%) | 37 (7.4%) | 30 (6.0%) |
| Want to Now | <u>32 (6.4%)</u> | <u>19 (3.8%)</u> | <u>36 (7.2%)</u> | <u>38 (7.6%)</u> | <u>21 (4.2%)</u> |
| Total | 145 (29.1%) | 46 (9.2%) | 117 (23.5%) | 107 (21.5%) | 83 (16.7%) |

$\chi^2 = 15.681$, not significant

TABLE THIRTY-FOUR

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP (N=504)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS</u> | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2 or More</u> |
| None | 73 (14.5%) | 7 (1.4%) | 4 (.8%) |
| Little Interest | 29 (5.8%) | 7 (1.4%) | 1 (.2%) |
| Some Interest | 40 (7.9%) | 5 (1.0%) | 3 (.6%) |
| Want to Soon | 156 (31.0%) | 23 (4.6%) | 5 (1.0%) |
| Want to Now | <u>126 (25.0%)</u> | <u>22 (4.4%)</u> | <u>3 (.6%)</u> |
| Total | 424 (84.1%) | 64 (12.7%) | 16 (2.6%) |

$\chi^2 = 7.213$, not significant

TABLE THIRTY-FIVE

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH COMPARED WITH CONCEPT OF AMOUNT
IN COMMON WITH SPANISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY OF BOSTON (N=514)

| INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH | AMOUNT SPANISH HAVE IN COMMON | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Nothing</u> | <u>Almost Nothing</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>Much</u> | <u>Very Much</u> |
| None | 7 (1.4%) | 14 (2.7%) | 39 (7.6%) | 14 (2.7%) | 9 (1.8%) |
| Little Interest | 1 (.2%) | 6 (1.2%) | 13 (2.5%) | 13 (2.5%) | 7 (1.4%) |
| Some Interest | 4 (.8%) | 9 (1.8%) | 18 (3.5%) | 9 (1.8%) | 9 (1.8%) |
| Want to Soon | 27 (5.3%) | 21 (4.1%) | 97 (18.9%) | 25 (4.9%) | 23 (4.5%) |
| Want to Now | <u>13 (2.5%)</u> | <u>16 (3.1%)</u> | <u>47 (9.1%)</u> | <u>46 (8.9%)</u> | <u>27 (5.3%)</u> |
| Total | 52 (10.1%) | 66 (12.8%) | 214 (41.6%) | 107 (20.8%) | 75 (14.6%) |

$\chi^2 = 38.139$, significant 1%

TABLE THIRTY-SIX

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH COMPARED WITH EVALUATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL POTENTIAL OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING (N=521)

| INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH | ORGANIZATION OF SPANISH-SPEAKING | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | <u>Impossible</u> | <u>Little Possibility</u> | <u>Possible</u> | <u>Very Possible</u> | <u>Happening Now</u> |
| None | 5 (1.0%) | 11 (2.1%) | 23 (4.4%) | 45 (8.6%) | 2 (.4%) |
| Little Interest | 1 (.2%) | 4 (.8%) | 10 (1.9%) | 25 (4.8%) | 0 |
| Some Interest | 1 (.2%) | 2 (.4%) | 15 (2.9%) | 24 (4.6%) | 7 (1.3%) |
| Want to Soon | 11 (2.1%) | 8 (1.5%) | 46 (8.8%) | 127 (24.4%) | 3 (.6%) |
| Want to Now | <u>3 (.6%)</u> | <u>3 (.6%)</u> | <u>48 (9.2%)</u> | <u>93 (17.9%)</u> | <u>4 (.8%)</u> |
| Total | 21 (4.0%) | 28 (5.4%) | 142 (27.3%) | 314 (60.3%) | 16 (3.1%) |

$\chi^2 = 46.752$, significant 1%

TABLE THIRTY-SEVEN

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH HAVING TAKEN A COURSE IN ENGLISH (N=522)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>TAKEN COURSE IN ENGLISH</u> | |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 61 (11.7%) | 25 (4.8%) |
| Little Interest | 32 (6.1%) | 8 (1.5%) |
| Some Interest | 42 (8.0%) | 8 (1.5%) |
| Want to Soon | 155 (29.7%) | 41 (7.9%) |
| Want to Now | <u>128 (24.5%)</u> | <u>22 (4.2%)</u> |
| Total | 418 (80.1%) | 104 (19.9%) |

$\chi^2 = 7.712$, not significant

TABLE THIRTY-EIGHT

YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND COMPARED WITH HAVING TAKEN A
 COURSE IN ENGLISH (N=506)*

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>TAKEN COURSE IN ENGLISH</u> | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 20 (3.9%) | 6 (1.1%) |
| 1951-1955 | 46 (9.2%) | 7 (1.2%) |
| 1956-1960 | 61 (12.1%) | 21 (4.2%) |
| 1961-1965 | 109 (21.5%) | 30 (5.9%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>175 (34.6%)</u> | <u>31 (6.1%)</u> |
| Total | 411 (81.3%) | 95 (18.6%) |

$\chi^2 = 4.66$, not significant

* Mainland-born Spanish-speakers are not included.

TABLE THIRTY-NINE

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH INTEREST IN ATTENDING ENGLISH CLASSES IF
 RESPONDENT WAS PAID \$50.00 WEEKLY (N=285)*

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>WOULD ATTEND CLASS</u> | | |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Perhaps</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 5 (1.8%) | 4 (1.4%) | 44 (15.4%) |
| Little Interest | 0 | 3 (1.1%) | 20 (7.0%) |
| Some Interest | 7 (2.5%) | 6 (2.1%) | 12 (4.2%) |
| Want to Soon | 48 (16.8%) | 18 (6.3%) | 40 (14.0%) |
| Want to Now | <u>48 (16.8%)</u> | <u>16 (5.6%)</u> | <u>14 (4.9%)</u> |
| Total | 130 (45.6%) | 47 (16.5%) | 108 (37.9%) |

$\chi^2 = 77.532$, significant 1%

* Welfare recipients excluded.

TABLE FORTY

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH INTEREST IN ATTENDING ENGLISH CLASSES AT
 NIGHT IF RESPONDENT WAS PAID "A SMALL SUM" (N=501)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>WOULD ATTEND NIGHT CLASS</u> | | |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Perhaps</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 73 (14.6%) | 4 (.8%) | 4 (.8%) |
| Little Interest | 33 (6.6%) | 5 (1.0%) | 1 (.2%) |
| Some Interest | 31 (6.2%) | 10 (2.0%) | 7 (1.4%) |
| Want to Soon | 75 (15.0%) | 29 (5.8%) | 79 (15.8%) |
| Want to Now | <u>35 (7.0%)</u> | <u>20 (4.0%)</u> | <u>95 (19.0%)</u> |
| Total | 247 (49.3%) | 68 (13.6%) | 186 (37.1%) |

$\chi^2 = 140.909$, significant 1%

TABLE FORTY-ONE

INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING OF ENGLISH
 COMPARED WITH INTEREST IN ATTENDING CLASSES IF PAID \$30.00
 MONTHLY PLUS LUNCH AND TRANSPORTATION - WELFARE RECIPIENTS
 ONLY (N=291)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>WOULD ATTEND CLASS</u> | | |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Perhaps</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| None | 37 (12.7%) | 2 (.7%) | 3 (1.0%) |
| Little Interest | 15 (5.2%) | 2 (.7%) | 2 (.7%) |
| Some Interest | 21 (7.2%) | 5 (1.7%) | 5 (1.7%) |
| Want to Soon | 46 (15.8%) | 11 (3.8%) | 60 (20.6%) |
| Want to Now | <u>21 (7.2%)</u> | <u>6 (2.1%)</u> | <u>55 (18.9%)</u> |
| Total | 140 (48.1%) | 26 (8.9%) | 125 (43.0%) |

$\chi^2 = 69.021$, significant 1%

TABLE FORTY-TWO

ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOLS' EFFORT FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL HOME VISITS (N=265)

| SCHOOLS ARE DOING | VISITS BY SCHOOL PERSONNEL | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Never</u> | <u>Once</u> | <u>2 or 3 Times</u> | <u>Many Times</u> |
| Nothing | 35 (13.2%) | 2 (.8%) | 3 (1.1%) | 0 |
| Little | 30 (11.3%) | 4 (1.5%) | 6 (2.3%) | 1 (.4%) |
| Some | 69 (26.0%) | 5 (1.9%) | 7 (2.6%) | 3 (1.1%) |
| A Lot | 23 (8.7%) | 1 (.4%) | 4 (1.5%) | 2 (.8%) |
| All Possible | <u>43 (16.2%)</u> | <u>9 (3.4%)</u> | <u>16 (6.0%)</u> | <u>2 (.8%)</u> |
| Total | 200 (75.5%) | 21 (7.9%) | 36 (13.6%) | 8 (3.0%) |

$\chi^2 = 17.017$, not significant

TABLE FORTY-THREE

VISITS OF SPANISH-SPEAKING SCHOOL PERSONNEL COMPARED
WITH ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOLS' EFFORT FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING
(N=76)

| <u>SCHOOLS ARE DOING</u> | <u>SCHOOL PERSONNEL SPOKE SPANISH</u> | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>None</u> | <u>One Yes, One No</u> | <u>Yes</u> |
| Nothing | 7 (9.2%) | 0 | 3 (3.9%) |
| Little | 3 (3.9%) | 3 (3.9%) | 5 (6.6%) |
| Some | 9 (11.8%) | 0 | 7 (9.2%) |
| A Lot | 6 (7.9%) | 1 (1.3%) | 2 (2.6%) |
| All Possible | <u>16 (21.1%)</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>14 (18.4%)</u> |
| Total | 41 (53.9%) | 4 (5.3%) | 31 (40.8%) |

$\chi^2 = 17.266$, significant 5%

TABLE FORTY-FOUR

CHILDREN HAVING PROBLEMS IN SCHOOL COMPARED WITH NUMBER
OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL HOME VISITS (N=265)

| <u>VISITS BY SCHOOL PERSONNEL</u> | <u>CHILD HAVING PROBLEMS</u> | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>No</u> | <u>Yes, Once or Twice</u> | <u>Yes, a Lot</u> |
| Never | 160 (60.4%) | 20 (7.5%) | 17 (6.4%) |
| Once | 15 (5.7%) | 2 (.8%) | 4 (1.5%) |
| 2 or 3 Times | 31 (11.7%) | 1 (.4%) | 6 (2.3%) |
| Many Times | <u>8 (3.0%)</u> | <u>1 (.4%)</u> | <u>0</u> |
| Total | 214 (80.8%) | 24 (9.1%) | 27 (10.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 6.523$, not significant

TABLE FORTY-FIVE

MINIMUM LEVEL OF EDUCATION PARENT DESIRES FOR CHILD COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL HOME VISITS (N=204)

| VISITS BY SCHOOL PERSONNEL | MINIMUM NUMBER OF YEARS | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|
| | <u>3-6</u> | <u>7-10</u> | <u>11-12</u> | <u>13-16</u> | <u>17-25</u> |
| Never | 1 (.4%) | 3 (1.3%) | 62 (27.4%) | 87 (38.5%) | 20 (8.8%) |
| Once | 0 | 0 | 6 (2.7%) | 9 (4.0%) | 1 (.4%) |
| 2 or 3 Times | 0 | 0 | 16 (7.1%) | 12 (5.3%) | 1 (.4%) |
| Many Times | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2 (.9%)</u> | <u>6 (2.7%)</u> | <u>0</u> |
| Total | 1 (.4%) | 3 (1.3%) | 64 (28.1%) | 114 (50.4%) | 22 (9.7%) |

$\chi^2 = 8.326$, not significant

TABLE FORTY-SIX

COUNTRY OF PARENT'S CHILDHOOD COMPARED WITH SENDING
CHILDREN TO SCHOOL (N=318)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>SENT CHILD TO SCHOOL</u> | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>NO</u> | <u>YES</u> |
| U.S. | 8 (2.5%) | 2 (.6%) |
| Puerto Rico | 69 (21.7%) | 157 (49.4%) |
| Cuba | 8 (2.5%) | 45 (14.2%) |
| Other | <u>8 (2.5%)</u> | <u>21 (6.6%)</u> |
| Total | 93 (29.2%) | 225 (70.8%) |

$\chi^2 = 17.797$, significant 1%

TABLE FORTY-SEVEN

ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOLS' EFFORT FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN PRE-SCHOOL PROGRAMS (N=352)*

| SCHOOLS ARE DOING | NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN PROGRAMS | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | None | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3 or More</u> |
| Nothing | 46 (13.1%) | 5 (1.4%) | 3 (.9%) | 0 |
| Little | 48 (13.6%) | 7 (2.0%) | 2 (.6%) | 1 (.3%) |
| Some | 89 (25.3) | 5 (1.4%) | 8 (2.3%) | 3 (.9%) |
| A Lot | 31 (8.8%) | 4 (1.1%) | 1 (.3%) | 2 (.6%) |
| All Possible | <u>81 (23.0%)</u> | <u>13 (3.7%)</u> | <u>2 (.6%)</u> | <u>1 (.3%)</u> |
| Total | 295 (83.8%) | 34 (9.7%) | 16 (4.5%) | 7 (2.0%) |

$\chi^2 = 12.524$, not significant

* Excludes those without children.

TABLE FORTY-EIGHT

ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOLS' EFFORT FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING
 COMPARED WITH INTEREST IN SENDING CHILD TO A DAY-CARE
 CENTER (N=198)*

| <u>SCHOOLS ARE DOING</u> | <u>DAY CARE CENTER</u> | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Perhaps</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Nothing | 19 (9.6%) | 6 (3.0%) | 6 (3.0%) |
| Little | 16 (8.1%) | 3 (1.5%) | 13 (6.6%) |
| Some | 21 (10.6%) | 9 (4.5%) | 30 (15.2%) |
| Much | 7 (3.5%) | 4 (2.0%) | 10 (5.1%) |
| All Possible | <u>24 (12.1%)</u> | <u>5 (2.5%)</u> | <u>25 (12.6%)</u> |
| Total | 87 (43.9%) | 27 (13.6%) | 84 (42.4%) |

$\chi^2 = 11.534$, not significant

* Women respondents only.

TABLE FORTY-NINE

CHILDREN HAVING TROUBLE IN SCHOOL COMPARED WITH COUNTRY
OF PARENT'S CHILDHOOD (N=268)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>FREQUENCY OF PROBLEMS</u> | | |
|----------------|------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>None</u> | <u>Once or Twice</u> | <u>Many Times</u> |
| U.S. | 3 (1.1%) | 0 | 1 (.4%) |
| Puerto Rico | 138 (51.5%) | 23 (8.6%) | 23 (8.6%) |
| Cuba | 53 (19.8%) | 0 | 2 (.7%) |
| Other | <u>23 (8.6%)</u> | <u>1 (.4%)</u> | <u>1 (.4%)</u> |
| Total | 217 (81.0%) | 24 (9.0%) | 27 (10.1%) |

$\chi^2 = 16.501$, significant 1%

TABLE FIFTY

LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE FOR CHILDREN'S CLASSES
 COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO READ SPANISH (N=310)

| <u>LANGUAGE- DOMINANCE PREFERENCE</u> | <u>READ SPANISH</u> | | |
|---|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Spanish | 19 (6.1%) | 9 (2.9%) | 3 (1.0%) |
| English | 198 (63.9%) | 27 (8.7%) | 41 (13.2%) |
| No Opinion | <u>8 (2.6%)</u> | <u>2 (.6%)</u> | <u>3 (1.0%)</u> |
| Total | 225 (72.6%) | 38 (12.3%) | 47 (15.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 10.236$, significant 5%

TABLE FIFTY-ONE

LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE FOR CHILDREN'S CLASSES
 COMPARED WITH ABILITY TO READ ENGLISH (N=334)

| <u>LANGUAGE- DOMINANCE PREFERENCE</u> | <u>READ ENGLISH</u> | | |
|---|---------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Spanish | 2 (.6%) | 5 (1.5%) | 25 (7.5%) |
| English | 76 (22.8%) | 89 (26.6%) | 123 (36.8%) |
| No Opinion | <u>3 (.9%)</u> | <u>4 (1.2%)</u> | <u>7 (2.1%)</u> |
| Total | 81 (24.3%) | 98 (29.3%) | 155 (46.4%) |

$\chi^2 = 14.983$, significant 1%

TABLE FIFTY-TWO

LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE FOR CHILDREN'S CLASSES
 COMPARED WITH INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING
 OF ENGLISH (N=331)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING ENGLISH</u> | <u>LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE</u> | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Spanish</u> | <u>English</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
| None | 3 (.9%) | 44 (13.3%) | 4 (1.2%) |
| Little Interest | 1 (.3%) | 19 (5.7%) | 1 (.3%) |
| Some Interest | 3 (.9%) | 26 (7.9%) | 1 (.3%) |
| Want to Soon | 9 (2.7%) | 116 (35.0%) | 4 (1.2%) |
| Want to Now | <u>15 (4.5%)</u> | <u>81 (24.5%)</u> | <u>4 (1.2%)</u> |
| Total | 31 (9.4%) | 286 (86.4%) | 14 (4.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 7.935$, not significant

TABLE FIFTY-THREE

LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE FOR CHILDREN'S CLASSES
 COMPARED WITH INTEREST IN IMPROVING READING AND WRITING
 OF SPANISH (N=332)

| <u>INTEREST IN IMPROVING SPANISH</u> | <u>LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE</u> | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Spanish</u> | <u>English</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
| Yes | 14 (4.2%) | 114 (34.3%) | 5 (1.2%) |
| Perhaps | 9 (2.7%) | 17 (5.1%) | 0 |
| No | <u>9 (2.7%)</u> | <u>155 (46.7%)</u> | <u>9 (2.7%)</u> |
| Total | 32 (9.6%) | 286 (86.1%) | 14 (4.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 23.573$, significant 1%

TABLE FIFTY-FOUR

LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE FOR CHILDREN'S CLASSES
 COMPARED WITH YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND (N=325)

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE</u> | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Spanish</u> | <u>English</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 0 | 12 (3.6%) | 2 (.6%) |
| 1951-1955 | 4 (1.2%) | 39 (12.0%) | 2 (.6%) |
| 1956-1960 | 4 (1.2%) | 53 (16.4%) | 3 (.9%) |
| 1961-1965 | 3 (.9%) | 83 (25.5%) | 2 (.6%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>19 (5.8%)</u> | <u>95 (29.4%)</u> | <u>4 (1.2%)</u> |
| Total | 30 (9.2%) | 282 (86.8%) | 13 (3.3%) |

$\chi^2 = 17.725$, significant 5%

TABLE FIFTY-FIVE

LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE FOR CHILDREN'S CLASSES
 COMPARED WITH ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOLS' EFFORT FOR
 SPANISH-SPEAKING (N=287)

| <u>SCHOOLS ARE DOING</u> | <u>LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE</u> | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Spanish</u> | <u>English</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
| Nothing | 4 (1.4%) | 39 (13.6%) | 0 |
| Little | 4 (1.4%) | 39 (13.6%) | 0 |
| Some | 14 (4.9%) | 59 (24.0%) | 5 (1.7%) |
| A Lot | 1 (.3%) | 30 (10.5%) | 1 (.3%) |
| All Possible | <u>1 (.3%)</u> | <u>77 (26.8%)</u> | <u>3 (1.0%)</u> |
| Total | 24 (8.4%) | 254 (88.5%) | 9 (3.1%) |

$\chi^2 = 18.207$, significant 5%

TABLE FIFTY-SIX

LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE FOR CHILDREN'S CLASSES
 COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF PARENT'S CHILDHOOD (N=333)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE</u> | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Spanish</u> | <u>English</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
| U.S. | 0 | 8 (2.4%) | 1 (.3%) |
| Puerto Rico | 25 (7.5%) | 202 (60.7%) | 8 (2.4%) |
| Cuba | 5 (1.5%) | 51 (15.3%) | 2 (.6%) |
| Other | <u>2 (.6%)</u> | <u>26 (7.8%)</u> | <u>3 (.9%)</u> |
| Total | 32 (9.6%) | 287 (86.2%) | 14 (4.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 5.220$, not significant

TABLE FIFTY-SEVEN

LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE FOR CHILDREN'S CLASSES COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL HOME VISITS (N=298)

| LANGUAGE-DOMINANCE PREFERENCE | VISITS BY SCHOOL PERSONNEL | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | Never | Once | 2 or 3 Times | Many Times |
| Spanish | 23 (7.7%) | 1 (.3%) | 4 (1.3%) | 2 (.7%) |
| English | 195 (65.4%) | 22 (7.4%) | 34 (11.4%) | 6 (2.0%) |
| No Opinion | <u>9 (3.1%)</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1 (.3%)</u> | <u>1 (.3%)</u> |
| Total | 227 (76.2%) | 23 (7.7%) | 39 (13.0%) | 9 (3.0%) |

$\chi^2 = 5.085$, not significant

TABLE FIFTY-EIGHT

PARENTAL DESIRE FOR CHILD TO REMAIN IN SCHOOL AS LONG AS POSSIBLE COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF PARENT'S CHILDHOOD (N=516)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>WORK VS. SCHOOL</u> | |
|----------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | <u>Work as Soon as Possible</u> | <u>School as Long as Possible</u> |
| U.S. | 0 | 14 (2.7%) |
| Puerto Rico | 15 (2.9%) | 327 (63.4%) |
| Cuba | 0 | 97 (18.8%) |
| Other | <u>2 (.4%)</u> | <u>61 (11.8%)</u> |
| Total | 17 (3.3%) | 499 (96.7%) |

$\chi^2 = 5.063$, not significant

TABLE FIFTY-NINE

PARENTAL DESIRE FOR CHILD TO REMAIN IN SCHOOL AS LONG AS POSSIBLE COMPARED WITH INCOME (N=209)

| <u>HOURLY WAGE</u> | <u>WORK VS. SCHOOL</u> | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | <u>Work as Soon as Possible</u> | <u>School as Long as Possible</u> |
| \$.80 - \$1.70 | 3 (1.5%) | 7 (3.5%) |
| 1.80 - 2.70 | 2 (1.0%) | 119 (56.8%) |
| 2.80 - 3.70 | 0 | 55 (26.4%) |
| 3.80 - 4.70 | 0 | 10 (4.8%) |
| 4.80 - 5.70 | 0 | 8 (3.9%) |
| 5.80 - 6.70 | <u>0</u> | <u>5 (2.5%)</u> |
| Total | 5 (2.5%) | 204 (97.6%) |

$\chi^2 = 25.946$, significant 1%

TABLE SIXTY

MINIMUM LEVEL OF EDUCATION PARENT DESIRES FOR CHILD COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF PARENT'S CHILDHOOD (N=396)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>MINIMUM NUMBER OF YEARS</u> | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>3-6</u> | <u>7-10</u> | <u>11-12</u> | <u>13-16</u> | <u>17-25</u> |
| U.S. | 0 | 0 | 6 (1.5%) | 3 (.7%) | 3 (.7%) |
| Puerto Rico | 3 (.7%) | 3 (.7%) | 118 (29.4%) | 116 (28.9%) | 13 (3.2%) |
| Cuba | 0 | 0 | 12 (3.0%) | 50 (12.5%) | 19 (4.7%) |
| Other | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>16 (4.0%)</u> | <u>28 (7.0%)</u> | <u>11 (2.7%)</u> |
| Total | 3 (.7%) | 3 (.7%) | 152 (37.9%) | 197 (49.1%) | 46 (11.5%) |

$\chi^2 = 50.606$, significant 1%

TABLE SIXTY-ONE

COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD COMPARED WITH FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (N=440)

| <u>SCHOOLING</u> | <u>COUNTRY</u> | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | <u>U.S.</u> | <u>Puerto Rico</u> | <u>Cuba</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| None | 4 (.9%) | 132 (30.0%) | 15 (3.4%) | 9 (2.0%) |
| 1-2 years | 0 | 37 (8.4%) | 2 (.5%) | 2 (.5%) |
| 3-4 years | 2 (.5%) | 42 (9.5%) | 10 (2.3%) | 5 (1.1%) |
| 5 years | 0 | 16 (3.6%) | 6 (1.4%) | 5 (1.1%) |
| 6 years | 1 (.2%) | 8 (1.8%) | 18 (4.1%) | 13 (3.0%) |
| 7 years | 1 (.2%) | 7 (1.6%) | 11 (2.5%) | 1 (.2%) |
| 8 years | 0 | 13 (3.0%) | 4 (.9%) | 1 (.2%) |
| 9 years | 0 | 5 (1.1%) | 3 (.7%) | 4 (.9%) |
| 10 years | 1 (.2%) | 2 (.5%) | 3 (.7%) | 1 (.2%) |
| 11-12 years, no diploma | 0 | 7 (1.6%) | 5 (1.1%) | 5 (1.1%) |
| 11-12 years, diploma | 2 (.5%) | 5 (1.1%) | 5 (1.1%) | 6 (1.4%) |
| Some at University | 0 | 1 (.2%) | 3 (.7%) | 2 (.5%) |
| University diploma | 0 | 0 | 2 (.5%) | 1 (.2%) |
| Graduate Education | <u>1 (.2%)</u> | <u>1 (.2%)</u> | <u>4 (.9%)</u> | <u>6 (1.4%)</u> |
| Total | 12 (2.7%) | 247 (62.7%) | 91 (20.7%) | 55 (13.9%) |

 $\chi^2 = 156.133$, significant 1%

TABLE SIXTY-TWO

MINIMUM LEVEL OF EDUCATION PARENT DESIRES FOR CHILD COMPARED WITH INCOME (N=184)

| <u>HOURLY WAGE</u> | <u>MINIMUM NUMBER OF YEARS</u> | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | <u>3-6</u> | <u>7-10</u> | <u>11-12</u> | <u>13-16</u> | <u>17-25</u> |
| \$.80-\$1.70 | 0 | 0 | 2 (1.2%) | 3 (1.8%) | 3 (1.8%) |
| 1.80 - 2.70 | 1 (.6%) | 0 | 41 (18.2%) | 55 (32.1%) | 9 (5.4%) |
| 2.80 - 3.70 | 0 | 0 | 14 (8.3%) | 21 (13.1%) | 12 (6.5%) |
| 3.80 - 4.70 | 0 | 0 | 2 (1.2%) | 8 (5.8%) | 0 |
| 4.80 - 5.70 | 0 | 0 | 1 (.6%) | 2 (1.2%) | 4 (2.4%) |
| 5.80 - 6.70 | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3 (1.8%)</u> | <u>1 (.6%)</u> |
| Total | 1 (.6%) | 0 | 60 (29.2%) | 94 (54.4%) | 29 (15.8%) |

$\chi^2 = 21.812$, not significant

TABLE SIXTY-THREE

BELIEF THAT EDUCATION HELPS TO BETTER ONE'S SITUATION
 COMPARED WITH INCOME (N=212)

| <u>HOURLY WAGE</u> | <u>EDUCATION HELPS BETTER SITUATION</u> | | |
|--------------------|---|----------------|-----------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Perhaps</u> | <u>No</u> |
| \$.80 - \$1.70 | 6 (3.0%) | 2 (1.0%) | 2 (1.0%) |
| 1.80 - 2.70 | 117 (54.0%) | 4 (2.0%) | 2 (1.0%) |
| 2.80 - 3.70 | 54 (25.4%) | 2 (1.0%) | 0 |
| 3.80 - 4.70 | 10 (5.0%) | 0 | 0 |
| 4.80 - 5.70 | 8 (4.0%) | 0 | 0 |
| 5.80 - 6.70 | <u>5 (2.5%)</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| Total | 200 (93.9%) | 8 (4.0%) | 4 (2.0%) |

$\chi^2 = 11.743$, not significant

TABLE SIXTY-FOUR

BELIEF THAT EDUCATION HELPS TO BETTER ONE'S SITUATION
 COMPARED WITH YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND (N=520)

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>EDUCATION HELPS BETTER SITUATION</u> | | |
|----------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Perhaps</u> | <u>No</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 29 (5.8%) | 3 (.6%) | 1 (.2%) |
| 1951-1955 | 52 (10.2%) | 0 | 1 (.2%) |
| 1956-1960 | 75 (14.5%) | 6 (1.2%) | 1 (.2%) |
| 1961-1965 | 146 (28.4%) | 4 (.8%) | 0 |
| 1966-1970 | <u>190 (37.1%)</u> | <u>10 (2.0%)</u> | <u>1 (.2%)</u> |
| Total | 493 (94.6%) | 23 (4.6%) | 4 (.8%) |

$\chi^2 = 10.832$, not significant

TABLE SIXTY-FIVE

BELIEF THAT EDUCATION HELPS TO BETTER ONE'S SITUATION
 COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=529)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>EDUCATION HELPS BETTER SITUATION</u> | | |
|----------------|---|-----------------|-----------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Perhaps</u> | <u>No</u> |
| U.S. | 11 (2.1%) | 2 (.4%) | 2 (.4%) |
| Puerto Rico | 325 (61.4%) | 21 (4.0%) | 2 (.4%) |
| Cuba | 96 (18.1%) | 2 (.4%) | 0 |
| Other | <u>67 (12.7%)</u> | <u>1 (.2%)</u> | <u>0</u> |
| Total | 499 (94.3%) | 26 (4.9%) | 4 (.8%) |

$\chi^2 = 40.123$, significant 1%

TABLE SIXTY-SIX

BELIEF THAT POLITICIANS PAY ATTENTION TO "OPINIONS OF PEOPLE LIKE YOU" COMPARED
WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=474)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>AMOUNT OF ATTENTION</u> | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>None</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>Enough</u> | <u>A Lot</u> |
| U.S. | 0 | 2 (.4%) | 2 (.4%) | 8 (1.7%) | 2 (.4%) |
| Puerto Rico | 7 (1.5%) | 23 (4.9%) | 87 (18.4%) | 109 (23.0%) | 96 (20.3%) |
| Cuba | 0 | 5 (1.1%) | 17 (3.6%) | 23 (4.9%) | 34 (7.2%) |
| Other | <u>0</u> | <u>2 (.4%)</u> | <u>9 (1.9%)</u> | <u>24 (5.1%)</u> | <u>24 (5.1%)</u> |
| Total | 7 (1.5%) | 32 (6.8%) | 115 (24.3%) | 164 (34.6%) | 156 (32.9%) |

$\chi^2 = 18.747$, not significant

TABLE SIXTY-SEVEN

PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION IN BOSTON COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=503)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>AMOUNT OF DISCRIMINATION PERCEIVED</u> | | | | |
|----------------|---|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | <u>None</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>Much</u> | <u>Very Much</u> |
| U.S. | 1 (.2%) | 2 (.4%) | 3 (.6%) | 2 (.4%) | 5 (1.0%) |
| Puerto Rico | 66 (13.1%) | 25 (5.0%) | 88 (17.5%) | 86 (17.1%) | 66 (13.1%) |
| Cuba | 50 (9.9%) | 11 (2.2%) | 16 (3.2%) | 10 (2.0%) | 9 (1.8%) |
| Other | <u>29 (5.8%)</u> | <u>9 (1.8%)</u> | <u>10 (2.0%)</u> | <u>10 (2.0%)</u> | <u>5 (1.0%)</u> |
| Total | 146 (29.0%) | 47 (9.3%) | 117 (23.3%) | 108 (21.5%) | 85 (16.9%) |

$\chi^2 = 65.253$, significant 1%

TABLE SIXTY-EIGHT

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF
CHILDHOOD (N=508)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS</u> | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2 or More</u> |
| U.S. | 12 (2.4%) | 1 (.2%) | 1 (.2%) |
| Puerto Rico | 287 (56.5%) | 43 (8.5%) | 10 (2.0%) |
| Cuba | 77 (15.2%) | 9 (1.8%) | 2 (.4%) |
| Other | <u>52 (10.2%)</u> | <u>11 (2.2%)</u> | <u>3 (.6%)</u> |
| Total | 428 (84.3%) | 64 (12.6%) | 16 (3.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 5.185$, not significant

TABLE SIXTY-NINE

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP COMPARED WITH YEAR OF ARRIVAL
ON MAINLAND (N=493)

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS</u> | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2 or More</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 19 (4.8%) | 3 (.6%) | 3 (.6%) |
| 1951-1955 | 39 (6.8%) | 7 (1.4%) | 3 (.6%) |
| 1956-1960 | 68 (13.8%) | 8 (1.6%) | 4 (.8%) |
| 1961-1965 | 120 (24.4%) | 20 (4.0%) | 5 (1.0%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>168 (33.1%)</u> | <u>25 (5.0%)</u> | <u>1 (.2%)</u> |
| Total | 422 (84.0%) | 63 (12.8%) | 16 (3.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 8.312$, not significant

TABLE SEVENTY

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP COMPARED WITH INCOME (N=200)

| <u>HOURLY WAGE</u> | <u>NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS</u> | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|------------|------------------|
| | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2 or More</u> |
| \$.80 - \$1.70 | 8 (4.0%) | 1 (.5%) | 0 |
| 1.80 - 2.70 | 101 (49.6%) | 14 (7.0%) | 2 (1.0%) |
| 2.80 - 3.70 | 35 (17.5%) | 16 (8.0%) | 2 (1.0%) |
| 3.80 - 4.70 | 7 (3.5%) | 1 (.5%) | 2 (1.0%) |
| 4.80 - 5.70 | 7 (3.5%) | 1 (.5%) | 0 |
| 5.80 - 6.70 | <u>3 (1.5%)</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1 (.5%)</u> |
| Total | 160 (79.2%) | 33 (18.5%) | 7 (3.5%) |

$\chi^2 = 15.968$, not significant

TABLE SEVENTY-ONE

EXPRESSED INTEREST IN LOCAL COMMUNITY AFFAIRS COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD
(N-528)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>INTEREST</u> | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | <u>None</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>A Lot</u> | <u>Very Much</u> |
| U.S. | 3 (.6%) | 1 (.2%) | 6 (1.1%) | 4 (.8%) | 1 (.2%) |
| Puerto Rico | 32 (6.1%) | 50 (9.5%) | 143 (27.1%) | 96 (18.2%) | 27 (5.1%) |
| Cuba | 6 (1.1%) | 17 (3.2%) | 31 (5.9%) | 30 (5.7%) | 14 (2.7%) |
| Other | <u>5 (.9%)</u> | <u>10 (1.9%)</u> | <u>33 (6.2%)</u> | <u>15 (2.8%)</u> | <u>4 (.8%)</u> |
| Total | 46 (8.7%) | 78 (14.8%) | 213 (40.3%) | 145 (27.5%) | 46 (8.7%) |

$\chi^2 = 13.014$, not significant

TABLE SEVENTY-TWO

EXPRESSED INTEREST IN LOCAL COMMUNITY AFFAIRS COMPARED WITH YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND (N=511)

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>INTEREST</u> | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | <u>None</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>A Lot</u> | <u>Very Much</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 4 (.8%) | 1 (.2%) | 12 (2.4%) | 5 (1.0%) | 4 (.8%) |
| 1951-1955 | 4 (.8%) | 9 (1.8%) | 19 (3.8%) | 3 (.6%) | 8 (1.6%) |
| 1956-1960 | 2 (.4%) | 12 (2.4%) | 36 (7.2%) | 22 (4.4%) | 10 (2.0%) |
| 1961-1965 | 12 (2.4%) | 19 (3.8%) | 56 (9.7%) | 49 (9.6%) | 14 (2.8%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>22 (4.4%)</u> | <u>34 (7.0%)</u> | <u>84 (16.4%)</u> | <u>50 (9.8%)</u> | <u>10 (2.0%)</u> |
| Total | 44 (8.6%) | 75 (14.7%) | 217 (40.5%) | 139 (27.2%) | 46 (9.0%) |

$\chi^2 = 25.179$, not significant

TABLE SEVENTY-THREE

CONCEPT OF AMOUNT IN COMMON WITH SPANISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY OF BOSTON COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=519)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>AMOUNT SPANISH HAVE IN COMMON</u> | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | <u>Nothing</u> | <u>Almost Nothing</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>Much</u> | <u>Very Much</u> |
| U.S. | 3 (.6%) | 1 (.2%) | 8 (1.5%) | 2 (.4%) | 1 (.2%) |
| Puerto Rico | 28 (5.4%) | 39 (7.5%) | 139 (26.8%) | 74 (14.3%) | 61 (11.8%) |
| Cuba | 15 (2.9%) | 10 (1.9%) | 44 (8.5%) | 22 (4.2%) | 6 (1.2%) |
| Other | <u>9 (1.7%)</u> | <u>17 (3.3%)</u> | <u>25 (4.8%)</u> | <u>10 (1.9%)</u> | <u>5 (1.0%)</u> |
| Total | 55 (10.6%) | 67 (12.9%) | 216 (41.6%) | 108 (20.8%) | 75 (14.1%) |

$\chi^2 = 29.000$, significant 1%

TABLE SEVENTY-FOUR

CONCEPT OF AMOUNT IN COMMON WITH SPANISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY OF BOSTON COMPARED WITH YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND (N=502)

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>AMOUNT SPANISH HAVE IN COMMON</u> | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Nothing</u> | <u>Almost Nothing</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>Much</u> | <u>Very Much</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 5 (1.0%) | 4 (.8%) | 12 (2.4%) | 2 (.4%) | 2 (.4%) |
| 1951-1955 | 9 (1.8%) | 8 (1.6%) | 17 (3.4%) | 11 (2.2%) | 7 (1.4%) |
| 1956-1960 | 9 (1.8%) | 8 (1.6%) | 34 (6.8%) | 18 (3.6%) | 11 (2.2%) |
| 1961-1965 | 7 (1.4%) | 19 (3.8%) | 65 (13.0%) | 32 (6.4%) | 24 (4.8%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>21 (4.2%)</u> | <u>24 (4.8%)</u> | <u>82 (16.4%)</u> | <u>44 (8.8%)</u> | <u>27 (5.4%)</u> |
| Total | 51 (10.2%) | 64 (12.2%) | 210 (41.8%) | 107 (21.4%) | 71 (14.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 39.977$, significant 1%

TABLE SEVENTY-FIVE

OPINION OF MEANS BY WHICH PEOPLE WHO HAVE THE SAME GOAL SHOULD ACHIEVE THAT GOAL
 COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=526)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>WHAT TO DO</u> | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Nothing</u> | <u>Each Man For Self</u> | <u>Have Group Discussion</u> | <u>Organize</u> |
| U.S. | 0 | 0 | 1 (.2%) | 13 (2.5%) |
| Puerto Rico | 29 (5.5%) | 29 (5.5%) | 51 (9.7%) | 237 (45.1%) |
| Cuba | 3 (.6%) | 6 (1.1%) | 9 (1.7%) | 80 (15.2%) |
| Other | <u>0</u> | <u>9 (1.7%)</u> | <u>13 (2.5%)</u> | <u>46 (8.7%)</u> |
| Total | 32 (6.1%) | 44 (8.4%) | 74 (14.1%) | 376 (71.5%) |

$\chi^2 = 19.513$, significant 1%

TABLE SEVENTY-SIX

OPINION OF MEANS BY WHICH PEOPLE WHO HAVE THE SAME GOAL SHOULD ACHIEVE THAT GOAL
 COMPARED WITH YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND (N=510)

| <u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u> | <u>WHAT TO DO</u> | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| | <u>Nothing</u> | <u>Each Man For Self</u> | <u>Have Group Discussion</u> | <u>Organize</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 1 (.2%) | 1 (.2%) | 6 (1.2%) | 2 (.4%) |
| 1951-1955 | 2 (.4%) | 5 (1.0%) | 7 (1.4%) | 39 (7.8%) |
| 1956-1960 | 6 (1.2%) | 7 (1.4%) | 13 (2.6%) | 55 (10.9%) |
| 1961-1965 | 5 (1.0%) | 13 (2.6%) | 17 (3.4%) | 111 (21.8%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>16 (3.2%)</u> | <u>15 (3.0%)</u> | <u>27 (5.4%)</u> | <u>145 (28.3%)</u> |
| Total | 30 (5.9%) | 41 (8.0%) | 72 (14.1%) | 368 (72.0%) |

$\chi^2 = 7.252$, not significant

TABLE SEVENTY-SEVEN

EVALUATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL POTENTIAL OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING COMPARED WITH COUNTRY OF CHILDHOOD (N=525)

| <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>ORGANIZATION OF SPANISH-SPEAKING</u> | | | | |
|----------------|---|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | <u>Impossible</u> | <u>Little Possibility</u> | <u>Possible</u> | <u>Very Possible</u> | <u>Happening Now</u> |
| U.S. | 0 | 2 (.4%) | 3 (.6%) | 9 (1.7%) | 1 (.2%) |
| Puerto Rico | 15 (2.9%) | 15 (2.9%) | 96 (18.3%) | 207 (39.4%) | 12 (2.3%) |
| Cuba | 6 (1.1%) | 6 (1.1%) | 23 (.4.4%) | 61 (11.6%) | 2 (.4%) |
| Other | <u>1 (.2%)</u> | <u>4 (.8%)</u> | <u>19 (7.8%)</u> | <u>41 (7.8%)</u> | <u>2 (.4%)</u> |
| Total | 22 (4.2%) | 27 (5.1%) | 141 (26.9%) | 318 (60.6%) | 17 (3.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 7.319$, not significant

TABLE SEVENTY-EIGHT

EVALUATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL POTENTIAL OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING COMPARED WITH YEAR OF ARRIVAL ON MAINLAND (N=517)

| YEAR OF ARRIVAL | ORGANIZATION OF SPANISH-SPEAKING | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | <u>Impossible</u> | <u>Little Possibility</u> | <u>Possible</u> | <u>Very Possible</u> | <u>Happening Now</u> |
| Pre-1951 | 2 (.4%) | 2 (.4%) | 5 (1.0%) | 12 (2.4%) | 1 (.2%) |
| 1951-1955 | 3 (.6%) | 5 (1.0%) | 12 (2.4%) | 31 (6.2%) | 2 (.4%) |
| 1956-1960 | 3 (.6%) | 4 (.8%) | 23 (4.6%) | 48 (9.6%) | 4 (.8%) |
| 1961-1965 | 8 (1.6%) | 9 (1.8%) | 37 (7.4%) | 88 (15.4%) | 6 (1.2%) |
| 1966-1970 | <u>6 (1.2%)</u> | <u>11 (2.2%)</u> | <u>70 (13.2%)</u> | <u>147 (23.8%)</u> | <u>3 (.6%)</u> |
| Total | 22 (4.4%) | 31 (6.2%) | 147 (28.8%) | 334 (57.4%) | 16 (3.2%) |

$\chi^2 = 12.724$, not significant

TABLE SEVENTY-NINE

ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOLS' EFFORT FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING COMPARED WITH EVALUATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL POTENTIAL OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING (N=399)

| ORGANIZATION OF SPANISH-SPEAKING | SCHOOLS ARE DOING | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| | <u>Nothing</u> | <u>Little</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>A Lot</u> | <u>All Possible</u> |
| Impossible | 3 (.8%) | 2 (.5%) | 7 (1.8%) | 3 (.8%) | 2 (.5%) |
| Little Possibility | 4 (1.0%) | 3 (.8%) | 7 (1.8%) | 1 (.3%) | 6 (1.5%) |
| Possible | 12 (3.0%) | 20 (5.0%) | 23 (5.8%) | 15 (3.8%) | 26 (6.5%) |
| Very Possible | 38 (9.5%) | 34 (8.5%) | 76 (19.0%) | 27 (6.8%) | 74 (18.5%) |
| Happening Now | <u>2 (.5%)</u> | <u>5 (1.3%)</u> | <u>5 (1.3%)</u> | <u>1 (.3%)</u> | <u>3 (.8%)</u> |
| Total | 59 (14.8%) | 64 (16.0%) | 118 (29.6%) | 47 (11.8%) | 111 (27.8%) |

$\chi^2 = 13.149$, not significant

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. BOOKS AND ARTICLES

A. Bilingualism and Bilingual Education and the Spanish-Speaking

- Abraham, Willard. "The Bilingual Child, His Parents and their School." Exceptional Children, Vol. 23, No. 1 (October, 1956), 51, 52, 80.
- Alatis, James E., ed. Report of the Twenty-First Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies: Bilingualism and Language Contact: Anthropological, Linguistic, Psychological and Sociological Aspects. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press; 1970.
- Anastasi, Anne, and Cordova, Fernando A. "Some Effects of Bilingualism upon the Intelligence Test Performance of Puerto Rican Children in New York City." The Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 44, No. 1 (January, 1953), 1-19.
- Anastasi, Anne, and de Jesus, C. "Language Development and Nonverbal IQ of Puerto Rican Preschool Children in New York City." Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 48 (July, 1953), 357-366.
- Anderson, James G., and Safar, Dwight. "The Influence of Differential Community Perceptions on the Provision of Equal Educational Opportunities." Sociology of Education, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Summer, 1967), 219-230.
- Andersson, Theodore. "Bilingual Schooling: Oasis or Mirage." Hispania, Vol. LII, No. 1 (March, 1969).
- _____, and Boyer, Mildred. Bilingual Schooling in the United States. Vols. I and II. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.
- Armstrong, P.; Achilles, C.M.; Sacks, M.J. Reactions of Puerto Rican Children in New York City to Psychological Test. Special Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, New York State Chamber of Commerce, 1935.
- Arsenian, Seth. "Bilingualism and Mental Development." New York, N.Y.: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937.

- Aspira, Inc. "Hemos Trabajado Bien: A Report on the First National Conference of Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and Educators on the Special Needs of Urban Puerto Rican Youth." New York, N.Y.: Aspira, Inc., May, 1968.
- Barbosa-Da Silva, J.F. "Reference Orientation in an Ethnic Group of a Border Community." Proceedings of the Southwest Sociological Association. Lubbock, Texas: Texas Technological College, 1966, pp. 49-61.
- Barclay, Lisa Frances Keercz. "The Comparative Efficacies of Spanish, English and Bilingual Cognitive Verbal Instruction with Mexican-American Head Start Children." ERIC ED 030 473
(Citations similar to the preceding are references to documents which are made available from the Office of Education, Educational Resources Information Center. The documents are available from ERIC in hard-back or microfiche. The ones cited in this thesis are available at Longfellow Library, Harvard School of Education.)
- Bell, Paul W. "Bilingual Education in an American Elementary School." Languages and the Young School Child. Edited by H. H. Stern. London: Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 112-18.
- Berkowitz, Elaine. "Family Attitudes and Practices of Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican Pupils." Highpoints, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 (March, 1961), 25-34.
- "Bilingualism." The Center Forum, Vol. 4, No. 1 (September, 1969).
- Bogatz, Gerry Ann, and Ball, Samuel. "Some Things You've Wanted to Know About Sesame Street." American Education, Vol. 7, No. 3 (April, 1971), 11-15.
- _____. The First Year of Sesame Street: An Evaluation. Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, 1971.
- Bouquet, Susana. "Acculturation of Puerto Rican Children in New York and Attitudes toward Negroes and Whites." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1961.

- Boyd, Dorothy L. "Bilingualism as an Educational Objective." Educational Forum, Vol. XXXII, No. 3 (March, 1968), 309-313.
- Boyer, Mildred. "Poverty and the Mother Tongue." Educational Forum, Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (March, 1965), 290-96.
- Bram, Joseph. "The Lower Status Puerto Rican Family." Education and the Urban Community. Edited by Maurie Hillson, Francesco Cordasco, and Francis Purcell. New York: American Book Company, 1969.
- Brameld, Theodore Burghart Hurt. The Remaking of a Culture: Life and Education in Puerto Rico. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959.
- Bucchioni, Eugene. "A Sociological Analysis of the Functioning of Elementary Education for Puerto Rican Children in the New York Public Schools." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1965.
- Burger, Henry G., ed. Ethnics on Education: Report on a Conference of Spanish-speaking, Amerindian and Negro Cultural Leaders on Southwestern Teaching and Learning. Albuquerque: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc., June, 1969.
- Burma, John H. "The Puerto Rican in New York." Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States. Edited by John H. Burma. Durham: Duke University Press, 1954.
- _____. "Spanish-Speaking Children." Education and Social Class. Edited by Everett T. Keach, Robert Fulton, and William E. Gardner. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967.
- Calitri, Charles J. "The Nature and Values of Culturally Different Youth." Education and Social Class. Edited by Everett T. Keach, Robert Fulton, and William E. Gardner. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967.
- Caplin, Stanley W., and Ruble, Ronald A. "A Study of Culturally Imposed Factors on School Achievement in a Metropolitan Area." The Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 58, No. 1 (September, 1964), 16-21.

- Christian, Chester C. "The Acculturation of the Bilingual Child." Modern Language Journal, Vol. XLIX, No. 3 (March, 1965), 160-65.
- Cohen, Alan. "Some Learning Disabilities of Socially Disadvantaged Puerto Rican and Negro Children." ERIC ED 022 818.
- Cohn, Jack. "Integration of Spanish-Speaking Newcomers in a 'Fringe Area' School." National Elementary Principal, Vol. XXXIX, No. 6 (May, 1960), 29-33.
- Comba, Arthur. "Self-Concept as an Objective." Education for the Culturally Disadvantaged, Proceedings of the National Conference on Educational Objectives for the Culturally Disadvantaged. South Central Region Education Laboratory, 1967.
- Condon, Elaine C. "English as a Second Language: A Bilingual Approach to a Practical Solution of the Inadequacies found in Foreign Language Speakers and Educationally Disadvantaged Learners." Education and the Urban Community. Edited by Maurie Hillson, Francesco Cordasco, and Francis Purcell. New York: American Book Co., 1969.
- Cordasco, Francesco. "The Anthropologist: Oscar Lewis: La Vida, and the Culture of Poverty." Education and the Urban Community. Edited by Maurie Hillson, Francesco Cordasco, and Francis Purcell. New York: American Book Co., 1969.
- _____. "The Bilingual Education Act." Phi Delta Kappan, October, 1969.
- _____. "The Challenge of the Non-English Speaking Child in American Schools." School and Society, Vol. 96, No. 2306, 198-201.
- _____. "Helping the Language Barrier Student." The Instructor, Vol. LXXII, No. 9 (May, 1963), 20.
- _____. "The Puerto Rican Child in the American School." Education and the Urban Community. Edited by Maurie Hillson, Francesco Cordasco, and Francis Purcell. New York: American Book Company, 1969.

- _____. "Puerto Rican Pupils and American Education." School and Society, Vol. 95, No. 2288 (February 18, 1967), 116-17.
- _____, and Bucchioni, Eugene, eds. Puerto Rican Children in Mainland Schools. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1968.
- Cordova, Ignacio Ruben. "Relationship of Acculturation, Achievement and Alienation Among Spanish-American Sixth Grade Students." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1968.
- de Crespo, Patria Cintron. "Puerto Rican Women Teachers in New York: Self-Perception and Work Adjustment as Perceived by Themselves and by Others." Unpublished thesis, Columbia University, 1965.
- Darcy, Natalie. "Bilingualism and the Measurement of Intelligence: Review of a Decade of Research." The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. CIII (December, 1963), 259-82.
- _____. "The Performance of Bilingual Puerto Rican Children on Verbal and on Non-language Tests of Intelligence." Journal of Education Research, Vol. XLV, No. 7 (March, 1952), 499-506.
- _____. "A Review of the Literature on the Effects of Bilingualism Upon the Measurement of Intelligence." The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 82 (March, 1953), 21-57.
- Dworkis, Martin B., ed. The Impact of Puerto Rican Migration on Governmental Services in New York City. New York: New York University Press, 1957.
- "Education for the Spanish-Speaking." The National Elementary Principal, Vol. L, No. 2 (November, 1970).
- Elam, Sophie L. "Acculturation and Learning Problems of Puerto Rican Children." Teachers College Record, Vol. 61, No. 5 (February, 1960) 258-64.
- Ervin, Susan M., and Osgood, Charles E. "Second Language Learning and Bilingualism." Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 49 (supplement, 1954) 139-46.

- Fennessey, James. "An Exploratory Study of Non-English Speaking Homes and Academic Performance." May, 1967, ERIC ED 011 613.
- Finocchiaro, Mary. "Education of Puerto Ricans on the Mainland: Overcoming the Communication Barrier." 1970, ERIC ED 043 871.
- _____. "Puerto Rican Newcomers in Our Schools." Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 28, No. 4 (December, 1954), 157-66.
- Fishman, Joshua. "Bilingual Education in Sociolinguistic Perspective." March, 1970, ERIC ED 040 404.
- _____. "Bilingualism, Intelligence and Language Learning." Modern Language Journal, Vol. XLIX, No. 4 (April, 1965), 227-37.
- _____. "The Status and Prospects of Bilingualism in The United States." Modern Language Journal, Vol. XLIX, No. 3 (March, 1965), 143-55.
- _____, et al. "Bilingualism in the Barrio: Measurement and Description of Language Dominance in Bilinguals." August, 1968, ERIC ED 026 546.
- _____, et al. Language Loyalty in the United States. London: Mouton and Company, 1966.
- Gaarder, A. Bruce. "Organization of the Bilingual School." Journal of Social Issues, Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (April, 1967), 110-120.
- _____. "Teaching the Bilingual Child: Research, Development and Policy." Modern Language Journal, Vol. XLIX, No. 3 (March, 1965), 165-75.
- Glazer, Nathan, and Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. Beyond the Melting Pot. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1970.
- Goldberg, Miriam L. "Factors Affecting Educational Attainment in Depressed Urban Areas." Education of the Disadvantaged. Edited by A. Harry Passow, Miriam Goldberg, and Abraham J. Tannebaum. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.
- Hamill, Peter. "The Puerto Ricans: Coming of Age in Nueva York." New York, 24 November 1969, pp. 33-47.

- Hammer, Richard. "Report from a Spanish Harlem 'Fortress.'" Education in the Metropolis. Edited by Harry L. Miller and Marjorie B. Smiley. New York: The Free Press, 1967.
- Handlin, Oscar. The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1962.
- Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. Youth In the Ghetto. New York: Central Printing Co., 1964.
- Haugen, Einar. "The Bilingual Individual." Psycholinguistics: A Book of Readings. Edited by Sol Saporta. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.
- Hobgood, John J. "The Community and the Disadvantaged Pupil." Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil. Edited by John M. Beck and Richard W. Saxe. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publishers, 1968.
- International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University. A Survey of the Public Education System of Porto Rico. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926.
- Jacobs, John F., and Purce, Marnell L. "Bilingualism and Creativity." Elementary English, Vol. XLIII (May, 1966), 499-503.
- Jansen, Calvin. "A Study of Bilingualism and Creativity." March, 1969, ERIC ED 034 269.
- Jenkins, Shirley. "Intergroup Empathy: An Exploratory Study of Negro and Puerto Rican Groups in New York City." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1957.
- Jensen, J. Vernon. "Effects of Childhood Education." Elementary English, Vol. XXXIX, Nos. 2 and 4 (February and April 1962), 132-143 and 358-366.
- Jessup, Dorothy K. "School Integration and Minority Group Achievement." The Urban R's: Race Relations as the Problem in Urban Education. Edited by Robert Dentler, Bernard Mackler, and Mary Warshauer. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.

- John, Vera A., and Horner, Vivian M. "Bilingualism and the Spanish-Speaking Child." Language and Poverty. Edited by Frederick Williams. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1970.
- Keston, Morton J., and Jimenez, Carmina. "A Study of the Performance on English and Spanish editions of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test by Spanish-American Children." Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 85 (1954), 263-69.
- Kittell, Jack. "Intelligence Test Performance of Children from Bilingual Environments." Elementary School Journal, Vol. 64 (November, 1963), 76-83.
- Kneller, George. "Education and Cultural Values." Education and Social Crisis. Edited by Everett T. Keach, Jr., Robert Fulton, and William E. Gardner. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967.
- Knowlton, Clark S. "Problems and Difficulties in Planning and Development in Areas with Large Minority Groups." 17 April 1964, ERIC ED 013 129.
- Krear, Morris L., and Boucher, Charles R. "A Comparison of Special Programs or Classes in English for Elementary School Pupils." Modern Language Journal, Vol. 51, No. 6 (October, 1967), 335-37.
- Kurtis, Arlene Harris. Puerto Ricans from Island to Mainland. New York: Julian Messner, 1969.
- Lagmanovich, David. Los viajeros de la ciudad. Buenos Aires: Imprenta Lopez, 1967.
- Lambert, W.E.; Havelka, J.; Crosby, C. "The Influence of Language-Acquisition Contexts on Bilingualism." Psycholinguistics: A Book of Readings. Edited by Sol Saporta. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.
- Landry, Richard. "Bilingualism and Creative Abilities." ERIC ED 039 602.
- Leibowitz, Arnold. "English Literacy: Legal Sanction for Discrimination." Revista Juridica de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, Vol. XXXIX, No. 3, 313-400.

- Lewis, Hilda, and Lewis, Edward R. "Written Language Performance of Sixth-Grade Children of Low Socio-Economic Status from Bilingual and from Monolingual Backgrounds." The Journal of Experimental Education, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Spring, 1965), 237-41.
- Lewis, Oscar. "In New York You Get Swallowed up by a Horse." Commentary, Vol. 38, No. 5 (November, 1964), 69-73.
- _____. La Vida. New York: Vintage Books, 1968.
- Margolis, Richard J. "The Losers: A Report on Puerto Ricans and the Pupil Schools." New York: Aspira, Inc., May, 1968. (Mimeographed.)
- Martinez, Armando. "Literacy Through Democratization of Education." n.d. (Mimeographed.)
- _____. "Proposed Design for a Comprehensive Bilingual Education Program in Massachusetts." 15 January 1970. (Mimeographed.)
- Meyer, June. "You Can't See the Trees for the School." Urban Review, Vol. 2, No. 3 (December, 1967), 11-15.
- Miller, Henry. "New York City's Pupils: A Problem of Acculturation." School and Society, Vol. 76, No. 1967 (30 August 1952), 129-32.
- Mills, C. Wright; Senior, Clarence; Goldson, Rose Kohn. The Puerto Rican Journey. New York: Russell and Russell, 1950.
- Mitchell, A.J. "The Effect of Bilingualism in the Measurement of Intelligence." Elementary School Journal, Vol. 39 (1937), 29-37.
- Modiano, Nancy. "National or Mother Language in Beginning Reading: A Comparative Study." Research in the Teaching of English, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring, 1968), 32-43.
- Mondale, Walter. "The Role of the Federal Government." The National Elementary Principal, Vol. L, No. 2 (November, 1970), 117.

- Monserrat, Joseph. "School Integration: A Puerto Rican View." Integrating the Urban School. Edited by Gordon J. Klopff and Israel A. Laster. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963, pp. 45-60.
- New York Board of Education. Our Children from Puerto Rico: A Report on Their Island Home by Visiting Puerto Rican Workshop of 1955. New York: New York (City) Board of Education, 1957.
- New York Board of Education. Puerto Rican Profiles: Resource Materials for Teachers Curriculum Bulletin No. 5. New York: New York (City) Board of Education, 1965.
- New York Board of Education. The Puerto Rican Study 1953-1957. New York: New York (City) Board of Education, 1958.
- New York Board of Education. Who Are the Puerto Rican Pupils in the New York City Public Schools? New York: New York (City) Board of Education, 1956.
- New York Board of Education, Committee of the Association of Assistant Superintendents. A Program of Education for Puerto Ricans in New York City. New York: New York (City) Board of Education, 1947.
- Padilla, Elena. Up From Puerto Rico. New York: Columbia University, 1958.
- Peal, Elizabeth, and Lambert, William E. "The Relation of Bilinguals to Intelligence." Psychological Monograph General and Applied, Vol. 76, No. 546.
- "Politics: Passage of the Bilingual Act." The Center Forum, Vol. 4, No. 1 (September, 1969), 8.
- "Problems of Bilingualism." The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (April, 1967).
- Puerto Rican Forum. "The Puerto Rican Community Development Project: A Proposal for a Self-Help Project to Develop the Community by Strengthening the Family, Opening Opportunities for Youth and Making Full Use of Education." 2nd ed. New York: Puerto Rican Forum, 1964. (Mimeographed.)

- Rand, Christopher. The Puerto Ricans. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.
- Riley, John E. "The Influence of Bilingualism on Tested Verbal Ability on Spanish and English." June, 1968, ERIC ED 026 935.
- Rodriguez, Armando. "Bilingual Education--A Look Ahead." 1969, ERIC ED 030 505.
- _____. "Mañana in Motion." The National Elementary Principal, Vol. XLIX, No. 4 (February, 1970), 52-56.
- _____. "Understanding and Working with the Power Structure in the Mexican-American Community." 31 October 1968, ERIC ED 030 506.
- _____. "Urban Education and the Mexican-American." 23 August 1968, ERIC ED 031 510.
- Rubenstein, Annette T. "Visiting Ocean Hill-Brownsville in November 1968 and May 1969." Schools Against Children. Edited by Annette T. Rubenstein. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970, pp. 228-46.
- Safa, Helen Icken. "An Analysis of Upward Mobility in Low-Income Families: A Comparison of Family and Community Life Among American Negroes and Puerto Rican Poor." ERIC ED 015 226.
- _____. "The Poor are Like Everyone Else, Oscar." Psychology Today, Vol. 4, No. 4 (September, 1970), 26-32.
- Saville, Muriel R., and Troike, Rudolph C. "A Handbook of Bilingual Education." ERIC ED 035 877.
- Schaefer, Dorothy. "Prejudice in Negro and Puerto Rican Adolescents." The Urban R's: Race Relations as the Problem in Urban Education. Edited by Robert A. Dentler, Bernard Mackler, and Mary Warshauer. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967
- Senior, Clarence. "The Puerto Rican in the United States." Understanding Minority Groups. Edited by Joseph Bertram Gittler. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956.

- _____. Strangers--The Neighbors. New York: Freedom Books, 1961.
- _____, and Watkins, Donald O. "Toward a Balance Sheet of Puerto Rican Immigration." Status of Puerto Rico: Selected Background Studies for the United States-Puerto Rican Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966, pp. 689-805.
- Sexton, Patricia Cayo. Spanish Harlem: Anatomy of Poverty. New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1965.
- Spolsky, Bernard. "Some Psycholinguistic and Sociolinguistic Aspects of Bilingual Education." 1968, ERIC ED 028 412.
- Stambler, Ada. "A Study of Eighth Grade Puerto Rican Students at Junior High School 65, Manhattan, with Implications for their Placement, Grouping and Orientation." National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, Vol. 46 (January, 1962), 298-99.
- Thomas, Alexander. "Retardation in Intellectual Development of Lower Class Puerto Rican Children in New York City." May, 1969, ERIC ED 034 370.
- Thomas, Piri. Down These Mean Streets. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967.
- Tireman, Lloyd S., and Zintz, Miles V. "Factors Influencing Learning a Second Language." Education, Vol. 83, No. 5 (January, 1961), 310-13.
- Ulibarri, Horacio. "Bilingual Education." 1969, ERIC ED 034 082.
- _____. "Bilingual Education: A Handbook for Educators." ERIC ED 038 078.
- _____. "The Effect of Cultural Difference in the Education of Spanish Americans." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, College of Education, University of New Mexico, September, 1958.
- _____. "Interpretive Studies on Bilingual Education." March, 1969, ERIC ED 028 428.

- U. S. Congress. House. Committee on Education and Labor. Bills to Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to assist Bilingual Education Programs. Hearings before the General Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, on H.R. 9840 and H. R. 10224, 90th Congress, 1st sess., 1967.
- U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Bill to Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to Provide Assistance to Local Educational Agencies in Establishing Bilingual American Educational Programs and to Provide certain other Assistance to Promote Such Programs. Hearings of May 18, 19, 26, 29, 31, June 24, and July 21, 1967, before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senate, on S. 428, 90th Congress, 1st sess., 1967.
- U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Education. Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967 with Background Materials and Tables. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968.
- U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Office of Education. Title I, ESEA Program Guides, Nos. 44 and 45A. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, May, 1970.
- U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Office of Education. Bilingual/Bicultural Education: A Perspective Model in Multi-cultural America, by Atilano A. Valencia. 1969.
- U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Office of Education, Bilingual Office. "Bilingual Education Programs, ESEA Title VII, FY Estimated Obligations." n.d. (Mimeographed.)
- U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Office of Education, Bilingual Office. "Programs under Bilingual Education Act (Title VII, ESEA), Manual for Project Applicants and Grantees." 20 March 1970. (Draft, Mimeographed.)
N.B. The new project manual, incorporating additional material, has since become available. All the above specifications remain the same, except that the publications date is 20 April 1971.

Valencia, Atilano A. Identification and Assessment of Ongoing Education and Community Programs for Spanish-Speaking People. Albuquerque: Southwestern Cooperative Education Laboratory, Inc., March, 1969.

Vasquez, Hector I. "Puerto Rican Americans." Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3 (Summer, 1969), 247-56.

Wakefield, Dan. Island in the City. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1959.

Wares, Alan C., comp. Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1935-1968. Santa Ana, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1968.

Welfare Council of New York, Committee on Puerto Ricans in New York City. Puerto Ricans in New York City. New York: Welfare Council of New York, 1948.

Wilkerson, Doxey A. "The Failure of Schools Serving the Black and Puerto Rican Poor." Schools Against Children. Edited by Annette T. Rubenstein. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970, pp. 93-126.

Willis, Robert Manks. "An Analysis of the Adjustment and Scholastic Achievement of Forty Puerto Rican Boys who Attended Transition Classes in New York City." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1961.

Zintz, Miles V. Education Across Cultures. 2nd ed. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company, 1969.

B. Education, Educational Planning, and Community Involvement

Abernethy, David. The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case Study. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969.

Adams, Don, ed. Educational Planning. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1964.

- _____. "Planning Education for Social Objectives." Educational Planning. Edited by Cicely Wilson. Ontario: Policy and Development Council, Department of Education, 1967, pp. 59-65.
- Altshuler, Alan A. The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965.
- Anderson, C.A. The Social Context of Educational Planning. Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, No. 5, 1967.
- Bassett, G.W. Innovation in Primary Education. London: Wiley-Interscience, 1970.
- Beeby, C.E. The Quality of Education in Developing Countries. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Bloomberg, Warner, Jr., and Kincaid, John. "Parent Participation: Practical Policy or Another Panacea?" The Urban Review, Vol. 2, No. 7 (June, 1968), 5-9.
- Brager, George. "Organizing the Unaffiliated in Low Income Areas." Social Work, Vol. 8, No.2 (April, 1963), 34-40.
- Brameld, Theodore Burghard Hurt. Education as Power. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.
- Burke, Edmund. "Citizen Participation as Strategies." n.d. (Mimeographed.)
- Burnett, Calvin, and Ofiesh, Gabriel D. "Education in Low-Income Areas During the Next Two Decades." The Implications of Social and Economic Changes for Educational Policy in the Next Two Decades-- A Pilot Study. Working Papers prepared for the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bureau of Research, October, 1968.
- Chworowsky, Martin P. "Subsidized Pluralism: Its Implications for Intergroup Relations." School and Society, Vol. 87, supplement (23 May 1959), 257-264.
- Cohn, Gloria. "The Principal in the Changing Community." National Elementary Principal, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1 (September, 1957), 74-82.

- Coleman, James S. "Education and Political Development." Education and Political Development. Edited by James S. Coleman. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- _____, and Associates. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966.
- Coles, Robert, and Piers, Maria. Wages of Neglect. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969.
- Cook, Katherin M. "Some Consideration in Educational Planning for Urban Communities." Planning Schools for Tomorrow. Leaflet No. 66. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943.
- Correa, Hictor. Quantitative Methods of Educational Planning. Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1970.
- Creegan, Robert F. "Quality and Freedom through Pluralism." School and Society, Vol. 87 (May 23, 1959), 248-251.
- Cremin, Lawrence A. Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957. New York: Vintage Books, 1964.
- Curle, Adam. Problems of Professional Identity: An Examination of Training for Human Resource Development and Educational Planning. New York: Education and World Affairs, 1968.
- Dennison, George. The Lives of Children. New York: Vintage Books, 1969.
- Dentler, Robert A. "A Critique of Education Projects in Community Action Programs." The Urban R's: Race Relations as the Problem in Urban Education. Edited by Robert A. Dentler, Bernard Mackler, and Mary Ellen Warshauer. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.
- _____. "Equality of Educational Opportunity." The Urban Review, Vol. 1, No. 6 (December 1966) 27-29.
- Dodson, Dan. "Education and the Powerless." Education and Social Class. Edited by Everett T. Keach, Robert Fulton and William E. Gardner. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967.

- Downs, Anthony. "Alternative Futures for the American Ghetto." Daedalus, Fall, 1968.
- Elam, Stanley, and Swanson, Gordon, eds. Educational Planning in the United States. Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1969.
- "Elements of Educational Planning." Educational Studies and Documents, No. 45. Paris: UNESCO, 1963.
- Erder, Necat. "Some Administrative Problems in Educational Planning." Organizational Problems in Planning Educational Development. Paris: Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development, 1966.
- Fantini, Mario. "Intervention Alternatives for Urban Education." Harvard Education Review, Winter, 1968.
- _____, and Young, Milton A. Designing Education for Tomorrow's Cities. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970.
- Fantini, Mario; Gittell, Marilyn; and Magat, Richard. Community Control and the Urban School. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970.
- Feinstein, Phyllis. All About Sesame Street. New York: Tower Books, 1971.
- Finocchiaro, Mary. "Bringing the School and Community Together." March, 1969, ERIC ED 028 419.
- Fishman, Joshua. "The American Dilemmas of Public Subsidized Pluralism." School and Society, Vol. 87, supplement (23 May 1959), 264-67.
- _____. "Childhood Indoctrination for Minority Group Membership." Daedalus, Vol. 90, No. 2 (Spring, 1961), 329-49.
- _____. "Publicly Subsidized Pluralism: The European and American Context." School and Society, Vol. 87, supplement (23 May 1959), 246-48.
- Fowlkes, John Guy. "Planning Schools for Tomorrow: The Issues Involved." Planning Schools for Tomorrow, Leaflet No. 64. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942.

- Freire, Paulo. Cultural Action for Freedom.
Cambridge: Harvard Education Review and Center
for the Study of Development and Social Change,
1970.
- _____. The Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York:
Herder and Herder, 1970.
- Friggens, Paul. "Sam Shepard's Faith." Education
and Social Crisis. Edited by Everett T. Keach,
Robert Fulton, and William E. Gardner. New York:
John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967.
- Gans, Herbert J. People and Plans. New York:
Basic Books, 1968.
- _____. "We Won't End the Urban Crisis Until
We End 'Majority Rule.'" The New York Times
Magazine, 3 August 1969.
- Gitlin, Todd and Hollander, Nanci, Uptown: Poor
Whites in Chicago. New York: Harper and Row
Publishers, 1970.
- Gittell, Marilyn. "Decision-making in the Schools:
New York City, A Case Study." Educating an
Urban Population. Edited by Marilyn Gittell.
Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1967.
- _____. Participants and Participation. New York:
Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.
- _____. "Professionalism and Public Participation
in Educational Policy-making." The Politics
of Urban Education. Edited by Marilyn Gittell
and Alan G. Hevesi. New York: Frederick
A. Praeger, 1969.
- _____, and Hollander, T. Edward. Six Urban
School Districts. New York: Frederick A. Praeger,
1968.
- Goldhammer, Keith. Factors Related to Citizen,
Administrator and Teacher Participation in
Educational Decision-making. Eugene, Oregon:
University of Oregon, Center for the Advanced
Study of Educational Administration, n.d.
- Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in American Life.
New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

- Goulet, Denis. "On the Goals of Development." Cross Currents, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (Fall, 1968), 387-405.
- Illich, Ivan. "Why We Must Abolish Schooling." The New York Review of Books, 2 July 1970, pp. 9-14.
- Illich, Paul. "The Futility of Schooling in Latin America." Saturday Review, 20 April 1968, pp. 57-59, 74-75.
- Jenck, Christopher. "Who Should Control Education?" Readings on the School in Society. Edited by Patricia Cayo Sexton. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.
- Jensen, Theodore J., and Staub, W. Frederick. "School and Community Relations." Education and the Urban Community. Edited by Maurie Hillson, Francesco Cordasco and Francis Purcell. New York: American Book Co., 1969.
- Kantrowitz, Nathan. "Ethnic and Racial Segregation in the New York Metropolis, 1960." American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 74, No. 6 (May, 1969), 685-95.
- Key, V. O., Jr. Public Opinion and American Democracy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.
- Keyersling, Leon H. Achieving Nationwide Educational Excellence: A Ten Year Plan 1967-1977 to Save the Schools. Washington, D.C.: Conference on Economic Progress, December, 1968.
- Keyes, Langley Carlton, Jr. The Rehabilitation Planning Game. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M. I. T. Press, 1969.
- Kohn, Herbert R. The Open Classroom. New York: Vintage Books, 1969.
- Kornhauser, William. The Politics of Mass Society. New York: The Free Press, 1959.
- Kozol, Jonathan. "Coming Up for Freire." The New York Review, 22 October 1970, p. 53.
- _____. Death at an Early Age. New York: Bantam Books, 1967.
- Ladd, Florence C. "Advocacy in Education: An Exploratory Analysis." 17 February 1970. (Mimeographed.)

- Lauter, Paul. "The Short, Happy Life of the Adams-Morgan Community School Project." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Spring, 1968), 235-62.
- Levy, Gerald E. Ghetto School. New York: Pegasus, 1970.
- Lewis, Oscar. A Study of Slum Cultures. New York: Random House, 1968.
- Lindbloom, Charles E. The Intelligence of Democracy. New York: The Free Press, 1965.
- Lurie, Ellen. How to Change the Schools: A Parent's Action Handbook on How to Fight the System. New York: Vintage Books, 1970.
- Manheim, Marvin L. "Reaching Decisions about Technological Projects with Social Consequences: A Normative Model." 21 November 1970. (Mimeographed.)
- Mayer, Martin. The Schools. New York: Anchor Books, 1963.
- Meyerson, Martin, and Banfield, Edward C. Politics, Planning and the Public Interest. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955.
- Morphet, Edgar L., and Ryan, Charles O. Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education. Designing Education for the Future, No. 3. New York: Citation Press, 1967.
- Moynihan, Daniel, ed. On Understanding Poverty. New York: Basic Books, 1968.
- National Resources Planning Board. National Resource Development Report for 1942. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942.
- Nyerere, Julius K. "Education for Self-Reliance." Cross Currents, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (Fall, 1968), 415-34.
- O'Reilly, Robert P., ed. Racial and Social Class Isolation in the Schools. Albany, New York: Division of Research, New York State Education Department, 1969.

- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Methods and Statistical Needs for Educational Planning. Paris: OECD, 1967.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Study Group in the Economics of Education. Social Objectives in Educational Planning. Belgium: OECD, 1967.
- Otis, John Albert. "The Relationship between Citizen Interest in Schools and Social Rank and Urbanization." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1966.
- Parsons, Talcott. "The School Class as a Social System." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Fall, 1959), 297-318.
- Perlman, Ruth. "The American School: Cultural Crossroads." The Elementary School Journal, Vol. 59 (November, 1959), 82-86.
- Philp, Hugh. "The Evaluation of Quality in Education." Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning. Edited by C. E. Beeby. Paris: UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1968.
- Piaget, Jean. Science of Education and the Psychology of the Child. New York: Orion Press, 1970.
- Pinderhuger, Charles A. "Effects of Ethnic Group concentration Upon Educational Process, Personality Formation and Mental Health." Because It's Right Educationally. Edited by the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education. Boston: Massachusetts State Board of Education, 1965.
- Reimer, Everett. Second Annual Report of the Seminar on Alternatives in Education. Cuernavaca, Mexico: CIDOC, September, 1969.
- Rempson, Joe L. "School Parent Programs in Depressed Urban Neighborhoods." The Urban R's: Race Relations as the Problem in Urban Education. Edited by Robert A. Dentler, Bernard Mackler, and Mary Ellen Warshauer. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.
- Riles, Wilson C. The Urban Education Task Force Report. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970.

- Rodriguez, Pacheco Osvaldo. Some Aspects of Educational Planning In Puerto Rico. Hato Rey, Puerto Rico: Department of Education, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, 1963.
- Roscoe, C.G. The Conditions for Success in Educational Planning. Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1969.
- Rosenthal, Robert, and Jacobson, Leonore. Pygmalion in the Classroom. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.
- Ryan, William. Blaming the Victims. New York: Pantheon Books, 1971
- Saltzman, Henry. "The Community School in the Urban Setting." Society and Education. Edited by Robert J. Havighurts, Bernice L. Neugarten, and Jaqueline M. Falk. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.
- Schrag, Peter. "Why Our Schools Have Failed." The Politics of Urban Education. Edited by Marilyn Gittell and Alan G. Hevesi. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969.
- Sellitz, Calire; Jahoda, Marie; Deutsch, Morton; and Cook, Stuart, W. Research Methods in Social Relations. Rev. ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1962.
- Sexton, Patricia Cayo. The American School: A Sociological Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.
- Silberman, Charles E. "The City and the Negro." Education of the Disadvantaged. Edited by A. Harry Passow, Miriam Goldberg, and Abraham J. Tannebaum. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967.
- _____. Crisis in the Classroom. New York: Random House, 1970.
- Smith, Richard C. "This School Solves Its Own Problems." The Elementary School Journal, Vol. 59 (November, 1958) 75-81.
- Spiegel, Hans B. C., ed. Citizen Participation in Urban Development. Vols. I and II. Washington, D.C.: NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1969.

- Tax, Sol. "Self and Society." Claremont Reading Conference, 32nd Yearbook. Edited by Malcolm P. Douglass. Claremont: Claremont University Center, 1968.
- U. S. Congress. House. Study of the U.S. Office of Education: Report of the Special Subcommittee on Education. 89th Cong., 2nd sess., 1967. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967.
- U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Catalogue of HEW Assistance, Providing Financial Support and Service to States, Communities, Organizations, and Individuals. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, August, 1969.
- U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education. History of Title I ESEA. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970.
- U. S. Riot Commission. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. New York: Bantam Books, 1968.
- Weisman, Harold H., ed. Community Development in the Mobilization for Youth Experience. New York: Association Press, 1969.
- _____, ed. Employment and Educational Services in the Mobilization for Youth Experience. New York: Association Press, 1969.

II. INFORMATION ON THE EDUCATION AND THE SPANISH-SPEAKING IN BOSTON

- N.B. All of the following materials are in mimeograph form except as noted.
- Ad Hoc Committee for New South End Schools. "Child Population Census of Boston's 'South End': Summary Report." Joint Center for Urban Studies of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, 11 October 1968.
- Association for the Protection of the Constitutional Rights of the Spanish-speaking. "Spanish-speaking Persons Working with Community Agencies." n.d.
- Blakman, Nancy, and Dunmore, Charlotte. "Roxbury and South End Social Resources Directory." 1969.

Boston Public Schools. "English as a Second Language." n.d.

_____. "Evaluation of the Program for the Teaching of English as a Second Language." September, 1969.

_____. "Report of the Survey of November, 1967 and April, 1969 on English as a Second Language." n.d.

_____. "Revised and Expanded Language Programs for non-English Speaking Pupils." n.d.

_____. "Title VII--Bilingual Education Program." n.d.

_____, Educational Planning Center. "Appendix A, Appendage to Summer Survey." n.d.

_____. "Boston Infill Schools." n.d.

_____. "Recommendations for the Blackstone School--Preliminary Draft." March, 1970.

_____. "Summary: Blackstone School Proposal." 1969.

Boston Redevelopment Authority. "Residents of the South End Urban Renewal Project." June, 1967.

Cline, Marvin G., and Joyce, John H. "An Evaluation of the Educational Development Center Role in the Bilingual Transitional Clusters of the Boston Public Schools." Educational Development Center, January, 1971.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Education. Title I of Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965--Public Law 89-10. July 1968.

Connell, Rev. John J. "Proposal for a Bilingual Summer Program for Children in South Boston." 30 April 1969.

Cronin, Joseph M. Organizing an Urban School System for Diversity. Boston: Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, 1970.

Cynamon, Nancy. "Toward Use of the Community as School: A Systems Approach." May 1969.

Emergency Tenants Council. "Blackstone School Program." 1 July 1969.

_____. "Emergency Tenants Council Blackstone School Interviews." 13 August 1969

_____. "Blackstone School: Preliminary Program." 28 May 1969.

_____. "Preliminary Blackstone School Planning Document." August, 1969.

_____. "Resumen: Escuela Blackstone." 1969.

"Evaluation of the Bilingual Program conducted at the St. Augustine School." n.d.

Feldman, Linda. "Failure to Organize Effectively for Educational Change: A Case Study." Unpublished paper, January, 1970.

_____. "The Puerto Rican Educational Scene in Boston: Where It's At, What's Being Done About It, What Could be Done." Unpublished paper, November, 1969.

Glenn, Charles. "Materials on the Spanish-speaking in Massachusetts." Memorandum to Model Cities Education Committees and Staff, 11 January 1971.

Heuristics, Inc. "An Evaluation of the English as a Second Language Program of the Boston Public Schools, 1968-1969." Dedham, Massachusetts, August, 1969.

_____. "Evaluation of the English as a Second Language Program of the Boston Public Schools, 1969-1970." Dedham, Massachusetts, October, 1970.

✓ _____ . "Evaluation of the Title VII Bilingual Education Project of the Boston Public Schools, 1969-1970." Dedham, Massachusetts, August, 1970.

Jackson, Barbara L. "The King-Timilty Council, the Black Community of Boston, and the Boston Public Schools: An Analysis of their Relationship." September, 1969.

_____. "Roxbury Alternatives to the Neighborhood School." Unpublished paper, revised edition, January 1969.

- King, Joyce. "What do I Think a School Should Be?" 23 April 1969.
- "Meeting of Spanish-Speaking Residents of Boston to Discuss Problems." 18 November 1969.
- New England Regional Council. "Overview of the Problems Encountered by New England's Spanish-Speaking Population." 7 July 1970.
- Ohrenberger, William H. "Statement Before the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights." 12 May 1971.
- Ryan, William. "Strategies for Urban Change: A Case Study of the Struggle to Integrate Boston's Schools." Unpublished paper, September 1967.
- Sargent, Cyril G. "Boston Schools - 1962." Boston School Committee, n.d.
- Schrag, Peter. Village School Downtown. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.
- Smart, Pearl. "Experiment in Boston." Wilson Library Bulletin, Vol. 34, No. 5 (January, 1960), 415.
- Smith, David Horton. "Proyecto del ABCD Para las Personal Hispanas de Boston." Institute of Human Studies, Boston College, 1970.
- _____. "Sampling Procedures and Research Methods of the ABCD-IHS Survey of the Needs and Problems of the Spanish-Speaking People of Boston." 1971.
- South End Community Educational Council and Emergency Tenants Council. "Proposal for the Program and Plant for the New Blackstone Park School in Boston's South End." 25 August 1969.
- Task Force on Children Out of School. "The Way we Go to School: The Exclusion of Children in Boston." Boston, 1970.
- Teruel, Manuel. "Puerto Ricans in Transition." Undergraduate Honors Thesis, Harvard College, March, 1969.

- U. S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity. Equal Educational Opportunity for Puerto Rican Children. Hearings, Part 8. November 23-25, 1970. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970.
- U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education. "School System Report." July 1970.
- Vorhauer, Delia. "A Profile of Boston's Spanish-Speaking Community." ABCD. August, 1969.
- Walter, Rosly. "Proposal for Bilingual Transitional Clusters Within Boston Public School District." Educational Development Center, 1969.
- Whiting, Rosemary. "An Overview of the Spanish-Speaking Population in Boston." Office of Public Service, August, 1969.

III. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A. Research

- Andersson, Theodore, and Boyer, Mildred. Bilingual Schooling in the United States. Vol. I. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970.
- Babin, Patrick. "Bilingualism--A Bibliography." May, 1968, ERIC ED 023 097.
- Barnes, Regina. "A Selected ERIC Bibliography on Teaching Ethnic Minority Group Children in the United States of America." ERIC-IRCD Urban Disadvantaged Series, No. 4. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, March, 1969, pp. 19-22.
- Berney, Tomi D., and Eisenberg, Anne. "Digest of Bilingual Education." Doble Research Supplement, December, 1968.
- Christiansen, Dorothy, Comp. "Bilingualism." The Center Forum, Vol. 4, No. 1 (September, 1969).
- _____, comp. "Bilingualism: Teaching Spanish Students." Center for Urban Education, July, 1969. (Mimeographed)

Cline, Marvin G., and Joyce, John F. "Review of the Literature on Assessment Instruments." "An Evaluation of the Bilingual Transitional Clusters of the Boston Public Schools." Educational Development Center. January, 1971. (Mimeographed.)

Cordasco, Francesco, and Covello, Leonard, comp. "Studies of Puerto Rican Children in American Schools." Congressional Record, Vol. 113, No. 176 (October 31, 1967).

Dossick, Jesse. "Doctoral Research on Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans." New York University, School of Education, 1967.

Kniefel, Tanya Suarez, comp. "Programs Available for Strengthening the Education of Spanish-speaking Students." ERIC ED 025 366.

Ulibarri, Horacio. "Bilingual Education: A Handbook for Educators." ERIC ED 038 078.

_____. "Interpretative Studies on Bilingual Education." ERIC ED 028 428.

B. Materials

Allen, Patricia. "Minorities in the Curriculum: What's Happening in Massachusetts." The Bulletin, Vol. 54, No. 345 (April, 1970), 119-29.

Boston Public Library, Biblioteca Latina. "Spanish Books at the Biblioteca Latina." n.d. (Mimeographed.)

Colorado Department of Education. Annotated Bibliography: Afro-American, Hispano and Amerind, with Audio-Visual Materials List. Denver: Colorado Department of Education, 1969.

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Departamento de Instrucción Pública, División Editorial. "Libros de Texto en Circulación en las Escuelas Públicas de Puerto Rico." 1970. (Mimeographed.)

Kirschner, Madeline, comp. Puerto Rican Bibliography. Chicago: American Library Association, 1969.

"Proyecto Leer Bulletin." No. 7. Washington, D.C.:
Books for the People Fund, Inc., 1970.

San Diego City Schools. "Bibliography of
ESL/Bilingual Teaching Materials." San Diego,
February, 1969. (Mimeographed.)

U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare,
Educational Resources Information Center, Projects
to Advance Creativity in Education. Pacesetters
in Innovation, Fiscal Year 1969. Washington, D.C.:
Government Printing Office, n.d.

U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare,
Office of Education, National Center for
Educational Communication. Books Related to
Adult Basic Education and Teaching English to
Speakers of Other Languages. Washington, D.C.:
Government Printing Office, 1970.

IV. PERSONAL FILES

N.B. The following individuals and organizations
have made personal files available to me
for research. All are in Boston except as
noted.

Cynamon, Nancy. Emergency Tenants Council.

Frances Georgia, Sister. Mayor's Office of Public
Service.

Sharratt, John. Emergency Tenants Council.

Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination.

Educational Development Center, Newton, Massachusetts.
via Rosly Walter and Judy Evans.

V. INTERVIEWS

Ableson, Stuart. Lawyer from Harvard Center for
Law and Education. 17 January 1971.

Beattie, Roger. Educational Planning Center.
17 April 1970 and 17 May 1971.

- Botelho, Jeremiah. Director, Department of Bilingual Education. 10 December 1970; 14 May 1971; 21 May 1971.
- Bryant, Janet. Education Specialist, Massachusetts Commission against Discrimination. 12 November 1970.
- Mrs. Carliner. Project Supervisor, Bilingual Office, Office of Education. 1 December 1970; 11 May 1971.
- Chandler, John. South End Community Educational Council. 21 April 1970.
- Cline, Marvin. Professor of Education, Boston University. 29 April 1971.
- Coakley, John. Educational Planning Center. 26 July 1971.
- Conkling, Rowena. South End Community Educational Council. 22 April 1970.
- Consalvo, Robert. Educational evaluator, Heuristics, Inc. 8 December 1970.
- Cynamon, Nancy. Urban Field Service Student working with Emergency Tenants Council. 15 April 1970.
- Diamond, Ana Marie. Director, English as a Second Language Program. 26 May 1971
- Feldman, Linda. Urban Field Service Student working with Emergency Tenants Council. 27 April 1970.
- Fidgeon, Tim. Lawyer: Hemmenway and Barnes. 17 December 1970.
- Francis Georgia, Sister. Consultant for Puerto Rican Affairs, Mayor's Office of Public Service. 5 March 1970; 17 December 1970.
- Gilbrandsen, Linda. Community Coordinator, Title VII. 29 January 1971
- Glenn, Charles. Education Committee, Subarea I, Model Cities, Boston. 7 April 1970.

- Goodale, Ellen. Science Teacher, Title VII.
10 December 1970.
- Grinnell, Sue. Teacher, English as a Second Language
Program. 28 July 1971
- Hass, Martha Shanely. Project Director, Title VII.
10 March 1970; 10 December 1970; 11 February 1971.
- Kozol, Jonathan. Store Front Learning Center.
2 November 1970.
- Mallon, William. Vice-Principal, English Language
Center. 29 November 1970.
- Mazzone, Ernest. Foreign Language Supervisor,
Department of Education; and head of the
Educational Professional Development Act Teacher
Institute. 9 October 1970.
- Necheles, Carmen. Teacher-in-charge, Bilingual
Transitional Clusters. 20 November 1970;
4 May 1971.
- O'Hare, Tom. Office of Education, Regional Administrator.
18 November 1970.
- O'Rourke, Kelley. Title VII Teacher. 7 January 1971.
- Pear, William. Public Facilities Commission.
1 May 1970.
- Plumer, Mike. Consultant to Public Facilities
Commission. 24 April 1970.
- Rodriguez, Alex. Community organizer, United
Community Services. 20 September 1970.
- Rodriguez, Hector. Office of Spanish-American
Affairs, Office of Education. 6 April 1970.
- Serino, Father. Cardinal Cushing Center for the
Spanish-speaking. 6 May 1970.
- Sharratt, John. Architect, working with Emergency
Tenants Council. 7 March 1970; 11 April 1970.
- Smith, Charles. Professor of Education, Boston College.
11 March 1970.

Walter, Rosly. Boston Resource Team, Educational Planning Center. 1 May 1970.

Warren, William. Boston Resource Team, Educational Development Center. 24 September 1970.

Wilkins, Wendy. English as a Second Language Supervisor, Department of Education. 14 November 1970.