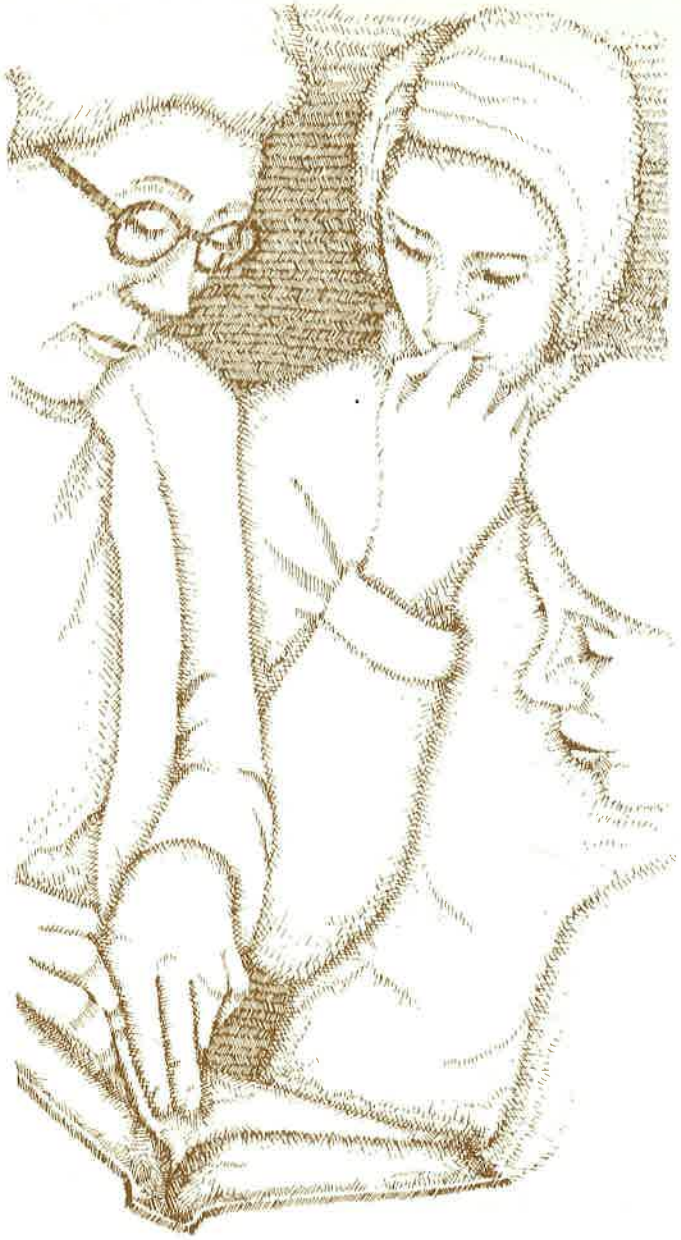
SUMMER 1976
VOLUME II, NUMBER 2

THRESHOLDS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION



Baca

Lattin

Soudek and Soudek

Ramirez

Leekley

Kern

Rodriquez

Medina Swanson

Conry-Osequera

and others...

present ideas on

Teaching the Latino Student

plus other articles of interest

THRESHOLDS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Vol. II, No. 2
Summer, 1976

Manuscripts. Submit manuscripts to Editor, **Thresholds in Secondary Education,** 327 Graham Hall, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois 60115. Suggested length - 900-5000 words. Typed, double spaced. Include author's vita.

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Thresholds is entered as Third Class mail at the Post Office in DeKalb, Illinois under permit number 265 and under provisions of Part 144, Postal Manual. Authorization for mailing as a non-profit organization was secured on February 18, 1975.

Subscription Information. Subscription rates are as follows: one year $8.00, two years $15.00, three years $21.00. For foreign subscriptions other than Canadian add $2.00 more per year. Send to : Editor, **Thresholds in Secondary Education,** 327 Graham Hall, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 60115.

Thresholds is published quarterly in February, May, August and November.

Editorial

Within recent years a good deal of educational attention has been directed on efforts designed to bring more Latino youngsters into the mainstream of learning. Supported financially by various governmental agencies at all levels, these efforts have resulted in the development of bilingual, bilingual/bicultural and multicultural education programs. These programs may contain such elements as the teaching of subject matter in both Spanish and English, teaching Spanish to native speakers, teaching English as a second language, and teaching about the cultural heritage of the Latino. Such programs are usually staffed by bilingual education specialists with training in these specified areas.

While these programs may be the wave of the future, they are not wide-spread enough to significantly alter the educational prospects of the vast majority of Latino youngsters. Most Latinos are still being taught in regular classrooms staffed by regular teachers who are almost exclusively, non-Latinos. It is for the assistance of these teachers that this issue of **Thresholds** was organized.

It is difficult at best for one to be an effective teacher when students come from an unfamiliar cultural and linguistic experience. Such is the case with Latinos. Latinos have succeeded in maintaining their traditional lifestyle and language despite the forces of modernization with which they deal day after day. And it is with all of their cultural and linguistic diversity that Latino youngsters present themselves to the teacher. It is at this point, that information about the culture, language, learning characteristics of Latino youngsters, and information about how the experiences of the Latino student may cause clashes with the traditional outlook of the school, may be of value to the teacher, counselor or the administrator.

In an attempt to organize an issue with such information for educators who are now working with Latino youngsters in various capacities, we invited people who are now active in the examination of topics relevant to Latino education to contribute manuscripts. These individuals, many of who are Latinos themselves, have all expended much of their personal and professional energy towards helping educators to overcome the barriers which have heretofore prevented our second largest minority from entering the mainstream of education.

To this end, the invited authors were asked to present practical as well as theoretical statements in their manuscripts; they were asked to be specific whenever possible, to provide examples, and, in general, to address themselves to educators in the field. It is my hope that readers of this issue will come away with an idea or two that will be useful and helpful to them.

One final note. The most notable change over the years in the thinking of those who have been active in the various phases of minority education is the rejection of the cultural deficiency hypothesis which was so popular only a few short years ago. In the 60's and earlier, writers were calling for Latinos to put aside their traditional ways and take up those habits of culture and language which were consistent with the ways of the school. That is, Latinos (and other minorities) were perceived to be culturally disadvantaged and it was this condition which made education difficult.

Current programming and much contemporary thinking is now suggesting that schools are able to make the necessary adjustments in their traditional learning environments which can increase their effectiveness when teaching Latinos. The burden is now on the school to make adjustments, and not on Latinos to reject their culture and language.This is a theme that runs through many of the invited papers. Educators may be surprised at how changes in methods or ways of thinking can be expected to pay rich dividends in terms of providing for Latino students a greater access to equal educational opportunity.

Donald J. Reyes
Associate Professor of Education
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Latino? Or Should One Say Chicano?

By Orlando G. Baca

In talking about Spanish speaking, and especially people of Mexican origin, a point of much confusion is the question, "Is Latino the proper term to use or should one say Chicano, Spanish American, or just Mexican?" Regretably, there is no simple answer to this question which is as much a topic for debate among the Spanish speaking as it is a source of confusion for others. The aim of this discussion is not to participate in the debate but to assist those bewildered by it. Toward that end this article purposes: first, to clarify the meaning of some of the terms currently being used to identify this cultural minority; secondly, to underscore the manifold problems in finding suitable identifiers; thirdly, to indicate some guideposts to follow in search of Latino identity.

Dropping the Hyphen

There probably are few better indicators of ethnic pride and how the Spanish speaking perceive themselves than their sensitivities to the terms used to identify them. Surveys suggest that most members of this minority view themselves as being culturally distinctive and want to be identified accordingly. (1)

The identifying terms preferred vary greatly and are rooted in a complex of factors. One of these is national origin and, since geographic concentrations of Spanish-speaking persons in this country reflect historical patterns of settlement by origin, another is regional setting.

Among the most frequently used terms are Mexican, Mexican American, Spanish American, Latino, Chicano, and La Raza. None of these identifiers have proven entirely satisfactory. Because spanish is the mother tongue of the group and because of the significance of language as an organizing force in group life, the designation largely relied upon in this article is Spanish speaking.

The term Mexican American is usually used both to refer to persons of Mexican ancestry who are Americans either by birth or naturalization and to differentiate between them and other Spanish speaking populations such as Puerto Ricans. It is also sometimes used to identify persons who trace their origin to the early Hispanic settlers who resided within Spanish or Mexican territory that is now part of the Southwestern United States. The term Mexican when used alone and in the strict sense refers to a citizen of Mexico whether or not a resident in that country.

In California, especially in southern communities, where the Spanish speaking are largely of Mexican origin, the terms Mexican and Mexican American are commonly used. However, there is some dissatisfaction with both terms. Records in the United States Archives reveal that as early as 1930, use of the term Mexican by the Census Bureau resulted in unfavorable reactions from the Mexican government and the U.S. Department of State. There is also some discontentment with the term Mexican American, especially in Texas, northern New Mexico, and southern Colorado.

In Texas, the terms Latino and Latin American are widely used, probably because the term Mexican has carried derogatory connotations as used by non-Spanish speakers. But in New Mexico and parts of Colorado, where the Spanish speaking trace their ancestry back to the early Spanish colonists, some version of Spanish--Hispano, Hispano-American, or Spanish-American is preferred. Other terms used by the Spanish speaking to identify themselves are Latinos or **Latino-americanos** (Latin Americans), Chicanos, and La Raza.

Latino has come into common usage in the Midwest, especially in such places as Chicago, where there is a diverse Spanish-origin population. There the Spanish speaking belong to numerous national groups, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Latin American. The vagueness of the term Latino has made it particularly functional since the Spanish speaking consider themselves members of a national group and the large Spanish-origin collectivity. (3)

In recent years, attempts to affirm cultural and political identity through Spanish-speaking organizations and nativistic movements have led to the wide use of the in-group designations Chicano and and La Raza.

Chicano, an outgrowth of the Chicano movement and **chicanismo,** its ideology, has come into increasing use as a self referent in the Mexican American community, especially in the Southwest. In fact, in recent years the terms Chicano and Mexican American have come to be used interchangeably in mass media.

The term, probably a truncated form of **Mexicano**, has become a symbol of "peoplehood" and new assertiveness for many Mexican Americans who use it as a declaration of cultural dignity and a belief in ethnic nationalism. In fact, so strong is the ethnic pride some Chicanos associate with the term that they would define a Mexican American who does not refer to himself as a Chicano as a Chicano who is confused. Furthermore, to the Chicano, to use a hyphen with "American" in identifying a Mexican is semantically inaccurate

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since unlike the Polish-American, Irish-American, Italo-American, etc., the Chicano does not trace his origin outside of the Americas.

Closely related to the term Chicano is the concept of **La Raza** which literally translates as "The Race." Like Chicano, the term is said to refer to a sense of racial solidarity or "peoplehood." In its broadest sense it is used to identify all people in the New World who experienced the Spanish conquest. In fact, columbus Day is called **El Dia del la Raza** throughout all the Americas.

Other identifiers in current use include migrants, bilinguals, Mestizos (of Indian and Mexican ancestry), Spanish surnamed, Spanish speaking, and persons of Spanish origin, ancestry, or descent. There are still others, degrading and condescending terms, Greasers, Beans, Spicks and Wetbacks.

In Search of Functional Terms

Some of the best examples that can be cited to demonstrate the manifold problems in finding functional identifiers are census counts.

It was not until 1930 that the U.S. Bureau of the Census made the first attempt to identify first and second generation persons of Mexican descent. To accomplish this, it was decided that "Mexican" would be used as the identifier under the general rubric of "other races," a non-white classification. As could have been predicted, the count proved highly inadequate, especially since Mexican Americans of light complexion failed to be counted. Subsequently in the 1950 and the 1960 surveys, persons of Mexican descent were put back into the "white" category through the use of "White persons of Spanish surname." In this conneciton, many Latinos find it amusing that this group has gone full circle in being alternately classified as being white and non-white, while at the same time being referred to as Brown in the mass media.

Spanish surname, a term which has come to be used interchangeably with more specific terms, is probably the least confusing identifier since it can be operationally defined. Yet its use in census counts is not problem free. Spanish-surnamed Americans who have changed their names and Spanish-surnamed females who marry Anglos are left out of the count, while non-Spanish origin females who marry Spanish-surnamed males are counted.

No less problematic is a count based on the designation "Spanish speaking" since not all who speak Spanish are of Spanish origin and not all Spanish-origin persons speak Spanish.

Unfortunately, many users of census data are unaware of the problems in identifying the Spanish-speaking population. Inaccurate counts of a minority and the use of that data by governmental and private agencies adversely affects that minority's constitutionally protected franchise, their rightful claim to an equitable share in federally assisted programs, and their rights to equal employment opportunities.

Beyond the label

In the absence of a generally agreed upon system of terms for identifying the Spanish speaking, it is understandably difficult to talk about this minority. There is little chance, however, that terms and definitions alone can assist us out of our conversational quandaries and in our pursuit of a clearer notion of this minority.

The overriding problem is that terms are based on theoretical constructs that do not correspond to empirical reality and it is this non-correspondence that we need to keep in mind. Empirical reality is in the process of dynamic change, while the language we use to talk about it is not. The Mexican American population of the 1920's, the early years of large-scale Mexican immigration, is not the Mexican American population of the 1970's, a population of far greater social, generational, locational, and cultural differentiation, and yet we use the same descriptors to talk about it.

Further, empirical reality is a world in which no two things are identical, a world of differences. The terms used to describe this world, however, neglect differences and focus on similarities. This classifying nature of language—categorizing different things on the basis of the similiarities we choose to focus upon—makes us prone to stereotypic thinking.

There are vast differences between the unacculturated naturalized Mexican American and the acculturated third-generation Mexican American, between the unskilled migrant worker and the upper class Latino professional, between **el viejito** (the old man) living in the traditional Mexican milieu of a rural village and the highly urbanized Mexican American living in a large city. Yet these differences are not taken into account in the term Mexican American which is used to represent them all.

In pursuit of Latino identity, the focus is on the Spanish-speaking collectivity; what is often overlooked is the group's internal diversity. The following four guideposts can facilitate our search:

Guidepost 1: While the spanish-speaking Americans derive ethnic solidarity from shared similarities in language, customs and values, it remains one of the most heter-

continued on 29

The Chicano Student and Anglo-American Fiction

By Vernon Lattin

Much has been written about the debilitating effect of American schools on Chicano students. For a variety of reasons, these youngsters are often classified as retarded or slow learners lacking the proper orientation or motivation towards school work. Falling farther behind their Anglo classmates, a large percentage of these students simply drop out from school at the earliest opportunity. Of course, many Chicanos learn English, stay up with their classes and complete twelve years of formal schooling. However, many of these students successfully adapt to the Anglo system by totally rejecting their Chicano heritage and by seeking to become Anglos. While the factors influencing both groups of students are complex and varied, certainly one of these factors in the image they have seen of themselves while studying Anglo-American literature.

When these students read mainstream American fiction in required classes or attempt on their own to study what Matthew Arnold called "the best that has been thought or known," they fail to find the story of the Mexican-American who has lived and struggled in America. They find instead only a limited or distorted picture, confusing and damaging to the student's concept of himself (11). The Anglo-American writer has been blind to a true portrayal of Chicanos.

The myopia of the Anglo-American writer has resulted most often in simply overlooking the Mexican-American. No major American novel has a Mexican-American as its protagonist; there is no figure comparable to Huck Finn or Nigger Jim, no protagonist of the stature of James' Isabel Archer, Melville's Ahab, or Faulkner's Joe Christmas. A few major writers have portrayed the Mexican-American in minor works, and some lesser authors have given the Chicano a larger role in their fiction, but, in general, when the Mexican-American has been presented, the picture has been a lie created out of the lower levels of imagination. This fiction has been created by writers of both good and ill will for a variety of reasons; racism, ignorance, romantic blindness, a desire to improve the race's image, and hope for reform have all resulted in stereotypes; the "greaser" who is a filthy, lazy, stealing, cowardly, insignificant sub-human, or the romantic, super-human, unreal hero. In both cases, the Chicano usually is presented as a flat, unrealized character, a puppet, often without a name, who can dance, fight, steal or make love when the author pulls the strings.

The most popular version of the Mexican-American has been that of the lazy, greasy, cowardly, ineffectual sub-human. This portrait was found extensively in the nineteenth century in the popular literature published as **Dime Novels** by the house of Beadle and Adams and in the Texas romances of the same century. As Robinson (11) points out, both genres were of poor literary quality and displayed "arrogant racism" toward the Mexican. In general, the Mexican was merely a foil used to reveal the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon hero, who usually defeated the Mexican and won the girl.

But the student of American fiction does not have to read this pulp fiction to find distortion; he can turn to major writers like Stephen Crane and see just as debasing a portrayal. Crane's short story, "A Man and--Some Others" (2), is representative of his attitudes. As the title implies, there is a man, and then there are some other beings, eight treacherous Mexicans, without real identity. The eight "others" attempt to drive Bill off the range, but Bill, being an Anglo, refuses to leave. The plot follows the familiar lines of the **Dime Novels**: the Mexicans attempt a sneak attack, and when that fails, a fight ensues; the eight "black things" are killed or else limp off in defeat. Though Bill is killed, he dies heroically in contrast to the others. Crane has glorified the Anglo at the expense of the Mexicans, and Raymund Paredes (9) is right in pointing out that this is true of all of Crane's stories with Mexican characters: "Crane's disparagement of the Mexican is complete. Every connotation or image associated with him is derogatory."

The twentieth century has been less blatant in its presentation of the "greaser" stereotypes; however, even sympathetic authors like John Steinbeck, Ernest Hemingway, and Katherine Anne Porter have failed to create characters that truly escape this negative type.

In all of **Tortilla Flat**, for example, Steinbeck has not created a single "paisano" female who rises above this caricature level. The women remain objects of passions, having babies, distributing beans on the floor for the children, and going to bed, in the street and elsewhere, with whoever walks by. They remain basically stupid, immoral, sexually animalistic, one dimensional beings without human depth.

A different limitation can be seen in Steinbeck's short story "Flight." The story is about a young boy's change from childhood to manhood. Pepe, at the beginning of the story, is a gentle, affectionate, lazy boy who likes to practice throwing his switchblade. When he is sent to Monterrey to buy salt and medicine, he gets into a fight and kills a man with his knife. Suddenly he begins to fulfill his mother's prophecy: "A boy gets to be a man when a man is needed" (13). The rest of the story is devoted to his attempted escape into the mountains, his pursuit, his

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near-transformation into an animal, and his final assertion of manhood as he stands up to be shot at the end of the story. The failure of the characterization is not that Steinbeck has been unsympathetic to Pepe, nor, as Ortego and Carrasco (8) suggest, that he has dehumanized Pepe into merely an animal to be hunted and killed. The failure is that when he is sympathetic, Steinbeck has universalized Pepe out of the Mexican experience; Pepe is simply "boy" becoming "man." At the end of the story he is not Mexican and is thus not a positive image for Chicanos. When Pepe is given Mexican characteristics, they are all negative: using a switchblade, drinking and fighting, showing machismo, and running from the law. This is all part of the Anglo myth. Thus, though "Flight" has some excellent qualities, it also contributes, in the final analysis, to the derogatory image of Mexican-Americans.

Both Porter and Hemingway tend to present their Mexican-American characters in very simplified, animalistic types, closer to Steinbeck's women in **Tortillo Flat**. Maria in Porter's (10) "Maria Conception" is exceptional for Porter only because she is willing to kill her husband's mistress and accept the immorality of her act. She is presented as close to the animal, acting on instinct and protecting her home. She is without conscience or remorse, killing Maria Rosa as efficiently as she twisted off the heads of the live chickens she sold at market. Maria Rosa, the mistress, is thus destroyed, her son is taken by Maria Conception to raise, and Maria Conception's husband, Juan, immediately accepts the new situation as part of his "luck." Neither Juan nor Maria seems able to comprehend anything more than instinct and fate.

The Mexican of Hemingway's "The Gambler, the Nun, and the Radio" is also a typical Mexican fatalist. We meet Cayetano in the hospital suffering from two bullet wounds in his abdomen. He survives, suffering silently without complaint, ending up with a leg paralyzed. He accepts all as part of his bad luck which may change some day; he never rises above the level of "If I live long enough the luck will change. I have bad luck now for fifteen years. If I ever get any good luck I will be rich" (4). He remains basically a sub-human, fatalistic type, and as such he is part of the "greaser" tradition.

Some writers, like Bret Harte, Gertrude Atherton, Helen Hunt Jackson, Jack London, and John Steinbeck have tended more toward the romanticized character and the romanticization of the Spanish past. In fact, Carey McWilliams (7) in **North From Mexico** has labeled such romanticizing of the Spanish past in fact and fiction as the "fantasy heritage." It is the creation of a myth, a legend of the Spanish don, the big house, the beautiful senoritas and the good aristocratic life. The result of this fantasy has been to honor the mythic Spaniards and to demean the real Mexican-Americans. McWilliams points out that the myth functions to perpetuate the exclusion of the Chicano from the civic life of America, while it allows the Anglo to feel no guilt, because he loves the Spanish and their charming ways. The romanticization deprives the Chicano of any possible self-image; the Chicano reader not only does not see himself, but he sees an image of what is acceptable to the Anglo public, the fantasy they want to believe. At their worst these writers are subject to Twain's criticism of Cooper's Indians: they have created characters that never existed in the real world.

Probably the most influential novel in this tradition has been Helen Hunt Jackson's best seller, **Ramona**. Ramona is the adopted daughter of Senora Moreno, and the Moreno ranch is the epitome of the romanticized Mexican life. Visited periodically by Father Salvierderra, Senora Moreno mourns the decay of the old way of life. She is a devotee of the myth of the idyllic life when the missions had their vast estates, "took care" of the Indians, and shared their splendor and glory with the prosperity of the rancheros. As Mrs. Jackson describes it, "It was a picturesque life, with more of sentiment and gayety in it, more also that was truly dramatic, more romance, than will ever be seen again on those sunny shores" (5). This happy, elegant, "free-handed" life obviously has no relationship to the real Mexican-American who worked the land then or now. It is a creation of Helen Hunt Jackson's dreams and wishes. Though Mrs. Jackson seems truly to have wished to help the down-trodden, in the case of the Mexican-American she was never able to create real human beings.

Other writers created their own visions of the Mexican-American as romanticized hero. Even in the **Dime Novels** of the nineteenth century a distinction was drawn, ussually on the basis of economic class, between the Spanish dons and the Mexican greasers (11). In general, the formula for a Mexican character includes dancing, love exotic behavior, good horsemanship, and mission bells in the background. Bret Harte's (3) "The Devotion of Enriquez" is typical. In this story Enriquez manages to seduce and marry his Anglo opposite, the reserved and unapproachable Miss Mannersley. He also succeeds in displaying his dancing ability (with several women at once), his talent at singing and playing the guitar (even by accident serenading the minister), his courage in calmly challenging a bull face to face (in order to rescue Miss Mannersley's drawing), and his horse-riding

continued on 29

New Perspectives in TESOL: Interdisciplinary Approaches

by Miluse Soudek and Lev I. Soudek

Only a few years ago, when the new acronyms TESOL, ESL, EFL, were mentioned outside the profession, hardly anybody knew what they stood for. They looked like some new fancy additions to the endless chain of initialisms and trade name creations. Nowadays, these new words and the concepts and problems behind them have become distinctly, and sometimes painfully, familiar to a growing number of administrators in federal and state offices, mayors, principals and school board members.

The past fifteen years have witnessed a substantial increase of interest in problems of English as a second language and of bilingual education. Psychologists, linguists, sociologists, minority politicians, social workers and administrators have begun to pay attention, long overdue, to problems which formerly attracted only a handful of specialists. Professional institutions, such as the Center for Applied Linguistics or the Association of TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), with branches in several states, attempt to coordinate mushrooming research activities, workshops and conferences. Numerous colleges in the U.S. and Canada have introduced new interdisciplinary programs in applied linguistics and in teaching English as a second or foreign language.

Some of the reasons for the current revival are motivated by practical necessities, others are theoretical. The practical considerations are immediate and pressing: the United States represents a critical impact area of diverse races and ethnic groups characterized by a multitude of languages. Every larger metropolitan area has not only its inner city with various forms of Black English but also its Spanish, Polish, Chinese and other quarters. New immigrants are being attracted, as if by a magnet, into the ethnic boundaries of their speech communities where, generally, an older variety of the respective native language, strongly creolized by English, is used, together with American English which, in turn, bears marks of non-English pronunciation, word borrowing, syntax and idiom.

Various ethnic groups have recently begun to show trends towards radicalization. Unlike in the past when "becoming more American than Americans" was the desired goal, younger members of ethnic minorites now display nationalism and ethnic pride and stress differentiation in contrast to assimilation. They also demand a more active participation in the political and social affairs of the country.

There is also a wider, global perspective adding to the importance of TESOL. Out of the 3,000 or so existing languages, only a handful has gained world-wide prominence. Among these few languages (such as Spanish, French, German, Russian, Chinese), English, for various reasons, occupies the most favorable position. It is spoken as a native language by some 300 million speakers on all continents, it has become the language of international trade, diplomacy, air-traffic, mail and radio communication. As a second or foreign language, English has attracted by far the largest number of learners throughout the world.

On the **theoretical** level, renewed interest in problems of TESOL and language learning in general has

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been stimulated by stirring events in the fields of psychology and linguistics. In 1957, B.F. Skinner, Harvard University, published his influential book **Verbal Behavior**. In the same year, Noam Chomsky's work **Syntactic Structures** first appeared. Two years later (1959), Chomsky presented his famous "Review of B .F. Skinner's Verbal Behavior", a forceful analysis on 32 pages, containing devastating criticism of Skinner's empiricist language theories. Chomsky's further works, especially his **Aspects of the Theory of Syntax** (1965) and **Language and Mind** (1968), provided more powerful arguments for a beginning fermentation in psychology and linguistics.

Skinner and other empiricists (behaviorists) before and after him believe that language is nothing more than verbal behavior that develops through learning. The process of learning which pertains to language as well as to other spheres of human knowledge and skills is described in terms of the stimulus-response theory. On the other hand, the nativists (mentalists) with Chomsky claim that language acquistion is a specific process based on certain innate predispositions. These views of Chomsky and others have led to a new cognitively oriented trend in American psycholinguistics.

First Language Acquistion.

Every language is a means of verbal communication which operates in a systematic way. The speaker (or writer) uses certain linguistic symbols to encode his message. After these coded symbols reach the ears of eyes of the receiving person, they are, in turn, decoded in his brain. Without going into the complexities of linguistic encoding and decoding, it is evident that both brains (the sender and the receiver) have to be tuned in on the same language system of rules, otherwise verbal communication is impossible.

While linguists of various and sometimes conflicting schools of thought still labor to expound at least partial areas of that system of rules and its operation, some psycholinguists have attempted to approach the difficult question of how a child acquires the system of his first language. The recent nativist hypothesis, as posited by McNeill (1970), Slobin (1971) and others, can be summarized in simplified form as follows: Every normal child is born with an innate instinct for language, a predisposition for language acquisition tentatively called Language Acquisition Device (LAD). This "device" operates most vigorously during the first 5-7 years of the child's development, then it gradually diminishes, and seems to fade away, though not entirely, during the early teens. It is this innate property that guides the child in his discovery of the first language to which he is exposed. Apparently, the LAD is a universal property, not restricted to one specific language (through blood-relationship, for instance) but applying to any of the more than three thousand existing languages.

At about the age of six, the normal child will have acquired the major features of the system of his first language (L1), without having been formally taught and before he starts going to school. By that time he has internalized the rules of L1 and can easily create an infinite number of grammatically complex structures, such as negative sentences, passive voice, various types of interrogative sentences. In producing new structures which he never heard, he makes creative use of his acquired system of language rules. Although there are still several important areas the child will have to learn in order to become an accomplished user of L1 (such as the written form, vocabulary enlargement, idiom, different speech styles and code-switching), the fact remains that he has mastered the essential part of the structure of his first language without formal and systematic instruction.

Second Language Learning.

Here one has to distinguish at what stage of the child's development a second language (L2) is added. At an early stage, a child may become a coordinate bilingual by making use of his LAD for a second (or third) language, so to say simultaneously with acquiring his first language. Numerous experiments have revealed several psychological, social and linguistic advantages, as well as handicaps, connected with early bilingualism. Because of its complexity and because it is not pertinent to secondary education, this topic will not be expanded here.

However, in the language learning situation typical throughout the world, a second language is generally added at a much later stage, in the teens, or even later.

In this respect, a major problem of analogies or differences between L1 acquisition and L2 learning has recurred in recent psycholinguistic literature, with important implications for the methodology of TESOL. Studies based on the earlier stimulus-response learning theory tend to focus on similarities and analogies between L1 and L2. There certainly are a few analogous phenomena in both processes, such as **optimizing** where the child in L1, as well as the adolescent or adult learner of L2, tends to "regularize" irregular forms so that they conform to what he feels to be the logical pattern, for example: **he goed** (for **he went**), **gooder** (for **better**), **foots** and later **feets** (for **feet**). Recent works, however, stress numerous fundamental differences prevailing in this area (Jakobovitz 1970, Prator 1969, and others). From the point of view of cognitive psychologists it appears that the first language is acquired, while the second language, for the most part, has to be learned. This difference prompted the use of a new terminology (L1 acquisition as against L2 learning) which has established itself, though not quite consistently, in recent contributions.

Generally, it appears that in learning a second language, the new system is coped with through the established medium of L1. The structure of L1 has become fixed, language production and perception are fully adjusted to the familiar channels of the first language which exerts great and ever-present pressure on all levels of the new language to be added. All new linguistic information is now processed, stored and retrieved through a sending and receiving apparatus that has been firmly set according to the criteria of L1.

It is this pressure of L1 that is responsible for the well known manifestations of negative transfer, interference and overlap afflicting the L2 learner, and his teacher. Entirely absent in L1 acquisition but painfully noticeable in L2 learning, these phenomena are known to grow in undesirable proportions, ofter resulting in what

continued on 30

Cultural Democracy, Cognitive Flexibility and Education of Mexican Americans

by Manuel Ramirez III

The exclusionist melting pot ideology of the United States, as reflected in the educational system, has strongly emphasized forced assimilation rather than cultural diversity and bicultural identity; this has been one cause of the negative attitude toward education often held by members of minority groups. The exclusionist melting pot ideology has acted more as a hindrance than as a facilitator to the achievement of equal educational opportunity, with the assumption that values and life styles differing from those of the mainstream American middle class are inferior and must be abandoned. In the case of some ethnic groups, a model of the ethnic culture as damaging has also been applied. Educational institutions have viewed the cultures of some ethnic groups as hindering the attainment of life styles and values consonant with mainstream American culture.

The opinion that Chicano culture is inferior has long been held by educational institutions. This is evident in the various methods employed by such institutions to rid the Chicano child of his/her use of Spanish, to demand that he/she adhere to the conventions of a classroom he/she does not fully understand, and to encourage participation in extracurricular activities which often interfere with family responsibilities.

The belief that Spanish interferes with the Chicano child's ability to learn English and that loyalty to his/her family and ethnic group competes with his loyalty to the "American way of life" is reflected in programs being implemented across the country, all of which are labeled "compensatory". This explains why one can find signs in schools reading, "Be a good American, speak English all the time" or why many Mexican-American children have been assigned to classrooms for the educable mentally retarded merely because they do not speak or understand English and/or because they are unaccustomed to information familiar to children of the middle class culture.

A study by Chandler and Plakos (1969) revealed that when Chicano children in educable mentally retarded classes were retested with a Spanish translation of the Weschler Intelligence Scale for Children, many of the scores were higher than the scores achieved on the English version. The second scores no longer qualified these children for placement in classes for the mentally retarded. However, Chicano children continue to be placed in special classes solely on the basis of intelligence testing in the English language. It should be emphasized that although intelligence tests may be administered in Spanish, they should be carefully examined for content, so that Chicano children are not assessed on their knowledge of biased material. This "culture-is-damaging" approach has been consistently used by the schools to exclude Mexican-American children, to place them in a position where, essentially, they cannot achieve equal educational opportunities.

Aside from the standard procedure described above for dealing with Chicano children who are not performing at the acceptable level for their age groups, other so-called novel approaches to learning have been suggested and implemented. We have many programs claiming to be innovative, claiming to do things for Mexican-American children--programs like Headstart, Follow Through, and Title I. Most of these programs are based on the assumption that there is something wrong with Mexican-American children. They all presume that if Mexican-American children are to succeed in school, their culture must be taken away from them.

My contention is that the aims of educational programs must include this two-fold goal: (1) to make educational institutions sensitive to the cultural differences among students by revealing the blindness that has existed in our schools for so many years, and (2) to see that educational institutions promote cultural diversity by developing programs that implement the new philosophy of education--cultural democracy.

COGNITIVE STYLES: A PRESCRIPTION FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

Research which has contrasted the psychodynamics of Mexican-American and Anglo children indicates that culture produces unique behaviors which affect the performance of children in the schools (Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974). What is needed is an all-encompassing concept that can account for all these behaviors and thus make it possible to implement cultural democracy in the classroom effectively. The much-needed conceptual framework emerged from some of the findings of our Houston study (Ramirez & Price-

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Williams, 1974). Data collected with cognitive tests showed that, in general, Mexican-American children tended to be more field dependent in cognitive styles, whereas Anglo-American children were more likely to be of the field independent style. The terms "field dependent" and "field independent" were first described by Witkin, Dyk, Peterson, Goodenough, and Karp (1962) and emerged from their research on perception. In a field dependent mode of perception, the organization of the field as a whole dominates perception of its parts; an item within a field is experienced as fused with the organized ground. In a field independent mode of perception, the person is able to perceive items as discrete from the organized field. This concept encompasses a wide range of intellectual and affective variables. For example, field dependent children do best on verbal tasks of intelligence tests; learn more easily materials which have human, social content, and which are characterized by fantasy and humor; are sensitive to the opinions of others; perform better when authority figures express confidence in their ability; and, conversely, perform less well when authority figures doubt their ability. Field independent children do best on analytic tasks; learn more easily material that is inanimate and impersonal; and their performance is not greatly affected by the opinions of others (Cohen, 1969)

It is reasonable to assume that the concept can also be helpful in implementing cultural democracy in the classroom. Cohen (1969), for example, has found that most school environments reflect the field independent style, the style less familiar to most Mexican-American children. In light of our findings, this would mean that these schools are inappropriate (undemocratic) for most Mexican-American children.

Tailoring the learning environment to a child's preferred cognitive style is an important first step in achieving culturally democratic education. Another important step is familiarizing the child with that cognitive style with which he is initially unfamiliar. When this learning has occurred, the child is able to function comfortably and competently in both his preferred cognitive style and in the other less familiar style. Cognitive flexibility of this nature describes children we call bicognitive.

Bicognitive children function well in settings which emphasize either field sensitivity or field independence. For example, bicognitive children are comfortable in both cooperative and competitive settings. They understand and master both impersonal and social abstractions. Depending on the requirements of a problem, they make use of either inductive and deductive reasoning. They are successful in classes in which teaching is primarily field independent as well as in classes which stress field sensitive teaching. In addition, bicognitive children have an advantage in many situations by being able to use the field sensitive and field independent cognitive styles simultaneously.

Outside school, bicognitive children are more able to participate effectively in cultures which differ markedly from one another in human relational styles, communication styles, and thinking styles. In other words, bicognitive children are adaptable. They are resourceful and capable of profiting from a wide variety of educational and social settings.

Bicognitive development is an asset for all children, but it is a crucial necessity for children whose values and identities differ from those of the mainstream American middle class. This point is especially obvious in the case of Mexican-American children. Yet public schools tend to be centered around field independence. The teaching styles, curriculum, and classroom arrangement found in most schools are not consonant with the field sensitive Mexican-American children's communication styles, human relational styles, incentive-motivational styles, and learning styles. The conflicts which follow from these differences are evident in children's ambivalent feelings about school and their fears of failing to meet the school's standards of success. Unable to understand the subtle sources of these conflicts, field sensitive Mexican-American children often sense that they must choose between the world of the school and the world of their home and community. This is a difficult and painful choice. The child risks eventual alienation from his home and community if he abandons its values and culturally unique life style (including cognitive style). Not to undergo this transformation is to risk failure at school.

Culturally democratic educational environments enable the child to succeed in school and continue to develop his preferred cognitive style. A field sensitive Mexican-American child, for example, might at first be exposed only to field sensitive teaching and field sensitive instructional materials. After reinforcing the child's strengths in the preferred cognitive style, the teacher could introduce him to field independent teaching. The child's introduction to an unfamiliar cognitive style should, of course, be gradual. For example, the teacher might consider introducing competition in the context of group cooperation, children working cooperatively with one another in groups to win a prize.

When education emphasizes bicognitive development, children are spared the confusion and pain of having to choose between potentially conflicting social and educational orientations. In becoming bicognitive, the child acquires the capacity of participate in, and contribute to, both the world represented by the school and that represented by his home and community.

It is our feeling that this objective cannot be met simply by diversifying the languages and cultural heritages represented in the classroom. Children are, of course, entitled to linguistic and cultural diversity at school; but if they are to operate comfortably and successfully in both the mainstream culture and their own ethnic communities, they must also achieve cognitive flexibility.

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continued on 14

Anglo-American Law in the Multicultural School

by Guy Leekley

In the relentless daily struggle by each student to maintain some sense of stability and dignity in the experience of the public schools, his or her first concern must be the establishment of an acceptable personal identity within the social context of peers. As part of this same struggle, however, it is also critically important that the student grasp the basic features of the formal and structural processes in which he must operate. For the student in our public schools these elements include language, customs, and rules. Of course, those students whose families share the same language and other cultural choices adopted by the school authorities have that much less of an adjustment. But for the student whose family life articulates an alternative set of cultural choices, those represented in the context of school life are likely to be baffling, mysterious, and generally a threat and a challenge to much that he has taken for granted.

In the practices and procedures of administering the rules and laws of the school, the student may discover other cultural differences just as basic and as disorienting as differences in language or personal codes of conduct. My purpose in what follows is to direct attention to the following related areas: (1) several of the distinctive features of the Anglo-American patterns of law-making and law-administering, (2) the fact that the administration of the public schools participates in this particular style of legal process, (3) ways in which students of middle-class Anglo background may be more prepared to cope with the process, (4) the responsibility of public school administrators and teachers to students whose backgrounds include different pre-suppositions and procedures with regard to the enforcement of rules.

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Some Basic Aspects of Anglo-American Legal Thinking

The most recent edition of a widely-used introduction to law points out that law should be understood, not as a set of rules, but as a social institution. More specifically, "Law is an institution in the sense of an integrated pattern or process of social behavior and ideas. **What goes on inside courts, legislatures, law offices, and other places in which law-making, law-enforcing, law-administering, and law-interpreting is carried on, together with what goes on inside the minds of people thinking with reference to what goes on those places, forms a law way of acting and thinking."**[1] (Emphasis mine.) Does the Anglo-American 'law way of acting and thinking' include characteristics that might be unfamiliar or even antithetical to students raised in families that in other ways, such as language, reflect a non-Anglo culture? Reference to three of the most distinctive features of this system, and some observations on how they are reflected in the operation of our public schools, will indicate that this is a distinct possibility.

The requirement of proper procedure. One of the most pervasive notions running through the Anglo-American 'law way of acting and thinking' at every level of the system is that one can fail in the assertion of an otherwise valid claim if one's procedure or timing is not in proper form.[2] For example, in many cases

> "the Supreme Court will not decide cases on the merits, but returns them to the litigants for further consideration-with the Court adding, perhaps, some cues, questions and unobtrusive directions for further explorations. The court legitimates such unauthoritative behaviour by invoking a series of jurisdictional concepts it has developed, and that number among its most important devices for fulfilling its role. For example, the justices may defer deciding a controversy on the grounds that it is not 'ripe' for adjudication (meaning the Court wants to await some further actions that will make the issues clearer); that the party bringing the action has no 'standing' to bring it (but someone else might, and perhaps should bring it if the dispute cannot be resolved); that the dispute ought first be looked at and considered by some other body - 'primary jurisdiction' or 'abstention'."[3]

This kind of thinking even affects the manner in which a party to a civil court case is required to present the facts or details of his claim. In a discussion of the rules that control the procedure in these cases, a commentator reports: "Typical recent rulings require a party to specify the particulars of a claim of negligence, contributory negligence, assumption of the risk, and estoppel...These rulings do not call for facts as a witness would give them, from observation or knowledge, but for the contentions or claims of fact selected, combined, and stated in terms of their legal consequences, as a pleader would set them forth."[4]

Thus, in the system of rule administration we are considering, someone with a claim or complaint is generally required to "frame the issue" in terms of particular technical categories or he may be ignored on the ground that he has "failed to state a cause of action." In this system, for example, very little consideration is paid to the fact that an individual may have **experienced** being wronged, or mistreated. The critical question will be whether he is able to organize the data or evidence of what happened, along the lines of a particular wrong already defined

by the rules.

The need for an advocate. Assumed in the cultural matrix we are considering is not only the required conformity to the complex and technical procedures referred to above, but the necessity of a class of professionals especially trained to work with those procedures and available to act as our representatives and advocates in disputed matters. Thus knowledge of the system's mechanisms, and the resulting power and responsibility, have been delegated to a special profession which is very difficult to enter. "Maintenance of the legal system as construed by lawyers is the principal function of the lawyer... What degrades the profession degrades the legal system...What is not good for lawyers is bad for law. In short, lawyers are the legal system."5

This results in the conception of an adversary system where representatives of competing interests struggle to win or lose in a contest before judges or referees of some kind. Disputes between individuals or institutions quickly are taken over by paid advocates to use the elements of the official processes. The emphasis in our thinking shifts from what we can do with our problems, to what our advocates and other professionals in the legal process will do with them. "Understandably, the expression 'Can **they** do that?' displaces 'This is how **we** handle situations like that'; bewilderment and alienation replace effortless unity."6

At another level, it is also assumed in this Anglo-American way of thinking about the legal process, that in spite of the general helplessness and vulnerability generated by the overwhelming dependence on a system of advocates, it is still possible for a private individual to get access to information on the proper procedure and to accomplish a great deal in the system on his own. A person coming to this culture with a different set of ideas about settling disputes might eventually come to understand the importance placed on proper procedure and even the resulting reliance on professional advocates without ever getting a sense of how to personally gain access to the system and how to use that knowledge.

The preference for non-interference. Refer to the enumeration above of some of the technical requirements that must be met before the Supreme Court will agree to consider the merits of an appeal. Notice what a great effort is being made to **avoid** having to get involved in the settlement of the dispute. This is another dominant attitude running all through Anglo-American legal thinking and practice. One contemporary text warns of "a natural tendency to exaggerate the role of the court judgment in the disposition of disputes. Rather, the court primarily exerts background pressure, by its costs and delays, towards disposition of disputes without any court judgement."7 Of course, underlying this essentially **laissez-faire** attitude must be the curious assumption that disputants start off from basically equal positions, or if they don't, that is really doesn't matter. As Thurman Arnold pointed out, "the whole ideology, and procedural organization of the civil trial is designed to insulate the court and the Government from taking the initiative in enforcing or even protecting the civil rights of individuals. Even the existence of injustice is preferred to the active participation of the court in private or business affairs."8

Law Ways of Thinking in the Public Schools

Having now reminded ourselves of the features of several characteristicly Anglo-American 'law ways of acting and thinking,' we can easily see the ways they are reflected in the daily operation of public schools. The insistance on the priority of proper procedure, the refusal to allow students to represent their own interests before official bodies, and the unwillingness of school officials to step in and get involved in conflicts between students unless they threaten to disrupt the orderly operation of the school-these are all common, taken-for-granted attitudes experienced by anyone in contact with American schools.

One might be puzzled by the attempt to apply the third basic attitude, non-interference, to the operation of public schools, where there is obviously a great deal of interference by school officials in the personal affairs of students, in matters of dress, smoking, moving about, storage space, etc. Big Brother may very well seem to be everywhere. But it is in the area of how the school responds to the need to settle differences **between students,** or for claims of unfair treatment by teachers, that the student will encounter a general 'hands off' treatment, a tendency to get the parties to settle it themselves, while avoiding any general disruption, that reflects this central non-interference tendency in our 'law way of thinking and acting.'

Of course, we should expect this to be true since the public school is, after all, an agency of the state legislature and distinctively a part of the system of administering state law. Besides, our attitudes about the running of the schools and the classrooms are largely shaped by the ideas we have of what is legal and proper, and those persons who staff and operated our public schools would not have those postions if they were not particularly conscious of Anglo-American 'law ways of acting and thinking.'

In fact, in the operation of the schools we can see the demonstration of many other traits that are distinctive in this tradition, besides the three on which we have focused. Other examples that could be used to make the same point might be the almost complete dependence and reliance on **written** materials for communication and for evidence, the strong tendency to allow present judgment and decision to be controlled by decisions made in the past in (perhaps) similiar circumstances, and the rather severe separation of the question of the validity of a rule from the question of its morality which results in the conviction that a rule might be wrong, but it is still the rule and must be obeyed.

But what is the likelihood of a student entering the school with a different consciousness, a different set of 'law ways of acting and thinking'?

Law Ways of Thinking in Other Cultures

Looking back at the first pre-supposition we examined, the requirement of proper procedure, we would have to ask whether a student might come from a cultural background that would tend to de-emphasize the importance of procedure in favor of going

immediately to the merits of a substantive problem. There is, for example, anthropological evidence that indicates this would be true of law administration in the village life of contemporary Mexico. A case is reported in which a truck driver was accused of causing a basket of chiles to be bruised. The parties were brought together fifteen minutes after the complaint was made. The court heard the stories on both sides and required an immediate adjustment to be made for the spoiled chiles, and the parties went on their way. There is no sign in the report of the case of any of the Anglo-American presuppositions we have identified.9

Another anthropologist, Jules Henry, has discussed an aspect of this problem in the context of a study of life in the housing projects of a large city. He observes that "the person who has no hope of achievement or security **will have no conception whatever of the organization of behavior** (relative to middle-class behavior) at all. We can say, perhaps, that the households of the project have no hope relative to middle-class orientations and therefore, their behavior appears random (i.e. unorganized) to a middle-class observer."10 (emphasis in the original) In summarizing his study of the culture of the very poor black children of the housing project, Henry suggest "that they lack both hope of achievement and fear of not achieving and that they come from a culture lacking characteristics of order fundamental to the achieving middle-class culture. Specifically their homes are physically and personally disorganized; life does not run on a time schedule and so on. Thus, emotionally and cognitively they lack the structure on which a conventional educational system can build."11

To find examples of cultures that do not assume a need for advocates to represent parties to a dispute, middle-class Americans need only look back at their own history. There have been long periods of time in which a basic assumption of this culture was that something was very wrong with giving such a role to a special class. "That men by legal training should defend with equal tenacity the cause of the righteous and the sinner, the aggrieved and those who injure, the interests of society and the evils of its most pernicious elements, was completely unacceptable to the Puritan moral community...In the early nineteenth century, under the influence of Jeffersonian - later Jacksonian - persuasions, state legislatures began dismantling the restrictive licensure requirements for the practice of law by which the bar had been garrisoned from 'the common man.' Individual omnicompetence was the prevailing view. That any man could be a lawyer was supported by the national principles of equality and democracy, by the American repudiation of class privileges associated with European societies, and by the demonstrated self-sufficiency of life on the frontier."12

In his classic study of the 'law ways' of the Cheyennes, the great legal scholar Karl Llewellyn found that in the culture of that group of Plains Indians there was not a place for the role we think of as 'lawyer' or 'advocate'. Behavior in the tribal life was policed by members of warrior societies, and conflicts were resolved through a group system of social control. He reported that "the **generality** of the Cheyennes...worked out their nice cases with an intuitive juristic precision which among us marks a judge as good..."13 Judging from the reports we have on 'the law way of thinking and acting' among the Cheyennes, they are an example of a culture that not only did without legal advocates, but also one in which officials and authority figures remained very much aware of how each person was conducting his or her life. These authorities, or the family leaders, were very quick to get involved in any personal problems or disputes, since it was felt that a 'personal' dispute was a threat to the tribal well-being. Compare this cultural attitude to the third characteristic we have examined in the Anglo-American tradition, the general pattern of non-interference, which requires that officials and judges resist involvement as much as possible. For example, notice the attitude of the Supreme Court of North Carolina in a 19th century wife-beating case: "It will be observed that the ground upon which we have put this decision is not that the husband has the right to whip his wife much or little, but that we will not interfere with family government in trifling cases. We will no more interfere where the husband whips the wife than where the wife whips the husband..."14

If a student has come from a cultural background in which authority figures such as parents or police do attempt to be aware of any disagreement or dispute between children, or others, and are always stepping in to referee or decide, especially with a concern for fairness, the attitude of the school officials could come as a severe shock. The student may be amazed and horrified to discover that he is without official protection from the onslaught of those with greater strength, cunning, or experience of the system.

For example, in 1967 the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania considered a case which stemmed from a severe beating a boy received at the door of a school by a group of boys. The school officials were aware that this kind of violence had been occurring regularly on the school grounds. The court refused to hold the school administration responsible for not protecting the beaten boy or for the serious damage that resulted.15

Thus, we have the possibility that some students are being forced to participate in a school system built on a set of assumptions not shared by those students, their parents or their cultural antecedents. The majority of students in a particular school may share in the administration's 'law ways of thinking and acting', and for them the way problems are handled in the school will generally seem proper, expected and comfortable. But if cultural differences do include a significantly different sense of the importance of 'proper procedure', or the importance of having somebody to represent one's interests, the experience of the administration of the school could be nothing less than a Kafkaesque nightmare.

The Responsibility of Educators.

These considerations indicate two types of action to be taken by school officials who are determined to compensate for significant differences between operational assumptions they are making and those identified with alternative cultures represented by some of their students.

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If a student has come from a cultural background in which authority figures such as parents or police do attempt to be aware of any disagreement or dispute between children, or others, and are always stepping in to referee or decide, especially with a concern for fairness, the attitude of the school officials could come as a severe shock. The student may be amazed and horrified to discover that he is without official protection from the onslaught of those with greater strength, cunning, or experience of the system.

For example, in 1967 the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania considered a case which stemmed from a severe beating a boy received at the door of a school by a group of boys. The school officials were aware that this kind of violence had been occurring regularly on the school grounds. The court refused to hold the school administration responsible for not protecting the beaten boy or for the serious damage that resulted.15

Thus, we have the possibility that some students are being forced to participate in a school system built on a set of assumptions not shared by those students, their parents or their cultural antecedents. The majority of students in a particular school may share in the administration's 'law ways of thinking and acting', and for them the way problems are handled in the school will generally seem proper, expected and comfortable. But if cultural differences do include a significantly different sense of the importance of 'proper procedure', or the importance of having somebody to represent one's interests, the experience of the administration of the school could be nothing less than a Kafkaesque nightmare.

The Responsibility of Educators.

These considerations indicate two types of action to be taken by school officials who are determined to compensate for significant differences between operational assumptions they are making and those identified with alternative cultures represented by some of their students.

(1) To make all members of their staffs aware that not all of their

students come from families that share these pre-suppositions, and that it is extremely unfair to treat such students as though they shared those norms. The result should be that at all levels, operational procedures in the administration of rules be introduced to those students with great tolerance and patience.

(2) To develop and offer a definite, deliberate, articulated program capable of introducing to the student basic pre-suppositions and processes of Anglo-American law. During the last ten years, a steadily increasing production of law-oriented materials and curricular programs have made it possible for a teacher, teaching team, or entire district to organize a law project that would introduce in the multi-cultural school the distinctive underlying patterns and expectations of rule-administration in the school and other law-administering institutions. Such a program makes it possible for students representing a variety of cultural backgrounds to grasp, gain access to, use, and understand the 'law ways of thinking and acting' that define the dominant Anglo-American cultural tradition that the school administration represents. (Of course, success in that area will soon suggest that other students might well benefit from, and be highly motivated by, a similar approach.) One community that has successfully involved lawyers, judges, police and the school district in a dynamic law-focused project is Rockford, Illinois. Almost one hundred teachers have been especially prepared over the last three years to introduce legal concepts and processes to their students. Many of those teachers are working with minority students in multi-cultural schools. All have been oriented along the lines developed above. Experience in that project provides growing evidence that students with a variety of cultural backgrounds can be introduced to Anglo-American legal thinking in a positive and interesting manner, and thus be better prepared to understand and operate effectively within that cultural framework.

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Where and How: Acquisition and Evaluation of Spanish Bilingual Materials for Secondary Schools

by Ann T. Kern

Let's say, for the sake of illustration, that you're a high school biology instructor who has just been assigned to an area with a high percentage of Spanish-speaking students. You set foot in your first class, and you find yourself facing forty adolescents, many of whom can't comprehend what you want to communicate to them in the English language. How do you offer them the essence of that old familiar phrase, "equal educational opportunity"?

This isn't a hypothetical illustration; such situations are happening in literally thousands of secondary schools throughout the United States. Where to acquire materials for these students and how to evaluate them is the problem I hope to help you solve.

First, however, let's look at my philosophical frame of reference. Some say we should emphasize English as a Second Language (ESL), excluding subject matter instruction in the student's first language. The crucial corollary to this is that the students' improved understanding of English will eventually enable them to master subject matter instruction in that language. My question is, what do they do in the interim? The logical answer is, they learn that subject matter in their first language so they can keep up with their classes. Although ESL is all right, it's not enough.

But where can texts and supplementary materials be acquired to teach secondary school subjects in Spanish? The two sources, of course, are domestic and foreign. In the domestic sources I would include not only commercially published items but also teacher-made materials distributed at cost by school districts. The foreign sources encompass U.S. distributors of foreign instructional materials and foreign publishers with U.S. outlet offices.

When the problems of educating Latino students first came to national attention, the first tendency was to acquire anything available from anywhere in the Spanish language. Since U.S. publishers then produced nothing more than texts that taught Spanish as a foreign language, searches were made for materials abroad. Brought back to be field-tested in this country's classrooms were instructional items from numerous Spanish-speaking nations in Central and South American and Europe, and U.S. distributors such as Blaine Ethridge in Detroit, European Book Company in San Francisco, Heffernan Supply Company in San Antonio, and Spanish Book Corporation in New York City exerted extra effort to keep them coming. Soon U.S. publishers--National Textbook Company in Skokie, Illinois, and Regents Publishing

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Company in New York City, for instance--became interested in becoming involved in this burgeoning field. Meanwhile, some teachers were making do with materials they wrote on their own, while others were questioning the usefulness of foreign materials for U.S. students, Spanish-speaking or otherwise.

All this activity culminated in today's trends across the country, which are three. First, teacher-written materials are being developed and disseminated by local, state, and national centers funded for those particular purposes. Second, U.S. publishers are finally staking their claims in the field of bilingual materials. Third, foreign publishers--notably Anaya and Santillana, both of Spain--are revising their materials to make them more relevant to U.S. students. The field of bilingual-bicultural education is now a fertile one indeed.

Nevertheless, the yield is not yet large enough, so the sources can take all the encouragement we're able to give them. One kind of encouragement that is very valuable to both them and us is constructive evaluation: we make up our minds what we want, and we communicate these concepts to them. It's not knowing enough to know what we want that exasperates numerous ones of us in this new tract of the teaching profession.

How can we look for assistance in evaluation? There are three locations. Although none of them is adequate alone, taken together they are sufficient for almost any teaching situation, whether or not the instructor is proficient in Spanish. The first location is annotated bibliographies or articles. The second is catalogs from domestic and foreign distributors and publishers, sprinkled liberally with the proverbial grains of salt because of their promotional purpose. The third is personal encounters with the materials themselves.

One of the best annotated bibliographies is available in **Cartel**, a monthly compilation published by the Dissemination and Assessment Center for Bilingual Education, 6504 Tacor Lane, Auston, Texas 78721. Also available are indexed cumulative issues which include names and addresses of domestic and foreign distributors and publishers. **Materials en Marcha**, a monthly magazine on ideas, issues, materials, and methods in bilingual-bicultural education, appeared from July 1972 through June 1975, when its federal funding was abruptly terminated by the Division of Bilingual Education of the U.S. Office of Education with the avowal that a comparable publication would be forthcoming from that agency. (So far this promise has not been kept.) Copies of back issues are available from Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) Document Reproduction service, operated by Computer Microfilm International Corporation, P.O. Box 190, Arlington Virginia 22210.

There is no substitute, though, for being shown instructional materials by a knowledgeable individual, which is where conferences and conventions come in. Invaluable opportunities for these personal encounters are offered at the annual conventions or organizations like the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE). Authorities from around the world participate in the programs, and almost all the major domestic and foreign distributors and publishers send their national sales managers and most competent consultants to display and demonstrate their materials. Visits to well-stocked bookstores and libraries are also advisable.

Good general guidelines can often be obtained from large city or county school systems--the Board of Education of the City of Chicago or the Dade County, Florida, Superintendent of Schools, for example--or from state-sponsored agencies along the lines of the Bilingual Education Service Center, 500 So. Dwyer, Arlington Heights, Illinois 60005, or even the Division of Bilingual Education of the U.S. Office of Education, the address of which is 400 Maryland Avenue, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20202.

What all this adds up to is that excellent assistance is available for the secondary school teacher who wants to acquire and evaluate Spanish bilingual materials. The field of bilingual-bicultural education is not longer lonely. It's filling up--and what a fine harvest of instructional items we're having!

Teaching Spanish to Chicanos

by Alfonso Rodgriguez

With the advent of the Chicano Movement and the emergence of bilingual education in different areas, Chicanos have developed a greater interest in their mother tongue. It has suddenly become apparent to them that language is the best tool for exploring their rich cultural heritage. They are now more interested in taking Spanish courses and Spanish teachers can expect to find more and more Chicanos in their classes.

Many Chicanos, however, have been disillusioned in the past by the traditional methods of language teaching. In this paper we would like to make some suggestions which may prove useful in teaching Spanish to Chicano students.

Let us point out that when a Chicano student affirms he is bilingual his bilinguality stems from the fact that his formal instruction in English has been coupled with exposure to the Chicano dialect at home and in his immediate environment. With his background, the Chicano is able to communicate with over ten million others in the United States who speak his language, whether it be in East Los Angeles, the West Side of San Antonio or the barrios of South Chicago. This, however, is not enough.

Once the student reaches high school he has the opportunity to make a transition from his regional dialect to standard Spanish. This is his ultimate goal because it increases his ability to communicate with additional millions of Spanish-speakers the world over. Here the teacher's understanding and encouragement is of pivotal importance because this transitional stage is a difficult one for the student. The teacher's task is to facilitate the attainment of standard Spanish without causing the Chicano youngster to lose a sense of pride and identity with his own dialect.

Many a Chicano student encounters offensive stereotyping at school. His teachers inculcate in him a sense of inferiority about his language background. The Chicano dialect, they maintain, is an adulteration of both English and Spanish. Before any real learning of classroom Spanish takes place the student is oftentimes asked to undergo a radical break with his cultural past. This operation is humanly impossible to perform. Yet the student is forced to embark on a meaningless journey of verb conjugations, perfunctory dialogues, memorization of words that sound absurd to him, while he struggles to break his "bad language habits".

We submit that it is unwise to think in terms of which background is superior and which is inferior. The Chicano's dialect and culture are simply different; they have been determined to a large extent by the circumstances of his experiences. What we face is a situation where students who speak regional Spanish wish to make a transition to standard Spanish, which is more universal. Teachers must deal positively with this situation.

We believe that it is neither necessary nor desirable to ask Chicano students to break with their past before beginning the transition to standard Spanish. More lasting results can be obtained through the process of assimilation of the student's own past in order to deal more effectively with new ideas. This is made possible by giving the student sufficient leeway to perform a wholesale review of his language experience, undertake a rational assessment of it and have it as a frame of reference in learning standard Spanish.

The teacher must be equipped with a basic knowledge of the history and culture of Chicanos, insofar as it is germane to the teaching of Spanish. Who are these people who sometimes call themselves Mexican-Americans, Mejicanos, Hispanos, Children of Aztlan, La Raza? Where did they come from? How did they get here? What do they want? There are several books that deal with these fundamental questions. Among the best are: **The Chicanos: A History of the Mexican-Americans** by Matt S. Meir and Feliciano Rivera, and **La Raza: The Mexican-Americans** by Stan Steiner. The former is a comprehensive study that goes back to the very roots of indigenous culture in America. The latter is an overview of the Chicano Movement of the sixties. In addition, there are several bilingual texts of Chicano literature, written originally in Spanish. They are considered

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landmarks for their high aesthetic value as well as for their incorporation of Chicanismos (Chicano Spanish) into the mainstream of literature written in the United States. Moreover, they provide excellent material for language study. Chicano authors who write in Spanish attempt to delve into the collective unconscious of La Raza through its dialect. Two of the most outstanding works in this respect are: **...and the earth did not part** by Tomás Rivera, and **Sketches of the Valley** by Rolando Hinojosa. There is also an important Chicano poet, Alurista, who uses English, standard Spanish and Chicanismos to write his poetry. Many of the poems in his book **Floricanto**, allude to the conflict between Chicano culture and Anglo-American culture. Certain types of literary works like the preceding make useful tools for developing a sensitivity to Chicano language and culture.

The teacher must have some understanding of the language of the Chicanos in order to impart a portion of knowledge of standard Spanish effectively. Literature is highly recommended, but direct contact with Chicanos is indispensable. Mingling with the students, getting acquainted with the community, if possible, is the best way to break the barrier of strangeness and to learn their language.

Chicano students find more meaningful learning experiences when they are permitted to probe into their own dialect with the object of establishing a comparison with standard Spanish. One way to do so is by asking the student to list as many dialectal words and expressions as they can think of, or simply have them write brief compositions on topics of personal interest. Next, extract all the Chicanismos (words peculiar to Chicano dialect) and arrange them systematically in general categories for the sake of organization. Then for each dialectal term furnish the equivalent in standard Spanish. To illustrate the procedure we will examine briefly five general categories, which for our purposes, we have designated as follows: 1) Verbs, 2) Anglicisms, 3) Literal Translations, 4) Pachuquismos and 5) Metathesis.

VERBS

In this category we will call attention to Spanish verbs. Other verbs, whose root is found in English, are considered under Anglicisms.

The dialectal version of the present subjunctive of verbs like **vayamos, vengamos, traigamos,** etc. is **váyamos, véngamos,** and **tráigmos**. The dissimilarity is only one of stress, but noticeable nonetheless; Chicanos shift the emphasis from the second to the first syllable in each case. Other present subjunctives are: **deseye** and **desiemos**. The tendency here is to produce a diphthong when there is none: **desee, deseemos**. A deviation from the norm is also manifested in other forms of the verb. For example, the conditional of **querer** is unheard of for most Chicanos. For them **querría, querrías, querríamos,** etc. become **quedría, quedrías, quedríamos**. And the imperfect tenses **traía, traías, traíamos**, etc. of standard Spanish change to **traiba, traibas** and **tráibamos**. In the present indicative the dialectal usage is **venemos** for **venimos**. Compare the present perfect in standard Spanish **he vuelto, he roto, he escrito** to its regional counterpart and we have **he volvido, he rompido, he escribido.**

ANGLICISMS

An anglicism is a word of English origin which has been hispanicized, that is, included in the Spanish language. Anglicisms, as used by Chicanos, are almost invariably verbs and nouns. Interestingly enough verbs borrowed from the English language by Chicanos always fall under the category of verbs of the first conjugation, that is to say, those that have the **ar**, rather than the **er** or **ir** ending. Some examples are: **tichar** (to teach), **testear** (to test), **chusear** (to choose), **liquear** (to leak) and **inspectar** (to inspect). The process by which English nouns are hispanicized is a more complicated one: **queque** (cake), **jaiguey** (highway), **jamborgue** (hamburger), **laira** (lighter), **guaifa** (wife), **fil** (field), **yonque** (junk), **aiscrin** (ice cream).

Adjectives used in everyday speech are not hispanicized, but rather spelled out and pronounced as in English. Thus, when a young Chicano says: **"El viejito es muy nice"** (The little old man is very nice.), he chooses the word **nice** instead of **simpático** or **amable** because **simpático** is ambiguous; to him it means handsome. **Amable,** on the other hand, may not yet form part of his functional vocabulary. Moreover, a more descriptive barrio term such as **a todo dar** escapes him at the moment. The same principle applies in the sentence: **"No se vale jugar rough."** (Rough play is not allowed.) Hence, our concern is to make the student aware that the standard equivalent of **puchar** (to push) and **cloche** (clutch) are **empujar** and **embrague.**

LITERAL TRANSLATIONS.

Due to interference of English, Chicanos who demonstrate a good command of both languages, unknowingly resort to literal translations when speaking or writing standard Spanish. These terms are deceptive and difficult to detect because they give the appearance of cognates. One of the most common is **atender,** which in standard Spanish means to wait on someone or to satisfy someone's desire or command. The literal translation of the sentence: **"My brother attends class"** is **"Mi hermano atiende a clase."** The standard word **mayor** is both an adjective and a noun (adj. older, major; n. major, the high ranking military officer.) It becomes a false cognate when it is used in reference to the mayor of a city. The Spanish word for mayor is **alcalde**. Thus, the sentence: **"El mayor de San Antonio va a visitar Chicago"**, is alluding to the city official, not to the military officer. Another instance of interference occurs in the usage of the gerund, the **ing** ending (**iendo** and **ando** in Spanish). Whereas in English the gerund is usually a noun, in Spanish is normally an adverb. Examples: **"Vino corriendo"** and **"Estudiando se aprenden muchas cosas"**. Interference takes effect when one attempts to apply the **iendo** or **ando** form as a noun, as one does in English. The literal translation for **"Playing is fun"** and **"Living is a dream"**, is **"Jugando es divertido"**, and **"Viviendo es un sueño"**. In standard Spanish it is the infinitive of the verb used as a noun that predominates: **"El jugar es divertido"**, and **"El vivir es un sueño"**.

continued on 32

Bilingual Education: What? Why? When? How? Where?

By Maria Medina Swanson

Background

Although people in the United States have always maintained a variety of languages and cultures, the current interest in bilingual programs dates back only to 1963 when the Dade County Public Schools, in order to meet the special needs of the increasing number of Cuban children enrolling in Miami schools, established the first bilingual program in the United States since World War I. Four years later, in recognition of the special educational needs of the large numbers of children of limited Engligh-speaking ability in the United States, Congress acted in favor of bilingual education by passing the Bilingual Education Act, which as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, allocated funds for bilingual programs. This marked the beginning of a new era in American education. It was recognized that the traditional school system was not meeting the needs of children from non-English-speaking homes and that in too many cases schools were causing grave harm to the self-concepts and self-esteem of these children.

State and local agencies are also moving toward the establishment of special bilingual programs on their own. In some states laws have been enacted making bilingual education mandatory; in other states funds for bilingual education have been appropriated; and in a number of states legistlation that favors bilingual education is being considered.

What is bilingual education? Why is it really needed? How are bilingual programs implemented? When and how should bilingual programs by started? Where can one turn for assistance?

This article will attempt to answer some of these questions.

What?

Bilingualism is the ability to understand and communicate in two languages and to function in each language independently of the other. A child who has two language systems is bilingual. He may have equal skills in both but is usually more proficient in one than the other. A bicultural child is able to function in either of two cultures and to shift from one to the other as he chooses or as the occasion demands. Bilingual education is the use of two languages--one of which is English in the United States--as media of instruction and the incorporation of two cultures--one of which is the culture of the child from non-English background--into the school curriculum. It is not merely "foreign language" teaching. It is not merely teaching English to children who speak other languages. It is not merely "education for bilinguals."

A bilingual education program is a program carefully designed to meet the individual needs of students. It includes the following elements:

.use of the student's home language to initiate him to the school environment
.development of language skills in the student's home language
.development of language skills in the student's second language
.use of the student's dominant language to teach him subject-matter concepts
.use of the student's second language to teach him subject-matter concepts
.development of the student's self-esteem, positive identity with his cultural heritage, self-assurance and confidence, and a legitimate pride in both cultures
.involvement of parents and the community in all aspects of the program--planning, implementation, evaluation.

Why?

Bilingual education is advantageous for several reasons. The use of English as the sole medium of instruction has left thousands of children illiterate in their native languages and has contributed to the low-achievement levels in English itself. A child begins learning long before he comes to school. By the time he is five years old, he has mastered practically the entire sound system and much of the grammatical structure of his native language. His language already relects a set of values tied to a particular group--to a way of thinking, feeling, and acting. These are strengths to build upon rather than handicaps to successful learning. By using his native language for classroom instruction, the student is allowed to continue uninterrupted in concept building rather than postponing develop-

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ment until a new language has been acquired. Furthermore, he can develop to his fullest potential in both languages, becoming bilingual and biliterate, cultivating a feeling of respect for a second cultural heritage and preserving and being proud of his own.

That bilingual education really works and does not hinder progress in English has been shown. As early as 1962 Peal and Lambert compared socio-economically matched bilingual and monolingual students and found that the bilingual students performed as well on intelligence tests and had the added advantage of knowing a second language. In Illinois, Seeleye and Balasuhramonian have demonstrated that an equal or better command of the second language is achieved if school begins with the native language as the medium of instruction and introduces the second language gradually.

At the secondary level, bilingual education has in many instances contributed significantly toward lowering the drop-out rate among students of limited English speaking ability. By allowing these students to study specific subjects in their dominant language while developing language skills in English, bilingual programs have helped them to adapt better to an English-speaking environment, and to enjoy school more.

The specific good that bilingual-bicultural education will provide for any given child depends on his background, environment, and future. It may enable him to converse, for example, with his grandparents or other relatives. It may provide opportunities which otherwise would not have existed; for example, for travel, increased range of human contacts, employment opportunities, etc. But even if a given person does not take advantage of such opportunities, bilingual-bicultural education can provide a depth of perception and understanding of human nature and human relations which will almost certainly be greater than that which would be provided by a monolingual, monocultural education. It helps develop an awareness of different ways of thinking and feeling, as well as of knowing and expressing oneself.

In any area of study having to do with human values--history, political science, psychology, sociology, etc.--use of more than one language and participating in more than one culture is of inestimable value, and should be one of the minimal qualifications for professional workers in these fields. There is a potential in bilingual-bicultural education for establishing new levels of achievement in the social sciences and the humanities and those who are first able to take advantage of this type of education will probably be the leaders in these fields.

Even for the non-professional, bilingual-bicultural education may provide increased pleasure and benefit from many common activities. Studying in two languages should confer one of the basic benefits of education itself: increase in sensitivity, awareness, and level of consciousness. Such an increase permeates all human activities, and, in fact, creates our peculiarly human characteristics.

When?

Whether pre-school, elementary, secondary, or post-secondary any school that has a group of students who speak a language other than English should consider establishing a bilingual-bicultural education program. Obviously, a number of facts need to be taken into consideration and among them:

.the extent to which the present educational program is meeting their needs
.the number of students, their grade distribution, and their linguistic competency in English
.the resources available
.the desires of the students and the community

Although present federal and state legislation, for monetary and political reasons, focuses primarily on the non-English speaking or students with limited fluency in English as the recipients of bilingual-bicultural instruction, bilingual-bicultural education should be a beneficial approach **for all students**. One must remember that children learn from one another and cross-ethnic understanding requires close association among all children. Bilingual-bicultural education is quality education that allows our children to be developed to their fullest potential and hopefully will lead to the establishment of better communication, understanding and relations within this pluralistic and diverse society which makes up the United States.

How?

Regardless of the funding source, the implementation of a bilingual program remains a local responsibility involving the mobilization not only of a school district but of the local community and usually involves the following.

Get commitment:

A total commitment to the philosophy of bilingual-bicultural education on the part of administrators, teachers, parents, and community representatives is necessary. Since they are to take part in the planning, development, and implementation of the program, they must all reach a consensus that instruction should be provided in both languages, including instruction in subject areas other than language itself.

Conduct needs assessment:

Once the decision to establish a bilingual education program has been made, it is important to begin with a detailed needs assessment to determine what kind of program will best serve the needs of the students and the community and be consistent with the school's physical and fiscal resources.

The needs assessment should provide:

.Information about the target population--i.e. number, percentages, concentrations, ethnic composition, unique needs and dominant language of the students to be served.
.Evidence that the educational needs of the target students are not being met by the present system
.Socioeconomic information
.Academic achievement including linguistic competence of the students to be served.
.Staff, curricular, fiscal and community resources available.

Develop Goals and Objectives:

According to the needs established, the target population, the resources available and the type and extent of the program being planned, the long range goals for students in the program should be determined. Although program goals may vary from school to school, the following goals developed by the Illinois Office of Education are a good illustration of typical goals.

.Students will achieve fluency and literacy in two languages.
.Students will achieve at a rate commensurate with their own age, ability, and grade level in

all subject areas.

.Students will be provided with an integrated learning environment through effective coordination with the regular school program.

.All teachers and staff members will be involved in a comprehensive inservice training program.

.Parents and other community members will be involved in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the bilingual program.

.Objectives are the short-range expectations of achievement by students and should relate to the program goals.

Determine the program model or design.

There are many possibilities for program models depending again on the characteristics of the population to be served, the resources available and the philosophical stance of the district and community.

For example, at the elementary level, a school with a sizeable target population and the ability to implement a fully bilingual program with an all bilingual teaching staff, may begin the program in all classes in one grade level. Each subsequent year a grade would be added until all grade levels and classrooms would be involved in the program. The composition of each classroom would be approximately one-half English speakers and one-half speakers of the other language. All content areas would be taught bilingually with students grouped according to ability. First and second language instruction would be given to groups according to home language.

Another model may operate the program in only one classroom at each level. And yet in another, the bilingual program may operate in each classroom only for part of the day. Self contained classrooms, one-half day pull-out programs, models built around team teaching, tutorial models, multi-age grouping are all possibilities at the elementary level.

At the secondary level, bilingual programs may follow the departmental model--with the bilingual Department offering bilingual instruction in all subject areas, as well as special ESL classes, language and literature instruction in the native language, ethnic and cultural studies and bilingual counseling services.

Other secondary schools may simply offer intensive ESL and bilingual tutorial assistance in subject areas. And yet others may offer a limited number of subjects in the student's language in addition to ESL instruction.

Once the model is selected, schedules developed, facilities identified, staff hired, instructional materials acquired, the program is ready to operate.

Implementing the program involves much more than bilingual instruction. It requires regular inservice training of teachers, involving parents and community in the program especially through the parent advisory council, evaluating student achievements and program accomplishments.

Where?

Obviously all these necessary steps and procedures are enough to discourage any school without any previous experience from even thinking about bilingual education.

Fortunately, there is no need to despair. Help is available from a number of sources, among them

1. The Title VII Centers Network - consisting of Resource Centers, Materials Development Centers, and Dissemination and Assessment Centers
   Contact: Norma Varisco de Garcia
   USOE
   Washington D.C.
2. Bilingual Education Service Center
   500 S. Dwyer Rd.
   Arlington Heights, Ill. 60005
3. State Departments of Education
4. Office of Bilingual Education
   Dept. of HEW
   400 S. Maryland
   Washington D.C. 20202
5. Center for Applied Linguistics
   1400 Kent Ave.
   Arlington, Va.

Conclusion

Public schools are not the only institutions where change is in progress. Colleges and universities are responding with special programs on ethnic studies, bilingual teacher training, and various community programs; public news media have increased the number of features and programs in ethnic languages; social institutions too are recognizing the important role of the ethnic language in reinforcing the sense of identity, of self-esteem, and of self-confidence that all human beings need to function effectively in society.

Bilingual education has a long way to go. Modifying a long-established system presents all sorts of problems; changing long-maintained attitudes is even more difficult. Nevertheless, bilingual programs are making headway. Although it is too soon to predict the long-range impact of bilingual education, preliminary reports indicate that children in bilingual programs achieve at the same rate in English and other subject areas as comparable groups in regular school programs. They have the added advantage of maintaining their native language fluency, learning about their cultural background, and feeling good about themselves.

By helping meet the educational needs of the different ethnic minorities in the United States, bilingual education will not necessarily bring about the cultural and linguistic assimilation of ethnic minorities, but it will foster greater sensitivity in both the ethnic minority and the Anglo majority, thereby making headway towards cultural pluralism.

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Beyond the IQ Tests: Problems in Alternative Testing Procedures with Chicano Children

by Patricia Conry-Oseguera

Until relatively recently the legitimacy of tests and their uses within the school system were generally accepted and seldom criticized (Cronbach, 1975). However, at a time roughly coinciding with the height of the Civil Rights Movement in this country, new questions began to be posed about the legitimacy, validity and social implications of the use of intelligence and other ability tests with other-than mainstream Anglo-American children (Cronbach, 1975; Williams, 1974; Laosa, 1973; Mercer, 1973; DeAvila, 1972). This discussion and awareness has no doubt been a factor in bringing the issue into the courts in the form of cases such as **Diana v State Board of Education** and **Larry P. v Riles** in the state of California.

It is not within the scope of this paper to treat, in detail, the issues raised in these cases, however, it is important to note the significant impact they have had on the uses and interpretation of intelligence tests. In the case of **Diana** the court primarily addressed itself to the need for testing in the home language of the child and stated that test content which unfairly discriminates against a child because of different cultural or experiential backgrounds could not be used. The decision in **Larry P.** carried **Diana** a step further. It mandated that because the standardized instruments most commonly used in assessing intelligence have been found to be culturally biased, they could not be used for the purpose of placing a black child into a program for the mentally retarded. Some major city school systems in the state of California have interpreted this decision liberally to include all minority children.

The attack on these standardized instruments (i.e., most commonly, the Stanford-Binet and Wechsler Intelligence Scales for Children) has caused educators and psychologists to reassess the tools available to them and to seek alternate tests and /or procedures for the assessment of culturally different children.

It is these alternate methods - their paucity, problems and potentially damaging long-term effects with which this paper will deal. In an attempt to more clearly illustrate the problems of mental testing of the culturally different child and, in particular, the bilingual or Chicano child, some examples will be presented. These examples represent relatively common, everyday problems resulting from the use and abuse of testing in the school setting.

Although much of the concern with the misuses of testing has dealt with the problem of misplacement into special programs based on inappropriate tests, there does exist another problem: that of withholding beneficial services, as in the case of **Salvador.**

Salvador was first seen by a school psychologist in a major city school system when he was seven years old. Approximately a year and a half prior to this he had come to live in the United States from Mexico. At about two years of age, Salvador was reported to have suffered an accident which resulted in a left-sided hemiplegia with residual generalized weakness of the left side of the body and visual-perceptual deficits.

Salvador was referred for assessment by the psychologist because teachers had complained that he was an exceptionally

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difficult behavior problem;hyperactive and extremely distractible. Educational progress had been slow, although the child's English language acquisition was occurring at an above average rate, despite the fact that English was not spoken to him outside of school. This rate of learning was considered to be an important indicator of intellectual ability.

Because of his hyperactivity and concommitant learning problems the school had hoped to place Salvador in a classroom for the Educationally Handicapped where he could receive individualized help for his learning disabilities. Inasmuch as California guidelines require that such placement be for students of **normal intelligence** who are functioning significantly (two grade levels) below expected potential, the administration of an intelligence test to determine eleigibility was in order.

Both the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) and the Stanford-Binet were found to be unacceptable by the psychologist due to language barriers and cultural considerations. It was decided that a Leiter International would be administered. This test was chosen because it requires no verbal communication in either the instructions or test responses. It is, however, highly dependent on perceptual skills and experiences. It was, then, no surprise that Salvador did very poorly on this test - with a highly suspect neurological history and severe visual-perceptual problems which resulted in learning disabilities.

Because attempts to assess intelligence and achieve a normal score had failed (there were no instruments currently in use and approved by the school system which could assess the intellectual ability of this child) Salvador was not placed in the special education setting where he might have obtained much-needed help. It was recommended that he continue in the regular classroom setting where the teacher, in her frustration, openly admitted she had given up trying to teach him. Counselors and school psychologists, caught between meeting state requirements and being unable to adequately assess the educational and intellectual competencies of the child with the tools available to them, dropped the case.

Two years later Salvador was reported to be in the same classroom which had previously been determined to be inadequate and the teacher stated that he was making little progress.

The thrust of recent educational reform in California has been towards assuring appropriate education for individuals with exceptional needs (California Master Plan for Education, 1974). In the recent Supreme Court decision of **Lau v Nichols**, the court also addressed itself to the schools' obligation to provide equal and appropriate education to all children, utilizing the primary language of the child (Steinman, 1974).

Considering these educational mandates, the practice of denying services to a child because of inability of school personnel to meet state or local guidelines is neither ethically nor legally acceptable.

While the most diligent care must be taken that culturally different and non-English speaking children are not mislabeled by inappropriate tests, still their rights to special services and educational opportunities such as gifted enrichment and other special programs must be safeguarded. Insofar as intelligence and ability testing has proved to be largely inadequate in the assessment of these children, guidelines and requirements must remain flexible while new procedures are investigated.

One of the most serious problems which has resulted from the recent testing controversy is the ready acceptance of almost any alternative method for assessing intellectual abilities in bilingual and non-English speaking children. Educators and psychologists anxious to find replacements for the tests under fire have latched on to some alternative types of testing which, due to mistaken beliefs about their ''culture-freeness'', are potentially as pernicious as the tests they seek to replace.

One of the mental assessment devices most commonly believed to be ''culture-free'' is the Draw-A-Person (DAP) or Human Figure Drawing (HFD). An IQ score can be derived from the test using the Harris-Goodenough (Harris, 1963). Recent cross-cultural research indicates that human figure drawing are also influenced by culture. The kind of drawing that a child makes and the amount of detail he includes have been found to depend upon cultural factors and amount of experience with representational art (Laosa, Swartz & Diaz-Guerrero, 1974; Dennis, 1966).

The Leiter International (mentioned earlier in this paper) has been hailed by many as the answer to the problem of verbal intelligence tests. Because verbal language is not required for the administration or taking of the test, it has acquired a reputation of being ''culture-free''. It is advertised as enjoying increasing popularity for use with non-English speakers and minority children (Western Psychological Services Catalog, 1974-75). However, in order to succeed on the Leiter a child must have excellent perceptual skills and a fund of experience in discriminating and grouping material objects. Any test so dependent upon acquired experiences and skills cannot be ''culture-free''.

Extreme care must be exercised in the administration and interpretation of so-called ''culture-free'' tests and tests which are merely translations into another language and which do not account for the number of variables involved in using test cross-culturally. Surely, no important educational decisions should be based on them. To date, no truly culture-free test has been developed (Multilingual assessment Project, 1972; Laosa, 1973) and research into culture-fair or culturally related tests appear to hold more possibilities (Laosa, 1973).

''It appears that the effort to make some test of cognitive functioning 'culture-free' is to seriously misunderstand the nature of cognition. Cognition itself is not 'culture-free'...In fact, our efforts should be to make our measures of cognitive functioning more culturally sensitive (Glick, 1974; p.379).''

Another widely used and highly suspect form of mental testing is the vocabulary-based test. Largely on the basis of high correlations between vocabulary subtest scores and over-all IQ established by Terman & Merrill (1937) and Wechsler (1949) on the analysis of their normative data, there has

been a strong belief that vocabulary development was the best single-factor predictor of IQ (Dunn, 1965). This has led many educators to place a high importance on tests such as the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) which yields an IQ score.

Hence, the thinking has been that a direct translation of this test into Spanish could also provide very important information about the intellectual and academic functioning of a Spanish-speaking child in a quick, easy and relatively non-controversial manner. There are, however, some very serious fallacies in this assumptions.

One problem with the PPVT has been in the translation of the vocabulary items. There are many translations of this test which are used. In fact, no single translation of the test could possibly be used for the highly heterogeneous group which falls under the category of "Spanish-surnamed." Chicanos, Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, etc., each have their own speech patterns and distinctive vocabularies. Yet, because most administrators of the test are not sensitive to these differences, it is basically a matter of chance which version will be administered to any given child. Also, because there are so many versions, there is no reliable standard by which to judge the tests and some have even been found to contain gross errors of translation.

A second problem in translating any test, but which is particularly evident in the PPVT, is that item difficulty does not remain consistent in translation (DeAvila, 1972). Some words which are considered difficult in English, when translated become very easy in Spanish and vice versa. Because the PPVT requires that the test be terminated after a certain number of errors, a child may be considered to have "ceilinged" long before he has become unable to answer further items correctly.

Frequently the test is adminstered by non-Spanish speaking or minimally bilingual individuals. This raises a concern for the pronounciation of the words and whether they are clearly understandable to the child. It seems reasonable to assume that this could affect the child's performance on the test, although no research to date has dealt specifically with this issue.

In the PPVT dark skinned persons are represented twice; one is a porter, carrying luggage, the other is a tribesman holding a spear. This type of stereotyping of dark skinned persons within the test is inexcusable and might potentially affect a child's reaction to the instrument.

The norms used for computing IQ scores and percentiles on the PPVT, and other translated tests, remain the same as for the English language versions. These figures cannot possibly be expected to bear any relevancy to a test whose essence has been changed in translation and which is being used on a completely differenct population, in particular, a minority population.

The most important criticism which can be made of the PPVT and other vocabulary based tests of ability is that there is an underlying assumption that all children have an equal opportunity to learn a rich and varied vocabulary. Spanish speaking children growing up in this country or in rural, underdeveloped parts of other countries, have few media resources from which to gather the fund of information that Anglo-American children acquire. Spanish language television and radio stations are few and have very little programming aimed at children (Lopez, 1973). Signs, billboards, magazines and newspapers in this country are almost all in English. Exposure to varied groups of persons who can enrich the child's language (e.g., Anglo children have the experiences of talking with the mailman, the doctor, store clerks, etc.) are minimal.

Attitude also plays an important role in a child's development of a second language. In a social setting in which the Spanish speaking child is made to feel that his language is inferior and wherein he may develop a defensiveness about learning the language of a culture which does not accept him, language fluency and development can be expected to be decreased (Peal & Lambert, 1962).

Another problematic assumption made about Spanish speaking children is that by testing in the language of the home, they will achieve a reasonably valid score on a test. Children growing up in a barrio environment frequently learn a form of "pocho" or mixed Spanish and English. These children communicate effectively within their environment by using a mixture of the two languages, but no test utilizing only one language will truly tap the child's language ability. Some children have an adequate home-related vocabulary in Spanish, but know school-related material in English. The only way to achieve a reasonably adequate assessment of these children's language abilities and usage (and other verbal functions) is through a **bi**lingual approach (Cleary, Humphreys, et al., 1975; Ramirez, 1973).

A clear example of the misuse of vocabulary based tests with a bilingual child is the case of **Adelina.**

Adelina, a bilingual girl, was the eleventh of twelve children in a totally Spanish speaking home. Her academic progress has been slow and, as a result, she had been tested extensively with a number of educational and intelligence tests. Her test profile was uneven with many low scores and some high ones. The discrepancy in the scores created enough uncertainty that further investigation appeared to be necessary.

It was decided that a Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, translated into Spanish, would be administered. Adelina scored poorly on the Spanish version PPVT and this was considered to be corroborating evidence in favor of the validity of the low scores as opposed to the high ones. The school personnel were thereby reinforced in their suspicions that Adelina was to some extent mentally defective and could not benefit from a classroom experience designed for normal children. The logic involved was that is she did poorly on some English language tests, those scores could be affected language factors, however if she did poorly on a test in her **home** language, it must indicate a real mental deficit.

This evidence was then used to attempt to convince Adelina's mother of her child's limited abilities. The required attendant evidence to determine mental retardation, i.e., adaptive behavior assessment, was sketchy and largely based on hearsay because of inadequate communication between the home and school (cf. AAMD in Heber, 1959-1961; Share, 1974). Nevertheless, on the basis of this information, Adelina

was recommended to a program for the Educably Mentally Retarded.

Sometimes the injustice to a child is not so much the result of giving him or her an unfair test, but the poor judgement used in giving any test at all when the required intervention is other than testing. As exemplified in the following case, we must learn to be more sensitive to the uses of tests and recognize in which situations they can be expected to provide meaningful information and when they will not.

Raymond was 10 years old; a Mexican American child growing up in an area where very few Mexican Americans lived. Virtually none of his school mates and none of his playmates were Chicanos. He was constantly teased about the way he looked and many children were reluctant to accept him, accusing him of stereotyped behavior and characteristics they had heard about Mexicans. When asked about his ethnic background he would deny that he was Mexican American.

At the time he was referred to a school psychologist for educational assessment, he was doing very poorly in all academic areas and was considered to be a severe behavior problem. He was tested, using a WISC, a placed in a program for the mentally retarded. Neither his behavior nor his academic skills improved very much as a result of this placement and he was referred again for re-assessment.

Knowing the history of the child, his past performance in school and on tests and the extremely negative way in which he viewed himself, the outcome of any further testing was highly predictable. However, Raymond was put through the personally defeating experience of repeated testing and repeated failure when the obvious (to teachers, counselor, parents) need for was counseling. However, at the elementary school level in this large school district and throughout the Southwest, very little emphasis is placed on counseling services (Mexican American Education Study, VI, 1974). What monies are available for guidance are channeled into testing and testing personnel.

Because the appropriate services could not be provided, the school, in its frustration, provided what it saw as the only alternative: further testing. This only resulted in a restatement of what was already known, "poor self-concept; low motivation, defeated attitude." Testing, **per se**, could not help Raymond and no test could be considered truly valid until Raymond cared whether he did poorly or well.

At a six month follow up Raymond was reported by his teacher to be doing worse.

The special powers of a test is an important consideration which must not be overlooked. Important decisions are made about children's lives on the basis of tests (Mercer, 1973) and a child's self esteem is often at stake when he perceives himself to be failing multiple times in test situations.

Assessment is not defined as testing and does not **have** to be such. Interview and informal counseling are sometimes more effective techniques of assessment that are tests. However, informal assessment and more sensitive use of testing as a medium of assessment with culturally different children require personnel who can understand and relate to the special needs and problems of these children. This must include persons who can communicate fully in the child's language and who can serve as a source of identification and modeling for them (Ramirez, undated). However, the present reality is that although the percentage of Spanish surnamed children in a major metropolitan school district like Los Angeles is 25.6 (Spotlight, January 1974), the number of bilingual Spanish surnamed counselors/school psychologists is appallingly small, about 3.5 percent (Guide to Schools and Offices, 1973-74). In the Southwest as a whole, the statistics are similar. In the school districts with the heaviest concentration of Mexican American students, 28.5, only 5.4 percent of the counselors or psychologists are Mexican American (Mexican American Education Study, VI, 1974).

An important consideration in the use of bilingual personnel for assessment is the need for provisions whereby persons identifying themselves as bilingual and hence qualified to administer tests in the languages(s) of the child, be examined and certified. No such provision exists in the state of California today and the possibility exists that decisions are made about children on the basis of a supposedly bilingually administered test when this may, in fact, not be the case.

The field of testing is currently undergoing a serious reappraisal and re-examination (Cronbach, 1975). Hopefully, in the future, new instruments and new attitudes will resolve many of the injustices which continue to be done to culturally different children in the name of testing. However, in the meantime, school systems must begin to reassess some of their guidance needs and assessment procedures and develop a greater commitment to the children whose lives are being shaped by tests and testing methods which are blatantly unfair. Qualified bilinguals and persons sensitive to the cultural differences in minority children must be encouraged into the fields of counseling and psychology within the schools. Only in this way can we hope to realistically attack the problems and provide solutions for the special needs of culturally and linguistically different children.

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continued on **32**

A Survey of Career Aspirations for Secondary School Students

Edgar M. Kugler

Problem:

What are the career aspirations of secondary school students from a specific Southwestern community at various grade levels prior to implementing a career education program in that specific school system.

Procedure:

Permission to conduct the study was obtained from the director of instruction of the public school system utilized. His consent was predicated upon the subsequent approval of the principals of the two secondary schools involved in the study who then graciously allowed the study to be administered in their respective schools. The one school was a junior high school whose students subsequently advanced into the other school, a senior high school. In conferences with the two principals, a concerted effort between the principal and the investigator was coordinated to select the three social studies faculty members on each of their respective staffs who appeared to have the most respect and the best rapport with their students. These six carefully selected faculty members graciously accepted the responsibility of administering the questionnaire to their respective students.

Students Involved:

Seven hundred twenty (720) students were randomly selected from the classes of these selected faculty members. One hundred twenty (120) from each grade level from each school, or a sampling of three hundred sixty (360) from each school. The one junior high school (grades seven, eight, and nine) and the one senior high school (grades ten, eleven, and twelve) were fairly well distributed between the twelve to nineteen year old age bracket and had an almost equal balance of the sexes. In addition, a wide range of socioeconomic status was consciously adhered to within the sample group of students. This 720 sample group of students was selected from an estimated 2,765 secondary public school population from both schools (1,655 in the senior high school; 1,110 in the junior high school).

Questionnaire:

The wording on the questionnaire was simple and direct. The introductory remarks by the selected faculty members in the administering of the questionnaire were the same throughout, and the answering of the questionnaire and motivational comments by these same faculty members were very positive. Special emphasis should be noted, however, that according to the faculty members administering the questionnaire, the youth appeared to fill out the questionnaire honestly and sincerely without any semblance on the students' part to be flippant or threatened by it and consequently were not remiss in the legitimacy of their responses. No student signatures were required on the questionnaire, and the students themselves turned in their questionnaire all together upon the completion of the excercise.

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Results:

The results of the questionnaire were categorized according to the fifteen occupational clusters found in the government pamphlet, **Career Education,** U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Office of Education; DHEW Publisher No. (OE) 72-39, Washington, D.C; U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971, 10 pp. The clusters are:

Fine Arts and Humanities
Transportation
Construction
Health
Environment
Manufacturing
Marine Science
Personal Services
Public Services
Hospitality and Recreation
Consumer and Homemaking Education
Communication and Media
Marketing and Distribution
Business and Office
Agricultural Business and Natural Resources

One other category was included:
Unknown

If a student designated unknown or unemployed on his/her questionnaire the choice was religated to his category. The percentage of questionnaires in each occupational cluster to the sample population of 120 per grade was then counted for each grade in each school; 7, 8, and 9 in the junior high school, and 10, 11, and 12 in the senior high school.

The 1-2-3 rank of desired occupational choices in the grades are:

7th-Hospitality and Recreation (19.2%)
Health (15.8%)
Public Services & Business and Office tied at 10.8%

8th-Health (17.5%)
Public Services (13.3%)
Unknown (12.5%)

9th-Business and Office (19.2%)
Health (12.5%)
Transportation (10.8%)

10th-Business and Office (20%)
Health (17.5%)
Unknown (11.6%)

11th-Public Services (15.7%)
Fine Arts and Humanities (14.3%)
Business and Office (11.4%)

12th-Health and Business tied at 16.6%
Unknown (12.5%)

Conclusions and Recommendations;

A composite of all six grade levels shows the most desired careers seem to be in the areas of Health, Business and Office, Public Service, and Unknown and the least desired careers in the areas of Marine Science, Environment, and Communication and Media. Upper grade students seem to be more specific about careers with the lower grade students more general in their choices. Fine Arts, Home Economics and Agri-business and Natural Resources seem to be the most stable choices in number throughout the grades.

These variety of choices may be derived from the type of occupations available in this community.

The idealism in the Health field remained about the same from the 7th through the 12th grade; these choices were of the MD/Nurse variety. Students of this community apparently want to help each other survive, and yet it seems odd that careers in environment are one of the least desired career fields. It just might be that students do not know of any type of careers in this area.

The following questions need to be asked regarding this study:

(1) Why do the 8th, 10th, and 12th graders have a higher degree of uncertainty about a career than do the grades of 7th, 9th, and 11th?

(2) Why do students seem to consider manual labor jobs **not** a "career" since only a small percentage of these choices were recorded? Aren't these young people aware of these jobs? This rationale doesn't seem likely, and yet the survey showed this in all grade levels.

(3) Why do the lower grade students seem to be more idealistic than the students of higher grades, or rather why do the older students lose their idealism?

(4) Why are a large number of students desiring to be airplane stewardesses, lawyers, and policemen? Could these responses be the direct influence from television and the movies?

In the upper grades, especially the 12th, students seem to shift from the stewardess, lawyer, and policeman area to the business and office area considered to be the more pracical and realistic for their future expectations.

On the humorous vein, students appeared to believe that there are only two careers in personal services: beauticians and morticians.

Oddly enough, the largest number of students undecided about a career are in the 12th grade and smallest in the 7th grade. Somewhere along the line they seem to become discouraged or frustrated. It is also unusual that the large number of students desiring to be "unemployed" and "live on welfare" are also in the upper grades.

As a final thought on the conclusion section, it appears that a large portion of the student population is not prepared to step into a career upon graduation from high schol. This conclusion is based on:

a. the high number of students who have no idea of what they would like as a career, and
b. the low number of manual labor careers selected.

Reflections on the study's significance;

In this community of relatively low-economic status for the majority of the populace with the majority of the students either first or second generation of Mexican-Americans, the apparent need for a practical realistic career education program is evident. And yet the following statistic is so annoying. The college enrollment from the high school graduating classes for the past ten years in consistently over the 50% mark. Imagine, one out of two high school graduates continues on in college. Does this mean the college aspiration of the students is so high because a land-grant university is located in the same community? Or aren't there just any available jobs in this community for merely high school graduates?

Hopefully, this type of study could be conducted annually dependent upon the career education program's expectations so as to determine whether the students career aspirations change or remain basically the same throughout the student's school tenure.

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ogeneous cultural minority populations, one without a single, distinct, definable, culture. Characterizations that do not take into account differences lead to stereotypic thinking. For example, Latinos are often amused by the widely held notion that most Spanish-origin persons are migrant farm laborers. While the spanish-speaking labor force does include agricultural workers, only 6% of this cultural minority are engaged in farm labor. In fact, nationally, it is largely an urban population. (5)

Guidepost 2: Identifiers frequently used to refer to the Spanish speaking do not express a measure of the characteristics being identified. In using these terms, it is easy to fall into the trap of either-or thinking. A good example of this is the term bilintual. A bilingual is an individual who can speak two languages; in the case of the Spanish speaking the Spanish language is the mother tongue and English is the acquired language. Actually, bilingualism varies from fluency in both languages to alingualism or no fluency in either language. Yet persons of Spanish origin are frequently assumed to be fully bilingual and are placed in the awkward situation of having to respond to expressions of surprise when they enroll in Spanish language classes.

Further, there are many **bilinguals** among the **Spanish speaking** who do not speak Spanish at all. While confusing, this statement is not self-contradictory if the terms bilingual and Spanish speaking are understood to refer to cultural origin and not linguistic ability. In recent years, these two terms have increasingly come to be used in that sense.

Guidepost 3: Among the confluence of forces operating to make the Spanish speaking a minority of exceptional diversity is the influence exerted by social environments. Local milieus vary sharply, socially and economically, from one community to another. For example, not all Mexican Americans, sometimes referred to as barrio boys, live in **barrios** or **colonias** (ethnic enclaves). In this connection, it should be pointed out that for research purposes, studies often focus on a **Mexiquito** (a Little Mexico), the poorest barrio, or least acculturated urban area. The findings of such studies, however valid, are frequently indiscriminately used; the assumption is made that the results of a study conducted in a migrant community in California or a remote mountain village in northern New Mexico, for example, can be used to describe in equal terms a community elsewhere. The point that is lost is that cultural value patterns closely interact with ecological variants. (6)

Guidepost 4: Finally, while descriptive terms which we use to identify the Spanish speaking are static, the empirical reality which they represent is subject to continual change. The present day Mexican who immigrates to the United States comes from and is the product of a vastly different Mexico than the Mexico of his parents and grandparents. Equally, the Mexican American now residing in the Southwest is living in a setting far more industrialized, urbanized, and modernized than the rural communities where most of the Mexican American population was to be found prior to World War II. Behavior, attitudes, and beliefs associated with Mexican folk culture and preserved in isolated villages have been profoundly influenced as members of the community have become integrated into the large American society. Although this population and its culture has profoundly changed, we continue to use many of the same descriptive terms without taking the changes into account. The bare-footed Chicano in his sombrero and sarape taking a siesta is a stereotypic notion of the past.

In summary, the aim of this study has been to clarify some of the terms used to identify the Spanish speaking. The attempt has been made to discuss these terms in a context that underscores the exceptional diversity of this minority. It is not the intention of this article to suggest that a grasp of terminology alone is sufficient for an understanding of this minority; it is to say that it should help us to communicate more adequately about this population, not as an end in itself, but as a valuable means by which we might better explore and understand its character.

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Lattin
continued from 6

ability. In the process he loses all plausibility as a human character. The reader cannot help wondering why he wants to marry Miss Mannersley, but then one whould be cautious about questioning the motives of an exotic puppet.

Writers like Steinbeck in **Tortilla Flat** and Bradbury (1) in his short story "The Wonderful Ice Cream Suit" have more legitimately romanticized their characters for comedy. In Danny and his friends Steinbeck has created types that are easily recognizable, for his main purpose was to satirize the commercial attitudes of American society. He has recreated King Arthur's court in Paisano Monterrey, and in this setting Danny becomes larger than life, almost mythic. Likewise, Bradbuty has created six distinct character types who share one suit, and in the process of sharing, each person learns something about human nature. However, both works remain limited, because they contribute little to the understanding of Chicano people. The types happen to be Mexican-Americans, but they could have been of any race. Moreover, they are roman-

ticized figures who avoid the real situations of life. When Danny dies at the end of **Tortilla Flat**, his death is no more real than King Arthur's. Vamenos' car accident, which occurs while he is wearing the white suit, is likewise another miracle. I do not want to be overly critical of what is good comedy, but Anglo writers in general have failed to escape romanticizing the Mexican people, and it must be recognized that this is true of these two works also. Not able to see deeply and truly into Chicano existence, the Anglo writers have romanticized their characters for both serious and comic purposes.

In this brief survey I have not attempted to be exhaustive; I have merely tried to represent what most Anglo-American fiction is like. The problem for the classroom teacher is how to deal with the lie and distortion that are so obvious, in order to avoid the damaging effect they can have on students. The first step is for the teacher to be aware of the lie, and like prejudice, to face it for what it is. The teacher must honestly point out and discuss with the students the distorted image of the Mexican-American in mainstream American literature. When reading and discussing the literature, a teacher should keep in mind the warning of the NCTE Task Force on Racism and Bias that the literary distortions in the classroom shape and modify the student's "image of himself" (6). The teacher has the duty to teach critical and discriminating reading; authors are not sacred, and their works must be treated analytically. In addition, the teacher should present to the student the social and intellectual climate of the periods studied and discuss reasons that the works misrepresent or pervert the Chicano image.

Part of the honesty of a teacher's classroom approach is also to recognize that there are some works of Anglo-merican fiction that more fully present the Mexican-Americans. These works, like Richard Brown's "Mr. Iscariot" or Richard Dokey's "Sanchez," should be read for comparison with other Anglo works. More importantly, American literature anthologies need to include more works by Mexican-Americans themselves; teachers must encourage publishers to be more even handed in their selections. We need also to supplement the classroom reading with works from anthologies of Chicano writers and with novels by Chicanos, like **Bless Me, Ultima, The Plum Plum Pickers,** and **And the Earth Did Not Part.** The Chicano writer has supplied the best solution for the mainstream lie: a truer and larger picture of Chicano existence. This picture includes a mixture of good and evil, justice and injustice, happiness and sadness, wisdom and ignorance; in its complexity it thus comes closer to the truth for which a writer should search and which a teacher should communicate.

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Soudek and Soudek
continued from **8**

might be called "Spanish English", "German English", "Chinese English", etc.

Systematic interference on the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels can be diagnosed and even predicted, with relative ease, through **contrastive analyses** of the two languages. In this respect very good results were obtained by teams of American linguists in the past decade, especially for English and German (Kufner 1962, Moulton 1965), English and Spanish (Stockwell-Bowen 1965, Stockwell-Bowen-Martin 1965), English and Italian (Agard-DiPietro 1965). However, contrastive analysis, as useful as it is, should not be viewed as a cure-all for the L2 teacher. Several objective evaluations of L2 students' errors have shown recently that not all deviations from the norm of L2 can be traced to the pressure of L1. Some frequent deviations, such as overstressing, overtensing, overdifferentiation, may be influenced by psychological or social factors and hence cannot be localized or predicted by merely contrasting the grammatical systems of two languages.

The necessity to distinguish between L1 acquisition and L2 learning is enhanced by a considerable number of further differences found between these two processes (see, e.g., Prator 1969). A small child, for instance, has considerably more time available for experimenting with L1 than the more mature L2 learner. Hunger, fear, need for affection are among the powerful constituents of natural motivation in L1 acquistion, while entirely different motives guide the learner of a second language. Another important difference lies in the degree of life experience and intellectual maturity, with the more mature L2 learner capable of rational thinking, analogies and generalizations.

Some Methodological Implications.

As shown above, available evidence indicates that L1 acquisition and L2 learning are generally two qualitatively distinct developments and that the circumstances under which a child acquires his first language cannot be reduplicated or imitated at a later stage.

This leads to the reasonable conclusion that processes and sequences of skills (listen, speak, read, write) typical of L1 development cannot automatically be applied as guidelines for the methodology of teaching a second or foreign language.

Such a conclusion has grave methodological implications. It casts a heavy shadow of doubt on the so-called **direct method** of language teaching still practiced with adolescents and adults by numerous institutions in several countries. At the same time, we believe that it challenges the validity of at least some fundamental concepts of the currently dominant **audio-lingual methods** which rely heavily on behaviorist theory and stress the mechanical processes of language learning (drill and overdrill, pattern saturation; very little or no translation).

Based on recent views focusing on the specific character of L2 learning, some of which we attempted to paraphrase briefly in this article, a new approach to language learning, called **cognitive-code learning,** has begun to crystallize (see, e.g., a collection of articles in Lugton-Heinle 1971). This approach, still too new and too little tested in the heat of classroom practice and textbook feasibility to be called a method, may represent a promising development reflecting current psycholinguistic thought (and in some ways reminiscent of a few "long discarded" tenets of the traditional grammar-translation method). It points out that the adolescent or adult learner has to be approached as a mature rational person who is in good command of one language already. The existence and pressure of his first language system cannot and should not be played down or silenced. Instead, it should be made to work for the learner in form of analogies, comparisons and contrast evaluations. The first language can and should be used as a basis for explanation and comparing. Translation (L2→L1, as well as L1→L2), which was generally eliminated by the direct method and only marginally tolerated in audio-lingual instruction, ought to be rehabilitated as a useful means of practical system confrontation. The grammatical rules of L2 should be taught, and not only "discovered" by the student. The formerly sacred rule that the spoken norm of the second language must always be taught first, long before the written norm is introduced, finds little support with the new approach, as it has been shown that the adolescent or adult learner of L2 is much more visually-minded in his cognitive capacity than the child coping with his first language system.

It remains to be seen what degree of benefit and improvement for the learner and teacher of English as a second language can be derived from this reasonable heresy, after a period of fermentation and settling in new textbooks, syllabi and curricula.

As we now come to the conclusion of our brief voyage through the stormy waters of thought affecting TESOL theories and methods in the seventies, a word of caution based on practical experience ought to be added: We believe that the various approaches to language as well as old and new language learning methodologies provide useful and important insights and tools for the TESOL teacher but that they should not dominate and restrict his decisions. He should be aware of them and take them into consideration when planning his pedagogical strategies. However, he or she should not get addicted to them, for none of them is a panacea.

After all, it is the teacher, and not the psychologist, linguist or textbook writer, who knows about the day-to-day needs and frustrations of his students. Some of these frustrations are only remotely connected with the language learning situation, they may be cultural, social, they may pertain to channels of communication other than language or they may be caused by the feelings of estrangement in a society considered hostile by the student.

With a sound knowledge of several approaches and methodologies, the language teacher is best advised not to devotedly follow only one of them but to select, experiment and compromise. So far it appears that the best results in TESOL cannot be ascribed to one specific grammatical approach or to one single methodology but to the ability of the teacher to be wisely eclectic and pragmatic, and to his personality.

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Rodriquez
continued from 18

PACHUQUISMOS.

Among barrio idioms perhaps the most colorful are those referred to as **caló** or **pachuquismos**, coined by Pachucos. Linguistically speaking, the Pachucos (a subgroup within the Chicano community) made their greatest impact in the forties and fifties. But despite the fact that they are almost obsolete as a cultural phenomenon, their slang lingers on. Scores of pachuquismos are words found in formal Spanish also. **Llave**, for example, is the familiar term for **faucet** in the Spanish-speaking world, including the United States. A more esoteric word, used almost exclusively in Spain is **grifo**. In the barrio **grifo** is a marijuana addict. A state of discomfort prevails in a student from the barrio when the Spanish teacher asks him: **"¿Cuántos grifos hay en tu casa?" (How many "grifos" are there in your house?)** The expression **Ando bruja** means **I'm broke. Bruja** is the standard word for **witch**. In caló, **palomilla**--the standard for **moth**-is the **neighborhood gang**. **Mono**, the barrio word for **movies**, is the formal for **monkey**. These are only a few of the countless barrio expressions that are beginning to find their way into literary texts.

METATHESES.

The transposition of letters or sounds in a word is a common phenomenon among Chicanos. Some glaring examples are: **estógamo** (estómago), **humadera** (**humareda**), **teralāna** (**telarāna**), **úrcela** (**úlcera**), **polvadera** (**polvareda**), **pierdas** (**piedras**), **luenga** (**lengua**), **murciégalo** (**murciélago**), **niervo** (**nervio**), **treato** (**teatro**). As a speech habit, the metathesis is not difficult to overcome. It is a matter of focusing the problem directly rather than tangentially.

Another speech peculiarity somewhat related to methathesis is the suppression of a letter or syllable in a word, the result of a process called **desgaste** (erosion). The following are some of the most common: **paralis** (**parálisis**), **analis** (**análisis**), **lectricidá** (**electricidad**). The word **supretendiente** (for **superintendente**) shows characteristics of both methathesis and erosion. A third tendency, the inclusion of an additional letter or syllable in a word, is the direct opposite of erosion. Examples: **lamber** (**lamer**), **desborrar** (**borrar**), **desaigrar** (**desairar**), **desfender** (**defender**).

In conclusion, the rationale for advocating the integration of Chicano Spanish and culture into language education programs is both humanistic and pragmatic. To begin with, it meets an emotional need, it gives the Chicano student a sense of belonging rather than a feeling of debasement. He experiences the satisfaction of knowing that what he has been exposed to all his life is no longer denigrated and discarded as useless. Furthermore, if it is implemented correctly, it serves as an incentive to project students into higher levels of language proficiency.

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