

## **A Note from the Editors:**

### **The Role of the Community**

An aspect of program design and implementation in the field of language education which has received increased attention in recent years is the role of the ethnic community from which a program draws its students. Issues which have been investigated in some detail include:

-ethnic communities' attitudes as they influence both general program effectiveness and individual student achievement (c.f. Hornberger forthcoming, Guthrie 1983);

-the match or mismatch between learning and teaching styles in school and community (c.f. Philips 1972, Heath 1983);

-the functions of language and literacy and patterns for language use in the ethnic community (c.f. Weinstein-Shr 1986; Zentella 1985).

These and many other vital issues involving the ethnic communities served by special language program merit further empirical investigation by sociolinguistic researchers.

Following are two papers describing educational projects in Hispanic communities: Lyons studies a bilingual adult vocational program in Connecticut, and Huber an ESL project for the elderly in Philadelphia. Their findings point to community participation in program planning and implementation and familiarity by the program staff with relevant community characteristics of language use and culture as important variables in the eventual success of a language program.

Guthrie, G.P. (1985). A school divided: An ethnography of bilingual education in a Chinese community. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Heath, S.B. (198). Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hornberger, N.H. (forthcoming). Bilingual education and language maintenance: A Southern Peruvian Quechua case. A manuscript to be published in the series: Topics in Sociolinguistics, N. Wolfson & Marinel Gerritsen, (eds.). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris Publications.

Philips, S.B. (1972). Participant structures and communicative competence: Warm Springs children in community and classroom. In Functions of language in the classroom, C.B. Cazden, V.P. John & D. Hymes, (eds.). New York: Teachers College Press. 370-394.

Weinstein-Shr, G. (1986). From mountaintops to city streets: An ethnographic investigation of literacy and social processes among the Hmong of Philadelphia. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Zentella, A.C. (1985). The fate of Spanish in the United States: The Puerto Rican experience. In Language of inequality, N. Wolfson & J. Manes, (eds.). Berlin: Mouton. 41-59.

**POSITIVE RESULTS:  
THE IMPACT OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT  
IN A BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM<sup>1</sup>**

**Alice Lyons**

Much of the research and debate on bilingual education in the U.S. focuses on the edification of children in elementary and secondary schools. Another segment of the population, however, which is in great need of education in both language and vocational skills, is the working adult whose native language is other than English.

Many of these adults are non-English-speaking Americans or recent immigrants or refugees from Latin America, Indochina, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Some people in this population are well trained in a marketable skill but need retraining or recertification in their field and English education in order to work in their profession in the United States. Others are skilled in a vocation that may have little marketable value in their new location. Such is the case for many Indochinese and Latin American refugee farmers who now live in urban and semi-urban areas, where the need for farming skills is negligible. Others, such as the Hmong from the Laotian and Thai highlands, are illiterate in their own language and must gain literacy skills before they can embark upon further education that might lead to employment.

Upon arrival in the United States, many of these adults often feel a sense of urgency to learn skills in a vocation and in the English language so they can quickly begin to support themselves and perhaps spouses or families. Many find themselves caught in a vicious circle of frustration: they cannot get into job training programs or schools and universities in order to study a vocation because they can't speak English well enough, and they can't study English intensively because they don't have any money because they have no job and so on.

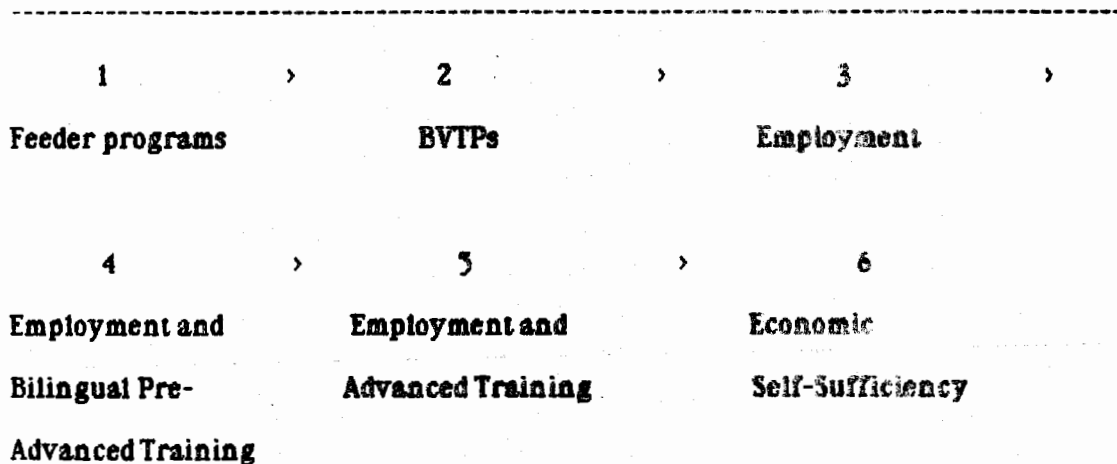
I had the opportunity to work in a program that attempted to meet the educational needs of this group of adults that, in my opinion, helped to break that vicious circle of no English- no job- no money- no English. The program, called the Bilingual Vocational Training Program or BVTP, took place in New London, Connecticut in 1985. Much of the training was done by a local community organization called Centro de la Comunidad. Sixteen Hispanic people, who had few marketable vocational skills and limited knowledge of English, participated in the program, which trained them to be nurses' aides. At the end of the fourteen-week program, all the trainees who wanted jobs got them. Two years later, a significant percentage of those who went through the BVTP are still working as nurses' aides or have gone on to pursue studies in higher levels of nursing such as licensed practical nursing (LPN) or registered nursing (RN).

A variety of factors, some of which are part of the BVTP model, some of which were a result of favorable circumstances, contributed to the success of the New London BVTP. Most important, in my observation, was the active role that the community-based organization had in running the program collaboratively with the state. By first presenting an overview of the BVTP model and then describing it in the context of the New London program, I hope to demonstrate the importance of community involvement in the education of its members.

### **Overview**

For the past seven years, the state of Connecticut has been providing the BVTP to many of its cities and towns. The program is a combination of the state's standard adult vocational training model and a bilingual educational component. The BVTP was originally funded through the "set-aside for the disadvantaged" vocational education budget item of the federal government. It is state funded in fiscal year 1987 by both the state Department of Education (DOE) and Human Resources (DHR); the DHR funds BVTPs in selected towns and selected components of other programs. Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) funding has been contributed to certain BVTPs, as well.

The goal of the BVTP is to achieve economic self-sufficiency for individuals in need of vocational skills whose native language is other than English. Through a sequence of programs individuals who need BVTP training are offered education in vocational skills, job-specific ESL, employability skills, job development and placement, and a variety of social services, such as childcare and counseling--all based on individual needs. The program model is designed with the intention of advancing participants in a particular vocational field so that they can be truly self-sufficient economically (BVTP Manual: 1). Bilingual training in vocations such as equipment operator, clerical worker, bank teller, and nurses' aide are offered, depending on the employability outlook for certain trades in the area of each BVTP. Other vocational training programs have traditionally been faced with the problem that graduated trainees earn less in their new jobs than they had received in welfare payments, and consequently, they go back to the welfare rolls (New York Times, 3/30/87). Below is a flow chart representing the progression of services provided by the BVTP.



(from BVTP Manual  
CT State DOE 1986)

---

The BVTP that I worked for in New London would correspond to Steps 2 and 3 in the flow chart. Later, a BVTP for the same trainees was offered to prepare them for the state

entrance examination for licensed practical nursing (LPN) programs (Step 4), and those who passed the exam would continue to work while studying to be LPN's (Step 5).

A very significant component of the program model is the effort made by the state to link up with community-based organizations (CBOs) to collaboratively provide support services for the trainees. Typically, the CBOs become responsible for the outreach and recruitment of trainees, screening of the applicants, case management and delivery of support services, job development/placement, and follow-up with the trainees. As will be seen in the case study of the New London BVTP, the CBO involvement was crucial to the success of the program.

The state's regional vocational technical schools are called upon for technical support of each BVTP. The school's staff and facilities are used to provide vocational training classes and program administration. Because there is a good number of these schools and they are dispersed throughout the state, they are very convenient sites at which to have BVTPs in many cases.

#### **The Case Study: The New London BVTP**

New London is an old whaling city on the coast of Connecticut 50 miles from both New Haven and Providence, Rhode Island. After the era of whaling, New London fell into an economic decline, from which it is just now recovering because of the introduction of new industries and businesses in the area. Unemployment has been a problem for the New London community, including the city's large Hispanic population. The Hispanics, mostly from Puerto Rico, are served by a United Way-funded community organization, Centro de la Comunidad. Centro, as it is known there, has been functioning in the community since 1971, and it really is central to the activity of the Hispanic community, especially to the poor families that rely on Centro's services for welfare recipients and on its free English language classes. I worked there as an ESL teacher and career counselor during 1985.

The New London BVTP started when Centro's director, Luz Gonzalez, was contacted by the state of Connecticut's bilingual education consultant, Saul Sibirsky. Ms. Gonzalez

was told that funding was available for a program to train people to be nurses' aides. The state had done an employment needs assessment in the New London area and found that nurses' aides were in demand. The technical training part of the BVTP was to be done at the regional vocational school, five miles away in Groton. Centro was asked to take responsibility for community outreach and recruitment of potential trainees; hiring of ESL teachers, a "life-coping skills" teacher, bilingual counselors and bilingual teachers' aides; transportation to the vo-tech school for the trainees; child care (if needed); and the hiring of a job developer--all funded by the state. The vo-tech school would provide the vocational instructor, the facilities for training and a clerk who would process the payroll and other expense accounts for the program. Usually the vo-tech school provides a coordinator for the BVTP, but because of an imminent change in personnel at the school, Centro took responsibility for coordination of the program, as well. My role in the program was as coordinator.

From the start, the Hispanic community agency was given an enormous amount of responsibility and control over the BVTP. This aspect, one that is part of the BVTP model, contributed significantly to the ultimate success of the program. Centro de la Comunidad's staff, more than anyone else in the community, knew of the people who might benefit from the program and could contact them. Centro also had a staff of ESL teachers, bilingual teachers' aides and bilingual counselors whom they could draw from when putting the program together. In addition, Centro already had a job developer who was used to make contacts with potential employers for the trainees and who helped facilitate the eventual hiring of the program graduates.

Because Centro de la Comunidad had the confidence of the Hispanic community, the BVTP was readily accepted by the community. A similar program introduced into the community from an agency outside New London may not have been able to function as well because of community wariness of an unknown organization. There were countless instances throughout the program when one of the trainees needed special attention, and because of the Centro staff's familiarity with the trainees, they were easily served. A

trainee with dwindling confidence could seek encouragement from a Centro counselor, a trainee with a broken-down car could ask for transportation to the vo-tech school and Centro could provide it. Without a doubt, the close connection between the trainees and the community agency that administered many of the program's services was central to the success of the BVTP.

### **Outreach and Recruitment**

In order to get a number of potential candidates for the program, Centro made up posters and flyers, in Spanish and English, announcing the program and the date for the initial screening and assessment and distributed them to all the places frequented by the Hispanic community. Notices were published in Spanish in the local newspaper and announcements were made on the popular Spanish language radio station. The BVTP model stipulates that the outreach be for people who "are unemployed or underemployed, who have non-English native languages and who, because they have difficulty speaking, listening, reading and writing, and, therefore, understanding instruction provided in the English language, are in need of bilingual vocational training" (BVTP Manual 1986: 10). The Centro staff's familiarity with the community allowed the announcement of the BVTP to reach the people who could really benefit from it. An agency from outside the community would have had a much harder time doing such outreach and may not have contacted those most likely to benefit from the program.

Once the potential participants were contacted, an initial screening was conducted. On the day of the screening almost 30 people came. There were 18 places available in the BVTP. A private testing company, Goodwill Industries, conducted tests in English and math proficiency and in job aptitude. The objective was to identify people whose English proficiency fell between a zero rating and an intermediate rating. Math proficiency had to be at a level that had been determined by previous BVTP's as necessary for performance as nurses' aides. Candidates were also interviewed by Centro's bilingual counselors to

determine individual aptitudes for nurses' aide work and to determine individual needs for transportation, child care and other services.

On the basis of all this information, the 18 candidates were selected by program staff and were notified of their selection into the program. The level of English proficiency required for the trainees was determined by two main factors. One was that a person with a proficiency that was too high wouldn't really benefit from the BVTP because s/he could possibly participate in an English-only training program offered elsewhere. The reality was, though, that there weren't many choices for affordable adult job training in the area. On the other hand, if a person's proficiency was too low, the fourteen-week duration of the program might not be long enough to achieve true employability at the end of the program, which was a main goal. For those with very low English proficiency, the sole choice was to attend English classes to improve their chances for employment.

#### **Language Policy in the BVTP**

The model for bilingual learning in the BVTP was purely transitional when using Fishman's (1982) criteria. The native language (L1) was used only when comprehension in the second language (L2) was impossible. As the program progressed L2 was used more and more frequently, at least in theory (see below for a description of practice). This is largely because of pragmatics. Since the goal of the program is employability and the reality of the job market in the United States is that knowing English is most often necessary, job-specific knowledge of English is deemed essential. Because of time constraints caused by limited budgets and because of the urgency felt by many of the trainees to become employed quickly, transitional bilingual education is used instead of the maintenance or enrichment models.

It seems that this is the type of program where the transitional model is quite appropriate. A maintenance model would require more time because of the thorough coverage of material in both languages. Furthermore, for adults the goal of L1 retention is not as significant because they are at an age where they are less likely to lose their native



language. It is the loss of their children's language that maintenance or enrichment bilingual education programs can help to rectify.

### **Teacher Background and Language Use in the Classroom**

It would have been ideal if each instructor in the BVTP were bilingual/ bicultural, but in some cases, such people were impossible to find. In the New London program, the nurses' aide vocational instructor, who had taught nurses' aide skills to Americans at the vo-tech school, was monolingual in English, though she had had much contact and experience working with the Puerto Rican community as a public health worker for the city of New London. She showed great cultural sensitivity in her work with the Puerto Ricans. The ESL instructor was a veteran Centro employee who, though not fully bilingual, spoke some Spanish and was sensitive to the culture of the trainees and was well known to many of the trainees who had had her as an ESL teacher before. In this case, two bilingual teachers' aides were hired by Centro to assist both the nurses' aide vocational instruction at the vo-tech school and the job-specific ESL classes at Centro.

In both the vocational classes and the job-specific ESL classes, L1 and L2 were used together in the instruction. In the vocational classes the instructor would initially present the material in English for a few minutes. Then the bilingual teachers' aide would repeat the information in Spanish and check the class for comprehension by asking questions in Spanish and by walking around and talking with the trainees individually. As time went on, some of the material was presented solely in English, with the bilingual teachers' aide checking for comprehension only with individuals who requested help or with those that looked confused.

In the job-specific ESL course that was taught at Centro, more of the instruction was in English, but there was still much use of L1 by the teachers' aide when comprehension wasn't apparent. The nurses' aide textbook for trainees, from which the ESL teacher drew her lessons, was in Spanish and English. Code-switching was encouraged in instruction.

The manual for the BVTP put out by the state gives the following sentence as an example of an appropriate way to explain job-specific vocabulary in an ESL class:

*Se mueve automatically el carriage hacia el headstock cuando se hace la operacion de turning en el lathe. (BVTP Manual: 110)*

The bilingual teachers' aides contributed an enormous amount to the program in addition to facilitating comprehension in the classroom. One of the aides, who also worked as a social worker at Centro, kept in close contact with the trainees, and if anyone had difficulties at home or any kind of problem that might impede participation in the program, the teacher aide would refer her to the BVTP counselor or to other appropriate assistance. The bilingual aides also acted as liasons between the trainees and the vocational and ESL instructors. They could let the instructors know if a certain teaching method was working or not better than individual trainees, most of whom were shy to give negative comments to the instructors. The bilingual teachers' aides helped to foster a close and trusting relationship between the ESL and vocational instructors and the trainees.

### **Completion of Program**

When the BVTP was finished, a big graduation ceremony, planned and financed (through bake sales) by the trainees was held at Centro. All the trainees were dressed up for the occasion, where family and friends were in attendance. They received certificates of nurses' aide training from Dr. Saúl Sibirsky from the State Department of Education, and they in turn gave out plaques of appreciation to the program staff. The mayor of New London gave a speech partly in Spanish (which was a gesture of cultural respect by the Anglo mayor of New London), and then everyone had dinner and danced to a local merengue band in Centro's auditorium. Without a doubt, this was an occasion to celebrate in the community. Most significantly, this graduation was evidence that the community itself had claimed a degree of responsibility for the success of the BVTP. It showed that a bridge had been built between external, state-funded programs and the communities they were meant to serve.

In programs where funding comes from outside the community, this is often not the case. Alfredo Benavides (1979) speaks of the danger of implementing heavily federally-funded programs in a community. Often the "officials of the community" are willing to commit nothing to bilingual education. Benavides found in his study of "Port City", Michigan, that:

...with no sense of internal "ownership" of an existing educational program, federal funds allowed Port City to continue its non-proprietorship and provided an expedient means by which to divest themselves of any responsibility (227).

By giving responsibility in the program to Centro, an agency that had a direct interest in advancing its clients, but that normally didn't have the funds to do so, the non-proprietorship that might have occurred, didn't. If, for example, full responsibility for the program had been given to the Groton vo-tech school, the program most likely wouldn't have had such a positive impact. That school was serving a largely non-Hispanic population and had little experience dealing with minority populations. The kind of detached, uninspired attitude that Benavides found in dealing with Port City officials might have been replicated in the New London BVTP.

#### **Limitations of the BVTP**

Though the BVTP in New London was quite successful, there are some very concrete limitations to it as well.

First of all, the ultimate administration and financing of the program by the state is a problem by virtue of the slow machinations of the state's bureaucracy in processing things like payroll, W-4 forms, expense reimbursements and the like. Some employees of the BVTP waited 10 weeks into the program before they received their first paycheck.

Also, the BVTP will only be as good as the staff that administers it. Centro de la Comunidad is a CBO that is well run, well respected and central to the community it serves. Most of the services that the BVTP relied upon Centro to provide were already in place and functioning. A less efficient and less valued CBO might not have had the ability that Centro

did in finding community members who would benefit from the program and providing them with the services they needed to stay in the program.

Additionally, the central administration of the BVTP in Hartford is presently done by one person, Dr. Saúl Sibirsky. Dr. Sibirsky does the work of two, perhaps three, people. He constantly travels from city to city in Connecticut to check in on BVTP sites, orient and train staff at the vo-tech schools and the CBOs, attend meetins with private industries to develop additional funding and employment opportunities for the trainees and so on. The responsibility for the proliferation of successful BVTPs throughout the state rests almost exclusively on his shoulders. Since he has worked with the program, it has gone from serving one town and 23 people in 1980 to serving 11 towns and 1,034 people in 1986. The fact that the state has allocated money for only one central administrator for the BVTP demonstrates a tenuous commitment to bilingual education at best. Last year, the U.S. Department of Education awarded the Connecticut BVTP the honor of the "best adult vocational program" in the New England Region. But more than honors are needed to keep the program in existence. Both the federal and state government could show their appreciation of and commitment to the program and to bilingual education by providing funding for adequate staffing in the central administration of the BVTP.

### **Conclusion**

Miller and Cardenas (1983) point out that the term bilingual education, which has many definitions and countless means of implementation, is understood by Americans to be a very specific thing:

**In the United States, the term has come to refer to particular government-sponsored programs for children with limited English proficiency often referred to by the acronym LEP. In other words, it does not refer to French classes for native speakers of English or Berlitz courses for consultants traveling abroad. Bilingual education in short, has become identified as a program for immigrants and non-English speaking natives of the U.S., clearly marginal to the political power centers (130).**

The fact that the BVTP is offering job skills and training to people "clearly marginal to the political power centers" is inherently political. This fact is one that jeopardizes the future growth of programs like the BVTP. They are subject to being affected by the political climate of the times.

Many so called LEP adults are caught in a cycle of failure because of their inability to speak English. In the best of worlds, they would be bilingually educated in elementary school and high school so that their English would be good enough for survival in the job world. But for many who have recently immigrated either voluntarily or involuntarily, they have literally landed in the U.S. needing to earn a living as soon as possible.

The BVTP, when it is run in collaboration with CBOs that are an important part of the community they serve, provides a shortcut to the long haul of first learning English and then entering a standard vocational training program. In the BVTPs language and vocational skills for the job are learned in a way that emphasizes the value of the native language and culture. This is mainly provided through the community-based organization.

Through this kind of training, people normally at "the margins of political power" are brought closer to the center of power through the BVTP. This is exemplified by the report on the trainees of the 1983 nurses' aide BVTP from the job developer at Centro de la Comunidad. A few are still working at the nursing homes that hired them upon graduation. Many have moved on to work at the hospital in New London, which has better pay and benefits. Ten of the 16 graduates enrolled in a pre-LPN BVTP that was held at Centro the following year. Six passed the exam that enables them to enroll in a state-financed licensed practical nursing study program. Two of those six are setting their sights on becoming registered nurses. "We're definitely seeing upward mobility," said Centro's job developer, Melinda Jawadekar.

It isn't very often that an educational or social service program that is created as a result of political pressure on the federal government and is administered centrally by the federal or state government is successful in execution. Bureaucratic red tape, lack of competent administration and evaluation, the passing on of blame--all are obstacles

common to such programs. The BVIP is certainly not devoid of such obstacles, but it clearly rose above many of them in New London, Connecticut in 1985 because of its reliance on a community organization that knew its constituents and how best to serve them.

---

1 This paper was written for Dr. Hornberger's "Bilingual Education" course.

## References

- Benavides, A. (1979). A midwestern community and its schools: An analysis of mutual images and interactions. In Bilingual education and public policy in the United States, R.V. Padilla, (ed.). Ypsilanti, Mich.: Eastern Michigan University Press. 212-228.
- Fishman, J.A. (1982). Sociolinguistic foundations of bilingual education. Bilingual Review/Revista bilingue 9 (1): 1-35.
- Miller, C.I. & R.F. Cardenas. (1983). Federal research directions in bilingual education. In Bilingualism: Social issues and policy implications, A.Miracle, (ed.). Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press. 149-164.
- Herbers, J. Job training efforts in Massachusetts and Michigan: Move poor off welfare. New York Times 3/30/87: A-14.
- Sibirsky, S. (1986). Manual for development and implementation of bilingual vocational training programs (Draft). Hartford, Ca.: Connecticut State Department of Education.

**PROJECT LEIF:  
LEARNING ENGLISH THROUGH INTERGENERATIONAL FRIENDSHIP<sup>1</sup>**

**Lisa Huber**

Project LEIF, sponsored by The Center for Intergenerational Learning at Temple University's Institute on Aging, has been working in the Southeast Asian refugee communities in Philadelphia for over two years.<sup>2</sup> During the spring (of 1987), when many of the Southeast Asians had left the city to pick blueberries, LEIF began a tutoring program in a North Philadelphia Hispanic community, cooperating with the Norris Square Senior Citizens' Center. As they do in the Asian community, LEIF pairs young English-speaking Philadelphians (most of whom are college-aged, 18-24) with elderly residents who have limited English proficiency. The tutor meets his or her student twice a week, once at the student's home, and once at a "learning center" which in this case is the Norris Square Center.

Most of the elders<sup>3</sup> in the Asian community and some in the Hispanic community are refugees, who have endured arduous journeys, fear, and personal loss on their way to Philadelphia. In discussions with the Project's director and in reading project newsletters, I heard repeated concern for the physical, cultural and linguistic isolation these elders face. In their native cultures, many had respected roles in their families and in the communities; their wisdom and experience were highly valued. In Philadelphia, however, their skills are not needed, their experience useless in the large city. Fundamental to this alienation, the Project feels, is the elders' poor English ability; one of the ten goals outlined in the Project LEIF 1986 Summary Report is "to increase the ability of older refugees to access existing health and social services and to break their isolation". Anecdotes in the "LEIFlet" newsletter (distributed to tutors and "friends of the project")



relate elders' first successful trips to the post office and the confidence gained in being able to answer the telephone, thanks to improved English skills.

The tutors are trained in rudimentary teaching methods and drill students in vocabulary, pronunciation, sentence patterns, and dialogues. Tutors are encouraged to discover their students' needs (to talk to a doctor, to read labels in the grocery store) and to conduct their lessons in as realistic a way as possible (use props, visit sites). The project director or learning center coordinator assesses each student's general level of proficiency and suggests strategies and materials based on this assessment. The Project believes that the combination of English tutoring and direct, friendly, and sustained contact with a member of the dominant culture will help the elders take part in the wider, English-speaking communities, thereby improving the elders' lives.

Since LEIF's inception in 1985, Jackie W.<sup>4</sup> has directed the project, solicited funding, and, along with community leaders, outlined the needs of the refugee and immigrant communities served. She recruits and trains volunteer tutors, organizes social and cultural events, and conducts evaluations of the dual goals of language learning and community building. She holds a Ph.D. in Educational Linguistics, has lived and taught in Central America, speaks Hmong, Chinese, and Spanish, as well as a Guatemalan Indian language, Cakchiquel. She has worked in the Southeast Asian community for years, and has gained hard-won respect throughout the complex network of women's textile groups, Mutual Assistance Associations, and family clans.

Aiding Jackie in the training and organization of new tutor pairs in the Hispanic community are: Ann, a Temple student in a graduate TESOL program, who was a learning center coordinator in the Southeast Asian community; Maria, the coordinator of the Norris Square Center; and Olga, a second-year law student at Temple, who will be taking over Maria's position. Both Maria and Olga, who are native speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish, serve also as translators for the Hispanic elders and the tutors.

When I contacted Jackie about observing LEIF's orientation and training<sup>5</sup>, she was preparing to train a new batch of tutors for Hispanic elders from Norris Square. Normally,

during the fall and spring, tutors attend two training sessions spaced two weeks apart. This summer, however, she was planning a one-day workshop on Saturday from 9 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. As an introduction to the Hispanic community in Philadelphia and as an opportunity to meet the elders and other tutors, Jackie, Maria, and Olga arranged for "Latin Night" on the Friday before the training session. This gathering was to be at Taller Puertorriqueño, a community center in North Philadelphia, beginning at 5 p.m. The program for the evening would include, according to a written notice I was given, a slide presentation on "Hispanic Cultural Presence in Philadelphia" by the bookstore manager of Taller; a music "workshop" "to get the feeling of playing and singing some of the varieties of Latin music" given by a recently-arrived Mexican musician; a dance performed by local Guatemalan refugees; and a certificate ceremony to acknowledge the tutors and students who had participated in the spring session. Food and dancing was promised, and Jackie looked forward to a good turnout from both the new tutors and the Norris Square elders.

Saturday's training workshop, to be held at a Temple University building, would include: opportunities for tutors to express what they were looking forward to doing and what worries they had; a lecture on Hispanics in Philadelphia by Maria; a "language sensitivity exercise"; explanations and practice teaching pronunciation and dialogues to each other; designing a lesson on body parts and communication of pain; then actually teaching vocabulary, pronunciation and sentence patterns to students with very limited English language skills; and finally, a presentation of reading materials for students. There were to be two breaks: one at mid-morning and one for lunch. After all the training, tutors would be asked to fill out evaluations of the workshop and arrange for times to tutor.

The preceding description offers many opportunities for observing and describing the various languages (Spanish/English), settings (party/training), styles (informal/formal, familiar/unfamiliar), roles (host/guest, teacher/student), cultural backgrounds (Puerto Rican/Guatemalan & American ethnic) and other possible influences on ways of speaking. There would be bilingual speakers of English and Spanish, both with

English and with Spanish as their dominant and/or first language. I chose to observe both the Taller party and the training session, the better to observe and record what I expected to be the same participants acting in two settings distinguished by the above categories.

The goal of comparison was not achieved, however. Jackie and the other organizers expected 11 elders from the Norris Center and 12 tutors from initial meetings. While all the elders showed up (they were brought together in a van from the Center to Taller), only three tutors attended. Two of the three arrived well after the evening had begun. The only tutor whom I saw speaking to an elder was then not present at the next day's workshop.

Any complete ethnography of Project LEIF would include this kind of attempt at cultural orientation for tutors; hence I will report my observations from that evening, along with suggestions of future areas of research based either at Taller Puertorriqueño or at other "nights" hosted by the non-English speaking communities who work with LEIF. The meaning of these orientations to the tutors, the elders, and the organizers is an interesting question. The significance of the tutors' non-attendance, especially compared with their stated reasons for volunteering, is also worth exploring in order to get a total picture of Project LEIF from the perspectives of its members (see Tutor Intake Form, Appendix I).

The rest of this paper will describe some of the context and specific speech behavior at Taller Puertorriqueño's "Latin Night" and at the LEIF training workshop. Hymes' (1972) acronym, SPEAKING, will guide my tentative categorization of the ways of speaking in each setting. Though this is only a broad outline, I chose two areas to focus on: first, the conditioning factors in choice of code (Spanish/English) or style ("foreigner-talk" or NS-NS talk); and second, the possibly different goals/intentions of the tutors and their students. Throughout, I will suggest areas for further study that I feel should be part of a complete ethnography of Project LEIF<sup>6</sup>.

### **Latin Night at Taller Puertorriqueño**

The Puerto Rican community center is located in the middle of Philadelphia's largest Hispanic neighborhood. The names of shops and signs (on telephone poles, e.g.) are in Spanish and English. Spanish is heard constantly on the street, as is salsa-type music from car radios. Taller is housed in a three-story brick building amid rowhouses and small shops, less than one block from a busy four-lane street. The façade is clean and free of graffiti, and the woodwork freshly painted. Outside the two glass doors at the entrance are two wrought-iron doors that are both ornamental and, I assume, give added security to the building when it is closed.

Upon entering the building, I noticed the stone steps that lead up to the main floor, the high, light, wood-beamed ceiling, the indirect lighting, and the wall lined with books for sale. The initial impression of Taller is bright, colorful, clean and new. Posters in Spanish, advertising musical appearances and fairs are for sale. Against the left wall are Hispanic record albums (Rubén Blades, Inti-Illimani), and at the top of the short staircase (three steps) is a glass jewelry cabinet containing silver bracelets, earrings, hair ornaments, cassette tapes, scarves and other items for sale. There are two desks in the rectangular room, one at the far end, the other in the middle of the left wall. There are a table and chairs seating 12 in the middle of the room. Upstairs is an art gallery, running the length of the second floor, that contains art from the community: Vejigante masks and costumes, silkscreened cloths, jewelry and a changing exhibition. The current show is drawings and oil paintings by an Hispanic artist in prison in the U.S.

The third floor had been set up for LEIF's "Latin night". Maria and Olga had laid a table with fruit, cheese, crackers, hot corn fritters, and a dish made with onion, green peppers, and chicken. There was a large bowl of sangria (without wine) at one end. Farther back in the room, 20 chairs formed a semi-circle around a set of bongo drums and a guitar. Soon after we arrived and went upstairs, Maria put a tape of Puerto Rican music into a portable cassette player. The windows were open to the street outside. Because of the

extreme heat and the long climb to the third floor, the chairs, music, and food were eventually brought down to the first (air-conditioned) floor, and the evening's program was conducted there rather than upstairs.

Jackie, Ann, and I arrived before 5 p.m. and were greeted by Maria and Olga, and by Miguel, the bookstore manager, a female receptionist, and the guest musician, Oscar. A few minutes later, the Guatemalan dancers arrived; they were two men, a woman and three children. One of the men was dressed in loose, brightly-colored clothes and a hat; the oldest child, a blond girl about ten years old (she is a schoolmate of the family's oldest child, who was not present) was also dressed in "costume". The other man, Pedro, was the spokesperson for the group. The Guatemalan woman looked after the two youngest children--one about three years old, the other about one and a half. The two men alternated holding the youngest in their laps. At 5:20 p.m., the 11 elders from Norris Square arrived. Seven women and four men, all at least 70 years old, came up the three stairs and sat at the large table on the first floor. One tutor, a middle-aged black man, and his female companion appeared and sat in the fourth row of chairs that had been set up to face the table and the back of the room.

#### **Language Use at Taller: Spanish and English**

The most obvious instance of sociolinguistic variation at Taller lay in the choice of Spanish or English by the Taller staff, LEIF staff (Jackie, Maria), and the two presenters (Oscar and Pedro) when addressing each other and the audience. I identified at least two kinds of switching: 1) within the sentence or turn; and 2) 'translation'--repeating the same point or explanation in Spanish or English (cf. Zentella 1982).

Maria's code-switching at Taller (she did not switch during the Saturday training except to talk to the Spanish elders) appeared to me to take the following form: When she was talking in the presence of a non-Spanish speaker (me) or even a bilingual but English-dominant speaker (Jackie), she would switch from Spanish to English (or vice versa). For example<sup>7</sup>:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) no, <i>pero</i> , it's not working                       | (while Jackie, Ann, and I were in the room, to Olga in reference to the portable cassette player)              |
| (2) -( <i>Spanish</i> ) turn on the lights<br><i>trabaje</i> |  |
| (3) -( <i>Spanish</i> ) slow ( <i>Spanish</i> )              |  |
| (4) -( <i>Spanish</i> ) get the chairs <i>ahora</i>          | (speaking to the Guatemalan men carrying the punch bowl downstairs. I was also on the stairway (ex. 3 and 4).) |

While many more instances (or at least audio-taped ones) are needed to explain Maria's pattern of switching, her seeming accommodation to the non-Hispanics contrasts with what both Valdés (1982) and Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez (1973) recognize as identity markers or switching "to reflect confidentiality or privateness". If Maria does code-switch more in the presence of non-Spanish speakers, what is the message given? To the non-Hispanics who know that she is bilingual? To the Spanish-speaking Hispanics? I suggest that she is displaying her knowledge of both languages and not wanting to exclude either group. In examples (2) and (4), the new information in the sentence--the information crucial to the locutionary meaning of her utterance (Searle 1979)--is said in English, even though her primary interlocutors (closer physical proximity and part of an ongoing exchange) are Hispanic and in the case of ex. (4), speak almost no English. If we believe that the English portions of her utterances are directed at the monolingual English speaker (me) and/or the English-dominant bilingual (Jackie), then the social function of the switch must take into account her desire to include both linguistic/cultural groups in her audience. I don't know whether her Hispanic interlocutors in the mixed groups understand the code-switching into English (or whether she thinks they do). She does have reason to assume that at least two of the non-Hispanics are not fluent in Spanish. How does she address both effectively? Seeing code-switching as either exclusive or inclusive obviously misses the subtle accommodation that might be happening here.

A more obvious accommodation to monolinguals (or those with Spanish or English dominance, regardless of their proficiency in the other language) occurred during the formal program of "Latin Night". The evening's program was aimed at the LEIF volunteer

tutors. The slide show put on by Miguel, "Hispanic Cultural Presence in Philadelphia", the musical presentation by Oscar, "In Touch With Our Music", and the Guatemalan dance performance were arranged by Maria and Miguel to give non-Hispanic tutors an introduction to the elders' cultures. For this reason, I assume, all of the narrative and explanations were given in English as well as Spanish; in fact, though all the presenters were Spanish speakers, and the large majority of the audience was as well, English was used more frequently. Indeed, it seemed as though Spanish was used as the secondary translation language while English was primary.

A transcript of even one presentation would, no doubt, show interesting differences between the information conveyed in English and in Spanish. One observation shows, perhaps, the effect of audience and identification on the use of one or the other language: Oscar was playing different styles of Latin/Caribbean music and explaining the differences and similarities primarily in English. After singing a Spanish song that the elders seemed to know well (some sang along), Oscar made a joke in Spanish with an elder Hispanic near the front of the room. They both laughed and Oscar began a conversation with him in Spanish which lasted for at least 5-6 minutes. He continued in Spanish for much longer than he had previously, finally switching back to English after saying, "for example". He never did go back to translate the Spanish into English. (See discussion of language choice in Fishman 1968 [1972]; Grosjean 1982; and Kachru 1982).

At Taller Puertorriqueño on Friday night, there were Spanish/English bilinguals--both Spanish and English dominant--elderly Spanish monolinguals, and an expected (though small) audience of volunteer tutors who were English monolinguals. Choice of language, then, could be based on any of these influences (or a combination of them) as well as on undiscovered conditioning factors: setting, participants, goals, key, message content, norms (Hymes 1972). The setting at Taller was bilingual in many ways (judging from signs and books, for example; the participants had varying degrees of fluency and expectations that their needs would be accommodated (due to age or status as invited guests). The goals and keys of the presentations and individual utterances were varied; in

at least one instance, a joke seems to have influenced a switch into Spanish. The pattern of language use in this context was not a clear case of either diglossia (Fishman 1972; Pedraza et al 1980) or domain-influenced language choice (Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez 1972), or even metaphorical or situational switching (Blom & Gumperz 1972).

One more example illustrates the significance and complexity of language choice in this speech situation: At one point in the evening, certificates of participation and achievement were awarded to the Hispanic elders who had been part of a LEIF tutorial during the spring. Present was a Philadelphian woman, Joan, who had tutored a Guatemalan woman. As Joan presented the certificate, she congratulated her student in three or four Spanish sentences. Maria, who was standing next to Joan, then translated Joan's Spanish into English.

#### **LEIF Training Workshop**

The workshop for new tutors began around 9 a.m. on Saturday morning. Jackie and I arrived and went to the program office on the second floor of a brick building which housed various University offices. The workshop was held in a room attached to vacant offices on the fourth floor. It has windows at one end, four tables arranged in two V-shapes in the middle, and a table of textbooks, an open space, and a large pad of paper on an easel in the front of the room. Ann had arranged for a catering service to provide an urn of coffee, an urn of hot water, cups, tea bags, sugar and sugar substitute, individual containers of cream, stirrers, napkins, and danish. This was set up in the back of the room. I went to a next-door supermarket to buy additional refreshments (ice, cups, juice), and when I returned 14 prospective tutors had arrived and were seated at the tables. Jackie was standing to the side of the pad of paper and was writing on it tutors' expressed fears about their upcoming assignments and relationships. The workshop progressed in the order in which it had been planned (see description of planned program in the introduction to this paper).



The participants included Jackie, Maria, Olga, and Ann. I was seated at the left, near the front of the room so that I could hear Jackie over the noise of the fan and hear the tutors' questions and responses. A chart listing the tutors' sex, age, race, job or educational status, experience in volunteer/tutor work, and language proficiency (in languages other than English) is provided in Appendix I.

### Language use at LEIF workshop

#### -Teacher-tutor interaction

The workshop was run very much like a traditional classroom-- teacher fronted and teacher dominant. The tutors/students had been given folders containing an agenda, an evaluation form (for the workshop) and suggestions for structuring and conducting their tutorials. Some tutors took notes during the various presentations. They raised their hands and were called on by Jackie or, if Jackie asked for a response (e.g., "What do you think your students will want to know?"), tutors would volunteer answers, one speaking at a time. Throughout the various sections of the workshop, Jackie remained the teacher--she decided when to move from one section to the next, presented the method, and answered questions--and the tutors remained students. During the vocabulary and dialogue practices, the tutors formed their own dyads or small groups to try out the method.

One activity actually intensified the student-teacher relationship: the "language-sensitivity exercise". In this exercise Jackie, who speaks Cakchiquel, asked the tutors to imagine they were in Guatemala, with no one to translate for them. She was their language teacher. Using no English, Jackie proceeded with an audio-lingual method lesson in Cakchiquel vocabulary. Hand and body movements and the word [u ts] for 'good' marked the boundaries of the lesson: listen, repeat, identify, respond, etc. The tutors (except for one)<sup>8</sup> looked steadily at Jackie, followed the directions, and seemed engaged in the exercise. One tutor said later, it was "like my tongue was made out of concrete".

A sociolinguistic analysis of this lesson and the entire classroom discourse (see Mehan 1979; Stubbs 1983) is beyond the scope of this paper. Areas that might profitably be

examined, however, include: any similarity between Jackie's method of teaching and the audio-lingual method tutors were instructed to use with their students; the differences in type or amount of "participation" between tutors who were then Temple students and those who were not students; a comparison of the students' evaluations of each section of the workshop with characteristics of the section in terms of student participation and required task (e.g., students rated the language-sensitivity exercise high; that section included the most direct vocal participation by students).

#### -Style

There were two types of style-shifting that I noticed during the part of the workshop that involved actual practice teaching with Hispanic elders. The first concerned the production of standard or non-standard utterances depending on the task (or attention paid to speech); the second involved "foreigner talk".

Two elders and one young man were brought into the workshop so that the tutors could try out the methods they had heard about and had practiced earlier in the day.<sup>9</sup> The tutors separated into three groups and endeavored to teach vocabulary. One group included a young black tutor, Tim. As Tim was modelling the word 'leg', he said three times, very slowly and with exaggerated vowel stress, [l ig], instead of the standard [l g]. Later in the day, back in the workshop setting, when tutors were reading aloud from ESL textbooks, Tim showed no such non-standard pronunciation. Additional observation and audio-taping might reveal some interesting differences between Tim's switching and that discovered by Labov (1972) and Milroy (1980) in relation to formal style and attention-paid-to-speech measures.

The issue of simplified register, foreigner talk or even motherese (Ferguson 1977) and inexperienced tutors initially arose as a matter of "key" in the LEIF workshop. As the tutors began their lessons with the Hispanic student, the reaction to the student's "correct" response was gleeful. The tutors smiled, turned to other tutors who'd been watching the lesson, and all of the members said, "Yes!" "Yea!" or "Right!" loudly and enthusiastically.

These sorts of responses led Jackie to tell one group, "Let's not be too condescending, now". Did the tutors mean to be condescending? How did the student interpret the tutors' responses to his/her success? What are the linguistic features of "condescending speech"?

In any case, the tutors were responding to their students in ways similar yet different from the ways Jackie said [u ts] in her Cakchiquel lesson. The entire area of tutor attitude in interaction with the students seems rich for study.

### Goals

The final area of interest--goals--requires much more data and a much wider lens than I was able to provide, if it is to be well described. Even though my observations did not reveal instances of conflicting goals (except perhaps in the "condescending" response), it seems likely that this issue would emerge in a more complete ethnography.

There are at least four perspectives on the project's goals, those of: 1) the director, staff and supervisors (this may need to be further divided); 2) the tutor volunteer; 3) the elder student; 4) the community leaders who help identify elders and provide tutoring space and other support. The ethnographer could begin to collect information on each group's purpose and goal by:

- examining the Project's expressed goals in advertisements, orientation format and literature;

- interviewing as a follow-up to tutors' responses to question #6 on the Tutor Intake Form: "Why are you interested in working with Project LEIF?" (see Appendix I);

- interviewing community leaders and observing the types and extent of their support;

- looking at the elder students' expressed interests and hopes; their attendance patterns; their interim satisfaction; and perhaps, most interestingly, the changes in the elders' relationships to family, Hispanic community, and Philadelphia community in response to their increasing facility in English.

This last focus, the elders' changing roles in the speech community and changing competence in the target language, is one that could be informed by and perhaps

contribute to the study of speech community (Gumperz 1972; Hymes 1972; Labov 1972); to language maintenance (Fishman 1972; Kloss 1966; Smith & Lance 1979); and to definitions of communicative competence (Canale & Swain 1980; Hymes 1972 [1968]). To what speech community do the elders belong? How much contact do they have (through, for example, English-speaking children and grandchildren) with the wider Philadelphia speech community? To what extent do the elders maintain Spanish in their Hispanic community and how will knowledge of English affect this role as guardian of Spanish? Do the elders wish to become "communicatively competent" in English; do they perceive a real need for communicative competence in English?

The LEIF project is a rich source of sociolinguistic data, from macro- to micro-topics.<sup>10</sup> I hope that future researchers will pursue the questions I have raised here, findings answers and raising new questions.

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written for the "Sociolinguistics in Education" course taught by Cheri Micheau.

<sup>2</sup> These preliminary observations on language use were gathered using an ethnographic method. That is, I attempted to notice and record as much information as I could on everyday speech and tried to avoid *a priori* judgment or categorization. Of course, an honest ethnographer will admit her conscious biases, expectations, and limitations. My bias toward categorization (especially speech act categories) was somewhat thwarted by my choice of note-taking rather than audio-recording during the observation. My expectations were few, due to the little time I was able to allot to this task during a three-week course. The one conscious expectation I did harbor--that an informal setting compared to a more formal and more deliberately structured workshop setting would provide very different kinds of speech behavior--was disappointed. My limitations will be obvious throughout; perhaps the most serious being my non-fluency in Spanish.

An ethnography of speaking, which this is a small step toward, will be by nature exploratory, moving between *etic* and *emic* (Pike 1965), revising categories, expanding perspectives. I hope that future students of the ethnography of speaking will continue with this investigation and find some of my observations useful.

<sup>3</sup> "Elder" is the term the LEIF project prefers to use for their elderly students.

<sup>4</sup> Pseudonyms are used throughout this paper.

<sup>5</sup> As an observer, I did not participate in either the party or the workshop. My presence was not unnoticed, however. I was introduced by Jackie as "someone interested in our program". I performed small errands both days and have provided a copy of this observation/paper to LEIF.

<sup>6</sup> References to literature in this paper are meant to suggest further reading in the broad areas mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> Italicized words or the word "Spanish" in italics and parentheses indicates use of one or more Spanish words. Since I was not audio-taping I was not able to provide exact transcriptions of language usage, obviously necessary for any in-depth study of code-switching.

<sup>8</sup> There was one tutor for whom I did not get an intake form. He was a middle-aged black man from Nigeria who acted very differently from the other tutors in many ways. I wish that I had more information on him and had looked at his behavior more closely.

<sup>9</sup> These volunteer students were given their choice of ESL books (a dictionary, a book of readings) in thanks for their help.

<sup>10</sup> Unexamined is the issue of age and the rights and obligations that this factor imposes on the relationship between the tutor and student (Gal 1984; Geertz 1972 [1960]).

## REFERENCES

- Blom, J-P. & J.J. Gumperz. (1972 [1968]). Social meaning in linguistic structure: Code-switching in Norway. In Directions in sociolinguistics, J.J. Gumperz & D.H. Hymes, (eds.). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 407-434.
- Canale, M. & M. Swain. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. Applied Linguistics 1 (1): 1-47.
- Ferguson, C.A. (1977). Baby talk as a simplified register. In Talking to children: Language input and acquisition, C.E. Snow & C. Ferguson, (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 209-237.
- Fishman, J.A. (1972 [1968]). The relationship between micro- and macro-sociolinguistics in the study of who speaks what language to whom and when. In Sociolinguistics, J.B. Pride & J. Holmes, (eds.). Harmondsworth, England: Penguin. 15-32.
- Gal, S. (1984). Peasant men can't get wives. Language change and sex roles in a bilingual community. In Language in use, J. Baugh & J. Sherzer, (eds.). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall. 292-304.
- Geertz, C. (1972 [1960]). Linguistic etiquette. In Sociolinguistics, J.B. Pride & J. Holmes, (eds.). Harmondsworth, England: Penguin. 167-179.
- Grosjean, F. (1982). Life with two languages. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press.
- Gumperz, J.J. (1972). The speech community. In Language and social context, P.P. Giglioli, (ed.). Harmondsworth, England: Penguin. 219-231.
- Gumperz, J.J. & E. Hernandez-Chavez. (1972). Bilingualism, bidialectalism & classroom interaction. In Functions of language in the classroom, C.B. Cazden, D.H. Hymes and V. John, (eds.). New York: Teachers College Press. 84-110.
- Hymes, D.H. (1972 [1960]). On communicative competence. In Sociolinguistics, J.B. Pride & J. Holmes, (eds.). Harmondsworth, England: Penguin. 269-293.
- Hymes, D.H. (1972). Models of the interaction of language and social life. In Directions in sociolinguistics, J.J. Gumperz & D.H. Hymes, (eds.). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 35-71.
- Kachru, B.B. (1982). The bilingual's linguistic repertoire. In Issues in international bilingual education, B. Hartford & A. Valdman, (eds.). New York: Plenum Press. 25-52.
- Kloss, H. (1966). German-American language maintenance efforts. In Language loyalty in the U.S., J.A. Fishman, (ed.). The Hague: Mouton. 206-252.
- Labov, W. (1972). Language in the inner city. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Mehan, H. (1979). Learning lessons. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press.
- Milroy, L. (1980). Language and social networks. London: Basil Blackwell.
- Pedraza, P. J., J. Attinasi & G. Hoffman. (1980). Rethinking diglossia. New York: Language Policy Task Force.
- Pike, K.L. (1965). Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. The Hague: Mouton.
- Smith, R.B. & D.M. Lance. (1979). Standard and disparate varieties of English in the United States. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 21: 124-140.
- Searle, J.R. (1979). Expression and meaning. Cambridge University Press.
- Stubbs, M. (1983). Language, schools and classrooms. London: Methuen.
- Valdés, G. (1982). Social interaction and code-switching patterns: A case study of Spanish/English alternation. In Spanish in the United States, J. Amastae & L. Elias-Olivares. (eds.). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. 209-229.
- Zentella, A. C. (1982). Code-switching and interaction among Puerto Rican children. In Spanish in the United States, J. Amastae & L. Elias-Olivares, (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 354-385.

## Appendix I

### Personal data taken from "Tutor Intake Form"

\*one tutor's form was not available

Name	Sex	Age	Race	Job/Educ.	Tchg. Exp.	For.Lang.
Joe P.	M	18	W	bartender/ student Temple	no	conv. Chinese
Karl P.	M	21	W	grocery cashier junior Temple	no	no
Dan S.	M	40	W	writer/2 yrs. college no degree	no	some Russian
Bob K.	M	20	W	food store soph. Temple	tutor ESL	Spanish
Tim P.	M	22	B	clerical/Temple	no	no
Fran F.	F	21	B	clerical/Temple	no	some Spanish
Mary H.	F	19	B	clerical	political volunteer	no
Darcy P.	F	32	B	admin. secretary/ senior Temple	no	some Spanish French
Alice C.	F	22	B	junior Temple	yes	no
Tracey R.	F	21	B	survey research/ junior Temple	tutor children	no
Paula M.	F	20	Indian	YWCA teacher/ senior Temple	tutor 4th grade	Gujarati
Chris B.	M	51	B	caseworker, city dept. of children & youth MSW/ LaSalle	yes	beg. Spanish
Lewis R.	M	21	W	student of social welfare	TESOL exp.	Spanish

Direct quotations from Tutor Intake Forms: Project LEIF, 5/30/87  
Question # 6: Why are you interested in working with Project LEIF?

- Joe P.: I have a great interest in helping refugees to assimilate so as to improve race relations in Philadelphia and help everyone to respect other cultures.
- Ken P.: Two major reasons. First, I would like the chance to help out someone in a positive way that actually enhances his condition + helps him assimilate into our society more easily. Secondly; I wish to gain some basic teaching skills that hopefully will aid me in some future work or occupation.
- Dan S.: I have been interested in working with the S.E. Asian population in my neighborhood for some time--the recent newspaper article on LEIF prompted my contacting the program.
- Tim P.: I want to give something back to the community.
- Fran F.: Yes.
- Mary H.: Because I like helping people.
- Darcy P.: It will give me a chance to meet other people, learn something about their culture, learn how to teach.
- Alice C.: I am interested in learning Spanish and I feel it may be enhancing for both of us.
- Tracy R.: I like to help people be able to function better in America.
- Chris B.: To share experiencing/teach others to learn American Cultural.
- Lewis R.: As a social welfare major interested in working with Hispanics and other cultural minorities, I hope to gain better cultural awareness and understanding of cultural needs.