

they are good, ethnic role models and linguistic models of standard Cuban Spanish. The fact that many of the teachers are monolingual and that English and Spanish are compartmentalized provides opportunities for the development of Spanish skills (1986: 8).

This program of transitional bilingual education based on pull-out instruction is supplemented by two optional Spanish language programs which are not transitional, one designed for Spanish speakers and another providing Spanish as a Second Language instruction (García and Otheguy, 1986: 8). While the very existence of these programs is laudable the results are not spectacular:

For Spanish speaking children who are either monolingual in Spanish or bilingual in Spanish and English, the program merely promotes limited biliteracy. Although it does appear that Dade County children in these classes develop more literacy in Spanish than other Spanish-speaking groups in the United States, they do not compare well either to those studying in private ethnic schools or to those in the native homelands (García and Otheguy, 1986: 9).

The degree of biliteracy may be greater than that found in students of other transitional programs provided by public schools, but given that Spanish is spoken by so many in Dade County and is an integral part of a thriving economic community, it seems reasonable to expect some degree of superiority over communities where Spanish does not hold such status. Perhaps the difference in performance can be attributed entirely to the status of Spanish in Dade County and not to these public school programs at all. The private ethnic schools of Dade County provide an entirely different and, according to García and Otheguy (1987), dramatically more effective curriculum than that offered by the public schools of the area. García and Otheguy (1987) conducted an ethnographic survey of seven of the ten ethnic schools in the Dade County area. According to them, these "low-tuition, non-elite schools" serve Cuban-American children most of whom come from working class families (1987: 84). While some poor children and a few whose parents are professionals attend these schools, the make up of the student population is quite similar, socio-economically, to that in the public schools (García and Otheguy, 1987: 84). Ethnically, the make up is different. Between 80% and 90% of the students are Cuban; the rest of the population is made up of Hispanics from other backgrounds and a few native English speakers, most of them African-American (García and Otheguy, 1987: 88). Parallel to this ethnic difference, there is also a linguistic difference in these ethnic school, in that the majority of the schools' population speak only Spanish when beginning school (García and Otheguy, 1987: 88).

The students are not the only strongly Cuban element in the schools. School owners, principals, and teachers are also Cuban, most The few (García and Otheguy, 1987: 88). Cuban flags, patriotic paraphernalia, and the singing of the Cuban national anthem with "The Star Spangled Banner" before each school assembly all contribute to the Cuban flavor of the schools.

Language use in the ethnic schools is quite complicated. Spanish is used very little as a medium of instruction, only for religious education (García and Otheguy, 1987: 89; 1986: 14). Yet the children are fully expected to acquire full literacy in Spanish: "Literacy in Spanish was expected of all children, and indeed was obtained. The texts used to develop Spanish literacy are most often those used in Cuba twenty-five years ago for Spanish monolingual children..." (García and Otheguy, 1987: 89). Spanish is also taught, as English would be to a population of native speakers, not as a second or foreign language; however, it is accorded special status, having a different teacher for instruction in Spanish language arts. García and Otheguy (1986) cite a number of sources showing that compartmentalization of this sort is conducive to mother tongue maintenance; on the other hand, teachers and school administrators see it as "an effort to protect Spanish and prevent children's natural shift to English give Spanish a specially privileged place in the curriculum" (García and Otheguy, 1986:15).

The use of English in the curriculum is much more extensive. While most of the children speak only Spanish when they come to school, there is no ESL instruction or any other remedial training for the Spanish dominant students (García and Otheguy, 1987: 90). All children, regardless of home language, are instructed in English.

They took a relaxed, natural approach to teach and develop the English language. They focused not on the structure of English, as most traditional ESL classes at the elementary level do, but instead used English as an instrument of communication. ... At the same time the bilingualism of the teacher and the children was used as an instructional resource. Spanish was often used to help a child gather meaning from something said in English that he didn't understand. English was developed precisely by using Spanish as a meaning-giving resource (García and Otheguy, 1987: 91).

New students, too are placed in the usual English-medium classes, but even for students who speak no English, this cannot be said to be submersion because the teacher and the other children in the class speak Spanish fluently, no matter what their level of English proficiency.

Non-curricular language use in the schools is divided along age lines. Children who come to school in first grade speaking no English are by the third grade beginning to choose English when speaking to one another; it becomes the "language of socialization both in the classroom and in the playground" (García and Otheguy, 1987: 88). Despite this shift from Spanish to English as the language of socialization among children, Spanish continues to be used by children in their dealings with teachers, administrators, and other school staff members (García and Otheguy, 1987: 89).

While the transitional bilingual programs in the public schools may also be said to use Spanish as "a meaning-giving resource" (García and Otheguy, 1987: 91), there are some vital differences between the ethnic school and public school programs. The public schools of Dade County provide limited biliteracy, but the ethnic schools develop full literacy in both Spanish and English by Cuban monolingual and by American monolingual standards respectively. The ethnic schools have a reputation in the community for providing a solid education and teaching good Spanish (García and Otheguy, 1987: 86).

García and Otheguy credit the success in producing biliterate students, not to any curricular features, but to the status of Spanish in the ethnic schools (1987: 89). While English is the language of instruction from the very start and even of socialization after third grade, Spanish remains the language of power, used by authority figures such as teachers, administrators, and staff. The language is respected. The use of Spanish is not seen as supplemental nor as a danger to the supremacy of English. Instead, in these schools English is apt to be seen as endangering Spanish: "Principals and teachers know that English, as the majority language, is acquired naturally by children living in the United States. It is Spanish, they believe, that has to be nurtured, developed, and protected" (García and Otheguy, 1987: 89). According to García and Otheguy, the focus on education instead of on the provision of English proficiency, coupled with the fact that children are not singled out as defective or lacking for speaking Spanish, leads to the success of these ethnic schools (1987: 92-93).

Because the ethnic schools are not "programs" offered to Spanish-speaking children within a school system for "normal," English-speaking students, their education would have to be seen as school-wide. Additionally, because some Anglo children attend these schools and learn Spanish language and literacy, the ethnic schools could be seen as two-way bilingual education; however, they are not intended as enrichment programs. Their goal is clearly maintenance, and the result seems to

be bilingualism and biliteracy for Spanish and Anglo students alike. It seems that Dade County's ethnic schools should be seen as enrichment, were it not for the small number of Anglos who take advantage of the programs.

Policy Implications

If high expectations, combined with the understanding that bilingualism is natural and biliteracy is possible, result in the kind of scholastic success enjoyed by Dade County's ethnic schools (García and Otheguy, 1986, 1987), then it seems logical to conclude that the educators attitude towards students, language, and language use is the key to effective education of Spanish-speaking children. A look at several studies of Mexican school children showed that compared to Anglos, Mexican students garnered less praise or other positive feedback and "received more disapproval (unless their dominant language was English) and fewer pieces of non-evaluative academic information" (Avila and Duncan, 1980: 114). There is, then, a connection between a student's dominant language and a teacher's impressions of, expectations for, and behavior toward that student. "It would thus appear that the teacher's perceptions and attitudes may be related to certain linguistic variables, which in turn have an impact on academic performance" (Avila and Duncan, 1980: 114). Teachers' awareness of these perceptions and attitudes towards Spanish, of their resulting behaviors, and of the effect of these behaviors on students could result in a positive change.

Avila and Duncan also showed that ability is seen as a sign of intelligence, so that both teachers and students see skill in reading as an indicator of intelligence even when a low level of proficiency in reading English might be attributed to linguistic difficulties (1980: 114). This negative association, like the attitudes toward Spanish, could change through a raising of consciousness about linguistic attitudes.

Clearly there is some association between Spanish speakers and low socioeconomic status in this case, so that the linguistic variable is not the only one to consider. Solé attributes Cuban academic success to high socioeconomic status. Yet, Delgado-Gaitan would argue against the logical correlate, that low socioeconomic status results in low scholastic success because of the low parental aspirations and the community's devaluation of education.

As we have seen, Delgado-Gaitan would argue with Solés conclusion correlating the level of parental aspirations to socioeconomic status; she would,

however, agree with him about the fact that lack of educational experience makes it more difficult to support children's academic endeavors. Laosa's (1978) study of Mexican mothers and their children in California supports this. The study showed that socioeconomic status has less to do with home teaching practices than does the educational achievement/experience of the parents. Laosa found that

...mother's education was significantly and positively related to (the use of) inquiry and praise (as teaching strategies) but inversely related to (the use of) modeling. There was also, but for boys' only, a significant inverse relationship between mother's education and negative physical control (Laosa, 1978: 1133).

A similar relationship was found between a mother's teaching strategies and a father's educational level, which correlated closely to the mother's. There was not a significant correlation between occupation, the usual measure of socioeconomic status (Laosa, 1978: 1134), and teaching strategies used by mothers (Laosa, 1978: 1133). Social class is thus no more a good indicator of educational practices at home than it is of parental aspirations for their children.

Parental involvement in the schools is arguably important to the success of educational programs, but insuring this for educationally inexperienced parents is difficult. Lareau states that "the social profitability of middle-class arrangements is tied to the schools' definition of the proper family-school relationship" (1987: 82). Those parents who understand and conform to these norms give their children an educational advantage. Delgado-Gaitan's (1990) solution is to provide parents with information about these school expectations and with ways of meeting them.

It is not, however, only the parents who need increased information about home-school interactions. Schools and teachers also need to understand the social and linguistic factors influencing parental behavior. Teachers in Portillo assumed that Mexican parents did not care about education because they did not fit the middle class model of a caring parent. Yet, clearly these parents wanted their children to achieve scholastically. Had Portillo teachers and administrators made a point of communicating with the Mexican community, they would have had a better understanding of the situation and perhaps have known how to increase parental involvement. In the end, Portillo's Mexican parents organized themselves and went to the schools. It seems clear, however, that the schools should meet parents half way, particularly when the latter are not familiar with the American system of education.

Of course the lack of public support remains a problem for bilingual education proponents. Hosch (1984) conducted a survey of El Paso residents with varying

degrees of involvement in and knowledge of the local bilingual programs. The survey asked a range of questions about the need for and usefulness of bilingual education, the government's responsibility to provide these sorts of programs, the respondents willingness to pay for them, and the racial, ethnic, and linguistic attitudes of the respondents. Differences were not found along ethnic lines; instead, divisions were found between those who did and did not have children in the bilingual education programs.

These data indicate that the respondents who had children in bilingual education were significantly more likely to believe that bilingual education provides equal opportunity and increases academic achievement for its recipients and being in favor of bilingualism and Spanish language learning and maintenance. They were also less likely to stereotype Mexican-Americans (Hosch, 1984: 22).

Those in favor of social change and those who see the need for changes to make living in our increasingly multicultural society more comfortable, cannot help but see the benefit to the community of this apparent side benefit. Whether the association with bilingual education is the result or the cause of this positive attitude toward Spanish and Mexicans, or whether there is another variable to which the association and the attitude correlate remains in question. It is not clear whether simple contact with bilingual education, and the people involved in it, my idealistic view of the world, it would; I would thus advocate increased exposure to and education about bilingual education and its benefits. Unfortunately that leads to ethical questions about who should make decisions about educational content and whether education of a particular sort should be imposed on those who do not desire it.

Conclusion

As a result of all this consideration of the educational options available to Hispanics we have no definitive answer as to which groups would benefit most by the implementation of which models through which program types. Instead, the only thing clear is that more attention to a variety of factors is needed, both in the planning of programs and in the assessment of their success.

It is more and more painfully obvious that the school cannot be evaluated in isolation. The connection between the school and the community is vital to the success of any educational program for linguistic minorities. The economic, social,

and linguistic relationship of the minority community to the wider population must not be neglected.

The success of the ethnic schools of Dade County recommends neighborhood schools, like Philadelphia's Potter Thomas School. This insures that the community controls, at least to some extent, the school's programming. The attitudes found in the school are likely to be more positive both towards the language and its speakers, particularly if teachers are drawn from the community. This also provides positive ethnic role models, reinforces the value of the home language, and gives strength to the educational aspirations of individual parents. The question to look into now is whether this kind of school could thrive in every environment.

¹ Following Delgado-Gaitan (1990), I will use the term Mexican to refer to all those Americans of Mexican descent, regardless of generation or linguistic considerations.

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