

LAU V. NICHOLS 40 YEARS LATER – WHERE ARE WE NOW?
A STUDY OF PHILOSOPHICAL, POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND SOCIETAL
ISSUES IMPACTING BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY

A Dissertation

by

KATHLEEN MARY EVERLING

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2009

Major Subject: Curriculum and Instruction

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Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	George P. Slattery
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ABSTRACT

Lau v. Nichols 40 Years Later – Where Are We Now? A Study of Philosophical, Political, Cultural and Societal Issues Impacting Bilingual Education in the Early 21st Century. (December 2009)

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Bilingual education in the United States has been at the forefront of educational politics and debates since its inception. Arguments over language of instruction and program goals overshadow the deeper philosophical, political and societal issues rooted at the heart of bilingual education. This purpose of this study was to present a critical view of the issues impacting a small Central Texas school district's early childhood bilingual program. Over the course of a year, I conducted a focus group interview followed by individual interviews with two preschool and two kindergarten Spanish bilingual teachers. I collected field notes and observational data on site for two years. Based in grounded theory, the data dictated the focus of the study. The open coding process used to analyze the focus group interview data uncovered the foundational themes for this study. The individual interviews were analyzed using open coding, confirming and elaborating on the themes. Field notes and observational data were used

to triangulate the data. The themes were: philosophical and theoretical foundations, politics and policies, and social and cultural issues.

Through the lens of the data, I examined the impact of *No Child Left Behind*, *Reading First*, and the corresponding Texas regulations. The participants found the testing requirements to be distracting from their teaching. They believed the requirements, particularly for assessment, to be inappropriate and of limited use in their classrooms. From a sociocultural perspective, I discovered discrimination and segregation, but the teacher participants never opened a dialogue about these practices with each other or their administrator. The bilingual classes were isolated, given inferior and inappropriate materials. The school's culture was one of assimilation, not diversity.

Finally, I examined the underlying issues that impacted this bilingual education program and the implications for further research. There is a need to conduct further research into bilingual teacher education, including alternative certification and continuing education, the hidden curriculum and bilingual education and empowerment of bilingual teachers through dialogue. Bilingual education holds the promise of closing the gaps in education, but further research must include the critical areas of influence including philosophy, politics and sociocultural issues, not just program goals and language acquisition.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my mother who has always been an inspiration to me. She was my first teacher. She has supported me, even when she didn't agree with me. She empowered me to see beyond the obvious, to embrace diversity, and to care deeply for those around me. As the child of an immigrant, I have learned to embrace the American dream, but I learned from her that, while dreams can come true, they take time, dedication and sacrifice. My mother has given us so much more than she will ever know. This dedication is one small way of acknowledging all she has done for me.

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I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. Patrick Slattery, and my committee members, Dr. Laura Stough, Dr. Chance Lewis, and Dr. Trina Davis, for their guidance and support throughout the course of this research.

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Finally, thanks to my family for their encouragement, patience and endurance in this endeavor, and without whose support I would not be where I am today.

NOMENCLATURE

AYP	Annual Yearly Progress
BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CTECC	Central Texas Early Childhood Center
DRA	Developmental Reading Assessment
ELL	English Language Learner
ESC	Educational Service Center
ESL	English as a Second Language
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LEA	Local Education Agency
LEP	Limited English Proficient
NABE	National Association for Bilingual Education
NCLB	<i>No Child Left Behind</i>
PPCD	Preschool Program for Children with Disabilities
TAKS	Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills
TEA	Texas Education Agency
TEKS	Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills
TELPAS	Texas English Language Proficiency Assessment System

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
NOMENCLATURE	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH	1
Purpose.....	2
Locale.....	2
Bilingual Program.....	4
Teacher Participants	5
My Role in the Study	8
Data Collection and Analysis	10
Organization of the Study	12
II TOWARDS A CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION	15
Bilingual Education Programs in the US	16
Goals of Bilingual Education	17
Foundational Theory of Bilingual Education.....	18
Philosophies of Education and Bilingual Education	19
Working with the Poor.....	20
Learning Together.....	24
Implications for Bilingual Education.....	26
Towards a Reconceptualization of Bilingual Education	29
Rethinking Time and Place for Education	31
Teacher Shortages.....	31
A Final Thought.....	33

CHAPTER	Page
III	<i>LAU V. NICHOLS</i> 35 YEARS LATER – WHERE ARE WE NOW? 34
	Political Realities of Bilingual Education in Texas 35
	How English Language Learners Acquire Academic English Proficiency 37
	<i>NCLB vs. Bilingual Education Act</i> 38
	Kindergarten Teachers and TELPAS 41
	<i>NCLB</i> , Reading First and Structured Curriculum 43
	Accountability, Structured Curriculum, Materials and Assessments 46
	Conclusions 50
IV	CULTURE, CULTURE CLASHES AND POWER RELATIONS: BEYOND BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL EDUCATION..... 53
	Culture in Bilingual Education..... 54
	Societal and Historical Factors..... 58
	Historic Segregation 60
	Bilingual Education at the Central Texas Early Childhood Center (CTECC) 62
	Segregation Today 63
	Discrimination Issues 65
	Sociocultural Issues in the Kindergarten Program..... 66
	Inadequate Materials and Trainings..... 68
	Sociocultural Issues in the Prekindergarten Program 69
	Conclusions 71
V	FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER ACTIONS 73
	Bilingual Teacher Education 74
	Bilingual Teachers’ Cultural Knowledge 77
	Filling in the Research Gaps 79
	Schools Mirror Society..... 79
	Opening Dialogue 83
	A Final Thought 87
	REFERENCES..... 88
	VITA 93

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Bilingual education is a complex program that must comply with federal and state regulations and which is impacted by individual, school and societal cultures and histories. Within these constraints, teachers must meet the needs of a culturally and linguistically diverse student population. Teachers in bilingual education often find that they are torn between their own beliefs, what research says works, and the demands of the school and society in which they work.

Originally, I intended to conduct a qualitative case study of how early childhood bilingual teachers develop biculturalism within their classrooms. As is the nature of many qualitative studies, this one took on a life of its own. As I began interviewing and observing the teachers and analyzing the data, I realized that the teachers and students were facing issues beyond the classroom that were often at odds with the bilingual program's goals of providing opportunities for students to become bilingual, bi-literate and bicultural. I was becoming frustrated because the data did not seem to be answering my original research questions. I finally realized that I needed to focus, not on what I wanted to find, but on what the teachers were telling me. They informed me that there were many factors influencing their students' cultural development, and that they, as teachers, had very little control over most of them. As I listened to them, I discovered that the influences could be divided into distinct categories: philosophical, political, cultural and societal. Rather than trying to force the data to fit my questions, I decided to

This dissertation follows the style of *Bilingual Research Journal*.

allow the data to drive the theory. “In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence; then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept” (Glasser & Strauss, 1967, p 23). These categories: philosophical, political, cultural and societal are now the focus of this study.

Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the issues impacting one early childhood Prekindergarten and Kindergarten bilingual program in Central Texas. Guided by the data collected through observations and interviews with bilingual teachers, I am focusing on the areas that are currently having the most profound impact on them. I begin by exploring the theoretical and philosophical foundations that my beliefs about bilingual education are based on and are supported by the data. I then examine the current policies and politics that are impacting the bilingual classroom, focusing on the federal program, *No Child Left Behind* and its *Reading First* grant program, and on the impact the federal programs are having on Texas and on the bilingual classrooms. Finally, I investigate the social, cultural and historical issues that are impacting the classes and teachers. These include issues of segregation and discrimination.

Locale

In the broadest sense, the locale for this study is Central Texas. Central Texas is home to cotton farming, the state capital and the beautiful Texas Hill Country. Besides the cities of Austin, San Antonio and Waco, Central Texas is home to many small to mid-size rural and suburban communities. The site for this study is one of these small communities of approximately 15,000 documented residents. In order to protect the

identities of the participants, I will not be using the actual name of school, the district, or the town.

The community members refer to the town as a Czech community even though over 40% of the documented community members are Hispanic. In addition, there is a large undocumented Hispanic population within the community. The town has historically been a farming community, raising cotton and corn, and relying heavily on migrant farm workers, many of whom were undocumented. Farming is still a part of the community, but it no longer is the primary income source for the majority of the community.

The school district in the community is composed of one high school campus with grades nine through twelve, one middle school campus with grades six through eight, an upper elementary school with grades three through five and a primary school with grades prekindergarten through second. The primary school is divided into two campuses, one with first and second grades and one with the prekindergarten and kindergarten program. Both campuses are officially under one principal, but in reality function as two separate schools with the early childhood campus acting as an independent school. The specific locale for this study is an early childhood Prekindergarten (PreK) and Kindergarten campus in a mid-size Central Texas public school district. I will refer to the campus as the Central Texas Early Childhood Center (CTECC).

The CTECC is the home to all the district's Kindergarten students enrolled in public schools. Although Kindergarten is not a required grade in Texas, the district's

program is open to all students. There are currently 11 Kindergarten classes of which 2 classes are Spanish speaking bilingual classes. Over 50% of the Kindergarten students are Hispanic¹ with almost 30% speaking Spanish at home.

In order to attend prekindergarten, students must qualify. They may qualify as economically disadvantaged, the child of military parents, or as Limited English Proficient (LEP).² Prekindergarten students who qualify are served in a full day program through either in the 3 traditional prekindergarten English and 2 Spanish Bilingual classes on the campus. In addition, the district partners with a Head Start Program, staffed by non-certified teachers. The district sends a certified English as a Second Language (ESL) prekindergarten teacher to the Head Start program for half a day. This teacher rotates from classroom to classroom supplementing instruction of the Head Start teachers.

The early childhood campus is under the direction of a campus administrator. Although the campus functions as independently, it is actually a satellite campus of the primary school whose principal is officially responsible for the campus. The primary principal is rarely at the early childhood campus, allowing the early childhood director to have almost complete autonomy.

Bilingual Program

The district has adopted a late exit or late transitional model of Spanish-English bilingual education using an 80-20 model. In this type of program, students at the

¹ I am using the term Hispanic to refer to people of Spanish decent, usually from the Americas. I am using this term because it is the most widely used and accepted term in Texas.

² I am using the term LEP throughout this document. I prefer the term English Language Learner because it does not have the negative, deficit connotation of LEP. I am using LEP because this is term used in both Texas and Federal documents.

youngest grades receive 80% of their day in their native language and 20% in the second language. At the CTECC, students spend approximately 20% of the school week in “special” classes like library, computer, councilor, music and physical education. These classes are all in English. The remaining 80% of the time, the students are with their primary teacher. In the case of the bilingual students, they are with a bilingual certified teacher who instructs them primarily in Spanish. The students stay in this program through fifth grade. By the end of fifth grade, the students are receiving 80% of their instruction in English and 20% in Spanish. According to the Texas Education Agency (TEA), this bilingual program, like all second language programs in the state should include a cognitive, linguistic and affective domain (Texas Administrative Code, 2007). The state goal of the program is for the students to be bilingual, biliterate and bicultural.

The bilingual program for the district is available to any Spanish speaking student grades prekindergarten through fifth who qualifies as LEP. As the home of the district’s bilingual prekindergarten and kindergarten program, the early childhood campus is responsible for providing the cultural, linguistic, and educational foundation for the entire district.

Teacher Participants

The 4 bilingual teachers who have participated in this study with me are from 4 different cultures. Two of the participants teach prekindergarten, and two teach kindergarten. They were chosen first because they are the only bilingual teachers on the campus. The four (Table 1) represent four different cultural backgrounds, with varying levels of English and Spanish language proficiency, education, and teaching experience.

TABLE 1: DESCRIPTION OF TEACHER PARTICIPANTS

TEACHERS	JANE	MARIA	ELENA	LINDA
YEARS OF EXPERIENCE	15+	3	4	3
TYPE OF CERTIFICATION	TRAD. UNIV. PROGRAM	1 year ALT. CERTIFICATION PROGRAM	2 year ALT. CERTIFICATION PROGRAM	1 year ALT. CERTIFICATION PROGRAM
PRIMARY LANGUAGE	ENGLISH	SPANISH	SPANISH	ENGLISH
LOCATION OF EDUCATION	US, SOUTH AMERICA, SPAIN	MEXICO	TEXAS – BORDER TOWN	CENTRAL TEXAS

The first teacher, Jane, was born in South America to White, English-speaking, missionary parents. She has lived in several Spanish-speaking counties and was educated first in Spanish, then English, then Spanish and then English again. Jane was trained as a teacher in a traditional teacher program as an early childhood and Special Education teacher who later received her bilingual teacher certification. She has been teaching for more than fifteen years although they were not fifteen consecutive years, as

she took time off to raise her family. All of her teaching experience has been with the district.

Jane's grade level bilingual counterpart, Maria, was born and raised in Mexico. She was educated as a lawyer in Mexico and moved to the US as an adult where she has learned English as a second language and received her teacher training through a one year intensive alternative teacher program. Although she has struggled with acquiring academic English, she has been an outstanding prekindergarten bilingual teacher. She is in her third year in the classroom as a teacher after first working as a bilingual teacher's aide.

The third bilingual teacher is Elena. She was born in Mexico to migrant farm workers. She moved to a border-town in the Rio Grande Valley when she was seven. At that time she entered US schools and began her education, which was conducted completely in English. She traveled around much of the US working with her parents in the summers as a migrant farm worker, but her parents maintained their Texas home. She completed her public school education in Texas and went on to receive her bachelor's degree in Social Work. She worked in social work until she found herself working as a teacher at a Head Start program. During that time, she decided that she wanted to become a public school teacher and entered a two-year alternative certification program at one of the state's Educational Service Centers (ESC). She has been working as a bilingual Kindergarten teacher for four years.

The fourth bilingual teacher is Linda. Linda is in her third year as a bilingual Kindergarten teacher. She was born in the US to Mexican immigrant parents. She has

lived all of her life in Central Texas. Although she spoke primarily Spanish with her parents, since she was the youngest child, she learned English from her older siblings and was bilingual upon starting school. She was educated in English in Texas. She received a bachelor's degree in Spanish and business. Then, four years ago, she decided to follow in the footsteps of many of her family members and go into education. She entered a one-year intensive alternative certification program through an ESC and began teaching. She is in her third year as a teacher.

My Role in the Study

I struggled with completing this study because I struggled to identify my role in it. I finally realized that I needed to stop trying to be a detached observer. I chose this topic because I am passionate about it. I chose this site because I am vested in the education of the children in the area.

One of the problems with traditional positivist research is that it "...brings to bear, on any study of indigenous people, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language and structures of power" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 42). My research comes out of a feminist paradigm. I believe that we must understand that we each construct meanings in many different ways and that our society greatly influences our paradigms.

In every research study, every researcher "...is inevitably bringing her culture, language, experience, and expectations into interactions with others or with texts" (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998, p. 76). I am a product of my history, culture

and up-bringing. I was raised Irish Catholic by an immigrant mother. I have the culture embedded in my soul and understand what it means to be a colonized people, to be “the other.” I believe that we must be careful as researchers to not make decisions about the values of others and to remember that we are products of imperialistic, colonial enterprises that refused to accept the values of those they colonized and forced assimilation.

I visited the classes of the bilingual teachers who have agreed to participate in this journey with me. For one of them, this was our third year working together. For the other three, it was our fourth year together, although one worked as a teaching assistant the first year. During their first year teaching, I served as a mentor to two of the teacher participants. For four years, I spent an average of ten hours a week on the campus, interviewing and working with the teacher participants. I observed them and their interactions with their students. I had many informal conversations with them about the bilingual education, methodology, and their perspectives on language acquisition. I got to know them on a variety of levels: some as colleagues and some as friends. They were available to me whenever I asked because they knew that I was also available to them whenever they needed or wanted me.

I realized that I could not remain apart from this study. I was a part of it. I was a member of their school community. I shared the culture of being a bilingual educator with them; yet I was not one of them. At times I was a participant and accepted as a member, but they usually reminded me in subtle ways that I was also apart, an outsider looking in. I was a participant observer and as such have included my interactions,

anecdotes, and notes throughout the study and used them to guide my questions and interviews with the teachers.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data was collected in the spring of the 2008-09 school year and throughout the 2008-09 school year. Initial data was collected through a focus group interview with the four bilingual teachers and me. Because of the cultural norms and values of the participants, women's ways of knowing and working with these teachers, I began with a focus group interview with all four participants. I found that they were more open and willing to talk within the safety of a group. During this interview, all of the teachers shared in their ideas of culture, how they have been working with the students to help them be bicultural, and their frustrations and triumphs in negotiating the complexities of bilingual education.

Following this two-hour interview, I transcribed the data and looked at each question, who responded, and a category for the responses using open coding. "Open coding is the part of the analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorizing of phenomena through close examination of the data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 62). Afterwards I organized the narrow categories into broader categories or themes.

During open coding the data are broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, compared for similarities and differences, and questions are asked about the phenomena as reflected in the data. Through this process, one's own and others' assumptions about phenomena are questioned or explored leading to new discoveries (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 62).

At this point, I noticed that most of the teachers' responses fell into one of three broad themes: philosophy and theory, politics and policies and culture and society.

Because of the nature of this study "... a mixture of focus group discussions and one-to-one interviews is most appropriate in cross-cultural or cross-racial research and..., where issues of power and disclosure are amplified" (Pollack, 2003, p. 472). Based on the data from the focus group interview, I conducted individual interviews with the four teachers. The purpose of the individual interviews was to expand and elaborate on the data of focus group. After each individual interview, I transcribed the data. I did not do a line-by-line analysis, but rather divided the responses where the ideas changed, breaking them into sentences or paragraphs. "This approach can be used at any time, but is especially useful when you have several categories already defined and now want to code around them" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 73). I categorized the responses and looked to see if the categories fell into one of the themes from the focus group interview.

By using open coding, I also conducted an analysis of my field notes. This data source was used as a means of triangulating the data. "In qualitative data analysis, triangulation occurs when multiple measures within the same scale measures the same construct...." (Fine, Weis, Weseen & Wong, 2000, p. 118). Triangulation can be done by using multiple measures or through redundancy. I have chosen to use redundancy and to vary the types of interviews. By conducting a series of different types of interviews, I was able to triangulate the data to help with the issues of clarity and validity.

I conducted most of the interviews in English; however, since all the participants are bilingual, we freely switched back and forth to Spanish. I began the interviews in

English, but allowed the participants to guide me in deciding which language we will speak.

I transcribed the interviews in the original language; however, in order to make my final document accessible to more people, I am including a translation of all Spanish data, approved by the participants. After I transcribed the interviews, I returned to the teachers and asked them to perform a member's check on their parts of the interviews. A member's check helped to ensure that I was staying true to the teacher's voices and that I have correctly understood the messages they were conveying. This was especially important since I had to translate some of the interviews. I did not do a literal translation, but a translation of the ideas, trying to stay as true to the original in tone, language, and flow of ideas as possible. With a literal translation, too often only the denotation is translated while the connotation is lost. I want to ensure that I am translating both because words and the intent correctly.

After the first interviews and initial data analysis, I conducted second interviews with the teachers to clarify points and expand on ideas from the primary interviews. These interviews were also transcribed and analyzed. I found that all the data could fit into the broad themes from the focus group.

Organization of the Study

I have organized this dissertation study using a journal article format. Each of the themes: philosophy, politics and policies, and cultural, societal and historical issues are treated as independent studies. Each chapter can serve as a stand-alone document. Because of the style of this study, many of the same ideas are repeated, especially in the

data collection and analysis section, as they remained constant throughout the study. I did not include independent abstracts or reference lists for each chapter. I have included one abstract at the beginning of this study that encompasses this entire body of work. Likewise, I have included only one reference list at the end of the study that includes all references from the study.

Chapter II lays the theoretical and philosophical framework for the study. Educators “...can learn something of significance in terms of both theory and practice from reading, thinking about, and discussing the great philosophic tradition in education” (Reed & Johnson, 1996, p. 1). I have chosen to highlight the most referenced theory of second language development and the writings of the two philosophers who have had the greatest influence on my beliefs about education. This chapter is very self-reflective, but the voices of the teacher participants are still heard.

Chapter III examines the policies and politics that are currently influencing bilingual education. In it, I looked at the changes in bilingual education since the passing of *No Child Left Behind (NCLB)*, the implementation of the *Reading First* grant, and the changes Texas has required because of them. The teachers discussed their viewpoints about the requirements and how they impact the classes, teachers, and students.

In Chapter IV, I examined the social and cultural influences impacting bilingual education. I discussed the tough issues of segregation and discrimination from both a historical and current perspective. The teachers both defend and condemn the school practices that allow these practices to be perpetuated.

In Chapter V, I discussed my findings and conclusions in terms of their relationship with the current research and the need for ongoing research. I found that underlying the issues of the teacher participants, there are three critical needs areas for researchers to address: bilingual teacher education, the hidden curriculum and bilingual education and empowerment of bilingual teachers through dialogue. Chapter V is my effort to bring these issues to light and propose them as the focus of additional research.

CHAPTER II

TOWARDS A CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Many people today consider bilingual education to be a relatively new educational movement in the United States. On the contrary, bilingual education is as old as the US. With the United States being a country of immigrants, throughout its history, schools have offered instruction in the native language of the immigrants. This did not include immigrants from Africa, nor was native language instruction encouraged for Native Americans. Throughout the US and its territories, private and public schools emerged that offered instruction in German, Dutch, French, Chinese, Spanish and many other languages (Crawford, 1995).

Not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century did schools begin turning away from native language instruction. Rooted in the “Common School Movement” of the mid to late 1800’s, schools began teaching almost entirely in English under the assumption that the “Melting Pot” theory of education would promote unity, create a single “American Culture” and promote patriotism (Spring, 1997, p. 79). This theory put an end to most bilingual or second language classes throughout the United States. “Within a generation the Americanizers’ goal of transforming a polygot society into a monolingual one was largely achieved” (Crawford, 1995, p. 30).

By the 1960’s, arguments began again concerning bilingual education. Several court decisions ruled in favor of bilingual education. Of particular importance was the case of *Lau v. Nichols*, in which the Chinese in California successfully fought for bilingual education for their children, that bilingual education was necessary for

equal education. During this time federal laws were passed that called for bilingual education, including the *Bilingual Education Act* (Baker, 1993).

The controversy over bilingual education continued to grow into the 1990's as evidenced by California's *Proposition 227*. Within weeks of its passing, lawsuits were filed to contest it. *Proposition 227* led the way for other states to effectively do away with bilingual education. It was debated in universities, school board meetings, state and federal agencies and among teachers and parents.

With the passing of *No Child Left Behind (NCLB)*, the federal mandates for bilingual education were effectively nullified. Because bilingual education is no longer federally mandated, many states are moving away from bilingual programs. The impact of these changes are just beginning to be felt in schools, and the long term effects of these changes in policies may not be known for some time, but the arguments for and against bilingual education continue to be debated.

In order to better understand the arguments for and against bilingual education, you must first understand the theories, related philosophies, and current practices of second language acquisition. Once you begin to reach an understanding, you can begin to deconstruct and reconceptualize bilingual education in the United States.

Bilingual Education Programs in the US

There are seven programs in the United States that fall under the umbrella of bilingual education; however, only five of these programs are truly bilingual. In simplest terms, bilingual education can be defined as education in two languages. The seven types of bilingual programs are: immersion or submersion, English as a Second

Language or ESL, transitional or early transitional, maintenance or late transitional, dual-language, restoration, and enrichment. The first two programs offer instruction only in English and can be considered bilingual only if instruction in the native language is offered outside the school. Only maintenance and dual language programs have been found to produce students who have long term academic success. The first three programs, however, are the most common in the United States, particularly in poor and urban schools.

Goals of Bilingual Education

The goals of bilingual education in the United States have changed over time. According to the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), the goals of bilingual education include: “teaching English, fostering academic achievement, acculturating immigrants to a new society, preserving a minority group’s linguistic and cultural heritage, enabling English speakers to learn a second language, developing national resources, or any combination of the above” (National Association for Bilingual Education, 2009). These goals mirror the goals of the *Bilingual Education Act*, but the passing of *No Child Left Behind* changed the *Bilingual Education Act* to *Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students*, which effectively changed the goals from bilingualism to English language acquisition (U.S. Department of Education, 2004). Because of the transitional nature of the bilingual programs with students moving into English only programs by middle school in most cases, even in states like Texas where bilingual education has managed to survive in spite of *No Child*

Left Behind, the ultimate goal of most bilingual education programs is English language proficiency.

Foundational Theory of Bilingual Education

Cummins' theories are the most widely accepted as an explanation of how and why bilingual education works. He determined that there are two primary components of language acquisition. The first components are the Basis Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS). BICS refers to the linguistic skills necessary for every day communication. These linguistic skills are learned through natural daily interactions in the language. The second component is the Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). CALP is necessary to be successful in academic pursuits (Cummins, 1984).

According to Cummins (1984), a person first develops BICS then CALP in their first language. If a person is required to switch or transition from their first language (L1) to a second language (L2) before acquire CALP in their L1, then the person will struggle to develop CALP in the L2. Thus, the person may never attain cognitive academic linguistic proficiency or academic success. A person can acquire BICS simultaneously in both the L1 and L2, but this must be followed by development of CALP in at least the L1. Generally, it takes 5-7 years to develop CALP in a language.

Based on Cummins's theories, the only two legitimate forms of bilingual education are maintenance and dual language programs. Studies conducted in the US and abroad confirm that these types of programs work. These studies include (Baca & Cervantes, 1989):

- Modiano in Mexico in 1968
- Worrall in South Africa in 1970
- Gudschinsky in Peru in 1971
- Malherbe in South Africa in 1969
- Leyva in Santa Fe, NM in 1978.

Additionally, Thomas and Collier (1998) conducted a longitudinal study of the academic performance of students and found that student in maintenance and dual language programs continued to out-perform their peers even after exiting from the program. Greene (1998) conducted a meta-analysis of bilingual research that correlated with the Thomas and Collier study. Finally, Salazar (1998) conducted a study focusing on analyzing and correlating the data from Greene and Thomas and Collier that confirmed the validity of their findings that dual language and maintenance programs are the most effective. The other bilingual programs were shown to have little effect on the development of CALP in either the L1 or the L2, yet they continue to be used across the United States.

Philosophies of Education and Bilingual Education

I have spent much of my life living and working with people in poverty and seeking ways of changing our current system, not only of education, but the ways in which we interact with others. Thus, it was natural that I gravitated towards Pestalozzi and Freire, as well as others. I have brought into this paper my own views and biases about education and the world. Therefore, it is important that my voice be heard throughout.

Of all the philosophers in the world, why did I choose Pestalozzi and Freire? Pestalozzi caught my attention when reading Nell Noddings' (1995) *Philosophy of Education*. She only mentioned him in one paragraph, yet that brief mention of his work with children in poverty was enough to spark my interest. I found that I shared many of his views. In addition, Freire has greatly influenced my views of the world and education. He caused me to think and to question my own views of the world. He helped me to take off my rose colored glasses, to enable me to see deeper layers of meaning and interactions, and to see the potential and problems in our society.

As an educator in the field of second language acquisition, I am always interested in seeing the relationship of all areas of education with bilingual education. I became increasingly interested in the relationship between bilingual education and educational philosophy as I began working with bilingual teachers and noticed that they were often struggling with this relationship between philosophy and education. While they had very little background in educational philosophy, they were asking many questions and wondering about why things in education were the way they were. This is an exercise in trying to address some of their issues as well as mine.

Working with the Poor

In the late 1700's, Pestalozzi chronicled his life, philosophies and teaching methodologies in *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*. Having lived in poverty, Pestalozzi spent his life working with the poor. "Ah! long enough! ever since my youth, has my heart moved on like a mighty stream, alone and lonely, towards my one sole end --- to stop the sources of the misery in which I saw the people around me sunk"

(Pestalozzi, 1977, p. 30). As a bilingual educator, I have often felt this way; I saw bright, capable children and talented teachers who seemed to be sinking further and further away from what they were capable of as they became mired in the educational system.

Given the increased emphasis on high stakes testing, teachers are required to spend much of their instructional time testing and documenting test result. Elena, a kindergarten bilingual teacher explained that for the district, state and federal testing “...It’s a lot of testing. ...at least a day... a day and a half for each test ... every grading period.” For Elena, formal testing includes an oral language proficiency test in both English and Spanish when the students enter the program to meet state and federal requirements, repeating these tests at the end of the year to meet district requirements, conducting the Developmental Reading Assessment (DRA) at least twice a year, the Texas Primary Reading Inventory (TPRI) or the Spanish version of it, the Tejas Lee, every grading period and every two weeks with struggling students, the Texas English Language Proficiency Assessment System (TELPAS) assessments of English reading, writing, listening and speaking and other district assessments. “But we test them every day, I mean I do oral tests every single day” as an informal assessment. With more and more emphasis being placed on testing, teachers are getting stuck in a testing quagmire.

Pestalozzi could best be called a naturalist. He believed in the ideas of natural development, yet was realistic enough to recognize that the ideal was Greek ideal that could not be obtained. In the beginning of his work, he was alone with a large number of students. “As I was obliged to give the children instruction, alone, and without help, I learned the art of teaching many together; and since I had no other means but loud

speaking, the idea of making the learners draw, write, and work at the same time was naturally developed” (Pestalozzi, 1977, p. 43). This idea of small group instruction and cooperative learning is now practiced regularly in many elementary schools.

As he continued his work, Pestalozzi found that the children soon began to teach other children.

It quickly developed in the children a consciousness of hitherto unknown power, and particularly a general sense of beauty and order. They felt their own power, and the tediousness of the ordinary school-tone vanished like a ghost from my rooms. They wished, --- tried, --- persevered, --- succeeded: and they laughed. Their tone was not that of learners: it was the one of unknown powers awakened from sleep; of a heart and mind exalted with the feeling of what these powers could and would lead them to (Pestalozzi, 1997, p. 44-5).

Thus, Pestalozzi found a means of empowering his learners. Because he saw the capacity of human nature, rather than its deficits, he and his learners were able to be empowered. He felt that because his students were not “deadened by the weariness of ...school discipline, [they] developed more quickly” (Pestalozzi, 1977, p. 45). Given the move within the last ten years to place more and more emphasis on high stakes testing in schools, too often our students are weary of school by very early ages. Struggling students, at-risk students, students of color, minority students, bilingual students are bombarded with a message from early childhood that school is a place to sit and learn. But what is it that they are truly learning? Are they learning to be good workers or creative thinkers and leaders? Pestalozzi’s methodology seems remarkably like discovery learning, in which students are actively engaged in the learning process. Through discovery learning and interactions, students can learn and grow.

In a bilingual class, students need opportunities to discover and learn, not only about the academics being taught, but about the new culture, language, and society they are now a part of. Without the opportunities to interact with others, how can they discover how to engage in culturally appropriate manners and with appropriate language and to develop the bilingual and multicultural skills necessary for them to be successful?

Like Pestalozzi, Freire had also been poor. He worked with the poor and oppressed. He found that the "...oppressed are not 'marginals,' are not people living 'outside' society. They have always been 'inside' – inside the structure which mad them 'beings for others.' The solution is not to 'integrate' them into the structure of oppression, but to transform that structure so that they can become 'beings for themselves'" (Freire, 1997, p. 55). He found that the oppressed resisted change because of the oppressor within them.

Freire's method was one of dialogue. He believed that through open dialogue, people could begin to see their state of depersonalization. Once they saw this state they could begin to recognize that division left them open to manipulation and domination. "Unity and organization can enable them to change their weakness into a transforming force with which they can re-create the world and make it more human" (Freire, 1997, p. 126). Freire believed that manipulation attempted to anesthetize the people so that they could not think. By not thinking, the oppressed remained disorganized and powerless. Through dialogue, Freire believed that the oppressed could begin to think, organize, and challenge the status quo.

I have found that often educators do not question the status quo. When I began working with a group of early childhood educators, I tried to open dialogue about issues relating to them and their students, like how they were perceived by others, segregation and discrimination. It was not until we opened a dialogue about these issues that the teachers began to question what was going on in the school. I found, much like Freire, that the oppressor within often stood in the way of allowing them to challenge the status quo. They found that some of them were afraid to speak up because of a fear of retaliation, but occasionally one would take steps towards challenging the existing system.

Elena commented on how sometimes they would have to try to explain to the other teachers the differences in their program requirements. She told me about a time when she was in a team meeting and asking one of the general education teachers if she could use the teaching assistant in the afternoon. During the meeting, her request was shot down. Upon leaving the meeting, according to Elena, Linda let the teachers know what she really thought. “What you have to realize is that you have it a lot better than what we have it. You don’t even know how good you have it!” Elena is not as vocal about demanding what she needs, but she does appreciate Linda standing up for them and their students.

Learning Together

From his earliest works Pestalozzi developed an idea the he termed “Anschauung.” The problem with this word is that it does not translate directly to English. At times it meant intuition, yet a more accurate translation was sense-

impression. This sense-impression can be described as the real power of observation and a firm conception of the objects that surround us. In order to have a sense-impression, one needed to look beyond the three-dimensional surface of the object to the esthetics. Through his idea of Anshauung, Pestalozzi developed his ideas on the “proper” ways to educate a child. One possible reason for Pestalozzi’s early success was that he “... learned from them [the learners] – I must have been blind if I had not learned – to know the natural relation in which real knowledge stands to book-knowledge” (Pestalozzi, 1977, p. 46). Although many of his students continued to develop his ideas, they did not continue his idea of learning from students and students learning from each other. I believe that these ideas are central to his work. Knowledge and learning need to go beyond what we can get from a book. We need to include art, esthetic, culture and language into education to be able to move into a realm of creative learning.

Like Pestalozzi, Freire believed in the value of learning with others. “The teacher’s thinking is authenticated only by the authenticity of the students’ thinking” (Freire, 1997, p. 58). Freire believed that people need to learn together through a dialogical method as opposed to what he called the “banking method” of teaching where students are empty vessels that the teacher must fill. Teachers must abandon this idea of banking education and replace it with posing problems of human beings and their relationship with the world. “Here, no one teaches another, nor is anyone self-taught. People teach each other, mediated by the world, by the cognizable objects which in banking education are ‘owned’ by the teacher (Freire, 1997, p. 61).

Freire's method required that one conceptualize the idea of the other. In schools, the other is the student or the teacher. Freire believed that through dialogue the teacher of the student and the student of the teacher ceased to exist. They are replaced by teacher-students with student-teachers. When this occurs, they become responsible together for the learning process. Problems over "authority" are eliminated because of the joint responsibility (Freire, 1997)

In Freire's dialogue, the teacher no longer narrates. Narration is a function of the banking concept of education. Rather, the teacher is always 'cognitive.' He/she recognizes objects, not as personal property, but as objects of reflection for teacher-students/student-teachers, because while "...banking education treats students as objects of assistance; problem-posing makes them critical thinkers" (Freire, 1997, p. 64). Developing critical thinkers is the goal of many educational programs, but with a banking education system still in place, it is difficult to for teachers to break this mold and allow themselves and their students the opportunities to grow as teachers and learners.

Implications for Bilingual Education

Because the majority of the students in bilingual education are from poor, urban areas it is important for us as educators to look to philosophers who have worked with the poor. Pestalozzi and Freire called for change. They believed that the poor and oppressed must understand their position in society in order to question and change it. In bilingual education, we have opportunities to work with our students, parents and other community members to help them begin to realize that through unity, we have an

opportunity for change. Jane, a bilingual prekindergarten teacher, who previously taught classes where both English and Spanish co-existed, explained that the problem is not with the children. “They [the children] don’t care. Language doesn’t seem to be a problem for them.” Now the Spanish and English students are separated from interactions with each other. The teachers come together only to do surface planning, to discuss the story or math problems for the week, but not to dialogue about the real issues in the school. Our students have been “marginalized” for long enough. We must begin a dialogue with them to facilitate change.

Often families do not know how to access the community’s resources or are afraid to access them, because of not speaking the language, fear of immigration issues, a lack of education about the resources or the way they think they will be perceived. It should become part of our job as educators to work with them, to find out what their needs are, and assist them to access the appropriate resources. Often they do not know their rights. We need to dialog with them, to find the resources within them and to enable them to access their resources.

Frequently, educators view people in poverty as ignorant or incapable of knowing. What these educators fail to see is that these people have a wealth of knowledge. What they lack is power. Power comes from knowing how to access the resources and knowledge available. “Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other” (Freire, 1997, p. 53). Power

does not have to lead to domination. Power can lead to equality when everyone is able to access their own power.

In bilingual education, we must strive towards creating critical thinkers. This is best accomplished through working with our students, not for our students. We must recognize that they are capable of critical thinking. Pestalozzi and Freire both developed different methods towards the same means. Both evolved in very different directions, yet the critical elements remained the same: working together and going beyond book learning to become engaged, critical learners. Once we recognize this power of our students and ourselves and begin working together, then together we can become agents of change.

Freire believed that dialogue was an act of creation. It must not be used for domination, nor could it truly exist without love for the world and people. Freire believed that the act of love was commitment to the cause of liberation of the oppressed. He believed that human existence could not be silent. “If it is in speaking their word that people, by naming the world, transform it, dialogue imposes itself as a way by which they achieve significance as human being” (Freire, 1997, p. 69). Thus, if we love the world and people, we must dialogue in order to transform the world. When transforming the world, we need to maintain an open dialogue to prevent the oppressed from becoming the oppressor.

If bilingual teachers and classes are isolated from the rest of the school, how can true dialogue take place? “I find that the bilingual ... [here] tends to be segregation.” Jane explained that even when the bilingual teachers try to integrate, “we ended up

together again.” The students need to have the chance to get to know each other, but this is not going to occur until the teacher recognize that just because one class speaks English and the other speaks Spanish, the children are all children. They are all bright and capable. Once the teachers begin to open that dialogue and truly integrate through acceptance of diversity and cultural differences, then change can occur.

Towards a Reconceptualization of Bilingual Education

We must begin to deconstruct and then reconceptualize bilingual education based on theory, history and philosophy. In a Friirian manner, I would like this to be part of this dialogue rather than as a statement of truth. My views should not be taken as universals, but as another way of envisioning bilingual education.

The current goal of bilingual education in the United State is for students to be academically proficient in English. I would like to begin to deconstruct this goal by asking who does it hurt and who benefits from it? Given that English is the dominant language in the United State, it would appear that this goal is not hurting anyone, until you look at the underlying assumptions. This goal underlines the assumption that English is not only the dominant language of the US, but that is superior to other languages. I would like to challenge the notion of superiority. Numerical dominance does not mean better. I do not believe that the term superior can apply to language.

Language is a complex and personal issue. It is an integral part of who we are. It impacts the way we perceive the world around us. When our language is viewed as inferior by the dominant culture, we are then pressured to learn the dominant language, often at the expense of our own language. How sad it is to hear a child say that he/she is

embarrassed by his/her accent or language! Imagine what this is doing to his/her self-concept. I believe that this goal with its emphasis on English acquisition and academic proficiency in English rather than bilingualism and learning actually hurts those who do not speak English as their first language and helps maintain the status quo.

The majority of students in bilingual education programs are poor and Hispanic. The programs tend to be remedial rather than enrichment. This implies that something is lacking in these children that needs to be remediated. While the children may not be proficient in English and may struggle to understand the dominant US culture, it does not mean they are deficient. We need to value the languages and cultures that the children do bring to school and work with them, learn from them, through open dialogue to create an environment where critical thinkers can grow and learn.

I once thought that eliminating the term bilingual education would be a positive measure. The term is limiting because it implies that only two languages are possible. *No Child Left Behind* eliminated the term bilingual education from federal programs, but rather than having a positive effect of allowing multi-language programs to flourish, the emphasis was shifted to English only programs. All children should have the opportunity to learn multiple languages. For instance if a Hispanic student wished to study Spanish and Mandarin Chinese, he/she would be in both the Spanish and Mandarin classes, or perhaps both classes would be together. This would require a shift away from the view that students must become proficient in English to the exclusion of other languages.

Rethinking Time and Place for Education

Why must education take place in a school, sitting in a desk for eight hours a day? Time does not have to be the linear concept of a separate past, present and future. Can they exist together? I am thinking about my family. When I speak of my family, I may be talking about someone who lived a hundred years ago, yet to me they are part of the here and now, not the past.

When thinking about time, when is the “proper” time for education? I know that I work best late at night, not early in the morning. How many of our students and teachers would benefit from alternative work hours? Must we have a set number of school hours per week? Perhaps if we examine the idea of education as taking place in the community, the home and the school, we can see alternatives to this issue of time. This is not a new idea. “In *The School and Society* (1899) Dewey asserts that schooling must be linked with society” (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery & Taubman, 1996, p. 105). Dewey envisioned learning along these lines. When we begin to recognize that multiple perspectives of learning are possible, we can begin to envision a different setting for education.

Teacher Shortages

I have often dialogued with other teachers about bilingual education. I found that many of them were not opposed ideologically to bilingual education. Rather, many feared that by supporting it, they were in danger of losing their jobs, not because of their views, but because they only spoke one language. I believe this position could be

changed if we change the notion of a single teacher with his/her twenty students in a single classroom.

Pestalozzi found that he learned from his students. Freire believed in open dialogue and in working together. Montessori developed schools following similar ideas that still flourish around the world today (Epstein, Schweinhart & McAdoo, 1996). I believe that both these ideas are valid. What would happen if we encouraged parents, teachers and students to work and learn together? I would like to see multilingual classes, where teachers, parents and students learn together through open dialogue. In this setting each person's culture and language would be respected. It would also take away the assumption that only teachers can teach.

At this point, the teacher in me is saying that this is not very realistic. The dreamer in me is asking, "Why not?" Today we have both multi-aged and dual-language classrooms. Why not take the idea further? Begin with the idea of team teaching, with multiple teachers in the same room. These teachers come from different backgrounds and speak different language. Into this classroom, add students of various ages and backgrounds, also speaking a variety of languages. Next, take away the assumption that only teachers have knowledge to impart. Finally, parents and other community members come into the classroom. Together the group discusses what they would like to study, work on, and learn about. They choose with whom they will to work and in which language. This endeavor would require a spirit of cooperation and trust.

In this type of classroom, the traditional notion of bilingual education would not work. The class would not be limited to only two languages, with one perceived as being

the language that everyone should learn. It would allow all members of the community to learn in a variety of languages, or to stay monolingual. How then could we all communicate with each other? Don't we need a common language? I believe it is much more important for us to accept others and to be able to dialogue honestly with each other. I do think we would have enough common language to communicate, but no one language would be viewed as superior to the other.

A Final Thought

We must become advocates for change. When change occurs, we must also be willing to critically examine, deconstruct, and reconceptualize the change. We must break of complacency, for if we do not, we will simply reinvent the same educational system that we are striving to change. We must be open to dialogue on critical issues and be willing to accept that conflict can be positive. It is our past, our present and our future. We must make something of it in which we can all have a voice and be heard.

CHAPTER III

LAU V. NICHOLS 35 YEARS LATER – WHERE ARE WE NOW?

The 1968 US Supreme Court Case of *Lau v. Nichols* heralded in a new era of hope for the education of children who speak a language other than English. In this landmark case, the US Supreme Court ruled that English only instruction did not meet the definition of a fair and equitable education. This ruling led to the expansion of the *Bilingual Education Act* which provided federal funding and guidance for states and school districts to implement bilingual education programs, but the ideas of bilingual education have continued to be an issue of political and educational debate.

Since its inception, during the US Civil Rights Movement, bilingual education has been one of the most politically controversial school programs in the United States. It is often linked to issues of immigration and is attacked by proponents of the English only movement. Even well meaning teachers and administrators often struggle with the counter-intuitive nature of bilingual education where developing a student's home language is used as basis for developing English. Changes in national education policies reflect popular beliefs that students who speak a language other than English need to be "educated" in English and meet the same "high academic standards" in English as native English students.

In this article, I will reflect on the pedagogies and practices in an early childhood Bilingual Prekindergarten and Kindergarten program in a Central Texas school district that is caught in the political net of *No Child Left Behind (NCLB)*, the English only movement and immigration. The teachers and students in the program struggle with

issues of language, segregation, and lack of culturally relevant resources in a school system that functions under a White, Euro-centric doctrine, yet they have found the means to support each other and strive to provide a quality education for their students where the students' language and culture are not only valued, but celebrated. The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of federal, state and local politics and policies on an early childhood bilingual education program in Texas.

Political Realities of Bilingual Education in Texas

“In 2000, 18 percent of the total population aged 5 and over, or 47.0 million people, reported they spoke a language other than English at home. These figures were up from 14 percent (31.8 million) in 1990 and 11 percent (23.1 million) in 1980. The number of people who spoke a language other than English at home grew by 38 percent in the 1980s and by 47 percent in the 1990s. While the population aged 5 and over grew by one-fourth from 1980 to 2000, the number who spoke a language other than English at home more than doubled” (Shin & Bruno, 2003, p.2). Fueled by the political and economic implications of the growing US population who speak a language other than English, bilingual education continues to be at the forefront of education discussions and legislation.

The *Bilingual Education Act of 1968* or Title VII of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* first established bilingual education programs with federal guidelines. This act was revised in 1974, 1984, 1988 and 1994. Each revision increased the scope of bilingual education programs to include more native language support and development (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988, Crawford, 2002). The goals of the *Bilingual*

Education Act included developing our national linguistic resources and promoting our international competitiveness (Cubillos, 1988). The 2002 passing of *No Child Left Behind* tolled a death knoll to the *Bilingual Education Act*.

Its death was not unexpected, following years of attacks by enemies and recent desertions by allies in Congress. Title VII, also known as the Bilingual Education Act, was eliminated as part of a larger “school reform” measure known as No Child Left Behind, proposed by the Bush administration and passed with broad bipartisan support. . . . In keeping with this philosophy, the word bilingual has been expunged from the law, except in a provision that strikes the name of the federal Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (Crawford, 2002, p. 1-2).

Title VII, the *Bilingual Education Act*, was changed to Title III, the *English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act* under *No Child Left Behind (NCLB)*. *NCLB*’s Title VII “does little to address the most formidable obstacles to their achievement: resource inequities, critical shortages of teachers trained to serve ELLs, inadequate instructional materials, substandard school facilities, and poorly designed instructional programs” (Crawford, 2004a, p. 2). In addition, other programs under *NCLB*, like *Reading First*, influence instruction in bilingual education.

At a time when federal regulations are inhibiting the development of effective bilingual programs by emphasizing the need for English language development over bilingualism, the Texas legislation is encouraging school districts to develop more effective bilingual programs, including dual language programs to enable more students to have access to quality bilingual programs. For the 2008-09 school year, for the first time Texas public school districts must identify not only which students are served in bilingual and ESL programs, but also the types of programs that school districts are implementing. The Texas Education Agency has formally defined the types of programs

so that school districts are clear on the length of time students should be in bilingual programs (Texas Education Agency, 2008-2009, p. 79). School districts are struggling to comply with both state and federal regulations. The brunt of this struggle lands on the shoulders of the bilingual teachers.

How English Language Learners Acquire Academic English Proficiency

The debate over how English language learners acquire English proficiency has been a subject of researchers since the 1960's. The primary focus of the research during the 1960's and 1970's was on program effectiveness. The debate grew out of the English only movement which culminated in states like California and Arizona passing bills that eliminate bilingual education in favor of English immersion. Longitudinal studies by Thomas and Collier (1998) reveal that dual language bilingual programs are the most successful means of English acquisition for academic purposes. Thomas and Collier (1997) found that successful bilingual programs are constructed around four key components: language development, social and cultural process, cognitive development, and academic development. Thomas and Collier found that students in successful bilingual dual language programs have better long term academic success than students who are taught in English only. The students in the dual language programs acquired conversational and academic language proficiency in both languages at the same time, with a slight lag in the second language in the early grades.

Thomas and Collier's research supports early theories of second language acquisition. According to Cummins (1984) there are two types of language that students need to acquire: Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive

Academic Linguistic Proficiency (CALP). He uses the image of an iceberg to explain that BICS is the noticeable part of language, like the top 10% of an iceberg. It is what we see and recognize. This is the language that we use for everyday, basic communications. CALP is like the deeper part of the iceberg, the 90% that is under the water. CALP is the harder language to acquire and depends on having a strong understanding of academic concepts as well as the associated language. Cummins theorized that students need to have BICS and CALP in their first language (L1) in order to have BICS and CALP in their second language (L2). Cummins theories are supported by Thomas and Colliers findings that the best way for ELL's to learn English is not through immersion, but through a high quality bilingual education program.

NCLB vs. Bilingual Education Act

With the passing of *No Child Left Behind (NCLB)*, the *Bilingual Education Act* was nullified. On the surface, Title III of *NCLB* which defines the educational programs for English Language Learners (ELL) and the *Bilingual Education Act* appear to support the same educational ideals; however, the implications for bilingual education can be noted in the simple change of the title from the Title VII - *Bilingual Education Act* to Title III – *Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students*. The titles reflect the perception of ELL, from the positive possibilities of bilingual education that empowered schools to create successful bilingual programs to a deficit view of ELL where students are viewed as limited, or less than, their native English speaking counterparts. The new title also ties together ELL and Immigrants, even though many immigrants to the US are not considered Limited English Proficient. Most ELL

are not immigrants, but the title reiterates the misconception of the education of ELL as a political issue of immigration. The *Bilingual Education Act* perceived bilingualism as important for our national security and economy in a global society. *NCLB* is moving bilingual education backwards towards a doctrine of English only which reflects the growing national fear of a loss of “white supremacy.”

Looking beyond the differences the titles, the core premises of Title III of *NCLB* and the *Bilingual Education Act* reflect the changing political climate towards ELL in the United States. The *Bilingual Education Act*, founded in 1964 and expanded out of the spirit of *Lau v. Nichols*, required bilingual education in order to receive federal bilingual funds. *NCLB* does allow states to have bilingual education as long as it follows a model that is supported by scientific research, but it does not require bilingual education. *NCLB* only requires that schools have a means of serving ELL. This means that school districts and states affected by English only laws like California’s *Proposition 227* can receive federal funds as long as they are providing some type of “research-based” instruction for their ELL.

In *English Learners Left Behind: Standardized Testing as Language Policy*, Kate Menken (2008) discussed the idea of the language policy and its relationship to *NCLB*. “In a country characterized by the absence of an official, explicit national language policy, implicit policies become central” (p. 9). Menken brought forth the issue that although there is no official language in the US, because *NCLB* testing policies require testing in English, *NCLB* does present a national language policy of English only. Menkin’s conclusions about *NCLB* presenting a national language policy through its

assessment requirements have been confirmed by other studies (Crawford, 2004b; Evans & Hornberger, 2005; Wiley & Wright, 2004.)

NCLB is characterized by its every increasing emphasis on testing and accountability. “Yet the testing movement has historically been tied to racism and linguisticism, rising in response to record rates of immigration in this country” (Menken, 2008, p. 19). For children in bilingual education, this movement is a means of assimilation and a move away from the goals of a bilingual, bicultural education. Although there have been studies on the impact of *NCLB* on national language policy and English Language Learners, they have focused on the “testable” grades, which generally starts at third grade. In Texas, *NCLB* is also having an impact on early childhood bilingual education. I conducted this study in an effort to fill in this gap in the research on *NCLB* and bilingual education.

One of the means of holding school districts accountable is the measure of Annual Yearly Progress (AYP). AYP is a measure of how students perform against a set standard. The way AYP is calculated varies from state to state. It includes all students at grade 3, 5, 8, and 10 and focuses on reading, math and science. It also includes specific measures for special population groups, including LEP students.

In Texas, because students are allowed to take the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) in Spanish or take the Linguistic Accommodated Test (LAT) version of the TAKS for their first three years, the Texas Education Agency had to create another test that could be used exclusively with the LEP students to measure their English proficiency for AYP under *NCLB*. The new assessment, the Texas English

Language Proficiency Assessment System (TELPAS) measures students English language development in four domains: reading, writing, listening and speaking, in Kindergarten through 12th grade.

Although AYP for programs not specifically structured for LEP students begin in third grade in Texas, AYP measures for LEP begin in Kindergarten and is measured through the TELPAS. I spoke with 2 kindergarten Spanish bilingual teachers about the impact of TELPAS and testing on them and their students. The teachers are part of a late transitional or maintenance program in a Central Texas school district that follows an 80-20 model, where at the lower grades 80% of the instruction is in Spanish and 20% is in English. By fifth grade this is reversed.

Kindergarten Teachers and TELPAS

Elena had been teaching for 4 years. She was born in Mexico and raised on the Texas side of the border. She admitted that she was not one to really question authority and was very adept at making the system work for her. She saw TELPAS as an interesting experience, "... because at first they were like, we don't know how to write in English." She found that by being supportive and encouraging, the students were able to do some writing in English using Spanish phonetics and conventions. She understood that the government "... wanted to know if our kids are learning English." Elena was pleased to discover that even though her primary language of instruction is Spanish, everything she has been told about English language acquisition was occurring. She was concerned because "... a lot of them can't write in Spanish yet, so how can they write in English." When discussing this, Elena referred to the theories of second language

acquisition and questioned why they were being asked to do TELPAS at this age when it was not really appropriate.

Although she questioned the rationale behind it, Elena's approach to TELPAS was to utilize English in setting where the students were already using English, like in the hallways and cafeteria. She utilized a natural approach and found that the students reciprocated. Her discovery of the students' ability to speak, read and write in English validated what she had been taught about effective bilingual instruction, that if students are allowed to develop of strong foundation in their own language, that they will do better in a second language.

Linda is her counterpart is of Mexican decent and was raised in Central Texas. She had been teaching for 3 years. She is developing into a passionate advocate for her students and often questions the purpose behind educational practices that do not appear to be in the best interest of her students. She had a very strong reaction to TELPAS. She found that the entire process was confusing for her students and took a lot of time away from her teaching.

Linda was obviously frustrated by the entire topic of TELPAS. She sat back, crossed her arms and raised her voice as she explained:

It frustrates the kids ...I had one kid who was so frustrated that ... he pulled off, bit by bit, he pulled it off and spit the corner of his pages he was so frustrated ... and still to this day ... they are still confused ... because it was only a certain time frame.

She explained that because TELPAS is only conducted for part of the spring semester, when the students return to their daily work in Spanish, they continue to be confused.

She further explained the developmental issues related to English testing with

kindergarteners whose dominated language is Spanish. “They can barely write out a sentence in Spanish. How are they supposed to do it in English?”

While both teachers reaction to TELPAS was different, they both agreed that it took time from their teaching. Neither found that it informed their teaching other than to validate their understanding of effective bilingual instruction. They also agreed that it was not really a necessity to test students in a maintenance program at the kindergarten level. I found it very interesting that Linda, who is much more acculturated to mainstream America than Elena, was more passionately opposed to the TELPAS, but it may be because of her level of acculturation that she is able to understand the power relations that exist within the schools.

NCLB, Reading First and Structured Curriculum

In order to ensure that all students are proficient readers by third grade, *NCLB* provided for *Reading First* grants to states which then provide them to the Local Education Agencies (LEA). The goal of *Reading First* is admirable. It is to provide funding to schools with a large percentage of “at-risk” or low-income students, to enable those schools to provide a scientifically based reading program to all students. From the perspective of bilingual education, the program falls short in two very important areas: the language and socio-cultural context of education.

Although *Reading First* does not explicitly state that instruction should be in English, English academic proficiency is the clear goal of *NCLB*. *Reading First* implies that English will be the primary language of instruction through more subtle and hidden means. In describing the required professional development, *Reading First* explains:

Professional development must prepare all teachers to teach all of the essential components of reading instruction..., and to know how they are related, the progression in which they should be taught, and the underlying structure of the English language (U.S. Department of Education: Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2002, p 7).

By not validating the need for bilingual students to gain reading proficiency in their first language, *NCLB* through *Reading First*, subverts the goals of quality bilingual programs which include providing students the opportunity to develop academic competencies in their home language.

Reading First requires a ninety minute, uninterrupted reading block in order for teachers to implement their scientifically based reading program. The basis of these scientifically based reading programs is the National Reading Panel's (2000) review of more than 100,000 articles published in English on how students learned to read. The National Reading Panel (2000) realized that it was not possible to include everything related to reading instruction and narrowed its study to include only five broad areas. The review focused on five areas: phonemic awareness, phonics, fluency, vocabulary, and text comprehension. (U.S. Department of Education, Sept., 2001)

It was simply the sheer number of studies identified by Panel staff relevant to reading (more than 100,000 published since 1966 and more than 15,000 prior to 1966) that precluded an exhaustive analysis of the research in all areas of potential interest. The Panel also did not address issues relevant to second language learning, as this topic was being addressed in detail in a new, comprehensive NICHD/OERI (Office of Educational Research and Improvement) research initiative (National Reading Panel Report).

This statement implies that the findings of the research initiative on ELL would also be incorporated into *Reading First* and *NCLB*. There is no evidence that this ever occurred. The research initiative fulfilled the need for research on teaching reading to ELL and did

fund several studies. “The government will not publish a report it commissioned on bilingual education – and critics say that’s because the Bush administration disagrees with the findings, which cast doubt on the efficacy of teaching immigrant children through English – only lessons” (Toppo, 2005). The findings were submitted to the US Department of Education in draft form in 2004, but the copyrights were returned to the National Literacy Panel without being incorporated into *Reading First* or *NCLB*.

Because the *Reading First* initiative based its research on English only and ignored the needs of English Language Learners, their research findings cannot be validated for how students learn to read in any language except English or how their findings apply to ELL. Despite specifying in its reports that the research does not include ELL, one of the targeted groups for both *Reading First* and *NCLB* are ELL.

In addition, questions should be asked about the efficacy of the research that was included in the National Reading Panel’s (2000) report. Before beginning the studies on teaching reading, the National Reading Panel (2000) limited the scope of its study to five areas of reading: phonemic awareness, phonics, fluency, vocabulary, and text comprehension. The findings of their “scientific study” were that there are five areas that need to be included in a quality reading program: phonemic awareness, phonics, fluency, vocabulary, and text comprehension. Because these same five reading program components were the only components studied, how can the finding be valid? Since the study did not include any other aspects of a quality reading program, other components which may be more beneficial to students have not been evaluated or incorporated into *Reading First*.

In the late spring and early summer of 2009, the Texas Education Agency conducted a series of trainer of trainers workshops on the new reading, English language arts and Spanish language arts TEKS (Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills) which are the essential elements to be taught in Texas public schools. The rationale used throughout the training for both the English and Spanish TEKS was Reading First and the National Reading Panel's report. The trainer notes indicate that "the reading strand is structured to reflect major topics areas of the National Reading Panel Report (2000) as well as current and relevant research on Spanish literacy development (University of Texas/Texas Education Agency, 2009, slide 24). When reviewing the entire trainers' document for references, only two references addressed issues of how Spanish is taught in bilingual settings or to native Spanish speakers. The other references were to how English language learners learn, implying how they learn English, not Spanish. Most of the research used to develop the Spanish language arts TEKS did not address the needs of Spanish speakers learning to read Spanish. How valid is research that is not verifying to be culturally or linguistically appropriate?

Accountability, Structured Curriculum, Materials and Assessments

I spoke to the kindergarten teachers and to their pre-kindergarten bilingual counterparts about how the change in accountability, structured curriculum, materials and required assessments are impacting their students. The pre-kindergarten teachers said that they were not really impacted by any of it. The school was only part of the Reading First program which begins at kindergarten. If the school had participated in the Early Reading First program, they might have been impacted by it.

The more experienced of the two prekindergarten teachers, Jane, did note that she has a lot more freedom in selection of materials than the kindergarten teachers have, but like them, she does have to plan her classes to parallel the English speaking pre-kindergarten classes, even if it doesn't really fit into the Spanish curriculum. I asked her about it, and she indicated that she was required to do so by the campus administrator. She has learned how to work around it because she has a little bit of flexibility. Maria, the other bilingual prekindergarten teacher follows Jane's lead about the curriculum and materials. They both incorporate music, literature, and oral language to help them to bridge the cultural gaps in the curriculum.

Neither Elena nor Linda had a problem with the required ninety minute reading block. Both, however, were challenged by the reading selections. Reading First does not mandate that specific reading materials be used. The Reading First grant is distributed to the states, which then set their own guidelines about purchasing of textbooks and assessment materials. Texas does require that Reading First schools use an approved curriculum. Most of the Spanish materials are translations or trans-adaptations of the English with little if any authentic Spanish literature. I spoke with the teachers about this. Both found ways to work it in, often during other times of the day or in place of one of the read-alouds. Elena explained that she "... well, I would do what they [administration] told me, but I would bring it what I thought they [bilingual students] need." She has learned to work within the guidelines, but to supplement with more culturally and linguistically appropriate materials that best suit the needs of her students.

Assessment is also a required component under Reading First. The district chose to use the DRA (Developmental Reading Assessment) and the TPRI (Texas Primary Reading Inventory). Both assessments have Spanish versions. These are administered throughout the year beginning in kindergarten.

Both Linda and Elena were frustrated with the testing. They found that they held students to a higher measure than their English counterparts. They also discovered problems with the Spanish versions of the tests. Linda explained that they end up teaching to the test. She also commented that all parts of the test are not bad.

When discussing the order of the items on TPRI/TEJAS LEE, Linda found that it was confusing for the students, because while the TPRI/TEJAS LEE begin by testing initial sounds, by the time it is administered, the bilingual kindergartens are working on syllables. I asked her if she knew why it was that way.

Probably because it was in English. It's hard for them to do that. And then the stories in TEJAS are ridiculous. They're so much more complex than the English stories. It's just too hard and they use terms that those kids in English would never be using... We're having to teach a lot higher vocabulary. And that's not bad for these guys, but it's not fair.

She explained that the language they used was so flowery in Spanish, that the test included very long words which might be correct Spanish, were difficult for the children at that age. She also discussed one particular story in the test. Her students went from being developed on the test to struggling. The English teachers and administrators couldn't understand this change until Elena translated the story for them. "And then the English speaking people ...read that story and they couldn't remember some of the

things that they had asked.” Although Linda said that she could gain some useful information from the test, she found that the test itself was biased.

When asked about the TPRI/TEJAS LEE, Elena had a look of disgust on her face. I asked her about it. She found it to be a waste of time because the district also made her test the same information. “We test them for the report card ... it gets repetitive.”

On the DRA test, the early stories are patterned stories. While this is fairly easy for an English reader, in Spanish it presents its own unique problems. Linda explained one of the main difficulties with the Spanish test in comparison to the English test.

In English, they don't have stem changes. They don't have masculine's and feminine's. These guys have to be so versed in knowing the masculine ... when to use 'un' and when to use 'una' ... and they don't have that over there [in the English classes].

Pattern reading, while appropriate in English, presents challenges to young Spanish readers. These challenges may skew the scores, making it appear that the students in the bilingual program are not as capable readers as those in the English only program.

The district purchased the updated version of the DRA along with new questions. Linda explained the problem with this.

They re-vamped the questions for the DRA in English, but they never got us a translation for it. We're supposed to be using their questions but they never got us a copy of their questions. ... we're supposed to translate their questions... but we have ... discrepancies of people being able to translate.

Bilingual teachers do have varying abilities to translate. Any test materials should be standardized to produce less biased results.

When asked to explain whether she really valued the tests and their data, Elena “... that’s supposed to be research based ... they must have done a lot of research to come up with that test ...to me it’s kind of dumb some of the things they do on the test ...like the segmentation ... it’s too easy to me...” She further explained that she conducts informal assessments on a regular basis to inform her teaching and formal assessments for the report cards that she finds much more valuable than the prescribed tests.

Conclusions

These teachers found the requirements of *NCLB*, *Reading First*, and the state of Texas to be encouraging them to move away from what they knew they should be doing. They found ways of working within the system and bending to the pressures exerted on them, but not breaking. They found that they did not have to compromise their teaching, but found the obstacles of *NCLB* to be roadblocks to detour around rather than stopping points. By requiring the bilingual teachers to use translated, rather than authentic materials, and to test the students using inappropriate materials and/or methods, both the state and federal programs are beginning to undermine the structure of their classes. Luckily, they are in a good situation. The district has a strong and highly effective maintenance bilingual program. The teachers have a firm understanding of theories of bilingual education and of what should be going on in their classrooms. These teachers are highly skilled, and their students are some of the strongest performers in the school. But if these highly effective bilingual teachers are feeling the pressure to improve English performance, I wonder what is going on with other bilingual teachers, especially

ones who don't have a strong support system or who aren't as skilled at meeting the requirements of the program.

With this team of teachers, Linda is a strong advocate for her students, but what will happen if she leaves? Without strong advocates in the classrooms who can see the injustices that are being heaped on their students and who can devise ways to empower themselves and their students, what will happen in the future? If we blindly accept research as valid for all groups and under all circumstances, we are doing ourselves and our students a grave injustice. We need to critically examine policies to see who they are hurting and who is truly benefiting from them.

When *No Child Left Behind* was first passed, it had the support of the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) because of it was seen as a means of allowing LEP students to be included more in the mainstream of the schools. Today, bilingual programs around the country are feeling the effects of *NCLB*. Many states have abandoned bilingual education because of the requirements of English academic proficiency for LEP students. While I agree with the idea that LEP students should be held to high standards, is it just to require them to test in a second language within as few as three years when second language research indicates that it takes five to seven years to acquire academic proficiency in a second language.

More research needs to be conducted on the impacts of *NCLB* and *Reading First* on bilingual education. In Texas, we need to examine how many districts are opting to offer only an early exit bilingual program. In states that have done away with bilingual education, we need to see the long term effects of this change on the LEP students. We

need to examine how AYP, which should be a measure of growth, is damaging the perception of LEP in many parts of the country.

By definition, a student is LEP because he/she is unable to perform academically in English at an acceptable level. Therefore, once a student is performing well academically in English, he/she is no longer LEP. This means that districts with large numbers of LEP will always struggle to AYP, unless the state allows native language assessments, like Texas does at the elementary level. I fear that the difficulty districts encounter in meeting AYP because of their LEP populations will encourage and/or perpetuate the misconception that LEP students are not capable of academic success. We must be vigilant that *NCLB*, through AYP, does not feed the political arguments against second language learners and bilingual education. We must advocate for change, but not just a change in policy. We must strive for a change in ideology, a change in the beliefs about bilingual education, so that one day truly no child will be left behind.

CHAPTER IV

CULTURE, CULTURE CLASHES AND POWER RELATIONS:

BEYOND BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL EDUCATION

The terms bilingual and bicultural education are often used synonymously to describe US public education programs for Limited English Proficient students that utilize the students' home language as well as English. Bilingual/bicultural education, however, is a misnomer. The prefix *bi-* indicates two; two language, two cultures. While bilingual education may incorporate two languages, the students must learn to navigate multiple dialects of each language as well as the formal and informal registries of both languages. Students in bilingual programs must learn the languages of the school, the classrooms, the playground, how to address adults and children, and which language to use in each situation. In addition bicultural education indicates that the students must be able to successfully navigate two cultures. Bilingual classes are not homogeneous. While the students may speak the same home language, they arrive with many cultural differences. The students must also learn to navigate the diversity of the larger school community which is rarely homogenous.

Bicultural education implies a dichotomy of the power elite and the disenfranchised. While this dichotomy exists, it downplays the diversity of schools today. It leads to a form of cultural conquest. "Cultural invasion is on the one hand an *instrument* of domination, and on the other, the *result* of domination" (Freire, 1997, p. 135). Cultural invasion is one form that the power relations and culture can take. The

purpose of this study is to examine the impact of culture, culture clashes and power relations on early childhood bilingual education.

Culture in Bilingual Education

Teachers working in Bilingual Education are faced with a myriad of cultural factors that can impact their teaching. Often the discussion of culture in bilingual education is of a dichotomy, of the idea that the bilingual students and teachers belong to one culture and the rest of the school belongs to another culture. This, of course, is an oversimplification of the complex cultural realities of any classroom, including bilingual classrooms, which need to consider the cultures of the teacher, the students, the school, and the community.

When discussing culture, it is important to use a common definition as a reference, because culture can have many different definitions for different people. According to Banks (1996, referencing Bullivant 1989, p.1, 7), “a *group* is defined as a collectivity of human beings living together and interacting with their physical, social, and metaphysical environments. *Culture* is a group’s program for survival and adaptation to these environments.” Culture is not the artifacts that a group uses; rather it is their shared beliefs, values, interpretations and perspectives. “People within a culture usually interpret the meanings of symbols, artifacts, and behaviors in the same or in similar ways” (Banks, p.7). Thus, the ways that people act and view the world determine their culture and cultural values. They extend beyond country of origin, language, or ethnicity to a person’s skills, knowledge and attitudes which enable them to survive.

Within Spanish speaking bilingual classes, teachers bring their own culture into the classroom. Although three of the early childhood teachers are Mexican or Mexican American females, each has unique experiences and different cultural values because of cultural differences that extend beyond their ethnicity and gender. The fourth teacher is not Hispanic, but she was raised in South America. Although she has experiences living as a part of Hispanic communities, her experiences and culture are very different from her colleagues. The bilingual teachers recognize their own diversity and utilize it to enhance their lesson planning and teaching.

Within these same Spanish speaking bilingual classes, students arrive with a variety of cultures. They are from the US, Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica. Beyond their country boundaries, these students arrive with a variety of language skills in both English and Spanish, varying socio-economic backgrounds, and different religions. Teachers need to recognize the multicultural nature of their bilingual classes and ensure that all their cultures are incorporated into their classes so as to not isolate any students.

Beyond the bilingual classes, the cultures of the rest of the school impact instruction in the bilingual classes. If the school culture isolates the bilingual classes or fails to recognize the need to value the diversity of cultures in the school, the bilingual teachers will be faced with a cultural conflict between their class and the school, which can negatively impact their instruction.

Outside of school, the larger community cultures impact instruction. Bilingual teachers need to be aware of the divergent and shared cultural values of the community.

Because many of the bilingual students come from very close-knit communities within the town, the teachers need to be able to incorporate the cultural values of this tight community while helping the students to learn about the larger town, state and national cultural values so that the students can learn to successfully negotiate this multicultural society.

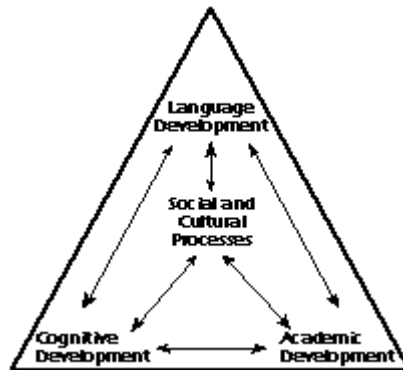
In *Cultural Politics and Education*, Michael Apple described the need to examine the cultural politics of education that impact schools. His ideas which built on the relationship between the growing movement of the New Right and its relationship to education, apply to the needs in bilingual education.

One of the most crucial aspects of politics is the struggle to define social reality and to interpret people's inchoate aspirations and needs. Cultural politics in education is not only about the complex issues of what and whose cultural capital becomes official knowledge. Nor is it only about whose visions of the family, the government, identity, and economy are to be realized in our institutions and in our daily life. All of those are of great importance, of course. However, cultural politics is also, and profoundly, about the resources we employ to challenge existing relations, to defend those counter hegemonic forms that now exist, or to bring new forms into existence. ...this is a part of the conscious collective attempt to *name the world differently*, to positively refuse to accept dominant meanings, and to positively assert the possibility that it could be different (Apple, 1996, p. 21).

It is not enough that we recognize the component issues, but that we make an attempt to positively change it. Apple called for us to challenge existing relationships, not only in education, but in society. Until we begin to challenge the dominant views of our society, we cannot change them. We must assert that there exists a possibility that our society and education could be different.

In bilingual and ESL classes, students are expected to learn the academic English necessary for success in US schools. This is not the same English they need to

communicate with their peers or to conduct such daily business as playing, visiting with friends, or going to the store. “Learning a second language for school is not simply a linguistic challenge; it poses social, cultural, academic, and cognitive challenges as well” (Collier, 1995, p. 1). It is a complex mix of interdependent components. Collier presented a model for language acquisition with four components: language development, social and cultural process, cognitive development, and academic development (Figure 1).



(Used with permission. Copyright, Virginia P. Collier, 1994.)
(As cited in Collier, 1995)

Figure 1: Language acquisition for school

These four components are interrelated with the social and cultural processes at the center or heart of the prism. “Central to that student's acquisition of language are all of the surrounding social and cultural processes occurring through everyday life within the student's past, present, and future, in all contexts – home, school, community, and the broader society” (Collier, 1995, p. 2). If these social and cultural processes are not an

integral part of the student's education, the student's academic language development cannot progress. "Sociocultural processes strongly influence, in both positive and negative ways, students' access to cognitive, academic, and language development. It is crucial that educators provide a socioculturally supportive school environment that allows natural language, academic, and cognitive development to flourish" (Collier, 1995, p.3). When classes are segregated and treated as inferior, when teachers are required to use materials that are not culturally relevant, and when students are not given the sociocultural support they need, we are condemning them to academic failure.

In cultural invasion, those who are invaded must view themselves as inferior. By treating the bilingual students and teachers as inferiors, the school has laid the foundation for cultural invasion. "The more invasion is accentuated and those invaded are alienated from the spirit of their own culture and from themselves, the more the latter want to be like the invaders; to walk like them, dress like them, talk like them" (Freire, 1997, p. 134). Teachers in bilingual education must strive to maintain awareness of how cultural invasion can and does take place in schools.

Societal and Historical Factors

Schools are not isolated entities. They exist within a larger society and are impacted by that society and its history. For bilingual education programs in Texas, the history of language discrimination, racism, segregation, and immigration impact current bilingual education classes. Many of the current societal issues of discrimination, immigration, and racism that continue to impact bilingual classes are directly related to the historical issues.

Social issues in bilingual education impact who is being taught, by whom, in what language, and using what curriculum. These social dimensions of bilingual education "...are embedded in each and every decision we make. Language policies, both officially and unofficially sanctioned, cultural expectations about the roles of teacher and student, and our identities in terms of, for example, gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality at the same time both shape and constrain the social, academic and linguistic consequences for our learners" (Hall & Eggington, 2000, p. 1). These decisions are molded out of the school and community's social and historical contexts. Each decision impacts the lives of our students.

The general locale for this study is a town in Central Texas of about 15,000 documented residents. The town also has a large undocumented population of primarily immigrants from Mexico and Central America. Community members refer to the town as a Czech community. Czech language classes are still offered in the community. At one time Czech classes were offered at the local high school, but dwindling number of students interested in the classes and the difficulty in finding a qualified Czech teacher caused the high school to stop offering Czech as a foreign language. Despite its self view as a Czech community, almost 40% of the documented citizens in town are Hispanic. The school age population is closer to 40% Hispanic. This distorted view of the community impacts the social contexts of the school and the community and greatly impact the education of our students.

Historic Segregation

When I first started looking at the issue of segregation, I thought it was an issue from the past. Desegregation in the United States began in the 1960's and was almost uniformly implemented in the 1970's. Therefore, I was shocked to find instances of segregation still occurring today in the early twenty first century.

I conducted research at a mid-sized, traditionally rural Central Texas school district. The district officially went through voluntary desegregation in the 1960's. I went through the school district's board of directors meeting minutes dating back to the beginning of the 1900's. There were no references to segregated schools except for the mention of voluntary desegregation in 1964. I spoke with the district administrators about the segregated schools. While they all knew in general that there had been segregation, only one knew about the voluntary desegregation efforts or the names and locations of the segregated schools. I found this odd because many of the administrators had lived in the community at the time of the desegregation, and some had worked for the district during that time period.

At that period of voluntary desegregation, the district policy was that any student could attend either their neighborhood school or the school they had been attending. Because the neighborhoods were very segregated at the time, and today still tend to be segregated, this voluntary desegregation did not accomplish much. I asked older community members if they remembered the segregated schools. They told me about the Black school and the Mexican school, which they jokingly referred to as the "Alamo" because "that's where all the Mexicans were." Because of the segregated neighborhoods,

the students continued to attend very segregated schools. The exception to this segregation was the communities Catholic schools, which integrated in the 1960's.

Upper working class and middle class Hispanic families took advantage of the integrated Catholic schools. This is important because it laid a foundation for a division among the communities Hispanics that continues to this day. Today the division is still along class lines, but it is increasingly related to speaking English.

In the 1970's, the district consolidated the schools, offering only one school at each grade level. These schools, however, were on the traditionally White, north side of town, forcing the Black and Hispanic population to give up their neighborhood schools and be bused to the White side of town. This practice continues today. Although it did end segregated schools, the impact of it is still being felt today.

Currently in the district, besides the teachers in bilingual education, the only Hispanics employed by the district are one administrator at the central office, one working as an assistant principal at the elementary school, five teachers in general education classes, paraprofessionals, secretaries, and custodians. There is one African American assistant principal, two classroom teachers, two coaches, one registrar, and one custodian. The district is almost 60% Hispanic and 20% African American, with over 30% of the elementary students speaking Spanish as a home language, yet the faculty does not mirror this population.

Bilingual Education at the Central Texas Early Childhood Center (CTECC)

When schools and classrooms are viewed as a microcosm of our broader society, the ideologies and inequalities of the larger society are reproduced in our schools. “And, furthermore, we need to have some notion of ideology (or discourse) that suggests not only that social relationships are reproduced inside classrooms but that social relations are linked to ideologies and thus to the way we think” (Pennycook, 2000, p. 93). Bilingual education is a chance for real change; a chance for teachers to work towards social justice and break the cycle of inequalities.

The Central Texas Early Childhood Center (CTECC) is the fictitious name of a very real school. The name was changed to maintain the anonymity of the teacher participants. The school is the home to the district’s early childhood, prekindergarten and kindergarten programs. Although it is officially part of the elementary school, it has its own administrator and functions as an independent school.

The center hallway of the school contains the main office, nurse’s office, computer lab and library. The right wing, as you face the office, contains all the English only Kindergarten classes. The left wing contains the bilingual and English only Prekindergarten classes, the preschool program for children with disabilities (PPCD) and the bilingual Kindergarten. This campus has been organized this way since the 2006-2007 school year. Jane explained: “It’s a strange way. They’re [bilingual classes] all lumped together and not with anybody [else].” During the 2007-2008 school year, the bilingual kindergarten classes were integrated with the regular classes for physical

education, music and library, but the teachers and students remained isolated for the rest of the day.

Segregation Today

Segregation officially ended in the United States in the 1970's. In spite of the official ending of segregation, segregation still takes place in our schools today, especially when discussing bilingual education programs. "In fact, Latino students, who represent the highest number in bilingual programs, are now the *most segregated population* in U.S. schools, and bilingual education has nothing to do with this" (Nieto, 2000, p. 205). Just because a school has bilingual education does not mean that the classes must be segregated. I have worked in the field of bilingual education since the early 1990's. I found many programs where the bilingual classes were not just an integrated part, but an integral part of the school community.

It is also true, however, that every bilingual program has numerous opportunities for integrating students more meaningfully than is currently the case. Students in the bilingual program can take art, physical education, and other non-academic classes with their English-speaking peers. The bilingual program can also be more structurally integrated into the school instead of separated into a wing of the building, so that teachers from both bilingual and nonbilingual classrooms can collaborate. This seldom happens because bilingual teachers bear the burden of the "bilingual" label in the same way as their students. These teachers are suspected of being less intelligent, less academically prepared, and less able than non-bilingual teachers – this in spite of the fact that they have generally mastered two languages and developed a wide range of pedagogical approaches for teaching a diverse student body (Nieto, 2000, p. 205).

In order for integration to occur, the culture of the school must be aware of the issues and be willing to embrace diversity. At the CTECC, this is not the case. The campus administrator took three years to decide to allow the bilingual kindergarten classes to integrate for their non-core content classes, but they are still physically isolated. I was in

the hall one day when the campus administrator was giving a tour of the school. She pointed out the bilingual kindergarten classes on their way to the cafeteria. I overheard the visitor comment, "I'm glad you keep *those children* down here away from the rest of the children." The administrator did not comment, but continued to point out other features of the school. Because the campus administrator, the top authority on the campus, willingly embraces the segregation of the bilingual program, she sets the culture of the school to one where speaking a language other than English implies inferiority and allows the hostile environment of segregation to flourish.

Besides physical education, library and music, the bilingual kindergarten classes and the English classes come together to celebrate Thanksgiving and Christmas Around the World. For Thanksgiving, the teachers each choose one dish that is often served at traditional American Thanksgiving celebrations. The students then go from one class to the other where the teachers present the food and talk about it. The students from different classes are not integrated. Because the bilingual classes are "so far away" from the other classes, their room for the celebration is in the hallway.

I was appalled when I saw this situation. The bilingual classes were sitting on the floor in the hall. Their teachers each had a single chair and a small stool on which to set the food for their classes. What message is this sending to the students, both in and out of the bilingual program about their place in the school and society? What surprised me more than anything was that no one seemed to question what was going on. The bilingual teachers, parents and students accepted that this was a normal part of the school. None of the non-bilingual teachers questioned it. The administration saw no

problem with it. One paraprofessional commented that it wasn't right, but she only commented to me, not to anyone who she viewed as having real power over her.

At Christmas time, the teachers each select a country and present the traditions of that country. The bilingual teachers are always assigned Mexico and one other Spanish speaking country. Again, because they are "so far away," they bilingual classes are treated differently than the English classes. Even though they were the largest kindergarten classes, they were combined into one group. The two bilingual teachers were also put into only one room, which one of the English teachers "generously" allowed them to use. As the children went from classroom to classroom, the nonbilingual teachers spoke to the teaching assistants who accompanied the bilingual students rather than to the students themselves. This was one of the only times the children had to interact with these teachers, but the teachers displayed the school culture of treating them as inferiors. These activities which are meant to foster understanding of diversity, actually served to further divide the school

Discrimination Issues

The sociocultural issues impacting the bilingual classes do not end at physical segregation. They are perceived as being less-than their English only peers.

For cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority. Since everything has its opposite, if those who are invaded consider themselves inferior, they must necessarily recognize the superiority of the invaders. The values of the latter thereby become the pattern for the former (Freire, 1997, p. 134).

This perception of the inferiority of the bilingual students and teachers has permeated the campus culture at the CTECC. It is transmitted through countless thoughtless deeds

and words on a regular basis. While the bilingual teachers do not consciously buy into the idea that they and their students are inferior, they do not see the need to challenge the existing sociocultural structures of the school.

This perception of the bilingual classes as inferior is strongly projected by the campus administrator who claims to be supportive of bilingual education yet undermines it through segregation and discrimination. I was speaking with her about allowing the campus's policies regarding allowing non-Limited English Proficient (LEP) students into the bilingual program, especially students from Spanish speaking households. During that time, the secretary came in to ask a question about filling out the paperwork for a Hispanic student who was being referred for the Gifted and Talented Program. The secretary wanted to make sure that she was completing the form correctly and that the student's first language was Spanish, but that he was not-LEP. I remarked to the administrator that this student was the type of student I was referring to. She commented back that he didn't need bilingual education because he was really smart. The comment was indicative of the culture and perception of the bilingual classes as remedial and less than the English speaking classes. It permeated the campus culture and allowed the bilingual classes to be treated as the other.

Sociocultural Issues in the Kindergarten Program

Because bilingual classes are often viewed as homogeneous with all students having the same ethnicity and language, bilingual teachers may not know how to incorporate diversity issues in their classes. One day a new student arrived in Elena's bilingual kindergarten classes. The child was Mexican-American and a Spanish speaker.

She was also a Jehovah's Witness. Elena had no previous experience with members of this religious community and was unsure of what to do or how to address religious diversity. Once Elena became aware that the child did not celebrate birthdays and secular holidays, her response was to simply cut them out of her lessons, rather than using the diversity to help teach her students. This was not an isolated incident, but it does illustrate the need to ensure that bilingual teachers have the tools and training to embrace the diversity within their classes. In a similar vein, when the general education teachers have only a superficial understanding of the myriad of Hispanic cultures. They observe, but don't participate in the district's only Hispanic celebration of Cinco de Mayo.

When talking with the bilingual teachers about the school culture and how they and their bilingual classes are perceived by the other teachers, Elena, one of the kindergarten teachers, commented that the English speaking students referred to her as "Miss Spanish" and that the English speaking teachers would not even greet her students, even though Elena greeted all the students in the hall, regardless of their primary language. Both Linda and Elena feel that their students outperform the students in the English only classrooms, but that this is not recognized by the other teachers or the administrator. The nonbilingual teachers do not know how to interact with the bilingual classes, but the bilingual teachers have made no effort to try to integrate either themselves or their classes with their nonbilingual peers. I asked both the kindergarten teachers about their interactions with their nonbilingual peers. Both teachers told me that they eat lunch alone or with each other, but never with the other teachers. They do not

attend the school socials because they have "... nothing in common with them." They often feel that they are being left out or not considered a part of the school, but they encourage this behavior by isolating themselves.

Inadequate Materials and Trainings

Linda found that the discrimination continued through the materials purchased and the in-service trainings that were provided. Linda illustrated her point by discussing an in-service training conducted on her campus by a district administrator.

'By the way, this isn't really for ya'll because ya'll didn't get the [new materials].' So why are we here? So anyway we had to sit through this whole thing... and then I said is there any way we could get the books, because the English speakers all have brand new books. ... And so when I asked, can we get one set of those ... stories, she laughed. ... She laughed in front of me and Elena. She laughed at us. ...the district's not going to waste that kind of money on that.

Linda explained that both she and Elena were very upset about this. They could not understand how a district administrator would tell them something like that. When she asked about the fact that it wasn't giving the students "a fair shake" by not providing them with the updated materials, Linda was informed that the district did purchase one set of updated Spanish materials, but that they were on another campus. That meant there was one set of Spanish materials to be shared between two campus and ten teachers while the English teachers received one updated set for every two teachers. This just illustrates the discriminatory practices of the district that are impacting the bilingual students and teachers.

The bilingual teachers were required to sit through other training programs like the training for Project Read. The problem was that the training and materials were designed for teaching reading in English. At this age and given the type of bilingual

program the district had adopted, the training was useless for the bilingual classes. Both Elena and Linda went more than half of a school year without enough reading and math materials for their classes. They scrounged for furniture and made do with whatever materials they could find. The English classes had all their materials. When a new English speaking kindergarten class was formed, the campus administrator ordered new furniture and ensured that the class had everything needed to be successful. Elena had tables that were on the verge of breaking, and were only replaced with other old furnishings, when they became dangerous. By not providing adequate and appropriate materials and supplies to the bilingual classes, the campus administrator sent a clear message to the rest of the school that the bilingual classes were inferior and did not merit having the same as the nonbilingual classes. These discriminatory practices further increased the cultural divide in the school.

Sociocultural Issues in the Prekindergarten Program

Like the bilingual kindergarten classes, the bilingual prekindergarten classes have no interaction with their English speaking counterparts except through physical education, library, music, one field day, and field trips; however, on the field trips the classes tend to stay with their teacher and not integrate. Unlike the kindergarten program, the bilingual prekindergarten classes are in the same hallway as their nonbilingual peers. All the prekindergarten teachers are also ESL or English as a Second Language teachers, and at minimum make an effort to greet and have short conversations with all the students.

The bilingual prekindergarten classes use different materials than the English classes because the curriculum materials originally purchased by the district for prekindergarten were only available in English. Even though they have two different sets of curriculum materials, the bilingual teachers are required to follow the same scope and sequence as the English classes, even when it is not academically or culturally appropriate. Jane explained that "...it's a little harder to do those spontaneous things that we did when we were alone [not planning with the English classes], but ...they gave us a little space. It didn't matter which week you were doing whatever as long as you covered the topic within those three weeks... I've been able to stretch it a lot." Jane found that she could work within the system, but tried to make sure that the books she chose '... are in Spanish, and the fact that it deals with the theme and the culture. It's hard. It's hard to do all of those." She discovered that sometimes she could not meet all three criteria and had to simply go with materials that were available in Spanish that fit the theme even if they are not culturally relevant.

When talking with Maria about how she felt about not having the materials that were a good match for her needs, her response was simply "Pues, así es." (Well, that's how things are.) Maria accepts the status quo and does not challenge it, perhaps because during her teaching career she has never known anything different. Luckily for her students, because Maria is so deeply rooted in her Mexican culture and she brings so much of herself to her teaching, she is able to incorporate her culture into her teaching which compensates for the shortcomings of inadequate or inappropriate supplies.

Although the nonbilingual prekindergarten teachers are more willing to include Jane and Maria in their planning, the same cultural view of the bilingual classes as inferiors permeates prekindergarten as it does with kindergarten. One afternoon, I went by the prekindergarten classes and commented to Jane about the work she and Maria had displayed in the hallway. All the prekindergarten classes had read books about shapes then created their own pictures using geometric shapes. The work from all the bilingual classes was much more creative than the general education classes. When I complimented Jane on this work, Jane became very upset. Earlier in the day, she overheard the general education teachers commenting on the work. They said that the bilingual teachers obviously had helped the students to create their work. This upset Jane because she knew that the students had created their work independently. She also was upset that the other teachers could not accept that her students were capable of doing that high level work. Jane was told that her students were not capable of completing the work that she displayed in the hall, and that she had to have helped them. I was in the class and observed these bright students at work on their projects, but the perception was that they were not smart enough to be able to do the complicated work alone.

Conclusions

The culture of the school continues to be a microcosm of the larger society. The bilingual Spanish speakers are viewed as inferiors who need to be segregated and remediated, even though more Spanish than English speakers have qualified for the district's gifted and talented program. The historical segregation of the town continues to be played out in the culture of the school. Until this cycle of segregation and

discrimination is broken, true understanding and acceptance cannot take place. It has been over fifty years since mandated, legal desegregation occurred in the United States, but some of our schools are still not embracing either the letter or the spirit of the law.

The perception of the bilingual classes as inferiors allows the nonbilingual teachers and administrators to perpetuate a system of oppression. It justifies their position of dominance and allows them to continue to segregate and discriminate. At this time, the bilingual teachers have only partially bought into the notion that they are inferior. They continue to argue that they are as good, if not better teachers than their peers, and that their students are easily as intelligent and capable as the nonbilingual students. At the same time, they have bought into the notion that they do not deserve the same or better treatment as the English classes. They do not ask for additional or even adequate materials and supplies and are willing to settle for second best. In order to break this cycle of oppression, the culture of the school must change. The bilingual teachers and classes must find ways to integrate themselves into the school system. They must stop being outsiders looking in. They must understand their rights be willing to defend them. Only when they understand how they are being oppressed can they begin to break the cycle of oppression.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER ACTIONS

Since its inception, bilingual education has been controversial. This study has followed in the tradition of Darder and continues the quest "...towards bringing to an end the historical educational neglect that continues to exist with respect to bicultural students" (Darder, 1991, p. xvii). Over fifteen years ago, Darder proposed a critical pedagogy for bilingual education that would act as "a transformative intellectual act of empowerment that can be of service to those committed educators who struggle to overcome the consequences of institutional neglect" (Darder, 1991, p. xvii). Today we are facing a new political era that promises reform in education and society. As the Spanish speaking Hispanic population grows, not only in numbers, but in political strength, the status quo has a chance to change. However, as long as the conservative power base emanates not only from our elected officials but from our school administrators, our school systems will continue to blame the child for his/her inability to perform. For students who speak a language other than English, this view allows the perception that they are not as capable as their English speaking peers and allows schools to perpetuate the status quo.

As I am concluding this study, I asked, "So where do we go from here?" My research into early childhood bilingual education brought three areas of investigation to the forefront which encompasses all the issues the teachers brought to light. These areas are both directly and indirectly related to the teachers' issues, and they extend beyond early childhood bilingual education to include all levels of bilingual education. The first

issue is teacher preparation especially through alternative certification programs. Given the growing number of second language learners and the growing need for bilingual teachers, this area must be addressed if we are going to move bilingual education into the twenty-first century. The second key area is the hidden curriculum of bilingual education. “The school in general, and the curriculum in particular, play important roles in both oppression and reform” (Pinar, et al, 1996, p. 244). By examining the hidden curriculum, we can begin to understand the roles of school in perpetuating the status quo. The final area is opening dialogue in our schools and giving voice to our teachers. The teachers must become empowered to critically examine their role in the school, to challenge the injustices they see, and to give voice to their concerns and triumphs. In this chapter, I will address each of these three areas based on the findings from my study and propose additional research to further the field of critical bilingual education.

Bilingual Teacher Education

There is an ever growing shortfall of qualified bilingual (Spanish speaking) educators in this country with many states looking outside of the US to fill bilingual teaching positions, and an increasing number of bilingual teachers are becoming certified through non-traditional programs. During the 2005-2006 school year, the Texas State Board of Educator Certification issued 17,419 new bilingual certifications, of which 1,935 were through standard university education programs with an additional 212 in post baccalaureate programs (Texas Education Agency, 2007). The other bilingual certifications were through alternative certification programs and certification by examination. Alternative certification programs in Texas include programs run by

colleges and universities, regional educational service center programs, school district programs and private companies (Texas Education Agency, 2009a).

Three of the four teachers in this study were trained through alternative certification programs. Of the twelve bilingual teachers in the district, only four were trained through traditional university programs, but not in the area of bilingual education. They moved into bilingual education because they are bilingual, because the district paid them an additional stipend and because there is a growing need for bilingual teachers. At the end of this study, one of the upper elementary teachers decided to go back to school to work on a master's in bilingual education.

Teacher education has often neglected those traditional teacher skills that include a knowledge of academic subject matter, an understanding of the a variety of child development theories, an appreciation of the social context in which education takes place, an acquaintance with the relationship between educational purpose and the needs of a democratic society and an overview of the social goals education has historically been expected to accomplish. Colleges of education often emphasize the technique of teaching, focusing on the inculcation of the "best method" for delivering a body of predetermined facts and the familiarization of teachers with the "proper format" for lesson plans, which enhances supervision efficiency and thus invites stricter accountability (Kincheloe, Slattery & Steinberg, 2000, p. 227).

Teacher education, especially bilingual teacher education is falling increasingly more on alternative certification programs and on individual teachers to find their own means of becoming "highly qualified." "To be deemed highly qualified, teachers must have: 1) a bachelor's degree, 2) full state certification or licensure, and 3) prove that they know each subject they teach" (U.S. Department of Education, 2005). This means that in order to become highly qualified, a teacher must have a bachelor's degree and be able to pass their state tests. In Texas teachers must pass a test of pedagogy and professional

responsibility which focuses on instructional design and delivery, classroom environment and professionalism. They then must pass their content area test, which for bilingual teachers includes basic theory of bilingual education and second language acquisition. Texas Bilingual teachers also must pass an oral proficiency test (Texas Education Agency, 2009b).

One approved Texas alternative certification center's website explained the curriculum for their program.

The Educator Certification Program's curriculum is based on the state standards established by the State Board for Educator Certification and are aligned with the state board exams, the state Professional Development and Appraisal System Framework, as well as the state curriculum established for Texas public schools (Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills-TEKS) This ensures that teachers are prepared with information which is relevant to them and to the teaching profession (Education Service Center Region XIII, 2008).

I mentored two of the three teacher participants as they went through an alternative teacher certification program. The training programs lasted one or two years, depending on the program. Like the normal schools of the 1800's, "they provided a hurried education, cramming many subjects into a one-year program" (Kincheloe, et al., 2000, p. 146). Their training did not bring into focus the societal or cultural issues they would encounter. The training focused on the pragmatics of teaching, giving a superficial nod to theory without a deeper understanding of the context, philosophy, history or curriculum. Since the teachers did not receive the in depth training they needed to become critical educator through their certification programs, it then fall to the teachers themselves and to the school districts that employ them to develop continuing education programs to fill in the gaps in their teacher education.

The school district's in-service training has focused on testing, campus and district policies and hands-on, immediately applicable trainings. In the last four years, in addition to the general trainings, the bilingual teachers receive one training on teaching reading in Spanish and yearly trainings on state and federal laws. One attended a state wide bilingual conference. One attended a regional bilingual conference. All the early childhood and primary bilingual teachers also attended a national conference last year. When I spoke with the teachers about the conference sessions they attended, they told me in great details about the hands-on, practitioner related sessions they attended. I asked if they had attended any sessions during these multi-day conferences that dealt with theory, philosophy or critical educational issues. They told me that they attended one such session, but only because I was the presenter.

Bilingual Teachers' Cultural Knowledge

I have worked in field of bilingual education for over fifteen years. During that time I have experienced many instances like these. During this study, I found that of the four teachers, only Jane, was comfortable with working with diverse students. Her educational background prior to moving into bilingual education included diversity training. The other three teacher participants had no background in diversity education. Their alternative certification program did not address the issue of cultural diversity. Part of this is societal and programmatic. As a society, we tend to view "Hispanic" as one cultural group, but "Hispanic" encompasses very diverse ethnic and cultural groups, each with their own norms and values.

Elena's way of addressing the issue of diversity in her class was to simply change her lessons to ignore the issue. Last year, she was teaching about "Día de los Muertos" or Day of the Dead to her predominately Mexican American class. At the end of the second day of her week long lesson, one of the parents came in to talk with her about it. The parent explained that her family was from El Salvador and did not celebrate Day of the Dead. The parent wanted to know why her child was learning about Mexican traditions when she was in the United States. Elena did not know what to say to the parent. She did not have the background to know how to address this issue. Elena simply put away her Day of the Dead materials and discontinued teaching her students about it.

None of the four teacher participants viewed diversity as a tool to empower their students. They do not use it to bridge the cultural gap between themselves and the other teachers or between the bilingual classes and the monolingual English classes. "Some studies document, for instance, how successful teachers use students' culture as a bridge to the dominant culture. Furthermore, the pedagogy of effective teachers is empowering because rather than simply teach students blind acceptance of the inherent values of the dominant culture, these teachers encourage students to think critically and work for social justice" (Nieto, 2000, p. 150). In order for bilingual teachers to bridge the cultural divide that separates them from the mainstream, they need to understand the power of diversity and how to address issues of diversity within their classes, among their colleagues, with their parents and with administrators.

Filling in the Research Gaps

I have found that there are some gaps in our research knowledge about the preparation for bilingual teacher certification and bilingual teacher continuing education that we need to consider. Researchers in bilingual education need to examine all aspects of bilingual teacher education including their cultural awareness. Collier's (1995) model of bilingual education has sociocultural development at the core of the pyramid. This model is for the education of the students in a bilingual program, but who is ensuring that bilingual teachers have the sociocultural development to empower their students to develop that strong core? Are the school districts, alternative certification programs and traditional teacher education programs providing the critical background training that bilingual teachers need to become successful? How are teachers utilizing conferences to enhance their awareness of theoretical, philosophical, curriculum and societal issues that could impact their teaching? Researchers in bilingual education need to examine all aspects of bilingual teacher education including their cultural awareness.

Schools Mirror Society

Our society in Texas is experiencing a major shift in demographics. This shift is already being seen in our schools as the population of Spanish speakers, especially in early childhood, continues to grow. "Schools mirror the surrounding society and many people want to be sure that they continue to do so" (Goodlad, 1984, p. 161). In our society, Spanish is viewed as an inferior language. We do not value the language or the cultures that Hispanic immigrants bring with them. Our school systems today are moving backwards away from the promises of the Civil Rights movements. For students

in bilingual education programs, this can be devastating. Joel Spring (2001) discussed the education of Mexican schoolchildren in the early twentieth century.

An important element in the Americanization of Mexican schoolchildren, as it was for Indians, was eliminating the speaking of their native language. Educators argued that learning English was essential to assimilation and the creation of a unified nation. In addition, language was considered related to values and culture. Changing languages, it was assumed, would cause a cultural revolution among Mexican Americans (Spring, 2001, p. 80).

How is this any different today? Today the argument of English only instruction is crouched in a dialogue of fear. Under the guise of national security and anti-terrorism, our schools are implementing English only programs to promote a national agenda that is very effective at maintaining the status quo. As *No Child Left Behind* enters its second decade, we need to be looking at the impact it is having on not only on education as a whole, but also on how it is impacting the perceptions educators have of their students.

In the 1970's, the idea of the hidden curriculum was first introduced.

The hidden curriculum deals with the tacit ways in which knowledge and behavior get constructed, outside the usual course materials and formally scheduled lessons. It is a part of the bureaucratic and managerial "press" of the school – the combined forces by which students are induced to comply with dominant ideologies and social practices related to authority, behavior and morality (McLaren, 1989, pp. 183-184).

McLaren's definition of the hidden curriculum address the idea as it pertains to students, but I believe, that just as students come into compliance with the dominant ideologies, our teachers also are induced into compliance. This is especially true when teachers are new to the profession and have a limited theoretical and philosophical foundation of education.

The concept of the hidden curriculum became taken-for-granted curriculum knowledge, widely cited by those who insisted that the curriculum preserved social stratifications, especially those of class, race, and gender (Apple, 1982, 1990; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Beyer & Apple, 1988; Giroux, 1981, 1983, 1988; Giroux & Purpel, 1983; Giroux, Penna & Pinar, 1981; Oakes, 1985; Shapiro, 1981, 1983; Sparp, 1980; Shor, 1986; Weis, 1988). The scholarship on the hidden curriculum inspired a range of studies, including investigations of school programs found to function in ways not always evident (Pinar, et al, 1996, p. 249).

One of the programs that has not thoroughly investigated the hidden curriculum is bilingual education. Research into bilingual education has tended to focus on language of instruction, language development and the effectiveness of different program models. In addition, when teachers are entering the profession without a foundation in curriculum studies, they are unaware of the issue of the hidden curriculum.

The four teacher participants in this study are all highly intelligent, but like many Texas bilingual teachers, they do not have a strong theoretical, philosophical or curriculum foundation. When I spoke with them about the idea of a hidden curriculum, they did not know what I was talking about. They understood that there was a political agenda behind many of the things they were being asked to do, but they did not see the issue of a hidden curriculum as one they needed to address. Three of the four teacher participants became certified through alternative teacher certification programs that stressed the basic information they would need to pass the state exams. The fourth entered into the field of bilingual education because she was already a certified teacher who happened to be bilingual.

I was once in their position. I also entered the field through an alternative teacher certification program, but I was fortunate enough to be in a school district that

encouraged its teachers to continue their education. I was encouraged to take university courses related to my field and to expand my knowledge base through book studies and action research. The teacher participants in this study were not encouraged by their administrator or the district to continue their education beyond the required district in-services that focused on hands-on practice, testing and district policies and procedures. It is not part of the expectations of the school district that teachers will become knowledgeable about theory, beyond that which is immediately applicable in their classes, or have a foundation of philosophy and curriculum upon which to build their practice.

Throughout this study, I found that bilingual teachers wanted were concerned with issues of power, race, class and language. These are issues that have been addressed in many programs through examining the hidden curriculum. While this field of research began in the 1970's and strengthened into the 1980's, this field of bilingual research was focusing on issues of language acquisition and program design. During that time bilingual education was seen as program that would grow our national resources, enable English speakers to learn a second language and to help new immigrants acculturate to the US while maintaining their language and culture. There did not seem to be much of a need to question the hidden curriculum in bilingual education. Court cases seemed to have brought most of the issues to the forefront. But here we are, forty years after the Lau decision and back to the beginning of the struggle for equity in education for second language learners. We have been complacent for too long.

This study brings to light the ideas that we have not made the great progress that was promised through the *Civil Rights Acts*. We have not closed the gaps in education. We have allowed them to increase. I found issues of segregation and discrimination are still part of our school systems today, and these issues are being perpetuated at the federal, state and local levels. I focused my research on early childhood bilingual education because this is the foundation of schooling for these children and for the bilingual program. There is a need for more in depth research into bilingual education and how the hidden curriculum is impacting it. This research needs to focus on the critical foundations on which bilingual education is based. Only by revealing the hidden curriculum, can we realize the issues and truly begin to change the curriculum.

Opening Dialogue

Throughout the time I spent with the teacher participants, I was continuously surprised by how little they questioned the educational practices of their school. Linda, the least experienced of the teachers, was the most vocal. Her background outside of schools and the discriminatory practices she saw against her own children greatly influenced her perceptions. But even though Linda was quite vocal when speaking with her bilingual colleagues and with me, she did not speak up with her administrator. Neither she nor Elena saw anything innately wrong with being segregated from the rest of the school. Only Jane, who also has a background in special education, found the practice discriminatory. Most surprising was Maria. Maria is intensely proud of her Mexican heritage. She eloquently explains the bilingual program to the parents and ensures that her children, at least in her room, are surrounded by a warm, inviting

atmosphere. She is a strong advocate for her students and the bilingual program when speaking with parents, but when I asked her about the practices in her school, she seemed very complacent and simply responded that that is the way things are.

Bilingual educators need to take the lead in opening a dialogue about the discriminatory practices they experience in education. The teacher participants seemed to not really see the segregation or discrimination as a major issue except when it took time away from their classes or provided them with inferior materials. Jane, the one non-Hispanic, and Linda, the most Americanized Hispanic of the participants were the most vocal, but they did not know how to go about effecting change. All the teachers saw the problems they encountered as systemic, not rooted in the children.

Their ideology has never been brought into question either by themselves or others.

Simply put ideology refers to the production of meaning. It can be described as a way of viewing the world, a complex of ideas, various types of social practices, rituals and representations that we tend to accept as natural and common sense. It is the result of the intersection of meaning and power in the social world. Customs, rituals, beliefs and values often produce within individuals distorted conceptions of their place in the sociocultural order and thereby serve to reconcile them to that place and to disguise the inequitable relations of power and privilege; this is sometimes referred to as “ideological hegemony” (McLaren, 1989, p. 176)

Teachers need to begin dialoguing about their practices, beliefs, values and culture.

Teachers are becoming increasingly disempowered as more control is taken away from them. State and federal mandated testing and “common curriculum” reduce teachers’ ability to become empowered. Hence the work of Paolo Freire (1997) becomes increasingly more relevant to our teachers today.

Like the developing nation's peasantry, teachers are preoccupied with daily survival; time for reflection and analysis become elusive and even irrelevant, given the crisis-management atmosphere and the immediate attention survival demands. In such a climate, those who suggest that more time and resources be delegated to reflective and growth-inducing pursuits are impractical, meddlesome and devoid of common sense (Kincheloe, et al., 2000, pp. 227-228).

Teachers should be encouraged to question their practices and engage in dialogue about their role in the school. One of the problems I encountered in doing this research was that my conversations with them were the first time most of them had been asked questions about their practices and the practices of the school. It was the first time they began looking critically at the school and education. In order for change, we must open up dialogue with educators about their practices and empower them to critically examine the educational system.

The teacher participants did not feel that they could approach their administrator to discuss any issues beyond very superficial issues like materials. If they believed that they would be retaliated with if they informed the administration that they felt they were being discriminated against or that they didn't want to be segregated from the rest of the school. Janet Miller's work in the 1980's focused on empowering teachers through dialogue (Pinar, et al, 1996, p.381-384). "Miller found that her conversations with women teachers released them from an 'encapsulation' in those 'fragmentations they experience as representations of the larger social imbalances of control and power'" (Miller as referenced in Pinar, et al, 1996, p. 382). I found that dialogue brought deeper issues to light, but that more work was still needed in order for the teachers to truly be empowered.

Part of the problem was that although the bilingual teachers were dialoguing with each other and with me, they were not dialoguing with people in power or with other teachers. They continued to fear retaliation if they brought their concerns to the administration. Their concerns were justified when one district administrator pointed out the issue of segregation on the campus. The district tried to demote her, but when she stood decided to file a grievance, the district's lawyer informed the district that they had to comply and give her back her previous position. Even though she was vindicated, the campus and district administrators continued to put pressure on her and try to find any way possible to make her life in the district so miserable that she would leave. Federal and state laws may protect a whistle blower from direct retaliation, but the more subtle power plays can intimidate teachers into not speaking up for themselves and others.

While research has been done on power relations and on dialoguing as a means of empowerment, more work needs to be done on how bilingual teachers can reconceptualize their role in education and begin to break down the barriers to true empowerment. I believe that empowerment for bilingual educators needs to be a grass-root, bottom-up approach. Once they understand the ideology that shapes their views and begin to question and dialogue about their views and roles, then can we begin to see change. More research needs to be done with bilingual teachers on questioning, dialoguing and challenging their own views as well as the educational system.

A Final Thought

Researchers need to work with practitioners to envision a different type of school system. We need to look beyond the child to the infrastructures that enable our society to maintain the status quo. We need to critically examine our own beliefs and address our societal fears before they overtake us.

Bilingual education has the potential to heal many of the wounds of our educational system. Dual language and multilingual programs offer the hope of true desegregation and integration. In these programs, culturally and linguistically diverse learners learn from each other from a young age. They learn to value each other's culture and language as they acquire academic skills. Thomas and Collier (1998) demonstrated in their longitudinal study that students, not only native Spanish speaker, but all groups of students in dual language achieved long term academic success. More research needs to be conducted on utilizing bilingual education as a means of closing the achievement gap for culturally and linguistically diverse learners and for fulfilling the promises of the civil rights movement, that all students deserve an equitable, integrated, culturally diverse education where they can thrive, learn and become critical thinkers and active, positive participants in our society.

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