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## EDUCATIONAL DYNAMICS

This chapter addresses the educational experience of Puerto Ricans in New York City. In so doing, it explores (1) the results of the educational experience, as reflected in student achievement; (2) a number of theories often advanced to explain student outcomes; (3) the historical context and its effect on education; (4) the response of the Hispanic community to the problems in education; and (5) some ideas on how to improve the current educational situation. An important theme in this chapter is that within the educational system an educational dynamic has been institutionalized that involves a number of components in an assimilation dialectic. These components are the system (teachers, schools, and the values they try to inculcate) and the new entrants (students, parents, and their values and aspirations). These interact to create the results (educational outcomes and changes in the system).

### What the Records Show

#### *Reading, Math, and English*

The reading and math scores of students in predominantly Hispanic school districts have continued to lag behind those of students in New York City as a whole.<sup>1</sup> This is true at every grade<sup>2</sup> (Hayes and Grether, 1983; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972; Fitzpatrick, 1971; more recent figures derived from the NYC Board of Education, 1984a, 1984b). The number of school districts in NYC that are predominantly Hispanic (i.e., that have 50% or more Hispanic students) has increased from 3 in 1969 to 11 in 1983. Less than half of the children (45.51%) in the Hispanic districts

are reading at or above grade level, while just over half (54.19%) are performing at or above grade level in math (NYC Board of Education, 1984a, 1984b).<sup>3</sup>

### *Limited English Proficiency*

Students who are limited in their English proficiency (i.e., classified as limited English proficient or LEP students) numbered over 110,000 in 1985 (Educational Priorities Panel [EPP], 1985b). There have always been a large proportion of Hispanic students in all grades who were termed "English-poor," that is, who spoke little or no English or spoke it hesitantly, or with a heavy accent. In 1960, these students totaled 104,482, or 9.25% of the total student population (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972). By 1985, they constituted 12% of the total school population, or 113,831 (EPP, 1985b: 3).

Despite the now legally mandated requirement that these students receive bilingual instruction, 40% of those entitled still do not receive it. Of the 60% who do receive language instruction, only 30% are exposed to a fully bilingual instruction program (EPP, 1985b). What happens to LEP children—particularly those who are not served? According to some reports, they drop out and at higher rates than other students (EPP, 1985b; Calitri, 1983; Santiago-Santiago, 1984b). In addition, they are over-represented in zoned high schools and underrepresented in optional education programs (Advocates for Children, 1985). In sum, they end up in the educational tracks that often have the fewest rewards.

The LEP figures are expected to swell with increased numbers of language minority students entering the system (Smith, 1987: 9). However, this figure includes only students who score below the twentieth percentile on an English proficiency test. Only these students qualify for special English-language instruction. Hispanics constituted 72% of the LEP group in 1984 (EPP, 1985b: 9) and LEP students constituted approximately 26% of all Hispanics in the public school system (EPP, 1985b; New York City Board of Education, 1984a). The remaining 74% of Hispanics who scored above the twentieth percentile did not qualify for LEP instruction, even though they might have placed anywhere from the twenty-first to the sixtieth percentile. The needs of these children are not addressed.

### *Dropping Out*

There are numerous and differing ways to measure school dropout rates (Valdivieso, 1986: 12; Santiago-Santiago, 1984a; Hernández, 1976;

Calitri, 1983; Reyes, 1984; Smith, 1987). Different studies produce slightly different figures, depending upon who is classified a "dropout." The Board of Education, for example, does not count as dropouts those who leave and enroll in a GED or equivalent program, although few of those enrolled in these programs ever attain high school diplomas. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1972) estimated a Puerto Rican dropout rate of 67% in New York City in 1970-71, but argued that this was a conservative estimate because untabulated transfers and migrations underestimated the true dropout rates for Puerto Ricans while inflating those of Whites. Calitri (1983) found an 80% dropout rate for Hispanics and Puerto Ricans in New York City. A New York State study put the rate of Hispanic dropout at 62% (*New York Times*, March 15, 1987: 22). There is also no agreement on the dropout rate for all students in New York (*New York Times*, March 9, 1986: 40; February 26, 1987; March 1, 1987; Calitri, 1983: 4).

Under any definition, Hispanic and Puerto Rican youth have for some time been dropping out at higher rates than any other group in the city. High Hispanic dropout rates are not just a New York City problem—they are a national problem (Valdivieso, 1986; Hispanic Policy Development Project, 1984a, 1984b; National Center for Education Statistics, 1981; Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1979; Michigan State Board of Education, 1986). However, significant variations in Puerto Rican/Hispanic dropout rates by city have also been found (Hernández, 1976; Valdivieso, 1986). Thus, some school systems are better than others in retaining Hispanic students.

In New York City, we see the effect of the high Hispanic dropout rates when we look at ethnic composition by grade level. As Figure 6.1 illustrates, Hispanics and Blacks have the largest shares at each grade level up to the ninth grade, when Hispanics decline precipitously (and Blacks more evenly), while Whites increase. By the twelfth grade, Whites outnumber Hispanics and equal Blacks. Thus, at the formal exit point, so many Hispanics have left that the compositions of graduating classes do not reflect the schools from which they graduated.<sup>4</sup>

### *Segregation*

Segregated schools and the accompanying correlates of reading retardation, low four-year college attendance, and low diploma completion continue to be a severe problem in NYC schools.<sup>5</sup> The majority of elementary and junior high school Hispanic students attend schools in districts that have high proportions of Hispanic students. In fact, 68% of Hispanic children in New York City attend schools in districts that are 30%

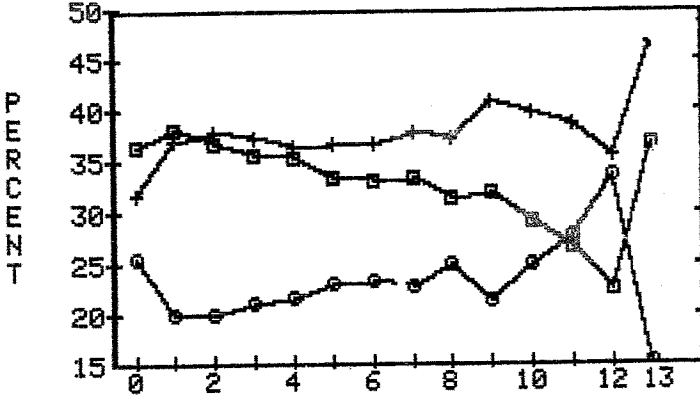


Figure 6.1 Groups by Grade, 1983-1984  
 Source: New York City Board of Education (1984a).

or more Hispanic, while only 10% attend schools in districts that have 10% or fewer Hispanic students.<sup>6</sup> Others attend schools that have high proportions of Black students. At the high school level, where residence is less of a factor, there is a similar segregation.<sup>7</sup> Many Hispanics attend high schools where there are large proportions of other Hispanics and Blacks. In these high schools, they face the correlates of segregated schooling—the odds are that most of their peers will be below grade level in reading, are less likely to receive diplomas, and are less likely to go on to four-year colleges (see Table 6.1).<sup>8</sup>

*Colleges*

The high dropout rates found at the junior high and high school levels continue on into college. As the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights recently pointed out: "If we start with a hypothetical 100 Puerto Rican

**Table 6.1**  
 Correlation Coefficients, Random Sample of New York City High Schools

	Two years behind in school	Graduates going on to 4-year colleges	Diplomas granted
Whites	-.845	.4	.672
Hispanics	.41	-.014	-.142
Blacks	.628	-.467	-.642

Source: New York City Board of Education (1984b).  
 Note: Systematic random sample of high schools; N = 15.

students, the best case scenario has 55 graduating from high school, 25 entering college, and 7 graduating from college" (cited in Puerto Rican Council on Higher Education, 1986: 7). This depressing situation represents the "best case" scenario because it assumes a relatively optimistic dropout rate of 45% for Hispanics. If we use the 80% dropout rate found by Calitri (1983), then only 2.5 of the original 100 would graduate from college.

In New York State undergraduate colleges, Hispanics had the lowest retention rates between 1973 and 1981 when compared with Whites, Blacks, Asian/Pacific Islanders, American Indians, and Alaskan natives (Prieto, 1984). Indeed, between 1978 and 1980, the proportion of Hispanic students in New York State who stayed and completed their undergraduate degrees declined from 58% to 55%, while the retention rates for Whites increased (91% to 94%) and that of Blacks stayed the same (63%). On the positive side, total Hispanic enrollment during the 1976-82 period increased slightly (43,842 to 56,506). Also increasing during this period were the numbers of Hispanics in graduate and professional schools and the number of degrees conferred (Prieto, 1984). Thus, it appears that at the state level more Hispanics are getting through the undergraduate colleges than before, but the proportion dropping out has increased and remains higher than for any other group.

The picture at the city colleges, where most Hispanics attend, is similar.<sup>9</sup> Retention rates are low and, correspondingly, dropout rates are high. This generalization does not appear to be affected by method of entry, that is, whether students entered "under the rigorous admissions standards in force at the university during the 1960s" (Lavin et al., 1986: 3) or whether they came in under an open admissions plan in effect during the early 1970s.<sup>10</sup> Hispanic students lagged behind Whites and Blacks in the proportion completing their baccalaureate programs at the City University of New York (CUNY) regardless of their mode of entry.

Indeed, as the chancellor of the Board of Higher Education has pointed out, there appears to be a "bleaching phenomenon" that takes place within the CUNY system: the longer you're at CUNY, and the higher up you go, the more likely you are to be White (Murphy, 1986: 5-6). This is true for students and faculty alike.<sup>11</sup> Thus, in 1985, 65% to 75% of entering freshman students were members of minority groups (35% Black, 25% Hispanic, and 5% to 10% Asian). Yet, over the past few years, 64% of those awarded baccalaureates were White (Murphy, 1986: 6). Although there has been a slight increase in the proportion of Hispanic students in graduate schools—from 5.5% in 1978 to 7.2% in 1983—Hispanics are still vastly underrepresented at this level (City University of New York, 1983: 131).

*Standardized Test Scores*

Puerto Rican mean scores on exams taken when applying to most college and graduate schools—the SAT and the GRE—are also not encouraging. Table 6.2 shows the mean scores of Puerto Ricans relative to non-Hispanic Whites. All scores are at least one standard deviation below the mean. There has been significant improvement in the last few years—between 1980 and 1985, Puerto Ricans in the states experienced the greatest positive change in verbal SAT means and the second highest increase in SAT math means compared with all students, Whites, Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, American Indians, and Blacks (Ramist and Arbiter, 1986: xii). However, there is still a very large lag. In effect, even the group that graduates and is college or graduate school bound has not narrowed the educational achievement gap measured by these tests.

Table 6.2  
 Standardized Mean Test Scores

	Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT)		Graduate Record Exam (GRE)		
	Verbal	Math	Verbal	Quantitative	Analytical
Puerto Ricans	356 (6,849)	387 (6,848)	389.42	417.71	384.7
Whites	442 (720,010)	482 (719,891)	511.5	525.08	528.73
Mexicans	372 (14,169)	413 (14,167)	418.82	422.14	412.26

Source: Duran (1983: 61, 66). SAT figures are based on 1979-80 scores; GRE figures are based on 1978-79 scores (College Entrance Examination Board data).

Note: Figures in parentheses are population figures; these were unavailable for the GRE columns.

It is important when reviewing SAT scores to bear in mind that there is a great deal of debate about whether these tests accurately measure Hispanic students' intelligence or potential to do well in college or graduate school. According to Verdugo (1986), what these scores measure more than anything else is students' "knowledge of middle class culture." These test results are seen to be a reflection of the class status, cultural backgrounds, experiences, and placement in educational tracks of most Hispanics in the United States. This positioning of Latinos in schools and in the economy may influence test-taking skills, such as familiarity with vocabulary, test anxiety, speed, and guessing skills (Ballesteros, 1986).

The influence of language on scores is also evident, for when the SAT scores are controlled for best language spoken by student, considerable differences can be seen (Ramist and Arbiter, 1986: xxiii). This holds true for non-Hispanic Whites as well as for Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans (Durán, 1983: 65-66). In addition, the predictive nature of these tests has been found to be considerably lower for Hispanics than for Anglos; there are lower correlations between standardized test scores and first-year grade point averages for Hispanics relative to Anglos (Durán, 1983: 102). The lack of a relationship between these tests and college outcomes has led Verdugo (1986) to argue that intelligence tests are a form of racism and that they should not be used until their predictive power is conclusively proven.

There is one very interesting exception to the general lack of predictive validity of these standardized tests for Hispanics. This is to be found in Puerto Rico. There, standardized Spanish-language tests are as useful in predicting college success for Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico as their English-language equivalents are in predicting success for non-Hispanic Whites in the United States (Durán, 1983: 93). If high school grades are combined with test scores in Puerto Rico, these variables are *better* predictors of college success for Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico than they are for non-Hispanic whites in the United States (Durán, 1983: 94). This exception to the rule for Hispanics in the United States raises interesting questions about the relationship between the validity of these tests and the geographic and social contexts within which they are taken. Why should equivalent tests and grades have great predictive validity in Puerto Rico but not in the United States?

### Explanatory Theories

Numerous explanations are offered for Hispanics' low achievement in the school system. In this section, many of these are reviewed and critiqued; I then present an argument for a more historical approach to understanding the dynamics of Hispanic/Latino education. It is postulated that a dialectic has evolved and been institutionalized that has typified the struggle between entering students from another culture and a school system charged with molding them into the U.S. society and economy. (Thus, while macro theories may explain the goals and outcome of the educational system, the historical dialectic helps us to understand the process of immigrant education.) I argue that the educational experience of many, but especially

that of immigrants, in New York City has been marked by a dialectic struggle that has historically occurred on several levels: between students and teachers, between parents and schools, and between communities and school systems.

### *A Lack of Money*

Liberals often argue that poor educational outcomes are the result of insufficient funding. However, it is not a simple question of money. New York State is *second* in the nation in terms of per-pupil expenditures and *seventh* in terms of teacher salaries. Yet, the system cannot hold on to students; New York is 46th (out of 50 states) in terms of retention (Hodgkinson, 1985: 11). It has the highest dropout rate of any northern state (*New York City Sun*, November 26-December 2, 1986: 5). Interestingly, other states that also rank low in retention are ethnically more diverse and more urban as well. In general, money spent on teacher salaries and per-pupil expenditures does *not* greatly influence retention in any state (Hodgkinson, 1985). Money is not the problem—at least not as it is currently disbursed.

### *Blaming the Victims*

Another explanation blames the students and their parents for the disappointing outcomes, while the system itself is absolved. The assumption is that Puerto Ricans and Hispanics have just not been able, or wanted, to "make the grade." This perspective does not explain how both academic successes and failures can occur within the same family, a common occurrence within Hispanic families, and denies the experiences of a great many Latinos. The experience of successful Latinos in the school system has often led them to conclude that they "made it" *despite* the system. Others have concluded they might have gone further but for the system. Finally, almost all Latinos have had experiences with or have known someone who could have made it, but did not because of the way the system functioned.

A more benign version of the blame-the-victim perspective argues that it is the student's fault, but only because the system has failed. Thus, because education is such a dismal failure, students are pushed and pressured to seek other alternatives that seem preferable to the lifeless and dulling monotony that school represents. The educational process has eroded the self-esteem of students that they no longer care what happens

to them, so they turn to drugs or they become pregnant. This perspective may account for some outcomes but it does not explain why so many others who have not sought these alternatives still graduate with only minimal levels of literacy.

### *The Payoffs to Education*

Another argument is that Hispanics do not excel in school, or drop out altogether, because they have little confidence that there will be any significant payoff for their investment of time. To the extent that young people correctly perceive their future income potential, there may be some truth to this. Most studies have shown that greater education may yield somewhat greater income for minority group members, but not at parity with native Whites (Mindiola and Gutierrez, 1982). Indeed, a recent census analysis of Puerto Ricans within the states says, "What is especially distressing about the earnings gap by educational levels is the evidence that the differentials between native White and Puerto Rican men *increase* rather than decrease at higher levels of schooling." Although the earnings gap is smaller for Puerto Rican females, their income levels are considerably lower (Tienda, 1985).

It is unclear from the research what effect education has on Puerto Rican employment. Earlier work had found that Puerto Rican dropouts had a greater chance of being employed than Puerto Rican high school graduates (Brown et al., 1981). Hernandez (1983) also found that education was not as significant a factor in Puerto Rican youth employment as might be expected. However, Vélez and Javalgi (1986), using a different sample of Puerto Rican youth, found education (as well as age) to be important in predicting employment. A number of other studies have utilized the Survey of Income and Education (SIE) to examine the relationship between education and income or employment for Hispanics (Reimers, 1984a, 1984b); Abowd and Killingsworth, 1985; Tienda, 1981, 1983a, 1983b; Tienda and Glass, 1985; Tienda and Guhleman, 1985; Tienda and Neidert, 1984; Bean et al., 1985; Borjas, 1983; DeFreitas, 1985).<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, the results of these studies with regard to Puerto Ricans have been inconclusive. The best that can be said is that Puerto Ricans do not appear to fit the models developed.

Puerto Ricans do not fit some models because the distinction between foreign and native birth makes a big difference for most Hispanic groups, especially with regard to education and experience. However, this distinction makes practically no difference for Puerto Ricans—that is, it has little relationship to economic outcomes (Borjas, 1983). This may be due to

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the fact that the distinction between foreign and native is less clear for Puerto Ricans because of Puerto Rican migration patterns. It may be that, to a significant but as yet unmeasured degree, foreign-born Puerto Ricans (i.e., those born in Puerto Rico) cannot automatically be assumed to be foreign-raised. Similarly, those born in the states may not have been raised in the states. Thus, both (statistical) groupings may face a similar employment structure. (See Falcón-Rodríguez, 1987, for an analysis of the differences between the economic attainments in New York City of mainland- and island-born Puerto Ricans.)

### *Data Deductions*

Another explanation has to do with what the data are measuring. Many of the available data report Hispanic, not Puerto Rican, performance. One perspective holds that Puerto Ricans have improved their performance over time, but that the data continue to show poor performance because of the influx of newer Hispanic immigrants into the school system. It is also speculated that successful Puerto Ricans either migrate to other states or become more successful when they migrate. This would leave not only fewer Puerto Ricans in the Hispanic pool, but it would leave those less successful in New York. Thus, the educational experience of Puerto Ricans would appear to be more consistently depressed than it actually has been.

However, we cannot test this hypothesis with available data because the only data collected by the NYC Board of Education with a Hispanic category is the Annual Ethnic Census of Schools, which is a simple head count of students disaggregated only to the district level. Thus, in addition to having no separate data on Puerto Ricans, we have had no data on Hispanic dropout rates, graduation rates, types of diplomas received, scores on regents' exams, students left back, special program or GED enrollments, applications or acceptances to specialized high schools, or passing rates on equivalency exams (Reyes, 1984). The Board of Education can tell us nothing about how Puerto Ricans are doing in any of these areas.

### *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*

It is also argued that there is an attitude problem within the schools, that the attitudes of teachers and staff lead to self-fulfilling prophecies of failure (for themselves and for students).<sup>13</sup> In turn, these attitudes feed student attitudes of resistance, alienation, and underachievement.<sup>14</sup>

That expectations are important in Hispanic student achievement is evident in a study conducted by Thomas and Gordon (1983),<sup>15</sup> which shows that educational expectation (i.e., the highest education level high school seniors thought they would achieve) was the variable that most determined Hispanic occupational attainment. This was especially true for Hispanic women. (Educational expectations were not important determinants for White or Black students.) Hispanic educational expectations were more important than standardized test scores, occupational expectations, attendance at two- or four-year colleges, college GPA, college major, and college and high school racial composition. It would seem, then, that what Hispanics (especially Hispanic women) *expect* to achieve, in terms of education, influences the jobs they eventually do attain. Latino student aspirations continue to be important, regardless of generation (Buriel, 1988).

Although educational expectations are important in the occupational achievement of Puerto Rican youth, the educational aspirations of Puerto Rican high school youth have been found to be lower than those of White or Black youth (Nielsen and Fernández, 1981: Table 2.2; Ramist and Arbiter, 1986: xiv). Teachers, parents, and peers all play a role in determining educational expectations;<sup>16</sup> in particular, parental career values have been found to be closely related to the career expectations of Puerto Rican youth<sup>17</sup> (Dillard and Campbell, 1981). If these aspirations are low, then it becomes all the more important for the schools to emphasize high educational aspirations.

But there appears to be a problem. On the one hand, there appears to be selective receptivity for Hispanic elementary students on the part of teachers. Gumbiner et al. (1981) found Mexican-American children ages 7 to 11 to be more attuned to praise from teachers, and to have higher self-esteem, when teachers asked a lot of questions and listened well. On the other hand, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1983) found that teachers in the classroom did not positively reinforce Mexican-American students as often as they did Anglo students. Teachers directed praise or encouragement at Anglo students 36% more often than at Mexican-American students, built on the spoken contributions of Anglo students 40% more often, and asked Anglo students 20% more questions than they asked Mexican-American students.

That classroom interactions influence student expectations, motivation, and achievement is also suggested by Durán (1983), Torruellas (1986), and Cummins (1986). Durán (1983: 56) concludes: "The quality of classroom interactions for Hispanic children may be poorer than for Anglo children. Specifically, evidence was cited that teachers may have lower academic expectations and lower social esteem for Mexican American

children than for Anglo children."<sup>18</sup> Torruellas (1986: 4) cites low teacher expectations and a lack of socially and culturally relevant curricula as factors that discourage the overwhelming majority of Black and Puerto Rican students in New York City.<sup>19</sup>

Low teacher expectations with respect to educational achievement compound the problem [of differing linguistic styles], leading to loss of self-confidence and, ultimately, internalization by students of the belief that they cannot succeed in school . . . It is essential that schools create an educational environment where success and self-esteem, not failure, is the expectation for our children.

The way to create this environment, Torruellas argues, is to acknowledge, respect, and draw upon the values, experiences, and resources that students bring to the school, so that their culture and natural language ability skills are reinforced.<sup>20</sup> Cummins (1986), speaking from a broader perspective, echoes these statements. He argues that educators, in teaching "dominated societal groups," subtract cultural/linguistic dimensions, exclude community participation, and follow a straight line toward transmission and legitimation of information. Furthermore, according to Cummins (1986: 33), schools continue to reproduce in their interactions with students the power relations that characterize the wider society and make minority students' academic failure inevitable.

### *Social Reproduction*

The social reproduction theorists argue that schools are driven by the capitalist economy, and thus reproduce the dominant ideology and an inherently unequal structure. The role of public education is to sort students carefully so that the existing social order is reproduced (Bowles, 1976). Within the social reproduction model, the effects of class and race combine to pull Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics down into the lower educational tracks, which serve as preparation for entry into the secondary labor market (Barrera, 1979; Olivas, 1983). Once "finished" with school, Puerto Ricans and other tracked groups move on to take positions in society similar to those their parents had occupied. The sectors where they work and the jobs they perform might change, but the position of the jobs on the social and economic scale remain about the same.

Thus, public education results in a useful inequality for the capitalist system. The existence of competing racial-ethnic and gender groups with low educational attainment contributes to the persistence of a permanent industrial reserve force that serves to maintain low wages. The talented

*A Complex Equation*

Each of the theories and explanations presented above doubtless holds a grain of truth. Together, they contribute to an understanding of the educational situation of Puerto Ricans and Hispanics in New York City. However, the situation is complex and has been so for some time. As Durán (1983: ix) has pointed out:

A simplistic and culturally chauvinistic interpretation of the situation would conclude that Hispanics' educational attainment is a function of their ability or inability to adopt the sociocultural values and language of mainstream America. An equally naive view, at another extreme, would be that failure of Hispanics to succeed is due exclusively to prejudicial bias against Hispanics in the educational system and to deliberate exclusion of Hispanics from educational institutions

What is perhaps most important is an understanding of the historical context that Puerto Ricans and other Latinos entered when they came to the United States and within which they have evolved.

The Assimilation Dialectic

From the earliest history of the United States, a continuous flow of immigrants, especially to New York City, has made for a continuing encounter between immigrant students and more assimilated teachers. As a result of this ongoing encounter, an educational dialectic has evolved and has become a part of the public school system (Rodríguez, 1973). In New York City schools, this dialectic involves an ongoing struggle between two forces: the assimilated and assimilating teacher (thesis) and the newly arrived student (the antithesis). The student is almost always from an ethnic background different from the teacher's, and often resists assimilation. The synthesis, narrowly defined, is when the student leaves the system—through graduating, transferring, or dropping out—often as a "hyphenated" American.

The melting-pot ideology legitimized the early functioning of the dialectic. Jews were taught to be publicly non-Jews, yet to remember that they were Jews (Podhoretz, 1968). The same was true of Italians, Germans, and other immigrant groups. Having experienced this assimilating process, these same "now-assimilated" ethnics would come to defend the

to undergo the same painful initiation. Perhaps, more correctly, they would never see or accept an alternative to this method of initiation. After the newer ethnics were fully educated, they were, as the ethnics before them had been, closed to public acknowledgment of (even) obvious ethnicity. At the same time, they were privately alert to ethnic cues. The message these "former" ethnics transferred to all newcomers was the fear of difference, as well as the shame or embarrassment of one's own difference. It was in this way that ethnicity became America's worst kept secret.

The details of this dialectic have changed with time. In the nineteenth century, teachers were Protestant and students Catholic, for example. Although each immigrant group's historical conditions varied, its involvement in the basic dialectic did not. The dialectic was institutionalized and served to make legitimate the cultural hegemony of the United States as well as to control immigrant populations. A central tenet of the assimilationist thrust in the dialectic was the emphasis on White, middle-class Anglocentric values, perspectives, and styles.<sup>24</sup> This suggested, in turn, a certain negativism—albeit unacknowledged—about those who did not conform to this value. This sometimes led to the rupture of family ties. This process was articulated by a prominent educator who had been an Italian immigrant child in the New York City public school system during the 1920s and 1930s:

We soon got the idea that Italian meant something inferior and a barrier was erected between the child of Italian origin and their parents. This was the accepted process of Americanization, we were becoming Americans by learning to be ashamed of our parents. (Covello, 1969: 59)

With few exceptions, those most assimilated or assimilating were sifted out as the brightest, most successful, and so on. Those who did not conform dropped out, or didn't learn.<sup>25</sup>

*The Dialectic and People of Color*

It may be argued that all people of color experience the educational dialectic quite differently than European or White immigrants to the United States. Historically, conquered groups such as Blacks, Native Americans, and Chicanos have not fared as well in this country in terms of economic or educational attainments or in terms of political influence as have European groups who immigrated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (Conquered groups are groups who did not come to the country

ut of choice, but who had "the country come to them"; Daubon, 1987). European groups became "hyphenated" Americans—Italian-Americans, German-Americans, or Irish-Americans—or just plain "Americans." The more visible minorities did not, in the main, become hyphenated Americans, but remained clustered as Black, Hispanic (i.e., Chicano, Puerto Rican, New Yorican), Asian, or Indian.

Thus, the educational dialectic "Americanized" Puerto Ricans, and other people of color, but it did not de-ethnicize them. These groups were conquered, coerced into coming, or pushed to immigrate. With time, they became national minorities. The expectation for White immigrants was that with greater time in, or exposure to, the United States, these hyphenated Americans would lose their ethnicity and become "Americans." The end product of the assimilation process for the others was that they would become native minorities. These minorities might succeed economically to greater or lesser degrees. For example, the fabled Asian propensity for hard work would earn them eventual success. But even after eight generations of hard work, they would still be seen—as one Chinese-American youth in California said—to be "Chinese."

People of color would keep their "ethnicity," despite the fact that they might lose their immigrant origins, their language, and even their communities. This has clearly been the case with the "model minority"—Japanese-Americans, who can no longer point to geographically based Japanese-American communities. White immigrants, on the other hand, would succeed or not succeed, but their ethnic origins would become symbolic, highly blurred, or totally lost, that is, these origins would not be directly relevant to their definition as Americans.

Thus, the conflicts that surfaced between Puerto Ricans and teachers were part of an ongoing historical process and continuing conflict that was, in part, based on class and, in part, based on difference. In the history of the Puerto Rican community, there have been some bitter resolutions of the dialectic, and there have been some resolutions that have sweetened the lives of those involved. Most Puerto Rican experiences were somewhere between these two extremes. The experiences varied mainly with teachers, but were also affected by peers, schools, and personal or familial situations. But all were involved in this dialectic.

The dialectical process was not solely responsible for the achievement levels of Puerto Rican and other Latino students, but these dynamics were critical and pervasive in the educational process. Despite the fact that the dynamics of the dialectic received little attention, they informed the dialectics of resistance that were sometimes found in the educational arena and in other areas. However, most people, teachers included, were unaware that they were participants in this dialectic or that they had an

assimilationist ideology. Simultaneously, they were unaware of any alternatives to it.

### *The Empirical Literature*

The empirical literature provides some insight into the dynamics of educational dialectics as they occur in the classroom, between parents and schools, and between communities and school systems. A number of generalizations emerge from this review of the literature.<sup>26</sup> In general, the literature on Hispanic student and teacher interactions suggests that (1) a student's being Hispanic affects teacher perceptions and (2) the smaller the "difference" perceived by the teacher, the more favorable, or fair, is his or her treatment of the student (Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 1968; Fleming, 1971; M. Ramirez, 1981; Durán, 1983: 50; Torruellas, 1986; A. G. Ramirez, 1985; Roberts et al., 1985; Tobias et al., 1982; Moore, 1983; Soto, 1983).<sup>27</sup> These generalizations seem to coincide with the assimilationist thrust of the dialectic noted above.

Given that being "different" is a variable in the educational process, are there significant cultural differences between Hispanics and others, and do these differences affect the learning process? Unfortunately, there has been little serious research on the role of culture in education. It may be that it is not important to most researchers, who tend to be culturally consistent with the majority culture. Or it may be that monocultural researchers are not able to address the bicultural issues involved adequately. Perhaps the dialectic has functioned so well that culture, or cultural difference, is just not seen as a serious or significant variable worthy of study. It is curious that this area has not surfaced more often in research circles.<sup>28</sup>

Nonetheless, there is a generalization that emerges from the studies on cultural differences that have been carried out: Hispanics and Anglos differ significantly on cultural orientations (Triandis et al., 1985a, 1985b; Powers and Wagner, 1983; Wurzel, 1983). While this may hardly seem surprising, when seen in the context of the general denial of specific cultural differences, it is significant.<sup>29</sup> In the classroom, Hispanic and Anglo students respond differently to, and Hispanic and Anglo teachers use, different teaching styles and classroom structures (Ramírez and Castañeda, 1974; Marín et al., 1983; Gumbiner et al., 1981; Muñoz-Hernández and Santiago-Santiago, 1983).<sup>30</sup>

Another generalization that emerges is that explicit or positive acknowledgment of Hispanics' or other minorities' cultural base is

important and valuable. For example, in the educational arena, Comas-Díaz et al. (1982) find a strong relationship between exposure to a Puerto Rican cultural awareness program and enhanced self-concepts of Puerto Rican children. The use of culturally relevant modalities has been particularly important in the mental health area (Comas-Díaz, 1985; Constantino and Malgade, 1984; Canino and Canino Stolberg, 1980; de la Cancela, 1986; Teichner and Berry, 1981). Thus, the more culturally relevant the components utilized, the better the self-concept, the better the response, and the more effective the treatment or process. The opposite has also been found—that is, the more the Anglo middle class dominates power within the school (which means the smaller the cultural component), the more negative the attitudes of Hispanics toward themselves and other Hispanics (Iadicola, 1981; Cummins, 1986).<sup>11</sup>

The last generalization is more specific to the Puerto Rican situation. It concerns the lower self-concept and educational achievement that some studies have found among Puerto Ricans raised in New York compared with those raised in Puerto Rico (Martínez, 1979; Prewitt-Díaz, 1983; Thiel, 1977; Greene and Zirkel, 1971).<sup>12</sup> This parallels findings of immigrant versus native or national minority educational achievements in other countries (Cummins, 1986: 21 ff.; Ogbu, 1978). In general, immigrants have tended to do better in U.S. schools than have "indigenous" minorities. The question is whether the difference between those born in the host country and those who immigrate is due to (1) their cognitive/academic skills on arrival possibly having a better foundation or (2) their lack of experience with the devaluation of their identity in the societal institutions of the host country, mainly the schools (Cummins, 1986). Data from Europe indicate that students who immigrate late—at about 10 years of age—do better than children of immigrants who were born in the host country (Cummins, 1986: 23).

To sum up, the literature reviewed here seems to say that there are unique cultural differences between Hispanics and Anglos. Acknowledging Hispanic culture in a positive and direct way appears to be important in the treatment of the mentally ill, in enhancing the self-concept of children, and in predicting academic success. Its absence leads to more negative self-concepts and negative attitudes toward one's group. Members of the Puerto Rican population who have been most exposed to corrosive cultural forces—those raised in New York City—appear to have lower self-concepts and to achieve less in school than their counterparts who were raised in Puerto Rico. Given these findings, it is not surprising that many Puerto Ricans are reluctant to deal with the cultural dimensions that Hispanics

## Hispanic Struggles

Hispanics have not been passive recipients in the educational process. Both Latinos and the educational system have been engaged in a dialectic similar to that found in the classrooms. As Olivas (1983: 127) notes:

The history of Hispanic education has been one of struggle against insensitive government agencies and school boards, those organizations responsible for governing education systems.

Indeed, within the Puerto Rican community there is an emerging awareness of this history of struggle. Moreover, there is a growing sense of pride in that history (González and Ortiz, 1987: 17; Uriarte-Gaston, 1987; Rivera, 1987; Morales, 1986; Pérez, 1987; Padilla, 1987a). It is as if throughout this history there have been two goals. The Hispanic goal has been to change the system so that Hispanic students would do well, stay in school, graduate, and go on to college; the system's goal has been to get Hispanics to do better, but without changing the system.

The term *struggle* may convey a combative orientation, while the demands made and the alternatives sought by Puerto Ricans may be interpreted by some as a reflection of a disinclination to assimilate and hence as evidence of disinterest in "making it." For some, the struggles of Hispanics may be seen as part of the problem, when in fact they have been part of the search for a solution. Puerto Ricans have participated in these struggles not because they wanted to struggle, but because they felt there were no other alternatives. Furthermore, it was because Puerto Ricans wanted to succeed, and to have their children succeed, that these battles have been fought, that these demands have been made. Puerto Ricans have pressured for reforms because the system has been inadequate, as demonstrated by a history of failure. Puerto Ricans have sought alternatives because the programs in place have not worked for the majority of their children.

### *The History of Struggle*

The pressure to change the educational system can be divided into three historic periods. In the first phase of struggle, Puerto Ricans pressured for studies to examine the "problems" (Santiago-Santiago, 1987). Then, during the 1960s, the community developed agencies and organizations that more directly addressed the difficulties Puerto Rican children were having in the schools.<sup>33</sup> Finally, in the 1970s, the community,

having exhausted its patience, turned to the courts. What has become clear with time is that the changes that have taken place would not have come about but for the struggles of the community.

*The studies.* As early as 1954, the New York City Board of Education received Ford Foundation support to study the "Puerto Rican problem" (Jorge, 1984). The final report of this study recommended proper screening and placement of non-English-speaking children. These recommendations were ignored (Jorge, 1984; Santiago-Santiago, 1987; Vásquez, 1971). A subsequent study by Jenkins (1971) described the difficulties Puerto Rican children met in the schools and the embarrassingly inadequate measures taken by the Board of Education to meet their needs. The findings were again ignored, and the study was not released for more than a year after its completion. Since then, there have been numerous studies. The most recent, by the Educational Priorities Panel (1985b), documented the school system's failure to serve students with limited English proficiency, as is now required by law and court order.<sup>34</sup>

*The legal suits.* In the second phase, the Puerto Rican community moved into litigation strategies.<sup>35</sup> Puerto Ricans, seeking to obtain equal educational opportunity for their children, sued the NYC Board of Education in 1972. This suit resulted in the *Aspira* Consent Decree, which required that the NYC Board of Education implement a transitional bilingual program for all LEP students (Santiago-Santiago, 1987). *Aspira* of New York and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund also filed an *amicus-curiae* brief with the Supreme Court in the *Lau v. Nichols* case. The decision in this case also resulted in significant regulatory changes at the federal level for linguistic minority children.

In this way, the community won some attention for its limited-English-proficiency students, but only after "bitter resistance" from the New York City Board of Education (Santiago-Santiago, 1987). Changes were "almost begrudgingly" implemented, despite their being mandated by the courts (Santiago-Santiago, 1987). The subsequent record of the NYC Board of Education in meeting its court-mandated commitments to LEP students has been "less than sterling," (EPP, 1985b).

### *The Struggles Over Programs*

In education, there have been many struggles (Fuentes, 1984a, 1984b; Caballero, 1986). Only three will be highlighted here: bilingual education, access to postsecondary education, and ethnic/Puerto Rican studies

programs. These struggles illustrate how difficult it has been to alter the NYC system so that it will do a better job with Hispanics. They also reflect the capacity of the system to resist change, so that in effect very little change takes place. Struggles within the established programs illustrate the continuing functioning of the dialectic and the resistance of the system to these changes. Hispanics have had to continue their struggles to protect the programs established and to ensure that they progress. These are "wars of maneuver" (Barón, 1985) that must constantly be fought to assure a "seat at the table" for these programs.

*Bilingual education.* Originally conceived by Puerto Rican and other Latino advocates as a comprehensive approach to children whose first language and culture were Spanish, bilingual education quickly became translated as the more general "teaching of English as a second language." The cultural components were lopped off, nonnative speakers were employed, and funds (originally secured because of the difficulties of the large numbers of Spanish-language children) went into programs that serviced smaller minority groups that (as groups) had not demonstrated serious difficulties in the educational system. Thus, the system incorporated the change thrust upon it, as a result of Hispanic struggles, by altering the nature of the change. It created and proposed its own programs for groups it determined to be deserving.<sup>36</sup> It altered the symbolic meaning of the original concept of bilingual education: the strengths of bilingualism and biculturalism came to be viewed as disabilities.<sup>37</sup>

*Access to postsecondary education.* A second major struggle of the Hispanic community was the expansion of educational opportunity in postsecondary education. Puerto Ricans fought alongside Blacks and other minorities to institute an open admissions system in the public city university system. This resulted in increased numbers of not just Puerto Ricans but other Latinos attending and graduating from two- and four-year colleges. As Georges (1988: 12) notes, "Access to the university system of New York City, especially during the open admissions period of the seventies, was critical to the formation of a Dominican leadership." It was when measured in these terms, a "successful" experiment.

But that was only an experiment. In 1975, the year of New York City's fiscal crisis, the open admissions access route was closed off. In addition, the CUNY administration imposed tuition, for the first time in its history.<sup>38</sup> Thus, it was no longer sufficient to be bright and talented; immigrants now had to have some money if they were going to receive the benefits of a postsecondary education. Previous immigrants had been allowed to attend based only on merit.<sup>39</sup>

*Ethnic studies/Puerto Rican studies.* Puerto Ricans also struggled for and successfully established Puerto Rican studies programs at the college level. Although some college presidents were subsequently fond of expounding on their perspicacity for taking the initiative to establish them, these programs would not have been conceived or, in some cases, established without pressure from students, faculty, and the Puerto Rican community. The pressure was sometimes subtle, sometimes violent, but never distant.

The struggle for Puerto Rican studies was similar to that for bilingual education, in that the original purposes were, from the system's point of view, perceived as antithetical to the way in which things had always been done. When Puerto Rican studies programs were first established, their thrust was to debunk, clarify, or critique the theories and teachings that were commonplace in the university that tended to portray Puerto Ricans and other racial or ethnic groups in a distorted fashion. In this regard, Puerto Rican studies and other ethnic studies programs challenged the accepted thinking in academic circles.

These programs brought to the universities what they otherwise lacked. They enriched the curriculum, although they also challenged it. In addition, because of the factors of historical birth, thrust, and the newness of the field, Puerto Rican studies was seen by some in the early days as illegitimate or non-academic. It was distrusted by some; many were threatened by these new modes of thought. However, the field of Puerto Rican studies has overcome many of these problems. It has succeeded in educating others not simply about Puerto Ricans, but about the United States and about other groups as well, for the Puerto Rican experience contains important lessons.

The struggles of the Puerto Rican community appear to have had positive second-order effects for other groups as well. As Georges (1988: 8) points out in speaking of the cadre of new Dominican leadership: "While in school, many of these young Dominicans participated in student associations which brought them in contact with other Hispanic, particularly Puerto Rican activists. They established ties and became imbued with social activist ideologies which subsequently guided their career choices and forms of political participation." These programs have also served a number of other important but informal roles vis-à-vis universities and their students—in community and public relations, in committees of programs dealing with the "disadvantaged," and in minority student advising (Rodriguez, 1981).

*Developing Alternatives*

Puerto Ricans have consistently pursued alternatives that are... and linguistic heritage. These

thrusts continue; for example, there are growing numbers of Hispanics and non-Hispanics who take the position that language minorities have the legal right to sustain and encourage their native language in the United States. They argue that these rights have been recognized by all the organic laws formalizing the relationship with Puerto Rico, all of which have acknowledged a Spanish-speaking citizenship; the treaties annexing former Mexican territories in the Southwest and those made with Native American nations; the U.S. Constitution, which does not recognize any official language; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the Charter of the United Nations, of which the United States is a signatory; and the amended Voting Rights Act of 1965, which protects language minority groups (Daubon, 1987; González and Ortiz, 1987).

This is not to say that Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics are reluctant to become as competent and proficient in English and the American culture as possible.<sup>40</sup> It is apparent that proficiency in English is necessary for success in a country that is English dominant and that promises to be so for quite some time. Some see a contradiction in arguing for cultural and linguistic retention as well as absorption of the English language and the American culture; this is discussed in the next section.

*The English-Only Movement*

The U.S. English organization is opposed to the establishment of bilingual education and the bilingual ballot. Originally headed by Senator S. I. Hayakawa (R-CA), this organization seeks to limit bilingual education to a transitional role, to restore the English-only ballot, and to pass legislation (including state and federal constitutional amendments) that would establish English as the official language of the United States. It has been quite successful in raising funds "to restore English to its rightful place as the language of all Americans."<sup>41</sup> As of August 1987, 13 states had adopted English-only bills, 33 states had considered such bills, and there were five separate English-only language bills in Congress (*San Juan Star*, August 2, 1987: 16).

U.S. English represents a defense of the old assimilation dialectic. The driving force of the organization is not, apparently, to help non-English speakers learn English, but rather to suppress their languages and cultures. If the former were the case, English as a second language (ESL) classes would be advocated (*San Juan Star*, August 2, 1987: 16). In its mailings, the organization raises the specter of language minorities becoming permanent power blocs in the context of the "largest wave of immigration" the United States has experienced "in its history." Thus, it

appears the real issue is not language or assimilation, but power. Those seen as most resistant to assimilation are Hispanics, because they "reject the melting pot concept, resist assimilation as a betrayal of their ancestral culture and demand government funding to maintain their ethnic institutions."

The English-only movement seems to be rooted in fear—that others will be speaking in a language that one cannot understand. If this movement succeeds, then speaking Spanish in public settings will become a political act. It appears that U.S. English perceives bilingual education as equivalent to an antiassimilation movement. Their mailings state, "We have embarked upon a policy of so-called 'bilingualism,' putting foreign languages in competition with our own." However, advocates of bilingual education have seldom argued that students should not learn English; *bilingual* means capable of speaking two languages.

#### *Bilingualism and the United States*

In light of the real polyglot, multilingual history of the United States, U.S. English's harking back to a time when English reigned supreme is amusing. The group's goal of restoring English to its "rightful place as the language of all Americans" and the fears expressed in its literature that the nation will be turned into a polylingual "Tower of Babel" both deny and contradict the history of the United States. According to Keller and Van Hooft (1982), bilingual education was common during the 1700s. It was not until after the Revolutionary War that English came to assume a greater importance. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many immigrants received instruction in bilingual schools; in some cases, these schools received public monies.

It was with the advent of public education, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, that English assumed prominence as the language of instruction. However, German was also often used; six states permitted or mandated bilingual education in German. French was a second language in Louisiana, and Spanish in New Mexico. It was with the large migrations from southern and eastern Europe that rigidity set in with regard to English as the only language of instruction (Klass, 1971). After World War I, the United States abandoned interest in bilingual education and in the study of foreign languages. Between 1950 and 1965 there was renewed interest in bilingual education (especially stirred by the U.S.S.R.'s launch of *Sputnik* in 1957), and in 1967 the Bilingual Education Act was passed by Congress. Bilingual education is not a Hispanic invention, although Hispanics have struggled hard to reestablish it in the United States.

### What Works

#### *All One System*

It is easy if you are not poor, if you are not a minority group member, and if you have the option to go (or send your children) to private schools, to ignore the difficult situation of Latinos in education. You may learn about the severity of the situation, perhaps even feel sympathy or pity, or blame those in the situation, but then move on to things that are of direct concern to your own life. Like many, you may believe that minorities and the urban public schools have very little to do with those outside that system.

But, as Hodgkinson (1985: 13) has so aptly pointed out, that world is inextricably linked to all other worlds. We are all part of a continuum wherein changes at one point will have direct and predictable consequences for others. Even if we discount the observed relationships between high school dropouts, crime, and public expenditures (Smith, 1987: 17 ff.), there are still the unchangeable demographic facts. As Hodgkinson (1985: 2) poignantly states, "Our aging white middle class will find its retirement income generated by an increasingly nonwhite work force." According to Hodgkinson, by the year 2000 one of every three persons in the United States will be non-White (p. 7).<sup>42</sup> With fertility rates higher and median ages lower among minorities, non-Whites will be in the work force when middle-class baby-boom Whites are in retirement. As he says, "If they do not succeed, all of us will have diminished futures" (p. 18). The economic loss to the society must also be considered, including lower productivity of future workers, lower earnings, lower levels of consumption, and consequently lower economic growth. (The current threat to our international competitiveness further underscores these concerns.)

#### *Quality, Concern, and Effective Teaching*

What is to be done? While it is not possible to present a solution here, the material reviewed suggests a number of possibilities. There is obviously a need for an alternative educational process that is more interactive, more culturally and linguistically inclusive, and that involves and integrates the community from which Hispanic students come in a more positive and reinforcing way.<sup>43</sup> Studies of effective schools have shown that they usually demonstrate high expectation levels, concern for

students, and an interest in a job well done (Edmonds, 1984).<sup>44</sup> These same features also translate into better achievement for Hispanics (García, 1988; Moll, 1988). Urban magnet schools, which were developed as a way of coping with segregated school districts, have also been quite successful at producing educational excellence. Studies of these schools corroborate the strong relationship found between expectations and academic achievement in other schools (Blank et al., 1983; ERIC/CUE, 1984: 24).<sup>45</sup>

In addition, an extensive study involving 15,000 hours of observation in ordinary secondary schools yielded the conclusion that student-student and student-teacher cohesion, a strong academic emphasis, high teacher expectations, positive attitudes of teachers toward their students, stress on positive rewards, and consistent and shared values and standards make for an ethos that contributes to the academic success of urban minority students (Rutter et al., 1979; ERIC/CUE, 1982: 14). The greater success (Coleman et al., 1982) and retention (Calitri, 1983) of Hispanic students in parochial and private schools also indicates that where these more qualitative dimensions are in place, Hispanic students fare better.

Hodgkinson's (1985) finding that teacher-student ratios were better predictors of retention than money spent is also of interest in this regard. Low teacher-student ratios allow more time for teachers, but they also allow teachers more time with students. High teacher-student ratios, on the other hand, put other considerations first, such as order and group control; individual attention is less possible. These findings suggest that an effective solution must include what the Hispanic Policy Development Project (1984b) referred to as a more qualitative, concerned approach to teaching.

*Changing the Teachers Is Not Enough*

Altering the color or ethnicity of the teaching staff will not by itself correct the attitudinal problems noted earlier, for a number of reasons. Although the role of teachers in the functioning of the educational system is obviously a critical one, it is not the only one. Discriminatory assessment of students is often carried out, at various levels, by "well-intentioned individuals who, rather than challenging a socioeducational system that tends to disable minority students, have accepted a role definition and an educational structure that makes discriminatory assessment virtually inevitable" (Cummins, 1986: 30). All those involved in the educational system play complementary roles. No one group can be blamed for the failings of the institution. Guidance counselors, clerical and administrative personnel, central board bureaucrats, testing experts, and parapro-

It is also not just a question of race or ethnicity. Recently hired educators from minority groups also take and enforce their legacies as rigidly as (and sometimes more rigidly than) did their predecessors (Smith, 1987: 1-2). In the end, everyone's role is to a very great extent determined by the total workings of the institution. The system works to perpetuate relations of dominance that exist in the greater society. The ideology articulated and enforced by the system legitimates and advances that structure of dominance. It is important for all to recognize (a) how and why the system works the way that it does and (b) how to keep it from running counter to the survival and achievement of dominated groups.

*Bilingualism and Educational Achievement*

The struggles of Hispanics to establish bilingual education have been rooted in a perhaps unarticulated, but strong, awareness that solid knowledge of two languages is a superior base upon which to build additional knowledge. Research shows that bilingual education should be strongly considered as part of any solution to the problems of Hispanics in public schools. The most recent data on Hispanic high school students shows, interestingly enough, that those students who are most proficient in Spanish and in English are also those who have the best educational attainment. Nielsen and Fernández (1981) analyzed 6,698 Hispanic high school sophomores and seniors, and found that those who were highly proficient in Spanish performed better on reading, vocabulary, and math achievement tests and tended to be less delayed in school and to have higher educational aspirations. As expected, those highly proficient in English also had positive correlations with measures of educational achievement.<sup>46</sup>

Nielsen and Fernández hypothesize that high Spanish proficiency may be an indicator of general verbal ability. They also note positive correlations between Spanish and English fluency. Cummins's (1986:23) review of the literature on bilingual programs leads him to state, "The most successful bilingual programs appear to be those that emphasize and use the student's L1 [first language]." Nielsen and Fernández (1981: 54) suggest that "proficiency in two languages does not require a trade-off in which proficiency in one language can be increased only at the expense of the other." Indeed, Cummins (1984: 112) hypothesizes that speaking only English at home may lower the quality of parent-child interaction and may expose children to poor models of English.

High school students in bilingual programs also have significantly higher attendance rates (90%) and lower dropout rates (16%).<sup>47</sup> School

administrators report that participation in bilingual programs enhances self-esteem and contributes to a more positive self-concept (Cardenas, 1986; Brice-Heath, 1986). Bilingual programs have been doing a good job of keeping students in school—something the regular school system has not been able to accomplish. However, scores on standardized tests have not been consistent across programs, and some programs have had superior scores. This may be due to the diversity of structures, personnel, and support these programs have received.

Full bilingual-bicultural programs have, in the main, not been fully supported; they have been tolerated. When they have gone beyond the "soft money" stage, they have suffered the same fate as the Puerto Rican or ethnic studies programs in the colleges—that is, they have often been marginalized from the mainstream of activities and their status has not been seen as equivalent to that of other programs. Furthermore, they have often been unsupported and overworked. As new programs, they had to start from scratch in developing appropriate curricula, tests, and content materials—tasks that might have been easier in a system that had no institutionalized assimilationist dialectic.

### *Bilingualism and Our Multicultural World*

Santiago-Santiago (1987) presents another very important argument for bilingual education. She argues that bilingual programs, if supported, can provide a more successful, alternative program model for students to learn. If successful, they can also produce superior educational products.<sup>48</sup> In addition, she argues that the public's interest is best served by schools that implement comprehensive and effective models of bilingual/multiethnic education (see also Banks, 1981):

The multi-ethnic education model . . . enables schools to incorporate ethnic minorities more successfully, improve cross-cultural and inter-racial understanding, and prepare all children to function in a pluralistic society. (p. 178)

In addition to the advantages Santiago-Santiago notes, it seems to me that such a model is the best way of meeting the concerns raised in the literature. It also seems the best way to educate children who will live in a world that has an international economy. Moreover, bilingual education capitalizes on the strengths of Hispanic children and develops a natural national resource, the Spanish language, along with other languages. It enables children who speak a language other than English to develop fully the superior cognitive abilities that come from complete mastery of more than one language.

Bilingual education has the potential to provide society with better educated, cognitively superior graduates. It could also be implemented with relative ease, because of the concentration of Hispanic children in certain areas, schools, and districts. A bilingual, multicultural education can be a superior education, as many other countries and upper-income families have known for some time. Today's Latino youth see a contradiction in being bilingual, bicultural, and American (Ramos and Morales, 1985).<sup>49</sup>

### Notes

- 1 In this chapter the term *Hispanic* will often be used when discussing Puerto Ricans because the educational data combine all Spanish-origin groups into one category. (The NYC Board of Education eliminated the "Puerto Rican" category in 1978.) Most of the studies and other data cited also use this term.
- 2 On the national level, the educational attainments of Hispanics, as a group, are generally below those of non-Hispanic Whites and, in some cases, non-Hispanic Blacks (Hispanic Policy Development Project, 1984b; Durán, 1988; Fligstein and Fernández, 1985; Valdivieso, 1986; Brown et al., 1981; Nielsen and Fernández, 1981).
- 3 When we compare districts with 40% or more Hispanic students with district that have 40% or more White students, we find significant differences. Thus: districts with significant numbers of Hispanics are below the city averages in reading and math; they are significantly behind those districts with predominantly White school student populations.
- 4 The dropout situation in NYC high schools is so bad that Fine (1985: 44) acknowledges that, although she set out to study why students dropped out in the midst of her research, she was confronted with a new question: "Why do they stay?"
- 5 Berne (1988) finds high negative correlations in NYC schools between the percentage of Black and Hispanic students and the percentage reading at or above grade level. He notes that the correlations have become slightly weaker since 1976-77, but they were still very high in 1982-83. The correlations become stronger in the higher grades. Similar associations were found between poverty and reading scores. See also Buriel (1987), who finds that greater racial segregation in schools reduced the achievement of both first- and second-generation Mexican-American students in junior high schools in California.
- 6 Some districts in New York City were overwhelmingly Hispanic in 1984; for example, District 6 had 79.4% Hispanic students; District 1, 73.6%; District 32, 70.0%; District 14, 69.3%; District 12, 68.4%; District 7, 67.7%; District 4, 59.7%; District 10, 58.4%; District 8, 55.6%; and District 9, 50.7%. In fifteen high schools more than 50% of the students were Hispanic (New York City Board of Education, 1984a). In contrast, the majority (77%) of schools in New York State did not have any Hispanics (Prieto, 1984).

On the national level, there has been little change in the segregated schooling of Hispanics. Noboa (1980: 24-28) found that in half of the school districts Hispanic segregation had increased between 1968 and 1978. Orfield (1987: 6) found that Hispanic students were more likely than Blacks to attend a class where less than half the students were White; he also found Hispanic segregation to have increased since 1968.

- 7 As of 1984, there were 33 high schools with student bodies 40% or more Hispanic, and 3 with student bodies over 70% Hispanic. Of the 78 academic high schools in New York City, 14% have student bodies over 50% Hispanic (NYC Board of Education, 1984a).
- 8 A systematic random sample by the author (N = 15) of the 78 academic high schools in New York City revealed the following relationships. The proportion of Black students in a high school was positively correlated with the number of students being two or more years behind ( $r = .63$ ) (see Table 6.1). The proportion of Hispanic students in a high school had a more modest positive relationship ( $r = .41$ ). However, the proportion of White students in a school was negatively correlated with the proportion of students in a school that were reading two or more years behind grade level ( $r = -.85$ ).

The percentage of diplomas granted in high school graduating classes showed a similar relationship. The correlation coefficients were White, .67; Black, -.64; and Hispanic, -.14. The same pattern existed for college attendance at four-year colleges, although all the coefficients were smaller. The correlation between percentage White and percentage of graduates attending four-year colleges was .40; it was -.47 for Blacks and a negligible -.01 for Hispanics.

These correlations do not imply causation, but association. The association calculated is the one most people mentally calculate: the greater the proportion of Whites in a high school, the lower the proportion of students who are below grade level and the higher the proportion of graduates who go on to four-year colleges. On the other hand, the greater the proportion of Black students in a high school, the greater the proportion who are below grade level and the lower the proportion who receive diplomas and go on to four-year colleges. Hispanics follow the Black pattern, but in a less accentuated fashion.

- 9 The proportion of Hispanics within the City University system has also increased—from 7.8% in 1970 to 23.6% in 1983. However, Hispanics are still concentrated in community colleges. Indeed, it is in community colleges (two-year or junior colleges) that Hispanics have shown the greatest increase between 1970 and 1983. (Whites, on the other hand, have shown sharp declines within CUNY at both the four-year and community college levels.)
- 10 Lavin (1973), in a comparison study of open admissions and regular admissions students in the City University system, found lagging graduation and completion rates for Hispanic students at both the community college and four-year college levels. Moreover, transfer rates from community colleges to four-year colleges were also lowest for Hispanic students. Lavin et al.'s (1986) more recent analysis of three freshman cohorts entering the City University system between 1970 and 1972 shows that Hispanics had the lowest graduation rate and the lowest completion rate even when a longer time frame for completion of college was used (i.e., 12-14 years after entering). This was true for Hispanic students who entered as open admissions students and for regular entrants. In essence, open admissions Hispanic

students trailed White and Black open admissions students, and regular Hispanic students trailed White and Black regular students.

- 11 With regard to faculty, 18% are minority group members; of these, 26% are Hispanic. However, only 10% of full professors are non-White (Murphy, 1986: 6). Thus, whether we look at undergrads in two-year or four-year colleges, at graduate students, or at faculty, it appears that the higher one's level of education within CUNY, the greater the likelihood that one is not Hispanic.
- 12 These studies used a common data base and similar methodological approaches—in the main, probit, multiple regression, and multiple classification analysis techniques. They also focused on differences between Hispanic origin groups and attempted to ascertain the extent to which human capital variables accounted for the variance of their chosen dependent variable. Education was one of the human capital variables examined. In some cases, regional or market variables were included in the equations.
- 13 An example of the subtle fatalism that sometimes afflicts those in charge and in supportive service positions can be seen in the following remark of a South Bronx junior high school principal. After discussing the high dropout, absenteeism, truancy, and left-back rates and low reading and math scores of his students, he went on to focus on the success of one student, saying, "If only one succeeds . . . it's all worthwhile." The expectations inherent in the comment become quite clear if we reflect on whether we, or any responsible administrator, would be satisfied if "only one makes it." To accept such a perspective is to pretend that the system is functioning effectively, even though 99 out of 100 students are not successful. The comment of this principal passed unnoticed, as do others like it every day. Indeed, at the time this comment was made, this particular principal was regarded by other educators as "one of the best" in the South Bronx.
- An interesting counterpoint to the "if only one succeeds" philosophy is millionaire industrialist Eugene Lang's program of guaranteeing kids a paid college education if they stick to their schoolwork. His position is that they can all succeed if they try. The success of his idea is evident in the fact that it has been replicated in 15 cities beyond New York (*New York Times*, June 21, 1987: 1).
- 14 Fine (1983) found in her study of 170 teachers and counselors that their own disempowerment was highly correlated with disparaging attitudes toward students. She concludes that the disempowered teacher may help to produce the disempowered student, who often drops out.
- 15 The Thomas and Gordon (1983) study was a two-stage probability sample. Subsamples ranging from 50 to 136 Hispanics, 116 to 750 Whites, and 69 to 54 Blacks were drawn. They were interviewed in 1972 and again in 1979. Results were analyzed using multiple regression techniques, with educational and occupational attainment as independent variables.
- 16 Fligstein and Fernández (1985) found that mother's education was significantly related to Hispanic school attendance and school delay. This held even if the mother was foreign-born and educated elsewhere.
- 17 Dillard and Campbell (1981) found, in their sample of 608 parents and adolescents, that the relationship between Puerto Rican adolescents' career expectations and their parents' career values was significant. This was contrary to the results for White and Black teens.
- 18 Although not ignoring the sociocultural and socialization roles of parents in

affecting Hispanics' school achievement, Durán (1983) suggests that teachers' stereotypical beliefs about cultural attributes of Hispanics could lead to teachers' lowered educational expectations of Hispanic children relative to their expectations of Anglo children.

- 19 Torruellas (1986) also cites other, more commonly mentioned, factors: understaffed, ill-equipped, and overcrowded schools and traditional, repetitive teaching methods.
- 20 Bruno's (1983) study of the sources of stress for 400 teachers is intriguing in this regard. A majority of the teachers working in predominantly Black or Hispanic high schools experienced high to unbearable stress (65% of those in predominantly Black schools, 52% of those in predominantly Hispanic schools), while only a minority (20%) of those in White high schools experienced this level of stress. Bruno found that the most significant sources of stress for teachers in predominantly Hispanic high schools in the inner city were administrators and "unmotivated" students.
- Does the perception of students as "unmotivated" imply low teacher expectations? Why are the students unmotivated? If educational expectations influence occupational attainments, and if Hispanic students are not motivated, is that not a clear signal of alienation and distress? What is it about the school system that makes for low motivation?
- 21 The Board of Education recently altered admissions practices for the "educational option" programs (*New York Times*, September 18, 1986: 1; September 21, 1986: IV, 9). It is worth noting that this change was instituted despite the opposition of the principals of the schools, who were concerned that random selection would lead to a slipping of academic quality. One principal spoke quite honestly when he said, "This school can be a dominant minority school and continue to be a strong school. . . . Unfortunately, the public may not see it that way" (*New York Times*, September 18, 1986: B31).
- 22 This policy (to keep certain schools at least 50% White) was first adopted in 1976 as a way of preventing "White flight" from the schools. Its defenders argued that the policy enabled the city to avoid forced busing and redistricting. However, the policy also tended to benefit White students. Since the entering pool of students consisted of less than 50% White students, White students were at an advantage in applying to unzoned schools. The Board of Education is considering ending this policy in view of a now 83% minority population (*New York Times*, August 17, 1988: 1).
- 23 The concern with racial balance is not new. As early as 1967—when the school system first became majority-minority—Dr. Nathan Brown, executive deputy superintendent of schools, said, "The Board of Education has attempted through a number of procedures to promote ethnic balance in the schools. . . . but the 'continuing increase' in the number of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils makes it more difficult for us to provide the kind of integrated education that we would like to provide for every section in the city" (*New York Times*, March 15, 1967: 1). At the same time, an editorial in the *New York Times* underlined the "futility of demands to legislate racial 'balance' in the schools."
- 24 Most Hispanics in the nation underwent similar Americanization experiences, particularly in the pre-bilingual program period. Brez Stein (1985) refers to this period as the "sink or swim era" for Hispanics. He describes assimilationist policies that aimed to force acculturation, ban the use of Spanish, and channel Hispanic children into programs that virtually guaranteed that they would

pursue low-status occupations: "Americanization seemed to fit into a kind of 'stay where you are' policy. The young people would be trained for low-level jobs and at the same time they were given a strong dose of acculturation (p. 190). Girls, for example, were trained to become domestics and garment workers in the "Anglocentric" school system.

- For a detailed analysis of the early establishment of bilingual education programs in the early 1970s, see Santiago-Santiago (1978: 20 ff.).
- 25 The modern-day equivalents of this process are well described by Richard Rodríguez, a Mexican-American, in his book, *Hunger for Memory* (1982); see also Rodríguez (1974c).
- 26 The studies reviewed in this section were selected because they focus on Puerto Ricans and Hispanics in educational settings, and on issues relevant to educational, usually classroom, settings. The studies are, in the main, empirically based and contemporary. However, some of these studies deal with Hispanics as a generic category or with Mexican-Americans who live outside of New York City. Although there are a great many differences among Latino groups, there are also a great many similarities. Thus, three common areas were emphasized: student-teacher interactions, the role of "culture" on achievement. Differences between Puerto Ricans in New York and those in Puerto Rico were examined separately.
- 27 Consistent with these generalizations is the finding that Hispanics were viewed by teachers as interacting less frequently with teachers and peer actual Hispanic student behavior, or it may reflect the perceptions of the teachers. It may also be an interactive variable—that is, the more they are perceived as distant, the more distant they are and vice versa. (However Fairchild and Cozens, 1981, find that Hispanics do not view themselves this way.) In all of these studies, difference and distance appear to go together.
- 28 "Culture" has often served, however, as a good catchall to explain the problems of Hispanics. (See, for example, Lewis, 1966; Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Galli, 1975; Sowell, 1981. For critiques of these studies, see Valentine 1968; Rodríguez, 1974b, 1984b; Rodríguez and Rodríguez, 1975.) This use of "culture" has been so extensive it has led to articles critiquing works that use cultural deficit models and to articles that discuss common methodological problems in the research or treatment of Hispanics. (See Andrade, 1982; Baca Zinn, 1979; Becerra and Zambrana, 1985; Marín and Marín, 1983; Santiago-Santiago, 1986a. Within the medical arena, see Brazil, 1972; de la Cancela and Zavala-Martínez, 1983; de la Cancela et al., 1986; Rendon, 1984; Rivera, 1986; Rogler et al., 1983; Zavala-Martínez, 1981.) Indeed, the term *revisionist school* has been applied to those who take issue with works that have based much of their analyses on this broad use (or misuse) of culture. For a critical perspective that examines cultural behavior as the result of class status, see de la Cancela (1986).
- 29 See, for example, Triandis et al. (1985a), who find that, in their sample of U.S. Navy recruits, Hispanics tended to use *simpatía* as a cultural script, while for Anglos neither the script nor an English-language equivalent to the concept exist. Powers and Wagner (1983) found that in their sample Hispanics had greater internal locus of control compared to Anglos, who manifested greater external locus of control. Triandis et al. (1985b) found Hispanics to have more

- cooperative as opposed to competitive orientations. They also found that Hispanics and Anglos differed on orientations to work and family. Wurzel (1983) found that in his sample of 59 (12-13-year-olds in Boston, Puerto Ricans were more hierarchical and fatalistic than their Anglo classmates.
- 30 Gumbiner et al. (1981) found that Mexican children's responses to teaching styles were different from those of Anglo children. For example, Mexican students were more comfortable with a structure that called for greater interdependence with peers, while Anglo students preferred a more individualized structure. The social orientation of Mexican students was less affected by teacher behavior than was Anglos' orientation. Muñoz-Hernández and Santiago-Santiago (1983) found qualitative differences in the ways in which Hispanic and White teachers expressed praise and disapproval. Although the reported findings were preliminary, they found that Hispanic teachers tended to use more indirect forms, conditional tenses, personal appeals, and polite forms, while White teachers used more direct forms. Marin et al. (1983) found that undergraduates in Los Angeles differed in their responses to the same questionnaire item depending on whether the question was asked in English or in Spanish.
- 31 This was found in Iadicola's (1981) California study of 220 sixth graders in desegregated schools. Cummins (1986), in his review of the literature on bilingual programs, also concluded that to the extent that the patterns of interaction in the school reverse those that prevail in the society at large, minority students will succeed educationally.
- 32 Martínez (1979) found that island-born Puerto Ricans achieved significantly higher grade point averages than their mainland-born counterparts. Dropout rates were also higher for the New York-born group. Prewitt-Díaz (1983) found that his sample of new arrivals from Puerto Rico, with one year in bilingual education, had higher self-esteem scores than their counterparts who were not in bilingual education programs and were not new arrivals. An earlier study by Thiel (1977) also found that inner-city schoolchildren had more negative self-concepts than their counterparts on the island, and Greene and Zirkel (1971) found self-concept among Puerto Ricans to be significantly related to academic achievement. However, Wurzel (1983) found no significant differences between Puerto Ricans raised in Puerto Rico and those raised in Boston with regard to perceptual or relational modalities and fatalistic and hierarchical orientations.
- 33 Many of these organizations still exist; see APRED (1987) and Office of Puerto Rico (1987) for listings and descriptions of Puerto Rican community agencies.
- 34 Although some progress has been made, a contradiction persists between the severity of the Puerto Rican situation and the lack of attention and significance attached to it. For example, when a report was issued by Mayor Koch's Commission on Hispanic Concerns, the mayor himself publicly stated his opposition to its recommendations (*New York Times*, July 24, 1986: B1; August 3, 1986: B1), including a recommendation that the mayor appoint a Hispanic member to the Board of Education. Despite the fact that one out of three students in the school system is Hispanic, the Hispanic community did not have a seat on the seven-member Board of Education. The mayor declared, after removing the one Hispanic member, that he saw no need to name a Hispanic person to the Board because the chancellor (whose office is subject to the Mayor's appointment) is Puerto Rican. Mayor Koch said, "I believe that the

- Board of Education should reflect the most able people in the field of education, who can enhance the education of the children without regard to race, ethnicity, religion or sex" (*New York Times*, August 3, 1986: B1). As Fuentes (1984b) points out, typically, this "color-blind" approach leads to all-White results.
- 35 For an analysis of legal struggles between the educational system and Puerto Ricans, see Santiago-Santiago (1978, 1987).
- 36 The positive side to this was that many other groups who had not participated in these struggles benefited from the existence of these programs. Their transition to English was eased because of these struggles. The negative side was that there never seemed to be enough for everybody.
- 37 Dr. Maria J. Canino, a Puerto Rican member of the CUNY Board of Higher Education, takes note of the need to change this deficit conception of bilingualism. She also refers to bilingual education as "a basic democratic right of our community, a pedagogically sound approach, which provides equal opportunity to a large segment of the university's future population" (Puerto Rican Council on Higher Education, 1986: 8).
- 38 Resistance to the rescission of open admissions and free tuition, as well as to faculty retrenchment, was made manifest in the many student protest activities of the time. Strongly in the lead, and in the ranks, of these opposition movements and actions were Puerto Rican students and faculty.
- 39 Open admissions benefited students of Italian and Irish descent more than it did Hispanics or Blacks—proportionally more were admitted and more graduated (Lavin, 1973). White working-class students were less often the recipients of low faculty expectations, however, because open admissions policies were perceived as being for Blacks and Hispanics. García et al. (1981) confirm the tendency to associate "special admissions" programs with lower evaluations of minorities. In their study, minority applicants to schools with affirmative action programs were perceived (by nonminorities) as less qualified than comparable White student applicants. (Minority applicants to schools without affirmative action programs were perceived as more qualified.)
- 40 The educational concerns of Hispanic parents and educators have a long history. For a sampling of these concerns, see U.S. Congress (1970).
- 41 The phrases in quotes are taken from materials distributed by U.S. English. The fund-raising letter says: "We have enough problems as a nation, without having to talk through an interpreter. We can still reverse our misguided course, and secure for ourselves and our children the blessings of a common language." The organization is described—in an accompanying article it sends out with its literature—as an organization that will "try to speak for those who don't want to see this English-speaking nation turned into a poly-lingual babel."
- 42 For slightly different estimates, see Bouvier and Davis (1982) and Valdivieso (1986).
- 43 The Hispanic Policy Development Project (1984b: 13) found that "the effectiveness of schools is improved when schools, parents and students work together to define needs and develop programs." They also recommend that schools take the initiative in building links to the communities they serve.
- 44 These studies have found that effective schools differ from ineffective schools in the following ways: (1) teachers in effective schools expect students to learn

and (2) the leadership in effective schools expects instruction to take place. These qualitative dimensions of schools are often lost or not actualized when there are large numbers of children in classes, or when there is little interest or hope that children can succeed.

An interesting by-product of these characteristics of effective schools is that they also have greater discipline (Edmonds, 1984). Valdivieso (1986: 23) notes two additional characteristics of effective schools: (1) student acquisition of basic and higher-order skills takes precedence over all other school activities, and (2) frequent and consistent evaluation of student progress is performed. Although the effective schools movement had a number of adherents, models of effective schools cannot easily be transplanted to new sites. Nonetheless, the principles of operation of effective schools are still well worth implementing.

Some of these principles apparently have worked for Middle College, an alternative high school that sends 85% of its "at-risk" students to college and that has a dropout rate of only 15%. The student body is made up of students with previous records of academic failure; the school has a limited enrollment of 450 and a student:teacher ratio of 18:1. According to the students, the school works because "it provides a supportive, nurturing environment where the teachers and staff know them and care about them" (*New York Post*, April 17, 1986).

- 45 The magnet schools were originally instituted to attract students from a variety of districts through their more unified curricula. They sought to enhance academic performance by drawing together students and staff with the same aptitudes and interests. The first national study of magnet schools concluded that they share a number of characteristics with effective schools: they tend to have strong leadership, a cohesive curriculum, high expectations, and a consensus among faculty, students, and parents about the goals of the school (Blank et al., 1983; ERIC/CUE, 1984: 24). Although class and selection variables are not controlled in magnet schools, Blank et al. (1983) find only moderate association between the degree of selectivity of a magnet school and reading and math achievement scores.
- 46 Spanish usage was, however, negatively related to educational achievement. Nielsen and Fernández present two possible explanations. One is that those who are more active users of Spanish may be involved with more code-switching, which may have deleterious effects on achievement. The other is that the institutional context within which Spanish is used may influence alienation and therefore achievement. For example, students in bilingual/bicultural programs may be less alienated from school and therefore may achieve better. Since few students are to be found in these settings, greater Spanish use appears to be negatively related to achievement.
- 47 The attendance results are based on Title VII evaluations that compared students in bilingual programs with other students in the same schools. Attendance for bilingual program students averaged 90% in 1983-84 and 91% in 1984-85. Dropout results are based on Title VII data for 1984-85. Dropout rates of students in bilingual programs is 16% versus the citywide average of 42% (in González, 1986).
- 48 For evidence that those who successfully master two languages develop superior cognitive abilities, see Hakuta and Díaz (1984) and Hakuta (1984a, 1986); for a specific study of Puerto Rican children in Connecticut, see Hakuta

(1984b). Veltman (1981), using the 1976 SIE, found that native-born Hispanic-bilingual children had higher educational attainments than native-born English-monolingual Hispanic children. See Ramírez (1985: 193-201) for a review of research showing the cognitive superiority of bilinguals in different countries. One concept clarified in this review is the need for a threshold level of knowledge in both languages in order for the cognitive superiority of bilinguals to be evidenced. Also clarified in this study are the specific advantages of competent bilinguals over monolinguals, for example, "cognitive flexibility," "divergent thinking," and higher levels of reasoning and verbal abilities.

- 49 It should perhaps be clarified that what is intended in this model is not a "sterile cultural pluralism in which peoples dwell together but remain locked in worlds apart, in which as time passes, people know less rather than more about each other" (Bonilla, 1988: 14).