DISCRIMINATION, ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LEGISLATION, AND FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN HOUSING: A DIALOGUE

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I. Introduction

Q. Just what do you mean by Freedom of Choice? A. Freedom of Choice is the right of the individual to freely choose his friends, neighbors, and associates without compulsion of government or other institutions, corporations, or persons.

Q. Isn’t this another term for segregation? A. Certainly not. Segregation is a compulsory separation of the races by law. Like compulsory integration, it is a denial of Freedom of Choice.

Q. But Freedom of Choice involves discrimination, and discrimination is segregation. So your distinction is fictitious, isn’t it? A. Not in the least. The distinction is very real.

Q. Perhaps you can explain this distinction for me? A. Gladly. Discrimination means simply to make a choice.1 Everybody discriminates in many things every day—food, shelter, entertainment, etc. But, in order to discriminate you must be free to make a choice, or free to prefer one thing or one person to another.2 In either segregation or compulsory integration, someone else makes the choice for you.3 Your freedom is gone. After all, it’s still a compliment to call someone a discriminating person. It means he has taste.

Q. But it’s not a compliment, is it, to say that a person is discriminating to the hurt of another? A. I don’t understand what you mean by “the hurt of another”?

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churches already raised up, but that they should be doing aggressive evangelistic work ... in places that have not yet heard [the gospel] (White 1946:382).

The same principle applies to the planting of ethnic churches today. As Wagner says, "as quickly as possible take hands off the church, trust the Holy Spirit to guide it, and then move on to the next unreached people group" (1983:149). The solution is, in the words of Stephen Neill, "more complete participation and mutual confidence" on everyone's part (1971:437).

The lasting influence of the Civil Rights Movement and the new waves of immigration have produced a new kind of U.S. society, permanently pluralistic in nature, yet united by a unseen thread that binds all together as "American." The same dynamics are at work in the church. The willingness of the church to recognize the dynamics of U. S. society and to contextualize itself to meet those dynamics will to a great extend determine the course of the Kingdom in the foreseeable future.
itself is kingdom work. Should the spiritual aspects of the kingdom be presented as part of a social service package? Appleby, for instance, in discussing the historical social service orientation of many holiness churches, says:

Paul, in his much quoted admonition in his first letter to the Thessalonians (5:23-24), calls for the blameless preservation of the spirit and soul and body. What more is there to preserve? The teachings of Jesus and Paul would support a holistic ministry that ministers to the body, as well as the soul and spirit (1986:54).

But he hastens to add:

When a social service ministry is conducting family health care, housing placement, counseling, legal assistance, youth development, immigrant aid and training, or helping with any other need, the participants must be careful to include [in] their purpose the sharing of the gospel in such a way that it meets the needs of the whole person and gives encouragement to those who seek a closer and more personal relationship with God.... (1986:102).

**THE DANGER OF PATERNALISM**

When a church judicatory begins to realize the need for establishing ethnic churches, it is in danger of falling into the trap of creeping paternalism.

Paternalism refers to the tendency of missionaries to hang on to the reins of authority too long. The impression is given that the missionary is the parent and the new church is the child. This relationship may be true when a new church is first planted. When the child grows up, however, it no longer wishes to be treated as a child. Peter Wagner calls it the syndrome of church development
Pastoring a multi-ethnic church takes the right mix of spiritual gifts and skills. These are not normally taught in pastoral training programs. On the other hand, just because a person is nonwhite does not mean that they are automatically multi-ethnic. Cross-cultural training for pastors will become more of a necessity in a pluralistic society. Specialists will be needed who can help churches develop multi-ethnic models of church organization that best fit their needs.

8. **Financial Concerns**

One of the major problems that arises in the administration of pluralistic judicatories is that of finances. While ethnic churches may experience phenomenal numerical growth, their earning power, and hence giving power, is often far lower. Therefore, while they expect, and merit, the same services as any other church, someone else has to pay a large portion of the bill. Due to their numeric superiority, ethnic pastors may also claim the right to equal representation in judicatory administration. This representation is often based on affirmative action type quota systems. One of the key issues church judicatories must wrestle with in the immediate future is how to achieve an equitable balance between numeric superiority and the ability to carry an equally representative part of the financial load.

As a result of this situation, most Chinese congregations in the United States today are made up of first generation immigrants. American-born Chinese do not fit. Liu suggests that some of the larger Chinese-speaking churches should consider the American-born Chinese a "mission field" and begin ministries to plant churches among them (1981:248). "A full or part-time worker should be added to these churches," he says, "for the development of an American-born Chinese ministry within the church. This would lead to a healthy growing bi-cultural church with programs for both Chinese groups" (248).

The Koreans. The Korean conflict in the early 1950s introduced America to Koreans. Some war brides and orphans who were half caucasian came to the United States, but on the whole Korean immigration into the United States was insignificant prior to the new immigration law in 1965. By the end of the 1970s there were close to 500,000 Koreans in the United States (Parvin 1985:145). Some 70% of these immigrants are already church members (Kim 1982:4).

Kim points out that the Koreans saw U.S. culture as superior to their own. They crossed the Pacific with little
interested in assimilating. They will most likely be monolingual and their livelihoods will depend on the existence of monolingual churches to pastor. For instance, if the pastor of a Spanish language church is an Hispanic-American whose own Spanish may be a second language, and whose cultural mores are primarily "American," will the congregation feel deprived? This issue will become increasing acute for many non-English-speaking churches in North America.

6. Bilingual Churches

Hispanic Churches. Second and third generation Hispanics are showing marked tendencies to want to remain in Hispanic congregations for longer periods of time than was the case with other immigrant groups. Some prefer Spanish-speaking congregations even though English is their mother tongue. Others prefer bilingual congregations in which several generations can worship together. Here again, the major problem is finding pastors who can adequately handle two languages and, in essence, two world views.

Chinese Churches. The Chinese in America have a unique history. Chinese immigrants were first brought to the United States in the middle of the 19th century to work on the railroads. Once the railroads were finished, immigration was cut off by the so-called "Exclusion Acts."
magnitude of the population will assure its continued existence as a major social influence. The Asians may assimilate faster due to their strong orientation toward graduate level education and their dedication to the work ethic. They still tend to maintain, however, a degree of ethnic identity.

3. Ethclass Will Become More of An Issue

The Civil Rights Movement, open housing laws, and affirmative action programs have had a leveling effect on U.S. society. There is still a long way to go, but pluralism is far more of a reality today than it was twenty-five years ago. The very fact that the business community strongly resisted the recent attempts by the Office of the Attorney General to undo the affirmative action system demonstrates that in the long run it has worked well. As minority individuals have gotten into the mainstream of educational opportunity and ascended the socioeconomic ladder, socioeconomic status has begun to take on as much importance as ethnic background. These individuals choose their church on an ethclass basis.

Many multi-ethnic churches today are easily identifiable socioeconomic homogenous units. The question "Where can I find a dynamic Yupie (Young Upward Mobil Professional) church?" is much more likely to be asked than the question "Where can I find a dynamic white (or black
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the present thesis has been to present a descriptive study of current ethnic issues in the United States and their effect on the church. It approaches the study from the standpoint of a religious leader interested in the growth of the church in the United States.

The issues studied suggest some generalizations regarding how current ethnic issues will affect the church during the remainder of the decade of the 80s and on into the foreseeable future.

TEN GENERALIZATIONS

1. **Broadening the Application of the Term "Ethnic"**

   During the 1960s and much of the 1970s, "ethnic" was almost exclusively understood to mean black. The Civil Rights Movement and the migration of rural Southern blacks to the urban North and West occupied the attention of the nation. Books written during those years deal extensively with how to rescue "Old First Church" and how to deal with changing communities and white flight to the suburbs. It was during this period that "ethnikitis" was classified as "the most ruthless killer of churches in America" (Wagner 1979a:29). Since the change in immigration law in 1965 and the resulting influx of immigrants from the Pacific Rim and Latin America, "ethnic" has come to include Hispanics and Asians. Dudley and Cummings description of the Seventh-day
and perpetuate the language and the culture of the group it serves" (1981:239)? The main purpose of the church is to advance the cause of the Kingdom. That is best done through the heart language of the recipient of the message. In Wagner's view, the local congregation should reflect the social structure of the group it seeks to reach (1979b:150). The language spoken in the church ought to reflect the degree of assimilation of the target audience. The ethclass model proposed by Gordon and the degree of assimilation model proposed by Greeley, Wagner and Sanchez are probably the best guidelines available for a growing church in contemporary society as far as language is concerned.
its constituent groups in its own language and culture as best it can. This we see as absolutely necessary. As individuals become 'Americanized.' they will tend to drift or shift into those congregations where they feel more comfortable (1981:238).

Bilingual Churches

Puig's comment raises questions about bilingual churches, the assimilation gap, and the ethclass concept. Degrees of assimilation vary. The children and grandchildren of immigrants, however, will inevitably learn and use English. As they progress in the job market and their socioeconomic status changes, they will use English more and more. Wagner found that 33% of the Hispanic churches in the Los Angeles area were bilingual (1979c). His study also showed that larger churches were more bilingual than smaller churches.5

Greeley develops a category of assimilation he calls the fellow-traveler ethnic:

The fellow-traveler ethnics [are] those for whom ethnicity is a relatively important part of self-conscious identification but not absolutely important. One seeks within one's own ethnic group one's doctor, lawyer, one's poker partner, one's priest, one's psychiatrist, one's insurance agent, one's construction contractor, and perhaps one's wife. But if, on the other hand, one's children choose to marry outside the ethnic boundaries, this is only a matter of mild concern (1976).

Sanchez feels that a person assimilated to this degree prefers a bilingual church:

For the Fellow-Traveler Ethnics the bi-lingual, bi-cultural church is the best setting in which they can express their Christianity and exercise their leadership. An example of this is many of the so-
they are Jewish, Japanese, Greek, or whatever (1981:239)?

In answer, Sterling McMurrin, former United States
Commissioner of Education, feels that the conveying of
culture is primarily the task of the public schools.
Churches should interest themselves in conveying religious
truth in whatever language is understandable to the people
with whom they work:

I am convinced that the task of conveying the
English language and American culture is not one for
the churches. There are people out to learn English as
rapidly as possible and to use English in every way in
everyday life. And that is a task for the schools
(Hata 1981:239).

As long as there is significant immigration into the
United States, language churches are needed. As long as
there are ethnic groups who assimilate slowly, there is need
for language churches. Daniel Sanchez (1977) and Donald
McGavran (1983) both offer solutions to this problem. Both
solutions are realistic and practical. Sanchez advocates
different kinds of churches for different kinds of ethnics.
McGavran advocates planting many new churches from which
each group can work for its own.

A second question is whether ethnic church leaders
should be English-speaking. Appleby says:

We must guard against telling God He can only call
English-speaking men and women to minister in America.
Whether we like it or not, it is possible to be born
and die in the United States and never speak English.
It is also possible to minister in many areas of the
United States and not know English (1986:58).

He hastens to add, however, "The English language is cer-
not the same. Only those groups within U.S. culture who wish to maintain or establish a separate identity on the style of Quebec would advocate the Canadian model for the United States.

BILINGUAL/BICULTURALISM AND THE CHURCH

Historical Perspectives

Historically, the church, through its congregations and parochial school systems, has been one of the prime sustainers of bilingualism. Many immigrant groups retained their mother tongues in religious services. These non-English-speaking churches were common at the turn of the century. They were usually regional, following the settlements of the immigrant groups in various parts of the country. The Missouri Synod Lutherans, for example, to this day have a high percentage of members of German descent.

Before World War I, many parochial schools were taught in languages other than English. German and the Scandinavian languages were used the most. Some of this language diversity spilled over into the public school system. In the late 1880s the Superintendent of Schools for Missouri complained:

In a large number of districts of the State, the German element of the population greatly predominates and, as a consequence, the schools are taught mainly in the German language and sometimes entirely so. Hence, if an American family lives in such a district, the children must either be deprived of school privileges or else taught in the German language.... Some teachers are scarcely able to speak the English
population reaches a certain percentage services must be provided in both languages.

When the pro-independence Parti Quebecois (PQ) came to power in Quebec in 1976, they immediately passed a bill making French the official language of the province. The bill is known as the Charter of the French Language, or Bill 101. It mandates that all business and education must be conducted in French.

**Bilingual Education in Canada**

The Canadian goal in bilingual education is to maintain the fullest possible parity between the two official languages of the country. Yalden outlines four approaches currently used in Canada: 1) English schools in which French may be offered as a second language, 2) French schools in which English may be offered as a second language, 3) Mixed schools in which the minority language speakers (usually French) receive some of their work in their own language, and 4) Immersion schools in which English-speaking children in the lower grades receive 50% of their education in French (1981:81).

Quebec, on the other hand, is unique. While the national Official Languages Act gave minorities - usually French-speaking - equal status, Bill 101 in Quebec did not maintain that status for English-speakers. Immigrants into Quebec must educate their children in French. Only children
They all have full command of standard English. "I don't think," she remarks, "that that knowledge takes away from their blackness or commitment to black people." Her conclusion on Black English is:

My goal is not so much to acquire full command of both standard English and black English, but to one day see more black people less dependent on a dialect that excludes them from full participation in the world we live in. I don't think I talk white, I think I talk right.

Summary

Black English represents a special case of bilingual/biculturalism. It has its origins in slavery, a social situation that automatically placed blacks at a disadvantage. It is possible to make the same case for maintaining the cultural heritage of blackness as for any other cultural background. Few, however, would wish to maintain a cultural heritage associated with slavery. Opinions about Black English vary greatly within the black community. The evidence points out that the majority of blacks do not want Black English taught in the public schools. Today there are few, if any, bilingual programs that focus on Black English.

BILINGUALISM IN CANADA: A DIFFERENT APPROACH

Canadian bilingualism is unique on the North American continent. In Canada two languages have historically vied for supremacy. A strong French-speaking separatist movement
English is perceived as a phenomenon of the lower classes, a symbol of poverty and the ghetto. Middle-class blacks have put that perspective behind them. They advocate Black English less than those in the academic and artistic communities, a traditionally avant-garde group that usually favors militant causes over the more practical aspects of everyday living. The middle-class sees Black English as a throw-back to days better forgotten. There is no reason to perpetuate it in the school system.

Many in the lower socioeconomic strata of society agree. Stoller cites a study done by Orlando Taylor in 1971 in Chattanooga, Louisville, New York, and Washington D.C. In each city black parents were overwhelmingly against the use of Black English in the schools (1975:15,186). Taylor found that:

The majority view is traditional and conservative - even fiercely militant - in its insistence of standard English as one of the keys to upward mobility. It is probably not too far off the mark to suggest that their view of education generally would be characterized by strong emphasis on the three 'R's.' This conservative traditional view is virtually uncompromising among parents who have only elementary school education and who perform unskilled labor (Stoller 1975:188).

He found that high school students had none of the problems so commonly cited by researchers. Fifty-six percent of the students interviewed reported that they used Black English. Seventy percent, however, said they could switch to standard English with ease. Ninety-nine percent said that their teachers had no problem understanding them (Stoller
English are locked by language into a world view that perpetuates a culture of poverty and inferiority. They are, according to this view, permanently disadvantaged.

To reject the Whorfian hypothesis is to reject the idea that Black English is substandard or that its speakers are inferior in any way. All languages are equally capable of expressing thoughts and concepts. None is inferior to another in this sense. Black English is simply another way of expressing oneself in society. Therefore, it should be acceptable. Wiggins, for example, feels that its use should be a matter of personal choice with no stigma attached (1976:248).

Carroll admits there is evidence showing that language does sometimes lock in behavior. He thinks, however, that some people blow Whorf's findings out of proportion and make them too determinative:

The general conclusion of these studies was that while the lexicon and gammer of a language might have certain effects on behavior, the effects were small and not of any far-reaching importance. Mental operations seem to be largely independent of a language in which they take place, although they may undergo certain transformations as a bilingual individual passes from one language to another. ... We now believe that it is more likely that the categories of thought are universal among mankind, and are universally reflected in all languages and dialects. If so, these categories of thought are just as well reflected in Black English as they are in any other form of English, or in any other form off language, for that matter (Carroll 1976:237,239).
'Da' wor' is, you dope.'
'Iis? Ain't no wor' is. You jivin' me? Wha'da' wor' mean?
'Ah donno. Jus' is.' (1973:45).

The school system often treats these children as disadvantaged or scholastically retarded. In reality, they are simply linguistically confused because they are monolingual in a dialect:

These patterns of black verbal behavior explain why black students often find it so difficult to achieve academic success in middle-class schools. This information may also explain why they shy away from even attempting written assignments. The child soon learns that if he writes the way he thinks and talks the teacher is going to consider it all wrong. To protect himself from hurt and criticism he refuses to do anything. Since traditional classroom teachers rely almost exclusively on samples of written work to evaluate the students' academic achievement, there is little wonder that black students always fall short of their middle-class counterparts (Abrahams and Gay 1975:166)

The Meaning of Disadvantaged

The whole question of the meaning of disadvantaged comes into the picture here just as it did in the case of bilingual education for Hispanics. Those who understand disadvantaged to mean the inability to function in society in general, especially in the job market, see Black English as substandard. They advocate making a transition to standard English as rapidly as possible (Rafferty, quoted in Stoller 1975:12). Those who hold this view see Black English as a main reason why an inordinately high percentage of black children fail in school.
Historical Perspectives

Haskins and Butts explain the origins of Black English as it grew up in the environment of slavery:

When the slaves were first brought to America, they of course spoke a foreign language, just as did all the other immigrant groups. And as with all the other immigrant groups, when the African slaves attempted to learn English their native language got in the way. This 'getting in the way,' called 'interference,' refers to the tendency of individuals to make the language they are learning conform to the sound and structure of their native tongue. ... For the African slaves, this phenomenon was compounded because among them they spoke a number of African languages; not one but many foreign languages interfered with the development of English among slaves, and thus the dialect developed among the slaves was even more nonstandard than that of other immigrant groups (1973:38).

The slaves primary contact with English was through the white overseers, a poor linguistic model. Since little assimilation was possible during the slavery period, a nonstandard dialect developed in the slave subculture. It was later carried over into the ghetto (Haskins and Butts 1973:39). It remained more of a distinct dialect than did the accented English of immigrant groups who were allowed to assimilate more rapidly.³

³ The gulf between white and black is much wider than the gulf between Irish and Jewish, for example, or between Italians and Wasp. This is so because no matter how different these other groups' religious or ethnic backgrounds may be, they are nevertheless part of the white majority and as such they speak the same cultural language. Compared to interracial differences, their interracial differences are minimal. In contrast, the problems inherent in communicating between blacks and whites seem at times to be insurmountable, for in America as in other countries interracial differences are inseparable from intercultural differences (Haskins and Butts 1973:39)
Literature. He became a freelance writer to assess how education has altered his life.

Rodriguez is an outspoken critic of bilingual education. He opposes it because (1) the United States is already a multilingual society. It will become a Babel if English does not remain the standard (2) minority languages are often retained as ways of evading the majority culture, e.g. Spanish is often spoken "against the gringo" and thus serves to deepen and solidify alienation (3) bilingual education tends to freeze a person’s cultural heritage into the past and ignore the opportunities of the present (People 1982).

Rodriguez wrote a book entitled Hunger of Memory, the autobiography of his educational experience. Asked how his parents felt about his views, he says:

I gave it to them to read, and they did, my mother staying up all night to do so immediately. I'll never really be sure how much of it they understood. I do think that my mother came to recognize that the ’Richard Rodriguez’ who wrote it is someone she’ll never know (People 1982:79).

Even though President Reagan has spoken in favor of bilingual/bicultural education, opposition to maintenance programs is growing. Nearly everyone is in favor of transitional bilingual programs. Most critics feel that the real push behind bilingualism is coming from Hispanic politicians and those who court the increasingly large Hispanic vote. How the whole issue will eventually turn out
Too Expensive And Bureaucratic.

Opponents of bilingual education claim that the program is ineffective, but receives increased Federal funding all the same (Bethell 1979:32).

Federal Regulation 11595 requires public schools to take affirmative steps if language difficulties exclude national-origin minority groups. A 23 page booklet outlines the steps (Yaffe 1978:51).

The experience of Colorado Springs, Colorado, is a classic example of the bureaucracy involved. School officials polled 33,000 homes, and classify the information into 5 categories. The homes were personally contacted to assess the degree of non-English usage. Bilingual pupils were cross-validated by someone who spoke the language used in the home to assess their abilities in English. This phase of the project alone cost $27,614. The results showed that of 33,000 students, 12 spoke no English and 102 spoke very little. Federal guidelines require a bilingual program if there are 20 non-English-speaking pupils. By the time the project was over, the school district spent about $100,000, countless man-hours and reams of paper, only to discover that most of the 114 children with some degree of language problems were not underachievers at all (Yaffe 1978).

This kind of situation leads critics of bilingual/
Is Language A Human Right?

Dr. Josue Gonzalez, sometime head of the Federal Government’s Office of Bilingual Education, stated in an interview: "There are those who say that to speak whatever language you speak is a human right. The Helsinki Agreements and the President’s Commission on Foreign Language Study commit us to the study of foreign languages. Why not our own domestic languages?" (Bethell 1979:33). In response, Dr. George Weber, associate director of the Washington based Council for Basic English replied, "Only in America would someone say a stupid thing like that. Can you imagine a Turk arriving in France and complaining that he was being denied his human rights because he was taught at school in French, not Turkish? What do you think the French would say to that?" (Bethell 1979:33).

The Unity/Divisiveness Argument

One of the main arguments against bilingual/biculturalism is the unity/divisiveness argument. This argument asserts that bilingual/biculturalism prevents the development of a common culture, a common loyalty and a common allegiance (Glazer 1981:64). Bethell, for example, thinks ethnic activists have blown people’s feelings for their roots out of proportion. For propaganda purposes, they present an exaggerated picture:

Now the righteous activists in government had exactly what they are forever searching for: a huddled mass of yearning ... victims! Discriminated against
sociologically dominant monolingual society" (1982:50). The bilingual society comes to perceive of itself as socially inferior.

Gattegno feels that the ability to speak two languages enhances self-worth. "Bilingual persons become aware of their wealth or worth as functioning human beings simply by increased awareness and appreciation of this ability to speak and switch languages at will" (1978:13).

Gonzalez agrees with Jamerson. The pressures from the dominant society are so great that bilingual education is imperative for success in life. He feels, however, that the emphasis needs to be on accentless speech in the dominant language if the minority person is to achieve success:

It is a fact of life in the Chicano community that those who achieve the highest degree of success in the dominant Anglo society are those that have the least amount of Spanish 'accent' in their English speech. I would be hard pressed to name even one successful Chicano who has a noticeable accent in English and has managed to succeed in the Anglo world (1977:57).

The Canadian National Indian Brotherhood states emphatically in a position paper "knowing his maternal language helps a man to know himself; being proud of his language helps a man to be proud of himself" (Quoted in Paulston 1977:99).

Relieving the pressures of a dominant culture against a minority culture will enhance the self-image of the minority person. In the long run, this may be the primary advantage of bilingual/bicultural education. One student said it
enrichment of minority cultures as well as a reconciliation of these patterns with those of the dominant culture, a syncretic process" (1978:23). This syncretism will produce a new brand of citizen, one badly needed in our constantly more interdependent, shrinking world - our global village (Gattegno 1978:18).

Campbell sums up the maintenance of culture argument:

Any program designed for the education of Mexican-American children should include a component in Spanish. They should receive instruction that permits them to maintain and develop their Spanish language skills and to see themselves in a positive historical and cultural perspective; namely, as heirs of the highly esteemed Hispanic and Amerindian cultures (1982:78).

This concept carries over into the church. The church today needs "World Christians." This term refers to missionary concern for the final Christian evangelization of the world,

World Christians are day-to-day disciples for whom Christ's global cause has become the integrating, overriding priority for all that He is for them. Like disciples should, they actively investigate all that their Master's Great Commission means. Then they act on what they learn (Bryant 1981:826).

It also refers to the willingness to develop the broad understanding and tolerance that will allow other cultures to become Christian within their own context.

Enhanced Self-Image Argument

Feal found that the children of Mexican-American migrant workers do not necessarily suffer from low self-esteem or feelings of adequacy. The reason is due primarily
their homes - at least until they have mastered it - is as important as learning English. This, it is argued, will create a spirit of self-respect and self-confidence in students (1981:260).

Gonzalez, for example, says, "bilingual education has helped rekindle pride in one's ancestral language and culture, regardless of whether he any longer speaks the language or not" (1977:56).

Cranston feels that this approach reflects the democratic ideals of U.S. public education. In his view the public educational system must reject both the Anglo-conformity and melting-pot ideas in favor of pluralism. His goal is "a child with the full understanding of his cultural heritage and with a deep respect for all it implies" (1974:58).

Paulston sees the mother tongue as more than simply a mood of expression:

[It is] an aspect of moral learning, reaffirming the solidarity and cultural uniqueness of the ethnic group, underscoring the need to teach the moral values of good and evil, right and wrong, the values of the old gods, in the language in which these values were originally transmitted (1977:99).

Diglossia. Kjolseth takes the argument a step further. He advocates diglossia\(^1\), a practical situation in which the same community regularly uses two languages. He supports a two-way pluralistic educational model that exposes all students to both cultures in the community. Both languages receive equal time and treatment. The program reaches out through local media and school functions to the parents and
ment. He raises the question of the kind of Spanish taught. Should it be that of the Royal Academy of Spain or the Chicano dialect of the Southwestern United States? Should teachers in bilingual programs strive for accentless English in their students? "It is a fact of life in the Chicano community," he writes, "that those who achieve the highest degree of success in the dominant Anglo society are those that have the least amount of Spanish 'accent' in their English speech" (1977:57).

A New Approach. A new approach is currently being tried. It follows the lead of the UNESCO study. Many immigrant children, especially those from Latin America, do not have good communication skills in their native language. Thus it is even more difficult to communicate in a second language. The emphasis has changed from language learning per se to teaching communication skills in both languages. There is a renewed interest in English-immersion techniques, though they differ considerably from former "sink or swim" methods (Solorzano 1984). Some educators emphasize the need to extend the number of years a student stays in bilingual programs. Contrary to their opinions about the popularity of these programs, however, parents complain that their children are not learning English fast enough (Solorzano 1984). Apparently, parents are interested in practical results, not the finer points of the politics or
Cohen's conclusions also contradict the earlier research. He shows that a bilingual group performed as well as, or better than, control groups on measures of nonverbal academic aptitude. He concludes that bilingual schooling does not hinder the development of non-verbal reasoning skills. They may even enhance them over time (1973).

Recent research, then, shows that bilingualism does not result in cognitive deficiency. It may, however, become a defense mechanism due to social deprivation or stigmatization.

Positive cognitive effect. Ramon Santiago, Director of Georgetown University Bilingual Service Center, says: "a child cannot learn basic concepts of mathematics, science and other academic subjects in a language the child does not understand" (1983:51). Diebold draws on research by Peal and Lambert (1962). They conclude that bilingualism is associated with significantly superior performance on both verbal and nonverbal intelligence tests (1982:47). Hocker (1973) and Morgan (1971) both report that bilingual students do better in the first grade. Del Buono reports that they do significantly better in the seventh grade (1971). Trevino's study proves them significantly better in mathematics (1968).

Some research contradicts the conclusions above, however. Tucker did a four-year longitudinal evaluation of a Mexican-American bilingual program in Redwood City,
It is significant that the study revealed that the Finnish children demonstrated lack of self-image, identity conflicts, and shame about their own language. These are the same characteristics so often mentioned in the literature on bilingual students in the United States. Cognitive deficiency. Early research convinced some educators that bilingual students are deficient either in intelligence or cognitive learning abilities. This view holds that a child cannot deal with two sets of language codes at the same time. Those who try will be deficient in some respect. "Their heads," the researchers said, "are too full" when they have to deal with two languages (Diebold 1982:30). This early research also concluded that bilingualism resulted in decreased intellectual capacity (Diebold 1982:44).

Diebold takes exception to this viewpoint. He works from the perspective of a semantic and sociolinguistic analysis of the two languages spoken by an individual. He believes there are two kinds of bilinguals: compound and coordinate.

Compound bilinguals treat the words in different languages for the same object as synonyms. They have no problem with two sets of language codes.

For coordinate bilinguals a word will not produce the same mental picture in both languages. Mental code switching is necessary to cognitively understand the meaning of