

**NLWJC - Kagan**

**DPC - Box 017 - Folder 007**

**Education - Bilingual [2]**

*Educ - bilingual*

## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

**Statement of  
Richard W. Riley  
U.S. Secretary of Education**

**Helping All Children Learn English  
April 27, 1998**

As we look to the future of American education, one of the most important new developments is the growing number of immigrant children that we must educate. According to the latest census data, nearly 20 percent of all children in our nation's schools—one out of five—are immigrants or the American-born children of immigrants.

A new study of immigrant children<sup>1</sup> states that 13.7 million children under 18 are either immigrants or the American-born offspring of immigrants, and that they are the fastest growing part of our student population. These children come from over 150 nations with the largest number coming from Mexico, the Phillippines, Cuba, and Vietnam.

Some Americans say that these children are a liability, but I welcome these children, just as the Statue of Liberty or the Golden Gate Bridge has welcomed them for years. They are a great source of strength and hope for the future of America, and we want them to be full participants in the American experience as children and as adults.

These young people, just like generations of immigrants who have come before them, can grow up to be patriotic Americans who will add their voices to our democracy if we educate them to the best of our ability and treat them as we would like to be treated. Indeed, the largest survey ever conducted of immigrant children found that these young people had higher grades and a lower school drop-out rate than other children and overwhelmingly preferred to speak English by the time they were teenagers.<sup>2</sup>

These young people represent the hopes of immigrant parents who have come to America because they believe in the American dream. They have stood in long visa lines, uprooted their families, left relatives behind, changed careers, often accepted menial jobs and in many cases now work two jobs for one great purpose—to give their children a better life in America. Surely we can meet these people half-way by giving their children the best education possible so that they can make their contribution to the American mainstream.

Teaching these young people English is one of the great tasks of nation-building and it falls to our public schools to accomplish. This is not the first time that the task of educating millions of new immigrants to become good citizens has been given to our nation's public schools. At the turn of the century our nation's public schools successfully taught millions of new immigrants English and educated them about our democracy.

Today, we face the same challenge. There are school districts in almost every part of our country—from Boston to Seattle to Miami—where children speak more than 40 languages. I believe that our nation's public schools can successfully educate these young people if we give them the same opportunities that other students need in order to succeed: higher standards, safe schools, smaller classes, well-prepared teachers, technology in the classroom, after-school activities, and schools that are accountable for results.

President Clinton has made education his number one domestic priority to achieve one end—to prepare all of America's children—native-born and immigrant—for the 21st century. President Clinton has also increased funding for those programs—Title I, immigrant and bilingual education, migrant education, adult education—that directly serve a disproportionate number of immigrant children and their families.

Today, however, there are growing questions about the best way to teach these young people English. In California, these concerns about how to teach English center around Proposition 227, the Unz Initiative, which would effectively eliminate bilingual education and require that all children learn English in one year.

I recognize that the decision to vote for or against the Unz Initiative this coming June is ultimately a decision for the voters of California. I know that there are many well-intentioned and concerned citizens on both sides of this issue and that the people of California are taking this issue seriously.

New immigrants have a passion to learn English and they want the best for their children. We must focus on what is best for the children and in this increasingly diverse society we must make sure that all of America's children are given the best education possible. Our common goal in teaching children English should be to support those approaches that ensure that Limited-English-Proficient (LEP) children are both speaking English and making academic progress.

Proposition 227, however, is not the way to go. In my opinion, adoption of the Unz Amendment will lead to fewer children learning English and many children falling further behind in their studies. There are five significant reasons why I believe that the Unz Amendment is counter-productive to a quality education for all of our children.

First, the one year time limit and one-size-fits-all approach to learning English flies in the face of years of research that tells us that children learn in different ways and at different speeds. A recent National Research Council report<sup>3</sup> released last month states that, "hurrying young non-English speaking children into reading in English without ensuring adequate preparation is counter-productive." The report recommends that children with no English proficiency are best taught to read English by first being taught reading in their native language, if teachers and instructional materials in their native language are available.

Thus, while an English-only approach may be effective for some limited-English-proficient children, it is likely to be ineffective for others. I do not oppose special English instructional programs. In fact, about 25 percent of our current federal bilingual funds support this type of instructional approach. What I question is the arbitrary one-year time limit and the demand that only this approach is the right approach to help young people learn English.

The approach taken by Proposition 227 simply ignores the individual needs of each child and certainly is an educational straitjacket for teachers and parents. Good teaching starts with a child's needs and moves the child along in a timely and responsible manner.

By analogy, if we adopted the approach suggested by the Unz Initiative to help children learn to read, it would be a disaster. Some children are already good readers when they come to kindergarten and others learn by the end of the first or second grades. Other children need extra help even in third grade and beyond.

Second, the Unz Amendment limits the discretion of teachers to choose the approach that is best suited for the children they teach. Some children may learn best in an English-only class, others may learn faster in a bilingual class or through some other proven approach, but with the Unz approach, teachers are given no option to use their professional judgement.

Third, Proposition 227 would subject teachers, school board members, and educational administrators to personal liability in litigation by parents if they fail to comply with its requirements. I find this aspect of Proposition 227 both punitive and threatening. This is not the way to build parent-teacher cooperation—a key to student success.

Fourth, the Unz Initiative is a direct attack on local control of education. I am surprised that so many outspoken advocates of local control have chosen not to take issue with this fundamental flaw in the Unz Initiative. The Unz Initiative would not be a helping hand for language instruction, but rather the heavy hand of overregulation. Local flexibility to choose the approaches that work best for their students should not be constrained by a mandate for one approach over the other. I believe that every school district should choose the approach that works best for them based on sound research.

Fifth, the Unz Initiative will in all likelihood result in problems under federal civil rights laws. In the seminal case of *Lau v. Nichols*, the Supreme Court interpreted Title VI of the Civil Rights Act to require school districts to take steps to ensure that national origin minority students with limited English proficiency can effectively participate in the regular educational program.

Similarly, the Equal Educational Opportunity Act requires public educational agencies to overcome language barriers that impede student participation in their instructional programs. Limiting special language development instruction to one year and preventing a school from providing bilingual instruction to students, despite the judgment of teachers and the school principal that children in that school need bilingual instruction to progress, are likely to result in violations under these laws.

I join all Californians who are unhappy with the status-quo and I understand the frustration that is encouraging many voters to think about voting for the Unz Initiative. But the approach of the Unz Initiative is just plain wrong. Proposition 227 may satisfy people's sense of frustration but ultimately it is counter-productive to our common goal of making sure children learn English while making academic progress in other subjects as well.

I believe that there is a reasonable and positive alternative to the current status-quo and the proposed Unz alternative.

I propose setting a three-year goal to make sure that a child is learning English. Individual differences and circumstances may cause some children to take longer, but a goal of learning English within three years is reasonable. This goal is similar to our goal of making sure that every child learns to read independently by the end of third grade or earlier. We know that goals and standards improve academic performance: when we set goals, we find, to a greater degree than we thought possible, that students can meet them.

A goal is not a mandate or a command. And a goal is certainly not a one year educational straitjacket that limits the ability of teachers to do what is best for each child. Some children may learn English in one year or two and others may need three years or even more. The focus should be on the individual needs of each child and not on some artificial and arbitrary time frame.

Goals should be combined with flexibility and accountability. I believe in giving local school districts latitude to design their own programs contingent on their being accountable for the results. Parents have a right to expect progress. Children should be tested periodically for English proficiency and when a child is falling behind, extra efforts including after-school classes as well as summer school should certainly be considered.

If a school district chooses an approach to teaching English that simply does not achieve positive results for a large number of children, then the school district must have the good sense to fix the problem or use another approach that research shows will work. The focus of every program—be it English-as-a-Second Language, dual language immersion, bilingual education, or English immersion—must be on strengthening quality, regardless of the approach.

1 5

I believe that the key to strengthening quality is well-trained teachers and we must do a much better job of meeting the demand for more well-prepared teachers. The demand for bilingual teachers, for example, currently exceeds the supply and that is particularly true in California where the number of LEP children has nearly doubled to 1.3 million in less than a decade. The California State Board of Education estimates that there is a shortage of 21,000 bilingual teachers in that state.

This, I suspect, is one of the root causes and real reasons why some parents have become frustrated. The Administration has asked for a doubling of federal funds, from \$25 million to \$50 million, to meet the increasing demand for fully certified bilingual teachers and English-as-second-language teachers.

I have no doubt that this nation has the capacity to include our many new immigrants and their children in the American experience. We must do everything possible to make sure that all of these children learn English as quickly as possible and get the quality education that they deserve.

Finally, I think American educators need to redouble their efforts to make sure that all of our children are fluent in two languages. I just returned from Chile where I joined President Clinton at the second Summit of the Americas. Improving education was a central part of the dialogue at this summit. I was struck by the fact that several nations begin teaching their children two languages starting in the first grade.

Anyone who has traveled to Europe knows that young people all over Europe are fluent in two and often three languages. I see no reason why our children should not be their equals. Some children already come to school with the ability to speak two languages. We should build on this linguistic base and recognize that our nation will be the better for it in the new global environment.

Think of the many advantages—economic, cultural and political—that a fluency in two languages can give to the American people. America's message of democracy, human rights and economic freedom would surely reach a wider audience. This is why I encourage and support any school district that sets the goal of making sure that every one of their high school graduates will speak two languages fluently by the time they graduate.

We can do no less for today's immigrants than we did for earlier generations of immigrants who turned to our nation's public schools to teach them English and the basics of our democracy. In conclusion, I urge all Americans to welcome America's new citizens and to help them to become part of the American dream.

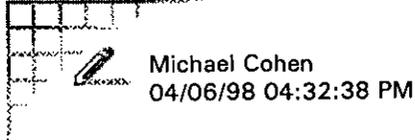
**Endnotes**

<sup>1</sup> Rumbaut, Rubén G., Visiting Scholar, The Russell Sage Foundation and Professor of Sociology, Michigan State University, *Transformations: The Post-Immigrant Generation in an Age of Diversity*, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18, and 19.

<sup>3</sup> National Research Council, *Preventing Reading Difficulties in Young Children*, p. 324.

Educ - Liliyuan



Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Unz memo



UNZ3.WP

Attached is the latest draft of the memo, which contains three "timeline" options. Since we met this morning, I've discussed this at length with Karen Skelton (I know she has also talked to you) and Janet Murguia, both of whom feel strongly that we must present options rather than go with the one compromise. I haven't been able to connect with Maria again or with Mickey, though based on earlier conversations I'm convinced that they would also want the options presented rather than sign on to the 3-year proposal.

I didn't include in the memo a scorecard for where people are on this. If we need it, it would read as follows

Option 1 (soft approach): Echaveste, Skelton, Murguia, Ibarra and Riley

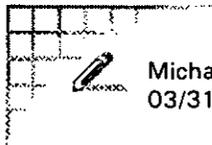
Option 2 (3-year principle): Reed, Kagan

Option 3 (legislative changes) Rahm.

I assume you know that I also favor the first option, on both policy and political grounds. I don't expect to be listed anyplace--and don't want to put you, Bruce or I in the position of being split in writing on this--but I did want to make sure you know what I think is the right choice here.

Let me know how you want to proceed once you've had a chance to edit this.

Educ - Bilingual



Michael Cohen  
03/31/98 02:45:45 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: UNZ MEMO UPDATE--IMPORTANT



PRINC.W

Karen, Maria, Mickey, Janet and I have had a number of meetings over the past week and a half--with Boxer and Feinstein's staff, with Becerra and Hinajosa, and again last night with Becerra himself. Secretary Riley has also become more personally engaged in this issue within the last week. As a result of all these discussions, we've shifted our views about what we ought to recommend to the President. Briefly, here are the key differences in where we all are coming out, compared to the memo from a week ago:

**1. In opposing Unz, the President should talk about principles for strengthening bilingual education (our "mend it don't end it" approach) but should not propose changes to the existing federal bilingual education program.**

- Proposing changes to the existing law is risky--our proposal is very unlikely to be taken up by this Congress, but its existence could feed or encourage more substantial attacks on bilingual ed programs.
- Boxer and Feinstein's staff in particular urged us not to propose statutory changes, because such as step would force Dems in the CA delegation to take a position on the President's proposal. They didn't think that would be helpful during the campaign season.
- Becerra and others in the Hispanic Caucus, as well as the advocacy groups, also urged us not to propose changes in the bilingual ed program--whatever we propose is likely to cause controversy within the Caucus, fuel the debate in CA over bilingual ed and detract from efforts to focus public attention on the weaknesses in the Unz initiative.

*Attached is a rough draft of the principles and how they might be fleshed out. I am working on incorporating them into our memo, which I would like to circulate by COB today.*

**2. Our principles should make clear that participation in bilingual education programs should not be an open-ended party--but we should not specify a three year (or other specific) time frame for mastering English.**

- The CHC and the advocacy groups are adamantly opposed to talking about a 3-year time limit. They argue that this is arbitrary and unsupported by any research, and that any discussion of a time limit will undermine their criticisms of Unz. Politically, it will undermine any political credit we would get with that community by opposing Unz, and start an unwinnable debate over how long is long enough.

**3. Final issue: Karen, Riley, and Maria have each indicated that we should use this debate to make**

**the case for having more of our students, including native English speakers, become bilingual in order to better participate in the global economy.**

- Riley argues that it would be seen as bold, gutsy and unexpected
- While I agree with the basic argument, I'm afraid that we have not laid any groundwork for this argument, and that it will seem a bit contrived in the context of opposing Unz.

Please give me a call this afternoon and let me know your reactions.

Educ - bilingual

Draft

## Principles for Educating LEP students

There are 3.2 million limited English proficient students in our schools. Immigrant children are the fastest growing group in our schools. The language problems they face are compounded by the fact that about three-fourths of these students are in high poverty schools. The vast majority of limited English proficient children are Hispanic. Over the last 20 years, there has been little progress in closing the achievement gap between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white students in reading, math, and science. These problems are at the core of the 20% drop-out rate for Hispanic students enrolled in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools. Accordingly, many young Hispanic adults do not have the basic level of education necessary to participate in today's or our future economy, which demands high level skills. To ensure that our nation's workforce is competitive, limited English proficient students must succeed. As a Nation, our efforts to accomplish this must be based on a clear understanding of what works best, not on politics or ideology.

### 1. Our goal must be to help all students become proficient in English as quickly as possible, and meet academic standards in all subjects.

- This is a universal goal--shared especially by parents and students who have come to this country for greater opportunity and who are eager to fully participate in the life of their community and country
- Every school district should establish and make public clear timelines for LEP students to become proficient in English and to participate in regular classrooms where English is the language of instruction. Participation in bilingual education should not be open ended or never-ending.
- *(Possible: Federal law now requires that federally funded bilingual education programs ensure that students master English within 3-5 years. No district should set a longer timeline, and I believe we can do better in many cases). Issue a directive to Riley to develop guidelines for local school districts reflecting the best knowledge of how quickly it is reasonable and appropriate for LEP students to become proficient in English, and identifying approaches, strategies and programs that can help speed things up.*

### 2. Schools/Districts must be accountable for performance and results

- School districts must be held accountable for performance, and must help students become proficient in English as rapidly as possible.
- School districts must assess students periodically (annually) to measure progress. If a student is not making adequate progress, the school/district must provide additional help. If programs are not helping students progress rapidly enough, they should be strengthened or another approach tried.

### 3. There must be local flexibility in how to reach the goal

- No one-size-fits-all prescription for how to educate limited English proficient children will work.

- Experience and research, including a 1997 report of the National Academy of Sciences, indicate that no one approach is the answer for all limited English proficient children.
- Rather -- whether the approach is bilingual education, English as a second language, structured immersion, or some variation or hybrid of them -- the success of programs turns on the needs of the students, the resources available to the community, and the quality and commitment of the school and teacher.
- A National Academy of Sciences study released March 18 shows that LEP children with no English proficiency are best taught to read English by first being taught reading in their native language, if teachers and instructional materials in their native language are available. Thus, while a structured English immersion approach may be effective for some limited English proficient children, it is likely to be ineffective for many others.

#### **4. Regardless of approach, our focus must be on quality**

- Students must be taught by well-prepared teachers; no approach will work well if its implemented by teachers who lack the knowledge and skills to get the job done effectively. That is why the Administration has proposed \$xx million to invest in teacher training in its bilingual education program
- All students must be expected to meet challenging academic standards. Academic instruction in bilingual education programs must be aimed at preparing LEP students to meet the same academic standards all other students are expected to meet--and they must be exposed to the same challenging curriculum. We must not accept watered down expectations for LEP students
- To improve the academic performance of LEP students, and to help them master English as quickly as possible, we must strengthen the public schools they attend, as well as strengthening the language acquisition programs that serve them. That is why the President's agenda of higher standards, smaller classes, greater choice and accountability, etc....is so important.

 Michael Cohen  
04/07/98 04:47:28 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Proposed compromise on Unz

FYI

----- Forwarded by Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP on 04/07/98 04:44 PM -----

 Karen E. Skelton 04/07/98 04:24:39 PM

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Record Type: Record

To: Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP

cc: Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP, Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP, mike\_smith @  
ed.gov @ inet

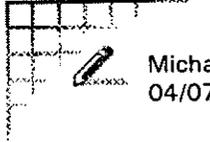
Subject: Re: Proposed compromise on Unz 

1. This language is politically more conservative than I thought the Hispanic caucus would agree with. I am only raising a red flag. I am not proposing we loosen the "3 year" rule, **unless** Janet, Mickey, or Maria think that we will generate substantial criticism. It seems to me that we might have led folks to believe this is a position we were not going to take. Is that wrong?

2. If we keep the "3 year rule," I advise a broad outreach plan to the Hispanic caucus, especially Xavier, Boxer, Feinstein, and the advocates, before we make the rule public. The last thing we want to do is **surprise** folks with a position we basically denied having in earlier discussions.

3. Can we add the "English plus" principle: bilingual for Latinos and for Caucasians is important for the 21st Century.

Educ - Bilingual



Michael Cohen  
04/07/98 04:56:49 PM

Record Type: Record

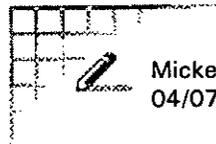
To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Proposed compromise on Unz

I can't even tell what exactly Mickey is referring to, but he's holding firm.

----- Forwarded by Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP on 04/07/98 04:53 PM -----



Mickey Ibarra  
04/07/98 04:47:24 PM

Record Type: Record

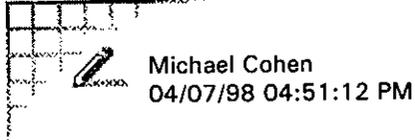
To: Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP

cc: Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP, Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, mike\_smith @  
ed.gov @ inet

Subject: Re: Proposed compromise on Unz

I like Mike' s "3 year goal" compromise better.

Educ - bilingual



Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP  
cc:  
Subject: Re: Unz Statement

FYI--the original e-mail is from the exec. dir. of the WH Initiative on Hispanic Education, which met last week in CA and took the surprising position of opposing Unz. In addition to sharing the statement of opposition with us, the exec. dir (Sarita Brown) alerted us to the concerns the commission members raised that we might be proposing a "mend it don't end it" approach to bilingual ed. I'll spare you the details of their argument; suffice it to say that their argument makes me look ultraconservative and will make us all vote for "1 year and your out" out of frustration!

----- Forwarded by Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP on 04/07/98 04:45 PM -----



Karen E. Skelton

04/07/98 04:30:06 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP  
cc: sarita\_brown @ ed.gov @ inet @ lngtwy, Miriam H. Vogel/WHO/EOP, Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP, Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP  
Subject: Re: Unz Statement 

Thanks.

It concerns me that 1) any position we might take gets out before the President or Vice President has a chance to think this through; 2) affirmative action is no less important than bilingual education, and the president certainly did right by it with a policy of "mend it, don't end it;" 3) we've met with probably 200 people, and I'd say about 8% of them thought the bilingual ed. program was in such good shape it could not benefit from improvements.

Of course, I am no expert on these matters.



Michael Cohen  
04/07/98 11:56:36 AM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Proposed compromise on Unz

As you know, Bruce and Elena are still hoping we can come up with a consensus position on our Unz recommendations to the President. The one outstanding issue how best to deal with the idea of time lines for learning English. If we can't reach a consensus on a recommendation to challenge districts to commit to a 3-year time line, we will give the President the choice between (1) a challenge to school districts to set their own time limits; (2) a challenge to districts to commit to a 3-year time line; and (3) proposed statutory changes to the federal bilingual education program to require districts to commit to a 3-year time limit.

Based on my conversations with each of you, I've decided to try one last stab at what a compromise position might look like. I've described it below as it might appear in our press paper, expanding on what the President says in his remarks, and including some nuances that might make this position more palatable. I've also included after that the other principles we have basically agreed to--without any explanatory text at this point--for reforming bilingual education.

I haven't run this by Bruce yet, so I don't know if he will buy it. However, since everyone has agreed that a consensus recommendation is better than forcing the President to choose among options we can't agree on, I thought it was worth this one last shot before giving up on a consensus.

Let me know if what you think.

**1. Local School Districts should commit to a goal of helping LEP students learn English within 3 years.** In order to decrease the time it takes LEP students to learn English, today President Clinton challenged local school districts to set and meet a clear goal of helping LEP students become proficient in English within 3 years. At present, the best available evidence indicates that LEP students become proficient in English in 4-5 years. And currently, few school districts establish clear time lines or goals for LEP students to learn English.

In issuing this challenge, President Clinton said that when it comes to helping students learn English, we can and must do better than the status quo. The first step must be to set clear goals, and to hold our schools accountable for reaching them. President Clinton also urged school districts to:

notify the parents of every LEP student of this goal when the student is first enrolled;

assess student progress in English and towards meeting standards in academic subjects annually;

provide extra help to students who are not making adequate progress;

Other, noncontroversial principles:

- 2. Local School Districts must be accountable for performance and results.**
- 3. There must be local flexibility**
- 4. The focus must be on strengthening quality, regardless of approach.**

Message Sent To:

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Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP  
Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP  
Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP  
Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP  
Mike\_Smith @ ed.gov @ inet

Educ-bilingual

copy  
for  
file

To: Maria  
Mickey  
Michael  
Elena Kugar  
Janet

From: Karen Skilton

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Poll shows that A message  
of "UNZ costs \$50 million for an  
untested, new program" sinks the initial

### FINAL RESULTS

n=700, Margin of Error=3.7%

Interview Dates: March 16-17, 1998

1. First, next June there will be a primary election for Governor, United States Senator and other offices in California. How likely are you to vote in that election – are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or will you probably not vote?

CERTAIN .....	87
PROBABLY .....	13

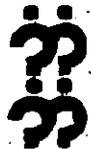
2. In general, do you think things in California are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

RIGHT DIRECTION .....	53
WRONG TRACK .....	30 ✓
DON'T KNOW .....	17

3. One initiative on next June's statewide ballot will be Proposition 227. It requires that all public school instruction be conducted in English. It says the requirement may be waived if parents or guardians show that the child already knows English, has special needs or would learn English faster through an alternate instructional technique. It provides initial short-term placement, not normally exceeding one year, in intensive sheltered English immersion programs for children not fluent in English. It appropriates \$50 million dollars per year for ten years to fund English instruction for individuals pledging to provide personal English tutoring to children in their community. It permits enforcement suits by parents and guardians. The Legislative Analyst says that the fiscal impact of the initiative could vary significantly by school district; that it requires state spending of \$50 million dollars per year for ten years to teach tutors of limited English proficient students, and that total state spending on education will probably not change.

If the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF "YES," OR "NO," FOLLOW-UP: Is that a strong yes/no or might you still change your mind? IF UNDECIDED, FOLLOW-UP: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES, STRONG .....	30	
YES, MIGHT CHANGE .....	14	
UNDECIDED, LEAN YES .....	6	→50
UNDECIDED .....	18	
UNDECIDED, LEAN NO .....	3	+18
NO, MIGHT CHANGE .....	6	
NO, STRONG .....	23	→32



David Binder Research



[ROTATE ORDER OF 6, 7, and 8]

6. (ROTATE ORDER OF PARAGRAPHS.)

Supporters of 227 say that placing students who are non fluent in English in intensive short-term English immersion classes is the best way to teach children to read, speak and write English.

Opponents of 227 say that 227 prohibits individual schools from using different ways to teach English, and mandates a new untested state program on each and every school district in the state.

Based on these arguments, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF UNDECIDED: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES	33		
YES, LEAN	12	→ 45	
NO	27		+ 8
NO, LEAN	12	→ 39	
DON'T KNOW	16		

7. (ROTATE ORDER OF PARAGRAPHS.)

Supporters of 227 say that it is appropriate to spend 50 million dollars a year to fund English instruction for individuals pledging to provide personal English tutoring to children in their community.

Opponents of 227 say that we should not spend 50 million dollars a year for a new program that will not go to our schools, and will have no accountability.

Based on these arguments, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF UNDECIDED: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES	28		
YES, LEAN	10	→ 38	
NO	37		- 14
NO, LEAN	13	→ 50	
DON'T KNOW	14		

8. (ROTATE ORDER OF PARAGRAPHS.)

Supporters of 227 say that Prop 227 is needed because hundreds of thousands of California schoolchildren are forced into Spanish-only bilingual education classes and not taught English.

Opponents of 227 say that the state recently ended mandatory bilingual education, and that individual schools are now free to use different ways to learn English. However, Prop 227 would end that new freedom.

Based on these arguments, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF UNDECIDED: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES	30		
YES, LEAN	10	→ 40	
NO	33		- 4
NO, LEAN	11	→ 44	
DON'T KNOW	16		



David Binder Research

9. Now that you have heard more about Proposition 227, I would like to ask you again, if the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF "YES," OR "NO," FOLLOW-UP: Is that a strong yes/no or might you still change your mind? IF UNDECIDED, FOLLOW-UP: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES, STRONG	28	
YES, MIGHT CHANGE	10	
UNDECIDED, LEAN YES	5	→43
UNDECIDED	14	
UNDECIDED, LEAN NO	5	+ 0
NO, MIGHT CHANGE	8	
NO, STRONG	30	→43

10. And now some questions about yourself for statistical purposes. First, what is your age?

AGE Under 30=8%, 30s=14%, 40s=23%, 50-64=28%, 65+=25%, Unknown=2%

11. Are you Hispanic or of Spanish descent? (IF YES, FOLLOW-UP: Is that ... (READ CHOICES.)

Mexican	10	
Spanish	2	
Puerto Rican	<1	
Central American	1	
South American	<1	
Other	2	
Hispanic, no further info	2	
NOT HISPANIC	82	→ to q12
REFUSE	1	→ to q12

} → to q13

[IF "NOT HISPANIC" ASK:]

12. Which of the following ethnic groups describes you? (READ LIST.)	
CAUCASIAN/WHITE/EUROPEAN-AMERICAN	70
BLACK/AFRICAN-AMERICAN	4
CHINESE/ASIAN/PACIFIC-ISLANDER	3
NATIVE AMERICAN (INDIAN)	2
OTHER ( )	2
REFUSED	2
(Latino	17)

13. On most issues, do you consider yourself liberal, moderate, or conservative? (IF "LIBERAL" OR "CONSERVATIVE," Is that very liberal/conservative, or somewhat?) (IF "MODERATE," Do you lean more toward liberal or more toward conservative?)

18%

LIBERAL, VERY	8	
LIBERAL, SOMEWHAT	13	→21
MODERATE, LEAN LIBERAL	6	
MODERATE	30	
MODERATE, LEAN CONSERVATIVE	9	→45 *
CONSERVATIVE, SOMEWHAT	17	
CONSERVATIVE, VERY	15	→32
OTHER ( )	1	
REFUSED	2	



David Binder Research

14. What is the highest level of education that you have achieved?

Not graduated high school .....	4
Graduated from high school, but not attended any college .	18
Attended some college or trade school, but not a college graduate .....	34
Graduated college .....	29
Have done some graduate or post-college education .....	17
REFUSED .....	<1

That's all the questions I have. Thank you for your time. Good-bye.

CODE FROM SAMPLE SHEET:

15. RECORD SEX:

FEMALE .....	51
MALE .....	49

CODE ELECTION HISTORY:

16. 6/92 .....	55
17. 11/92 .....	73
18. 11/93 .....	57
19. 5/94 .....	58
20. 11/94 .....	76
21. 3/95 .....	77
22. 11/96 .....	91

23. VOTE BY MAIL .....

24. ASSEMBLY DISTRICT .....

25. STATE SENATE DISTRICT .....

26. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT .....

27. COUNTY CODE: .....

28. ZIP CODE: .....

29. RECORD PARTY:

Democrat .....	46
Republican .....	38
Decline to State .....	11
Other .....	5

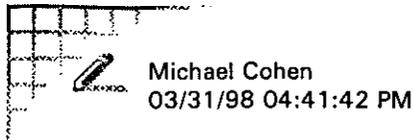
30. LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW:

English .....	97
Spanish .....	3

31. ENTER ID NUMBER .....



David Binder Research



Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Another LEP education flare-up in CA

I want to give you all a heads-up about a rapidly moving situation in California that is closely related to the Unz/bilingual ed issue we are dealing with, and in which the Education Department will likely become publicly involved in the next several days--unless we decide to stop it. (I'm not recommending that we intervene--I just want to make sure everyone is aware of this, and that there be ample time to slow things down if necessary)

1. Last year, at Pete Wilson's insistence, the CA legislature passed a new statewide testing program that requires all local school districts in the state to administer the same battery of tests to its students. The testing occurs in a number of grade levels and subject areas.

2. Districts are required to give the tests, and the state pays for it. The tests have to be administered this Spring, and districts have to sign up to give the test within the next week or so (i don't have the exact deadline handy.)

3. The law requires that all kids, including LEP kids who have been in school for at least a year, take the tests in English, regardless of their English language proficiency. The results are reported publicly for every school district--which means that school districts with large proportions of LEP kids will look worse on the tests than one might otherwise predict, because there will be scores from a lot of kids who couldn't even read the test questions.

4. Big city school districts with lots of LEP kids (LA, San Diego, San Francisco, etc.) are up in arms. Initially, a number said they would refuse to participate, though all but San Francisco have now signed up. SF either has or will soon file a civil rights complaint with ED on this issue.

5. In the midst of the state/local power struggle over this, the CA Board of Education adopted a policy that required local districts to provide an assurance that they would participate in the tests as a condition for receiving \$ under the federal education technology program. The CA Department of education administers this program. Subsequently, the board decided that it would withhold all federal education \$ from districts that don't participate in the test.

6. The Council of Great City Schools, the DC based group that represents a number of the big districts in CA (and elsewhere) protested this action to the Education Department--which is looking into the legality of the state's move.

7. There is a recommendation bubbling up within ED to Riley that would tell CA that they can't use federal \$ as a club to force implementation of its testing policy. A letter to that effect could go from ED to CA by the end of this week.

8. I think ED is making the right call on this--while states can add requirements to federal programs they administer, the requirements must be fair and reasonable. I don't think the testing program in

its current form meets that standard. While we shouldn't interfere with CA's state-determined testing policy, neither should we let them use our \$ as the hammer to force compliance. They've got plenty of their own \$ they can use for that purpose if they want to.

Message Sent To:

---

Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP  
Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP  
Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP  
Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP  
Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP



Karen E. Skelton

03/31/98 06:17:20 PM

---

Record Type: Record

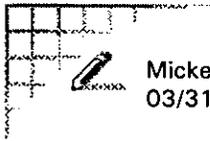
To: Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP

cc: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP, Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP

Subject: Re: Another LEP education flare-up in CA 

I agree with your conclusion.

We can either take each of these issues one by one - - Unz/St. Bd. of Ed decision on management of bilingual ed / testing issue - - or we can take them as a whole, recognize a pattern, and criticize Wilson's management of a rogue educational system that is UnAmerican and UnCalifornian.



Mickey Ibarra  
03/31/98 04:57:41 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP

cc: Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP, Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP

Subject: Re: Another LEP education flare-up in CA

Mike, your point number eight is right on! Thanks.



Karen E. Skelton

03/18/98 09:23:46 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP  
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
Subject: bilingual

I've done a little more research on the Ca Bd. of Ed. decision and talked to a few people about what it may mean for purposes of your memo. Here are some additional thoughts:

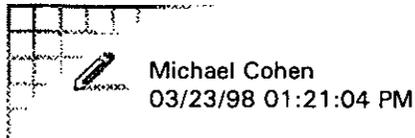
1. The Bd. of Ed. decision probably kills any compromise legislation. I talked to St. Senator Dee Dee Alpert and she believes the Rs now have no reason to support compromise leg. because the bd. dec. effectively gets the state out of the bilingual ed. business.
2. John Hein, CTA, believes the bd. dec. was instigated by Gov. Wilson. He thinks that Wilson banked on the Fed. Gov. / D. of Ed., Civil Rights Div. to sue the state over this decision. Heins thinks that if we do sue, this plays right into Wilson's hand. Wilson would want to use bilingual in the same way he's using 209/affirmative action in his conservative political arsenal.
3. The Bd. of Ed. dec. probably helps Unz because it takes away the major opposition to Unz: loss of local control. Now that you have a kind of "local control," why not go for Unz?

The bottom line for us is this: the bd. of ed. decision is probably a Wilson instigated attempt to make CA a trend setting State in abolishing bilingual education programs, in the same way it was a trend setter in abolishing affirmative action programs.

The question for us: how hard are we going to defend bilingual? I think our answer - - mastering English is the #1 priority; bilingual needs a face lift; mend it / don't end it; Unz is too extreme - - hits the rights tone.

Message Copied To:

Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP  
Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP  
Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP  
Morley A. Winograd/OVP @ OVP  
Jonathan H. Schnur/OVP @ OVP



Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Unz update

The Unz memo did not go to POTUS on Saturday, and won't until after POTUS returns. The purpose of this note is to bring you up to speed, and get your guidance on how to proceed. I believe the delay will lead to further revisions in the memo, and want your counsel on how best to proceed.

**Background on the delay:** After we made the few changes Saturday morning, Leg. affairs expressed concern that we had not completed Congressional consultations (which are going on this week--this afternoon we are meeting with Feinstein and Boxer's staff, tomorrow with Becerra, Hinajosa and others from the Hispanic caucus).

I don't know if it was Larry or Janet who weighed in--earlier in the week, Janet had raised a little concern about the memo going in before the Hill consultations had been completed, but her plan at the time was that we simply not tell Hill folks that the memo had been completed; she did not suggest postponing sending the memo. In any event, Maria was consulted about the delay and was ok with it.

I was notified late Saturday that the memo did not go, and got the background on the reasons this morning.

**The push for revisions begins:** In the meantime, Mike Smith paged me yesterday and indicated that Riley has additional thoughts, both about how we draw on Lau, and on the 3-year time limit. We didn't discuss this in detail--I'll need to get back to him.

I believe this delay will make it difficult, if not impossible, to avoid further modifications to the memo--and I expect we will see a concerted effort to modify the 3-year time limit to learn English, or to propose additional options on how that should be addressed.

**Moving forward:** If you and Bruce are willing to include additional options in the memo, then it may be best to bring everyone back for another meeting just to focus on that issue, so long as everyone understands that the option Bruce favors will stay in the memo. Are you ok with this approach, or do you have another idea of how to proceed?

**Three years to learn English policy issue:** Finally, with regard to Unz--as I reflected on this over the weekend, I believe that there are some dangers with the approach we have recommended--3 years to learn English, and schools can't use fed. bilingual ed. funds to keep teaching the kid English after that. The main problem is that we leave the schools entirely off the hook--they can take the position that they tried for 3 years, the kid didn't learn English, and now the kid's on his own. I suspect this approach would violate the Lau guidelines, which require that if one approach doesn't work, another one be tried.

An alternative--which I believe we could recommend without losing the message we need--is one that would place the accountability burden on the schools. This is more like the one we've attributed to Riley and Maria in the memo. The message: "Kids must learn English within 3 years, and we must hold schools accountable for accomplishing this." The policy:

1. A goal of learning English within 3 years
2. A requirement that district's test kids English proficiency and monitor progress annually (the testing requirement will drive our friends in the advocacy community and on the Hill nuts)
3. A requirement to provide progress report to parents each year, and to show how the kid's instructional program will help them meet the 3-year goal.
4. If the kid is not making adequate progress, the district has to tell the parent what it will do differently, and then do it
5. A requirement that the district provide intensive help to kids who have not met the goal by the end of the 3rd year.
6. School districts with poor records of helping kids learn English within 3 years would risk losing continuation funding, and would lose points in the competition for subsequent bilingual education funding.

I think this approach would support the public message we want. It makes us unambiguously for insisting that kids learn English. It would not leave us vulnerable to the charge that we are hurting kids, while it would leave us strong on school accountability. It would probably get strong support internally from Maria, Mickey et. al.. I think Karen Skelton--who wants to make sure we are strong on English and strong on changing bilingual education--would probably support this as well, though I have not discussed it with her.

At the same this approach will cause flack within the advocacy community (which doesn't believe in timelines and doesn't want us to say anything about bilingual education until after the Unz vote) and therefore, in all likelihood, among members of the Hispanic Caucus.

What do you think? I don't want to raise it unless you think Bruce would buy it.



Michael Cohen  
03/23/98 02:05:02 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: More on delay in Unz memo

Turns out that Janet Murguia pushed for the delay in sending the Unz memo to POTUS--after she heard from Becerra who (1) knew we were sending a memo to POTUS; (2) was ticked off at the prospect of it going before we consulted with him; and, (3) warned against a 3-year deadline for learning English.

I met with the Council of Great City Schools earlier today (big city superintendents and school board members--including a number of California districts). The Council passed a unanimous resolution yesterday opposing Unz, and I got a number of questions and comments on Unz. One of the school board members urged us not to set a 3 year deadline for learning English.

I know I should be surprised, but I'm actually shocked that Becerra and a Cal. school board member know so much about what we're doing. It's nice to know that you can fully trust everyone you work with!

*E Inc - bilingual*

# NCLR

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

Raul Yzaguirre, President

National Office  
1111 19th Street, N.W., Suite 1000  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 785-1670  
Fax: (202) 776-1792

## MEMORANDUM

TO: Maria Echaveste

FROM: Charles Kamasaki, Sr. Vice President  
Raul Gonzalez, Education Policy Analyst

DATE: March 24, 1998

SUBJ: Unz Initiative

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For the past several months, we have urged that the Administration consider active opposition to the so-called Unz initiative. Since it now appears that action is imminent, we thought you might find it useful if we synthesized our thoughts in written form.

### Background

It is now just a little over 10 weeks before Californians will be asked to vote on Proposition 227. Particularly in light of the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), including provisions related to bilingual education (Title VII), next year, it is vitally important for the Administration to play an effective role in the debate over Prop. 227. We therefore urge below a number of timely and high-profile Administration actions that can help turn the tide on what has been a largely one-sided debate.

Before listing our specific recommendations, we would make several observations. First, the press has largely convinced itself that Prop. 227 will win big; in this connection, even a relatively close margin will reflect favorably on the Administration, if it acts now. Second, by all indications the polls are tightening up, even with the pro-Unz forces outspending opponents by large margins. Third, unlike with the debates over Propositions 187 and 209, there are reasons to believe that an anti-Unz effort can make a considerable difference, including:

- The favorable economy, which could diminish some of the anger which drove many to support 187 and 209.



- The fact that, ideologically, some of the 187 and 209 supporters are split. For example, much of the extremist anti-immigrant movement is opposing 227. In addition, several high-profile Republican candidates, like Gubernatorial aspirant Dan Lungren, have declined to back the initiative.
- These trends suggest it is possible to focus the debate on the merits of the initiative itself, which public opinion research shows is our most powerful approach, rather than permit Unz to make the debate a referendum on bilingual education, which is his strongest ground.
- Unlike with 187 and 209, opponents have identified and are united around winning, effective messages (attached) developed through public opinion research; what we lack are effective vehicles in addition to media advertising to get these messages out.
- The fact that Unz himself is a somewhat strange figure, while the President, the Vice President, and Secretary Riley all have enormous credibility on education issues.

## Messages

All of the evidence suggests that the debate will be won or lost based on our ability to focus public attention on the initiative's own policy weaknesses. We are somewhat disconcerted at what we hear regarding internal Administration discussions over strategies which could permit Unz to keep the debate on his "turf," i.e., whether bilingual education works. In this connection, we would urge:

1. The Administration should make clear its own strong record of providing people with opportunities to learn English. The President, the Vice President, and Secretary Riley can all effectively claim to be "second to none" in their commitment to helping newcomers of all ages to learn English (and can also challenge Congress to do the same, by the way).
2. Having established its bona fides on the issue of language, the Administration should then focus on the initiative's numerous weaknesses, on policy grounds.
3. It is only in response to questions, and only as a secondary set of messages, that the Administration should even consider the various "mend it, don't end it" proposals we understand are being considered. In addition to the substantive issues involved (which we have communicated to you separately through a letter from the Hispanic Education Coalition), we would note simply that the "mend it..." discussion puts the focus of the debate back on bilingual education, where Unz is strongest. It makes no sense to position the Administration in a debate over bilingual education minutiae that it cannot win, when winning arguments already have been identified.

## **Other Issues**

In addition, we request that you consider several other issues. First, if it is to make a difference in this debate, the Administration needs to move quickly; we note above the short time frame before the election.

Second, we suggest that you consider carefully the use of Secretary Riley as the principal spokesperson on the issue. We believe that both his credibility as an educator and his honest, folksy persona would “match up” well against Unz’ hidden agendas and rather strange character. Moreover, this would help keep the focus of the debate on education policy issues.

Finally, we would request on behalf of the No on Unz campaign any help you could facilitate through the DNC on polling and fund-raising. We are aware of the sensitivities involved, but we would much appreciate any guidance you could provide to ensure that any efforts we undertake are fully consistent with applicable legal and ethical standards.

Please let us know if you need additional information or if you have any questions.

enclosure

cc: Mickey Ibarra  
Janet Murguia  
Karen Skelton  
Mike Cohen

## ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE UNZ INITIATIVE\*\*

- **Voters should take the time to learn more about the initiative.** Ron Unz has run a clever and well-financed campaign, but has failed to explain to Californians what his initiative actually does. Voters should ask themselves the question, “What’s In Proposition 227,” because once they find out what’s in it the initiative’s support drops dramatically.
- **Proposition 227 will create chaos in the classroom.** By mainstreaming over a million limited-English-proficient students after only one year, the initiative will:
  - Force teachers to choose between gearing instruction to mainstream students and leave LEP students behind, or simplify instruction for LEP students and slow the progress of mainstream students.
  - Create mixed-age classrooms, where 10-year-olds and 5-year-olds will be sitting in the same class.
- **Proposition 227 mandates a single, “one size fits all” method for teaching all limited-English-proficient children in California.** The so-called “sheltered English immersion” approach is unproven. No scientific evidence supports it. No reputable educator or scholar has endorsed it. In addition, it:
  - Permits exceptions only under a legalistic, complicated “waiver” process that restricts parental choice.
  - Does not provide for any training of teachers or administrators in implementing the new “sheltered immersion” scheme.
  - Does not include any assessment or accountability system to help parents and the public determine whether it’s working or not.
  - Codifies, possibly forever, an untested system that could not be adjusted or repaired except under unusual circumstances.
- **Proposition 227 violates the principle of local control.** The initiative would eliminate the power of elected school boards to determine what policies make sense for their own communities. Local school boards, principals, and teachers would be outlawed by state decree from using the curriculum and teaching approaches they believe to be in the interests of their children.



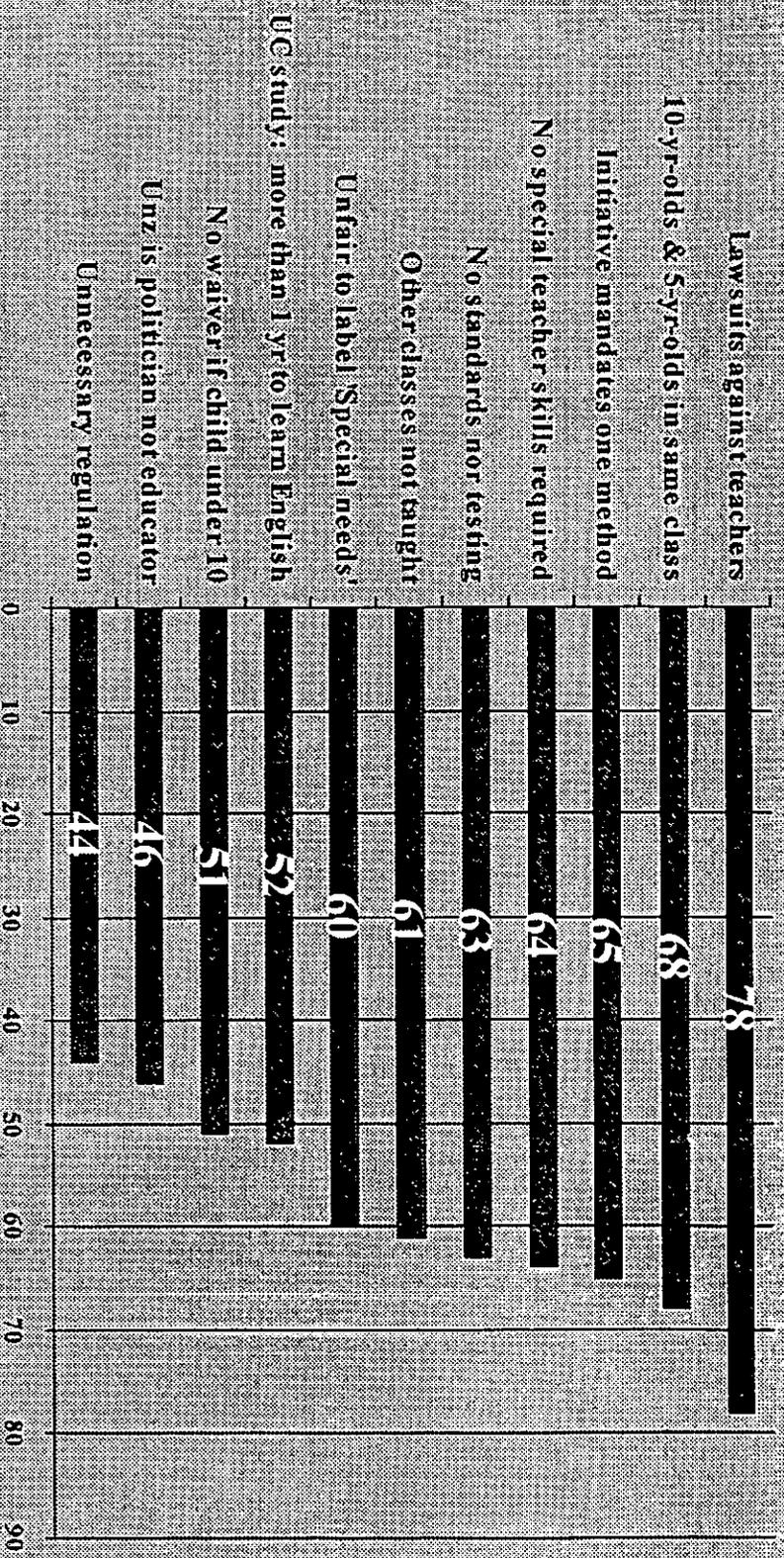
- **Teachers will face lawsuits and personal liability** if they are accused of speaking to a child in a language other than English. At a time when it is in the interest of all Californians to attract the best and the brightest to the teaching profession, the initiative would increase the problems of teacher “burnout” and “bailout.”
- **The initiative would create bureaucracy and waste taxpayer dollars, in several ways; it would:**
  - Require new school bureaucracies to handle waivers, keep new records, etc.
  - Turn school administrators into “language police,” who would have to divert time away from teaching to make sure no non-English languages were spoken.
  - Invite frivolous litigation against and complicate collective bargaining agreements with teachers, who surely will demand new and perhaps costly protections.
  - Waste \$500 million annually for a complex and untried new tutoring program.
- **Overall, Proposition 227 is an extreme, untested, dangerous, and expensive experiment on all of California’s children.** The voters should reject it.

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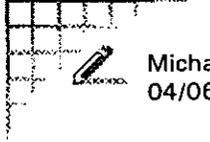
\*\* Adapted from various materials from Citizens for an Educated America: No on Unz campaign, and “The Unz Initiative: Extreme, Irresponsible, and Hazardous to California’s Future,” National Association for Bilingual Education.

# Several arguments effectively convince voters to oppose the Unz initiative

Percent of voters who moved to 'no' that found the argument convincing



Educ-bilingual



Michael Cohen  
04/06/98 06:54:24 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

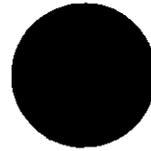
Subject: Re: Unz memo

Just talked to Maria--she could be talked into the middle option if it were described in such a way that made it clear we weren't pushing kids out of programs if they didn't learn English in 3 years. She wants some language to that effect (either in POTUS (VOTUS???)Riley???) remarks or in the press paper that gets handed out, that could be used to calm down the advocates.

I don't know if there is language that would give Maria what she wants, and not appear to you, Bruce and Rahm to undermine the clear principle. Further, I think the value of a clear principle is that you don't muck it up with a whole bunch of explanatory statements and loopholes--that's what we have legislation for!

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 26, 1998



MEMORANDUM

TO: Erskine Bowles  
Sylvia Mathews  
Maria Echaveste  
Mickey Ibarra  
Elena Kagan

FROM: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

SUBJECT: Secretary Shalala's Meeting with the National Hispanic Caucus

---

Please find attached materials concerning bilingual education cuts that Mike Cohen of the Domestic Policy Council prepared for the meeting Secretary Shalala will have today with the National Hispanic Caucus.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me (6-7072).

Thank you.

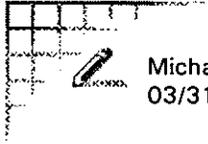
### **Bilingual Education Cut in House Supplemental Appropriations Bill**

- The Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Bill reported by the House Appropriations Committee earlier this week includes a rescission of \$75 million from the FY 1998. Bilingual Education Program, as part of the package of proposed offsets.
- We do not expect these offsets to be in the final bill; the Senate will not include offsets in its bill.
- This cut and other proposed offsets are another example of playing politics with disaster relief--the bill also has deep cuts in other top Presidential priorities, such as the National Service Program.
- ***Note: We are not in a position at this time to threaten to veto this bill over the offsets.***

### **Background on the Unz Initiative to end Bilingual Education in California**

- There is a proposition on the June 2 ballot in California to eliminate bilingual education and to instead to place kids who don't speak English in English-only classes. The Hispanic Caucus is very strongly opposed to this initiative.
- The White House and the Education Department have been studying this initiative and planning an Administration position, which we expect to announce within the next several weeks.
- Earlier this week WH and Education Department staff met with Congressmen Becerra and Hinajosa to discuss the Unz Initiative and hear their views. We have made clear to them that we expect the Administration to oppose Unz.
- Caucus members know that we are considering a "mend it, don't end it" approach to bilingual education, and some are concerned that our proposals to mend the program will go too far, especially by requiring programs to teach students English within a fixed time frame, such as 3 years. We have pledged to consult with Caucus members again shortly, before we make a recommendation to the President.
- ***Note: if this issue comes up, it would be best to indicate that the White House is eager to consult with them, and encourage members to make their views known directly to the White House.***

Educ-bilingual



Michael Cohen  
03/31/98 08:16:21 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: New Unz memo



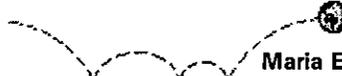
UNZ2.DO

Attached is a revised Unz memo, incorporating the approach we discussed earlier. I don't know if you had a chance to review the materials after we talked--and whether you and I were correct in our assumption that you wouldn't be happy with it.

Here are a couple of things to keep in mind:

1. The new approach--less hard edge than before--is one that everyone who has been through all of the Unz discussions, including particularly the Congressional ones in the last week, is convinced is the right way to go. The approach in our earlier memo, proposing specific changes in federal programs as well as a 3-year goal for learning English, would cause us a lot of trouble in many quarters.
2. You may recall that the three people most consistently for the mend it don't end it and 3-year goal have been you, myself and Karen. Karen has been insistent that we not leave ourselves exposed on the center/right when we oppose Unz. She and I have talked extensively--and privately--about the direction that is now incorporated in the memo, and we are both convinced that this newer approach works well politically.
3. A couple of other changes in the structure of the memo: (1) I've incorporated the discussion about the educational and legal problems with Unz into the recommendation to oppose Unz--it makes for a tigher argument in support of the recommendation compared with the earlier memo. (2) In the past week, Riley and all of his lawyers got together and agreed on a single, clear story line on Unz, federal case law, and the odds of litigation if Unz is enacted. I've used their new version--now that they agree on what it is.

I'm going to look this over again tonight. I need to get it around tomorrow, so we can get this put to bed, hopefull before AF1 lands.

 Maria Echaveste

03/19/98 07:21:10 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP  
cc: Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP, Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP  
Subject: Re: Unz memo

I think Mickey's points are all very good--did you fax this to Karen--she should really see it before it goes in. I faxed you my edits which you'll see are less extensive than Mickey's but please consider. I think the only other point I would make is that it's really important not to set a three year time limit--make it an aspirational goal--also should we start changing the language to refer to language acquisition so that the negatives that bilingual has starts to be countered. talk to you tonight about this.

----- Forwarded by Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP on 03/19/98 07:26 PM -----

 Mickey Ibarra  
03/19/98 05:21:34 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP  
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
Subject: Re: Unz memo 

Good memo Mike. Please consider the following comments/suggestions:

-I think adding a paragraph to describe the outreach effort and internal WH process we used is important for the President to know. In fact, a vigorous coordinated outreach effort by OPL, IGA, POL, and LEG, with DPC and Education was conducted to help us prepare this memo. The President should know we met with Mr. Unz, national advocacy groups, California elected officials, and others both in California and Washinton, DC. I think it is relevant that Maria, Mickey, Janet, Karen, and Michael all spent time personally on the issue.

-I'm not comfortable with the second paragraph which describes current public opinion. I think we have polls (see Ross poll) now that are showing support for Unz dropping and this is BEFORE any real opposition campaign has begun. Also, I think that while we all remember the initial 84% Latino support figure from an LA Times poll, we have not put this one poll in the context of the longstanding support of bilingual education in previous polls and voter exit interviews contained in the Andy Hernandez memo of February 16. I just think we need to soften the lead on this paragraph a bit.

-In the third paragraph I think we should insert the opportunity this issue provides us to advocate for our comprehensive action plan of research-based solutions to raising education attainment of Latino children the President has proposed. You do get to it later in the memo; I just think you

should mention it earlier too.

-Mention that Ron Unz challenged Pete Wilson for the Republican nomination in 1994 for governor.

-On page five at the top talking about polls again, please insert "currently". It should read "Latino voters are CURRENTLY split...." I also think it is fair to remind folks that the LA Times and Field polls did not accurately predict the Latino vote in the end for either prop 187 nor 209. 77% of Latinos opposed 187 and 70% opposed 209 according to voter exit interviews in contrast to some polls which showed a split Latino vote.

-Jane Harman is opposed. Al Checchi is opposed. Dan Lungren (R), candidate and likely California nominee for Gov. is undecided. He has stated that he has concerns and will decide soon.

-We should add that a well financed campaign is expected by Unz for his initiative while the opposition campaign is struggling to raise the money necessary to conduct a credible campaign. Richie Ross is the lead consultant/organizer of the opposition effort. He is very good.

Message Copied To:

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S -  
Please copy  
ASAP to  
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- Maria Echaveste  
- Elena Koyan  
- Janet Munguia  
- [Signature]

TO: Mickey Obama

FR: Richie Ross

FAX NO. \_\_\_\_\_

Total pages sent: \_\_\_\_\_

If transmission is not complete, please call Laura at (916) 441-1995.

Comments:

Joe SERNA says you need  
OUR poll results. Keep in  
mind we don't have Lungren,  
we just tested him.

Richie

# FINAL RESULTS

**Interview Dates: February 24 - March 1, 1998**

**Sample Size=1,500; Margin of Error=2.5%**

1. First, next June there will be a primary election for Governor, United States Senator and other offices in California. How likely are you to vote in that election -- are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or will you probably not vote?

CERTAIN .....	85
PROBABLY .....	15

2. In general, do you think things in California are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

RIGHT DIRECTION .....	49
WRONG TRACK .....	31
DON'T KNOW .....	20

3. One initiative on next June's statewide ballot will be Proposition 227. It requires that all public school instruction be conducted in English. It says the requirement may be waived if parents or guardians show that the child already knows English, has special needs or would learn English faster through an alternate instructional technique. It provides initial short-term placement, not normally exceeding one year, in intensive sheltered English immersion programs for children not fluent in English. It appropriates \$50 million dollars per year for ten years to fund English instruction for individuals pledging to provide personal English tutoring to children in their community. It permits enforcement suits by parents and guardians. The Legislative Analyst says that the fiscal impact of the initiative could vary significantly by school district; that it requires state spending of \$50 million dollars per year for ten years to teach tutors of limited English proficient students, and that total state spending on education will probably not change.

If the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF "YES," OR "NO," FOLLOW-UP: Is that a strong yes/no or might you still change your mind? IF UNDECIDED, FOLLOW-UP: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES, STRONG .....	35	
YES, MIGHT CHANGE .....	14	
UNDECIDED, LEAN YES .....	6	→ 55
UNDECIDED .....	14	
UNDECIDED, LEAN NO .....	3	+25
NO, MIGHT CHANGE .....	8	
NO, STRONG .....	19	→ 30

Now I am going to list the specific provisions of the initiative. For each item I read, please tell me if you support or oppose the provision. (IF SUPPORT OR OPPOSE, FOLLOW-UP: Is that strongly support/oppose or just somewhat?) (DO NOT ROTATE)

	<u>Strong Support</u>	<u>Some Support</u>	<u>Some Oppose</u>	<u>Strong Oppose</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
4. Requires all public school instruction be conducted in English	66	12	7	13	2
	78		20		
5. The requirement may be waived if parents or guardians show that the child already knows English, or has special needs, or would learn English faster through an alternate instructional technique	31	26	11	18	14
	57		29		
6. Provides initial short-term placement, not normally exceeding one year, in intensive sheltered English immersion programs for children not fluent in English	40	25	11	16	8
	65		27		
7. Appropriates \$50 million per year for ten years funding English instruction for individuals pledging to provide personal English tutoring to children in their community	24	20	14	30	12
	44		44		
8. Permits enforcement suits by parents and guardians	19	13	10	31	27
	32		41		
9. The Legislative Analyst says that the fiscal impact could vary significantly by school district, that it requires state spending of \$50 million per year for ten years to teach tutors of limited English proficient students, and that total state spending on education probably would not change	24	19	13	30	14
	43		43		
10. Now that you have heard more about Proposition 227, if the election were held today, would you vote yes or no? (IF "YES," OR "NO," FOLLOW-UP: Is that a strong yes/no or might you still change your mind? IF UNDECIDED, FOLLOW-UP: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)					

YES, STRONG	35	
YES, MIGHT CHANGE	13	
UNDECIDED, LEAN YES	6	→ 54
UNDECIDED	14	
UNDECIDED, LEAN NO	3	+22
NO, MIGHT CHANGE	8	
NO, STRONG	21	→ 32

Now I am going to read you some things supporters and opponents say about Proposition 227.  
[ROTATE STATEMENTS]

\_\_\_ Supporters of Proposition 227 say that bilingual education in California has been a failure, and the politicians have been afraid to deal with the issue. Proposition 227 is necessary because the education bureaucrats and the Sacramento politicians will never fix the situation. The voters must force the issue by passing Proposition 227.

\_\_\_ Opponents of Proposition 227 say that recently, the 1970s law mandating bilingual education in California expired. Since then, individual school districts, teachers, and parents have devised their own local programs to teach English to non-English speaking children. Prop 227 would outlaw all of these local programs and impose a single untested program of sheltered English immersion on every school district in California at a cost of \$50 million dollars per year. We must oppose another unnecessary state mandate and vote no on Proposition 227.

11. Hearing this, if the election were today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF "YES," OR "NO," FOLLOW-UP: Is that a strong yes/no or might you still change your mind? IF UNDECIDED, FOLLOW-UP: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES, STRONG .....	32	
YES, MIGHT CHANGE .....	11	
UNDECIDED, LEAN YES .....	5	->48
UNDECIDED .....	13	
UNDECIDED, LEAN NO .....	5	+9
NO, MIGHT CHANGE .....	9	
NO, STRONG .....	25	->39

[SPLIT SAMPLE A]

Now I would like to read you some other things that supporters and opponents say about Proposition 227. [ROTATE STATEMENTS]

\_\_\_ Supporters of Proposition 227 say that bilingual education in California began with good intentions, but has failed to teach children to read and write English. Last year only 7% of limited-English students in California learned enough English to be moved into mainstream classes. Proposition 227 will require non-English speaking children to learn English as soon as they start school and will provide sheltered English immersion classes that research has shown to be the most effective teaching method. Prop 227 is needed to end the hundreds of millions of dollars wasted in bilingual education programs that are failing our children.

\_\_\_ Opponents of Proposition 227 say that if passed, it would force children of different ages and different language groups to sit in the same classroom for one year. Also, teachers would be prohibited, under the threat of a lawsuit, from speaking to the children in their own language. Think of the picture: five-year-old children in the same room as thirteen-year-olds, none of whom speak nor understand English, trying to learn from a teacher who is prohibited by law from communicating to any of them in their own language. It just won't work.

12. Hearing this, if the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF YES OR NO, ASK: Is that a strong yes/no, or might you still change your mind as you get more information?) (IF UNDECIDED, ASK: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES, STRONG .....	34	
YES, MIGHT CHANGE .....	10	
UNDECIDED, LEAN YES .....	5	->49
UNDECIDED .....	13	
UNDECIDED, LEAN NO .....	4	+11
NO, MIGHT CHANGE .....	9	
NO, STRONG .....	25	->38

[SPLIT SAMPLE B]

Now I am going to read you some other things supporters and opponents say about Proposition 227.  
[ROTATE STATEMENTS]

\_\_\_ Supporters of Proposition 227 say that bilingual education in California began with good intentions, but has failed to teach children to read and write English. Last year only 7% of limited-English students in California learned enough English to be moved into mainstream classes. Proposition 227 will require non-English speaking children to learn English as soon as they start school and will provide sheltered English immersion classes that research has shown to be the most effective teaching method. Prop 227 is needed to end the hundreds of millions of dollars wasted in bilingual education programs that are failing our children.

\_\_\_ Opponents of Proposition 227 say that this initiative mandates one specific educational program to every school district in the state of California, regardless of the make-up and individual needs of the particular community. In an era in which government is granting more and more responsibility and authority to local communities to devise programs that best meet their needs, this initiative is doing the opposite. Prop 227 would outlaw all local programs that have been implemented by local school boards with support from community PTAs, and would, in its place, mandate one untested program. Proposition 227 should be rejected, and parents should have the right to choose what's best for their children.

13. Hearing this, if the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF YES OR NO, ASK: Is that a strong yes/no, or might you still change your mind as you get more information?) (IF UNDECIDED, ASK: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES, STRONG .....	31	
YES, MIGHT CHANGE .....	12	
UNDECIDED, LEAN YES .....	8	→51
UNDECIDED .....	10	
UNDECIDED, LEAN NO .....	6	+12
NO, MIGHT CHANGE .....	7	
NO, STRONG .....	26	→39

**[SPLIT SAMPLE C]**

Now I am going to read you some other things supporters and opponents say about Proposition 227.  
**[ROTATE STATEMENTS]**

\_\_\_ Supporters of Proposition 227 say that bilingual education in California began with good intentions, but has failed to teach children to read and write English. Last year only 7% of limited-English students in California learned enough English to be moved into mainstream classes. Proposition 227 will require non-English speaking children to learn English as soon as they start school and will provide sheltered English immersion classes that research has shown to be the most effective teaching method. Prop 227 is needed to end the hundreds of millions of dollars wasted in bilingual education programs that are failing our children.

\_\_\_ Opponents of Proposition 227 say that Proposition 227 is so poorly written that it is opposed by all the major candidates for Governor, including Dan Lungren, Al Checchi ("CHECK-ee"), Gray Davis, and Jane Harman, as well as State School Superintendent Delaine (de-LANE) Eastin. Other opponents include the chairman of the state Republican Party, Senator Barbara Boxer, the California PTA, the California Federation of Teachers, the California School Boards Association, the California School Employees Association, the California Teachers Association, and the Association of California School Administrators. Candidates from across the political spectrum as well as parents, teachers, local school boards and the head of California's public schools all oppose Proposition 227 because they know that it is bad policy and will not teach English to our public school children.

14. Hearing this, if the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF YES OR NO, ASK: Is that a strong yes/no, or might you still change your mind as you get more information?) (IF UNDECIDED, ASK: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES, STRONG .....	30	
YES, MIGHT CHANGE .....	13	
UNDECIDED, LEAN YES .....	6	->49
UNDECIDED .....	10	
UNDECIDED, LEAN NO .....	7	+ 8
NO, MIGHT CHANGE .....	10	
NO, STRONG .....	24	->41

[SPLIT SAMPLE D]

Now I am going to read you some other things supporters and opponents say about Proposition 227. [ROTATE STATEMENTS]

\_\_\_ Supporters of Proposition 227 say that bilingual education in California began with good intentions, but has failed to teach children to read and write English. Last year only 7% of limited-English students in California learned enough English to be moved into mainstream classes. Proposition 227 will require non-English speaking children to learn English as soon as they start school and will provide sheltered English immersion classes that research has shown to be the most effective teaching method. Prop 227 is needed to end the hundreds of millions of dollars wasted in bilingual education programs that are failing our children.

\_\_\_ Opponents of Proposition 227 note that the initiative gives children only one school year – 180 days – to learn enough English to succeed academically, and after that they must be placed in regular classrooms whether they know English or not. They say it is unfair that in the state of California people on welfare get five years to get a job, and criminals get three strikes before they are "out," but our children will only get one year – and one chance – to learn English. What happens to the children who might need two years? Teachers who help children learn English should get as many chances as criminals who hurt children.

15. If the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF YES OR NO, ASK: Is that a strong yes/no, or might you still change your mind as you get more information?) (IF UNDECIDED, ASK: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES, STRONG .....	34	
YES, MIGHT CHANGE .....	10	
UNDECIDED, LEAN YES .....	9	→53
UNDECIDED .....	13	
UNDECIDED, LEAN NO .....	5	+19
NO, MIGHT CHANGE .....	7	
NO, STRONG .....	22	→34

**ASK QUESTIONS 16-35 ONLY TO SPLIT SAMPLES a1, b1, c1, and d1**

Now I would like to list some things that could happen if Proposition 227 passes. After each, please tell me how likely each is to happen if it passes – is it almost certain to happen, very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely? (ROTATE)

	<u>Almost Certain</u>	<u>Very Likely</u>	<u>Somewh. Likely</u>	<u>Not too Likely</u>	<u>Not at all Likely</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
16. Children of different ages and language groups will be taught in the same classroom .....	15	21	16	21	15	12
.....	<b>36</b>					
17. Teachers will be sued if they do not follow the requirements of the initiative .....	12	17	15	28	19	9
.....	<b>29</b>					
18. The initiative will end up in court .....	42	28	14	6	5	5
.....	<b>70</b>					
19. Local programs that teach English to non-English speaking children will be eliminated .....	12	17	16	29	15	11
.....	<b>29</b>					
20. Non-English speaking children will learn English faster .....	29	25	12	16	9	9
.....	<b>44</b>					
21. Exceptions will be made for individual children whose parents want some instruction in their native language .....	11	16	22	21	17	13
.....	<b>27</b>					
22. After one year in an English immersion program, many students who have not learned enough English to compete academically will be forced into regular classrooms .....	18	24	24	13	8	12
.....	<b>42</b>					
23. A higher proportion of non-English speaking children will learn English .....	32	27	16	10	6	9
.....	<b>59</b>					
24. One way or another, this initiative will end up costing taxpayers money .....	46	24	11	8	6	5
.....	<b>70</b>					
25. Parents will be denied the right to choose what is best for their child .....	15	15	18	20	22	10
.....	<b>30</b>					

**(CONTINUE ONLY WITH SPLIT SAMPLES a1, b1, c1, and d1)**

Now I would like to read the list one more time, and this time please tell me how good or bad it would be if that particular thing did happen. Use a scale of zero to ten where zero means it would be one of the worst things that could happen and 10 means it would be one of the best things that could happen. [CODE ACTUAL NUMBER 0-10, DK=99) (ROTATE)

		%	%
	<u>Mean Rating</u>	<u>"Good"</u>	<u>"BAD"</u>
26.	Children of different ages and language groups will be taught in the same classroom .....	4.58 ... 27	.. 35
27.	Teachers will be sued if they do not follow the requirements of the initiative .....	2.73 ... 14	.. 65
28.	The initiative will end up in court .....	4.34 ... 30	.. 45
29.	Effective local programs that teach English to non-English speaking children will be eliminated .....	3.96 ... 20	.. 47
30.	Non-English speaking children will learn English faster .....	7.61 ... 70	.. 12
31.	Exceptions will be made for individual children whose parents want some instruction in their native language .....	4.51 ... 27	.. 36
32.	After one year in an English immersion program, many students who have not learned enough English to compete academically will be forced into regular classrooms .....	4.12 ... 25	.. 43
33.	A higher proportion of non-English speaking children will learn English .....	7.84 ... 73	.. 8
34.	One way or another, this initiative will end up costing taxpayers money .....	4.30 ... 28	.. 43
35.	Parents will be denied the right to choose what is best for their child .....	3.36 ... 17	.. 52

**ASK QUESTIONS 36 TO 55 ONLY TO SPLIT SAMPLES a2, b2, c2, and d2**

Now I am going to read you the names of some groups and individuals who may take a position on this initiative. For each I read, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the group or individual. If you have not heard of the name, just say so and we will move on. (ROTATE. FOLLOW-UP: Is that strongly or just somewhat?)

	--FAVOR--		-UNFAVOR-		Neither/ DK	Never Heard of
	Strong	Some	Strong	Some		
36. State Schools Superintendent Delaine Eastin	6	17	5	6	27	39
.....		23		11		66
37. Businessman Ron Unz	3	9	5	3	24	56
.....		12		8		80
38. Governor Pete Wilson	19	29	27	16	7	2
.....		48		43		9
39. Former Congressman Robert Dornan	8	11	19	12	22	28
.....		19		31		50
40. House Speaker Newt Gingrich	16	25	27	18	10	4
.....		41		45		14
41. Gubernatorial candidate Al Checchi	8	23	8	8	33	20
.....		31		16		53
42. The Parent-Teacher Association or PTA	33	38	4	7	12	6
.....		71		11		18
43. Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis	11	28	10	10	26	15
.....		39		20		41
44. Citizens for an Educated America	6	9	4	3	19	59
.....		15		7		78
45. The California Teachers Association	22	33	11	11	14	9
.....		55		22		23
46. English Teachers Against 227	8	11	9	10	20	42
.....		19		19		62
47. U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer	17	26	24	13	13	7
.....		43		37		20
48. Attorney General Dan Lungren	13	29	11	11	24	12
.....		42		22		36
49. Congresswoman Jane Harman	5	11	5	5	31	43
.....		16		10		74
50. The Catholic Conference of Bishops	8	16	6	9	30	31
.....		24		15		61

**(CONTINUE ONLY WITH SPLIT SAMPLES a2, b2, c2, and d2)**

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (FOLLOW-UP: Is that strongly dis/agree or just somewhat?)

	—AGREE—		—DISAGREE—		Don't
	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Know</u>
51. Children should be given more than one year if needed to learn English as long as they are trying the best they can .....	56	23	9	7	5
.....	79		16		
52. Some non-English speaking children can learn English in one year, but others will need longer than one year to learn enough English to compete academically .....	52	25	10	6	7
.....	77		16		
53. It is not appropriate for people from out-of-state to be contributing large sums of money to pass California ballot initiatives ..	55	17	10	9	9
.....	72		19		
54. Educational programs designed by local schools and teachers are generally better than those programs mandated by the state .....	37	28	7	10	18
.....	65		17		
55. If you were required to learn a new foreign language in one year in a classroom where the teacher always spoke to you in the foreign language and never spoke to you in English, would you be able to do it, or not?					
YES .....	44				
NO .....	43				
DON'T KNOW .....	13				

**56. RECORD Split:  
Splits a1, b1, c1, and d1 READ QUESTIONS IN ORDER  
Splits a2, b2, c2, and d2 READ Q65-75 FIRST, THEN Q57-Q64)**

Now I would like to read you some reasons people have given to vote yes on Proposition 227. For each I read, please tell me if you find the statement a very convincing reason to vote YES on the initiative, or somewhat convincing, or not very convincing or not at all convincing as a reason to vote YES on Prop 227.

	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>Don't</u>
		<u>what</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>at All</u>	<u>Know</u>
57. The sheltered English immersion required by Prop 227 is a one-year transition program which focuses solely on learning English. It will move students quickly into regular classes. ....	35	31	12	17	5
.....		66		29	
58. The current program of immigrant education is a failure. Each year only 7% are found to have gained proficiency in English -- that's a 93% failure rate. ....	42	20	12	19	7
.....		62		31	
59. For most of California's non-English speaking children, bilingual education means monolingual, Spanish-only education for the first four to seven years of school ...	24	21	14	29	12
.....		45		43	
60. Prop 227 will designate \$50 million dollars per year to teach English to adults so they can help their children learn English as well.. ....	25	24	14	32	5
.....		49		46	
61. We are currently spending hundreds of millions of dollars on a failed program. This is a huge waste of our tax dollars ....	44	20	11	19	6
.....		64		30	
62. The only people who oppose Prop 227 are people who profit from bilingual education, like bilingual teachers, coordinators and administrators ....	21	18	16	36	9
.....		39		52	
63. Prop 227 allows parents to request a special waiver for children with individual educational needs who would benefit from another method ....	21	29	15	23	12
.....		50		38	
64. Prop 227 is for the own good of the children who don't speak English. If we don't get these kids speaking English as soon as possible, all of California society will suffer ....	40	21	10	24	5
.....		61		34	

Now I would like to read you some reasons people have given to vote AGAINST Proposition 227. For each I read, please tell me if you find the statement a very convincing reason to vote NO on the initiative, or somewhat convincing, or not very convincing or not at all convincing as a reason to vote NO on the initiative. (ROTATE.)

	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>what</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Very</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>at All</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u>
65. We do not pass laws telling firefighters how to fight fires. We do not pass laws telling pediatricians how to treat sick children. We should not pass a new state law that tells teachers how to teach English. . . .	21	18	16	39	6
.....		39		55	
66. Criminals in California get three strikes. But Prop 227 gives children only one chance to learn English. . .	16	17	17	44	6
.....		33		61	
67. A major contributor to Prop 227 is a millionaire from Florida named George Dunn. He is part of a fringe group called 'Separation of Schools and State'. They believe government has no role in financing public education. He is so extreme that he included a provision in Prop 227 that says any teacher teaching a child in the child's own language should be taken to court . . . . .	23	15	15	39	8
.....		38		54	
68. Proposition 227 is opposed by the Catholic Conference of Bishops . . . . .	9	14	14	45	18
.....		23		59	
69. The sponsor of Prop 227, Ron Unz, has no experience in education, and is using this initiative to promote his political career. He is so hungry for attention that four years ago when he ran for Governor against Pete Wilson, he said that Wilson was responsible for the Los Angeles riots. We should not trust our educational policies to this man . . . . .	17	17	14	40	12
.....		34		54	
70. In the 1970s the legislature mandated bilingual education. It did not work for everyone. That law has now expired. In thousands of classrooms all over the state, individual teachers, parents and school boards are trying hundreds of methods for teaching English. Prop 227 outlaws all of these local programs, even the best ones, and says one way is the only way. We should oppose anyone who says, 'One way is the only way' . . . . .	30	22	13	27	8
.....		52		40	
71. One of the major contributors to Proposition 227 is a multi-millionaire from New York who is the third largest contributor in the country to Newt Gingrich's political action committee . . . . .	16	13	15	41	15
.....		29		56	
72. All over the country, businesses and governments have been successful by emphasizing personal responsibility over big government decisions. Prop 227 moves us in the opposite direction, imposing a big government mandate on every local school district in the state. We must defeat Proposition 227 and allow local parents and teachers to decide what is best for their children . . . . .	28	22	14	28	8
.....		50		42	

	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	<u>Not Very</u>	<u>Not at All</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
73. Proposition 227 will cost taxpayers \$50 million dollars every year	28	18	16	30	8
		46		46	
74. Attorney General Dan Lungren opposes Prop 227	12	16	15	41	16
		28		56	
75. Prop 227 calls for a classroom in which children of different age groups, speaking different languages, are trying to learn from a teacher who is prohibited from using their own language to teach them English. It's a bad idea that just won't work	27	22	14	29	8
		49		43	
76. Now that you have heard more about Proposition 227, I would like to ask you again, if the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF "YES," OR "NO," FOLLOW-UP: Is that a strong yes/no or might you still change your mind? IF UNDECIDED, FOLLOW-UP: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)					

YES, STRONG ..... 31  
 YES, MIGHT CHANGE ..... 9  
 UNDECIDED, LEAN YES ..... 5 →45  
 UNDECIDED ..... 14  
 UNDECIDED, LEAN NO ..... 5 + 4  
 NO, MIGHT CHANGE ..... 8  
 NO, STRONG ..... 28 →41

77. Supporters of Proposition 227 include businessman Ron Unz, a Floridian named George Dunn who is part of a group called, 'Separation of Schools and State,' an Orange County teacher named Gloria Matta-Tuchman ("maht-tuh TUCK-man")who is a candidate for state superintendent of schools, and Newt Gingrich.

Opponents include School Superintendent Delaine ("de-LANE") Eastin, Senator Barbara Boxer, Gubernatorial candidates Al Checchi ("CHECK-ee"), Gray Davis and Jane Harman, the California PTA, the California Teachers Association, the California School Board Association, the Catholic Conference of Bishops and most major newspapers in California.

Hearing this, if the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 227? (IF "YES," OR "NO," FOLLOW-UP: Is that a strong yes/no or might you still change your mind? IF UNDECIDED, FOLLOW-UP: Do you lean more toward yes or more toward no?)

YES, STRONG ..... 31  
 YES, MIGHT CHANGE ..... 9  
 UNDECIDED, LEAN YES ..... 5 →45  
 UNDECIDED ..... 12  
 UNDECIDED, LEAN NO ..... 6 + 2  
 NO, MIGHT CHANGE ..... 8  
 NO, STRONG ..... 29 →43

78. If you were designing a television ad to defeat Proposition 227, which of the following images would you use? (READ CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER.)

- A classroom full of children with different ages and different language backgrounds with a teacher who can not teach them in their own language . . . . 24
- Sacramento politicians imposing their will on local teachers and parents . . . . . 10
- Out-of-state extremists donating large sums of money to pass this initiative . . . . . 10
- Children who do not learn English in one year being forced into regular English classrooms when they can not understand the teachers or the other students . . 19
- OTHER . . . . . 2
- NONE OF THESE . . . . . 22
- DON'T KNOW . . . . . 13

79. And now some questions about yourself for statistical purposes. First, what is your age?

Under 30=8%, 30s=15%, 40s=22%, 50-64=27%, 65+=27%

80. Are you Hispanic or of Spanish descent? (IF YES, FOLLOW-UP: Is that ... (READ CHOICES.)

- Mexican . . . . . 9
- Spanish . . . . . 3
- Puerto Rican . . . . . <1
- Central American . . . . . <1
- South American . . . . . <1
- Other . . . . . 1
- Hispanic, no further info . . . . . 3
- NOT HISPANIC . . . . . 82 → to q81
- REFUSE . . . . . 1

(SKIP TO Q82)

[IF "NOT HISPANIC" ASK:]

81. Which of the following ethnic groups describes you? (READ LIST.)

- CAUCASIAN/WHITE/EUROPEAN-AMERICAN . . . . . 70
- BLACK/AFRICAN-AMERICAN . . . . . 4
- CHINESE/ASIAN/PACIFIC-ISLANDER . . . . . 3
- NATIVE AMERICAN (INDIAN) . . . . . 1
- OTHER ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) . . . . . 2
- REFUSED . . . . . 2
- (Latino . . . . . 18)

82. On most issues, do you consider yourself liberal, moderate, or conservative? (IF "LIBERAL" OR "CONSERVATIVE,": Is that very liberal/conservative, or somewhat?) (IF "MODERATE," Do you lean more toward liberal or more toward conservative?)

- LIBERAL, VERY . . . . . 10
- LIBERAL, SOMEWHAT . . . . . 13 →23
- MODERATE, LEAN LIBERAL . . . . . 5
- MODERATE . . . . . 29
- MODERATE, LEAN CONSERVATIVE . . . . . 8 →42
- CONSERVATIVE, SOMEWHAT . . . . . 17
- CONSERVATIVE, VERY . . . . . 15 → 32
- OTHER ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) . . . . . 1
- REFUSED . . . . . 2

83. Do you currently have any children under 18 living at home?

YES ..... 31  
 NO ..... 69  
 DON'T KNOW ..... <1

(IF YES:)

84. Are any of these children enrolled in public schools?

YES ..... 21  
 NO ..... 8  
 REFUSE ..... 1  
 (No children ..... 69)

85. What is the highest level of education that you have achieved?

Not graduated high school ..... 6  
 Graduated from high school, but not attended any college 16  
 Attended some college or trade school, but not a college  
 graduate ..... 31  
 Graduated college ..... 28  
 Have done some graduate or post-college education ... 18  
 REFUSED ..... 1

86. Are you Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

PROTESTANT ..... 43  
 CATHOLIC ..... 27  
 JEWISH ..... 3  
 OTHER ..... 22  
 REFUSED ..... 5

[IF PROTESTANT, OTHER, REFUSED, ASK:]

87. Do you consider yourself to be a Fundamentalist Christian?

YES ..... 16  
 NO ..... 23  
 DK/REFUSED ..... 4  
 (Not Christian ..... 57)

88. Are you or is any member of your household a member of a labor union? [IF YES:] Is that you personally or someone in your household?

YES, SELF ..... 12  
 YES, HOUSEHOLD ..... 11  
 NO ..... 76  
 NO ANSWER ..... 1

89. Do you have access to the Internet or World Wide Web either at home or at work? (IF YES: Is that at home, at work, or both?)

YES, BOTH AT HOME AND AT WORK ... 24  
 YES, AT HOME ONLY ..... 20  
 YES, AT WORK ONLY ..... 11  
 NO ..... 45  
 NO ANSWER ..... <1

90. Now we want to get a rough idea about your income. Please stop me when I read the category that includes your total HOUSEHOLD income before taxes in 1997.

Under \$20,000 .....	11
Between \$20,000 to just under \$40,000 .....	18
Between \$40,000 to just under \$60,000 .....	21
Between \$60,000 to just under \$80,000 .....	13
Between \$80,000 to just under \$100,000 .....	9
\$100,000 or more .....	8
DON'T KNOW .....	3
REFUSE .....	17

That's all the questions I have. Thank you for your time. Good-bye.

CODE FROM SAMPLE SHEET:

91. RECORD SEX:

FEMALE .....	53
MALE .....	47

CODE ELECTION HISTORY:

92. 6/92 .....	63
93. 11/82 .....	73
94. 11/93 .....	56
95. 6/94 .....	63
96. 11/94 .....	76
97. 3/96 .....	83
98. 11/96 .....	89

99. VOTE BY MAIL ..... 38

100. ASSEMBLY DISTRICT ..... \_\_\_\_\_

101. STATE SENATE DISTRICT ..... \_\_\_\_\_

102. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ..... \_\_\_\_\_

103. COUNTY CODE: ..... \_\_\_\_\_

104. CITY CODE: ..... \_\_\_\_\_

105. ZIP CODE: ..... \_\_\_\_\_

106. RECORD PARTY:

Democrat .....	45
Republican .....	40
Decline to State .....	11
Other .....	4

107. CODE HOUSEHOLD PARTY TYPE: .. \_\_\_\_\_

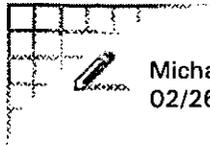
108. LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW:

English .....	98
Spanish .....	2

109. ENTER ID NUMBER ..... \_\_\_\_\_

## SAMPLE SIZE by COUNTY OF RESIDENCE:

Alameda	73	Lassen	2	San Bernardino	63
Alpine	2	Los Angeles	342	San Diego	143
Amador	2	Madera	6	San Francisco	36
Butte	14	Marin	16	San Joaquin	21
Calaveras	2	Mariposa	4	San Luis Obispo	17
Colusa	2	Mendocino	8	San Mateo	31
Contra Costa	53	Merced	9	Santa Barbara	23
Del Norte	4	Modoc	1	Santa Clara	75
El Dorado	11	Mono	0	Santa Cruz	12
Fresno	35	Monterey	17	Shasta	10
Glenn	6	Napa	8	Sierra	0
Humboldt	9	Nevada	10	Siskiyou	6
Imperial	7	Orange	112	Solano	18
Inyo	4	Placer	16	Sonoma	27
Kern	28	Plumas	2	Stanislaus	18
Kings	5	Riverside	62	Sutter	2
Lake	3	Sacramento	71	Tehama	3
		San Benito	1	Trinity	1
				Tulare	11
				Tuolumne	6
				Ventura	27
				Yolo	0
				Yuba	0



Michael Cohen  
02/26/98 06:49:44 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Unz

As we discussed when we last met, I've asked the Education Department to prepare some options for how we could propose to strengthen the federal bilingual education program, when we come out against Unz. We should have some paper by Tuesday, and will schedule a meeting for Wednesday.

In the meantime, Secretary Riley is being interviewed by the LA Times next Tuesday morning, on a wide range of issues. He expects to be asked about Unz. We clearly don't want this interview to be the forum for announcing our opposition, but we also can't expect Riley to be totally noncommittal during the interview. His office has asked for some guidance.

Here are some talking points I think he should use. Let me know what you think ASAP, so I can get them over to ED.

1. It is very important that we help LEP kids learn English
2. We are looking at the effectiveness of the federal bilingual education program, to make sure it is working as well as it should; we will be prepared to make changes in it if necessary. There is no one best way to education LEP students, but any approach that is used must be done effectively.
3. I believe we should think very seriously before taking any step that would limit local schools to the use of just one approach to helping students learn English.

Message Sent To:

Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP  
Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP  
Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP  
Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP  
Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

Educ - bilingual



Karen E. Skelton

02/26/98 07:00:30 PM

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Record Type: Record

To: Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP

cc: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP, Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

Subject: Re: Unz

I'm not sure I see the downside of Riley opposing UNZ on the merits, if asked. Your talking points clearly hit two of the major objections. Can we talk about this a little more?

If he's asked about UNZ, can he say he recognized several problems with the bill: lack of local control, teacher liability, one size fits all solution, etc.?

Your talking points seem good to me; here are a few language suggestions to make the same point as bullet #2 (or #3?)

"This is not a 'one size fits all problem.' Local school districts must retain influence over the programs that are most effective for their students. Sacramento is probably not in the best position to tell Fresno or San Bernardino how to raise its kids."

3/2/98

LA Times

# Opinions Vary on Studies That Back Bilingual Instruction <sup>3-2-98</sup>

■ **Schools:** Amid debate over bilingual education comes supportive research from L.A. Unified and Tomas Rivera Policy Institute. But critics call research seriously flawed.

By AMY PYLE  
TIMES EDUCATION WRITER

As the debate over bilingual education bounds toward a spring ballot initiative, two studies scheduled to be released today land on the side of teaching children in their native language first, then gradually switching to English.

However, critics of bilingual education and even some supporters raised questions about the studies.

One, by the Los Angeles Unified School District, focuses on students who remained at the same elementary school from first through fifth grade—a stability that is unusual in the state's largest school system. When the 4,200 students were given standardized English tests in fifth grade, those who had come through the native language bilingual program fared better than those who had been enrolled only in tailored English classes known as English Language Development.

Please see EDUCATION, B4

TB:

Marina

Mike Cohen

Mickey Ubarra

Elena Kuzan 2FL/WW

From:

Skellton

FYI.

Educ - bilingual

# EDUCATION: Studies Support Bilingual Classes

Continued from B1

The other study, by the Claremont Colleges-based Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, registered a similar gap based on a survey of 11 previous studies of bilingual programs across the country.

Political scientist Harry Pachon, the institute's director, said the findings shift the onus of proof to supporters of June's anti-bilingual initiative, English for the Children, which would replace bilingual education with just one year of English immersion.

"It's up to them to prove that bilingual education isn't working," Pachon said. "If aspirin reduces a headache and we have data to prove it, why remove aspirin as an option?"

But supporters of Proposition 227 described the research as heavily flawed—noting that of the 11 studies covered by the institute's survey, nine are more than 17 years old, and alleging that L.A. Unified could not see beyond its vested interest in the status quo.

Ron Unz, the initiative's author, said he was particularly disturbed that even among this elite group of students—who stayed put for all of elementary school and received a consistent program—just 39% of the native-language-program students graduated to mainstream English by the end of fifth grade. The district's current goal is for all students to be weaned from bilingual education within five years.

... "Are they proud about the fact

that over 60% of these students didn't redesignate?" Unz asked.

The Unz campaign received an early boost from polls showing that a majority of the state's voters favored it, though the margin of victory has declined in more recent polling. The opposition campaign has kicked into gear in recent weeks, bolstered by such backing as the recent decision to oppose the initiative by the American Educational Research Assn., an international group of scholars and researchers.

Even some of those who generally support bilingual education questioned the validity of the new studies, however. Of the L.A. Unified research, for instance, board member David Tokofsky remarked: "How can you have an evaluation done by your own people? Outsiders will just laugh at that."

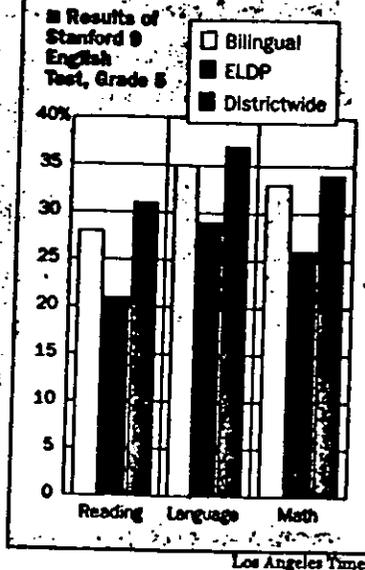
Indeed, a closer look at the L.A. Unified study raises some troubling questions that sent shudders through the district late last week as the release date approached. In particular, district staff acknowledged that 3,000 native-language-program students were not counted because they did not read English well enough in fifth grade to be tested on the English language Stanford 9 test. In the English Language Development comparison group, however, all students were tested regardless of their mastery of the language.

Forrest Ross, the district's elementary bilingual administrator, said a hurried look at more comparable test scores—including only those students in the top English levels for both groups—suggested a smaller but still consistent gap favoring native language.

The community activist who worked with parents at Ninth Street School to stage a student

## Performance Comparison

The Los Angeles Unified School District compared test scores of students who had remained at the same elementary school for at least five years. The study found that Spanish-speaking students enrolled in bilingual programs outdid those who had taken the more English-intensive English Language Development Program. But both groups fell below the district's median percentile.



boycott two years ago to lobby for English classes, said, "Their study makes our point; we can thank them for their study. They have described the problem in the LAUSD."

Times' coverage of Alice Callaghan's protest caught Unz's eye, leading him to propose the initiative. The initiative would essentially wipe out both types of L.A. Unified programs in favor of full English immersion, except where parents attain waivers from their school boards.

What the L.A. Unified study shows, Callaghan said, is that all limited-English-speaking children are failing, "which is exactly why we're proposing something different."

Ross countered that Unz's proposal is completely untested.

Data on what works best in acquiring language is plentiful but also contradictory. Many studies indicate that students taught in their native language first need between five and seven years to transition to English, but perform better by the time they reach high school. Others have cited a negligible difference among the various programs, suggesting that public school districts might be smart to err on the side of quicker English immersion programs.

Of the battling research, the Tomas Rivera report concluded: "Both sides have claimed that scholarly research supports their respective positions. Their reading of the literature, however, is often selective, exaggerated and distorted."

The institute, on the other hand, claims that its assessment is "un-sentimental," because it gathered a range of studies from many different camps and included only those that met stringent criteria.

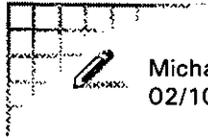
Yet even the institute reaffirms the most common finding of such reviews: "The vast majority of evaluations of bilingual programs are so methodologically flawed in their design that their results offer more noise than signal."

That problem, the report concludes, makes it difficult to address one of the most pressing questions about bilingual education: How long should students be enrolled in such programs and what is the ideal ratio of native language versus English instruction during the school day?

Government professor Jay Greene, who produced the Rivera study, said he was surprised by its conclusions because of his own mixed feelings about bilingual education.

"I was skeptical," said Greene, an assistant professor at the University of Texas at Austin. He added that in the end the greater problem is the low quality of education in large U.S. cities.

"I think it's probably true that quality of instruction matters much more than the language of instruction," he said. "But if we want to move toward higher quality instruction, it won't help to eliminate [the native language] option and in fact it's much more likely to hurt."



Michael Cohen  
02/10/98 07:45:32 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Bilingual

Got the copy of the Chris Edley note you sent me re bilingual education and Unz. Here's where I think we are:

1. As you know, a WH delegation is going to Cal later this week to tough base with opponents and proponents of Unz. In my view, the most important thing we can get from these discussions is a good handle on the level and sources of pressure for his to publically oppose Unz, and the likely consequences (for the President, for the VP, for the initiative) for taking a public position.

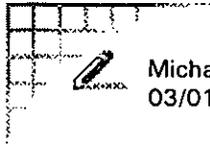
2. If and when we decide to take a position on Unz, I expect it will need to include the following points:

- We want all kids to learn English, as fast as possible, and to learn their academic subjects as well.
- LEP kids need extra help in doing this. That's what bilingual education is for--to give kids the extra help to learn English and their academic subjects.
- Bilingual ed doesn't do this as effectively as it must. Therefore, we are in favor of the following changes (to be determined) to bilingual ed (*I've asked Riley and Smith to give us recommendations here; they are both convinced that some changes are needed, and are far more likely to come up with something useful than the bilingual ed. program will. They have not settled on anything specific yet.*)
- The Unz initiative makes the wrong kind of changes. It won't help kids get a better education, and it is so prescriptive that it doesn't give teachers, parents and local school officials the flexibility to design the right program for their kids. ]

3. While I know there are concerns that we take a position sooner rather than later, it's not clear to me yet that's the right way to go. If you haven't seen it, there is a piece in Sunday's Outlook section that basically says that the Republican's in California are scared to death of this issue, and don't want to get crosswise with the Hispanic community again. Karen Skelton has argued that our involvement would mobilize Wilson and other R's to come out against this, and its going to pass anyway. If this is right, than we may be more helpful by not having the President weigh in (but maybe Riley instead). I'm just not sure yet.

4. We have not yet dealt with the Hispanic Caucus on this (its good we haven't, because it would have made getting their support on the Goodling testing vote more difficult). I suspect this may be the trickiest part. The education groups I've talked to expect the Hispanic's in the California delegation to be actively opposed to Unz. I don't know how happy the Caucus will be with any changes we might propose to the federal bilingual education program. And, I don't know how all of this will intersect with the testing issue--though if it turns out that the Caucus really wants us to come out against Unz, and if we all agree that we have to make clear that the point is for kids to learn English, then I want to look for a way to get some leverage over the Caucus on the tests.

5. I expect that some of this could be as divisive internally as was the testing issue last year. So, so far I've kept just about all of this to myself.



Michael Cohen  
03/01/98 02:33:08 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc: Jonathan H. Schnur/OVP @ OVP

Subject: Unz/Bilingual ed

We are meeting on Wed, March 4 (4:30 in OEOB 211) to review where we are on Unz and, in particular, to discuss with Mike and Delia from Education options for possible changes to the bilingual education program. Over the past few days I've managed to talk to almost all of you. In order to bring everyone up to speed and help focus our discussion on Wednesday, I thought it would be helpful to try and capture where I think we are right now.

**1. There is an emerging consensus among ourselves for a recommendation to the President to oppose Unz.**

I think we have all concluded that Unz is bad policy, and that it is in the Administration's long-term political interest to come out against Unz. This is despite the fact that, with the exception of a number of advocacy groups in CA, just about everyone we have talked to believes that Unz will pass.

Assuming the President agrees with this recommendation, we have not yet come to agreement on who should announce the Administration's position, or when it should be announced. Over the past several weeks, our informal conversations have focused alternately on Secretary Riley or the Vice President or the President. With regard to timing, my latest conversations with Mickey and Karen focused on making our position known within the next 30-45 days (by mid-April).

**2. There is also an emerging consensus that opposition to Unz must be combined with a "mend it don't end it" position on bilingual education, which stresses that helping LEP kids master English is a primary purpose of bilingual education programs, and which proposes steps to increase the effectiveness of bilingual education programs.**

When we meet on Wednesday we will review Education Department recommendations for strengthening bilingual education. The Department has been conducting an evaluation of bilingual education. I'm not certain when the results of this evaluation will be available, but, if we can get them soon enough they should help inform any changes we propose.

**3. We are not getting intense pressure yet to take a position on Unz.**

While the California advocacy groups pressed us to help with the fight against Unz (by taking a public position and by helping with fund raising), the elected officials have not been pushing for the Administration to get involved in this battle. The initiative is still below the radar screen for the public and for most educators. Nonetheless, pressure is likely to build soon, so we shouldn't relax. Karen thinks we probably need to take a public position within the next 30-45 days, by mid-April.

**4. We are mid-way through the consultation process we agreed we would undertake before an Administration position could be announced.**

We've talked with national advocacy groups, and with California elected officials and educators, researchers and advocates. We've talked with Unz and some of his supporters in the CA legislature. Mickey was in CA last week and had additional conversations with elected officials;

Karen is staying on top of things as well, and has talked with a number of legislators in the past few days as well.

On Wednesday a number of us are meeting with Dems in the CA Congressional delegation. We also need to meet with members of the Hispanic Caucus (though I don't think this is scheduled yet.) Next week there is a meeting with the Hispanic Education Coalition.

**5. There is some movement on the compromise legislation.**

Karen reports that the compromise legislation we discussed during our visit is picking up some momentum, and that Sen. Alpert may be on the verge of reaching agreement with members of the Hispanic Caucus on some amendments to her bill.

We still don't know if this legislation will draw Wilson's signature or veto, and even if enacted it is not likely to stop Unz. However, if this bill moves it would give opponents of Unz better ammunition and cover.

I think that covers the main points that have come up in conversations over the past few days. Let me--and everyone else--know if I've gotten anything wrong.

**Message Sent To:**

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Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP  
Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP  
Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP  
Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP  
Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP  
Mike\_Smith @ ed.gov @ inet  
Delia\_Pompa @ ed.gov @ inet

## BILINGUAL EDUCATION RESEARCH

3/3/98

**Bilingual education has potential benefits.** Bilingual instruction can contribute to an American society well positioned to compete and cooperate in a multilingual global economy. Knowledge of one or more languages in addition to English is increasingly required for high school graduation, college admission and degrees (including the University of California). Multilingual skills are common in many countries (including our major trade partners), and are an increasingly important career resource in our rapidly evolving global economy (NRC). Moreover, there is growing evidence that the use of native language can be an important element in teaching and learning to high standards for students who are English language learners.

**Success depends upon local circumstances.** Local conditions matter in the success of approaches to instructing limited-English proficient students. Successful instructional approaches depend on:

- The number of languages used by students in the classroom and school. Bilingual education is most feasible when a school can focus its bilingual staffing and materials on one or two language groups.
- The student's knowledge of her home language and proficiency in English. Limited English proficient students, especially those who are immigrants, are a very heterogenous group. They vary widely in initial proficiency in English and the native language when entering school, parent level of education, family income and other factors that influence educational achievement. Bilingual education works best when it builds on a solid home language base that is in a language other than English. This occurs when families depend primarily on the nonEnglish language at home and when students come from communities in which the common language spoken is other than English.
- Effective teachers grounded in how to teach reading and content areas and knowledgeable about how second language acquisition affects learning. Teachers who are proficient in the child's home language can effectively teach complex content and communicate effectively with the child to overcome barriers to learning.

In almost all cases, researchers find that effective teachers use a variety of approaches, including native language instruction, for high quality instruction to high standards. Methods for teaching LEP students include English as a Second Language, content based ESL, structured immersion, transitional bilingual education, and two-way developmental programs. Major differences among the approaches involve the extent to which the child's mother tongue is used for instruction, and how quickly the child is moved into instruction in a completely English language classroom. Good teaching is required to translate program philosophy and objectives into effective program practice.

Yet qualified teachers are in short supply. NCES and other data document sustained

shortages of qualified bilingual staff and modest levels of in-service staff development for these teachers. The Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) found that in 1993-94 over 25% of the schools that had ESL or bilingual education vacancies reported that it was very difficult or impossible to fill them. Only 30% of public school teachers instructing LEP students have received training for teaching LEP students.

**In-depth evaluations fail to find one method of instruction (bilingual education, English immersion or the continuum in-between) uniformly superior.** There have been three large-scale national evaluations of programs for English language learners: The American Institutes for Research evaluation of programs, referred to as the AIR study (Danoff, 1978); the *National Longitudinal Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Services for Language Minority Limited English Proficient Students* (referred to as the Longitudinal study (Development Associates 1984, Burkheimer et al. 1989) and the *Longitudinal Study of Immersion and Dual Language Instructional Programs for Language Minority Children* (referred to as the Immersion Study (Ramirez et al 1991). In addition, several national studies have included information on LEP students and instruction, including the *Descriptive Study of Services to LEP students* (Development Associates (1993), the *Prospects Longitudinal Evaluation of Chapter 1*. These studies and reviews offer a number of observations:

- The research has produced no convincing evidence that immersion in intensive English courses works better than bilingual instructional techniques that use the child's mother tongue (DeKanter and Baker, Willig, NRC). Instructional approaches that utilize the child's mother tongue may have important benefits including parent participation in monitoring homework, and long term performance in content areas (Willig, Ramirez et al., Hopstock & Fleishman). For example, NRC found in their review of the longitudinal and the immersion studies, "*Taking fully into account the limitations of the two studies, the panel still sees the elements of positive relationships that are consistent with empirical results from other studies and that support the theory underlying native language instruction in native language.*"

This NRC report also found that the "immersion study" comparing immersion, early exit and late exit programs for LEP students: "*there is one conclusion for which the panel finds reasonably compelling and credible analyses: the difference between students in Immersion and in Early-exit Programs at kindergarten and grade 1. Early exit (bilingual) programs appear to be more successful in reading...*". The report also found, "*...the family income of student in Late-exit programs was by far the lowest in the study, but these families monitored completion of homework considerably more than families at other sites. Furthermore children at the sites of Late Exit Programs scored at or above the norm in standardized tests, suggesting a possible relationship between Spanish for instruction, Spanish literacy in the home, parent involvement in homework and student achievement.*(NRC 1992 P. 102, 105)

- Based on a more comprehensive review of the research, the NRC found in its 1997 study

that “*there are no negative consequences of learning two languages in childhood and that there are some positive correlations between bilingualism and general cognitive ability*” (p. 44).

- The success of English language learners is a function of school quality as well as the particular instructional strategy. “*Many of the findings regarding effective instruction and risk factors associated with reading for English-only students can be applied to English language learners*” (NRC 98 p. 30).

**Examples of effective bilingual education projects offer existence proofs.** Effective schools and districts that provide bilingual education are further proof that bilingual instructional approaches can be effective. For example:

- In Fairfax County, Virginia, Title VII funds the “FAST Math” program which has been recognized for its success in helping meet the mathematics and literacy needs of LEP students who have limited previous schooling. LEP students at the upper elementary, middle and high school levels participate in an innovative curriculum that accelerates learning and covers the math needed by students to perform at grade level. English language skills needed for mathematics are also addressed. Evaluations show that the program meets its goal of increasing student performance in math by at least two grade levels.
- In California, the River Glen Elementary School in San Jose provides a “two-way” developmental program that builds proficiency in both Spanish and English for all students. Over four out of five of the school’s students are from low-income families. Evaluations show that by the end of fourth grade almost all (94%) of the Spanish speaking students were rated as Fluent English Proficient (and most of the English speaking students were also rated as Fluent Spanish Proficient). Achievement gains for Spanish-speakers grew larger as the students progressed through the grades (rising from 30th percentile in the first grade to the 46th percentile by the fifth grade); In English language skills, River Glen third graders scored 12 to 18 percentile higher than third grade LEP students in a national sample; in mathematics they scored from 11 to 22 percentile higher. The majority of the River Glen students also scored well above grade-level in Spanish language reading, language, mathematics, social studies, and science.
- In New York, the PROPEL/PRISM programs at the International High School provide an alternative education environment for recently arrived LEP students. Faculty integrate ESL techniques into content area courses while providing students with opportunities to further develop their native language. The program has utilized Title VII funds in a joint venture between the City University of New York, the New York City Board of Education, the New York State Education Department, the Coalition of Essential Schools and the New York Networks for School Renewal (Annenberg Foundation). The results of this effective teamwork are dramatic. The school has among the highest attendance

rates of any school in the city. Fifty-four percent of the school's LEP students graduate within 4 years (compared to 34% in the city's other schools). Participating students make gains significantly above those expected at their grade level. Three out of four of these students enroll in at least one college course while in high school (with a pass rate of 85%--surpassing the rate for regularly matriculated college students). The school's senior class graduation rates average over 94% (with annual dropout rates under 2%). Over 92% of their LEP graduates apply for and are accepted to college (with two thirds attending four year colleges).

- Calexico Unified School District in California uses a process of continuous improvement, including strong professional development, high standards, and effective use of bilingual and ESL programs to meet LEP student needs. While almost all (98%) of its kindergartners enter school knowing little or no English, the district exits almost all of its students into English language classrooms by the 4th grade. Moreover, about a fifth of the district's students go on to four-year colleges while another three-fifths enroll in community colleges in this region that has the lowest per capita income in the State.

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March 3, 1998

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**ROUGH - DRAFT - DRAFT - DRAFT**

3/4/98

**The California Initiative - The 'English for Children' Ballot Initiative Pros and Cons**Cons

- Creates a "one size fits all" approach to educating limited English proficient students.
- Eliminates the rights of parents and teachers to choose the best educational approaches for the student to learn English and succeed in school.
- Severely limits the authority of local school boards to offer the best instruction for limited English proficient children.
- Removes the ability of educators to adequately address the individual needs of students.
- In all probability will increase the number of problems for schools which must comply with federal civil rights law.\*
- Segregates limited English proficient students.
- Requires the use of an untested method of teaching English to limited English proficient students.
- Teachers will be held personally liable if they do not comply with the initiative in providing only one year of immersion instruction and then placing the child in mainstream English classroom.
- Teachers are not currently prepared to teach the number of limited English proficient children who will enter mainstream English classrooms at a much earlier stage in learning English or prepared to teach high-quality and effective immersion programs.

Pros

- Allows parents to choose whether their child will be in bilingual educational.
- Requires limited English proficient children to enter mainstream educational opportunities after one year.
- There is an existing educational need for a different kind of program for limited English proficient children.
- The implementation of Unz would be less costly to the taxpayer than the current system of teaching English.

\* Lau v. Nichols is a 1974 Supreme court case where the Court held that school districts must take steps to ensure that national origin minority group children, who have limited proficiency in English, can effectively participate in the districts' educational programs.

**DRAFT Position on the California "English for Children" Initiative**

3/4/98

The proposed California ballot initiative known as "English for Children" will eliminate choices for parents, local control over instructional methods, and stifles teacher judgement for limited English proficient children.

This initiative would require that limited English proficient children will only receive English immersion instruction for a maximum of one year, except under extraordinary circumstances. This approach ignores evidence that supports effective teaching geared to the needs of specific students, rather than adhering to a single instructional method are needed to help children learn English and achieve high academic standards.

The Clinton Administration supports effective bilingual education that is: 1) focused on teaching all students to be able to read English effectively and independently and to succeed in mainstream school classes as soon as possible; 2) taught by qualified and well-trained teachers; 3) designed to combine English with the native languages of students, as appropriate, to support content learning; and 4) allows students to access a quality curriculum linked to state and national standards.

**LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF MONIES APPROPRIATED TO ENGLISH PROGRAMS<sup>1</sup>  
THROUGH TITLE VII FUNDS**

- 1968            Legislation stresses native language instruction.
- 1978            Developmental Bilingual Education programs eliminated.
- 1984            Developmental Bilingual Education programs reinstated and Special Alternative Instruction Programs created. Limited to 4% of funds.
- FY85-92        12.4% of Title VII Part A funding supported by Special Alternative Instruction Programs.
- 1988            Special Alternative Instruction Programs expanded to 25% cap.
- 1994            Reconfiguration of funding; Title VII continues to allocate up to 25% of its instructional program budget to support all-English methodologies, however two provisions for overriding the cap can are created (P.L. 103-382, Sec. 7116[I]).

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<sup>1</sup>Programs which use English as the language of instruction.

## Modifications to Strengthen Title VII

DRAFT

### Professional Development

- Increase the numbers of teachers trained to teach limited English proficient students  
*By providing an \$100 million a year in funding for Title VII Professional Development programs over five years, 50,000 teachers will be trained. California, alone, has a current shortage of 20,000 teachers.*
- Address the provision of high quality professional development to enable all teachers to develop expertise in subject content and teaching strategies that address the needs of LEP students and increase the number of teachers who meet state and local certification requirements.
- Address reforming teacher preparation curricula in institutions of higher education as well as improving the skills and knowledge of higher education faculty.

### Program Improvements

- Reinforce the requirement that programs be aligned with high standards through strengthening language and monitoring and program evaluation.
- Support adoption of successful programs by refocusing documentation and dissemination efforts.
- Foster appropriate student assessment through increased research and links with Title I, state education agencies, and professional organizations.
- Eliminate the Special Alternative Instruction cap of 25% on English only programs.  
*Current Title VII implementation indicates a great deal of flexibility in practice. In 1994, two provisions, shortage of teachers and diversity of languages, were created to override the 25% cap when appropriate. As a result of implementing these two provisions, out of 268 grants funded in 1997, only 32 are dual language only approaches. The balance of the programs are a mixture of dual language, ESL, and English immersion approaches. In fact, 81 of the programs include no native language component. Despite these facts, the perception by some is that the 25% cap on English only programs and the priority on programs that develop bilingual proficiency hinder flexibility. Although eliminating the cap would appease the more conservative sector, such a change would be extremely unpopular with the Asian, Hispanic and other language minority advocacy communities as well as the Hispanic Congressional Caucus.*
- Establish procedural consequences for lack of progress as indicated through evaluations.
- Implement clear expectations and a stepped up monitoring schedule.

**Title VII Suggested Revisions**

<u>Area</u>	<u>Legislative Changes</u>	<u>Administrative Changes</u>
<b>Bilingual Education</b>  <i>Part A, Subparts 1, 2, &amp; 3</i> reinforcing English language competency <i>and achievement of high academic standards</i>	In each area where reference is made to English language instruction, or professional development, repeat in part or in whole the language found in the purpose statement which states "meet the same challenging state content standards and challenging State student performance standards expected for all children and youth as required by section 1111(b)"	Reinforce through monitoring and technical assistance activities, the expectations that programs funded under Title VII should be directed at ensuring high standards for all students.

<u>Area</u>	<u>Legislative Changes</u>	<u>Administrative Changes</u>
<b>Sec. 7102 (16)</b> <i>Findings, Policy and Purpose</i>		<u>Monitoring</u>  - Implement stepped up monitoring schedule  - Complete revisions to monitoring instrument  - Provide technical assistance on monitoring process

<u>Area</u>	<u>Legislative Changes</u>	<u>Administrative Changes</u>
<p><b>Subpart 1</b>  <b>Capacity and Demonstration Grants</b></p> <p><b>Sec. 7112- Purpose</b>  <i>Program Development and Implementaion</i></p> <p><b>Sec. 7113- Purpose</b>  <i>Enhancement</i></p> <p><b>Sec. 7114- Purpose</b>  <i>Comprehensive School</i></p> <p><b>Sec. 7115- Purpose</b>  <i>Systemwide</i></p>	<p>Providing high quality professional development to enable all teachers to develop further expertise in subject content, teaching strategies, related to the needs of LEP students.</p> <p>Increasing the number of teachers in the school setting who meet State and local certification requirements for bilingual education teachers.</p> <p>Establishing partnerships with institutions of higher education and other organizations to develop or Evaluations improve long-term professional development programs which meet state and local certification requirements.</p> <p>Involving teachers in planning and implementing school reforms</p> <p>Information on the number, percentage of teachers who have received high quality training related to the needs of LEP students.</p>	

<u>Area</u>	<u>Legislative Changes</u>	<u>Administrative Changes</u>
<p><i>(Continuation)</i>  <b>Capacity and Demonstration Grants</b>  <i>Subpart 1</i></p> <p><b>Sec. 7116, (i)(2)</b>  <i>Applications: Priorities and Special Rules</i></p>	<p>Eliminate rule limiting 25% of funding to be awarded to SAIP programs.</p> <p><i>[The current Title VII legislation offers a great deal of flexibility. For example, out of 236 grants funded in 1997, only 32 are dual language only approaches. The balance of the programs are a mixture of dual language, ESL, and English immersion approaches. In fact, 81 of the programs include no native language component.</i></p> <p><i>Despite these facts, the perception by some is that the 25% cap on English only programs and the priority on programs that develop bilingual proficiency hinder flexibility. One response would be to eliminate the 25% cap. Although this response would appease the more conservative element, such a change would be extremely unpopular with the bilingual advocacy community.]</i></p>	
<p><b>Sec. 7123</b>  <i>Evaluations</i></p>	<p>Increases in the number of teachers who meet state/local certification requirements.</p>	<p>Issue guidance on program evaluation</p> <p>Establish consequences for late or incomplete evaluations</p> <p>Establish consequences for lack of progress</p>



<u>Area</u>	<u>Legislative Changes</u>	<u>Administrative Changes</u>
<p data-bbox="216 266 459 342"><i>(Continuation)</i> Professional Development <i>(Subpart 3)</i></p> <p data-bbox="216 385 566 644"><b>Sec. 7145</b> <b><i>Graduate Fellowship- authorization</i></b> “The Secretary may award Fellowships for Masters, doctoral and <b>post-doctoral</b> study”</p> <p data-bbox="216 768 502 844"><b>Sec. 7149</b> <b><i>Program Evaluations</i></b></p>	<p data-bbox="629 421 943 453">Eliminate post-doctoral</p> <p data-bbox="629 761 992 942">Add “Data on performance indicators the project has used to support the effectiveness of the program design”</p> <p data-bbox="629 991 959 1095">Identification of effective professional development strategies, practices</p>	<p data-bbox="1039 761 1392 832">Issue guidance on program evaluation</p> <p data-bbox="1039 878 1392 981">Establish consequences for late or incomplete evaluations</p> <p data-bbox="1039 1027 1392 1095">Establish consequences for lack of progress</p>

## Educating Limited English Proficient Students

As the number of limited English proficient (LEP) students has increased in the United States, educators have intensified their efforts to provide these students with programs that help them meet the same high standards expected of all students. The special methods and approaches developed to help LEP students have evolved over the years to reflect new research on instruction and over all school reform. Title VII, the federal program which serves LEP students, was restructured under the Improving America's School Act (IASA). The vision set forth in IASA supported the transformation of Title VII programs from stand alone projects to school wide and district wide programs that ensure the inclusion of LEP students across the entire educational process.

Evolving responses to the educational needs of LEP students mirror deeper understanding of principles embodied in effective programs for LEP students. The following principles frame an approach to meeting the needs of LEP students that avoids debates over whether one approach is better than another or whether anyone should prescribe one approach for every student:

- Students are taught by well trained teachers.
- Specially designed English instruction and native language instruction are used as appropriate to support language and content learning.
- Students have access to a quality curriculum that is linked to state and national standards.
- Student language and content learning is periodically assessed, and results are used to modify instruction.
- The program is evaluated on an ongoing basis to determine effectiveness, and modifications are made as needed.

Teachers skills and expectations are key in providing any student with access to a high quality curriculum and particularly critical to LEP students. Teachers of LEP students must possess additional skills in order to meet their students' needs. They must have a theoretical and practical understanding of the second language acquisition process, and how it relates to cognitive growth processes. They must know and practice instructional methodology that responds to the specific needs of the students in their classrooms.

The importance of the teacher's role in a classroom for LEP students was illustrated in the Ramirez study (1991), the last large scale study on bilingual education conducted by the Department. Among the study's most important findings was that teachers' interaction pattern with students, when not well developed, limited LEP students opportunities to create and produce language and their ability to engage in more complex learning. With respect to teacher training, the study concluded that there was a need to improve the quality of training programs

for teachers serving language-minority students both at the university and school district levels, so that they could provide a more active learning environment for language and cognitive skill development.

Among the most important skills required of all teachers is the ability to align instruction with local, state and national standards. A key change to bilingual education has been the requirement that programs be aligned with state standards. Alignment of instruction and assessment to standards (and to each other) is particularly important for bilingual programs to ensure that LEP students have access to the same high standards as all students. Consequently, bilingual and ESL teachers must ensure that they teach their students to meet the same standards as all students while providing an instructional program using a different or modified language, possibly different pacing, or different material. All teachers need to have an instructional “bag of tricks”; teachers of LEP students need to have an even broader repertoire of strategies to respond to the variety of needs LEP students may have. Programs employing high quality curricula in one or more languages support teachers’ skills and training.

A well trained teacher must know, not only how to provide instruction to LEP students, but also how to assess LEP students in a manner that reflects what the students know and can do. Appropriate assessment is the linchpin that holds together instruction and accountability. LEP students must be included in local, state, and national assessments if schools are to be held accountable for their success. The unique instructional strategies used by bilingual and ESL teachers and the second language acquisition process, will influence the way LEP students can demonstrate achievement. As research on the appropriate assessment of LEP students continues to inform the field, special skills must be imparted to teachers of LEP students so they may accurately assess student knowledge to make professional judgements about instruction.

Another element of accountability is program evaluation. Evaluation provides the ultimate mechanism to determine whether a program is meeting its goals and objectives, including whether LEP students are making significant gains in language and academic achievement. A good evaluation should also provide information about quality of program implementation and its contribution to students achievement. Bilingual and ESL programs are a tool for teaching LEP students; their effectiveness should be gauged by whether they teach students what they need to learn. The effectiveness of an evaluation should also be judged by how well the program responds to changes in student and community needs.

Embracing these principles allows educators to use their energy to develop real solutions to the problems LEP students face in mastering content at the highest levels and learning English. A National Research Council panel reported in *Improving Schooling for Language Minority Children* that there is little value in conducting evaluations to determine whether native language or ESL programs are best. The terms “bilingual education” or “special alternative instructional program” are used to describe a range of programs and program components. Some research studies have found that, in fact, there are few “pure models” of either in practice. Many bilingual programs incorporate features and methodology typical of ESL programs, and, often, ESL

**DRAFT**

programs also incorporate features and methodology associated with bilingual programs.

According to the panel, what is truly important in educating LEP students is finding a set of program components that works for children, given the goals, demographics, and resources of the community in which the child lives. Those who persist in arguing over questions of time limits or particular programs impede progress toward answering the real question---are LEP students learning? The answer to this question has no place for dogma or extremism. The answer to this question requires all educators and policy makers to come together to develop programs for LEP students that rely on principles of excellent education that focus on high standards for ALL students.

DRAFT

Ramirez, D.J., S.D. Yuen, D.R. Ramey, and D.J. Pasta. (1991). *Final Report: Longitudinal Study of Structured English Immersion Strategy, Early-Exit and Late-Exit Transitional Bilingual Education Programs for Language-Minority Children*, Vol I and II, Technical Report. San Mateo, CA: Aguirre International.

National Research Council. (1997). *Improving Schooling for Language-Minority Students: A Research Agenda*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

# Study links bilingual education to limited earnings potential

By Carol Innerst  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Bilingual education handicaps Hispanic children, severely limiting their earnings potential when they enter the job market, a new national study shows.

On average, first-generation Hispanic students who went through bilingual education programs over the past two decades are now earning about 50 percent less than their peers who received an English-only education.

The study, conducted by University of Maryland labor economist Mark Hugh Lopez and Marie T. Mora, an economics professor at New Mexico State University, is the first to link participation in a bilingual education program with later labor market opportunities.

"Between \$8 billion and \$10 billion a year are spent on special services for limited-English-proficient students at the state and local level," said Mr. Lopez, an assistant professor in Maryland's school of public affairs. "However, these

programs may be hindering rather than helping these students."

In 1991, first-generation Hispanic workers who had participated in bilingual education classes earned an average \$19,240 compared with average earnings of \$26,794 for their peers who did not enroll in such programs.

Among second-generation Hispanics — those born in this country to foreign-born parents — students in bilingual education earned on average about 30 percent less than those in English-only programs. The income disparity did not exist for third-generation students.

"One would expect that first-generation Hispanic students [those who are foreign born] would be the most likely to benefit from these programs, yet they are the ones suffering the greatest penalties in the labor market," Mr. Lopez said. "This raises concern that bilingual education may widen, rather than narrow, the socioeconomic gap between limited-English-proficient groups and those for whom language is not an issue."

Using data compiled from the 1990 census and the High School and Beyond surveys of the National Center for Education Statistics, the researchers looked at the incomes of 1,251 students who graduated from high school in 1982.

It is not a random sample, but controls for education and background characteristics and captures the "sample states would identify as potential [bilingual education] students," Mr. Lopez said.

"No matter how we cut this data, we're getting the same negative results across the board in earnings and educational attainment," he said.

"The results do not surprise me," said Rosalie Porter, chairman of the board of the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development (READ), a Massachusetts-based organization that focuses on educational improvement for language-minority children.

"Analogous to this, the dropout rates for Latino children are so high after 30 years' investment in bilingual programs," Mrs. Porter said. "In Los Angeles public schools at the end of the 1995 school year, the Latino dropout rate was 44 percent compared to 20 percent for the state as a whole.

"The troubling part, of those who had dropped out, 75 percent had been in a bilingual program. If bilingual education were a helping tool, it should be producing more academic success for bilingual kids through high school."

Since passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, school districts have implemented many programs aimed at meeting the needs of the nation's growing immigrant populations.

Debate over the effectiveness of bilingual education programs, which employ native-language instruction, has heated up as California moves toward a June vote on the "English for the Children" initiative that would nearly abolish bilingual education in the state's public schools.

English-only advocates say that students must be immersed in the English language to effectively learn it. They oppose the segregated bilingual classes where immigrant students do not mix with English-speaking peers and as a result do not easily assimilate into American culture.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1998

Mike - FYI

Elena

# Paxon wants GOP to focus on tax cuts

## Push for Puerto Rico statehood divisive

By Nancy E. Roman  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Rep. Bill Paxon, the New York Republican who last week announced his retirement, said GOP leaders should be fighting for "Reaganesque" income tax cuts rather than statehood for Puerto Rico.

"[Puerto Rico] drives tremendous divisions in our grass-roots base," said Mr. Paxon, former chairman of the National Republican Campaign Committee. "The official-English movement is very strong, wide and deep amongst our grass-roots voter base and activist base. [GOP support of Puerto Rican statehood] is not going to be without angst at the grass roots."

Instead, he said, party leaders should draft broad income tax cuts that solidify the GOP as the party of cutting taxes and devolving government.

"A Reaganesque, across-the-board income tax cut will solidify our party," he said.

Mr. Paxon, once a major force in the House who had planned to challenge House Republican leader Dick Armey of Texas, also said he expects a new slate of party leaders by 2000 or 2002 — with some of them coming from the younger ranks of the party.

"You are going to have a transitional leadership," he said. "Maybe in some short term [there will be] familiar faces in these leadership positions, but I think very quickly when you get to 2000 and 2002, you are going to see a lot of new faces in the leadership."

He singled out Reps. Roger Wicker of Mississippi, John Thune

of South Dakota, Anne M. Northup of Kentucky, Kay Granger of Texas and Kenny Hulshof of Missouri as rising stars in the party.

Mr. Paxon predicted marginal GOP gains in the House in 1998 but expects a surge of as many as 60 to 80 new Republicans coming into the House in 2002 — shifting the balance of power toward the younger members.

Until then, he said, the party's leaders on Capitol Hill should be channeling their energy into issues like eliminating the federal tax code that solidify their political base. He said he has visited 40 or 50 congressional districts, and "I don't think there is [an issue] more powerful" than that.

He noted that President Clinton has said he will not support it if he can stop it. "In other words," the congressman said, paraphrasing the president, "I will support it if I can't stop it. I think Clinton sees the power of this."

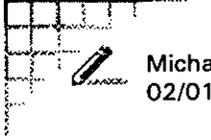
Mr. Paxon said he fears the Republican Party may bypass an opportunity to scrap the tax code. "My biggest concern," he said, "is that we don't sunset the IRS, and we keep getting into this discussion of sales tax vs. flat-rate income tax, which could be our destruction."

He said if the House tries to build a consensus around one plan or the other, "we are setting ourselves up."

"We have to first convince the American people how bad the current tax system is," he said. "Get a consensus on sunseting it, and then let the American people come forward and discuss — over a period of years — the alternatives."

**The Washington Times**

■ THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1998 ■



Michael Cohen  
02/01/98 10:02:50 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP, Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP, Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP

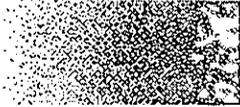
cc:

Subject: Meeting with California School Boards Association

On Jan. 29 I met with the California School Boards Association leadership, and discussed Unz with them. Very simple summary:

1. They oppose Unz--they view it as bad education/bilingual ed policy; bad governance, because it erodes local control and because statewide initiatives are a bad way to make education policy;
2. They have absolutely no doubt that it will pass.
3. They say that an attempt to find a legislative compromise has fallen apart; Karen, are you getting the same story from your sources?
4. They don't have a strong view as to whether the Administration should take a position, and did not appear to have give much thought to that. They would love our support, recognize the possibility of mobilizing opposition if we do, and don't think we would effect the outcome. They asked if there were some way we could keep Diane Feinstein from supporting the initiative.
5. They expect the Hispanic Delegation from California to take strong stances against the initiative (even though they think some, such as Loretta Sanchez, will be seriously hurt by taking this position). They expect the rest of the delegation to support the proposition or stay out of the battle.

Maria--where do things stand on the trip to CA. you were planning?



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Barry J. Toiv

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03/04/98 05:45:20 PM

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Record Type: Record

To: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP  
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
bcc:  
Subject: Re: Bilingual Ed--SF Chronicle

Thanks, he was reporter who had asked me if we had anything on paper on this.  
Maria Echaveste



Maria Echaveste

03/04/98 03:07:17 PM

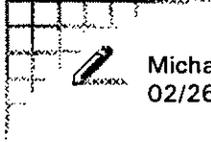
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Record Type: Record

To: Barry J. Toiv/WHO/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP, Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP  
cc: Sylvia M. Mathews/WHO/EOP, Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP, Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP  
Subject: Bilingual Ed--SF Chronicle

Received a call from Louis Freeburg from the SF Chronicle on bilingual ed, saying he'd heard the White House staff including me personally had been talking to people in califo about this issue--could I share some light on what and why we are interested in this issue--I went on background explaining that we've been talking to different people. he said he'd heard unzhad been here talking to us--which I confirmed as part of our strategy of talking to all people and all sides. he asked if president had ever taken position on bilingual ed which I said yes--he's in favor of transitional bilingual ed programs and he has also spoken about the importance in the global economy of people learning more than one language. looked at research shows effective programs when properly implemented but those are few programs, cali right now is 20,000 teachers short of qualified bilingual ed teachers, 30% of kids in califo are getting nothing--what about those issues. Pointed to the president's education initiative targetted to drop outs, especially Hispanic--he mentioned the Hispanic education initiative--that this administration has been at forefront of improving education for all children--so he asked when are we saying anything--I said we're still looking at the issue, there are other people to talk to but did point out that when the President gets involved in an issue that sometimes escalates the matter and that's something that needs to be evaluated. we'll see what comes out--just thought you should know.

Message Copied To: \_\_\_\_\_



Michael Cohen  
02/26/98 10:07:08 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Unz talking point

Here is what I would suggest Riley say to the LA Times if asked about UNZ:

1. It is very important that we help LEP kids learn English
2. We are looking at the effectiveness of the federal bilingual education program, to make sure it is working as well as it should; we will be prepared to make changes in it if necessary. There is no one best way to education LEP students, but any approach that is used must be done effectively.
3. I am ~~very~~ concerned about any proposal that would limit local schools to the use of just one, unproven approach to helping students learn English.

Also, in case there was any misunderstanding...I love our staff meetings, and I know that Bill will miss them once he leaves!

  
Maria Echaveste

01/15/98 05:10:56 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc: Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP, Cheryl M. Carter/WHO/EOP, Marjorie Tarmey/WHO/EOP, Miriam H. Vogel/WHO/EOP

Subject: Bilingual Ed

In summary of yesterday's meeting:

1. We will plan to hold a mtg with the CA folks during the week of February 9-- One question I have is whether we should consider holding this meeting in CA and flying out someone from DPC, OPL, IGA, Dept of Ed. The thinking is-- it's easier to move four people than to bring 12-15 people to D.C. Just a thought.... Please tell me what you think by **COB Friday**.

2. Those previously identified, as listed below:

Deborah Escobedo, education lawyer, META  
Rosalia Salinas, Former President, CABA  
Richard Ross, Ross Communications  
Mary Hernandez, San Francisco MALDEF Board  
Gloria Molina, LA County Supervisor  
Delaine Easton, State Superintendent of Education  
Art Torres

CA Legislature:

Cruz Bustamante  
Antonio Villaraigosa  
Mike Honda  
Dede Alpert  
Hilda Solis

● Based on our meeting, the following additional people should be invited:

Labor CTA/AFT (**Karen Skelton**: would you work with **Karen Tramontano** on this component)  
Business (I will work w/Cheri Carter on a BRT--or other business persons-- with views on bilingualism)  
CA School Board Association (**Mike**: will you coordinate how we obtain their input since they will be in town in late January)  
Sarita Brown, Executive Director/Commission on Hispanic Education Board Members from CA ( **Mickey** and I are working on this)  
Mayor Serna (per **Mickey**)

3. Congressional Input: The following members will be solicited for their input per Legislative Affairs' outreach plan:

Maxine Waters  
Xavier Becerra  
Bob Matsui

Bobby Scott  
Ruben Hinojosa  
Patsy Mink

4. We also agreed that we should solicit input from those who support the UNZ initiative and meeting with the following was proposed:

Ron Pacheco  
Doug Laskers  
Jaime Escalante  
Gloria Mata Tuckman

4. We also agreed that we should speak with the following persons:

Mayor Riordan  
Linda Chavez (I am planning to meet with her)

**Legislative Affairs:** will you also identify those against bilingual ed w/whom we should speak?

5. DPC will circulate its one-pager to POTUS on this issue, hopefully by the end of the week.

6. **Mickey** and **I** will work with Delia Pompa and Sarita Brown to allay the concerns of the Chair and Vice Chair of the Commission on Hispanic Education regarding this initiative.

7. Questions: We need to agree on when to start inviting these people-- and who will be inviting whom--

My suggestion is that we start making calls at the end of this week or early next week. **IGA** should be responsible for inviting the elected officials and **OPL** should invite Labor and the other constituencies.

I think this is the basic summary of the decisions and assignments we made-- Please let me know if there is anything I left out.

Thank you.

Message Sent To:

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Karen E. Skelton/WHO/EOP  
Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP  
Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP  
Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP  
Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP  
Angelique Pirozzi/WHO/EOP  
Allison Balderston/OPD/EOP  
Laura Emmett/WHO/EOP  
Suzanne Dale/WHO/EOP  
Jessica L. Gibson/WHO/EOP  
Moe Vela/OVP @ OVP  
Peter G. Jacoby/WHO/EOP