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| Abstract | Public criticism of bilingual education or bilingualism in the United States has been growing since the early 1990s. As part of the argument against bilingual education, Hispanic immigrants have been portrayed as a monolithic group clinging to their own language and culture and reluctant to assimilate into American society. Proposition 227, which officially ended bilingual education programs in California public schools, was passed on June 2, 1998. Race and ethnicity were reflected in the initiative. According to a poll, while 67 percent of white voters supported the Proposition, 63 percent of Hispanic voters voted against it. Forty-eight percent of Black voters and 57 percent of Asian voters backed the Proposition.<br>However, the movement toward Proposition 227 started with a boycott by some Hispanic parents who pulled their children out of a public school in downtown Los Angeles to protest against its failure to teach English to their children. Several years have passed since the passage of Proposition 227, and it has now been fully implemented and has taken its effect on school education in California.<br>The aim of this paper is to examine the views and attitudes of Hispanic parents in Los Angeles toward language, culture, and educational programs several years after the passage of Proposition 227, using interviews and class observations in elementary schools in Los Angeles.<br>The interviews reveal that some Hispanic parents value the acquisition of English language skills and want their children to learn English. Moreover, they value bilingualism, which not only emphasizes maintaining their ethnic language, but also speaking English. While most parents favor bilingual education, some parents are frustrated with the English immersion classes that resulted from Proposition 227. Nevertheless, they share a pragmatic view on English language skills, in which learning English is a means to success both academically and professionally . |
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# Hispanic Immigrants and Bilingual Education after Proposition 227: A Case Study of Attitudes about Language and Culture in American Society

Hiromi Kobayashi

**Abstract**

Public criticism of bilingual education or bilingualism in the United States has been growing since the early 1990s. As part of the argument against bilingual education, Hispanic immigrants have been portrayed as a monolithic group clinging to their own language and culture and reluctant to assimilate into American society. Proposition 227, which officially ended bilingual education programs in California public schools, was passed on June 2, 1998. Race and ethnicity were reflected in the initiative. According to a poll, while 67 percent of white voters supported the Proposition, 63 percent of Hispanic voters voted against it. Forty-eight percent of Black voters and 57 percent of Asian voters backed the Proposition.

However, the movement toward Proposition 227 started with a boycott by some Hispanic parents who pulled their children out of a public school in downtown Los Angeles to protest against its failure to teach English to their children. Several years have passed since the passage of Proposition 227, and it has now been fully implemented and has taken its effect on school education in California.

The aim of this paper is to examine the views and attitudes of Hispanic parents in Los Angeles toward language, culture, and educational programs several years after the passage of Proposition 227, using interviews and class observations in elementary schools in Los Angeles.

The interviews reveal that some Hispanic parents value the acquisition of English language skills and want their children to learn English. Moreover, they value bilingualism, which not only emphasizes maintaining their ethnic language, but also speaking English. While most parents favor bilingual education, some parents are frustrated with the English immersion classes that resulted from Proposition 227. Nevertheless, they share a pragmatic view on English language skills, in which learning English is a means to success both academically and professionally.

## I. Introduction

Public criticism of bilingual education[1] or bilingualism[2] in the United States has been growing since the early 1990s.[3] As part of the argument against bilingual education, Hispanic immigrants have been portrayed as a monolithic group clinging to their own language and culture and reluctant to assimilate into American society.[4] On June 2, 1998, Proposition 227 was passed, resulting in the official end to bilingual education programs in California

public schools.[5] According to the California Education Code, with the passing of Proposition 227, English learner students[6] with limited English may enter regular classes only after they have taken one year of English immersion classes,[7] that is, classes in which nearly all classroom instructions are given in English. However, there are certain conditions in which parents can receive exemptions to choose language classes other than English immersion. Under parental waiver conditions, children may transfer to classes where they learn English, but also other subjects through bilingual education techniques.[8]

The rise of non-English speaking immigrants from Latin America and Asia and the increase of the language-minority population over the past three decades have fueled the controversy over bilingual education in American society. As a result, many researchers have looked at whether bilingual education programs have a positive effect on learning for limited English-speaking students in terms of school achievement and English language acquisition. Studies on Proposition 227 and its effect have increased particularly since its passage in 1998.[9] Among them, two studies on the linguistic minority parents' views of bilingualism and bilingual education conducted in Los Angeles, California, are useful in understanding the situation around the passage of Proposition 227. Lee (1998) used multiple-choice type questionnaires with Hispanic parents of children enrolled in bilingual education classes in the Los Angeles area (six elementary and four middle schools). The controversy surrounding the issue of whether public schools should continue to provide bilingual education programs for linguistic minority students motivated the work. The study found that the majority of parents surveyed supported bilingual education. In addition, roughly three out of four parents (76 percent) thought that the use of two languages (home language and English) facilitated their children's development of English skills. Interestingly, if provided the option to enroll their children in mainstream classes, two-thirds responded that they would.

Orellana et al. (1999) drew from multiple data sources, collecting ethnographic data in a Hispanic immigrant community in Los Angeles and analyzing community members' perspectives on bilingualism and language use. Their research reveals that immigrant parents living in Los Angeles want their children to learn English. Parents value English for their children, and much of their talk about children's pathways to success centered on learning English. However, this does not mean that the parents opposed bilingual education. Parents believe that if their children speak English they will find jobs and gain respect. These beliefs reflect a view of language as a measure of success in American society.

According to a Los Angeles Times exit poll on June 2, 1998, while 67 percent of white voters supported the Proposition, 63 percent of Hispanic voters voted against it. Forty-eight percent of Black voters and 57 percent of Asian voters backed the Proposition. However, the movement toward Proposition 227 started with a boycott by some Hispanic parents who pulled their children out of Ninth Street Elementary School in downtown Los Angeles to protest against its failure to teach English to their children.

Several factors contributed to the boycott. First, prior to the boycott, the parents presented letters and a petition to the Los Angeles School Board, requesting that more English language instruction be offered to Spanish-speaking children in school; however, their request was rejected.[10] Despite repeated demands by the parents for additional English classes, the school and the school board failed to take the matter seriously. Second, the school board's reluctance to change the curriculum was partly because of the pedagogy theory which the LAUSD (Los Angeles Unified School District) affirmed, and thus many public schools including the Ninth Street Elementary School implemented the bilingual education program. The theory of literacy acquisition for the second language, according to which

instruction through the minority language results in no academic retardation for children's proficiency in the majority language, formed the basis of bilingual education.[11] Since the district's instructional program supported bilingual education, program conversion would not occur quickly despite pressure from parents. Finally, there may have been financial incentives to maintain the bilingual program on the provider side.[12] Both the state and federal governments funded bilingual education programs, and the total federal funds for bilingual programs reached $280 million in 1998.[13]

However, most studies regarding Proposition 227 were conducted during the period around and/or just after the passage of Proposition 227. The number of those studies that have focused on the period after Proposition 227 has been fully implemented and has taken its full effects on school education in California is still limited. The aim of this paper is to examine, through interviews and class observations, the views and attitudes of Hispanic parents in Los Angeles toward language, culture, and educational programs several years after the implementation of Proposition 227.

## II. Methodology

### 1. Study Area

The study area was the city of Los Angeles where large numbers of Hispanic immigrants live. The city of Los Angeles boasted a population of about 3.8 million in 2006 and Hispanics accounted for 49 percent of the total population.[14] Within the Hispanic population, the largest group in terms of country of origin was those from Mexico (69 percent), followed by El Salvador (13 percent), and Guatemala (7 percent) (Table 1). As to the language spoken at home, those who speak only English (172,000) accounted for 10 percent of those five years old and older (Table 2) (U.S. Census Bureau). Those who speak Spanish were nearly 1.5 million, accounting for 89 percent. Within the Spanish-speaking population, about two-thirds (65 percent) spoke English "well" or "very well" and about one-third (35 percent) "not well" or "not at all." The number of Hispanics aged 25 and older was estimated to be almost one million (U.S. Census Bureau). Regarding Hispanics' educational attainment, one-third (33 percent) had less than a 9th grade education, about one-fifth (18percent) had a 9-12 grade education, one-fourth (25 percent) were high school graduates, about one-fifth (21 percent) had some college education, and 2 percent had graduate degrees (Table 3).

**Table 1 Hispanic Population, City of Los Angeles (2006)**

| | Estimate |
|---|---|
| **Not Hispanic or Latino** | **1,927,311 (51%)** |
| **Hispanic or Latino** | **1,846,535 (49%)** |
| Mexican | 1,276,870 (69%) |
| Salvadoran | 233,186 (13%) |
| Guatemalan | 129,803 ( 7%) |
| Others | 206,676 (11%) |
| **Total** | **3,773,846** |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2006 American Community Survey

**Table 2 Language Spoken at Home by Ability to Speak English or Spanish (City of Los Angeles) (2006)**

| | Estimate (age of 5 or over) |
|---|---|
| **Speak only English** | **172,042 (10%)** |
| **Speak Spanish** | **1,485,646 (89%)** |
| Speak English "very well" | 672,722 (45%) |
| Speak English "well" | 291,613 (20%) |
| Speak English "not well" | 315,272 (21%) |
| Speak English "not at all" | 206,039 (14%) |
| **Speak other language** | **4,138 (0.2%)** |
| **Total** | **1,661,826** |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2006 American Community Survey

**Table 3 Educational Attainment for Hispanics, City of Los Angeles (2006)**

| | Estimate (age of 25 or over) |
|---|---|
| **Less than 9th grade** | **334,119 (33%)** |
| **9th to 12th grade, no diploma** | **180,736 (18%)** |
| **High school graduate (includes equivalency)** | **252,838 (25%)** |
| **Some college (includes no degree)** | **213,297 (21%)** |
| **Graduate degree** | **20,866 (2%)** |
| **Total** | **1,001,856** |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2006 American Community Survey

## 2. Study Methods

The author conducted field studies at two elementary schools and their neighborhoods in the LAUSD five times between 2001 and 2007. In addition, the author interviewed Hispanic caretakers of children who were attending schools or who raised children in the community. Table 4 illustrates the profiles of these schools.

Elementary school A is located in the eastern part of downtown Los Angeles. This school is in a neighborhood close to large numbers of garment factories and shops. Many parents work in the industry. In the 2006 academic year, the total enrollment in this school was 436; Hispanics accounted for 91 percent and all English learners accounted for 67 percent. In the 2005 academic year, 97 percent of the students received free/reduced price meal service. Since the passage of Proposition 227, school A has provided only a structured English immersion program for English learners.

Elementary school B is located in the western part of downtown Los Angeles, a district that includes a large Central American community, chiefly from El Salvador and Guatemala. In this large school (987 in the 2006 academic year), Hispanics accounted for 96 percent, and English learner students accounted for 82 percent; 80 percent of the total students were provided free/reduced price meal service in 2005. School B provides both structured English immersion and bilingual education.

In both schools, the majority of students are Hispanics, more than 90 percent, and most of them are entitled to free meal programs. Both schools are surrounded by large Hispanic communities. In this context, the two schools have similar characteristics. On the contrary, elementary school B provides bilingual education program and takes care of relatively large numbers of English learners, while elementary school A does not.

In this study, the author explored parents' views on which language and culture they wanted their children to develop. The author also examined parents' perspectives on how

bilingual education and English immersion programs correlated with English acquisition and academic achievement.

**Table 4 Profile of participating Los Angeles schools**

| | Elementary School A | Elementary School B |
|---|---|---|
| Grade Level | k-5 | k-5 |
| Instructional Program | Structured English Immersion | Structured English Immersion/ Bilingual Education |
| Total Enrollment (2006-07) | 436 | 987 |
| Students by Ethnicity | Hispanic 397（91%） Black 31（7%） | Hispanic 947（96%） Black 28 （3%） |
| English Learners | 290（67%） | 808（82%） |
| Students Eligible for Free/ Reduced Price Meals (2005-06) | 453（97%） | 813（80%） |

**Table 5 Socioeconomic profile of 14 informants**

| | |
|---|---|
| Number | 13 parents and one grandparent (12 female, 2 male) |
| Country of Origin | Mexico (9), El Salvador (2), Guatemala (3) |
| Living in the US | 5-31 years |
| Occupation | cashier, cook, maid in private home, cleaner, textile sewing machine operators, babysitter, interpreter at hospital, bilingual teacher, bilingual coordinator |
| English Ability | each except interpreter, bilingual teacher, and bilingual coordinator "less than 5 level" |
| Education | six, six to nine years education; one, 12 years; two, high school; one, college graduate; four unknown |
| Citizenship | one, American citizenship; two, green card; six, no citizenship; others, not available |

Data and information came from interviews with 13 immigrant parents, two of which were educational staff members, and one grandparent during five study visits to Los Angeles from December 2001 through March 2007. The author used a 24-item questionnaire that inquired about language, education, culture, and citizenship as well as demographic characteristics (Appendix). The author used English for the interviews of those who could speak English. For the interviews of those who could not speak English, the bilingual coordinator, who was one of the informants, acted as interpreter between Spanish and English. Between 2001 and 2005, the author interviewed 13 informants. In 2007, four informants participated in the interview process; three were second interviews.

Table 5 presents a socioeconomic profile of the 14 informants: 12 female, two male; nine from Mexico, two from El Salvador and three from Guatemala. The number of years that these people had been living in the U.S. ranged from five to 31 years as of 2005. With regard to occupation, most were in unskilled and in low paying jobs except for an interpreter at a hospital, a bilingual teacher and a bilingual coordinator at the school. Most had little mastery of English answering “a little bit” or citing basic performance such as the ability to answer their name and address. When asked if they had American citizenship, one said “yes”, two said they had green cards (including one interviewee who changed her status between 2005 and 2007), and six said “no.” As to educational attainment, six parents had six to nine years of education, one had 12 years, two had high school level education, one was a college graduate, and four were unknown.

## III. Results

What follows are the results of the interviews, responses to the 24-item questionnaire and additional comments. The 24 items were roughly classified into two topics—language and culture, and educational programs and language acquisition, excluding the demographic characteristics described in the last paragraph of Methodology. Because the study used the results of the interviews conducted during the five visits prior to March 2007, the author divided the results into two parts—the 2005 interviews (conducted in 2005 or before) and the 2007 interviews (conducted in 2007).

### 1. Language and Culture

First, the author asked the parents about their home languages as follows: "In what language do you mostly speak to your child?" In the 2005 interviews, 10 of the 11 informants responded that they mostly used Spanish when they spoke to their children. Only one parent answered both "Spanish and English." In the 2007 interview, one-half of the informants answered both "English and Spanish"; the other two answered "Spanish." One parent who said "Spanish" in the 2005 interview answered both "English and Spanish" in the 2007 interview.

Next, the author asked the parents regarding language acquisition: "What language do you wish your child to develop?" In the 2005 interview, two of the 12 informants responded "English"; nine responded both "English and Spanish"; one answered another language besides "English and Spanish" such as "Italian." Those who responded both "English and Spanish" explained their reasons: "If you know two languages, you will get a good job. I want him to have a good future."; "If you understand both languages, you can communicate with different people."; "If you know Spanish, it helps you understand other languages." In the 2007 interview, three informants responded that they preferred both "English and Spanish." One changed her opinion from both "English and Spanish" to "English."

Moreover, the author asked if the parents wanted their children to maintain their own culture or acquire American culture. In the 2005 interviews, eight of the nine informants said they wanted their children to have both their ethnic culture and American culture. The parents stated: "although I came from Mexico, my child was born in America so both cultures are important to my child."; "My child was born in America, but I want my child to maintain his roots."; "I want my children to pick up good things from both cultures."; "There are inequalities between men and women in my country. There is an idea that men are superior to women. However, I think men and women have the same rights and abilities and I like the way in which men and women are treated equal in America." In the 2007 interview, all four informants answered that they wanted to maintain both cultures.

Additionally, the author inquired how the parents saw the correlation between bilingual education and ethnic culture: "Do you think bilingual education programs are effective in helping your children to maintain ethnic identity/culture?" In the 2005 interview, six of the seven informants asked this question responded that they thought bilingual education was effective. One parent said, "according to a research, putting value on child's native language is a good way to maintain ethnic identity." In the 2007 interview, all four supported bilingual education. However, the parents expressed ambivalent feelings toward bilingual education, "bilingual in school should be a little bit, [because] at home bilingual."

## 2. Educational Programs and Language Acquisition

The purpose of this section is to identify what educational programs the children attended. In the 2005 interview, seven of the 11 informants who were asked this question said that their children attended a bilingual education program; the other four had placed their children in English immersion classes. In the 2007 interview, the author found some informants had moved away from bilingual education toward English immersion program. Two of the four said their children were in "bilingual education"; the other two said "English immersion." One parent whose child was in a bilingual education program in 2005 had changed to English immersion in 2007. The other two also intended to change from bilingual education to English immersion next year.

Next, the author asked the parents' opinion about bilingual education in terms of academic subjects and English skills: "Do you think bilingual education programs help children improve in academic subjects?" In the 2005 interview, the author asked 10 informants this question. Nine of them responded that they thought bilingual education helped children improve in academic subjects. They expressed their opinions as follows: "Because my child is Hispanic, I want him to have bilingual education."; "If you live in a foreign country like us, native language helps you understand new things and it eventually leads to acquiring English skills."; "It helps you solve the difficulties; it helps you have a better life; you may even become a politician."; "When you first come to a new country, bilingual education helps you learn the new language and country."; "Bilingual education becomes a good opportunity; it gives new immigrants golden opportunities." In contrast, in the 2007 interview, all four informants expressed preference for English over bilingual education: "75 percent Spanish, 25 percent English by 5th grade, it's not really bilingual class."; "Because it [bilingual class] is more Spanish, balancing both is good."

In response to the question, "Do you think bilingual education programs are effective in helping children to develop English skills?" in the 2005 interviews, nine of the 10 interviewees who were asked this question claimed that bilingual education helped children develop English skills. Their reasons were as follows: "Bilingual education becomes a basis of developing English skills and helps to acquire other languages."; "You will become open-minded." However, in the 2007 interview, all four informants indicated negative views towards bilingual education: "Parents have responsibility to teach Spanish, English has to be learned at school."

In addition, the author asked the parents' opinion about English immersion and English-only programs: "Do you think English immersion programs help children improve in academic subjects and English skills?" In the 2005 interview, while seven of the 10 informants who were asked this question responded that they thought the English immersion program helped children improve in academic subjects, three informants responded that they preferred bilingual education. In the 2007 interview, all four informants responded that they thought English immersion helped children improve their English skills and academic achievement. It is interesting that one parent changed her opinion from preferring bilingual education to preferring English immersion.

Finally, the author asked the parents' wishes as to how far they wanted their children to advance in school. In the 2005 interview, all the informants (n=11) said they wished their children to go to university level or higher. Eight of the 11 said they wished their children to go to school as long as they would be acquiring professional knowledge and skills. In the

2007 interview, all four informants said "a university," even to "PhD, but it's up to the children, that's the goal."

## IV. Discussion

This section discusses the results of the interviews from three perspectives; first, educational attainment of the immigrants' children; second, the parents' attitudes in the interviews according to the 2005 interview; and finally, findings according to the 2007 interviews.

First, overall, the parents wanted their children to reach higher education, namely university level, although their backgrounds were various, such as an unskilled manual laborer or a bilingual teacher. While the majority of the parents in this study lacked English skills and educational background, one of them even said that it would be better for her children to go to better schools than to local public schools. According to segmented theory, "the vast socio-economic diversity within the new immigrant population has given rise to the proposition that they may take different paths to incorporation across generations as compared to the earlier immigrants and as compared to each other depending on the sector of American society into which they are assimilating."[15] In this context, the parents thought, irrespectively of their various backgrounds, that education was the most important path to help their children succeed not only in school but also in life in the host country.

From the interviews in 2005 and prior, some parents tended to place more value on bilingual education than on English immersion programs. For example, there was one parent who strongly supported bilingual education—a woman who was a survivor of civil war in Guatemala and fled with her family of 12 in 1982 when she was 14 years old. She graduated from high school in the United States and went to college for two years. Besides English and Spanish, she could speak two Mayan dialects: "Kanjobal" and "Quiche". Being multilingual, she worked at a hospital as an interpreter for immigrants. Her husband was a school counselor at a middle school, and their two sons (14 and 17 years old) and one daughter (12 years old) attended private schools. She explained why she supported bilingual education as follows: "In this neighborhood, there are many families whose English abilities are very low so that parents can't help children study. That's why there are bilingual education programs." She did not support English immersion because she thought the program was for those children whose English abilities were high. From her point of view, bilingual education was supposed to facilitate English learner students to learn English more effectively.

The interviews conducted in 2005 and prior also indicate positive and negative opinions about English immersion programs. Some parents tended to place more value on becoming bilingual and bicultural than on speaking either Spanish or English (only). The parents' preferences for bilingualism had pragmatic reasons; they viewed bilingual education as a means to achieving success in the United States. With regard to acquisition of the new language, they thought that bilingual education helped children to understand new things in the host country and that it eventually led to the acquisition of English skills. In short, they supported bilingualism or biculturalism rather than English or Spanish monolingualism because it facilitates academic improvement and the development of English skills.

Interestingly, according to a qualitative study by Linton, demand and support for two-way bilingual immersion[16] is to some degree a response to Hispanics' growing numbers and the increasing importance of Spanish in economic and political spheres. The growth of two-way bilingual immersion also corresponds to a change in the degree to which non-Hispanic Americans value Spanish.[17]

Moreover, the two-year ethnographic study by Monzo revealed Hispanic parents placed high priority in making their children bilingual. While they wanted their children to be fluent in English, they expressed a desire for them to have a sense of identity that was rooted in their own countries of origin, and they believed that their ability to speak Spanish was tied to this sense of identity.[18] If these observations are taken together, the parents' attitudes toward language might be both practical and rooted in their ethnic values.

In fact, as to language acquisition in this study, while all the informants wanted their children to develop English language skills, eight of the nine informants wanted their children to have both their ethnic culture and American culture in the 2005 interviews and all four informants wanted them to maintain both cultures in the 2007 interview.

Finally, in the 2007 interviews, the author found a change in parents' attitudes regarding educational programs. They appeared to put more value on English immersion than on bilingual education. For example, as to the question concerning children's language acquisition, one parent changed her opinion from "English and Spanish" to "English." As to the correlation between bilingual education and academic subjects or English skills, some parents responded that they wanted more English instruction in schools. When asked if English immersion helps improve academic improvement and English skills, one parent changed her opinion in support of English immersion. Regarding the question related to an educational program, one parent had already changed her child's program from bilingual education to English immersion. Two other parents said they were going to change programs as well. However, such changes in their attitudes are still inconclusive and the reasons of such changes are further research agenda.

Linton argued that Proposition 227 was a disastrous move, but dedicated educators, parents and communities had been proactive in creating two-way bilingual programs to help maintain bilingual education in a way that benefits all students.[19] In this context, Hispanic parents might gradually find a way to adapt to the situations in which Proposition 227 has been fully implemented and has taken its effect on school education.

In sum, the interviews reveal that some Hispanic parents value acquisition of English language skills and want their children to learn English. Moreover, they value bilingualism, which not only emphasizes maintaining their ethnic language, but also speaking English. While most parents favor bilingual education as educational programs, some parents are frustrated with the English immersion classes that resulted from Proposition 227. Nevertheless, they share a pragmatic view on English language skills, in which learning English is a means to success both academically and professionally.

## V. Conclusion

This study has explored parents' views on the language and culture they want their children to be fluent in, especially as they relate to the children's future career in the United States. In addition, the author examined parents' perspectives on how bilingual education and English immersion programs correlated with English acquisition and academic achievement.

Although Hispanic immigrants are often characterized as a single "ethnic group," they vary substantially. They are diverse in terms of country of origin, length of time in the United States, occupation, affluence, motives for coming to America, and attitudes toward the language and culture acquisition of their children. Regarding language acquisition, most informants showed continuous support for their children to learn both "English and Spanish." In addition, as to the educational program in which children enrolled, in the 2007 interview, some informants had moved away from bilingual education toward English im-

mersion programs. Moreover, regarding the informants' opinion in terms of academic subjects and English skills, all four informants expressed preference for English over bilingual education or negative views on bilingual education in the 2007 interview. However, such changes in their attitudes need to be further examined.

The author concludes that some Hispanic parents valued the acquisition of English language skills and wanted their children to learn English, and moreover that they valued bilingualism in both English and their ethnic language. In addition, their attitudes toward educational programs appeared to be unsettled.

It is unclear whether the parents' attitudes shown in this study could be generalized; therefore, further studies with larger samples are needed to examine the attitudes of Hispanic immigrants and to understand their views toward language, culture, and educational programs.

## Notes

[1] "Bilingual education" is an educational program provided for immigrant children who speak little or no English to help them master the new language, namely English. The goal of bilingual program in California public schools is English proficiency. It is language acquisition process in which much or all instruction, textbooks and teaching materials are in the child's native language. California Department of Education (1999), pp.38-39.

[2] "Bilingualism" refers to the state of second language acquisition in addition to first language proficiency, in which one becomes good at two languages. The term of bilingualism is not confined to an educational program but has a broader context.

[3] Researchers have studied bilingual education from various points of view. For a comprehensive analysis of bilingual education from historical, political and practical perspectives, see Crawford (1999) and for a work on the issue of policy debate over bilingual education, see Hakuta (1986).

[4] Pearlstone (1990) maintains that the geographic nearness, maintaining ties to home country, large population, getting married to the same ethnic group, and retaining home language at home created a strong ethnic identity among Hispanics. Debates over what citizenship is and what kind of national identity people in a nation-state in modern global society should share continue. Sanchez (2000) argues that power is distributed unequally to various cultural groups in American society and there exist racial and class hierarchies, implying white people are supreme. Thus, he is skeptical about the claim that American society should transcend pluralism, endow particular groups with privilege and seek affiliations more voluntarily. Sekine (2000) discusses how public debate on the white backlash against Asian immigrants and native aborigines in Australia has arisen from uncertainties and anxieties among whites in global society. Ooka (2005) discusses the conception of citizenship and citizenship education in advanced countries challenged in the era of globalization and international migration.

[5] Kobayashi (2008) discusses the cause and effect of Proposition 227, using the results of various field studies in Los Angeles.

[6] "English Learner students" are those who do not speak English or whose native language is not English, also known as a Limited English Proficiency (LEP). California Department of Education (1999), pp. 38-39.

[7] "English immersion" is an English language acquisition process for young children, in which nearly all classroom instruction is in English but with the curriculum and presentation designed for children who are learning English.

[8] A parental waiver may be granted under the following circumstances: A) The child already possesses good English language skills as measured by standardized tests of English vocabulary comprehension, reading and writing. B) The child is 10 or older, and the informed opinion of the school principal and educational staff is that an alternative course of educational study would be better suited to the child's rapid acquisition of basic English language skills. C) The child already has been placed for a period of not less than 30 days during the school year in an English language classroom and the informed opinion of the school principal and educational staff is that the child has such special physical, emotional, psychological or educational needs that an alternate course of educational study would be better suited to the child's educational development. California Department of Education (1999), pp.38-39.

[9] The author conducted a review analysis of 36 studies reported from 1998 to 2004. Among the studies, the topic most addressed was instructional programs for limited English-speaking students of 19 studies (e.g. Schirling et al. 2000; Maxwell-Jolly 2000; Gutierrez et al. 2000; Rossell 2003; Gandara 2000). The second topic addressed was implementation of Proposition 227 (14 studies including Alamillo and Viramontes 2000; Palmer and Garcia 2000; Garcia 2000). This was followed by the topic of Standardized Testing in 13 studies (e.g. Gorman 1999; Amselle and Allison 2000; Garcia and Curry-Rodriguez 2000).

[10] Alice Callaghan related this story through interviews to the author in Los Angeles on February 12, 2002. She runs the Las Familias del Pueblo Community Center near the school where the boycott happened. The center provides free kindergarten classes and after-school programs for Hispanic children of parents working in nearby garment factories.

[11] For more detail, see Cummins (1989).

[12] Garvin (1998), pp.27-28; Callaghan also pointed out the financial reason during the interview with the author on February 12, 2002.

[13] U.S. Department of Education (1999), pp.400-401. For detailed analysis of the reasons for the parents' boycott, refer to Kobayashi (2004), pp.47-60.

[14] U.S. Census Bureau, *2006 American Community Survey*, accessed on 14 September 2007 <http://www.census. gov/>. Hispanics refers to immigrants from Latin America or their descendants. The terms "Hispanics" and "Latinos" are interchangeably used in the U.S.. The term "Hispanic" is used in U.S. Census. The term "Chicana/o" refers to those in the U.S. who were born in Mexico or whose family came from Mexico.

[15] For more detail, refer to Salomone (2008), pp.388-390 and Portes and Zhou (1993), pp.81-96.

[16] In two-way bilingual immersion program, the enrollment of children whose native language is not English is seen as an essential asset, not a liability. Language-minority and English-speaking pupils learn together, instructed by one or more teachers, from the time they begin school through at least the fifth grade. Program objectives include high academic achievement, bilingual proficiency, biliteracy and multicultural understanding. Because two-way bilingual immersion is relatively rare and was not a specific target of Proposition 227, it survives.

[17] Linton (2007), pp.118-122.

[18] Monzo (2005), pp.374-377.

[19] Linton (2007), pp.118-122.

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## Appendix Twenty-four item questionnaire for immigrant parents

Home language and English knowledge of parent
Q1. In what language do you mostly speak to your child? Please specify language.
1. English 2. Other 3. Mixed
Q2. Please tell me about your knowledge of English.

The acquirement of children's language and educational programs
Q3. What language do you wish your child to develop? Please describe the reason.
1. English skills 2. Native/home language skills
3. Both English and native language skills 4. Other (Please specify)
Q4. Do you understand the objectives/goals of bilingual education?
Q5. (If so) Please tell me the objectives of the bilingual education.
1. To develop English skills 2. To develop both English and other language skills
3. To develop home/native language skills 4. To develop and maintain ethnic identity
5. To develop academic subjects 6. Other (please describe the objectives)
Q6. Do you think bilingual education programs help children improve academic subjects or they don't? Please tell me the reason.
Q7. Do you think bilingual education programs are effective in helping your child to develop English skills or they don't? Please tell me the reason.

Q8. Do you think English immersion/English-only programs help children improve academic subjects or they don't? Please tell me the reason.
Q9. Do you think English immersion/English-only programs have a positive effect on English development for your child or they have not? Please tell me the reason.

Self-identification
Q10. How do you identify yourself?
1. Panethnic (Hispanic, Black, Asian, etc.)
2. Hyphenated American (Hispanic-American, Asian-American, African-American, White-American, etc.)
3. Plain American 4. Other (please specify)

Ethnic identity and national identity
Q11. Do you want your child to maintain the customs/culture of your own country or acquire American customs/culture? Please tell me the reason.
1. Own country customs/culture 2. American customs/culture 3. Other
Q12. Do you believe bilingual education programs are effective in helping your child to maintain ethnic identity/culture? Please tell me the reason.

Education programs and perspective on children's future
Q13. What educational program is your child currently enrolled in?
1. English immersion 2. Bilingual education
3. Both English immersion and bilingual education 4. Other (please specify)
Q14. How far in school do you expect your child to go?
1. Elementary school 2. Middle school graduate (Eighth grade)
3. High school graduate 4. College graduate or more
Q15. Do you plan to stay in the United States permanently or return to your own country?

Residence and family members
Q16. Where do you live?
Q17. Please tell me about your family members (the total numbers, age, sex including yourself).
Q18. What is the highest level of education that you completed?
1. Elementary school 2. Middle school graduation (Eighth grade)
3. High school graduation 4. Some college or university
5. College graduation or more 6. Other

Occupation
Q19. Do you have a job?
Q20. (If employed) Please tell me what your occupation is.

The process of migration, lives in home country
Q21. What country did you come from?
Q22. How long have you lived in the United States?
Q23. What makes you come to the United States?
Q24. Do you have U.S. citizenship?