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ECONOMIC RELATIONS FOR CLASS REPRODUCTIONS: THE CLASS OF PUERTO RICANS

City University of New York PH.D. 1983

ECONOMIC RELATIONS FOR CLASS REPRODUCTIONS: THE CLASS OF PUERTO RICANS

by

ANNABELLE IRIZARRY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1983

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Sept. 12, 1983
date

Raymond Franklin
Chairman of Examining Committee

Sept 12 1983
date

Boyle Dunkel
Executive Officer

Dr. Aubrey W. Bonnett

Dr. William Kornblum

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

ECONOMIC RELATIONS FOR CLASS REPRODUCTION:
THE CASE OF PUERTO RICANS

by

Annabelle Irizarry

Adviser: Professor Raymond Franklin

The main focus of this thesis has been to develop a modified Marxian model to explain and evaluate the Puerto Rican problem. That model, unlike others, focuses upon ideology and the contradictions in practice as critical for understanding the Puerto Rican problem. A capitalist business economy, like the United States, necessitates a system of buffer labor market relations in order to smooth its functioning.

How this is accomplished is shown by dividing the economy into three spheres: production, labor market and consumption. To the interplay of these spheres must be added the ideology of liberal democracy employed to legitimize the relations between the United States and mainland Puerto Ricans. The contradiction that explains the position of Puerto Ricans in the United States stems from the incongruities between democratic hierarchical liberal ideology.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Without the assistance of all these persons this dissertation could not have been completed. However, the author alone bears final responsibility for its contents.

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CHAPTER I

THE PUERTO RICAN MALAISE: A CRITIQUE OF MAINSTREAM EXPLANATORY MODELS

The plight of the Puerto Rican group has not suffered from the lack of media attention. Its multiple problems have been elaborately discussed and countless solutions have been proposed. In general the Puerto Rican dilemma can be diagnosed as the migration to the continental United States of a largely unskilled, racially mixed working class group historically relegated to serve as a surplus reserve army of labor with minority status within a capitalistic business economy. To this must be added the fact that the Puerto Rican homeland interacts with the United States economic and political system in a way that can be described within a colonial framework. This "bridge" relation has served in sustaining the group's nationalistic and cultural sentiments.[1]

The special dimensions of the Puerto Rican problem juxtaposes analyses by criticizing the existant models which seek to provide an explanation of the existing situation.

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[1]Juan Flores, John Attinasi and Pedro Pedraza, Jr., "La Carreta Made a U-Turn: Puerto Rican Language and Culture in the United States," Daedalus (Spring 1981), pp. 193-217;. Frank Bonilla and Ricardo Campos, "A Wealth of Poor: Puerto Ricans in the New Economic Order," Daedalus (Spring 1981), pp. 133-176.

This chapter is an attempt at explaining a subordinate group's problem through an elaboration of the inherent contradictions of the ideology of capitalist liberal democracy. A democratic capitalist system is characterized by two belief systems in the ideological sphere, which serve to legitimize the policies and practices of the society. The ideologies are those of equal opportunity and liberal democracy.[2]

An ideology refers to a system of thoughts, beliefs or ideas which form a framework for particular notions, analysis, applications and conclusions. It involves values, moral judgements and ethics which function to explain or legitimize social arrangements, structures of power or ways of life of groups or social collectivities.[3]

The political ideal of the capitalist system is of a government of, by and for all the people. Disparities of income, power or authority are alleged to result from differentials of merit. Merit is the acquisition of an individual or group of the necessary academic or licensing credentials rather than ascribed qualities as class status as a

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[2]Phillip Green, The Pursuit of Inequality (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), pp. 2-3; Maurice Dobbs, Theories of Values and Distribution Since Adam Smith (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 1-2.

[3]William M. Newman, American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 52.

reflection of one's membership in a majority or minority ethnic group with racial overtones.[4] An ethnic group is a collectivity based on presumed common origins who act as bearers of cultural traits which on occasion contributes part of the self definition of the individual.[5] For my definition of minority I turn to Louis Wirth who states:

> "A minority is a group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics are singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects for collective discrimination. The existence of a minority in a society implies the existence of a corresponding majority with higher social status and greater privileges." 6

In order to understand my argument for a particular model, it is first necessary to contrast it with some alternative ones. An examination of the literature reveals the utilization of four models for an explanation of the Puerto Rican experience in the United States.

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[4]Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality (New York: Doubleday, 1967), pp. 3-5; Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian N. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach (New York: Macmilla Co., 1965), p. 241; Daniel Bell, "Meritocracy and Equality," in The Coming of Post-Industrial Society (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Michael Young, The Rise of Meritocracy (Baltimore: Penguine Books, 1958).

[5]Andrew M. Greeley and William C. McGready, Ethnicity in the United States (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), p. 91.

[6]Louis Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups," in Ralph Linton (ed.), The Science of Man in the World Crisis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 347.

The Models Defined

The ethnic model envisions the incorporation over time of individuals and groups into a common cultural life through the foremost subprocesses of cultural and structural assimilation. In the first stage a given group ceases to be distinguishable since it has acquired the appropriate modes of language, behavior and dress of the majority group. This process may continue indefinitely and may never be completed. At the second stage the group participates on a large scale in the cliques, clubs and institutions without differentials of status or roles and is able to intermarry and identify with the dominant group without restriction.[7]

The cultural pluralism model is directed towards the preservation of the communal life and some aspects of the immigrant group's culture coupled with its integration into the citizenship, political and economic structure of American society.[8]

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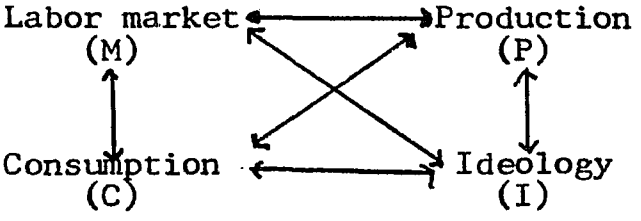
[7]Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 71, 77, 78 and 129; William M. Newman, American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 54, 57 and 62. For a history of the development of the ethnic model and its ideology of assimilation, see Richard Meritt, "The Emergence of American Nationalism: A Quantitative Approach," The American Quarterly, 1965, pp. 319-335.

[8]Milton Gordon, Assimilation, p. 85; Stewart G. Cole and Mildred W. Cole, Minorities and the American Promise (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), chap. 6.

The neocolonial model is derived from a classical colonial situation which envisions the community as a geographically limited area controlled politically and economically by outside forces. The community is in turn subordinated to and dependent upon those forces of control. The residents (colonized) of the community are subjected to having their land, raw materials and labor exploited by outside forces (the mother country). But inside the community (colony) monopolistic relations in the hands of foreigners control income-earning assets while the community exports laborers who will be paid low wages.[9]

In the Marxian model attention is focused on a circuit of interdependent relations that reinforce each other at varying intensity levels in order to reproduce class relations within an economic system. Economic relations are sustained by superstructural, cultural and political overtones within particular groups in a societal context. The scheme of interdependent circuits can be envisioned as follows:



[9]Robert Blauner, Racial Oppression in American Life (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 83; Frank Bonilla and Robert Gerling (eds.), Structures of Dependency (1973), pp. 154-157.

The labor market sphere (M) of the American capitalist system is focused for heuristic purposes within a Marxian scheme on two classes: the owners or managers of the means of production who derive their income from such activities and the non owners of the means of production who receive their income from selling their labor power. The notion of extraction of surplus in the process of production by definition involves the exploitation of labor. In the labor market sphere (M) class differentiations according to Weber are determined by what people have to offer in the market or market capacity which determine one's life chances. These capacities are essentially synonymous to one's power to make claims and thereby determine the distribution of income between groups and individuals, which may be based on property ownership but can equally be based on education, skills, job experience and one's ethnic origin, etc. For Weber, unlike Marx, property is simply one of the many possible ways by which one acquires bargaining power in the labor market sphere (M).

When the labor pool is hired by the production sphere (P), inequality continues through a duality of employment experiences either within the primary or secondary labor force depending upon an individual or group's linkages as race, ethnicity or class. The Marxian approach primarily works out of sphere (P), where the extraction of surplus value takes place. Within this sphere Puerto Ricans are

concentrated in those enterprises where the internal markets located in the production sphere involving the extraction of surplus involves dead end jobs (no career ladders), limited kinds of job experiences, etc. A modification of the classical rulers and ruled contradiction must be made since within the secondary labor force tiers exist. The primary tier is occupied by the white working class and the secondary tier by the minority working class. To achieve a system conducive to class reproduction, Marxist would argue that race and ethnicity are used to justify the economic interests of the ruling class against the working class. Racism and intraworking class ethnic rivalry keeps the working class divided against itself and prevents it from understanding the source of its exploitation and its real as opposed to its nominal interests. This helps to ensure the perpetuation of a segmental market system established to relegate various positions in the labor force to low wage and less desirable jobs.[10]

The consumption sphere (C) is the place where one manifests his/her status. It represents in Weber's terms what one has to show for his/her work in the production sphere (P). Status is measured by the life style one can

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[10]Raymond S. Franklin, American Capitalism: Two Visions (New York: The CUNY Random House, 1977), pp. 176-197; Michael Reich, "Economic Theories of Racism," in Martin Carnoy (ed.), Schooling in a Corporate Society (New York: David McKay Co., 1975), pp. 80-92.

purchase through the size of a family's discretionary income, that portion above the minimum necessary for survival in the context of the specific society being analyzed. If your discretionary income is limited, your perceived status in the system is accordingly limited. Education, health, food, clothing, shelter, etc., are purchased in this sphere and in a sense conditions an individual's market capacity where bargaining occurs. Some of these capacities are acquired through the government, like health and education, others through the market.

The educational institution has been identified as a byproduct of consumption opportunity which serves an important role in selecting, training and allocating persons into the Labor Market Sphere (M) and Production Sphere (P).[11] Through the socialization mechanism in the Marxian sense, it screens individuals for slots in circuits M and P and thus serves the needs of the dominant class. For dissimilarity in educational experiences, results in differentials in class placement into circuit M with influence for circuit P. The educational institution while serving to reinforce the system of stratification also operates in contradictory ways

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[11]Aaron V. Cicourel and John I. Kitsuse, The Educational Decision-Makers (Indianapolis: Bobles Merrill, 1963); Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintes, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976); Caroline H. Percell, Education and Inequality (New York: The Free Press, 1977).

due to the nature of the system of capitalist liberal democracy and its contradictory ideals.[12]

The continual reproduction of the circuit of interdependent reinforcing relations is carried out through the creation of a conducive ideological atmosphere in the society. The state functions in reproducing the conditions for capital accumulation as well as in legitimizing the social order. This impels the state to act in ways which conflict with its role in the accumulation process.[13] The contradictory ways in which the state must function will be elaborated upon in later chapter that will explore the Puerto Rican political and cultural issues of bilingual education in the New York City public schools and open admissions in the City University of New York.

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[12]Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintes, The Crisis of Liberal Democratic Capitalism: The Case of the United States (Dept. of Economics, University of Massachusetts: Amherst, Mass., February 1981), p. 1; Raymond S. Franklin, American Capitalism: Two Visions (New York: The CUNY Random House, 1977), p. 179. The institution of the family and social scientists have been identified as agents for socialization: Kenneth B. Clark, Pathos of Power (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 125 and 128; Charles H. Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1909), pp. 23-31; Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality (New York: Doubleday, 1967), pp. 120-123; Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press, 1951), p. 358.

[13]Bowles and Gintes, Democratic Capitalism, p. 4; Franklin, American Capitalism, p. 130.

The ideological atmosphere of a society for the reproduction of the established interdependent circuit relations (MPCI) is created and carried out by the owners or managers of the means of production. To be argued is that the parameters of human thought are controlled by the wielders of power (OMP) for "the class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of dominant material relationships."[14] To achieve the reproduction of conducive class relations the propertied class (OMP) produce, nurthre, assimilate and perpetuate ideas that preserve and maintain a social order that is conducive to their needs and dominance.[15] In the Production Sphere (P) and Consumption Sphere (C) institutionalized discrimination nurtured by the societal ideologies helps to ensure the reproduction of conducive class relations. Institutionalized discrimination refers to a system

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[14]Karl Marx and Frederick Engles, The German Ideology (New York: International Publishers, 1947), p. 39.

[15]Leonardo Salamini, "Gramsci and Marxist Sociology of Knowledge: An Analysis of Hegemony-Ideology-Knowledge, The Sociological Quarterly, 15, 1974, 370; David R. Sallach, "Class Domination and Ideological Hegemony," The Sociological Quarterly, vol. 15, No. 1 (Winter, 1974), pp. 41-42; Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965), pp. 359-380; Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality (New York: Doubleday, 1967), pp. 120-123; Karl Marx and Frederick Engles, The German Ideology (New York: International Publishers, 1947), p. 39.

of patterned structural arrangements established informally or formally which produce and sustain inequality both in the actions and organizational regulations or policies directing action. Feagan makes an important distinction between direct and indirect institutionalized discrimination. "Direct institutionalized discrimination refers to organizationally prescribed actions which by intention have a differential and adverse impact on members of subordinate groups (minority groups). It can be shaped by informal rules as well as by laws and both types have often been imbedded in a bureaucratic system. The rules of conduct need not be formal (legal) to be imbedded in the routine practices of institutions, informal rules in all institutional areas have for a long time resulted in widespread and routine discrimination against minorities. Indirect institutionalized discrimination refers to practices which have a negative and differential impact on minorities even though the policies or regulations guiding these actions were established and are carried out with no intent to harm.[16]

Critique of the Models

My general position is that no one model effectively locates the Puerto Rican problem. The ethnic model contends that the process of assimilation has been generally

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[16]Joe R. Feagin, Institutional Discrimination: A Working Paper, Scholar-in-Residence, U.S. Commission of Civil Rights, 1975.

effectively carried out by the various ethnic, racial and religious groups in American society through their participation as interest groups or power blocks for the exerting of both economic and political pressure upon the normative political institutions of the society. Ethnic pressure is envisioned as possible in the belief that power at the local level is fragmented and dispersed among contending interest groups.[17] It takes the position of a social order theory of society and therefore predicts that the Puerto Rican groups' experience is analogous to that of the immigrant groups that preceded and thus they, too, will blend into American melting pot.[18] It however fails to capture the distinctive dimensions of time period, nationalistic ties and sentiments, cultural and racial characteristics and the contemporary economic and political structure of American society.

The European or white ethnic immigration was undertaken with the prospect of permanently adapting the American homeland as its own. It was fortunate that the immigration process took place at the time when the United States economy

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[17]Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970), pp. 13-14 and 16; ibid., 1963, XXiii; Herberg Will, Catholic-Protestant-Jew (New York: Doubleday, 1955); Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 77-78; Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951), pp. 120-121.

[18]William N. Newman, American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 199.

was expanding and so there was an abundance of jobs available for unskilled laborers. Pervasive poverty characterized the American nation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Therefore, the recently arrived white ethnic was part of the majority economic situation. The group's whiteness served to facilitate the assimilation process which was largely completed by the third generation through out-group marriage and the adoption of the English language. Those with cunning and drive were able to enter into the political arena and in time controlled the newly forming political machinery.[19]

The Puerto Rican migration was the twentieth century movement of American citizens to the continental United States. Mass migration was in response to the economic exigencies of the homeland intertwined with those of the mainland. These migrant poor of the lower echelons of the working class and with racial overtones, however, arrived at a time when the economy shifted from brawn to brain power through formal education. The migrant's vision was of a temporary relocation to be followed by a future and, hopefully, speedy return to the mother country.[20] The physical

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[19]Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1971), pp. 1-4.

[20]Juan Flores, John Attinasi and Pedro Pedraza, Jr., "La Carreta Made a V-Turn: Puerto Rican Language and Culture in the United States," Daedalus, Spring 1981, pp. 193-217; Fitzpatrick, Puerto Rican Americans, pp. 1-4.

proximity of the Puerto Rican homeland, coupled with its historical economic relation of a colonial nature with the United States economy, can be envisioned as a "bridge" which has served to facilitate the reproduction of nationalistic sentiments.[21] These sentiments are stimulated by technological advances in the communication sphere. Mainland Puerto Ricans have direct accessibility to popular culture television and radio broadcasting and newspapers from the homeland. The ethnic model is flawed in that it assumes that cultural assimilation is a one directional linear process and thus it does not allow for the existence of divergent nationalistic sentiments.[22] The pervasiveness of nationalistic cultural sentiments among the Puerto Rican group is revealed in patterns of out-group marriage and language maintenance. Puerto Ricans have not followed the immigrant pattern of cultural assimilation by the third generation. The group has a high rate of intra-group marriage and a very low rate of out-group marriage[23] and prefers bilingualism to monolingualism (English only).[24]

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[21]Flores, Attinasi and Pedraza, Jr., "La Carreta Made a V-Turn," pp. 193-217.

[22]Newman, American Pluralism, pp. 86-87.

[23]Joseph P. Fitzpatrick and Douglas T. Gurak, Hispanic Intermarriage in New York City (Hispanic Research Center: Fordham University, 1979), Monograph No. 2, pp. 32-34.

[24]Flores, Attinasi and Pedraza, Jr., "La Carreta Made a V-Turn," p. 197.

The Puerto Ricans' structural assimilation as an interest group is complicated by the complexity of the contemporary political machinery. The recent political turmoil that erupted in the borough of the Bronx in New York City testifies to the intricacies of contemporary politics for the maintenance of structural arrangements of power. In this case political leaders attempted to neutralize the political power of the Puerto Rican ethnic group through the gerrymandering of population district lines.[25]

The Puerto Rican group's characterization by color hues ranging from black to white[26] has complicated the process of the group's structural assimilation since color prejudice among white Americans has served to place them into a caste-like structure.[27] But the ethnic model fails to deal with the undercurrents of racism, prejudice and discrimination in American society which have served to limit social relations, opportunities for achievement and economic and social rewards. The model rests on the assumption that ethnic and racial practices are individual acts and not an established

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[25]Karen Lowe, "Bronx legislator advises migrants from Puerto Rico to shun New York City," The San Juan Star, January 11, 1982, p. 8; Newman, American Pluralism, p. 81.

[26]Newman, pp. 34-35; Clara Elena Rodriguez, "Puerto Ricans: Between Black and White," New York Affairs, vol. 1, No. 4, 1974, p. 94.

[27]Robert A. Blauner, Racial Oppression in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 2.

institutional practice.[28] Prejudice as defined is any set of ideas and beliefs that negatively prejudge groups or individuals on the basis of real or alleged group traits or characteristics.[29] It embodies the components of cognitive, attitudinal behavior which may coexist or act independently.[30] Discrimination is "any act of differential treatment towards a group or an individual perceived as a member of a group. The intent and/or effect of differential treatment is to reproduce conditions conducive to the economic interests of the dominant power."[31] For a more detailed historical treatment of the issues of race and ethnicity and their influence for government policy, the reader is directed to the list of subject authorities in the notes.[32] The Puerto Rican group,

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[28]Newman, American Pluralism, p. 84; Andrew M. Greeley and William C. McGready, Ethnicity in the United States (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), p. 297; Robin M. Williams, American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), pp. 441-444.

[29]Newman, American Pluralism, p. 196.

[30]Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 1954), pp. 10-14; 50.

[31]Newman, American Pluralism, p. 199.

[32]Oliver C. Cox, Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics (New York: Modern Reader Paperbooks, 1970); Blauner, Racial Oppression; Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach (New York: MacMillan Co., 1965); James A. Geschwender, Racial Stratification in America (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., 1978); George E. Simpson and Milton J. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination, 4th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 275; Thomas Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America (Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), pp. 353-364; 390-398.

in response to the American racial attitude, has tended to resist blending on a large scale because to do so it would have to divide itself on a racial basis and accept the established attitudes and practices of the society.[33]

The vision that was once held for the structural assimilation of the immigrant groups has been altered by the present existence of four structural positions into which minority groups can be situated: reward parity with integration, reward parity with segregation, reward deprivation with integration and reward deprivation with segregation.[34] Puerto Ricans have been identified as occupying the structural positions of reward deprivation with segregation and integration.[35] This model of structural assimilation, however, can serve as a rationale for government inaction of the problems plaguing the Puerto Rican group for it envisions that overtime the group will be able to surpass any hurdles presently in their path.

The cultural pluralism model assumes the quality of an option available to all groups to selectively blend into the American system.[36] It fails to come to grips with the

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[33]Edwardo Seda Bonilla, "Ethnic Studies, Cultural Pluralism and Power," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, University of Colorado, 1970.

[34]Newman, American Pluralism, pp. 135-136.

[35]Ibid., p. 136.

[36]Greeley and McGready, Ethnicity, pp. 302-303.

reality that the social aspect of groups that determine minority status in a society have consequential individual and institutional results that thwart the process of cultural pluralism.[37] In addition, pluralist theory does not adequately explain the position of Puerto Ricans in the urban ghettoes. Like the ethnic model, it also de-emphasizes and/or obliterates completely the importance of race and "bridge" colonial relationship between the Puerto Rican homeland and the continental United States that have had far-reaching implications for the maintenance of cultural nationalistic sentiments among the members of this group. Thus, both models envision the Puerto Rican problem in America as that of its internal malfunctioning in the area of its lack of development of a strong middle class contingent, religious and racial attitudes, weakness of community organization, indigeneous cultural factors and to a lesser extent societal prejudice.[38]

The neocolonial model is deficient in that Puerto Ricans are geographically dispersed among their exploiters.[39]

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[37]Newman, American Pluralism.

[38]Glazer and Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, p. 101; Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, p. 109; Handlin, The Uprooted, pp. 100-112; William L. Warner and Leo Stole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), pp. 284-295.

[39]United States Commission on Civil Rights, Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics of New York City and the New York Metropolitan Area, Staff Report, February 1982.

Also, like the other models, it is a very simplistic analysis of the Puerto Rican ghetto since it does not explain the reason for the plight of the Puerto Rican group and the broad forces that affect the American social system and its interrelations with the Puerto Rican.

In my judgement all the models that have been presented help to explain something about the Puerto Rican problem but I believe that a developed Marxian model has the breath to capture the dynamics of the Puerto Rican problem. The model presents an integrated interdisciplinary approach synthesizing diversity and seeing the system as a whole. Unlike the other models which pay lip service to the class question complicated by race and ethnicity, the Marxian model presents a holistic model of American society in which the systematic oppression of ethnic and racial minorities is carried out. It captures aspects of the contradictions of the critiqued models alluded to earlier. The model reveals how ideology is tied into the mode of production of the capitalist system and serves as an administrative apparatus or transmission belt for class stratification.

Conclusions

The main focus of this thesis is to extend and stress the Marxian orientation to explain and evaluate the Puerto Rican problem. When the model appears inadequate, its shortcomings will be indicated and supplemented. The data to be

looked at is accessible and adequate for each step of empirical analysis. The literature will be synthesized within the perspective of a sociology of knowledge and historical and content analysis while focusing in on inconsistencies, gaps and areas needing greater research attention. My familiarity with the subject matter lies in my past role as a student and teacher, both in the public schools of New York and in the City University of New York, and also as a concerned participant and observer of the schools. In addition, I have extensively reviewed the literature over the course of the years. Some of this literature is in Spanish and my bilingualism will afford me the opportunity to integrate the literature of both languages for an English-speaking audience. As a concerned participant and observer, I have kept abreast of the literature. As a graduate student in sociology, I have added the insight gained from my studies in sociology.

The following chapter will put into historical perspective the class placement position of Puerto Ricans in the New York City labor force. A comparative analysis will be made of tables developed from census data which reveal the economic position of Puerto Ricans vis a vis the total New York City population, excluding blacks. The class position of Puerto Ricans in the lower tier of the working class will be shown to result from the contradictory nature of the

societal liberal democracy equality ideology with that of capitalist production needs. Thus, discriminatory policies and practices are institutionalized for the reproduction of class stratas compatible with the necessities of a democratic capitalist economic system.

CHAPTER II

LABOR MARKET SEGMENTATION AND THE PUERTO RICANS

The "bridge" relation between Puerto Rico and the United States has served in the creation of the necessary conditions to foment migration. This migration flow began prior to the official continental takeover of the island in 1898 and has continued in full force until the present time. It is estimated that from 1898 to 1944 around 90,000 persons migrated to the mainland. During that 45-year period the greatest bulk of movement was during the decade of the 1920s where more than 40,000 Puerto Ricans migrated. The great economic depression of the thirties sharply reduced this trend and during some years this current was reversed. Mass migration took impetus once again following the conclusion of the Second World War. During the decade of the 1940s more than 150,000 persons migrated and in the 1950s more than 400,000 persons. Net migration diminished in the 1960s and seventies with the temporary improvement of the economic climate on the island as the result of Operation Bootstrap efforts in the 1940s and fifties.[1] The early 1980s has witnessed a new

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[1]José L. Vásquez Calzada, Aspectos Demograficos de la Emigración en Conferencia de Historiografía Centro de Migración, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, City University of New York, Research Foundation, CUNY, April 1974.

population exodus but of a differing class nature: a brain drain of middle class professionals.[2]

The ebb and flow of population transfer is regulated by the economic needs of the metropolis for low-skilled laborers. When the continental economy has high needs for labor input within the low-skilled mobility chain, Puerto Rican migration to the metropolis occurs; when the needs are diminished, return migration to the homeland occurs.[3]

Destination of Migrants

At the beginning of the century Puerto Ricans were dispersed throughout various regions of the United States but New York City had the greatest population concentration. By 1940, New York City accommodated 88 per cent of the total mainland Puerto Rican population. Increased dispersion throughout the American territory has been observed from the decade of the 1940s onward. According to the 1970 census only 58 per cent of "boricuas" lived in New York City as compared with 88 per cent in 1940.[4] A loss of population or political

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[2]Harry Turner, "Brain Drain: New Kind of Migration from Puerto Rico Heads North," San Juan Star, January 31, 1982, pp. 1 and 18.

[3]Frank Bonilla and Ricardo Campos, "A Wealth of Poor: Puerto Ricans in the New Economic Order, Daedalus, Spring 1981; Adalberto Lopez, "The Puerto Rican Diaspora: A Survey," in Adalberto Lopez and James Petras (eds.), Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1974), p. 319.

[4]Jose L. Vásquez Calzada, Aspectos Demográficos de la Emigración en Conferencia de Historiografía Centro Taller de Migración, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, City University of New York, Research Foundation, CUNY, April 1974.

undercounting is frequently cited for the reduction in numbers.[5] In 1970 Puerto Ricans were concentrated in the northeast, middle Atlantic region, most specifically the States of New York and New Jersey. The historical migration stream to New York City is reflected in table 1. Up until 1970 there was a steady increase of the Puerto Rican population but thereafter geographic dispersal as well as return

TABLE 1

PUERTO RICAN TO TOTAL POPULATION,
NEW YORK CITY
1950-1976

Group	Population (in thousands)			
	1950	1960	1970	1976
Puerto Rican	246	613	812	756
Total	7,892	7,782	7,895	7,213
% Puerto Rican	3.1	7.9	10.3	10.3

Source: New York City Department of City Planning, Population Analysis Section; also Trude W. Lash, Heidi Sigal and Deanna Dudzinski, Children and Families in New York City: An Analysis of the 1976 Survey of Income and Education (New York, Foundation for Child Development, 1979), table C.

[5] New York Times, July 9, 1972, p. 49, and October 2, 1972, p. 1.

migration increased considerably.[6] The dispersal is reflected in the significant numbers in residence in the East North Central State of Illinois, South Atlantic State of Florida and Pacific State of California and scattered numbers in the remaining states.[7]

Puerto Ricans in the Economic Order

The Puerto Rican experience in the labor force is revealed in table 2. Relative to other male New Yorkers, Puerto Rican males enter the labor force at a younger age. The employment of both groups of males is concentrated between the ages of 25 and 44. The per cent employed is less for older Puerto Rican males than for total non-Negro males. Within the two groups between the ages of less than 24 and 25-44, unemployment is higher for Puerto Rican males. The female total non-Negro employed population is concentrated within the ages of 25 and 64, whereas for Puerto Rican females it is under 44 years of age. Unemployment trends follow the same tendencies.

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[6]Jose Hernandez Alvarez, Return Migration to Puerto Rico, Population Monograph Series, No. 1, University of California, Berkeley, 1967.

[7]United States Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, Subject Reports, Puerto Ricans in the United States, 1970 Census of Population, table 1.

TABLE 2

RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOR FORCE POPULATION BY STATUS, AGE, ETHNICITY AND SEX, NEW YORK, SMSA, 1969

Population	Total	Age			
		Less than 24 years	25-44	45-64	65+
Total Non-Negro Males	3,333,341	19	34	32	14
Labor force	2,545,884	14	42	38	6
Employed	2,449,863	13	43	39	6
Unemployed	80,811	29	32	29	10
Total Puerto Rican Males	227,793	29	48	19	8
Labor force	164,028	21	58	20	1
Employed	153,405	20	58	21	1
Unemployed	9,885	37	47	15	1
Total Non-Negro Females	3,839,414	18	32	32	18
Labor force	1,551,870	22	33	40	5
Employed	1,485,572	22	34	40	5
Unemployed	65,940	24	31	36	9
Total Puerto Rican Females	275,240	28	37	19	5
Labor force	78,528	30	47	22	1
Employed	72,464	30	47	22	1
Unemployed	6,046	36	41	21	2

Source: United States Census, Series PC(1)-C, General Social and Economic Characteristics: New York States, 1970, table 168.

The labor market is divided into two sectors each with an established ceiling of lifetime opportunities available to the individual or group occupying the particular sector. The primary sector serves as the central work world located predominantly in the corporate and state arena. Here jobs are characterized by relatively high wages and a modicum of job security assured through white and blue collar unions. The bureaucratic order and the hierarchical division of labor (tiers) are characterized by clear job ladders, seniority rules and opportunities for promotion based on credentials of various types which serve to ensure job security and advancement. The secondary sector which serves as the marginal work world is characterized by jobs requiring limited credentials and consequently offer low wages, limited job training and promotion, employment instability and high worker turnover. Worker unionization is lacking and employer threat and coercion are employed to enforce compliance. Jobs are of the lowest level (white and blue collar) of the corporate sector and in the small-scale entrepreneural area. Within the sectors tiers exist but labor mobility tends to be greater within than between segments.

The primary tier of the secondary sector is occupied by white ethnics whose jobs offer chances for promotion, union protection and a better salary. The jobs in this sector are of routine primary work assemblyline, construction, clerical and retail sales. The secondary tier is occupied by the surplus

labor force where jobs are deadend, seasonal, low paying, alienating and have high turnover. These jobs are those of messengers, janitors, lettuce pickers etc. and are generally occupied by minority ethnic groups.[8]

The occupational distribution of the Puerto Rican population relative to the total non-Negro population is revealed in table 3. The Puerto Rican population is concentrated in the secondary sector occupational group versus the total non-Negro concentration in the primary sector. Within the sectors themselves disparities of representation exist by prestige rank. Within the primary sector Puerto Rican males are concentrated in the less prestigious categories of clerical and skilled workers whereas the total non-Negro male population is found in the highest prestige occupations of professional and technical worker and manager and administrators. Within the secondary sector and lower prestige rank occupations Puerto Ricans are concentrated in all categories but most particularly in the operative and service workers categories--the highest and lowest prestige categories.

A clearer picture of the Puerto Rican situation in the labor market emerges when an analysis is made of their numerical

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[8]Michael Reich and David M. Gordon, "A Theory of Labor Market Segmentation," American Economic Review, 63 (May) 1975, pp-359-365; Paul S. Montagna, Occupations and Society: Toward a Sociology of the Labor Market (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1977), pp. 68-71; Raymond S. Franklin, American Capitalism: Two Visions (New York: The CUNY Random House, 1977), pp. 176-197.

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF THE MALE EXPERIENCED LABOR FORCE BY ETHNICITY, NEW YORK CITY, SMSA, 1969

Occupational Group	Total Non-Negro a/ (Per cent)	Puerto Rican a/ (Per cent)	Prestige rank b/
Primary Sector			
Professional and technical worker	18.0	3.9	10
Manager and administrators	13.7	4.4	9
Salespersons	9.6	4.9	8
Clerical workers	12.1	13.5	7
Skilled workers (craftsmen)	17.6	15.6	6
Secondary Sector			
Operatives (except transport equipment)	8.1	22.6	5
Transport equipment operatives	5.0	7.4	4
Laborers (farm and nonfarm)	4.8	6.2	3
Service workers (with private household)	10.7	21.1	1-2

Source: Paul D. Montagna, Occupations and Society: Towards A Sociology of the Labor Market (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), p. 82; United States Census, Series PC(1)-C, General Social and Economic Characteristics: New York State, 1970), table 171.

a/ These percentages were obtained by dividing the employed population in each occupational group category into the total male experienced civilian labor population.

b/ The breakdown of occupational categories by prestige rank was obtained from Montagna (1977), p. 82.

representation within selective occupations of the primary and secondary labor sector (table 4). Within these sectors tiers exist based on prestige rank. These have consequences for an individual or group's ability to acquire life opportunities in the consumption sphere (c). An examination of the sectors shows that as prestige increases, Puerto Rican representation decreases and as prestige decreases, the population's representation increases. Also, as the prestige of the tiers decreases, their percentual representation increases.

The ability of Puerto Ricans to acquire the needed commodities in the consuption sphere (c) is reflected in their median income in the production sphere (p) (table 5). Within all selective occupations in the primary sector, Puerto Rican workers had lower median incomes than that for the total non-Negro population. As the prestige rank of the occupations is reduced, the disparities in income lessen between the population groups. An increase in prestige rank results in a widening of income differences. Within the sectors tiers exist by prestige rank. The higher prestige rank occupations show greater disparities of income between the population groups. As the prestige rank is reduced within the tiers, the income differences narrow considerably.

In the secondary sector, although income differences are considerably less than for the primary sector, a difference is still evident. The magnitude of the difference may be a reflection of the reduced salary scale in this sector.

TABLE 4

PRESTIGE PLACEMENT[a] WITHIN REPRESENTATIVE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF THE MALE EXPERIENCED LABOR FORCE BY ETHNICITY, NEW YORK CITY, SMSA, 1969

Occupational group[b]	NORC Prestige Scale	Total Non-Negro c/ (Per cent)	Puerto Rican c/ (Per cent)
Primary Sector			
Professional and technical workers			
physicians, medical and oesteopathic	82	0.98	0.05
college and university teachers	78	0.61	0.03
health technologists and technicians	47	0.17	0.28
Managers and administrators			
buyers, purchasing agents and sales managers	50	1.89	0.33
manufacturing	50	2.02	0.28
managers and administrators n.e.c. self-employed	50	1.06	0.67
Salespersons			
insurance agents, brokers and underwriters	47	0.82	0.30
sales representatives, manufacturing industries	49	1.40	0.25
sales clerk, retail trade	29	2.64	2.90
Clerical workers			
bookkeepers and billing clerk	46	1.17	0.68
mail handlers and postal clerks	39	1.74	2.13
bank tellers and cashiers	40	0.56	0.75

TABLE 4 (continued)

Occupational group[b]	NORC Prestige Scale	Total Non-Negro [c] (Per cent)	Puerto Rican [c] (Per cent)
Skilled workers			
electricians	49	0.82	0.48
aircraft	48	0.31	0.22
automobile, including body	37	1.27	1.72
Secondary Sector			
Operatives, except transport			
checkers, examiners and inspectors, manufacturing	36	0.35	0.30
assemblers	27	0.48	1.30
packers and wrappers, except produce	19	0.44	2.30
Transport equipment operatives			
taxicab drivers and chauffers	22	1.00	1.96
truck drivers and deliverymen	32	2.80	4.10
bus drivers	32	0.47	0.46
Laborers (farm and non-farm)			
freight, stock and material handlers	17	2.28	2.90
construction laborers	17	0.82	0.55
Service workers (with private household)			
firemen, fire protection	44	0.55	0.05
policemen and detective	48	1.70	0.68

TABLE 4 (continued)

Occupational group[b/]	NORC Prestige Scale	Total Non-Negro c/ (Per cent)	Puerto Rican c/ (Per cent)
Secondary Sector (cont'd.)			
Service workers (with private household) (cont'd.)			
Busboys and dishwashers	22	0.32	1.30
Cleaning service workers	14	2.30	7.50

Sources: NORC prestige scale was taken from Paul M. Siegel, "Prestige in the American Occupational Structure," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1971, as it appeared in Han Lin Foundations of Social Research, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1976), Appendix B, pp. 415-417; Paul D. Montagna, Occupations and Society: Towards a Sociology of the Labor Market (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), p. 82; U.S. Census, Series PC (1)C, General Social and Economic Characteristics: New York State, 1970, table 171.

a/ The NORC prestige scale is used in order to facilitate an examination of occupational stratification not only within the primary and secondary sector but also within the sector itself.

b/ The breakdown of occupational groups into the primary and secondary sector was done by making reference to Montagna (1977), p. 82.

c/ These percentages were obtained by dividing the occupational group category number into the total male experienced civilian labor population.

TABLE 5

MEDIAN INCOME[a/] OF THE MALE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE
BY OCCUPATION AND ETHNICITY
NEW YORK, SMSA, 1970

Occupational Group[b/]	Median income		PR % N-N
	Non-Negro	Puerto Rican	
Primary Sector			
Professional and technical workers			
physicians, medical and oesteopathic	16,148	12,999	80.5
college and university teachers	12,968	5,999	46.3
health technologists and technicians	8,560	7,601	88.8
Managers and administrators			
buyers, purchasing agents and sales managers	11,405	7,817	68.5
manufacturing	15,426	8,224	53.3
managers and administrators n.e.c. self-employed	10,223	7,498	73.3
Salespersons			
insurance agents, brokers and underwriters	11,024	7,197	62.2
sales representatives, manufacturing industries	11,024	6,202	56.3
sales clerk, retail trade	6,409	5,051	78.8

TABLE 5 (continued)

Occupational Group[b/]	Median income		PR % N-N
	Non-Negro	Puerto Rican	
Primary Sector (cont'd.)			
Clerical workers			
bookkeepers and billing clerk	7,795	6,391	82.0
mail handlers and postal clerks	7,968	6,498	81.6
bank tellers and cashiers	7,680	5,777	75.2
Skilled workers			
electricians	8,203	7,443	90.7
aircraft	7,949	9,435	119.0
automobile, including body	7,729	5,963	77.2
Secondary Sector			
Operatives, except transport			
checkers, examiners and inspectors, manufacturing	8,384	5,373	64.1
assemblers	6,701	4,999	74.6
packers and wrappers, except produce	5,922	4,739	80.0
Transport equipment operatives			
taxicab drivers and chauffers	6,173	5,571	90.2
truck drivers and deliverymen		5,559	
bus drivers		8,247	

TABLE 5 (continued)

Occupational Group[b/]	Median income		PR % N-N
	Non-Negro	Puerto Rican	
Secondary Sector (cont'd.)			
Laborers (farm and non-farm)			
freight, stock and material handlers		5,073	
construction laborers	7,963	6,077	76.3
Service workers (with private household)			
firemen, fire protection	12,319	11,219	91.1
policemen and detective	11,665	9,614	82.4
busboy and dishwashers	2,582	4,030	156.1
cleaning service workers	5,914	5,079	86.9

Sources: Paul D. Montagna, Occupations and Society: Towards a Sociology of the Labor Market (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1977), p. 82; United States Census, Series PC(1)-C, General Social and Economic Characteristics: New York State, 1970, table 171.

a/ These percentages were obtained by dividing the occupational group category number into the total male experienced civilian labor population.

b/ The breakdown of occupational groups into the primary and secondary sector was done by making reference to Montagna (1977), p. 82.

The tiers in this sector reveal that income disparities are greatest for higher prestige occupations and lower for the lesser prestige occupations.

The consequences of the limited earnings of the Puerto Rican male experienced labor force population is reflected in the median income of Puerto Rican families (table 6). These families have half the incomes of total non-Negro families. Regardless of the number of earners Puerto Rican families have lower median incomes. It takes two earners in Puerto Rican families to almost equal what it takes only one earner in total non-Negro families. Four or more earners in Puerto Rican families made incomes almost equivalent to those of three earners in total non-Negro families.

It is generally assumed that as education rises income does so accordingly. Thus, the low level of educational attainment of the Puerto Rican population is offered as an explanation of their limited income situation. But table 7 shows that regardless of years of school completed by the head of the family, the median income of Puerto Rican families lags sharply behind those of total non-Negro families. It takes a Puerto Rican head of the family with one to three years of college to earn what a total non-Negro head of the family earns with an eighth grade education. Puerto Rican family heads with five or more years of college earn slightly less than what a total non-Negro head earns with only one to three years of college.

TABLE 6

MEDIAN INCOME OF NEW YORK SMSA FAMILIES BY ETHNICITY, 1969

	Median income		PR % N-N
	Total Non-Black	Puerto Rican	
All families	11,728	5,927	50.5
No earners	3,519	2,697	76.6
One earner	10,339	6,144	59.4
Two earners	14,351	9,008	62.8
Three earners	17,625	12,568	71.3
Four or more earners	20,787	17,250	83.0

Source: United States Census, Series PC(1)-C, General Social and Economic Characteristics: New York State, 1970, table 202.

TABLE 7

MEDIAN INCOME OF NEW YORK SMSA FAMILIES BY ETHNICITY AND YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, BY HEAD, 1970

Years of school completed	Median income		PR % N-N
	Total Non-Black	Puerto Rican	
Less than 8 years	6,909	4,712	68.2
Eighth grade	9,046	5,640	62.3
High school, 1 to 3 years	10,630	5,669	53.3
High school, 4 years	11,982	7,329	61.2
College, 1-3 years	13,880	9,284	66.9
College, 4 years	17,992	11,435	63.6
College, 5 or more years	20,105	12,795	63.6

Source: United States Census, Series PC(1)-C, General Social and Economic Characteristics: New York State, 1970, table 202.

The extent of poverty in Puerto Rican families is revealed in the numbers of families receiving public assistance. In 1971 Puerto Rican families constituted 37 per cent of the aid to dependent children cases which provide support to families with absent fathers, 51 per cent of those who receive support on the basis of an unemployed father and 52 per cent of home relief cases in which fathers, even though employed, have insufficient earnings to support their families.[9] The irony of the situation lies in the marked discrepancy between the Puerto Rican numerical representation within the New York City population (10.7 per cent) and their over-representation as clients of economic-social services. An unraveling of this complex economic situation requires a deglossing of historical data. This data analysis will help to provide the answers to the Puerto Rican plight within the capitalist economy in which markets are segmented along ethnic and racial lines.

Puerto Ricans and the Ideologies

The role of Puerto Ricans in the United States economy has historically been that of low-wage laborers whose exploitation is required in order to increase the surplus value of capitalists. They serve in this capacity as members of an industrial reserve army alternately employed, under-employed

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[9]New York State Department of Social Services, Characteristics of ADC Families in New York State, January 1971, Program Analysis Report No. 50, and Characteristics of Home Relief Families in New York City, August 1971, Program Analysis Report No. 42.

and unemployed.[10] The material conditions of contemporary capitalism differ and mobility opportunities are in short supply but capitalist production needs persist. Thus, mechanisms must be developed and employed to legitimize equality of opportunity inherent in status mobility while at the same time ensuring the continuation of the fulfillment of capitalist needs for inequality.

Along these lines mainstream theorists of the social scientific community serve the needs of capitalists by presenting "research evidence" that serves to defend the existence of class strata in the society. These strata are presented as being the result of individual or group differences which serve to thwart opportunities for mobility. A listing of mainstream explanatory models appear in the notes.[11]

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[10]Frank Bonilla and Ricardo Campos, "A Wealth of Poor: Puerto Ricans in the New Economic Order," Daedalus, Spring 1981, pp. 133-176.

[11]Daniel Bell, "Meritocracy and Equality," in his The Coming of Post-Industrial Society (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Richard Hernstein, "IQ", The Atlantic Monthly, 1971; Arthur Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement," Harvard Educational Review, 39 (Winter 1969), pp. 1-129; Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value System of Different Social Classes: A Social-psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 488-492; Michael Young, The Rise of Meritocracy (Baltimore: Penguino Books, 1958); Oscar Lewis, La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty (New York: Random House, 1966); Martin Deutsch et al., The Disadvantaged Child: Studies of the Social Environment and the Learning Process (New York: Basic Books, 1962); Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," American Sociological Review (April 1945), No. 2, vol. 10, pp. 242-249; Talcott Parsons,

A second mechanism that is employed by capitalists is the creation of a climate of ethnic and racial tensions. This serves to limit worker unity and to deflect attention from such issues as labor grievances.[12] The capitalist consequently have free reigns to continue economic exploitation in the face of the lack of a united working class front. A third mechanism employed is that of institutionalized discrimination

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"Equality and Inequality in Modern Society or Social Stratification Revisited," Sociological Inquiry (Spring 1970) 40:13-72.

A critique of mainstream explanatory models but not within a Marxian model are the literature of: Hylan Lewis, "Culture of Poverty? What Does It Matter?" in Eleanor Burke Leacock (ed.), The Culture of Poverty: A Critique (New York: Simon & Schustar, 1971), pp. 345-363; Hylan Lewis, "Culture, Class and the Behavior of Low-Income Families," prepared for the Conference of Lower Class Culture, Barbizon Plaza Hotel, New York City, June 27-29, 1963; Hylan Lewis, "Syndrome of Contemporary Urban Poverty," presented at the American Psychiatric Association, Regional Research Conference on Poverty and Mental Health, Boston State Hospital, Boston, Mass., April 22 and 23, 1966; Charles A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968); Hyman Rodman, "The Lower Class Value Stretch," in R. Mack (ed.), Race, Class and Power (New York: Van Nostrand, Reinhold Co., 1968), pp. 296-310; Suzanne Keller and Marisa Zavalloni, "Ambition and Social Class: A Respecification," Social Forces, 43, 1964, pp. 58-70; H. J. Gans, "Culture and Class in the Study of Poverty," in Daniel Patrick Moynihan (ed.), On Understanding Poverty (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

[12]Herbert Hill, "Guardians of the Sweatshops: The Trade Unions, Racism and the Garment Industry," in Adalberto Lopez and James Petras (eds.), Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans: Studies in History and Society (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), pp. 384-416; Edward Reich and Thomas E. Weisskopf, "The Economics of Racism," in Reich, Weisskopf et al. (eds.), The Capitalist System (Englewood Cliff, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972), pp. 316-320.

by ethnicity. This fits in well with the prior mechanisms which have already set up the needed climate for the success of this system. Institutionalized discrimination exists through practices and policies of recruitment, soliciting, promotion, terms and conditions of employment, layoff and discharge.[13] It creates a ceiling of available opportunity for mobility and thus creates in the eyes of the white working class the illusion of economic progress. Since a comparison of their economic situation with that of the Puerto Rican group would reveal a state of relative economic well-being.

Conclusions

Status differences between Puerto Ricans and the total non-Negro population can best be explained by the Marxian model which stresses the need for a divided work force to meet the needs of the capitalist market. A dual labor market is not consistent with the Puerto Rican malaise of poverty in which the class relations of the society are played out.[14] Although a comprehensive set of legal guarantees of equality of employment exist, their enforcement rests in the hands of social

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[13]George E. Simpson and Milton J. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), p. 33; Joe R. Feagin, "Institutional Discrimination: A Working Paper," Scholar-in-Residence, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975; Robert A. Blauner, Racial Oppression in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 20-50.

[14]Victor Perlo, Economics of Racism, U.S.A.: Roots of Black Inequality (New York: International Publishers, 1975); Herman P. Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1971).

classes which have benefitted from inequality and who throw up an infinite series of roadblocks against making the laws effective. Coupled with this is the fact that the liberal democratic ideology of equality which focuses on opportunity does not require equality of economic results. Thus, the focus serves to inhibit efforts to reduce inequality through political means.[15]

The class placement position of Puerto Ricans within the lower tier of the secondary sector of the production circuit (p) is critical for the group's ability to purchase lifetime opportunities. Their living standard places a ceiling upon their status within the society and the options available to them to pursue life styles. These consequently impact upon the status and lifetime opportunities available to their children.[16]

Within American society the educational institution has been identified as a byproduct of residential location.[17]

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[15]Seymour Martin Lipset, The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective (Garden City, New York: Basic Books, 1963), pp. 321 and 330.

[16]Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in his Essays in Sociological Theory (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 325, 328-329 and 331.

[17]Samuel Bowles, "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labor," The Review of Radical Political Economics 3 (Fall 1971), pp. 1-30.

It serves an important role in sorting individuals or groups for the available slots within the society: the capitalist class and the working class. The next chapter will explore how the educational system serves to maintain Puerto Ricans within the working class and more specifically the lower tier of this social class.

CHAPTER III

IDEOLOGY FOR EDUCATIONAL STRATIFICATION

An individual or group's experience in the production circuit (p) is critical for the quality and quantity of life opportunities one is able to purchase. One's income is critical in determining the type of community one is able to buy into with its schools, neighbors, contacts, life attitudes etc. Social segregation is the byproduct of income differentials within the society. Puerto Ricans in New York City are heavily concentrated in neighborhoods which have been categorized as low-income areas. In 1970 the United States census found 85 per cent of the City's Puerto Rican population living in sections classified as poor neighborhoods in comparison to 31 per cent for the total population.[1] Their relegation to the lower tier of the working class results in their attendance at an educational system oriented to reproducing a working class strata to meet and produce capitalist production patterns. For the school system is the means of preparing people to enter the labor market (m) and is a mechanism to prepare one to enjoy and appreciate the larger fruits

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[1]U.S. Census, Social, Economic and Labor Force, Characteristics of Residents in New York City's Low-income Areas, United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Middle Atlantic Regional Office, Regional Report No. 30, September 1972.

of society.[2] It functions in contradictory ways, however, since the public school system right from its origin has been riddled with contradictory goals. Its outcomes reflect the needs of the dominant class to reproduce class strata in a legitimate way yet at the same time it must maintain fluidity because talented Puerto Ricans are necessary for capitalists. The social cost of oppression thus becomes a problem in that it needs to maintain minimum economic order for the survival of the business system. It wages a constant struggle against the rise of a counterforce of organized power by the working class. But the school system does not have the ability to offer equality of outcomes thus it must offer an adaptation: tracking. This is presented as the liberal democracy equality response to meeting each individual's needs according to his/her personal qualities and achievements as provided by mainstream theorists.[3] For an elaboration of the existant literature dealing with the necessities for educational tracking, I direct you to the notes.[4] An elaboration of the operationalization and consequences of this system for Puerto Rican students follows.

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[2]Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gentes, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1976).

[3]Raymond S. Franklin, American Capitalism: Two Visions (New York, The CUNY Randon House, 1977), pp. 176-197.

[4]Mainstream literature dealing with the concept of a culture of poverty is as follows:

Educational Tracking

Curriculum differentiation serves as a mechanism by which class strata compatible with capitalist production needs get reproduced. This system is carried out through the utilization of mainstream literature which contends that lower working class children enter the school environment with a qualitatively different preparation for the demands of both the learning process and the behavioral requirements of the classroom due to their socializing experience, the culture of their environment and slum conditions. Tracking was developed as an equalizer of educational opportunity since each student would be taught at an academic rate commensurate with his/her ability.[5]

Oscar Lewis, La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty (New York: Random House, 1966); Daniel P. Moynihan and F. Mosteller (eds.), An Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: Random House, 1972). Critics of the concept of the culture of poverty are as follows: Hylan Lewis, "Culture of Poverty? What Does It Matter," in Eleanor B. Leacock (ed.), The Culture of Poverty: A Critique (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), pp. 345-363; Hylan Lewis, "Culture, class and the behavior of low-income families," prepared for the Conference of Lower Class Culture, Barbizon Plaza Hotel, New York City, June 27-29, 1963; Hylan Lewis, "Syndromes of contemporary urban poverty," presented at the American Psychiatric Association Regional Research Conference of Poverty and Mental Health, Boston State Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts, April 22-23, 1966; Helen I. Safa, The Urban Poor of Puerto Rico: A Study in Development and Inequality (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974), p. 3; Charles A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

[5]Lawrence A. Cremin, The revolution in American secondary education, 1893-1918, Teachers College Record, Vol. LVI, No. 6, 1955, 303; Christina Tree, "Grouping Pupils in

Educators label student abilities based upon several sources of available information: (1) first hand information based on observations of the student; (2) second hand information obtained from other than direct interaction, i.e., other teacher evaluation information and comments, test scores, prior report cards, permanent records, cumulative records and teacher's impressions of the child's background.[6]

Educational tracking in the New York City public school system begins in the first grade based upon teacher evaluations of student abilities. Children with a pre school experience are placed into a more academically advanced first grade class, those without into a less. If a hierarchy of ability classes does not exist, then ability groups are developed within a class which essentially correspond to the categories of bright, average and slow.[7] Participation in

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New York City," Urban Review (September) 1968, pp. 10-11; Martin Trow, "The second transformation of American secondary education," in Reinhard Bendix & Seymour M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective (New York: The Free Press, 1966); Talcott Parsons, "The school class as a social system: Some of its functions in American society," Harvard Educational Review, 29, 1959, pp. 297-318.

[6]Bernard A. Mackler, "Grouping in the ghetto," Education and Urban Society, 2 (1969), pp. 80-96.

[7]Ellen Lurie, How to Change the Schools: A Parents Action Handbook on How to Fight the System (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 39-40.

kindergarten or nursery school is optional and in many of the poorer sections of the City where school overcrowding exists, kindergartens are limited. Those children who start first grade without a kindergarten experience are approximately 600 hours (five days a week, three hours a day by 10 months a year) behind many of their classmates and 1,800 hours behind many middle class first graders who have been attending nursery school since they were three years old.[8]

At the junior high school level the educational tracks are: (1) enriched programs where those students--mostly upper working class ethnic whites who have been identified as college material--enter into a three-year special progress program where they receive enriched or advanced instruction in science, mathematics, foreign language; or enter into a two-year special progress accelerated program where they cover a three-year course of study in two years; (2) the average track of three-year instruction where these students are generally not given the opportunity to take electives such as a foreign language, typing etc.; (3) the lower level track is composed of students labelled as underachievers, troublemakers, non-college bound.[9]

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[8]Ibid., p. 39.

[9]Ibid., p. 43.

At the secondary level, the educational tracks are the honors, academic, general, commercial and academic vocational. The honors program is made up of students with consistently high performance on tests and/or course grades. The regular academic consists of students classified as low average, average and slightly better than average. General program students are considered of limited ability. The vocational commercial and vocational special schools are for students who are oriented towards entering the work force after high school and at most the attaining of an associate college degree.[10]

Tracking Variables

In New York City the Board of Education recommends that teachers overview children's record cards prior to the first contact session.[11] Teachers have an image of each child that tends to correspond to his or her class racial or ethnic background rather than the child's imputed I.Q. or academic achievement.[12] They check their models not against personal experience but with public agency reports and

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[10]Aaron V. Cicourel & John I. Kitsuse, The Educational Decision-Makers (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merill, 1963), pp. 54-55.

[11]Ellen Lurie, How To Change the Schools: A Parents Action Handbook on How to Fight the System (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 184.

[12]Cicourel & Kitsuse, The Educational Decision-Makers, p. 79; Walter E. Schafer & Carol Olexa, Tracking and Opportunity: The Locking Out Process and Beyond (Scranton, Pa.: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 34-35.

conclusions made by mainstream social scientists.[13] Teachers without prior social class prejudices upon entry into the school system become resocialized into accepting those conceptions of differential student abilities according to class background.[14] They are conditioned to hold negative expectations for lower class and minority children and high expectations for middle class and white children.[15]

Up until 1967 standardized tests of I.Q. were widely used in the New York City public schools and elsewhere for academic labelling activities. They were found, however, to adversely affect Puerto Rican students due to the existence of extraneous influences that biased the accuracy of the results. For a treatment of the standardized testing controversy, I refer you to the notes.[16] The perception of

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[13]David H. Elliot, Social origins, values of teachers and their attitudes to students from poverty backgrounds, Doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1968, p. 97; John U. Ogbu, The Next Generation: An Ethnography of Education in an Urban Neighborhood (New York: Academic Press, 1974), p. 156; Ray C. Rist, "On understanding the process of schooling: The contribution of labelling theory," in Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.), Power and Ideology in Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 422.

[14]Estelle Fuchs, Teachers Talk (New York: Doubleday, 1969). Ibid., How Teachers Learn to Help Children Fail, Transaction, September 1968.

[15]Kenneth B. Clark, "Educational stimulation of racially disadvantaged children," in A. H. Passow (ed.), Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Teachers College, 1968), p. 148.

[16]Robert R. Fishman, "Guidelines for testing minority group children," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 20, No. 55,

students' IQs on the part of educators is related to a student's social class background. Future IQs were perceived to be lower for working class students than for middle class students even when current IQ and achievement were comparable.[17]

A study of tracking revealed that the non-college preparatory track was highly correlated with race and class even when prior school achievement and IQ were controlled. Forty per cent of blue-collar and 60 per cent of black youth with high IQ and high achievement were placed in the non-college preparatory curriculum, while 60 per cent of the white middle class students with low IQs and achievement were still placed in the academic track. Children from the middle and

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1964; Edward J. Bernal, "IQ testing of minority school children: Imperatives for change," Journal of Non-White Concerns, 1973, 2; Ronald J. Samuda, Psychological Testing of American Minorities (New York: Dodd Mead, 1975); Edward A. DeAvila and Barbara Havassy, "The testing of minority group children: A neo-plagetian approach," Today's Education, November-December, 1974; J. Cayco Morrison, The Puerto Rican Study, 1953-57: A Report on the Education and Adjustment of Puerto Ricans Pupils in the Public Schools of the City of New York (Board of Education, City of New York, 1958), p. 80; Milton N. Silva, The culture free test: A Chimera?, presented at the National Association of School Psychologists Convention, Atlanta, Georgia, April 3, 1975, pp. 5-7.

[17]Miller, et al., "Socioeconomic Class and Teacher Bias," Psychological Reports, 123 (1968), p. 806; Roger B. Kariger, The Relationship of Lane Grouping to the Socioeconomic Status of the Parents of Seventh Grade Pupils in Three Junior High Schools, Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, Dissertation Abstracts, 1962, 23, 4586; Walter E. Schafer and Carol Olexa, Tracking and Opportunity: The Locking-out Process and Beyond (Stranton, Pa.: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971), p. 87.

upper classes are found mainly in high ability groups while children from the lower classes are found disproportionately in low-ability groups.[18] Race was salient for placement into the lower tracks of a specialized vocational high school in New York City.[19]

The major determinants of high school curriculum assignment are junior high school objective ability and performance as reflected in curricular placement and school achievement within. Track mobility is influenced by social class and ethnic background. For once tracking takes place, lower class children did not move into higher tracks as early or as frequently as students from higher social class homes, even when their achievement merited it.[20]

Teachers' attitudes towards students vary with the class background of their clientele. A study of the comparison of teachers' attitudes towards upper and middle class children and low-income children found that children in the upper and middle class group perceived their teachers' feelings more favorably than did the children in the lower class

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[18]Sally Hillsman Baker, "Job Discrimination-Schools as the Solution of Part of the Problem?", to appear in Pamela Roby (ed.), Women in the Work Place: Yesterday and Today (in press), cited in Persell, p. 88.

[19]Karl L. Alexander, Martin Cook and Edward L. McDill, "Curriculum Tracking and Educational Stratification," American Sociological Review, Vol. 43, No. 1, February 1978, pp. 64-65.

[20]T. Husen and N. Svensen, "Pedagogic Milieu and the Development of Intellectual Skills," School Review, 68 (1960), 36-51.

group. Even those lower class children who were rated as high achievers perceived their teachers' feelings as less positive than upper class high achievers. The more positive the child's perception of their teachers' feelings, the better was their academic achievement and the more desirable their classroom behavior, as rated by the teacher. The teacher in turn rated 58 per cent of the lower class children as having undesirable behavior while only 20 per cent of the upper class children were rated unfavorably.[21] A study of a black school, a proxy for Puerto Rican schools, revealed that as much as 80 per cent of the school day was channeled into maintaining discipline and into organizational concerns, while in the white schools such activities never amounted to more than 50 per cent of the day.[22]

A study of the amount of teacher time spent related to learning tasks as opposed to behavior modification on the part of the teacher was related to the teacher's conception of behavior as influenced by the students' social class affiliation. Some teachers in urban ethnic neighborhoods

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[21]Helen Davidson and Gethard Lang, "Children's Perception of Their Teacher's Feelings Towards Them Related to Self-perception, School Achievement and Behavior," Journal of Experimental Education, 1960, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 107-118.

[22]Martin Deutsch, "Minority Groups and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Attainment," Monograph No. 2, 1960, Society for Applied Anthropology.

spend as much as 80 per cent of their time in the classroom attempting to exert control and trying to deal with non-academic tasks. This is compared with 30 per cent of teaching time usually devoted to the control of students and to non-academic problems in middle class schools.[23]

Behavioral criteria enter into teachers' expectations but vary with the social class of the student.[24] The academic ability and school behavior of white students was judged more favorably than those of black students even when the students were matched for social class background.[25] Most of the good report card marks, prizes, social acceptance, elected student officers, extracurricular club memberships and teachers' favors went to upper class students while a disproportionate share of the punishment went to lower class students.[26]

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[23]Bernard Mackler, "Grouping in the Ghetto," Education and Urban Society, 1969, 2, pp. 80-96.

[24]Gerald R. Adams and Joseph La Voie, The Effects of Students Sex, Conduct and Facial Attractiveness on Teacher Expectancy, Education, 95 (1974), pp. 76-83; Ray C. Rist, "On Understanding the Process of Schooling: The Contribution of Labelling Theory," in Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.), Power and Ideology in Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 447.

[25]Lee C. Pugh, "Teacher Attitudes and Expectations Associated with Race and Social Class," Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Meeting, Chicago, 1974 (April), ED094018.

[26]S. Abrahamson, "Our Status System and Scholastic Rewards," Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 25, No. 8, April 1952.

Teacher differentiation in interaction as related to the ethnic factor was brought out in the Mexican-American Study (a proxy for Puerto Ricans), by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. It revealed that: (1) Mexican-American students, as compared to Anglo students, receive considerably less praise and encouragement from the teacher and less often hear the teacher accept or use the ideas they express; (2) Teachers spend less time in asking Mexican-American students questions than Anglo students; (3) Teachers address significantly more of their total non-criticizing talk to Anglo pupils than to Mexican-Americans; and (4) Mexican-American students speak significantly less in class than do Anglo students.[27]

Teacher's ethnic attitudes towards Puerto Rican students is revealed in the following:

> "The Puerto Rican children seem to learn absolutely nothing here or at home. Yes, said Miss Dwight, all they seem to care about is sleeping, eating and having parties." 28

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[27]U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Differences in Teacher Interaction with Mexican-American and Anglo Students," in Mexican-American Education Study: Teachers and Students Report V, March 1973, pp. 7-34.

[28]Eugene Bucchioni, "Life in the Schools: Miss Dwight and Los Niños Puertorriqueños," in Francisco Cordasco and Eugene Bucchioni (eds.), The Puerto Rican Community and Its Children: A Sourcebook for Teachers, Social Workers and Other Professionals (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1972), p. 286.

Counselor's ethnic attitudes for the perpetuation of institutionalized discrimination is revealed in the following:

> "An honor student asked her counselor for a chance to look at a college catalogue. 'Is that Italian or Spanish?', asked the counselor, looking at the name on the girl's card. 'Spanish.' 'Now, this is just my opinion, but I think you'd be happier as secretary.'"[29]

A positive relationship exists between a teacher's perception of pupil ability and teacher behavior towards those pupils.[30] Students for whom teachers held high expectations were more frequently praised when correct and less frequently criticized when wrong or unresponsive than were pupils for whom teachers had low expectations.[31] Teachers were more friendly, encouraging and supportive of students who had been designated particularly bright.[32] It

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[29]Richard Margolis, The Losers: A Report on Puerto Ricans and The Public Schools (Aspira Inc., May 1968), p. 3.

[30]Ray C. Rist, "Students' Social Class and Teacher's Expectations: The Self-fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40, No. 3, August 1970, pp. 411-451.

[31]J. E. Brophy and T. L. Good, "Teachers' Communication of Differential Expectations for Children's Classroom Performance: Some Behavioral Data," Journal of Educational Psychology (1970), pp. 365-374.

[32]S. W. Kester, "The Communication of Teacher Expectations and Their Effect on the Achievement and Attitudes of Secondary School Pupils," Doctoral Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, DAI, 30:1434A, 1969.

has been suggested that low-income students are more vulnerable to teacher expectations than are middle class pupils.[33] There exists a positive correlation between children's perceptions of their teachers' feelings towards them and children's perceptions of themselves, academic achievement and classroom behavior.[34] Teacher-student relationships and the dynamics of interaction between both are not uniform.[35]

A student's language of dominance has been found to be influential for track placement based on teacher expectation of ability.[36] A study of kindergartens revealed that

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[33]Albert H. Yee, "Source and Direction of Casual Influence in Teacher-Pupil Relationship," Journal of Educational Psychology, 59 (1968), pp. 275-282.

[34]Helen Davidson and Gerhard Lang, "Children's Perception of Their Teacher's Feelings Towards Them Related to Self-perception, School Achievement and Behavior," Journal of Experimental Education, 1960, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 107-118; Ray C. Rist, "On Understanding the Process of Schooling: The Contribution of Labelling Theory," in Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.), Power and Ideology in Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 411; Betty I. Buford, "Teacher Expectancy of the Culturally Different Student Achievement," Doctoral dissertation, A & M University Dissertation Abstracts International, 1973, 34-1158A-1159-A; B. J. Willis, "The Influence of Teacher Expectations on Teachers' Classroom Interaction with Selected Children," DAI:30, 1970, 5072A.

[35]Ray C. Rist, "On Understanding the Process of Schooling: The Contribution of Labelling Theory," in Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.), Power and Ideology in Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 412.

[36]W. Labou and P. Cohen et al., "A study of the nonstandard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City, Final Report, U. S. Office of Education. Cooperative Research Project, No. 3288, 1968.

one teacher, when asked to rank her children by their readiness to enter first grade, put four of her 20 children at the bottom of the list and noted that they were mute--they have not said one word in six months and they do not appear to hear anything I say. Upon reinterviewing the teacher was asked if the children ever talked to other children. The answer was in the affirmative that they crackled to each other in Spanish all day long.[37] The attitude of educators towards language is critical due to the English language proficiency level of Puerto Rican students. Table 1 reveals that these students have difficulty with the English language across all grade levels. This difficulty is most severe at the elementary school level and gradually subsides in severity at higher educational levels. Table 2 reveals the ability of Puerto Rican students to effectively communicate in the English language. Their inability to effectively communicate in the English language is most pronounced at the elementary school level and becomes slightly reduced by the junior high intermediate level. At a United States Commission on Civil Rights Hearings, Aspira Inc. testified that the Puerto Rican student is stereotyped as a slow learner and mentally retarded

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[37]Max Wolf and Annie Stein, Six Months Later, Head Start Evaluation Project (New York: Ferhauf Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University, 1966).

TABLE 1

PUERTO RICAN PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS HAVING ENGLISH LANGUAGE DIFFICULTY, BY SCHOOL LEVEL, NEW YORK CITY, 1969

	In per cent		
	Severe language difficulty	Moderate language difficulty	Total
All schools	12.8	22.6	35.4
Elementary	16.4	26.7	43.1
Junior high	8.1	15.4	23.5
High school	7.7	16.4	24.1
Special schools	11.4	13.7	25.1

Source: New York City Board of Education, Survey of Pupils Who Have Difficulty with the English Language, based on The Annual Census of School Population taken October 31, 1969, September 1970.

TABLE 2

ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH OF PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS IN NEW YORK CITY'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS OCTOBER 1973

	Puerto Rican	
	Number	Per cent
Elementary schools		
Poor	18,170	12.7
Hesitant	35,950	25.0
Fluent	89,503	62.3
Total	143,623	100.0
Junior high/Intermediate		
Poor	2,505	4.7
Hesitant	7,532	14.3
Fluent	42,809	81.0
Total	52,846	100.0

Source: Board of Education, City of New York. Community School Profiles, 1973-1974.

because he speaks Spanish. He is labelled as a person who is not educated or is not intelligent enough to learn English.[38]

Tracking Results

Educational tracking has been found to create a caste like structure over time by class, ethnicity and race since opportunities for mobility among the tiers are limited and movement is generally downward.[39] In New York City desegregated schools are characterized by segregated classrooms blacks and Puerto Ricans predominant in slow classes and whites in bright classes.[40]

When an entire school is tracked along a particular academic dimension, the entire faculty of a school may establish a particular climate of expectations: high for middle class college-bound students and low for working class, non-white and generally non-college bound students.[41]

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[38]United States Commission on Civil Rights Hearings of the City of New York, February 14-15, 1972, Civil Rights Digest, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 32.

[39]Ray C. Rist, "On understanding the process of schooling: The contribution of labelling theory," in Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.), Power and Ideology in Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 442-444.

[40]New York Times, May 22, 1:4, 1974.

[41]G. Massey and M. V. Scott, et al., "Racism without racists: Institutional Racism in City Schools," The Black Scholar, 3 (1975) 2; R. J. Gyliott and W. B. Brookover, "Learning environment: Comparison of high and low achieving elementary schools," Urban Education (1975), pp. 245-261.

It was found that all school classes have higher aspirations and do better academic work when a student body is composed of a mixture of middle and upper middle class students. Conversely, school classes set their aspirations lower and do poorer academic work when a student body is dominated by lower working class students.[42]

Students acquire certain frames of reference in educational tracks that direct them toward different occupations.[43] A study which measured achievement differences by IQ of college-bound versus vocational groups in a homogeneous, white, working class community revealed that the tracking system produced a highly rigid stratification system much like that of a caste structure. Students in the college group seemed more self-directed and those in the non-college group more conforming.[44]

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[42]Alan B. Wilson, "Residential segregation of social classes and aspirations of high school boys," American Sociological Review, 24(1959), pp. 836-845.

[43]N. Ashton, "The Transition from School to Work Notes on the Development of Different Frames of Reference among Young Male Workers," American Sociological Review, 1973, 21, pp. 101-125; Stanley P. Matzen, "The Relationship between Racial Composition and Scholastic Achievement in Elementary Classrooms," Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1965, pp. 266-475; Samuel Bowles and Gentes, Schooling in Capitalist American: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976).

[44]James E. Rosenbaum, "The Stratification of the Socialization Process," American Sociological Review (February 1975), pp. 48-54.

Tracking influences student self-image and is critical for average and low ability students.[45] Students are placed with those defined as similar to themselves and are segregated from those deemed different, consequently ranking one in a status hierarchy and formally stating that some students are better than others.[46]

A student placed into a slow-moving group is not expected to do much nor to be given much attention. He, however, catches on quickly that he is not considered very bright and internalizes this conception on the premise that the school after all should know. His parents also accept that idea because they believe that the school should know. Thus, the student and his parents are in a pigeon hole in which they accept their fate as intellectually less capable and thus at the society's mercy.[47] Coupled with this a pattern of differential respect evolves from pears and teachers with implications for self-esteem.[48]

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[45]Loretta Byers, "Ability Grouping-help or Hindrance to Social and Emotional Growth," School Review, 69 (1961), pp. 449-459; D. Kelly, "Tracking and Its Impact Upon Self-Esteem: A Neglected Dimension," Education, 96, 1975, pp. 2-9.

[46]J. Freinberg, "The Effects of Ability Grouping on Interaction in the Classroom," ED 053194, 1970.

[47]Patricia Sexton, Education and Income (New York: Viking Press, 1961), p. 52.

[48]James E. Rosenbaum, Making Inequality (New York: Wiley Interscience, 1976), pp. 177-180.

The curriculum to which a student is assigned is the one measurable factor that influences attainment and it explains differences within rather than between schools.[49] The tendency for academic improvement is much stronger among college-prep students than among non-college prep students who often experience a decline in academic achievement.[50] Students assigned to lower tracks have less opportunity to develop their cognitive and manipulative skills beyond a minimal level in that not only are they academically segregated but are also segregated by class, race and ethnicity which may reduce the intellectual stimulation they receive.[51] Track placement influences in the degree to which students participate in extracurricular activities, with short and long-term effects. Those who participate in extracurricular activities in the long-run benefit from practice in performing social roles, setting up and maintaining social organizations and contributing to some common goals. Such skills are often invaluable for securing white-collar employment

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[49]Christopher Jencks, et al., Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 159.

[50]Walter E. Schafer and Carol Olexa, Tracking and Opportunity: The Locking Out Process and Beyond (Scranton, Pa.: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971), p. 42.

[51]N. Ashton, "The Transition from School to Work: Notes on the Development of Different Frames of Reference Among Young Male Workers," American Sociological Review, 1973, 21, p. 108.

and for subsequent occupational success. Non-participation is seen as probably resulting in progressively greater alienation from school with consequences for commitment to school, increasing student frustration, resentment and hostility with influence for school rebellion or withdraw.[52]

Assignment to the non-college bound track has a rather strong negative influence in teaching procedures. Teachers in the low-income, generally lower track classroom discussed the curriculum, taught and evaluated their students less than half as frequently as teachers in middle-class schools. More important, however, is that their evaluations were almost always negative. A double standard exists in the school system where less is expected of such pupils; they are rewarded for poorer performance and the result is a steadily increasing gap between what they accomplish and what pupils at their grade level should accomplish.[53] Curriculum content varies by track placement and even a shared curriculum is altered by track. The extent of teacher preparation, attention, concern, effort for classroom lectures varies with non-college track students getting less from

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[52]Walter E. Schafer and Carol Olexa, Tracking and Opportunity: The Locking Out Process and Beyond (Scranton, Pa.: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 43, 45, 47.

[53]Ellen Lurie, How to Change the Schools: A Parent's Action Handbook on How to Fight the System (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 48-49.

educators.[54] College track students consistently receive better teachers, more positive contacts with counselors, more class materials, laboratory facilities, field trips and visitors than their lower track counterparts.[55] Lower track students are discouraged by both peers and teachers from participating in such extracurricular activities as student government or the newspaper.[56] A system of cumulative disadvantagement exists in schools whereby vocational guidance advice is given less to those whose lack of education presumably makes them need it most. Most of those who do receive advice in school are ill-advised.[57]

In the orientation booklet distributed to Morris High School students who were generally of minority working class background, there was no reference to homework requirements. In a similar booklet issued at Stuyvesant High

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[54]Warren G. Findley and N. M. Bryan, "The Impact of Ability Grouping on School Achievement, Effective Development, Ethnic Separation and Socioeconomic Separation," (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia, 1970).

[55]Barbara Heyns, "Social Selection and Stratification within Schools," American Journal of Sociology, 61, 79, 1434-1451 (May), 1974.

[56]Ibid., 1974.

[57]Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 195.

School, students are told that homework assignments should consume about three hours each night.[58]

Rarely are parents informed that their children are not performing academically on grade level. But the social promotion policy was one until recently to promote 95 per cent of all children whether or not they were academically competent in the material covered.[59] Academic performance is evaluated and graded with reference to the ability range of the students enrolled and the level of the materials presented in the course.[60] Teachers in New York City are permitted to modify the curriculum for students into ability groups.[61]

Assignment to the non-college track has a rather strong negative influence on grades.[62] Course grades in honor courses are differentially weighted by the administration in the computation of grade-point average. They

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[58]Ellen Lurie, How to Change the Schools: A Parents Action Handbook on How to Fight the System (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 166.

[59]Patricia Sexton, The American School: A Sociological Analysis (Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1967), p. 394.

[60]Aaron V. Cicourel and John I. Kitsuse, The Educational Decision-Makers (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merill, 1963), p. 55.

[61]Lurie, How to Change the Schools, pp. 37-38.

[62]Walter E. Schafer and Carol Olexa, Tracking and Opportunity: The Locking Out Process and Beyond (Scranton, Pa.: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971), p. 38.

contribute more to the grade point average than does the same grade in a regular or opportunity course. In addition, restriction is placed upon the grade point level that a student can obtain based on ability group, i.e., the student who performs poorly relative to his peers in an honor course is generally not assigned the lowest absolute grade but one that takes into account the level of the course and the level of the competition ceiling and floor according to ability section.[63] By virtue of being located in a college-prep section or course, a student could seldom earn any grade lower than a B or C. While a student in a non-college prep section or course found it difficult to obtain any grade higher than C, even though his objective performance may have been equivalent to a college prep. B.[64]

Grading curves are lower in non-college tracks where fewer high grades are given or are counted less when grade average were computed. Lower track students suffer a double penalty when class ranks are calculated. Students in the lower general track needed an A average to have the same class rank as D average students in the upper track.[65] Some high

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[63]Cicourel and Kitsuse, The Educational Decision-Makers, p. 55.

[64]Schafer and Olexa, Tracking and Opportunity, p. 58.

[65]Ibid, pp. 58-60.

schools have established grade limitations for pupils according to track. In some a general course student may not receive a mark above 80, even if she or he earns 100 per cent on the examinations.[66] Grades in honor courses are weighted more heavily in computing pupil grade point averages.[67] Teachers' marks were found to be more accurate for middle class than for disadvantaged students.[68] A widening gap in academic performance measured by student grades occurs from the ninth to the 12th grade between college and non-college track students.[69] Grade point discrepancies with achievement test scores are a consequence of motivational, personal and social problems and not methods of teaching preparation, readiness or aptitude.[70]

Teacher prophecies are fulfilled in evaluations of learning through course grades which are adjusted according to the teacher expectations for performance and according to

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[66]Christina Tree, "Grouping Pupils in New York City," Urban Review (September 1968), p. 11.

[67]James E. Rosenbaum, Making Inequality (New York: Wiley Interscience, 1976).

[68]C. L. Thomas and J. C. Stanley, "Effectiveness of high school grades for predicting college grades of black students: A review and discussion," Journal of Educational Measurement 6 (1969), pp. 203-215.

[69]K. Polk, W. C. Schaffer and C. Olexa, "Programmed for social class: Tracking in American high schools," in Children and Their Caretake, Norman K. Denizen (ed.) (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1973).

[70]Cicourel and Kitsuse, The Educational Decision-Makers, p. 63.

how well students conform to the behavioral norms of classrooms.[71] A possibility exists that teachers grade more liberally at middle-class schools either for entirely extraneous reasons or more plausibly because the parents' expectations and the student's aspirations place pressure on them to raise the grading curve.[72]

The performance expectancy of educational administrators was observed by Lurie through the printed official messages on two different high school report cards. Morris high school with a predominantly black and Puerto Rican student body, with very few students receiving diplomas, adds this notice on the report card for parents to read: "New York Regulations require all students to achieve a reading grade level of 8.0 or higher in order to receive a high school diploma beginning June 1968." Stuyvesant high school, with a predominantly white student body, with 98 per cent receiving diplomas, admonishes in large print: "Most colleges require an 80 per cent average." One high school stresses and expects minimum requirements and the other, the maximum.[73]

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[71]Williams Trevor, "Teacher Prophecies and the Inheritance of Inequality," Sociology of Education, Vol. 49, No. 3, July 1976, pp. 223-235.

[72]Alan B. Wilson, "Residential segregation of social classes and aspirations of high school boys," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 339.

[73]Lurie, How to Change the Schools, p. 159.

The Operationalization of Class Strata Reproduction

The process of educational tracking for the reproduction of class strata compatible with the system's production and market needs is effectively carried out through the use of several control mechanisms. First Puerto Rican students and their parents are conditioned into believing that schools provide equality of opportunity to all regardless of class or ethnic background. In response to its liberal democracy equality ideology it administers IQ, aptitude and achievement tests in an attempt to show that it seeks to meet the varying academic needs of its clientele.[74] Along this dimension government reports have served a role in reinforcing the ideology that the educational institution offers equality of opportunity to all its clientele and if outcomes vary, it is the result of clientele differences in motivation, background etc. Schools are presented as bringing little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context.[75] As of late,

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[74]Talcott Parsons, "The school class as a social system: Some of its functions in American society," Harvard Educational Review, 29 (1959), pp. 297-318.

[75]James S. Coleman, Ernest Q. Campbell, Carol J. Hobson, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1966); Christopher Jencks, et al., Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); F. Mostellar and D. P. Moynihan (eds.), An Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: Random House, 1972).

critics have revealed that school characteristics contribute to differences in achievement among students.[76] Student academic achievement is affected by a well qualified staff of teachers with a reasonable student-teacher ratio and adequate school district revenues to support the necessary teachers and resources.[77] A clear and strong relationship exists between class size and achievement and it does not differ across different school subjects, levels of pupil IQ or other demographic features of the classroom.[78]

Student aspirations are derived from the milieur of their families, the normative values within the school society and peer group. These are influential for channelling them

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[76]Cicourel and Kitsuse, The Educational Decision-Makers, p. 79; Martin Trow, "The Second Transformation of American Secondary Education," in Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power--Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective (New York: The Free Press, 1966); Samuel Bowles, "Schooling and Inequality from Generation to Generation," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 80, No. 3, Part II, May-June 1972, pp. 542-556; Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976).

[77]Rosenbaum, Making Inequality; Cicourel and Kitsuse, The Educational Decision-Makers; Charles Bidwell and John D. Kasarda, "School district organization and students' achievement," American Sociological Review 40 (February 1975), pp. 55-70; Gerald Grant, "Shaping Social Policy: The Politics of the Coleman Report," Teachers College Record, Vol. 75, No. 1, September 1973, pp. 17-54.

[78]Gene V. Glass and Mary Lee Smith, "Class size does make a difference," New York Times, 1979 E7; Bidwell and Kasarda, "School district organization and students' achievement."

into a stream of economic and social life.[79] Parental pressures for academic achievement, the academic demands of a course; the climate of higher expectations on the part of students and their teachers, and the students' concern for a commitment to academic values etc., influence academic achievement.[80]

The educational facilities servicing Puerto Rican students was revealed by the Coleman Report as being unequal to those provided for white pupils. Puerto Rican students were found to attend schools in older and more crowded buildings; have less access to accelerated programs for rapid learners, advanced placement classes; library books and having lesser qualified staff servicing their schools.[81] The Office for Civil Rights in its compliance investigation of the Board of Education of the City of New York noted that it assigned teachers with less experience and fewer advanced degrees to

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[79]Alan B. Wilson, "Residential segregation of social classes and aspirations of high school boys," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Powers: Social Stratification in Contemporary Perspective (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 341-342; George F. Madaus and Thomas Kellaghan et al., "The Sensitivity of Measures of School Effectiveness," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 49, No. 2 (May 1979), pp. 207-230.

[80]Ibid., pp. 207, 224-225.

[81]Coleman, Campbell, Holison et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity.

schools which have higher percentages of minority students.[82] Discretionary absences on the part of teachers were revealed as being higher in lower working class neighborhoods.[83] A United Bronx Parents Study found that 70 per cent of the black and Puerto Rican students were assigned inexperienced principals compared with none in white schools.[84]

The homeroom teacher functions as an academic counselor or advising students on curriculum and vocational careers based on interpretations of the student results of IQ, aptitude and achievement tests for the reproduction of class strata necessary for the labor market (m).[85] But information about the educational and occupational consequences of different tracks is given to high track students and systematically denied to lower track students,[86] thus serving to reinforce tiers within the working class and maintain this class divided.

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[82]HEW Office of the Secretary, Letter to Chancellor Anker concerning employment practices of the New York City School System, Washington, D.C., Martin H. Gerry, Director, Office for Civil Rights, November 9, 1976.

[83]Phi Delta Kappan, "High teacher absence rate, subject of New York report," March 1975.

[84]Lurie, How to Change the Schools.

[85]Cicourel and Kitsuse, The Educational Decision-Makers, p. 79; Bowles, "Schooling and Inequality;" Bowles and Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, p. 116.

[86]Marilyn Gittell, "Professionalism and public participation in educational policy making: New York City, A case study," in Marilyn Gittell and Alan G. Hevesi (eds.), The Politics of Urban Education (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 171; Committee of Education and Labor, 1966, p. 39.

Puerto Rican students are informed by teachers that they are below grade norm in reading scores, verbal ability, reading comprehension and mathematics. Having been weaned in the ideology of professional expertise for judgement of academic ability, they accept their fate as less capable students and thus deserving of placement into the lower tier track in the educational institution.[87] This situation remains unchanged since the numbers of possible ethnic educational role models become restricted through the economic activities that are played out in the production sphere (p). Here, the life opportunities Puerto Ricans are able to purchase become defined by labor market segmentation which is ensured through institutionalized discrimination. Thus, the numbers of role models are restricted and are ensured in the educational institution in the form of the Civil Service Examination system that establishes lists of candidates by scores and requires that earlier lists be exhausted before any new hiring can take place. Thus, discrimination against the Puerto Rican latecomer results since it has been only

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[87]A. B. Sorensen, "Organizational Differentiation of Students and Educational Opportunity," Sociology of Education, 43 (1970), pp. 355-376; David Rogers, 110 Livingston Street, (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 5; Marilyn Gittell and Alan G. Hevesi (eds.), Political Urban Education (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 156; C. A. Bowers, "Emergent ideological characteristics of educational policy, Teachers College Record, vol. 79, No. 1 (September 1977), p. 33.

within recent years that they have taken and passed the exams.[88]

The numbers of Puerto Rican personnel within the New York City public schools (table 3) is limited at all levels when one considers that Puerto Rican students make up almost 30 per cent of the school enrollment at all levels (table 4).

TABLE 3

CITYWIDE PROFESSIONAL STAFF, NEW YORK CITY BY ETHNICITY, 1978-79

Position	Group	
	Total population	Puerto Rican
Principals	961	54
Assistant principals	2,131	41
Teachers	49,793	2,529
Other professional staff	1,700[a]	86[a]
Total	54,585	2,710

Source: New York City Board of Education, Metropolitan Educational Laboratory.

[a]Does not include district or central headquarters staff.

[88]John W. Meyers, "The effects of education as an institution," American Journal of Sociology, 1977, 83:1 (July), pp. 55-77; Pierre Bourdieu, "Cultural reproduction and social reproduction," in Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.), Power and Ideology in Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 487.

TABLE 4

ANNUAL PUPIL ETHNIC CENSUS CITYWIDE, BY SCHOOL LEVEL

OCTOBER 31, 1978

Level	Group	
	Total population	Hispanic
Elementary	466,290	150,875
Junior high school - intermediate	209,184	61,848
High schools	309,977	78,131
Academic - comprehensive	257,523	60,273
Vocational - technical	41,373	14,476
Independent - alternative	11,081	3,382
Special schools	13,496	3,938
Total	998,947	294,792

Source: Board of Education of the City of New York, Metropolitan Educational Laboratory, 1977-78.

Within predominantly Puerto Rican schools and districts (table 5) the criticalness of the situation can be more fully appreciated. For where the need is greatest, role models are a miniscule number of the school personnel population. Nowhere does the Spanish-speaking staff population numerically correspond to the Puerto Rican student population.

TABLE 5

PER CENT OF SPANISH-SURNAMED AND SPANISH-SPEAKING STAFF AND PER CENT OF PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS AND DISTRICTS WITH LARGE PROPORTIONS OF PUERTO RICANS

District	Per cent of Spanish-surnamed staff	Per cent of Puerto Ricans enrolled
1	2.3	68.2
4	3.3	63.9
7	5.7	64.1
12	4.6	55.7
14	2.6	62.2

High school (location)	Per cent of Spanish-speaking staff	Per cent of Puerto Rican student population
Benjamin Franklin (Manhattan)	5.3	48.8
Harren (Manhattan)	2.9	46.7
Morris (Bronx)	7.2	60.4
Eastern District (Brooklyn)	2.8	61.6

Source: United States Commission on Civil Rights, "Demographic, social and economic characteristics of New York City and the New York Metropolitan Area," Staff Report, February 1972, p. 21.

Conclusions

Puerto Ricans as member of the lower tier of the working class have limited means of locating themselves in neighborhoods which generate equal life chances. They are relegated in New York City to partake in the consumption arena available to them which is the ghetto system of school and community life. This system views minority lower working class children as inferior clientele and treats them accordingly. The situation is not remedied since within the institution Puerto Ricans are a miniscule number of the staff and occupy the lower tier of the hierarchy when present. Possible role models of success consequently get denied to the community and the educational dynamics taking place is interpreted as a community or Puerto Rican problem rather than an institutionally created, imposed and maintained situation.

The educational institution as byproduct of one's environment where consumption occurs successfully plays out its mission of the reproduction of class strata conducive to capitalist production needs. Its success becomes evident in the educational outcome of Puerto Rican students to be subsequently reviewed.

CHAPTER IV

SCHOOLS AGAINST LOWER-WORKING CLASS CHILDREN: EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

The educational institution partially mirrors the configuration of the life opportunities that Puerto Ricans as members of the lower tier of the working class are able to purchase. The labor market (m) and production circuit (p) have collectively reinforced capitalist production needs in contradiction to the ideology of liberal democracy equality whose promise in practice never gets realized. The career pattern of Puerto Ricans is thus the necessary and essential outcome of capitalist production needs which already have been played out in the other circuits and whose mission must be completed.[1]

Scholastic Aptitude

The most salient factor which arises from an examination of the educational careers of Puerto Rican students relative to non negro students is the disparity in academic progress most particularly reading achievement (table 1). Puerto Rican students as members of the lower tier of the working class and the non negro population as members of the upper tier

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[1]Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), Introduction.

TABLE 1

SECOND, FIFTH AND EIGHTH GRADE READING SCORES (APRIL 1969) FOR SELECTED SCHOOLS WITH PREDOMINANTLY PUERTO RICAN* AND NON NEGRO STUDENTS

Predominantly Puerto Rican schools	Per cent below grade norm	Average score
Second grade	70	2.28
Fifth grade	82	4.58
Eighth grade	81	6.20
Predominantly Non Negro schools		
Second grade	22	3.76
Fifth grade	34	6.69
Eighth grade	35	9.08

Source: United States Commission on Civil Rights, "Demographic, social and economic characteristics of New York City and the New York Metropolitan Area,: Staff Report, p. 24, February 1972.

*Includes other Spanish surnamed students.

of the working class show disparities in educational achievement. For selected schools with a predominantly Puerto Rican student body a larger proportion of students are behind grade norm in reading as compared to students in predominantly non negro schools who have reading scores above grade norm.[2] It can be expected that disparities in grade norm in reading should exist between Puerto Rican students who are Spanish dominant and others who are English dominant. But one would expect the gap to close with the increased years of English exposure to the language. The disparity in reading achievement between Puerto Rican and non negro students has continued and increased throughout the primary school years up until the present time.[3]

Tracking Patterns

Puerto Rican students as members of the lower tier of the working class are relegated into the lower level career tracks in New York City schools (table 2). In 1960 and 1970 Puerto Rican students were less likely than total non negro students to be in academic high schools and more likely to be

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[2]New York Times, May 14, 40:6, 1974; November 12, 21:1, 1974; January 11, II 6; 1, 2, 1977; January 15, IV 6:1, 1977; January 11, 1:12, 1978; January 11, II 6: 1 and 2, 1978.

[3]Diane Ravitch, "White flight controversy," Public Interest, No. 51, Spring 1978, pp. 135-149.

TABLE 2

PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS ATTENDING ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS, BY ETHNIC GROUP, NEW YORK CITY, 1960 AND 1970

	Puerto Rican		Non negro	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
Per cent in academic high school	55	75	88	91
Per cent in vocational high school	45	25	12	9
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: New York City Board of Education, Annual Census of School Population, October 1960 and 1970.

in attendance in vocational high schools. These schools generally prepare students for lower tier white and blue collar occupations since these high schools have historically not served as avenues to higher education. The shift from 1960 to 1970 from vocational to academic high schools reflects both "white flight" from the city and its public schools; an increase in the city's Puerto Rican population reduced demands for vocational education in the face of a minority push for pre-college preparation. But the increased presence of Puerto Rican students does not necessarily mean an increase in academic high schools' participation in the college preparatory track. Tracking patterns exist as well in academic high

schools. Puerto Rican students are concentrated in academic high schools into commercial and vocational lower tier tracks.

School Suspensions

The suspension rate for Puerto Rican students surpasses that for non-negro students in the New York City public schools at the elementary junior high school level (table 3). Puerto Rican students were two times more likely relative to non negro students to be suspended. At the high school level Puerto Rican students were slightly more likely than other students to be suspended. The difference between junior and senior schools can be a reflection of the sharp increase in school dropout from the junior to senior high school and within the senior high school from the tenth to the twelfth year. In school suspensions Puerto Rican students are suspended more frequently and for longer periods of time than non-negro students.[4] The Civil Liberties Union found that in 1969-70, 14,000 students were suspended of which most were indefinite suspensions. These suspensions for the most part violated either the State Law or the Board of Education rule. Seventy-seven per cent of the students were found to have been suspended for illegal reasons and neither the students nor the

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[4]Bernard Mackler, "The punitive use of suspensions and transfers in the New York City Schools," in Annette I. Rubinstein (ed.), Schools Against Children (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp. 143-158.

TABLE 3

STUDENT SUSPENSION RATE, BY ETHNICITY AND SCHOOL LEVEL, NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, SEPTEMBER 1978-JANUARY 1979

Ethnicity	Enrollment as of October 1978		Suspensions		Rate per 1,000 students
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	
Elementary/junior high school					
Hispanic	212,723	31.5	2,562	26.2	12.0
Non negro	208,733	30.9	1,340	13.7	11.7
High school					
Hispanic	78,131	25.2	932	18.9	11.9
Non negro	108,040	34.9	809	16.4	9.7

Source: Board of Education of the City of New York, Metropolitan Educational Laboratory, "Annual Pupil Ethnic Census," 1978, Table 1: Advocates for Children of New York, unpublished data from the Board of Education of the City of New York.

parents had been given a specific reason for the expulsion.[5] Suspension rules have been found to be erratic, inconsistent and secretive. Hearings are often unfair in that use is made

[5]Children's Defense Fund Survey, Children Out of School in America, Children's Defense Fund, October 19, 1974, p. 130; Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., Corporal Punishment and School Suspension: A Case Study, November 1974, pp. 26-28; Daily News, July 9, 1978, p. 22; Phi Delta Kappan, "More than two million students kept from school, report claims, Phi Delta Kappan, March 1975, p. 503.

of the students' cumulative record card, family history etc. Suspensions are often used to push non-white lower working class ethnics out of school.[6]

TABLE 4

YEARLY ENROLLMENT FOR THE CLASS OF 1979, BY ETHNICITY, NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL, 1976-1977 TO 1978-1979

Class of 1979	Ethnicity	
	Non negro	Hispanic
Tenth grade - 1976	35,060	28,184
Eleventh grade - 1977	29,129	17,320
Twelfth grade - 1978	22,825	11,355
Per cent loss	-34.9	-59.7

Source: Board of Education of the City of New York, Office of Educational Statistics, "Annual Pupil Ethnic Census," 1976-1978.

School Dropout or Pushout[7]

At the high school level in New York City Puerto Rican students terminate their educational careers at an

[6]Bernard Mackler, "The punitive use of suspensions and transfers in the New York City schools," in Annette Rubinstein (ed.), Schools Against Children (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp. 143-158.

[7]Children's Defense Fund, Children Out of School in America (Cambridge, Mass.: Children's Defense Fund, 1974) p. 17; Isidro Lucas, "Puertorriquenos en Chicago: El Problema Educativo del Dropout," The Rican, May 1974, vol. 1, No. 3,

earlier age than non negro students.[8] From the tenth grade to the twelfth grade almost 60 per cent of Hispanic students terminated their educational careers before graduating as compared with 35 per cent for non negro students.

School dropout in New York City schools has been found to correlate with the ethnic and class background of the school clientele. A clustering of the city's high schools into 10 groupings, No. 1 representing the schools with the lowest percentage of Puerto Rican students and No. 10 the highest percentage of Puerto Rican students, reveals that as the percentage of Puerto Rican students in a school increases the attrition rate increases, or, as the percentage of these students decreases the attrition rate decreases (table 5). But as the percentage of non negro students increases, the attrition rate decreases and as their numbers decrease the attrition rate increases. Thus, one sees the class factor at work in which years of participation in the educational institution are a reflection of one's class background and one's ability to purchase increased years of school.

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pp. 5-18. Lucas contends that sometimes the term pushout is more appropriate because it focuses attention and responsibility on the school system itself for a student's failure to attain a high school education.

[8]Ibid., pp. 5-18. Robert Vinter, "A drop-out study blames the schools," New York Times, November 25, 1966; Robert Birnbaum and Joseph Goldman, The Graduates: A Follow-up Study of the New York City High School Graduates of 1970, CUNY Center for Social Research and Office for Research in Higher Education, 1971, p. 45.

TABLE 5

ATTRITION RATES, NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOLS, AS A FUNCTION OF ETHNIC COMPOSITION
June 1970

Group	Per cent		
	Attrition	Puerto Rican	Non negro
1	26	1.0	96.4
2	24	2.0	92.5
3	33	1.8	88.4
4	28	3.9	83.7
5	36	6.1	79.9
6	38	5.2	73.9
7	46	18.2	56.0
8	42	19.1	47.0
9	62	27.2	32.1
10	61	40.2	9.7

Source: United States Commission on Civil Rights, "Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics of New York City and the New York Metropolitan Area," Staff Report, 1972, p. 18.

High School Graduation

Puerto Ricans relative to the total non negro population have lower levels of educational attainment. Disparities of years of school completed are greater for the over 35 years of age population than for the under 35 years of age population (table 6).

TABLE 6

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED OF PERSONS 18 YEARS OLD AND OVER WITH INCOME BY RACE, AGE AND SEX, NEW YORK, SMSA:1970

Population	Age					
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Males						
Total non negro	12.8	12.6	12.5	12.3	11.0	8.6
Puerto Rican	11.0	10.3	9.0	8.2	7.2	6.2
Females						
Total non negro	12.7	12.7	12.4	12.3	11.2	8.6
Puerto Rican	11.8	10.1	8.6	7.5	6.2	4.9

Source: United States Census Series PC (1)-C, General Social and Economic Characteristics: New York State, 1970, Table 197.

Puerto Ricans are less likely to be high school graduates than the total non negro population. In 1970 non negros were two and one half times more likely to be high school graduates than Puerto Ricans (table 7).

TABLE 7

EDUCATIONAL DATA BY ETHNICITY, NEW YORK CITY SMSA:1970

	Total non negro	Puerto Rican
Number of high school graduates (in thousands)	1,828.0	69.0
Per cent of adults (above age 25 (who are high school graduates)	51.0	20.1

Source: U.S. Census of 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York, PC (1)-C-34.

Higher Education

Higher education is a multi-tiered class system dominated by the Ivy League and great state universities followed by the prestigious state universities, state colleges and ending with the community colleges. Each system's clientele corresponds to particular class origins and has defined occupational destinations.[9]

Attendance in a higher education institution is a reflection of one's class-ethnic background and prior educational performance as reflected in high school tier track.

[9]Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), Introduction; Martin Trow, "The second transformation of American secondary education," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 2 (1961), pp. 144-165; Murray Milner, The Illusion of Equality (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1972); Jerome Karabel,

Higher income students are more likely to be in attendance in four-year institutions over two-year colleges. The children of college graduates are about four times as likely to enter college as children whose parents' education was limited to grade school.[10] The parents of Puerto Rican students are less likely to be college graduates than those of the non negro population. In 1970 the non negro population was 13 times more likely than the Puerto Rican population to be college graduates (table 8).

TABLE 8

EDUCATIONAL DATA BY ETHNICITY,
NEW YORK CITY, 1970

	Puerto Rican	Non negro
Number of college graduates (in thousands)	3.5	468.5
Per cent of adults (above age 25) who are college graduates	1.0	13.0

Source: United States Census of 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York, PC (1)-C 34.

Community colleges and social stratification, Harvard Educational Review, 42 (1972), pp. 521-562; Amitar Etzioni, Wall Street Journal, March 17, 1970, p. 13.

[10]Robert Birnbaum and Joseph Goldman, The Graduates: A Follow-up Study of New York City High School Graduates of 1970, CUNY Center for Social Research and Office for Research in Higher Education, 1971; William H. Sewell, "Inequality of opportunity for higher education: Socio-economic status

As high school graduates Puerto Ricans are slightly less likely to apply to college relative to non negro students. On a nationwide basis statistics demonstrate that no more than 5 per cent of Puerto Rican college youth are moving onto higher education.[11] This is compared to 45 per cent for the general population. Having applied, they are less likely to enroll and when enrolled are more likely to be in attendance in two-year CUNY colleges rather than four-year CUNY colleges.[12] This may be a reflection of their educational background as recipients of vocational or general high school degrees over academic degrees.[13]

The City University of New York system is characterized by tier tracks. These have been identified as the

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correlated with access to college," American Sociological Review, Vol. 36, No. 5 (1971), pp. 793-809; Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (New York: Doubleday, 1968); Amitar Etzioni and Murray Milner, Higher Education in an Active Society: A Policy Study (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Social Science Research, 1970), p. 13.

[11] Daily News, Sunday, July 9, 1978, p. 22.

[12] H. J. Jaffee and W. Adams, Academic and socio-economic factors related to entrance and retention at two- and four-year colleges in the late 1960s, New York Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1970; Robert Birnbaum and Joseph Goldman, The Graduates: A Follow-up Study of New York City High School Graduates of 1970, CUNY Center for Social Research and Office for Research in Higher Education, 1971.

[13] Hearings before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate, November 23-25, 1970, p. 3742.

professional, social services, clerical and vocational. These tracks correlate with one's high school track and academic average which are causally related since higher track students (academic) generally achieve higher academic indexes.[14] Upper working class students who were concentrated in academic high schools upon entry into CUNY are tracked into the elite track which is oriented towards graduate and professional education upon completion of the bachelors degree. Social service track students generally had academic diplomas, were ethnically mixed in the senior colleges and had career orientations directed towards teaching, social work, health, public administration or engineering. The clerical and vocational track students generally had vocational and general high school diplomas and were members of the lower tier of the working class, most specifically Puerto Ricans whose career objectives were for two-year lower level technical, clerical or paraprofessional jobs.[15]

The academic success of Puerto Rican students is reflected in their grade point averages, graduation rates and

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[14]David E. Laven, Richard D. Alba and Richard A. Silverstein, "Open admissions and equal access: A case study of ethnic groups in the City University of New York," Harvard Educational Review, vol. 49, No. 1, February 1979, p. 54; New York Times, August 3, 1:5, 1968 and November 12, 1:2, 1968.

[15]Ellen Kay Trimberg, "Open admissions: A new form of tracking," Insurgent Sociologist, 4, 1973, pp. 35-36.

patterns of continuation into graduate school. Puerto Rican students, as compared to non negro students, consistently earned lower grade point averages.[16] In the senior colleges they had the highest dropout rates.[17] Academic success in the form of college graduation and grade index defines the life opportunities that one is able to purchase. In the community colleges high grades facilitate transfer to a four-year college and possible future entry into a graduate or professional school. But a cooling-out role is seen as functioning at this level in order to transform these students into terminal students and thus ensure a ready supply of workers for the lowest tier occupations within the working class.[18] Puerto Ricans at the university level generally terminate their careers at the two-year college level. But two years of college has been found to be not half as good as

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[16] New York Times, February 20, 1970, 21:4; David E. Lavin, Richard D. Alba and Richard A. Silverstein, "Open admissions and equal access: A case study of ethnic groups in the City University of New York," Harvard Educational Review, vol. 49, No. 1, February 1979, pp. 80-81.

[17] Ibid., pp. 80-81.

[18] L. Steven Zwerling, Second Best: The Crises of the Community College (New York: McGraw Hill, 1976), pp. 59, 61 and 159; Jerome Karabel, "Protecting the Portals: Class and the Community College," Social Policy, 1974, 5, 1, May-June, p. 248; Fred Pincus, "Tracking in community colleges," The Insurgent Sociologist, vol. IV, No. 3, Spring 1974; R. Clark Burton, "The cooling-out function in higher education," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May) 1960, pp. 569-576; Fred Pincus, "Tracking in community colleges," The Insurgent Sociologist, vol. IV, No. 3, Spring 1974.

having four.[19] The return per year of schooling is greater for the student with a bachelors degree than for the student without one.[20] Puerto Rican attendance in graduate school (CUNY) while having increased over the years remains limited.[21] It has been this researcher's observation that many non Puerto Ricans or other Hispanics pass as Puerto Rican in order to benefit from affirmative action programs. In addition, the graduate Puerto Rican population generally reflects the island "bridge" relationship with the continent for college and graduate school recruiters flock to the island or have already established connections with university personnel in order to supply candidates of continental universities. Thus, in actual terms, the ghetto system of school

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[19]Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), p. 241; Abraham Jaffee and Walter W. Adams, Academic and socio-economic factors related to entrance and retention at two- and four-year colleges in the late 1960s, New York Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1970; David E. Lavin, Richard D. Alba and Richard A. Silverstein, "Open admissions and equal access: A study of ethnic groups in the City University of New York," Harvard Educational Review, vol. 49, No. 1, February 1979, pp. 63-64.

[20]Ibid., p. 62; Robert M. Hauser and Thomas Daymont, "Schooling, ability and earnings: Cross-sectional findings 8 to 14 years after high school graduation, Sociology of Education, 50 (1977), pp. 182-205; Ellen Kay Trimberg, "Open admissions: A new form of tracking," Insurgent Sociologist, 4, 1973, pp. 35-36.

[21]Information Services, City University of New York.

and community life through Niuyorrican participation in graduate education is extremely limited.

Conclusions

The educational outcomes of Puerto Rican students are a reflection of the mission defined for them as members of the lower tier of the working class. The labor market (m) and the production circuit (p), even when contradicted, have defined the limits of lifetime opportunities available for consumption by this group. Puerto Ricans are afforded the opportunity to consume a ghetto system of school and community life which is structured to prepare them to continue occupying the lower tier of the working class strata. The failure of the educational institution to fulfill its promise of liberal democracy equality becomes reflected in the Puerto Rican community's confrontation for bilingual education which will be examined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

CAMOUFLAGE IN EDUCATION: INNOVATION FOR CHANGE

The exigencies of the capitalist economy make necessary differing life opportunity missions for class groups. This practice, however, sharply contradicts the liberal democracy equality ideology. The conflict in the reality between the ideology and policy practice within the educational institution resulted in the social confrontation situation of factions of the Puerto Rican community with the educational institution. For the community had begun to realize that, as members of the lower tier of the working class, they had a defined mission to partake in a limited career horizon within the New York City School system. The more specific details of this issue follows.[1]

Historical Rationale for Bilingual Education

Pleas from the culturally and linguistically diverse populations of the United States and the Lau vs. Nichols court case which pointed out that the educational potential of millions of ethnic children was being wasted because all public schooling was done in English, an unfamiliar language, led to the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, an

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[1]Diane Ravitch, The Great School Wars: 1805-1972 (New York: Basic Books, 1973), Introduction.

amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.[2] This Act ensured the necessary financial assistance to educational agencies in order to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet the special education needs of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States.[3] School districts having 5 per cent or more national-origin minority children (unable to speak and understand the English language) must take affirmative instructional steps in the form of identifying, classifying and providing bilingual education programs for those students. Under Title VI, no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.[4]

Bilingual education is the use of two languages, English and a mother tongue, as a medium of instruction utilizing a well-organized program incorporating part or all of

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[2]United States Congress: 20 USC 779 et. seq. (1970) enacted January 2, 1968; 20 USC 800 b-1 (a) (4) (A); (1) Suppl. (1975); amending 20 USC 880 b-1 (1970); Lau vs. Nicholas (414 vs. 563), 1974; Jose M. Gallardo, Proceedings of the Conference on Education of Puerto Rican Children on the Mainland, Oct. 18-21, 1970, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Education, Publishing Division; Herbert Teitelbaum and Richard J. Heller, "Bilingual education: The legal mandate," Harvard Educational Review, 47:138-70, May 1977.

[3]Today's Education, Bilingual Education Act, 1975, 64:81-82, American Educator, HEW Expenditures on Bilingual Educ.: It's Largely Up to the States, 10:40, July 1974.

[4]Education and Urban Society, 10:259-398, May 1978. 42 USC 2000 d (1970) (Symposium) Bilingual-bicultural education: Policies, Programs and Research.

the curriculum and including the history and culture associated with the native language.[5]

Program Objective

To provide equal educational opportunity for non-English-speaking children by capitalizing on their proficiency in their native language while developing their competence in English.[6] A complete bilingual program provides a more humane and enriched school experience for the Puerto Rican child by developing in her/him a harmonious and positive self image and legitimate pride in both cultures. At the same time it strives to strengthen the bonds between the home and school and to avoid the alienation from family and linguistic community by the creation of a cultural awareness and a sympathetic cross-cultural understanding. Lastly, the bilingual program aims at sustaining a normal academic progression on the part of the learning process.

Program Structure

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare memorandum to school districts established the norms for the structure of the bilingual programs. It required (a) the systematic identification and classification of Spanish-

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[5]United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Manual for Project Applicants, Programs under Bilingual Education Act I, hereinafter cited as Title VII, Manual 1971.

[6]New York State Education Department, Memorandum 1968.

speaking surnamed children who can learn more effectively in Spanish in terms of their reading, speaking, writing and comprehension ability in English and Spanish; (b) intensive instruction in English, mathematics, science, social studies and reading in Spanish; (c) students receiving instruction will spend maximum time with other children so as to avoid isolation and segregation from their peers; (d) the program shall avoid the negative stereotying of members of an ethnic or racial group; (e) the program shall positively reflect, where appropriate, the culture of the children within the programs; (f) training programs for the staff must be sensitive to the cultural diversity of the students; (g) faculty shall be fluent in written and spoken Spanish and English as well as in educational techniques. To meet these staffing needs, the Board must retrain teachers to become fluent in a second language and also implement an affirmative action program to recruit bilingual personnel.[7] Professionals in the program must be: (1) fluent in the Spanish language and be able to comprehend fully and exress themselves effectively in written Spanish; (2) possess the requisite content and knowledge skills in a substantive course they teach; (3) possess the requisite pedagogical skills; and (4) be capable of reading, writing and speaking English.[8]

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[7]HEW Memorandum to School Districts (1971).

[8]New York State Education Department, 72 Civ. 400 2 SD NY July 11, 1975, Unreported memorandum.

A bilingual program may encompass an entire school or several classes within a school. Often, however, the bilingual programs do not conform strictly to the Title VII definition of Bilingual Education. Some of the basic design alternatives are:[9]

(1) Bilingual schools - a separate school organized to achieve "functional bilingualism" for English and non-English-speaking children.

(2) Bilingual track - within a regular school, classes are organized at every grade level to provide a complete bilingual program.

(3) Bilingual classes - one or two grades are organized to teach all subjects in Spanish and English and each year the program will expand until there is a complete bilingual track.

(4) Bilingual instruction in a subject area - Spanish and English are used as the languages of instruction for science in the junior high school.

(5) Non-English class - Spanish is used as the language of instruction for one year and then the children go into the mainstream of mixed classes the following year.

(6) Spanish language arts - Spanish instruction for English and non-English-speaking children.

(7) Teaching English as a second language (TESL).

(8) Mixed class - mainland English-dominant pupils and other language pupils.

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[9]United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1971.

The general categories of Bilingual Education for Non-English-speaking pupils encompass the following:[10]

(1) Transitional. Fluency and literacy in both languages are not equally emphasized. Initial instruction, however, is in the native language with the ultimate objective being for the pupil to attain fluency in the second language.

(2) Monoliterate. Listening and speaking skills are developed equally in both languages, but reading and writing skills are stressed in the pupil's second language only. The objective is to get the pupil to think directly in the second language.

(3) Partial bilingualism. Subject matter to be learned in the native language is limited specifically to the cultural heritage of the ethnic group. Other subject areas--science, economic etc.--are considered to be within the domain of English. Competence in listening, speaking, reading and writing in both languages is sought.

(4) Full bilingualism. The equal development of competencies in speaking, reading and writing both languages, and an understanding of both cultures are the ultimate learning objective. In all areas except language instruction, both languages are used.

The Case of New York City

Of all ethnic students who are poor in ability to speak English, Puerto Rican students at the elementary and junior high/intermediate level are the most deficient (table 1). When Puerto Rican students are numerically combined with other

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[10]New York City Bilingual Resource Center Newsletter, Board of Education, 1973; Puerto Rican Association for National Affairs (PANA) Newsletter, 1970 (The situation remains unchanged at the present time). New York Times: November 25, 1:1, 1977; ibid., January 15, 64:1, 1975.

TABLE 1

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF STUDENTS IN NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS WHO ARE "POOR" IN ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH*

	Elementary schools		Junior high/ intermediate schools	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
English-speaking	923	3.2	365	6.4
Puerto Rican	18,170	62.8	2,505	44.1
Other Spanish	5,388	18.6	1,536	27.1
Chinese-speaking	1,353	4.7	331	5.8
Italian-speaking	1,007	3.5	325	5.7
Greek-speaking	399	1.4	101	1.8
French-speaking	559	1.9	315	5.5
Other non-English	1,133	3.9	199	3.5
Total	28,932	100.0	5,677	100.0

Source: Board of Education, City of New York, Community School Profile, 1973-74.

Spanish-speaking students they constitute more than three quarters of the student population at the elementary school level who are deficient in ability to speak English. At the junior high/intermediate level they constitute almost three quarters of those poor in ability to speak English. In the category of hesitant speakers Puerto Rican students are the largest group at all educational levels (table 2).

TABLE 2

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF STUDENTS IN NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS WHO ARE "HESITANT" IN ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH*

	Elementary schools		Junior high/ intermediate schools	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
English-speaking	9,392	15.8	3,198	21.5
Puerto Rican	35,950	60.5	7,532	50.6
Other Spanish	6,844	11.5	1,938	13.0
Chinese-speaking	2,403	4.0	675	4.5
Italian-speaking	1,514	2.5	512	3.4
Greek-speaking	724	1.2	221	1.5
French-speaking	739	1.2	444	3.0
Other non-English	1,901	3.2	370	2.5
Total	59,467	100.0	14,890	100.0

Source: Board of Education, City of New York, Community School Profiles, 1973-74.

Program Rationale

A content analysis review of the New York Times and Hispanic newspapers for the years 1960 to 1980 served to reveal how the ideology of proponents and opponents for bilingual education centered around the societal ideology of liberal democracy equality of opportunity. The Hispanic newspapers took the position that bilingual education would facilitate the Spanish-speaking community's building upon knowledge about itself and its culture and thus enhancing its ability to participate on an equal basis with the larger society. At the level of the individual, it saw the improvement of one's self

image.[11] Puerto Rican community leaders saw the need for bilingual education based upon: (1) participation in higher education is a must for movement ahead into today's world thus a language problem in the educational system hampers educational opportunity;[12] (2) it was a structured way for people to make the necessary transition;[13] (4) segregation due to a language barrier leads ultimately to tracking with repercussions for dropout;[14] (5) an asset to the war against injustice, hypocrisy, racism.[15] The educational establishment saw bilingual education as (1) improving parent-teacher

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[11] El Diario La Prensa, Editorial Our Schools, Domingo, 5 de noviembre de 1967, 25; El Diario La Prensa, Victoria para la Educacion Bilingue, miercoles, 4 de septiembre 1974, 17; New York Times, January 15, 64:1, 1974.

[12] Herman Badillo, in an address before the Commission on Civil Rights Hearings, May-June 1975, pp. 166-167; also New York Times, March 17, 47:1, 1971.

[13] Ibid., Hector Vasquez, 168-69, National Education Association, President Harris, January-February 1975, 64:5.

[14] Cesar Perales of the Puerto Rican Legal Defence and Education Funds, 1975, 8-10 in an address before the Commission on Civil Rights Hearings, May-June 1975.

[15] Alfredo Mathews (New York City first Puerto Rican Superintendent) in a communication to the Second Annual Conference on Bilingual Education cited in Albert Shakers column Where We Stand, New York Times, June 18, 1972, IV 9:5.

communication now often confined to translation;[16] (2) confronting the ideology of the melting pot in practice,[17] (3) reverse academic failure;[18] and (4) would provide advantages for the nation.[19]

Program Limitations

Historically the Board of Education contended that bilingualism and biculturalism would be encouraged for all pupils and particularly Spanish-speaking ones in benefit of the community and nation in their relationship to a multicultured world.[20] It, however, has always stressed the importance of full command of the English-speaking while recognizing the need for the maintenance and strengthening of the

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[16]Albert Shanker's "Where We Stand", New York Times, June 18, IV 9:5, 1972.

[17]Herman La Fontaine (The Executive Administrator of the Office of Bilingual Education and Principal of the First bilingual school) conference at Fordham University cited in Albert Shanker's column "Where We Stand", New York Times, June 18, 1972, IV 9:5.

[18]New York Times, June 23, 39:1, 1972; June 24, 16:6, 1972; Board of Education in New York Times, May 7, 31:1, 1972; Board of Education, City of New York, Press Release, July 7, 1967, No. 451.

[19]New York State, Regents in New York Times, December 1972, 101:144-5, Statement of the NYT, Board of Education adopted 18 April 1965, adopted April 28, 1965, 602, cited in Journal of the Board of Education.

[20]New York City Board of Education, Statement of Policy, adopted April 18, 1965, issued April 28, 1965, 602.

child's language skills in their native tongue or of the parent in the belief that it could provide superior educational benefits.[21]

In 1974 consent decree through district court it agreed to establish major new bilingual training programs to improve the education of Spanish-speaking pupils in such areas as mathematics and science and at the same time pupils would get intensive instruction in both English and Spanish.[22] Later during that year in a class action suit by the Puerto Rican group Aspira, Inc., and Aspira of America, it issued a directive that school teachers and principals should refuse to co-operate with the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund lawyers seeking evidence of inadequate education for Spanish-speaking students. The specific rationale was its claim that the City Charter conflict of interest section, which prohibits city employees from making statements on legal cases involving the city would be violated if staff members provided affidavits to lawyers. A Federal Judge later overruled the Board and conceded that it had used the provision improperly in the Aspira case.[23] In 1976 the Board contended

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[21]Board of Education, City of New York, Press Release (451), July 7, 1967, New York Times, May 7, 1972, 31:1; New York Times, July 24, 31:1, 1972.

[22]New York Times, August 30, 1:4, 1974.

[23]New York Times, April 4, 45:1, 1974.

the lack of qualified bilingual teachers in the New York City public schools.[24] In 1977 it agreed to the Civil Rights office request to establish better monitoring programs in an effort to improve the instruction for school children not competent in English. It would (1) increase the number of bilingual programs and (2) expand bilingual programs to include all Spanish-speaking children needing course instruction in their own language. Districts providing bilingual programs would receive grants totalling $825,000 towards the cost of new construction and high schools would receive separate funds from the central board. Past funding had been dependent on community boards and federal funds.[25] The Board had acted in response to the Office of Civil Rights action to withhold $19.3 million in special Federal aid to them and 18 of 32 school districts. Aid had been requested to aid minority group students who did not speak English.[26] The Board of Education and its president Anker had been found in 1976 by Federal District Court Judge Marvin E. Frankel to be in contempt of court for failing to expedite bilingual education programs for Spanish-speaking students. It imposed no immediate penalities but declared the bilingual program mandate as remaining in full force.[27]

[24] New York Times, October 23, 31:1, 1976.

[25] New York Times, November 25, 1:1, 1977.

[26] New York Times, July 6, IV, 13:1, 1977.

[27] New York Times, October 23, 32:1, 1976.

Aspira in 1977 filed a second contempt of court proceedings (class action suit) against the Board of Education of the City of New York contending that its policies have destructive educational, psychological and sociological consequences for students causing high truancy and drop-out rates.[28]

Program Limitations: New York and Nationally

Evaluations of the effectiveness of the bilingual programs in New York City and nationwide has revealed serious flaws in its fulfillment of its designated mission. The following represent some of the most outstanding limitations of the existing programs:

(1) Title VII funds have been used for almost any innovative program educators develop since their is the lack of a specific definition of what constitutes bilingual instruction. 29/

(2) The limited numbers of bilingual personnel with bilingual licenses teaching in the classroom. 30/

(3) The undercounting of the Puerto Rican population has resulted in their receiving less than the needed Title VII funds. 31/

(4) Major centers for curriculum development are located in the Southwest, thus there is very little preoccupation or direction towards Puerto Rican cultural content.

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[28] New York Times, November 25, 1:1, 1977.

[29] Puerto Rican Association for National Affairs, Newsletter, 1970; New York Times Special Report, 1972.

[30] New York Times, May 20, C-1, C-5, 1980.

[31] PANA, September 1970; New York Times, November 26, 20:2, 1977; March 4, 20:1, 1977; November 25, 11, 1977.

(5) Limited number of bilingual programs or schools.

(6) Few bilingual teachers have been trained.

(7) The new Conversion Plan for Title VII required a 30 per cent inclusion in each project of English language dominant children.

(8) Out of 179 bilingual project directors in the United States, only 14 project directors are Puerto Ricans. 32/

Conclusions

Bilingual education is a code word for autonomy of Puerto Ricans in New York City and nationally. It arose out of community confrontations with the state in the 1960s as a result of its failure to fulfill its promise of equal opportunity in the liberal democratic states. The way bilingual education is debated reflects how the state has yielded to the Puerto Rican community pressure to maintain their nationalistic cultural ties and sentiments. But the half hearted commitment of the state is evident in contradictory actions. Bilingual education has served as a viable tool in thwarting a lower working class confrontation with the state once again. In addition, it has functioned well in maintaining a divided working class since monies spent for

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[32]Richard A. Greenspan, "A story of educational neglect: 118 non-English-speaking pupils in the New York City public school," The Puerto Rican Forum; Richard Margolis, The Losers: A Report on Puerto Ricans and the Public Schools (Aspira, Inc., 1968); U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Democratic, Social and Economic Characteristics of New York City and the New York Metropolitan Area, Staff Report, February 1972, 21.

bilingual education are not spent elsewhere and in times of economic cutbacks and increased demands for educational accountability for academic achievement, the issue of funding for remediation for a particular segment of the school population is interpreted as preferential treatment or worse yet, reverse discrimination. Thus, it is a divisive tool and serves the interests of the school system which fits the needs or exigencies emanating from the economy. But should the educational career tide of Puerto Rican children not reverse itself, the bilingual education issue can in the hands of the capitalist class through its social scientific mainstream theorists add fuel to the kindel of attributing the group's educational underachievement to individual or group deficiencies and not structural barricades.

The bilingual education issue also exposes for public scrutiny how the ethnic, neocolonial and cultural pluralism models cannot fully explain the Puerto Rican malaise since cultural nationalistic sentiments and a bridge relationship with the homeland characterize the group. The Marxian model more fully explains the group's dilemma within a capitalist business economy but not totally since the cultural view through bilingual education is antagonistic to Marxian consciousness, since it is a dividing force within the working class.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The main focus of this thesis has been to extend and stress for heuristic purposes a modified Marxian orientation in explaining and evaluating the Puerto Rican problem. Within that orientation ideology is seen as critical for understanding a group's problem. In the context of America's liberal capitalist economic system conducive market relations are necessary to ensure its survival. It is through the use of ideology that the market systems survival can be ensured. Through the ideological sphere the Puerto Rican community receives a double ideological message, one of equal opportunity and the other of a liberal democratic system. In practice, however, the economic system needs inequality in order that the wheels of market expansion can continue. If and when group failure takes place, the capitalists are able to deny complicity since they can contend that the platform of the society in its treatment of its citizens, rests with the practice of its ideologies. The ideologies, however, do not consider that structurally American society is both ethnically, racially, caste and class stratified. This generates and sustains differing patterns, strategies and rates of social mobility and performance.

A case in point is the entry of Puerto Ricans into the production sphere (P) where they await what the ideologies preach but instead find themselves relegated into an ecological niche. Their reserved niche is into the lower

tier of the secondary labor force with its established job ceiling above and below. The niche into which the Puerto Rican group is placed serves to limit their economic, political and social role in American society; responses to schooling, family and status mobility and the development of linguistic, cognitive and motivational skills, that promote the type of school success enjoyed by the dominant group. Being limited in their ability to purchase lifetime opportunities for themselves and their children they become relegated into neighborhoods which generate unequal life chances, as is the ghetto system of school and community life. This system views minority lower working class children as inferior clientele and treats them accordingly.

The educational institution as a byproduct of one's environment where consumption occurs, successfully plays out its mission of the reproduction of class strata conducive to capitalist production needs. For the school as an agent of the capitalist class reflects the basic organization of society and the needs of the capitalist class. Puerto Ricans traditionally receive inferior education to prepare them for their inferior social and technoeconomic positions in adult life and to equip them with the appropriate attitudes and motivation for the kind of social mobility characteristic of the group. Even when motivation exists for academic success Puerto Rican students must pay a penalty for persevering in

school. That is, Puerto Ricans who stay long enough to graduate from high school or college, experience a greater earning gap between them and their peers, whereas those who dropout experience less of a gap. The system transmits different messages to class groups. The non negro, non minority population receives a message consistent with the American ideology that more education and hard work in school lead to greater self-improvement, and increasing rewards from society but Puerto Rican students receive a contrary message.

Historical structural conditions have thwarted the advancement of Puerto Ricans with requisite education and ability into the more desirable social occupational roles in society. Thus, the educational outcomes of Puerto Rican students are a reflection of the mission defined for them as members of the lower tier of the working class. The labor market (M) and the production circuit (P) even when contradicted by the societal ideology of a liberal democratic system and equal opportunity have defined the limits of available lifetime consumption opportunities open to this group. Thus, gradually Puerto Ricans have come to be defined by the capitalist class as naturally suited for only the inferior social and economic roles to which they are restricted through level or extra legal devices and over time they have come to be regarded as incapable of performing other roles associated with higher status.

Seeking to shield itself from complicity the society places the blame on the group's pervasive and persistent language and cultural attributes. Recognizing the consistent pattern of academic underachievement for the group, the Puerto Rican community confronted the state in the 1960s calling for the implementation of an educational remediation program in the form of bilingual education. This program has served as a viable tool for reducing the level of tension of the Puerto Rican community against the state. But it has also served well the needs of the capitalist class for a divided working class since those segments not in need of language remediation see such a policy as being one of exhausting limited educational funds and thus demonstrating preferential treatment or reverse discrimination. Improvements in school performance, however, are limited by the fact that they are often inadequately designed and are not often vigorously and consistently enforced.

In addition, it has served in exposing for public scrutiny how the ethnic, neocolonial and cultural pluralism models cannot fully explain the Puerto Rican malaise. For when the Puerto Rican experience is compared with that of the other Hispanic groups in the United States, most particularly the Cuban experience, one finds many dissimilarities. The mass movement and settlement of the Puerto Ricans to the continental United States occurred in the 1950s and 1960s.

As United States citizens their migration as to population and place of settlement was uncircumscribed. For the most part those migrating were of the lower strata of Puerto Rican society and of a rainbow hue of colors. They came to occupy positions in the lower tier of the secondary labor sector due to limitations of language fluency and educational attainment but with the hopes for mobility as in time the obstacles were removed. Due to the proximity of the homeland and unrestricted access, cultural nationalistic sentiments and a bridge relationship have been able to be maintained within faction of the group regardless of the passage of time. Consequently, the process of group acculturation through the subprocesses of assimilation have varied within the group. Sectors of the group seek acculturation into the American mainstream and establishment of the continental United States as the homeland and another faction is oriented towards the eventual return to the island. A faction of the Puerto Rican community favors statehood (New Progressive Party), others a continuation of the present "free associated state" position (Popular Democratic Party), others independence or self determination for the island and those of the socialist persuasion support an alliance with the socialist block nations. These issues which have served to factionalize the group are complicated by the class, race and religious diversity of the group.

In comparison the Cuban extry into the United States is characterized by the mass political exile of the middle and upper class in the 1960s in response to the socialist regime of Fidel Castro. Until the end of 1960 these emigrants were often able to escape with considerable material possession. The lower class and generally black sector of the population was limited in available resources to emigrate. The United States political position in the face of the mass exodus out of Cuba was one of facilitating the entry of this population by adopting a policy of waivering the necessary visa requirements. A resettlement program was established in 1965 to relieve the burden of Cuban geographical concentration in the Miami, Florida area. In addition, economic assistance in the form of loans and grants in aid was provided to assist the group in its eventual acculturation into the American mainstream. In time, the process of acculturation has proceeded since a return to the homeland in the foreseeable future is doubtful.

It is thus evident that the making of any comparisons of the Puerto Rican experience in the continental United States with other groups: Hispanic and non-Hispanic alike become complicated by the existence of many socio-historical dissimilarities. Consequently, while the established mainstream models of ethnic assimilation, cultural pluralism, and neocolonialism can serve at explaining other group experiences

they fall short when attempting to explain the Puerto Rican malaise. It is only through making use of a modified Marxian model that the explaining of the group's situation on the continent can be more adequately made although not totally disentangled. The scheme of interdependent circuits of the labor market (M) production (P) ideology (I) and consumption (C) reveal the complexity of issues which thwart the group's realization of parity relations and incorporation into the American mainstream. Also, under the dual system of recruitment to adult status, no amount of educational reform and no programs to rehabilitate the Puerto Rican group can bring about equal school performance. What is needed is a comprehensive policy providing equal opportunity with the clearly defined goal of incorporating Puerto Ricans on equal term into American society.

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