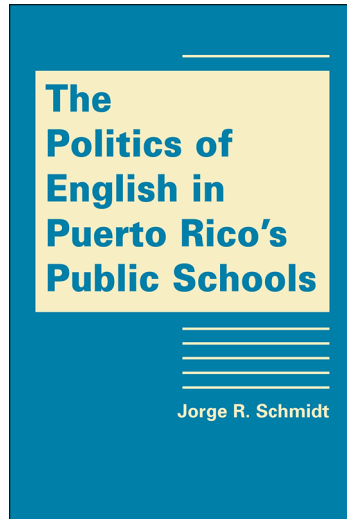


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The Politics of English in Puerto Rico's Schools

Jorge R. Schmidt



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1

The Politics of Education and Language

This book is about the politics of language in education. It concerns the people who try to influence educational language policies and the institutions where those policies are determined. Now, most people would claim that politics are bad for education. Politics, they could add, contaminate the educational process and impose policy decisions that have little to do with pedagogic philosophy and much to do with power relations. Thus, many propose that politics should be removed altogether from educational policies, especially those relating to the language of instruction. Many have tried; none have succeeded. That is because, contrary to popular belief, politics is an indispensable component of public education.

Public education is political for two reasons. First, it is a powerful tool of socialization only surpassed by the family. Second, it involves several societal sectors with diverse and sometimes conflicting interests. The attempts to purge politics from education have failed in the past and will fail in the future. The goal should be the understanding, rather than the removal, of politics in educational policies, which are complex and multidimensional. This book concentrates on educational language policy, a crucial component of any public education system.

Politics is also a fundamental aspect of language. Language, as a social instrument of communication, control, and subversion, is essentially political because of its diversity. All countries face some level of language diversity, which presents policymakers with the dilemma of having to choose between uniformity and variety. The complexity of government operations provides incentives for state officials to simplify and pursue the establishment of a single language, a process known as language rationalization (Laponce, 1987). However, ethnolinguistic groups often demand policies that promote the use of

several languages in their societies. Consequently, there exists a tension between the centralizing tendency of government bureaucracies and the centrifugal force of language diversity.

Given that public education and language contact contain by definition political dynamics, the formulation of educational language policies is, by consequence, a highly politicized process. For instance, most colonial governments imposed the center's language in official affairs and public education. They did so as part of a political project. Such was the case of Spanish and French colonial policies in the New World and Africa. Education and language also have been major issues in sovereign multilingual states, where language policies frequently have favored the groups with closer ties to the state and greater capacity to influence government decisions. Where those with the strongest influence over language policies constitute numerical minorities, the resulting educational language policies emphasize their languages at the expense of other languages. English in the Philippines, Swahili in Tanzania, English in Puerto Rico, Urdu in Pakistan, and Afrikaans in South Africa illustrate the point. In such cases, a gap may develop between the educational and the social uses of languages, which may in turn reinforce existing socioeconomic and political differences among language groups. Thus, educational language policies constitute important political and economic tools, and the power relations that create them must be examined.

Educational language policies result from the refraction of individuals' and groups' interests through the institutions of the educational system. Those individuals and groups act as language stakeholders, people who invest time and resources, expecting to increase their influence over educational language policies. The term is an adaptation of Samuel Popkin's "political entrepreneur," who is "someone willing to invest his own time to coordinate the inputs of others in order to produce collective action or collective goods" (1979:259). This book analyzes the policy preferences of those language stakeholders regarding the medium of instruction in public schools. McGroarty (2002:33) argued that language policies were undertheorized and that "practical decisions regarding language are made by the various groups wielding power within educational governance structures...." This work provides a theoretical, empirical and historical contribution on how those decisions come to be.

The language stakeholders' efforts to influence educational policy are channeled through the educational governance structures. Educational institutions affect the outcomes. They do so according to two fundamental attributes of those structures: centralization and

participation. Centralization refers to the level at which policies are determined, from central educational ministries to local school boards and individual schools. Participation refers to the degree of involvement of teachers, parents, students, and the community in educational policies.

Education and Politics

The political nature of public education can be illustrated at least in four areas: (1) state formation, (2) political socialization, (3) class cleavages and (4) class formation.

The formation of modern states during the industrial revolution rested partly on the creation of mass educational systems. Anderson (1991) ascribed the development of nation-states in Europe to the emergence of “print-capitalism,” which was the combination of new printing technologies with the rise of capitalism. Print-capitalism only succeeded when many people could read and write. The establishment of mass educational systems and the reduction of illiteracy helped extend new economic relations to larger societal sectors. Print-capitalism also provided incentives for the creation of grammars and dictionaries. In fact, after the Bible, dictionaries were the first books published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Rice and Grafton, 1994). Ironically, the democratization of reading during the Renaissance also brought about the systematic censorship of books, something rare during the Middle Ages (Rice and Grafton, 1994). Dictionaries and grammars helped disseminate the newly standardized and dominant languages through the educational systems. Print-capitalism produced the imagined communities that evolved into nations and nation-states. The choice of languages in education became political decisions that reflected the relative capability of competing ethnolinguistic groups to tie their language to the defining features of their nation-state. Modern public education systems, in turn, emerged as agencies that helped disseminate those languages and their values.

Education is also political because of its unmatched capacity for political socialization. It can make populations internalize norms, rules, and values. Children enter schools at a very young age and spend there many hours a day, several days a week, numerous weeks a year, and many years. All that time they are learning diverse information, concepts, skills, social norms, and values. When it comes to socializing a population, no other institution besides the family can come close. Educational systems, from the beginning, embodied the cosmologies of the ruling classes. They still do. It is no coincidence that virtually after

every change in regime, either by revolution, *coup d'état* or elections, there is a restructuring of the educational system. Politicians know the power of education and use it.

Public educational systems also affect class cleavages, either by reinforcing the existing differences or ameliorating them. Since a good education is a fundamental asset to compete for good jobs, in those countries where access to the best schools is a privilege of the wealthy, the poor have few chances for upward social mobility. If decent public education is available for most people, it can increase the chances of the poor sectors to compete for lucrative jobs and improve social mobility.

Public education systems also created an important societal sector: the teachers. There appeared a large group of people sharing interests, playing a crucial role in society, and eventually organizing in unions. Certainly there were teachers before the emergence of nation-states, but never in the quantities and with the class consciousness of modern times. They tend to enjoy much prestige within their communities, which makes them potential political figures. In Puerto Rico, for example, public school teachers and state university professors who run for political office are allowed to take a paid leave of absence for the semester of the election. If they are elected, their job is reserved for them until they return.

Language and Politics

Diversity is the main reason for language's political nature. There are more than 6,000 live languages in the world. In Africa alone there are over 2,000 different languages. There are more than 700 languages spoken in Indonesia, over 400 in India, and around 800 in Papua-New Guinea (Lewis, 2009). Most European industrialized countries like Great Britain, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, France, Belgium, Sweden, and Norway have significant language minorities. Even in the Americas, dominated by five European tongues, there are more than 15 other languages spoken by at least one million people. Virtually no country in the world can claim linguistic homogeneity. Even Japan is facing language diversity, as evidenced by the policy of promoting the learning of Japanese among immigrants. The increasing migration of workers and refugees, provoked by the globalization of international markets and wars, has created linguistic minorities in places where there had been none before (Tollefson, 2002: 5). Hence, while the total number of differentiated languages is on the descent, language diversity worldwide is increasing.

Language heterogeneity produces an unbreakable nexus between language and politics. This link affects at least five general aspects of modern states: (1) national identity, (2) racial relations, (3) bureaucratic efficiency, (4) income distribution, and (5) political participation.

A language affects the national identity of a state when it is a component of the dominant group's distinctiveness. It becomes associated with the state at the expense of competing language groups (Tollefson, 2002; Solé, 1995). This association creates a tension that becomes manifested through political competition. This competition then creates a significant basis for ethnolinguistic tensions that are expressed in many ways, the most extreme form being armed conflict. For instance, the unification of the Spanish state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries not only established Castile's political and economic dominance, but also elevated its defining symbols to those of Spain, particularly the language (Laitin, Solé, and Kalyvas, 1994; Valleverdú, 1984). Spain's unity, however, remained uneasy with several conflicts revolving around the language status of Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia. Conversely, a state may favor language diversity. It may foment divisions among language groups in order to neutralize a potentially unified opposition, like Yugoslavia before 1980 during the Tito regime (Tollefson, 2002:181).

The effects of language over racial relations are well illustrated with the resurgence of language discrimination in the U.S. Using language as a mask, "anglos are allowed to do and say all kinds of things without appearing overtly racist" (Zentella, 2003:53). Unlike race, language is something over which a person has control. It can be changed. If a person cannot speak the Standard English he can be stigmatized, mocked, and discriminated. That cannot happen with race, openly. But it happens. The groups that speak a different version of English or another language in the U.S. are precisely the racial minorities of the country: Latinos, African Americans, Native Americans, and Asians. Hence, racial discrimination hides behind the veil of language prejudice and promotes the same economic marginalization.

Language also impinges on a state's bureaucratic efficiency. Bureaucratic efficiency refers to the capacity of the state to perform administrative duties at the maximum level of utility. The existence of diverse language groups potentially reduces a state's bureaucratic efficiency by swelling the costs of official communication at central and regional levels. Official documents may have to be translated; public education may have to include several language courses or media of instruction; state offices may be forced to hire personnel speaking more than one language; translators may be needed for the legal system.

States may choose to operate in one language to control expenses, but it is likely to isolate population sectors or even entire regions. Language diversity may also disrupt the communications between the central government and some political units, or among political units. It has an effect on social mobilization—in Deutsch's terms, the process by which isolated sectors of the population are drawn into fuller participation in public life through the opening of centers of political control, economic power, and innovation in outlying areas (1961). The difficulty to communicate between the center and outlying areas raises real obstacles for the integration of those sectors into national life.

Language issues also affect income distribution. They influence differences in employment opportunities among language groups. Where many private enterprises require the use of a particular language, the population sectors that lack proficiency in that language become marginalized. Those possessing the language skills reap larger shares of the employment pie. In fact, language diversity may transform or reinforce class cleavages based on language proficiency differences. Québec, for instance, implemented a pro-French policy that helped to transform the distribution of riches in its society. English was, until 1969, the dominant language in the province's business community, which produced significant earning differentials between Francophones and Anglophones (Burnaby, 2002; Grin, 1996; Hamers and Hummel, 1994). Legislation in Québec's parliament since 1969 reversed that trend, imposing the use of French in the workplace. It quickly had a noticeable impact in reducing income gaps between Anglophones and Francophones. Language diversity can also contribute to income disparities through the use of various languages at different levels of production. For instance, one language may be used at shop levels and another at managerial positions. This is the situation of many Spanish-speaking factory workers in large U.S. cities, whose supervisors speak only English and establish communication through intermediate level supervisors that serve as interpreters. A similar case can be made for agricultural industries in states such as California, where a large number of low level jobs are occupied by Spanish-speaking Mexican and Central American immigrants while managerial level jobs are occupied by English-speaking individuals of Anglo-Saxon origin (Solé, 1995). The American case illustrates how language can provide a foundation for the permanence of class differentiations between ethnolinguistic groups (Bloom and Grenier, 1992:445–451). This explains the pervasiveness of militant language stakeholders in the United States, like the Official English Movement and the *Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española*.

Finally, language diversity may produce the exclusion from political affairs of individuals and population sectors who cannot communicate in the language or languages of the state. Parliamentary debates are held in one language or possibly two, but a plurality of languages would make communication hopeless in legislative discussions. Local, regional, state, or provincial legislatures and administrations may allow the use of other languages and permit some levels of participation by individuals who do not speak the state's language. This practice, however, hinders the national leaders' capacity to communicate with regional governments and population sectors that cannot speak the central language. Interpreters are often used, but the increase in costs and the additional efforts to communicate produce biases against the full inclusion of marginalized language groups in political decisions. Governments may also prevent ethnolinguistic groups from gaining access to government posts, which constitute a large sector of the job market in most countries. Rahman (1996) showed how Punjabi elites in Pakistan used Urdu and English to control a disproportionate fraction of the jobs in the public sector. Urdu, spoken by about 8 percent of the population, was required in most government jobs, at the expense of Punjabi, the mother tongue of over 48 percent of the Pakistani people. In Africa and Asia, French and Belgian colonial policies provided access to French training only to a handful of privileged people who could serve as native auxiliaries (Babault and Caitucoli, 1997:160). The rest of the population remained intentionally excluded from the political and economic advantages that the proficiency in the French language provided. In independent Senegal, French, spoken by a minority, was chosen as the official language of government while 90 percent of the population communicated in Wolof (Grosjean, 1982). Another instance is Haiti, where most people speak Creole but French dominates the official business of government.

Language Rationalization versus Language Diversity

The educational language policies of most countries draw a line between the social importance of many languages and their weight in public educational systems. The central dilemma that policymakers face when deciding the role of languages in education is whether to favor one or several languages. Policymakers traditionally perceive a tradeoff between inclusiveness and efficiency. Where a single language is favored, it does so at the expense of other languages. Where several languages are chosen, resources are drained. The problem can approach a zero-sum game when it comes to the effects over language

communities. In many cases, as one linguistic group is helped by the relative emphasis on their language, another linguistic group is harmed. In any given school curriculum there is a finite number of languages that can be used in a significant manner. The win of one is, more or less, the loss of other or others. That makes these policies so potentially conflictive.

In the social realm, languages serve as systems of communication and as instruments of control. People communicate at various levels, with different people, and for diverse purposes. Hence, language social use is dynamic and has the potential to change. Sociolinguists have identified several social functions of language, including group use, wider communication, official use, and religious purposes (Stewart, 1968; Ferguson, 1966). All functions may not be fulfilled by the same language. For example, English may play an important public role in India, but a small part in home use (Parasher, 1980). In contrast, local languages hold important places for home use but are less relevant for the job market. Languages may also share a social function. Many countries, developing and industrialized, have adopted English as the language of employment in international business fields, with native languages preferred for domestic jobs. This book focuses on the language function that relates to wider communication, which can be measured by recoding population census data. Chapter 2 recodes census data in a way that reduces errors associated with the potential lack of precision of census information. The chapter also introduces a typology that categorizes languages within a continuum ranging from primary to foreign use. Categories are based on intensity of use, rather than on qualitative distinctions. The continuum is a way to solve the problem of rigidity in some of the language categories proposed in earlier works.

The use of a language in education can be placed in two general categories: (1) as media of instruction and (2) as language courses. School curricula often contain more than one language as media of instruction. Various courses may be taught in one language while others are taught in another language, or different grades may use different languages. Several languages may also be taught as course subjects within the same grades or at different levels. Chapter 2 develops indicators to quantify the educational use of a language based on whether it is a medium of instruction or a course subject, and for how long. The indicators for educational use produce values that are measured against a scale that fluctuates from primary to foreign use. Hence, the scales for language social use and language educational use have the same range so they can be compared across cases. The potential difference between both values shows the magnitude of the educational

language gap (ELAG) for a given language within a particular country or region. ELAG represents an instrument to provide precise evidence of a language's relevance in one of modern society's main institutions: the school system.

The Politics of Educational Language Policies

The policymakers' dilemma between language rationalization and diversity uncovers the importance of political variables over considerations of language in education. The issue arises in (1) colonial relations, (2) challenges from national subunits, (3) demographic changes, (4) regime changes, (5) unfulfilled expectations, and (6) decisions over languages for international affairs.

The imposition of European languages in many African and Asian colonies during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries implied that languages which played no more than tertiary social roles were given primary uses in education to allow for colonial administration by Europeans and to train native cadres for colonial governance. Thus, English, French, Portuguese, Dutch, and Spanish obtained preferential roles in education, even though the overwhelming majorities of the colonies' populations could not speak them and had no social use for them. Another case was the imposition of English in the Philippines and Puerto Rico by the United States during the early twentieth century. This policy of *Americanization* attempted to raise the social role of English to that of a primary language through the use of the public school system.

Newly independent states with colonial histories often struggled to consolidate the incipient state institutions. One way to accomplish that was through the establishment of official languages. In Kenya, for instance, the Kenyatta administration made Swahili the national language, and English an official language. Public schooling began to use Swahili as a primary language for most of the population. The decision to favor Swahili in governmental and educational functions, even though it was spoken by only one of the many Kenyan ethnic groups, responded to the need to develop a sense of pride in the country's African roots, which decades of British colonialism had impaired. The English language was favored over the other Kenyan native languages because it provided a tool for state administrative efficiency and continuity with the existing bureaucracy. Also, ironically for many ethnolinguistic groups, the use of English was perceived as less of a menace than Swahili, since it did not favor any particular ethnic group over the others. The young Kenyan state lacked the resources to establish an educational language policy based on diversity, opting for

efficiency. Throughout the years, as the state apparatus consolidated, the educational language policies shifted towards larger roles for minority languages.

Some national subunits, such as Québec, underwent significant language policy modifications without experiencing the type of regime changes produced by independence processes. The Québécois government approved a series of legislative pieces through the 1970s that substantially modified the role of French in education, at the workplace and in government. Québec increased its autonomy from the central Canadian government during the 1980s and consolidated its language policy.

The effects of demographic changes in language policies can be seen in the diverse experiences with bilingual education in the United States. Bilingual education programs use several languages but Spanish dominates because of the larger rate of growth of Hispanics in the United States (Tucker, 2005). Most bilingual education programs were adopted after intense pressure from organized political groups, whose numbers provided them with influence over public opinion and elections.

Other countries that traditionally ignored minority language rights, like Nicaragua, reviewed their policies after new increased demands sparked by regime changes. English Creole speakers in Nicaragua took advantage of the participation spaces opened by the Sandinista government during the 1980s, and managed to secure bilingual education programs that had been inconceivable under the Somoza dictatorship. Conversely, Franco's Spain managed to suppress Catalan demands for language rights, but the democratic regime created by the 1978 constitution cleared the way for the inclusion of Catalan in education.

In India, the post-independence use of English as an official language was meant as a temporary policy, since Hindi was intended to remain the sole official language and the principal medium of instruction after several years of social and political adaptation. However, the identification of Hindi with a specific region of the country produced resentments from non-Hindi speaking regions, which preferred the use of the language of the British Empire over that of the dominant Indian state.

Languages of international use have existed since ancient times. Ancient Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Arabic and Mandarin spread well beyond the boundaries of their respective ethnolinguistic groups. In modern times, imperial languages such as Spanish, French, Portuguese, Dutch, Russian, and English spread across geographical expanses at

rates never experienced before. More recently, the era of globalization, with the preeminence of the United States, reinvigorated English as the preferred international language. Hence, over 50 countries have adopted educational language policies favoring English, even though most of them have no significant English speaking populations (Wright, 2004; Maurais and Morris, 2004). English is perceived as the language of trade and communication and consequently as an instrument of social mobility. Even the European Union, with its enormous economic and political clout, constantly debates over the unique stance of the English language. South Korea established in 1997 a school language program that made English instruction compulsory since the third grade. Slovenia, a model for the respect of linguistic human rights, inserted English courses in its elementary school curriculum (Tollefson, 2002). Simultaneously, however, in most of those countries emerged a reaction against English instruction based on the defense of national cultures against linguistic imperialism (Jung and Norton, 2002).

The cases mentioned above differ in many ways, but all show the importance of political variables over educational language policies. They also illustrate the potential conflicts between language groups and state institutions, and among language groups themselves.

Centralization, Participation, and Language Stakeholders

Debates over school decentralization in the United States developed in response to social pressures in the 1960s and 1970s that wanted to improve the quality of education and change the power relations in education (Wissler and Ortiz, 1986:280). Advocates of centralized systems generally argue that decentralization impairs the development of coherent and effective curricula, which shows in the poor performance of students from the decentralized American public school system, compared to those of other industrialized countries with more centralized educational structures (Clune, 1993; Smith and O'Day, 1990). Proponents of decentralization, on the other hand, claim that a dispersion of power among parents and teachers allows them to take responsibility and ownership over their schools' curricula, which in turn produces flexible policies that respond to particular communities' needs (Hammad and Norris, 2009; Gaziel, 2008; Hill, 1997; Kerchner and Koppich, 1993; Hannaway and Carnoy, 1993). Regardless of differences, most scholars agree that the levels at which educational policies are developed affect the outcomes.

Relative to language in education, variations in decisionmaking levels provide policymakers with different incentives and options to

gather information and establish policies. Central levels of authority offer motivations to gather information about the language use in society as a whole rather than about small communities. Information gathering is expensive, and specialized information requires trained personnel and research resources, both of which are usually scarce in public school systems. Hence, educational governance structures with concentrations of power at the central level have incentives to favor language rationalization over language diversity.

Decisionmakers at low levels of authority, away from the center, tend to have more information about the particular communities affected by their decisions. Hence, for them, gathering information about language habits within their community is a relatively inexpensive operation. This, in turn, increases the likelihood of establishing educational language policies that reflect linguistic differences among various communities. Decentralized structures allow local boards to concentrate on more specific plans, geared toward communities' needs without having to incur in the kinds of costs that systemic plans demand.

The most relevant language stakeholders in the question of *who* makes policies are bureaucrats, teachers, parents, and nonsystem actors. Bureaucrats have strong incentives to seek states' language rationalizing policies, and institutional constraints against language diversity. Parents and teachers, who by virtue of their own experiences are aware of the specific social uses of languages in their communities, have incentives to seek educational language policies that reflect diversity.

Bureaucrats are government employees, and as such, respond to the rationalizing tendency of the state with a preference on a small number of languages for government use, the logic of which is based on efficiency. Administrators strive to manage their relatively scarce resources in an efficient manner, achieving the best results with the fewest expenses. Since several languages in an administrative structure increase the operational expenses, the bureaucratic perspective favors a reduction in languages used in education. The bureaucracy's perspective tends to favor rationalization over diversity. Thus, bureaucrats in education departments have historically favored prominent educational roles for languages that are widely used for government and business purposes, even if they had little social use otherwise.

Assessing teachers' interests is a complicated task since their participation can take many forms, from centralized unions to school councils, to individual actions. Unions focus on job security and wage issues, so language policies may play secondary roles to salary scales, tenure, and hiring practices. Participation of teachers at the lower levels of educational systems, where they are members of the communities,

provide more incentives for accurate reflections of language social uses in schools than higher, more centralized levels of participation, where class motivations dominate community interests. Ultimately then, teachers' interests are strongly influenced by the level at which they participate.

Parents may have the largest stake in educational decisions since their children are the clients of school policies. As citizens, parents are aware of the social roles played by languages within their communities. As consumers of educational services, parental interests may be summarized in two general preferences. First, since language is so often a significant aspect of group identity, parents have a tendency to support a prominent educational status of their mother tongue. Second, parents want education to provide social mobility opportunities. Hence, parents also favor significant roles for languages that are used widely in government and business transactions. Since a school curriculum can accommodate several languages for diverse purposes, parents may support the intense use of more than one language. For instance, where a mother tongue is not widely used in businesses or government agencies, parents almost invariably favor some combined use of their mother tongue with a language considered valuable for employment.

Nonsystem actors may be as varied as societies themselves. They often involve political parties, particularly those with nationalist ideologies, such as the *Parti Québécois* in Canada or the *Partido Nacionalista Vasco* in Spain. Nonsystem actors also involve special interest groups, such as the Official English Movement in the United States. Their interests are diverse, and they can only be understood within their particular historic junctures.

Language stakeholders play a central role on this analysis. The book identifies the language stakeholders involved in several educational policies in Puerto Rico between 1898 and 2013 and explores their relative success. Language stakeholders in Puerto Rico include: (1) teachers unions (*Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico, Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico*), (2) political parties (*Partido Unión, Partido Nuevo Progresista, Partido Popular Democrático, Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño*), (3) prominent individuals (José de Diego, Rubén del Rosario), (4) private organizations (*Ateneo de Puerto Rico, Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española*), and (5) government officials (Roland Falkner, Mariano Villaronga, Ramón Mellado). The main reason for the failure of the Americanization strategy between 1898 and 1948 was the lack of language stakeholders in favor who were able and willing to invest their time and resources into influencing the educational language policy. The U.S. occupation of

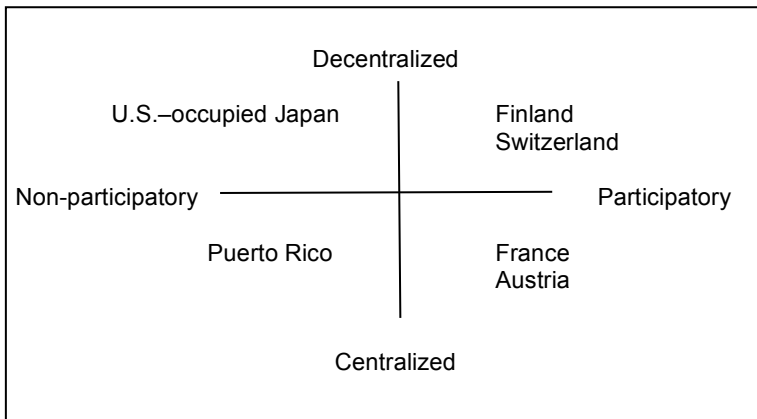
Puerto Rico in 1898 did not provoke a mass migration of Anglophones to the island, which in turn precluded the development of a large English linguistic community that perceived the maintenance of their language as fundamental for the group's survival. Ironically, most language stakeholders who defended the Americanization policies were not English native speakers. Some couldn't even speak it. Hence, English language stakeholders never reached a critical mass that would make it rational for most people to support an all-English curriculum (Laitin, 1993). Conversely, the defense of Spanish during the Americanization era and its promotion during the Puertoricanization policy of 1949 were backed by a wide coalition of language stakeholders, which Algrén (1987) called the "Movement against Teaching English," and Clampitt-Dunlap (2000) termed the "defenders of language." Eventually, the growth of the pro-statehood movement and the return migration during the 1970s of second generation Puerto Ricans from the U.S., whose native tongue was English, provided the ideology and the language stakeholders to break the consensus on the educational language policy of Puertoricanization and to reinvigorate the debate over the role of English in public schools. The public disputes over the attempted policy of English immersion during the late 1990s evidenced that there were relevant language stakeholders willing and able to pay the costs of influencing a pro-English language policy. The fact that the policy faced a fierce opposition from many pro-Spanish language stakeholders does not blur the fact that many people supported the immersion programs. Puerto Rico in 1996 was very different than in 1900, and the resulting policies reflected those differences.

Education departments with strong centralization and little participation tend to produce results that favor the interests of small elites often associated with the ruling class (see Figure 1.1). The educational language policies produced on these cases favor language rationalization over language diversity, in many cases imposing a language spoken by a minority. This was the case of Puerto Rico between 1898 and 1949.

Decentralized and participatory institutions, by contrast, offer incentives to establish educational language policies based on community needs with the inclusion of parents and teachers. Such is the case of Finland and Switzerland. The educational language policies in those cases favor diversity over rationalization, and often expressly protect linguistic human rights. Another possibility is to have a highly centralized system with a large degree of participation from societal sectors, like the French and Austrian school systems. This case promotes the existence of centralized and strong teachers unions, whose main

weapons are their strength in numbers and their influence over educational policies. The resulting educational language policies are based on rationalization, but with relatively large spaces for diversity. Hence, the French system may appear intolerant against English interference, but flexible towards Corsican. The Austrians may protect their German against English, but not against Italian. Finally, a public school system may be decentralized but with small levels of participation. This was the experience of Japan during the American occupation after World War II, which allowed local kingpins to control the schools' operations without the communities' involvement. Language diversity seems to prevail over rationalization more often than otherwise.

Figure 1.1 Types of Decisionmaking in Educational Systems



A Nation as a Language Laboratory

The book covers several historical periods in the development of Puerto Rico's educational language policies. The time periods considered here offer general theoretical insights and a better understanding of Puerto Rico's history, divided in three policy eras. The first period corresponds to the Americanization era, which lasted from 1898 to 1948. The second period, the Puertoricanization era, extended from 1949 to 1968. The last is the Bilingualization era, from 1969 to the present.

The case studies' theoretical contributions are three-fold. First, they provide evidence of the importance of domestic variables in comparative

politics. If international variables alone could contain the whole story, Puerto Rico would be an ideal case for it, due to the imposing presence of U.S. political, military and economic dominance. However, as will be seen in this book, in the evolution of the island's language policies, domestic variables played a role at least equally important as the colonial institutions and actors. Second, the Puerto Rican case shows the effects of institutional changes on public policies. The incipient education department of Puerto Rico in 1900 suffered several changes through the periods considered in the study, and those changes were accompanied almost immediately by modifications in educational language policies. In fact, each one of the three educational policy eras in Puerto Rico was preceded by a significant change in the education department. Third, an understanding of the development of educational language policies in Puerto Rico may establish the bases for similar studies in other countries where language policies in education also create political tensions. Thus, the study of cases like Aruba, Québec, Catalonia, India and Nigeria should benefit from insights developed through the exploration of Puerto Rico's educational institutions.

The book's empirical observations also contribute to the knowledge of Puerto Rican politics through the analysis of many changes in government institutions and educational structures. In doing so, the book provides a systematic examination of the school system's development in terms of decisionmaking locus and actors' involvement in policymaking. Since this aspect of the Puerto Rican educational system has not been studied before from a political scientific perspective, this study opens new ground. This book also stresses the domestic policymakers' choices, and shifts the focus of explanatory variables from Washington to Puerto Rico, which few explanations of the Americanization strategy do (López Yustos, 1997; Morris, 1995; Solís, 1994; Negrón de Montilla, 1990; Cebollero, 1945).

Methodological Considerations

The empirical analysis of this project centers on various language policy developments in Puerto Rico for over 100 years. The empirical focus is in one country, but the theoretical framework was developed from the scrutiny of an ample literature covering a wide array of experiences from different regions and countries (San Román, 2013; Iannàccaro and Dell'Aquila, 2011; Moravcsik, 2007; Tucker, 2005; Maurais and Morris, 2004; Wright, 2004; Torres González, 2002; Barreto, 2001; Laitin, 1998, 1992, 1977; Babault and Caitucoli, 1997; Rahman, 1996; Solé, 1995; Morris, 1995; Hamers and Hummel, 1994; Crawford, 1992;

Rodino, 1992; Anderson, 1990; Eastman, 1990; Negrón de Montilla, 1990; Esteva i Fabregat, 1984; Sabater, 1984; Dutcher, 1982; Parasher, 1980; Kuo, 1979). The use of one case illustrates a theoretical approach intended to apply in most countries where language diversity poses challenges to educational policies. In this sense, the selection of Puerto Rico serves as a means to perform a plausibility probe (King, Keohane, and Verba, 1994:209).

Puerto Rico, as a Caribbean nation, belongs to a region with many different linguistic experiences. For instance, Haiti expanded the role of Creole in education, where it had practically no presence before, which is a puzzling policy for the poorest country of the Western Hemisphere, since Haitian Creole has no function in international markets. Haiti exists in contrast with its neighbor, Jamaica, where English Creole has received little attention from official educational policies. Caribbean experiences with language policies are as diverse as the islands themselves, and the region displays a unique language kaleidoscope, including French, Spanish, English, Dutch, Creole (Haitian and Jamaican), Patois (French, Dutch, and English), Hindi, and Papiamentu. The picture becomes even more complex if continental countries around the Caribbean basin are included (Venezuela, Suriname, Guyana, French Guyana, Colombia, Panama, Belize, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Mexico), with languages such as Sranang Tongo, Hindustani, Gaifuna, Maya and Nahuatl. Hence, the Caribbean represents a relatively untapped source of validation for several theoretical tenets regarding the development of educational language policies.

Caribbean language policies have received the attention of several scholars (Hebblethwaite, 2012; St. Hilaire, 2009; Brown-Blake, 2008; Bobonis and Toro, 2007; Pousada, 2006; Clampitt-Dunlap, 2000; Robertson, 1990). However, most of the attention has focused on areas with larger populations like North America (Subtirelu, 2013; De Korne, 2010; Mady and Turnbull, 2010; Bourhis, 1994; Fortier, 1994; Hamers and Hummel, 1994; Laponce, 1987; Meadwell, 1993), Europe (San Román, 2013; Moreno-Fernandez, 2008; Huguét, 2006), West Africa (Wyrod, 2008; Bangura, 2000), and East Asia (Hornberger and Vaish, 2009). But, in spite of the small size of most islands and their small population, Caribbean cases can provide insights into other regions' experiences for several reasons. First, the archipelago encompasses a wide range of political arrangements, including longstanding sovereign states (Haiti, Dominican Republic, Cuba), independent states (Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, the Bahamas), overseas departments (French Guyana, Guadeloupe, Martinique), dependencies (Bermuda, Curaçao, St. Maarten, Aruba), and unincorporated territories (U.S. Virgin Islands,

Puerto Rico). Second, the Caribbean region contains important differences in linguistic homogeneity. Some countries are fairly homogeneous, like Cuba, while others have competing linguistic groups, such as Trinidad and Tobago, Aruba, and Curaçao. Political and linguistic diversity are traits shared by most regions of the world, so conclusions from Caribbean experiences are likely to be useful in understanding universal language policy challenges.

Besides being part of the Caribbean region, Puerto Rico bears several peculiarities that make it useful for this study. First, since the end of the Spanish-Cuban-American War of 1898, the island has been spared from the kinds of revolutionary moments and sudden breaks with the past so common in Latin American history. Hence, political institutions have evolved gradually since the civilian government was established in 1900 and policy changes believed to be caused by institutional developments can be observed without having to consider extraordinary circumstances. Second, while Puerto Rico's population is overwhelmingly Spanish-speaking, English plays a major role in education due to political reasons (allegiance to the United States) and economic considerations (social mobility). Hence, the Spanish-speaking majority of Puerto Rico contends with issues that often affect language minorities in other countries. Third, Puerto Rico maintains an uneasy political relationship with the United States, mainly because of ethnic differences, which echoes other unresolved political relationships, like Québec with Canada and Catalonia with Spain. Since language is, in all three examples, among the critical sources of political tensions, understanding language policy decisions in one place can provide insights into larger issues of nationalism and political integration elsewhere.

Book Plan

The book is divided in seven chapters. Chapter 1 summarizes the objectives, discusses the intersection of politics and linguistics, and explains the theoretical foundations. Chapter 2 provides an instrument to measure the language social use, the language educational use, and the educational language gap (ELAG). Chapter 3 discusses the preferences over language educational policies by language stakeholders: teachers, administrators, parents, students, and nonsystem actors. It presumes a rational process of decisionmaking, but limited by the institutional features of the educational system. Chapter 4 analyses the three major paradigms in educational language policies in Puerto Rico since 1898: Americanization, Puertoricanization, and Bilingualization. The discussion of each period includes the major features of the policies and

the changes within them. Chapter 5 produces indexes for the historical use of English in the social and educational realms in Puerto Rico from 1898 to 2013. The chapter also includes an analysis of the changes in ELAG for the same period. It shows that English social use began as a tertiary language in 1898 and gradually grew into its current status as a secondary language with primary elements. In turn, the educational use of English moved from a primary language to a tertiary language with secondary elements. Chapter 6 describes the preferences and actions of the language stakeholders in Puerto Rico. Among them are teachers unions, education commissioners, political parties, parents, and students. Chapter 7 establishes how the book's objectives were met, discusses the main contributions and suggests additional research questions.