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CHICAGO AREA ETHNIC WEEKEND SCHOOLS: GOALS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

by

Wilma M. Hoffmann

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 1978
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Obviously it is impossible to mention here individually all those persons who have contributed with their advice, information and cooperation, but they would include the many administrators, teachers and students of the ethnic weekend schools where I spent countless hours gathering information to make this work possible. I thank all of them for their patience and kindness.

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My sons Gerry and Bill I cannot thank enough for their patience and understanding on the many weekends when their mother's attention was not directed to them.
Wilma M. Hoffmann was born on February 27, 1925, in Pardan, Yugoslavia. She grew up in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural region and at the age of five was speaking three languages (German, Hungarian and Serbo-Croatian) completely unrelated to each other. This early experience greatly influenced her development psychologically and made her very aware of the importance of understanding a variety of cultures and value systems. By the time Wilma Hoffmann was in the fifth grade she had attended four different schools with three distinct languages of instruction. She completed grade school and the preparatory secondary school in Yugoslavia.

During the latter years of World War II, she and her family became refugees without country, home, money or material possessions. After many unfortunate experiences and a serious illness in various displaced persons' camps, she went to Germany where she studied Slavic philology at the University of Rostock, the Humboldt University in Berlin and at the Free University of Berlin.

In 1950 Wilma Hoffmann came to the United States and has resided in Chicago where she has pursued a teaching career using many of the ten languages which she knows in depth.

Her teaching positions include two universities in Berlin before coming to the United States. In the Chicago
area she has taught at Elmhurst College, Northwestern University, Loyola University and in Chicago city high schools.

Wilma Hoffmann is currently an Assistant Professor of Slavic languages at the University of Illinois (Circle Campus) where she created the nucleus of the Russian department. She is also in charge of the Teacher Education Programs for students of Russian and Polish.

Other related experiences include positions as translator and interpreter for various governmental agencies, teaching in several NDEA Institutes and Pharmaceutical Laboratories. Wilma Hoffmann has served as principal at one of the German weekend schools (the Danube-Swabian) and organized an ethnic school for Gypsies.

Wilma Hoffmann has been active in a number of professional organizations including the MLA (Modern Language Association), ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages), AATSEEL (American Association of Teachers of Slavic and Eastern European Languages), LACUS (Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States) and others. She also served in different offices in the Illinois AATSEEL, including those of President and Secretary-Treasurer.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In the Chicago area there currently exist scores of ethnic schools whose total number reflects the mosaic pattern of autonomous social groupings based on the diversity of ethnic antecedents. Their structure and mode of operation vary greatly. However, in their overall goals, their diversity is considerably less.

Most of the present ethnic schools in the Chicago area date from the 1950's, some from the 1960's; some are new foundations from these periods, some are revivals of schools from earlier periods. They were organized by the ethnic groups through the sponsorship of churches and fraternal or parent organizations. Some groups have developed rather sophisticated educational institutions that transcend the boundaries of fraternal organizations and churches. With regard to this latter phenomenon there are whole school leagues that are national in scope and are served by interschool committees for the formulation of educational goals, curriculum development, educational materials development, policy formulation regarding administrative matters and the like. Such is the case with the Ukrainian, the Lithuanian, and the Jewish schools, and to a lesser degree with the schools of some other groups. In other cases, the schools
may not be united into a league, but the teachers may have organized themselves into an association which influences the schools of that group through their cooperative efforts. It needs to be pointed out, however, that despite possible membership in a school league, the individual ethnic school operates in many ways as a single entity under the guidance of a local overseer, usually a principal. Therefore, in many respects the ethnic school may be considered to function as a community school.

In terms of structure, ethnic schools fall chiefly into three categories based upon frequency of instruction and the total number of instructional hours per week, although not unambiguously so, as Fishman and Nahirny inform us in a summary concerning an earlier inquiry into the subject.\(^1\)

These categories are as follows:

1. **All Day Schools.** These are schools with complete educational programs that satisfy the requirements of compulsory education as specified by the laws of state and local educational authorities. Pupils attending these schools do not attend general American public schools. All Day Schools are, in the majority of instances, maintained by religious groups—Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Jewish.

Examples of such schools are St. Nicholas (Ukrainian), St. Therese (Chinese), Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Lithuanian), Hillel Torah (Jewish). The decisive criterion met by these schools is the fact that, above and beyond the 'regular' curriculum required to satisfy the provisions of public laws, All Day Schools offer instruction in one or more additional subjects, such as the language, culture, history, traditions and religion of the respective group.

2. **Weekday Afternoon Schools.** These are schools which are in session usually two afternoons per week for up to two clock hours per session, after regular school hours in the pupils' regular school. There is normally a time interval provided for travel since the location of these schools in many instances is not the same as that of the pupils' regular school; therefore, classes in these schools generally meet during late afternoon hours. Most of the Weekday Afternoon Schools are affiliated with religious groups. Like the curriculum of All Day Schools, the curriculum of the Weekday Afternoon Schools includes language instruction. In addition, classes may be offered in culture, traditions, or history of the respective group, but any or all of these latter classes are not necessarily offered by each of these schools. Religious instruction in some instances is part of the curriculum in these schools; in other instances it is not.

Here it must be pointed out that many of the Jewish
schools in the Chicago area which at first glance would seem to fit quite accurately into the category of Weekday Afternoon Schools do not, in fact, fit into this category. In addition to twice weekly afternoon sessions, they also hold classes on Sundays, and thereby almost double the number of hours of instruction offered by the Weekday Afternoon Schools. There are other ethnic group schools in the Chicago area which, on the basis of some characteristics, can be classified into one of the three categories, but which on the basis of other characteristics, do not quite fit into any of these three categories.

3. **Weekend Schools.** These schools are in session either on Saturdays or on Sundays. The number of instructional hours ranges from one hour to six hours; however, the great majority of these schools hold instructional sessions from two and one-half to four hours. At least one school offers its upper division students more than six hours of instruction when necessary.

Pupils attending weekend schools often travel great distances. Some commute from communities in the Chicago metropolitan area and others come from the northwestern counties of Indiana. These schools cannot be thought of as community schools in the sense of a small geographical area. Neither can it be assumed that a given ethnic weekend school is located centrally within the residential distribution of that group, even if in some instances this
is the case. Among the factors which determine the existence of Weekend Schools are these:

a. The intensity of desire on the part of the family for its children to attend such a school.

b. The family's affiliation with specific school-sponsoring organizations; some ethnic groups have multiple organizations.

c. The location of a physical plant suitable for school use which the sponsoring organization may have acquired; such property does not necessarily become disposable with a shift in the residential patterns of the group's membership.

d. The sponsoring organization's acquisition of land in an expanding area outside the city limits and the subsequent building of new, more valuable facilities, while the residential patterns of its membership do not change drastically. For instance, this is true for many Eastern Orthodox and Byzantine Rite Catholic Churches that sponsor weekend schools.²

e. Other logistical alternatives such as the weekend school's dependency on rented space which the sponsoring organization can afford, or space made available free of charge.

In terms of enrollments, ethnic weekend schools range from approximately twenty to several hundred students, and this affects the internal structure of the individual school. Schools with relatively large enrollments include one or two levels of kindergarten. Others have as much as a three-year high school program beyond a basic eight-year grade school program, while schools with relatively small enrollments may group their pupils on a very informal basis. Age-related ability grouping exists in a variety of patterns, depending largely on the school's past practical experience and its particular philosophy in such matters. Examples of ability grouping patterns are included in the descriptions of individual schools in Chapter III. Sources for this information were interviews with school personnel.

According to their statutory basis of sponsorship, the ethnic weekend schools are constituted in a variety of ways. Some are sponsored by ethnic fraternal organizations as single entities. Others are sponsored by ethnic groups as a whole, quite apart from any affiliation with church or fraternal organizations, but rather as members of national or international school leagues. Some weekend schools are sponsored by ethnic groups through their particular church, either as single entities, or as members of a coalition. Some are independent entities sponsored by a group of parents, without the benefit of league, church, or fraternal organizations, and, contrary to expectations in some quarters,
they can achieve an impressive level of academic excellence. For evidence of excellence in a parent-sponsored school, see the description of the Henryk Sienkiewiez Polish Saturday School in Chapter III. Detailed descriptions of schools investigated by the author through on-site observation follow later.

The Financial Support of the Ethnic Weekend Schools

It is impossible to present a complete and accurate description of the financial support of the ethnic weekend schools since most schools consider finance to be a confidential matter and are reluctant to divulge information concerning their financial status. However, based on the financial practices of some schools which are willing to divulge this information, a few general statements about financial support can be made.

In most weekend schools the pupils pay tuition in amounts ranging between sixty five and one hundred dollars per year for the first pupil and graduated lesser amounts for each additional pupil per family.

Such low tuition is conceivable if one considers the motives of some of the sponsoring fraternal organizations. The primary motive of these organizations is to increase the active membership in the organization. Active membership is usually defined as the members purchasing some type of insurance or investing in a mutual aid fund established by
the organization. Once the organization has achieved some degree of financial stability in this way, it can absorb the costs of the weekend school relatively easily. Indeed, as established by some fraternal organizations, the weekend school becomes something of a bonus attraction, which, however, does not diminish the school's objective value.

Some of the church-sponsored weekend schools are financed on principles similar to those noted. The church, in the organizational sense, aims at being a communal focal point for its faithful. The better the church accomplishes this task, the more the faithful will congregate. The more the faithful congregate, the greater number of people they will likely attract to the congregation. The church usually owns some multi-purpose facilities which it then makes available for instructional use during a given period of time on Saturdays or, preferably, on Sundays when the congregation gathers for worship services. Another reason for the schools meeting on days when worship services are conducted is that if the children spend some time in school, the probability increases that the parents will congregate and foster a sense of community which revolves around both the church and the school. The ingredients for a sense of real community and identity can thus be established. Sunday becomes the day of the "big family." People take a genuine pride and interest in the enterprise. As a result, contributions increase, and the cost of the school is almost
negligible. In addition, this sense of real community results in teachers frequently donating their time and skills. In terms of financing the church-related weekend school, instructional fees are kept at a strict minimum so that it is possible to maintain the entire school operation at a nominal registration fee—usually about five dollars per year for each student.

At the opposite end of the tuition spectrum are the weekend schools sponsored by parents' groups, and league affiliated, or fraternal organizations not involved in money-making enterprises such as businesses or investments. These schools do not have the luxury of community or church-related donations of time or capital, and thus encounter many of the financial problems attendant to any well run educational institution. For example, teachers in these schools are salaried, as opposed to the volunteers of some church-related schools. As there is no church or community center available for free classroom space, such schools must rent or purchase and maintain their own physical plants. Textbooks and materials, unlike those donated or created by the instructors in the church-affiliated schools, must be purchased by the parent-sponsored schools, at a cost of several thousand dollars. As a result of such a great expense for texts and materials, these are loaned or rented to students and retained by the school for use of students in successive years.
In order to meet these itemized and necessary expenses, the schools find that they must charge a tuition fee which is considerably more than a nominal service charge. Simultaneously, this tuition fee must be reasonable in terms of affordability to the pupil's family. The result of such tuition assessment is that tuition covers only a part of the total instructional cost. Therefore, alternate sources of operating capital are employed. Chief among these is the multiplicity of fund-raising activities on the part of the ethnic women's organizations. Activities such as national day observances, religious feast celebrations, and cultural art fairs and food festivals contribute substantially to the ethnic weekend school, and in fact, comprise some of the more innovative methods of school support to be found in the Chicago metropolitan area.

The Rationale for the Maintenance of Ethnic Schools

The ethnic schools are a response to a societal need evident particularly among post Second World War immigrants to the United States. The roots of this need lie in these general factors:

1. The general characteristics of post Second World War immigration to the United States

2. The tendency to preserve and assert one's own identity even amid intense processes of integration into an almost wholly new environment
3. The recognition on the part of ethnic groups that their heritage is best preserved and transmitted by members of their own respective group in a setting created to reflect the spirit of that group which provides an atmosphere in which its members feel comfortable and accepted.

This list of factors is elucidated below:

1. The American Academy of Political and Social Science devotes volume 367 of its annals to the subject of United States immigration, emphasizing the years 1945 through 1965. Part I of the volume deals with the characteristics of the new immigration in terms of national origins, occupations and qualitative and quantitative effects upon the United States population. It discusses in detail the various United States immigration laws and how each of them affected the composition of the immigration stream. Helen F. Eckerson presents a table reflecting the percent distribution of total immigration by regions of origin and by decades from 1821 to 1965, the last line comprising only five years rather than a decade. The

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regions of origin are characterized as "Northern and Western Europe", "Southern and Eastern Europe", "The Western Hemisphere", and "All Other Countries." According to the statistics for the decade 1841-1850, there were a total of 1,713,251 immigrants. Approximately 93 percent were from Northern and Western Europe, while only three-tenths of one percent were from Southern and Eastern Europe, 3.6 percent from the Western Hemisphere, and 3.1 percent from all other countries combined.

For the immediately following decade 1851-1860, of a total of 2,598,214 immigrants, the respective categories were 93.6, 0.8, 2.9 and 2.7 percent. Thereafter, the percentage of immigrants from Northern and Western Europe increased, so that in the decade 1901-1910, a total of 8,795,386 immigrants, 21.7 percent were from Northern and Western Europe, 70.8 percent from Southern and Eastern Europe, 4.1 percent from the Western Hemisphere, 3.4 percent from all other countries. During the decade 1901-1910, immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe reached its official peak. By contrast, the number of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe declined to 12.9 percent for the period 1961-1965.

For the five-year span 1961-1965 the distribution for a total of 1,450,312 immigrants is as follows: 23.8 percent from Northern and Western Europe, 12.9 percent from Southern and Eastern Europe, 54.8 percent from the
Western Hemisphere, and 8.5 percent from all other countries.

Between 1921 and 1960 the percentages of immigrants from Northern and Western Europe closely approach a balance with those from the Western Hemisphere.

Why are these statistics relevant to this study? They are relevant because (a) they reflect to a certain degree the proportions of ethnic and cultural diversity in the United States; and (b) they reflect the underlying intent of the Immigration Act of 1924\(^5\) and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952\(^6\) which was "...to preserve the ethnic composition of the population of the United States through the selection of immigrants whose tradition, languages, and political systems were akin to those in this country..."\(^7\) The quotas established by the aforementioned two immigration laws were based, initially, on estimates for colonial and postcolonial stock and their descendants, i.e., the composition, by national origins, of the Caucasian population of the United States.\(^8\)

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\(^7\) Ibid.

\(^8\) Ibid.
In addition to what has been stated, it is necessary to consider other factors when analyzing percentages as they relate to ethnic cultural backgrounds of immigrants, factors that are not reflected in the national origins statistics of immigration. For instance, much of the Western Hemisphere percentage of immigration after the Second World War was comprised of various groups of Europeans who could not gain direct access to the United States, mainly because of the quota system established by the immigration laws. Most of these persons eventually immigrated to the United States from South America, Canada and Mexico.

Furthermore, helpful though various immigration statistics are, they do not reflect the full truth about the ethnic-cultural diversity of immigrants from certain geographic regions. It is a generally known fact that the Russian Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as the latter's successor states, represent anything but homogeneous entities in terms of ethnic, religious, and general cultural composition. Likewise, it is an accurate assessment that the cultural traditions of Italians and Russians, for example, are indeed quite dissimilar. Yet, Southern and Eastern Europe are often combined in immigration statistics, a fact that obscures the ethnic-cultural diversity of immigrants from those regions, for one's country of birth is not necessarily a reliable indicator of one's ethnic-cultural background.
In 1964, in a class attended by some thirty students with last names indicating Serbian, Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, German, Chinese, and Hungarian ancestry, a show of hands was requested concerning how many were born in the United States. At first no hands went up. After a short time, and after looking around, Mr. Chan raised his hand with a bemused smile. Most of the others were born either in Austria or Germany, one Russian young lady was born in Morocco, another one in Italy; both parents of this last one are from Siberia, and the family eventually came to the United States from Brazil. Among the author's acquaintances under the age of thirty-five, there are many individuals with similar personal histories. Such factors must be understood in all their ethnic-cultural ramifications before beginning to discuss the pluralism of the United States, or ethnic schools within the United States.

Confusing though immigration statistics tend to be with regard to ethnic backgrounds of immigrants, they are very reliable and helpful when they reflect numbers and percentage distributions of immigrants in broad occupational categories. However, they do not reveal whether the individual immigrant, upon arriving in the United States, immediately became employed in his previous occupation.

In a very incisive article, Frank L. Mott furnishes several tables of diverse statistics concerning the occupational backgrounds of post World War II
It becomes very evident that whereas in earlier periods immigration provided the United States with large numbers of semiskilled and unskilled laborers, the occupational background of immigrant workers admitted between 1947 and 1965 shows a striking relationship to the current needs of the American labor market. The percentage of "laborers" among that group of immigrant workers is relatively low, while the percentage of professional, technical, skilled workers is relatively high in all categories listed. Another chart gives numerical statistical information regarding occupations of immigrants that require higher education and professional degrees. For the decade 1956 and 1965 there were, for instance, 35,412 engineers; 18,350 physicians and surgeons; 1,676 physicists; and 5,222 professors and instructors among the immigrant workers. In short, careful analysis of this statistical data reveals distinguishing general characteristics of post World War II immigration to the United States. The statistics afford a solid understanding about numbers of immigrants involved in post World War II immigration patterns, about quantitative distribution of ethnic backgrounds of immigrants, about their occupational backgrounds and, indirectly, about their educational and social backgrounds as well as about their

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potential economic status.

For present purposes, one of Mott's statistical items assumes, at least by implication, major significance. During the decade 1956-1965 there were among immigrants to the United States 28,665 elementary and secondary teachers. This statistic raises a couple of relevant questions. How many elementary and secondary teachers immigrated to the United States in the decade immediately following World War II? And how many of these teachers (in both decades) became teachers in ethnic schools? There are no statistics concerning these questions, but having gained considerable insight into many aspects of ethnic schools, the assumption may be made that many of them did become involved with ethnic schools in America, either temporarily or permanently, and either directly as teachers, or indirectly. In any case, the number of immigrant teachers provided a tremendous pool of dedicated professionals for the staffing of ethnic schools, even allowing for considerable selectivity. It needs to be pointed out here that in all probability the majority of these teachers were, according to long established tradition, not only people who performed the usual functions of classroom teaching, but they also served as community resource persons whose total socio-cultural impact in their countries of origin was quite significant.

\footnote{Mott, \textit{ibid.}, p. 30.}
In other words, these were professional people with a well-developed social consciousness and a work experience to match the expectations of their communities.

From the information presented thus far, it is obvious that the educational and social background of post World War II immigrants was of a higher caliber than the educational and social backgrounds of immigrants in previous periods.

2. The second factor in the rationale for the maintenance of ethnic schools is the tendency among ethnic groups to preserve and assert their ethnic identity even amid intense processes of becoming integrated into a new environment.

In order to understand the meaning of ethnic identity, it is helpful to have some empirical insights into ethnicity. An observer who attends, and possibly participates in, the celebration of important ethnic feasts or gatherings that commemorate important events in the history of the particular group will discover a sense of peoplehood among ethnics—a sense of belonging to a group of people who have the same culture, the same roots, similar experiences within the group, similar values, attitudes, perceptions, needs, and ways of doing things; in other words, they have a common heritage which gives them a sense of continuity with the past.

All of these factors provide a matrix which contri-
butes to the shaping of the members' identities. Not all elements of this matrix are consciously present in the minds of the group's members. Rather, the total constellation of elements provides an environment of familiar patterns of behavior, and an atmosphere where friendships and other human associations develop easily, which in turn further deepens the members' sense of belonging to the group. Individuals can find in this atmosphere a source of moral strength and courage, and psychological and, under certain circumstances, material support. The continuum of shared joys, shared misfortunes, and shared pride in the accomplishments of the group produces human allegiances and loyalties that are a solid foundation for the individual's identification with the group, or at least with some of its essential characteristics.

Apart from on-site inquiry and observation, it may also be useful to examine some definitions and the discussion of ethnicity by scholars from various disciplines, and by other noted figures in public life. While such an undertaking may not lead to a better understanding of ethnic schools and their functioning, it may afford a better grasp of what ethnicity is perceived to be in various quarters.

The literature which has been produced in the United States over the past two decades concerning ethnics and ethnicity is voluminous. A comprehensive review of it in the context of this paper seems neither possible nor
necessary. A sampling of published materials will demonstrate the importance assigned to this topic over the years and, at the same time, will reveal the qualitative range of definitions of ethnicity.

The importance of the topic can be illustrated by the fact that at successive time intervals since the early 1960's various institutions have devoted special or expanded issues of their regular publications to the topic of ethnics and ethnicity. For example, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences devoted a special issue of Daedalus to "Ethnic Groups in American Life."\textsuperscript{11} The Center Magazine,\textsuperscript{12} a publication of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, contained in its July/August 1974 issue a half dozen articles concerning ethnicity. The May/June 1976 issue of the New Catholic World\textsuperscript{13} was devoted to "Ethnicity in the Church."

The diversity of definitions and understandings of the terms "ethnic" and "ethnicity" can likewise be ascertained by a critical reading of the individual articles contained in the several publications named above. Thus in the preface to the Daedalus issue on "Ethnic Groups in


\textsuperscript{12}The Center Magazine, Vol. II, No. 4 (July/August 1974).

\textsuperscript{13}New Catholic World, Vol. 219, No. 1311 (May/June 1976).
American Life," Oscar Handlin speaks of "religio-ethnic" group life. In a subsequent article in the same issue of the journal, Handlin applies the term "ethnic" to groups of people on the basis of the common antecedents of their members:

This paper deals with one important type of American group, that in which membership tended to be transmitted by birth from generation to generation. An individual generally identified himself as an Odd Fellow or a Californian, as a member of the American Medical Association or the United Mine Workers, through decisions he made in the course of his own lifetime. He was usually, although not always, a Jew or a Negro, a Yankee or an Irish-American, through forces which existed from the moment of his birth and over which he had relatively little control. Ethnic ties frequently influenced the broader range of associations in which any given person participated...14

In yet another article in the same issue, Fishman15 deals in his paper with three minority groups: Negroes, Catholics and Jews.

A view of ethnicity different from the view of the Handlin article dominates an article by Michael Novak:

The new ethnicity does not entail: (a) speaking a foreign language; (b) living in a subculture; (c) living in a "tight-knit" ethnic neighborhood; (d) belonging to fraternal organizations; (e) responding to "ethnic" appeals; (f) exalting one's own nationality or culture, narrowly construed... Rather, the new ethnicity entails: first, a growing sense of discomfort with the sense of identity one is supposed to have--universalist, "melted," "like everyone else";


then a growing appreciation for the potential wisdom of one's own gut reactions (especially on moral matters) and their historical roots; a growing self-confidence and social power; a sense of being discriminated against, condescended to, or carelessly misapprehended... There is, in a word, an inner conflict between one's felt power and one's ascribed public power: a sense of outraged truth, justice, and equity.\textsuperscript{16}

In contrast to Handlin's generalization about ethnics and ethnicity, note that Novak deals with specific factors which constitute ethnicity. Thus Novak's view is more empirical, Handlin's more impressionistic.

Andrew Greeley in an article in the \textit{New Catholic World} holds yet another view of ethnicity:

From the point of view of the distinction between conscious and unconscious ethnicity, the current level of ethnic interest consists of a turning from culture--those behavior traits and values which are passed on regardless of self-consciousness--to heritage--a self-conscious awareness of and interest in the cultural patterns of one's ethnic collectivity.\textsuperscript{17}

In the remainder of the article, Greeley explains that ethnicity is, in fact, a way of being American; that ethnic culture is more ethnic American culture than an old world culture; that the ethnic group provided the immigrants with an identity they did not have in the old country where they would have identified with a village or a province more than with a nation; and that a person had to be something else in order to become an American.


For the sake of bringing his understanding of ethnicity sharply into focus, Greeley contrasts the notion of ethnicity with the following statement about what an American is:

The founding fathers, trying to figure out what an American was, concluded that an American was a citizen; that is to say, someone who subscribed to the fundamental principles of the Declaration and the Constitution. The early naturalization laws made this quite clear. You didn't have to give up anything—your language, your religion, your cultural background, your heritage—to become an American. All you had to do was to commit yourself to the political principles of the Republic. You didn't even have to speak English to become an American until 1907.18

It would appear, then, that ethnicity with some observers is a concept which classifies individuals according to a combination of national origin of an individual's ancestors and the cultural stereotype associated with the ancestral group and some or most of its descendants on American soil. This approach to understanding ethnicity has resulted in a model in which classification by outsiders to the group is the dominant factor, with little or no regard for attitudes and characteristics of individual members of that group.

According to another model -- represented here by the excerpt from Novak's article -- ethnicity is a state of mind and heart which springs from within a given group in reaction to attitudes and expectations on the part of

18Greeley, ibid.
outsiders to the group. This state of mind and heart seems
to coalesce into "a sense of outraged truth, justice, and
equity," (to quote Novak19) leading, presumably, to
cohesiveness within the group, and the group's struggle for
the protection and advancement of its own interests.

Greeley seeks to work with yet another model that
allows for classification (inclusion as well as exclusion)
into group membership on the basis of factors both from
within and from without the group. Furthermore, the groups'
boundaries according to this model are permeable, but not
so permeable that the ethnic collectivity disappears.
Membership in the ethnic group, according to this model,
is voluntary, at least in theory and often in fact. An
individual can choose to identify with an ethnic group,
but no one from either inside or outside the community has
any right or legal power to force him to identify with the
group. Ethnicity is, in Greeley's words, "a self-conscious
awareness of and interest in the cultural patterns of one's
ethnic collectivity."20

The concept of ethnicity in these various models is
very divergent. The basic assumptions and, consequently,
the resultant definitions, vary from model to model, with
constituent elements of one model often contradicting

19Novak, ibid., p. 19.
20Greeley, ibid.
parallel features of another model. Yet each of these models is a reflection of reality based on the findings and understandings of its respective author.

In considering, then, the differences between the various models, several questions arise. Is the concept of ethnicity actually as divergent in the self-perception of the ethnics as the models set forth by these scholars seem to indicate? Apparently, yes. Groups of ethnics are not homogeneous in their perception of what it is to be an ethnic. Though it is obvious to both insiders and outsiders to the group that any given group will find many causes for solidarity—be they social, cultural, political or economic causes—life in time has placed the individual members of the group into greatly divergent circumstances in America. This is true within the immigrant generation. Man's self-perception depends on the ways in which he interacts with his environment, both external and internal; it depends also on the ways in which he relates his past experience to the present, his spiritual world to the new set of external circumstances, and many more factors. In a place such as America where social constraints are at a minimum, there is plenty of room for diversity in the shaping of an individual's identity and self-perception.

Another question is whether the concept of ethnicity—of whatever conceptual model—is truly well-developed and clearly formulated in the minds of ethnics.
The answer in some instances would seem to be affirmative, in others negative. It does not seem likely, either, that anyone could account for all the reasons for this dichotomized answer.

In view of what has been stated in connection with the two preceding questions, a third question arises. What is the motivation for the apparently definite tendency among ethnics to preserve and assert ethnic identity amid often intense processes of integration into the broader society?

On whatever definition or model ethnicity is understood--ancestral roots, a way of life, a sense of outraged truth, justice and equity, or a self-conscious awareness of and interest in the cultural patterns of one's ethnic collectivity--at least part of that understanding deeply involves the human ego in its tendency toward self-preservation. Self-preservation, then, must be regarded as the catalyst that cements the various elements of the ethnic enterprise into a cohesive unity. Furthermore, this sense of self-preservation formulates ethnic identity as a matrix of the interrelationships of the familiar, of the kindred; as such it is more readily manageable and feels more comfortable to the self than does anything unfamiliar. It is safe territory in which survival and prosperous development seem assured. Consequently, ethnic identity must be preserved and on occasion asserted. To this end, then, people engage in various programs of action. The ethnic
weekend schools are one such program of action.

3. Finally, the third factor in the rationale for the maintenance of ethnic weekend schools can now be examined. It is the recognition on the part of the ethnics that their respective heritage can best be preserved and transmitted (a) by members of their own group and (b) in a setting that reflects the spirit of that group and provides an atmosphere in which the members of the group feel comfortable and accepted.

Implicit in this recognition is the clarification of some procedural aspects in the operation of ethnic weekend schools, such as the unquestioned rules that the teachers must be members of the respective ethnic group, and that the school setting and spirit must be as authentic as possible—hence the universal reluctance of the schools to enroll children from outside the respective ethnic collectivity. The whole atmosphere of an ethnic weekend school and the school's curriculum mutually reinforce each other. An outsider to the group would not only have a difficult time in this setting; his presence would not contribute either to the envisioned harmonious balance of the total setting, or to the school's objectives.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This review addresses itself primarily to literature which in some way deals with the examination of the goals of ethnically based schools and to what extent those goals are achieved.

As Fishman and Nahirny point out, there is a great paucity of such literature:

Inquiries and discussions dealing with education in the United States rarely mention the continued educational efforts of almost all immigrant-based ethnic groups on American shores. Most educational scholars and educational commentators are probably as unaware of these efforts as is the public in general. Similarly, students of American ethnic groups have themselves only rarely focused attention on the schools of the group that they have studied. As a result, the ethnic group school in the United States is largely terra incognita. This is regrettable, not only because these schools represent an important chapter in American social and educational history but because they provide provocative data for the testing of hypotheses of concern both to the sociology of education and to the study of ethnicity.¹

The article from which this quote was taken is a summary of another article by the same two authors. The longer of the two articles is part of a major work to which

nearly a dozen individuals contributed, and which was produced in conjunction with the Language Resources Project under contract to the United States Office of Education, Language Research Section.²

In the longer article, the authors present a rationale for the continued existence of ethnically based schools; they describe characteristics of several types of ethnic schools, such as number of instructional hours per week; professional and some aspects of the personal background of the teachers in ethnic schools; teachers' attitudes toward their work; pupil attitudes toward instruction in the mother tongue as assessed by the teachers; the knowledge of the mother tongue of typical pupils upon completing the highest grade of instruction as estimated by mother tongue teachers in the schools, and they reviewed the schools' plans for the future.

The shorter article summarizes all the essential, salient points of the longer article and also contains most of the statistical tables contained in the original work.

It needs to be kept in mind that the authors' principal purpose was to study language loyalty in the United States, and that their investigation of the teaching

of the mother tongues in ethnic schools occurred within that broader framework. From the extensive descriptive information, the authors tease out language and group maintenance implications, and in the end they arrive at some definite conclusions about efforts in maintaining language instruction in ethnic schools. To summarize, according to the authors, mother tongue teachers in these schools do not view themselves as powerful factors in maintaining native language instruction, and they do not believe that their pupils accomplish much, especially not in the more active domains of language mastery.

The information for the Language Resources Project, of which the two articles were a partial result, had been collected through questionnaires.

Among the data not included in these two articles were the following: detailed information about the content of mother tongue instruction as a whole and as applied at different levels of instruction; curriculum content beyond the mother tongue component (forty-five percent of the schools responding in the project did not offer mother tongue instruction); information about instructional methods and materials, and about curriculum construction and evaluation.
Notes on the Jewish Schools

A most impressive work in the area of examining goals and achievements of ethnic schools is a 265-page volume about Jewish education in the United States. Through its excellent design, excellent scholarship, and concerned thoughtfulness, this work recommends itself as a model for evaluations of this type and could well be adopted by the major leagues of ethnic schools for this purpose. If, as a further step, the ethnic schools would then publish similar information about themselves, their unique contribution to American culture and cultural pluralism would become much more widely known and better understood. The general well-being of ethnically based schools might become greatly enhanced if such information were available.

The study under discussion addresses itself to all aspects of Jewish education in the United States. A sampling of topics covered in the volume reveals the broad scope of the work and the thoughtful concern about goals, purposes, and their achievement. All aspects of curriculum are dealt with in great detail. Jewish education is examined with great care as regards the attitudes of pupils, teachers, parents, and communities as well as the amount and type of instruction. School housing, record keeping of all sorts,

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finances, the training of teachers, school management, teaching aids, books, libraries, instructional methods, testing and evaluation and many other aspects are discussed in detail. The résumé of findings, implications and suggestions extends over twenty-three pages. Seventy-eight separate items of consideration, many with a number of subsections, are discussed in that final résumé. However, there is no brief, condensed statement of conclusions or recommendations.

Among the objectives listed were (a) fostering a sense of belonging and identification; (b) imparting knowledge, specific and general; (c) engendering beliefs and values, attitudes and appreciations; and (d) inculcating practices and participation, ritual and communal. ⁴

It was not possible to judge the result of teaching directly and objectively, because no standardized achievement tests were available. The results of data from non-standardized achievement tests are stated in considerable detail on pages 249-249. ⁵ It was also pointed out that efforts had begun at the time the report was being written to develop standardized tests for all areas of the curriculum.

The study stressed that curriculum and teaching must at all times be the central concern of Jewish education. A

⁴Ibid., p. 223.
⁵Ibid.
national curriculum institute was proposed "which should apply itself continuously to the analytic and constructive tasks involved in translating general aims of Jewish education into specific objectives of study and teaching." 6

Since there is no condensed summary of findings and recommendations, the entire work must be read attentively, for it is a detailed assessment of Jewish educational efforts in the United States.

Notes on Arab Schools

Another important work along these lines is Elkholy's *The Arab Moslems in the United States*, 7 a comparative study in the maintenance of community and religiosity. The comparison is between two Arab Moslem communities, one in Toledo, Ohio, and the other in Detroit, Michigan. The schools which these communities sponsor are discussed on pages 131-134. Enrollment statistics are given by level of instruction, and the curriculum content is indicated in one-sentence fashion for all levels of instruction for each school. The curricula of the schools serve religious goals, and only indirectly do they foster a sense of community and the study of Arabic. There is little comment on the outcomes


of instruction.

There are other major publications extant whose titles would seem to make them relevant to the present discussion. Their content, however, does not address itself to goals, objectives, curricula, or the result of instruction.

Notes on Polish Schools

Father Bolek's *The Polish American School System* is a statistical survey of schools offering Polish language instruction staffed by Religious of Polish descent. The internal organization of the volume is by level of educational instruction in various Catholic dioceses in different geographical locations. The statistics furnish information about numbers of teachers and student enrollments per school. Some sections of the book are brief histories of the development of religious orders which staff the schools under discussion. The only curriculum information given is whether or not individual schools offered Polish language instruction and many did not. The work does not concern itself with Polish weekend schools.

The situation is similar with other studies: they are either historical, philosophical or sociological

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studies; some offer much statistical information. Thorough discussion of curricula and the results of instruction are not available.

Notes on Lithuanian Schools

Among unpublished materials that deal with ethnically based schools is a Master's thesis by Gail Mariunas entitled A Partial Evaluation of the Lithuanian Saturday School Program. Miss Mariunas' study is a search for the objectives of Lithuanian weekend schools as well as their achievements. She collected her information through questionnaires mailed to twenty-five principals and 125 teachers in Lithuanian weekend schools.

The objectives which her study reveal are the following in decreasing order of importance:

1. To gain a workable knowledge of the Lithuanian language in its verbal (sic) and written form.
2. To familiarize students with the Lithuanian culture, traditions, literature, history, geography, songs, dances, etc.
3. To gain knowledge of one's ethnic origin, thereby enriching one's identity.

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Mariunas, Gail, A Partial Evaluation of the Lithuanian Saturday School Program (An Essay Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of John Carroll University), n.d. pp. 27-29.
4. To inspire students to become more useful citizens of the American-Lithuanian community.

5. To present the students with an opportunity to form closer friendships with others of Lithuanian descent.

6. To aid parents in the teaching of Lithuanian.

Two of Mariunas' respondents submitted write-in objectives:

What about religion? Lithuanian parishes and churches are very important institutions to keep alive the Lithuanian language in all foreign countries, and to inspire the faithful to love and fight for free Lithuania. We have Lithuanian parishes and Lithuanian speaking priests, we need Lithuanian praying parishioners. That's why I teach prayers, sacraments, commandments, and Lithuanian Catholic Church history in the Saturday Schools.

To present a culture which is above all beautiful in its uniqueness. There is not very much beauty, real loveliness, in the metropolitan environment these children live in. I myself once attended this Saturday school and I feel that I perceived it as a thing of loveliness.10

The present investigator has decided to include these objectives here because they are reflected, at least in part, in the curriculum of the Lithuanian school described in Chapter III of the present study.

Among Mariunas' respondents 52.8 percent thought that the Lithuanian language teaching objectives were fully accomplished, while the remaining 47.2 percent stated that

10 Loc. cit.
those objectives were met only partially. About 71.7 percent of the respondents thought that the objectives of teaching the Lithuanian culture were fully met, while 28.2 percent thought they were accomplished only partially by the school program.

The respondents gave top ranking to the following weaknesses of the school programs as factors that seriously impede success: the limited amount of time available to complete the prescribed program, a lack of interest on the part of the students, and a lack of contact with the mother country.

Since Mariunas' respondents were teachers and principals, it is highly interesting that some of her questions met with a very high percentage of non-response. Thus, out-dated teaching methods yielded an eighty-three percent non-response; lack of communication between student and teacher gave 79.2 percent non-response; out-dated books and facilities each yielded 67.9 percent non-response; not enough textbooks yielded 75.4 percent non-response.

Inadequate financial resources of the schools ranked prominently among the problems indicated by the respondents.

Though Mariunas' study is limited in scope, it does address itself to many aspects of curriculum, teaching, and the outcomes of instruction. This is an important step in the evaluation of ethnic schools.
Notes on Ukrainian Schools

Another very recent relevant work is the dissertation of Daria Markus.\(^\text{11}\) As the title of Markus' study indicates, its scope is broader than objectives of Ukrainian weekend schools; her concern is education and preparation for ethnic leadership. Her work addresses itself to the Ukrainian ethnic group on a national scale rather than being limited to the Chicago area. The fact, however, that Ukrainian weekend schools are of central importance in her study makes her work relevant to the present effort.

Of particular interest are Mrs. Markus' detailed descriptions of the curriculum content at various levels of instruction in the Ukrainian weekend schools. It was very encouraging to discover that the diverse aspects of teaching the Ukrainian language were not lumped together under "mother tongue instruction" as is the case with studies by other investigators. The importance of presenting the curriculum for the mother tongue and its culture component with great detail lies in the fact that such a presentation adumbrates what sort of preparation the teachers need in order to better implement such a curriculum. The conclusion reached is that a certain sophistication of

skills is required of the students for the mastery of such a curriculum, and naturally, all of this has further implications for teaching methods, instructional materials, testing and the like. Although much more could have been said concerning the curriculum of the Ukrainian schools, Mrs. Markus concludes that not only is it too complex and too difficult for the students to integrate the material in the limited time available; it is too difficult for them to comprehend.

Conclusion

From what has been said, it is fairly obvious that the only study on ethnic weekend schools which is at all comprehensive is the Duskin-Engelman report entitled Jewish Education in the United States. Sponsored and published by the American Association for Jewish Education, the report contains many interviews in addition to results from questionnaires. According to the report itself it was stated that one of the problems which the study could not resolve was the lack of standardized tests that would establish national norms for Jewish schools in the United States. By using these national norms each school would be able to ascertain its level of achievement as compared to all others.

The other studies mentioned in this chapter have many inherent weaknesses. Gail Mariunas' report deals only
with Lithuanian schools. Her material is not published and as a result not readily accessible for anyone wishing to do research in that field. Furthermore, her findings are for the most part based on the results of questionnaires, which, in spite of the competence of the person conducting the survey, have certain limitations. The answers to many of the questions, or the lack thereof, shed many doubts on the reliability and effectiveness of her study.

Likewise, the studies made of the Polish ethnic schools do not contribute greatly to the understanding of the problems of schools and their solution. Therefore, the author of this work, recognizing the void of relevant information in this area, has undertaken to make an in-depth investigation and study of ethnic weekend schools in the Chicago area. Having had many years of experience in dealing with these types of schools, their personnel, administration and students, it is hoped that the results of the study will in some small way fill the void that exists at the present time.
CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to acquaint the reader in some detail with the operation of several weekend schools of various ethnic groups. Determining factors in the selection of the schools were (a) that information be accessible concerning each individual school to the investigator based on personal contacts; (b) that each school's total enrollment be large enough for the school to have regular classroom organization and large-group instruction; and (c) that the schools represent a variety of ethnic groups.

The information contained in this chapter was gathered through personal interviews with school principals and teachers in ethnic weekend schools, with currently enrolled students, with former students, and with parents of students in ethnic weekend schools. In addition to these interviews, information was gathered through on-site observation of classroom instruction, inspection of textbooks and other instructional materials, and inspection of libraries and other places such as informal lounges or meeting areas where students congregate during the course of the school day at times when
classes are not being conducted. All of this latter information was gathered during the course of at least two, and in most cases more than two visits to each school. A number of teachers granted follow-up interviews by phone or in their homes. All information was gathered during the academic years 1974-75 and 1975-76. (A listing of interviewees appears in Appendix B.)

Before any decision could be made concerning the selection of schools to be described in this chapter, many additional ethnic weekend schools in the Chicago metropolitan area were contacted. In fact, it was often not possible to determine from hearsay whether or not an ethnic school fell into the weekend category or operated on some other basis. The listing of ethnic schools for the Chicago area, therefore, includes all ethnic schools which this investigator was able to discover. (The listing appears in Appendix A.)

Each school description in Chapter III begins with some basic information such as the name of the school, its location, day(s) on which the school is in session, the duration of the school day in clock hours, identification of the sponsoring group, and whether the school is league affiliated or independent.

The rest of the description for each school deals with the internal organization of the school including factors such as total size of its enrollment, levels
of instruction, curriculum, textbooks and other instructional materials, instructional approaches in language teaching and cultural heritage teaching, testing procedures, any outstanding or special features of the school, extracurricular activities which indirectly complement and reinforce the curriculum, such as festival programs organized and presented by the school (holy days, Mother's Day, ethnic commemorative occasions), competitions for awards or prizes (poetry, drama, essay writing), or picnics.

The curriculum is treated in these descriptions essentially in terms of instructional content (subject content) at different levels. A separate chapter is devoted to the examination of goals and objectives.

Description of Individual Schools

Beth Hillel Academy

Beth Hillel Academy is located at 3220 Big Tree Lane in Wilmette, Illinois. Its sponsor is the Beth Hillel congregation of the same address as the school. The school has been in existence since 1959 as an independent private institution which, however, in many aspects of its total enterprise collaborates with the Jewish Board of Education in the greater Chicago area. In the attempt to find out particulars about the nature of this colla-
boration the impression was gained that the Jewish Board of Education serves as a regional clearing-house in practically all matters of Jewish education, especially in matters of curriculum, textbooks, teaching methods, testing and teaching aids other than textbooks. Thus, for example, standardized tests for some curriculum subjects are available through the Jewish Board of Education and are administered in the school by Board personnel. Teachers from the school may attend various seminars sponsored by the Jewish Board of Education. These seminars are intended for the general professional orientation of the teachers in Jewish schools, for demonstrating and teaching new instructional methods and techniques, and to acquaint the teacher with the use of these new instructional methods, techniques and materials.

The Beth Hillel Academy is in operation five days per week, from Sunday through Thursday. On Sundays instruction occurs during the morning hours and into early afternoon; on the remaining days the school is in session during late afternoon and early evening hours. Each class attends school on three of the five days for two clock hours per instructional day. This, then, means that the individual student is in school for two hours each on Sunday, Monday, and Wednesday, or on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday. All classes are in session on Sundays, including the kindergarten, which is in session only on Sundays.
Beth Hillel Academy comprises a kindergarten and grades one through five. The first grade consists of two levels, of which the lower level provides a transition from kindergarten to first grade, at a time when the children begin to attend their respective regular schools.

In addition to regular classes, the school provides work in the area of special education for students who need it. Likewise, special help is available on a tutorial basis for students who stand to benefit from this type of instruction. Tutorials are in addition to regular classroom work. Upon conclusion of the regular school year, tutorial sessions are offered for one or two weeks on a daily basis as remedial work for students who need it.

The school's total enrollment exceeds 400 students in levels K through 5. In addition, the school also enrolls adults in separate classes who wish to learn Hebrew, or expand their knowledge in other areas of the school's curriculum, such as Jewish history, customs and traditions.

All teachers at Beth Hillel Academy are certified personnel holding certificates as teachers in Hebrew schools either from the Jewish Board of Education or from Israel. Some of the instructors also hold certificates as public school teachers in the State of Illinois. Several teachers at the academy have a master's degree in Hebrew studies from Jewish institutions of higher educa-
tion, and some of them have certificates that enable them to teach in Hebrew schools anywhere in the United States.

The curriculum comprises Hebrew language, Bible study, Jewish history, prayers and ceremonies, ethics, and cultural heritage. In grades one through three, one classroom instructor teaches all subject matter. In grades four and five the curriculum matter is more elaborate than in the lower grades, and the division into separate subject areas is pronounced. In the upper grades (four and five), each subject is taught by a different teacher. Despite all departmentalization of subject matter, the observer cannot escape the realization that all facets of the curriculum are as closely interrelated as are the various aspects of Jewish life intertwined with each other throughout the history of the Jewish people. Also, this curriculum does not merely inform the student of his ancestral roots and cultural heritage, but is designed to teach him a way of life. It does this by addressing itself to the whole person, including his spiritual formation.

In teaching the Hebrew language, all four language skills receive equal attention: listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing. The acquisition of these is facilitated by the use of textbooks, workbooks, readers, prayer books and appropriate oral exercises, such as answering questions in Hebrew, retelling story content, and engaging in dialogs and conversations.
Testing for grading purposes proceeds with teacher-made tests, while reported grades are also based on the student's classroom participation and performance. Testing with standardized tests proceeds with the purpose of determining the school's and the students' performances against national averages. Results were not available to the investigator.

Several times during the school year, Beth Hillel Academy conducts parent-teacher conferences in which the teacher discusses the individual student's performance with his or her parents. All parents are expected to attend these individualized conferences which have proven to be a very positive means to keep all concerned parties informed about the student's performance, and to sustain lively parental interest.

Chicago Futabakai - Japanese Saturday School

The Chicago Futabakai (Japanese Language School) is in session on Saturdays from 9:00 a.m. until 3:00 p.m. on the Lake Shore Campus of Loyola University of Chicago at 6525 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois, 60626, where the Japanese school rents space.

The Chicago Futabakai was organized as a private school in the 1960's and was intended basically for the children of non-immigrant businessmen from Japan who are stationed temporarily with their families in the Chicago
metropolitan area. A 'temporary' stay may last anywhere from one to four years and in some instances as many as eight or more years. The school does enroll a small number of Japanese-American children. The total enrollment is 460 students. The school employs twenty-three teachers and administrative personnel, some of whom are professional educators, while the rest are college graduates or graduate students currently studying in the United States. One additional high priority requirement on which the school insists is that teachers must enjoy working with children.

The school is supported in part by tuition and in part by the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Chicago, of which the students' parents must be members. Occupationally, the parents are businessmen, doctors, professors, bank officers and other professionals. Geographically their area of residence ranges over all the Chicago metropolitan area and often as far away as Elgin.

According to the personnel interviewed, the school's purpose is basically two-fold: (a) to impart to the students basic skills that will enable them to enter or re-enter Japanese schools upon the children's return to Japan; (b) to foster a sense of community among all members of the group during their Chicago residency. The children attend regular American schools during the week--public or other. The Japanese school on Saturdays teaches them Japanese language arts, Japanese literature as well as a
concentration on mathematics. It was learned that by the time the children are in the middle year of junior high school, the Japanese schools are approximately two years ahead of American schools in math.

The Chicago Futabakai comprises two levels of kindergarten, six elementary grades, three years of junior high school and three years of senior high school. The school year begins in April and runs on a trimester plan through March of the following year. There is a four-Saturday vacation period during July and August and a two-Saturday break in December. One Saturday annually is dedicated to a school excursion to Brookfield Zoo or to a similar place for a day's outing. In June of every year one Saturday is Athletic Day when gymnastics and various games take place outdoors on the Loyola campus. On about two Saturdays prior to Athletic Day, some time is devoted to practice.

The school's academic curriculum in Japanese language and mathematics corresponds to the curriculum in the public schools of Japan as approved by the Japanese Ministry of Education. Class periods are forty-five minutes in length. Two periods per Saturday are dedicated to mathematics, four to Japanese language instruction. The school day begins with a general assembly of about ten minutes duration during which the principal or assistant principal addresses the children with some comments con-
cerning school spirit, conduct, community spirit or national pride and makes whatever announcements are necessary. About the middle of the day there is a thirty minute lunch break during which the students also return books to the library and check out new ones for the following week. The library is a very busy place in this school, quite in contrast to most other weekend schools.

Beginning in grade one, the children learn to write both hiragana (43 symbols—syllabaries for Japanese words) and katagana (syllabaries for foreign words). Later they also must learn to read and write kanji—Chinese derived ideographs, of which there are about 1800, all of which are not mastered in school.

In the lower grades readers contain simple stories from everyday life. Later they use anthologies of short stories and excerpts from modern Japanese literary works from 1868 onward, and in senior high school works from classical Japanese literature in the original language as far back as the eighth century are also required reading.

Homework is extensive and is taken very seriously. In addition, each student in the grades also writes a weekly account of his/her activities and experiences.

The entire conduct of the school proceeds in such a fashion that all traditional Japanese formalities are
faithfully observed: children rise and bow when greeting teachers and other adults; one shows respect toward others; one is polite. There is at all times order and discipline, yet within an atmosphere that is friendly, comfortable and relaxed.

There is an elected student government. The students also publish a school bulletin and several times a year the school publishes and exhibits the work of the best students.

Evaluation is done in many ways. There are written and oral tests as well as homework. The most important testing, however, takes place at the end of each month when students take small batteries of tests which are then sent to a testing service in Japan for evaluation. The school insists on keeping up with Japanese standards. For this testing, separate fees are assessed in addition to tuition.

Each teacher is required to submit in writing a weekly lesson plan which is due in the principal's office by Wednesday of each week. Lesson plans are returned promptly by mail in time for the following Saturday's classes. They are marked "approved" and/or furnished with comments.

All instruction and all school business are conducted strictly in Japanese.
The Danube Swabian Weekend School

Danube Swabians are people of German descent whose ancestors migrated in several waves, beginning in 1718, from southwestern and southern regions of Germany, as well as from various parts of Austria, and were settled by the Hapsburg government along the southern border of the empire in territories recently regained from Turkish control. After 1918 their towns and villages were located in Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

After World War II many of these people came from refugee camps in Austria and Germany to the United States. According to estimates of the Society of Danube Swabians, more than seventy thousand of them are currently living in the Chicago metropolitan area.

The weekend school of the Danube Swabians started its operations during 1957-1958. The school is in session on Saturdays from 9:00 a.m. until 12:30 p.m. from September through May. The Home of the Danube Swabians at 4219 North Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60618 provides space and furnishings for the operation of the school. The financial support comes from tuition, supplemented by the fraternal organization through income from various social activities. The tuition is eighty dollars annually for the oldest child and graduated lesser amounts for each additional child from the same family.
The parents of the school children are required to be members of the fraternal organization. The membership dues are five dollars annually.

The administration of the school with regard to financial matters and other material needs of the school is in the hands of a school board elected annually by the fraternal organization at its annual membership meeting. This board, in consultation with the school principal, appoints the teachers, sets tuition rates and makes certain general administrative policy decisions. The academic direction of the school is in the hands of the principal who works in close cooperation with the teachers and is responsible to the school board.

The school consists of two levels of kindergarten and seven levels of elementary grades. Enrollments have been between 265 and 400 pupils during the years in which the school has been in operation. The school has nine teachers, a principal, and some auxiliary personnel. Every effort is made in the recruitment of teachers to find persons with the requisite professional skills and credentials, but in addition to these characteristics, candidates for teaching positions in this school must also be of Danube Swabian background. About half of the teachers currently employed by this school are certified teachers who have attained their certification either through American institutions of higher education, or are
graduates of European teacher training institutions. The rest have some college education or are college graduates. Their ages range from mid-twenties to the early fifties.

The overwhelming majority of the school's pupils are of Danube Swabian descent. A few, however, are the children of immigrants from Austria or Germany. There are also some pupils with Slavic surnames whose fathers are of Serbian, Croatian or other Slavic background and whose mothers are German.

During 1973-1974, for example, a few children of Korean and Japanese parentage were accepted into the school on an experimental basis with a view toward a future German language school with more frequent class sessions. The pupils' progress was considered to be quite satisfactory by the instructors and administrators, but the plan had to be given up for financial reasons.

The language of instruction is standard German. This fact in itself constitutes a great challenge insofar as many of the children do not hear and speak standard German at home, but a dialect with variable features, depending on the parents' place of origin. It takes great patience and skill on the part of the teachers to help achieve the transition in the children. In reading and writing activities this transition is in many instances more successful than in speech.
The curriculum comprises all aspects of German language instruction, cultural, social and some political history of the ethnic group; native customs concerning home and family life, the celebration of religious holy days and other special days of importance to the group; singing of German songs, and occasionally group games involving the use of the German language.

The school is also responsible for the staging of at least two major social events annually: the Christmas celebration on the third or fourth Sunday of Advent and Mothers' Day. For each of these events the school children offer a program of stage plays, poetry recitation, singing, sometimes instrumental music and dancing. Musical ensembles and dancing groups practice on weekday evenings, but stage plays, poetry and singing must be rehearsed during school hours on Saturdays. The teaching staff is responsible for the planning, rehearsing and coordinating of these programs which normally exceed two hours in length and are attended by upwards of six hundred people. The Home of the Danube Swabians has excellent facilities for such purposes--large halls, a very good stage that can easily hold sixty or more children in some scenes, more for singing, and a kitchen that serves excellent complete native dinners after the program. These events are a source of additional income for the support of the school and the fraternal organization. Although
the preparations for these events require much work in
addition to regular classroom activities, the events them­
selves are an incentive for the children because they like
to perform, and in the process, they are speaking and
singing German and learning much about German culture.
The pride and admiration of the parents and particularly
the grandpartents in the audience are not to be discounted
as stimuli to achievement.

Textbooks and some other instructional materials
are imported from the Federal Republic of Germany. They
include readers of various degrees of difficulty, primers
for the first and second elementary levels, some grammars
with exercises in grammar, and readers that deal specifi­
cally with various aspects of German culture. The books
are very attractive in appearance and are pedagogically
excellent for use in schools within Germany, but are not
equally well suited for the particular needs of weekend
schools in America, where many pupils are not fluent
speakers of German. Also, the culture content of the texts
is void of the history or social background of this
particular ethnic group. The teachers have to produce
materials of their own for the teaching of specific
native culture and history.

Methods of instruction tend to be traditional:
story reading and retelling, question and answer mode of
retelling the stories in order to elicit greater detail
of content and more specific vocabulary, discussion of story content, characters, actions, relationships and values. Systematic grammar teaching is effected through exercises, grammatical analysis of texts and composition. Choral recitation of song lyrics is performed before singing. Group and individual reading along with free conversation, when appropriate, encourage the spontaneous use of the language for expressing one's own thoughts successfully. Homework assignments covering all of these curricular components are given regularly and are expected of each student.

Testing proceeds orally and in writing. Students' performances in class recitation and reading are graded on the spot. All tests are constructed by the instructors. Homework is corrected and graded by the teachers. Grade report cards are sent home twice a year. Likewise, consultations between parents and teachers are encouraged.

Henryk Sienkiewicz Polish Saturday School

This school is in session each Saturday during the normal school year from 11:00 a.m. until 1:30 p.m. at 4940 West 13th Street in Cicero, Illinois. It is an independent school, not affiliated with or sponsored by any Polish ethnic organization. It depends for its support on tuition monies and additional contributions from its own local parent-teacher organization. The only
affiliation it has is an indirect one: its teachers are members of the Polish Teacher Association. During an interview with Ms. Anna Rychlinski, one of the teachers in the school, it was learned that the majority of Polish weekend schools are independent. There are some that are affiliated with the Polish National Alliance or the Polish Roman Catholic Union. The curricula in the organization sponsored schools were traditionally different from the curricula in the independent schools. In recent years, the Polish Teacher Association has largely succeeded in attracting the teachers of all Polish weekend schools into its membership. It is this organization which is trying to unify and improve curricula, to set standards, and to provide channels of communication among its members.

The school enrolls about one hundred fifty pupils. These are grouped into eight instructional levels. The four lower levels or grades, as they are sometimes referred to, are each in a separate room with one teacher per room, while levels five and six share one room and one teacher. Likewise, levels seven and eight are in one room with one teacher. In addition to the six teachers, the school employs a principal who supervises the academic activities of the school and, together with the officers of the Parent Teacher Organization, discharges all administrative affairs of the school including finances, personnel, planning and development and other responsibilities toward St. Valentine Roman Catholic parish which lets
the school use part of its parish school building. The teachers have all grown up in Poland and have come to the United States at different age levels. They are all professionally trained teachers.

The overall content of the curriculum can be designated as Polish language and culture. But, as in most other ethnic weekend schools, it is interesting to note the distribution and structuring of this content as to instructional level and how the detailed, level-specific content translates into teaching/learning activities.

The language of instruction is Polish. The pupils' fluency in Polish varies, but all children in the school do speak Polish. Instructional approaches provide for individualized attention according to needs for comprehension and clarity on the part of the pupils.

In the first grade, or level one, instruction involves much play, story telling and retelling, memorizing of short poems and childrens' rhymes and similar activities. Of the four language skills, emphasis here is on the aural-oral, or listening-comprehension and speaking. Nevertheless, reading and, in a limited way, writing are also important at this level.

Since the children attend regular school five days a week with English as the language of instruction, they know the English/Latin alphabet. Polish uses the same
symbols with some modifications, but many of the symbols (letters) do not represent the same sounds as in English, and even their names are different from their names in the English scheme. Some phonemes that are rendered by digraphs in spelling require different letter combinations in the two languages. For example: /ʃ/ is 'sh' in English, but 'sz' in Polish; /c/ is 'ch' in English, but 'cz' in Polish, whereas 'ch' in Polish stands for a sound that doesn't exist in American English. There are many more discrepancies of this sort. These, then, are some of the problems pupils and teachers have to cope with. Both teaching and learning here are different from the case of monolingual individuals teaching or learning one given scheme without the interference of another, and they are different also from the teaching or learning of a second language system at consecutive stages of development; here, two systems have to be acquired almost simultaneously, and at a stage when the learner is just discovering for the first time ways in which one acquires such systems in the first place. Little by little, though, effort meets with success.

At succeeding grade levels, more and more specific facts from Polish history, literature, geography and general culture are introduced, but through grade four they are all taught in conjunction with language, namely through the content of stories and reading materials, and through
the discussion of what is read. Beginning in grade three, there is some separation into subjects. Under 'history', for instance, the early legends are introduced and serve to incorporate some historical-cultural facts into the student's language as well as to initiate him into subject content which is explored in later survey courses in Polish literature.

By grade five, the separation into different subjects is clearly established--language (morphology, syntax, style, expansion of vocabulary), literature, history and geography. Literature is presented variously as historical survey of highlights of Polish literature, short biographies of the most prominent Polish literary writers and outlines of their most important works, literary genres with readings and explication de texte of some short works. History tends to be learning about outstanding events in the political history of Poland, gaining some insight into the chronological progression of those events, but with little analysis of the facts. Geography involves the topography of Poland, cities, rivers, mountains, resources and products.

The severe time limitations under which the school operates would seem to make in-depth work impossible in any area of the curriculum, yet, in one classroom for example, the author observed how the teacher taught some of the aspects of poetry--what a poem is, what it means,
what it can express and how it is expressed. Furthermore, she explained what a metaphor is without ever using the word 'metaphor'. All this was accomplished in thirty minutes and with much verbal interaction between teacher and the students.

In addition to the subject matter, the Henryk Sienkiewicz School tries to teach other things. The students elect representatives to the student council which has a voice in various aspects of running the school. The students in each room are responsible for the discipline, and neatness and general good appearance of the room and the corridor adjacent to the room. Students are required to show respect toward each other and particularly toward adults and visitors. Awards are voted for outstanding performance in any of the various categories. These awards are announced during assembly which takes place at the beginning of the school day. Under the leadership of their teachers, the students of the entire school line up along both sides of a corridor. There is a very brief introductory ceremony consisting of the common singing of a song or some recitation, the introduction of visitors if any are present, and similar items. The principal addresses the assembly and makes announcements of interest to the whole school. Then individual pupils make short reports to the assembly concerning student government, awards, special activities and achievements. Throughout the
proceedings the visitor has the impression that the students here are learning many aspects of democracy, self-determination and a sense of responsibility.

Textbooks and other instructional materials are American made; materials from Poland are politically too tendentious and therefore undesirable and not used. It is agreed among Polish teachers that their association has produced very usable materials, though improvement is always possible. Much material is prepared by classroom teachers and made available through various machine copying processes. Some readers and anthologies from Polish national life are produced in Great Britain. A drawback to these British texts, however, is that not all of them lend themselves equally well to classroom use in the weekend schools, especially in this American cultural environment.

In recent years the Polish Teacher Association has put forward much effort to produce instructional materials that are suitable for classroom use, incorporating more modern methods of language teaching and content that is of more immediate interest to the children in the weekend schools (i.e., simple stories from daily life, more poetry of a universalist character and stories about Polish customs). Good language workbooks are still scarce. On the other hand, a source has been found which supplies notebooks for various writing purposes that correspond to
the prevailing methods of instruction in the weekend schools.

As is so often the case in school life, available textbooks do in many ways influence or even wholly determine course content and instructional procedures. This is something which the Henryk Sienkiewicz School is subjecting to close scrutiny in order to determine its future course of action regarding the possibility of making instruction more independent of textbooks.

Holy Resurrection Serbian Orthodox Parish School

This school has operated for approximately five decades on the church premises of the same name at 5701 North Redwood Drive, Chicago, Illinois, 60631. Currently the school has about 160 pupils, with an annual increase in enrollment over the past several years.

School is in session on Sunday mornings during the regular school year from 9:00 a.m. until 11:00 a.m. Only the first of these two hours is devoted to language and culture instruction. The second hour consists of religious instruction. The two curricular areas are served by separate staffs of teachers. This discussion is limited to the language and culture curriculum and the various aspects of its operation.

The pupils are mostly of Serbian descent, although
some come from ethnically mixed families. Some pupils are themselves immigrants, or are children of immigrants, or are third or fourth generation American born. All are of elementary school age, including some fourteen and fifteen year olds. Although the school is church related, family church membership is not a prerequisite for attending the school.

The teachers are middle-aged persons with teaching experience. Most of them are post World War II immigrants. They donate their time and efforts, even to the point of producing instructional materials at their own expense and on their own time. Except for a five dollar annual registration fee, the school charges no tuition. Parents and children are attracted by the religious, social and cultural activities of the church and the school.

Based on Serbian language competency, the pupils are divided into seven groups for instructional purposes. There are some children who do not speak any Serbian when they enroll in the school. They are placed into what comes close to being a true bilingual group where instruction proceeds in both English and Serbian. With the other groups the language of instruction is Serbian.

The curriculum includes Serbian language and culture. Since only one hour per week is available for the implementation of that curriculum, and since Serbian is structurally a highly complex language, instructional
strategies must be planned and implemented with great resourcefulness. Grammatical structure and functions are taught systematically to all pupils. There, grammar is taught deductively through grammatical analysis of sections of the reading material. The writing of compositions and translations from and into English also contributes to a systematic understanding of the structure of the language. Homework assignments here assume major significance. They extend considerably the time during which the student is involved formally with the language and thus greatly supplement the one hour on Sunday mornings. Of course, this also increases the work load of the teachers.

More attention must be given to the structure of the language for the students who are less fluent in that language. This can easily turn into a rather halting procedure, but with the appropriate teaching skills pupils are constantly induced to speak and apply repeatedly what has been explained and grasped. This kind of teaching is both difficult and exciting work. However, teachers approach it cautiously for fear of alienating the students.

The cultural content of the curriculum to a very large extent consists of reading materials used in language instruction. The stories address themselves to various aspects of Serbian cultural history; for example, the development of education, art treasures, the role of
the monasteries through the centuries, folk heroes, national customs and festivals, holy days with their celebration and meaning and general folklore.

Most of this content relates in different ways to the many activities sponsored by the church and involves the young people right along with their parents. Participation in those activities and instruction in the school become mutually re-enforcing, and the interest is constantly rekindled. Among the activities are folk-dancing one evening per week, tamburitsa playing, rehearsals for stage plays and other programs for the celebration of feast days and other special events. The youngsters are very much attracted by all this, and their curiosity is almost insatiable. There are instances where the parents are not very interested, but the children find out about activities from other children and get involved, thus increasing the enrollment of the school. The ingredient for success is that a strong sense of community prevails and that the various activities are undertaken in a spirit that is conducive to enjoyment.

Another factor that has boosted interest in the school in recent years is more frequent travel between the United States and Yugoslavia. Children who have accompanied adults on trips there or visited relatives in that country want to learn the language, at least to some extent, and also want to find out more about the culture.
Furthermore, newspapers, magazines, records and books are imported from Yugoslavia and are distributed in the Chicago area. These things, too, are incentives to wanting to learn the language.

As concerns textbooks for the school, most of them are pre-World War II publications which are being excerpted and reproduced by various duplicating processes. Current textbooks from Yugoslavia are politically tendentious and full of political slogans and propaganda; they are simply not acceptable.

Recently the Serbian Orthodox Church has published in West Germany a combination primer and reader in Serbian which is considered by many to be a leading publication of its kind. The text is logically organized, illustrated in color, and explains in simple yet direct terms the Serbian language. Perhaps the only thing missing is an accompanying workbook. On the other hand, the absence of the workbook is very much in the European tradition of leaving the development of appropriate exercises to the imagination and the skill of well trained teachers, and to the proper needs of each situation. Many European workbooks and similar materials have the flavor of pre-fabricated frameworks which inhibit individual thought patterns and the free flow of personal application to the task at hand.

In a similar vein, it was specifically pointed out
that the school does not use multiple choice test items. All tests are constructed by the individual instructors. Test items usually require a response in two or three sentences. Language tests, however, do at times include fill-in and, on the lower levels, phrase-matching items.

Students are graded in all phases of their academic performance including homework, tests, and classroom recitation. According to the instructor, students in this school are above average in their regular weekday schools. Again, a teacher who was interviewed pointed out that it is not known whether these children attend the weekend school because they are above average students, or whether they are above average students because they live and learn "in two worlds." Based on his experience, he confirmed that these children grasp concepts more readily than monolingual-monocultural children.

The Lithuanian Jesuit Youth Center of Chicago

The Lithuanian Jesuit Youth Center of Chicago is located at 5620 South Claremont Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60636. It comprises three Lithuanian educational institutions that operate on Saturdays: an elementary weekend school, a weekend high school, and the Lithuanian Institute of Education which offers a post-secondary curriculum and trains teachers for Lithuanian schools. Each of the three schools operates as a separate administrative unit. The
elementary and the high school each enroll between 110 and 120 students. The Institute of Education enrolls between 70 and 80 students.

The elementary school consists of a kindergarten and eight grades. The secondary school has four years or levels. The Institute of Education offers a three year curriculum. Classes are in session from 9:00 a.m. until 2:00 p.m.

The teaching staff on all levels is comprised of older, immigrant teachers who were professionals in the field before coming to the United States, and of younger people who have been trained in the Lithuanian Institute of Education, both in subject areas and in various aspects of pedagogy.

The language of instruction is Lithuanian throughout all levels and all subject areas of the curriculum. The elementary and secondary curricula consist of religious instruction, Lithuanian language and literature, history, geography, folk dancing and folk singing. The subject matter in each area of the curriculum is organized in such a fashion as to correspond to the maturity and learning capabilities of the students at each level. Thus, Lithuanian literature, for instance, is not a separate subject in the lower grades, but is built into the language reading materials in the form of stories from Lithuanian life, culture and mythology. The various aspects of teaching the Lithuanian language are similarly organized.
in such a way that the more basic skills of reading and writing of limited and simple content precede the systematic learning of morphology, syntax and elements of style. Perhaps it should be pointed out here that the children normally enter the Lithuanian weekend school either at the kindergarten level or in first grade, and that they all speak Lithuanian with varying degrees of fluency. In fact, at the kindergarten level there are children who speak Lithuanian exclusively and who begin to learn English when entering their regular public or parochial schools. In consequence, the school can proceed with the teaching of Lithuanian as the native tongue without being hampered by a lack of fluency or dialect interference. This is in contradistinction to the situation in some other ethnic weekend schools--as has been pointed out previously--where the students do not necessarily enter the school at the kindergarten or first grade level; where many children do not speak the respective standard ethnic language, but a dialect, and where many children are not at all fluent in any variant of the ethnic language.

In addition to the official, structured curriculum, there is much evidence throughout the school complex of many programs and activities within the Lithuanian community and particularly in its youth organizations. Posters and announcements of all sorts fill bulletin boards and pillars in the sizable lobby, school office and hallways. The
announcements range from drama evenings to diverse social gatherings, to community planning sessions, to summer youth camps in various locations and to group travel.

The impression was gained that all these activities are an expression of a very rich community life of which the weekend school is one major aspect, and that all these activities mutually enhance and reinforce one another.

An inherent, deep sense of community is also apparent in the attitudes and personal conduct of the students; it engendered an atmosphere of discipline and order, of respect for others and for learning. It is a discipline not based on school rules and regulations, but rather has its roots in the traditions and values of home and community life.

The school makes every effort to maintain close contact with the parents of the students. This is accomplished through conferences and various ways of reporting to parents the students' academic and other school performance. Parents are expected to supervise their children's homework and study activities.

Since all Lithuanian ethnic schools are members of a school league that spans the North American continent, they have access to league-developed curricula and instructional materials. Despite often prohibitive costs, textbooks and other instructional materials are continually
updated and published. Most of them are modeled on
traditional patterns of instruction, both in language
teaching as well as in other areas of the curriculum.

Methods of instruction likewise largely follow
traditional European patterns. However, the younger
generation of teachers who have grown up in America and
have received their education largely in American schools
tend to be more eclectic in their classroom procedures and
strategies. In any case, the curricular requirements are
defined in detail, are well articulated and must be
complied with. The standards are rigorous. The elemen­
tary and secondary schools at the Lithuanian Jesuit Youth
Center each has its own principal.

All tests administered in the elementary and
secondary school are constructed by the individual
instructors and are based on the material specified by
the curriculum. Besides written tests, the students are
given oral tests, and are also graded on classroom
recitation. Homework and over-all performance also count
toward grades.

It is interesting to note that although these
students are in the top ten or fifteen percent of their
class in their respective regular American schools, they
can and sometimes do fail some subject or subjects in
the Lithuanian weekend school. In such cases the students
are given detailed assignments for the summer, the
execution of which the parents are expected to supervise. In the fall when school resumes the student who had failed a subject is required to submit his completed assignments and pass an examination.

Extensive observation of classroom performance and subsequent interviews with parents and teachers convinced the author that these schools do, indeed, achieve their objectives in a very high degree.

School of Ukrainian Studies in Chicago

This school is located on the premises of St. Nicholas Catholic Parochial School at 2224 West Rice Street in Chicago. It was founded in 1950 through the efforts of Mrs. Julie Nazarewycz and her associates. The present principal is Mr. Nicholas Hubczak. The school is one of several Ukrainian weekend schools in the Chicago area, and it is a member of the National Association of Ukrainian Schools whose member schools extend across the United States and Canada.

Considering the comparative sizes of ethnic weekend schools, this is one of the very large schools. It comprises a kindergarten, eight grades of elementary school, and three years of secondary school. Its total enrollment exceeds six hundred pupils. The school is in session five hours per Saturday throughout the normal school year. The language of instruction is Ukrainian.
The teachers are all European-born and all of them hold teaching certificates. The majority of instructors—those over thirty years of age—have been certified teachers in their homeland; the younger ones are certified to teach in American public schools and, in addition, most of them are certified by the Ukrainian Teacher Training Institute in Chicago. This Institute is an integral part of the total, nationwide Ukrainian school enterprise. The activities of the Institute, of the member schools of the National Association of Ukrainian Schools, and the certification of teachers for these schools are supervised by the Board of Ukrainian Studies. Textbooks and other instructional materials are published by the Board of Ukrainian Studies.

Textbooks are available to satisfy all the requirements of the curriculum on all levels of instruction and for all subjects. There are books which teach the printed and the cursive version of the Ukrainian Cyrillic alphabet to young children. Other materials include workbooks for reading and writing, readers, literary anthologies, grammars, poetry books, history and geography books. There are maps and diverse visual aids for instruction. Practically all the textbooks include items that in some way deal with the American scene. Beginning with the early workbooks and readers, capitalization is first introduced. There are not only names of Ukrainian cities, rivers and other specific geographical place names, but also names of
the United States and Canadian geographic features. There are also the name of God and the names of the Saints. The textbooks succeed in reflecting the total life sphere of the ethnic group. Various history textbooks devote chapters to Ukrainian migrations in the twentieth century and Ukrainian immigration to the United States and Canada. Ukrainian life in America is described. Geography textbooks include, besides maps and pictures of the Ukraine, maps and pictures of Ukrainian settlements and landmarks in America as well as in other parts of the world. The textbooks, in other words, deal not only with the Ukrainian past, but also very much with the Ukrainian present.

The curriculum is based on the objectives of mother tongue maintenance and transmission of the cultural heritage. The Ukrainian language is taught as the native language. Language instruction is systematic, extensive and thorough. It involves all language skills: listening comprehension, reading, writing, speaking, vocabulary development, basic phonology, thorough coverage of morphology and syntax, conversation, composition, and improvement of style. Exercises in these various language skills are designed to suit the abilities of the pupils according to their intellectual and general developmental levels. A modified system of language ability grouping coexists with age and grade level grouping. In the upper grades and on the high school level, some aesthetic aspects of language
are taught through poetry reading and stylistic analysis of simple literary texts. Again, this is all focused within the scope of the pupils' abilities. The retelling and abstracting of story content, and, at the upper levels of instruction, ideational content analysis plays an important role. On the whole, more than half of each Saturday's school time is devoted to diverse aspects of language instruction. In addition to formal instruction in the structure, function and usage of the language, Ukrainian is also the language of instruction in the teaching of Ukrainian history, geography and general cultural heritage.

The Ukrainian history component of the curriculum comprises the political, social and cultural history of the Ukrainian people. The unique feature of the teaching focus of this curriculum component is that Ukrainian history is presented from the perspective of the common man as opposed to a traditional elitist approach used in many other teaching situations. Another noteworthy aspect of the history curriculum is the fact that religion and the church are accorded due recognition of their significance in the cultural-historical formation of the Ukrainian people. The history curriculum is comprehensive in scope and spans the entire chronological spectrum of Ukrainian civilization from pre-recorded history to current events.

The teaching of geography includes the topography of the Ukraine, natural resources, productivity, crops,
industry and political features of the land. The location and general character of Ukrainian communities throughout the world are also part of the geography curriculum.

Upon reflection on the total content of the school's curriculum, it might appear to be ambitious, considering the limited number of actual hours of instruction. In order to gain a true perspective of this apparently ambitious curriculum, a number of facts must be kept in mind. The great majority of the school's pupils speak Ukrainian at home with most members of their families. More than half of all the school's pupils attend the Ukrainian Catholic parochial school during the regular school week. Although the language of instruction there is English, and although the school follows the curriculum required under accreditation specifications, there is one hour daily of Ukrainian language instruction. Since the regular, parochial school is staffed with Ukrainian nuns and lay teachers, it is safe to say that instruction, particularly in the lower grades, is bilingual in many cases because some children do not know any English when they enter school. Furthermore, the Ukrainian weekend school, as well as the Ukrainian community at large, sponsors numerous social activities and contests which attract the young people's interest and emotional attachment. Such activities include the celebration of holy days, festivals, fairs, commemorations of important events
in Ukrainian history and poetry competitions. These activities are regarded by school personnel as informal extensions of the cultural aspects of the curriculum since they reinforce many things which the children learn in school about Ukrainian culture.
CHAPTER IV

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ETHNIC WEEKEND SCHOOLS

Language Goals

What are the objectives of the ethnic weekend schools? In terms of broader goals they are these: the maintenance of the mother tongue, the transmission of the native cultural heritage, and, in some schools, additional specialized content as particular needs may require. This statement is an accurate brief summary of the responses received in interviews with school personnel, parents and members of ethnic communities. (A listing of interviewees is found in the Bibliography and in Appendix B.)

As a general statement of goals the above summary is concise and simple. The question is, how do these broad goals translate into specific, detailed curricular objectives? The answer to this question was not easy to ascertain. The reason for the difficulty was the variance among the individual schools in practically all matters that affect curriculum construction and implementation, such as size and organization of the individual school, the availability of appropriate instructional materials, different interpretations of the concept of culture,
different approaches to instruction depending on the aforementioned criteria; in short, practically the total combination of circumstances under which a given ethnic weekend school operates. These factors seemed to indicate that on-site inspection plus interviews was a method of investigation preferable to written and mailed questionnaires.

Although on-site inspection was very time consuming, it yielded good results. Classroom observation was both preceded and followed by interviews with various school personnel. In some instances there followed a more or less formal discussion with a number of teachers at the end of the school day about different methods of instruction and different approaches and philosophies upon which to base certain aspects of the school's curriculum.

The descriptions of individual schools in Chapter III discuss, in outline form, a set of circumstances under which the individual school operates: the size of the school population and its age range, the grouping of pupils as to ability and instructional level, the number of instructional hours, textbooks and other instructional materials used, professional characteristics of the faculty, the manner in which curricular decisions are made and similar facts. All such data already reflect many aspects of a given school's curriculum. In addition, they make evident the various presuppositions that underlie the
school's activities. A thorough understanding of those presuppositions and a good knowledge of the observable facts taken together made it possible to formulate or reconstruct curricular objectives even when official curriculum guidelines were not accessible to the investigator. The latter circumstance did indeed occur in the majority of instances. If this manner of arriving at curricular objectives is adopted, then interviews can and should be used, in part at least, for the purpose of verifying the accuracy of assumed understandings and assumptions.

Presented below are some general presuppositions common to the schools investigated, and an explanation of how they were deduced.

From the statement of goals listed at the beginning of this chapter, some presuppositions can be deduced. "The maintenance of the mother tongue" tells several things: first, that the participants in the enterprise have something which they keep up, carry on and cultivate. All the verbs in this sentence presuppose control over the object of those verbs. "Control", it might be pointed out, is essentially different from merely "knowing about." The implication is that provisions must be made, ways and means must be found to keep both that object in existence and retain control over it. With regard to learning and the resulting knowledge this means that a grasp of facts
alone will not suffice, but rather that an understanding of the interrelations of those facts and of how they work is necessary. In terms of curriculum objectives this means analysis of concepts and fluency in their application.

Secondly, the object to be cultivated, the mother tongue, is at one and the same time something very personal, and something very public and communal. Language is personal in that it is one of the most conscious means through which one's individuality is perceived, and, probably for the majority of humans, it is the system of symbols by means of which one's consciousness orders one's individual, subjective experience. That ordering is a very private and personal process. On the other hand, language is the most common means of externalizing the self, whether that be for the sake of self-expression or whether it be for the purpose of communication.

If the mother tongue is to be maintained, then it is necessary to include everything discussed concerning the presuppositions and curricular implications under "maintenance." In addition, it is necessary to understand the implications of mother tongue--what it is, how it works, how it is used and ways and means through which the pupils will acquire those same understandings and perfect their skills in the application of those understandings. In order for a person to call a language his mother tongue, he must have command of at least all the
linguistic elements of the language, which include: phonology, morphology, syntax, supra-segmental features, elements of style, and the encoding and decoding of concepts. It means also to teach and learn the substitution of one system of symbols for another, namely, that of visual (written) symbols for auditory ones (sound).

Having said this much, it becomes obvious that language operates not only within the cognitive domain—though that is its dominant sphere—but rather in all three domains of educational endeavor. In addition to the cognitive skills, psychomotor skills are necessary for the production of the right combinations of sounds, stresses, intonations, lengths, rhythm and speed. In order for a person to call a language his mother tongue, he must, in addition to what has been pointed out above, be able to combine the cognitive and psychomotor skills so as to incorporate those features that accurately express the affective content of the message. This may involve selection of appropriate lexical items, intonation patterns, encoding style, or even a decision regarding the advisability of saying anything at all in a given situation.

At this point the reader might say: is it really necessary to make such a complicated matter out of mother tongue maintenance? After all, the mother tongue is something one knows intuitively and simply uses all along.

In answer to this question, several considerations
are in order. First, language development of the mother tongue is part of every grade school pupil's curriculum. This is the case not because of some arbitrary decision on the part of curriculum planners, but rather because human communication depends for its effectiveness on the proper use of diverse systems of symbols. "Proper use" here has a two-fold meaning: (a) as accepted by the community as speakers--interestingly, speech is the first means of communication that comes to mind; (b) it is adequate to any event, state or circumstance within the internal and external environments of the community of speakers, that is, anything the mind can apprehend must be expressible in the given system of communication in such a way that the content of the communicative message will most accurately reflect the content of the object apprehended.

For the sake of perspective, it must be kept in mind that the individual communicates in many languages: facial expressions, gestures, dance, chemistry formulas, mathematical formulas, light-beam signals, Morse code, painting, music, body language, speech and others. An examination of the capabilities of these systems of communication brings the discovery that their respective adequacy differs not so much in degree, but very much in range or scope. Speech obviously outranks all others in scope as well as in the universality of its employment.
Curricular Implications

From what has been said several things emerge that are of central importance for curriculum development and teaching methods. The sheer amount of time and activities devoted to language development need to be extensive. It takes much time and practice before young school children successfully match concepts with linguistic constructs or vice versa. One of the surprising things teachers encounter on that level is that children often possess language skills in excess of their conceptual development. They use phrases of various lengths without knowing their accurate meaning. The other extreme exists as well—gifted children whose linguistic skills do not match their conceptual development. In either case it turns out that language skills are not necessarily indicators of intellectual development. Between the two extreme cases cited above, there is a wide range in the type and degree of mismatch or non-correlation between linguistic skills and conceptual development. Of necessity then the remedies will have to vary greatly if the content of the linguistic constructs is to express as accurately as possible the content of the conceptual constructs. This requires not only an expansion of the child's active and passive lexicon but also the mastery of complexities of syntax and style. In some mother tongues those complexities are greater than in others.
A second consideration could be an insistence that, despite everything that has been said in the previous section, systematic grammar learning—even just on the functional level—is unnecessary and a waste of time. For after all, it is indisputably true that countless speakers of any given language go through life speaking their mother tongue without any conscious systematic understanding of "why things are the way they are" in the given language. They have learned the language by "assimilation"; as a system it has been internalized unconsciously, and it continues to function adequately on that level as long as it is used extensively enough to prevent forgetting it. "On that level" in the preceding sentence indicates that so far language has been treated as only a system of auditory symbols for communication. As such it is a primary system; as a system it stands in a direct, immediate relationship to mental processes. Some of the other "languages" as listed earlier enjoy this same status of primary systems, but not all of them do. Reading and writing, at least according to the manner in which they are taught and learned, in many western cultures, are secondary systems; they are based upon the system of auditory symbols which becomes transposed or translated into a system of visual symbols. Thus, western cultures do not write in ideograms, but in symbols that stand for sounds. In order to accomplish that process of trans-
lation of auditory symbols into visual symbols effectively according to this type of scheme, quite a number of pre-requisites must be fulfilled. Attention is called to just a few very basic ones. The writer has to have a clear image of the sequential order of sounds in the speech continuum in order to be able to arrange the visual symbols in the same order, for that is an integral element of one type of system of visual symbols (other types are different). In other words, the writer has to have a sense of form. Very often, in fact, teachers ask students: "what does that word look like?" The reasonableness of that question is arbitrary, for sound, though a physical phenomenon, is not perceptible to the visual organs. Nor do the eyes perceive the shapes of sound waves—the patterns of disturbance in the molecular arrangements of physical entities that are perceived as sound. Nevertheless, the notion of form does attach to speech. What then are the elements of form? The sequential order of the individual speech sounds, their relative length (duration of time), relative pitch, the melodic contour of certain segments of the speech continuum (intonation), a knowledge of the location of morphological boundaries are some elements in that notion of form. Yet, the latter among those listed here, namely the knowledge of the location of morphological boundaries is something that is not arrived at solely on the basis of physical fact such as sound, sound sequence
and the like, but rather on the basis of a combination of physical facts plus facts from an abstract system of syntactic function. Example: In English, before one knows whether to write "fathers", or "father's" or "fathers'", one must have some grasp of syntactic function. Furthermore, the form "fathers" covers at least three distinct syntactic functions: nominative case plural of the substantive, objective case plural (which in its turn serves several functions in English, such as direct object of a verb, indirect object of a verb, object of a preposition), or third person singular of the present tense of the verb. Yet, the knowledge that what is identical in form can have distinct functions is necessary only if one wishes to understand the nature of the interrelationships of elements within a sentence, or if one seeks some insight into the structure of our thoughts and how that structure is reflected in linguistic constructs. We do not need a theoretical understanding of the structure of the mother tongue in order to communicate effectively, for that structure as a system has been assimilated and internalized as part of one's general environment long before one's powers of abstraction were developed sufficiently to consciously analyze the system. On that level language learning is in many ways similar to something like learning to walk: one discovers the boundaries of the possible and then goes on to perform
within these boundaries. It is this sort of intuitive awareness that so often prompts the question in the first place as to why insist on so much grammar learning which seems so useless and unnecessary. As illustrated here, for some purposes it is, indeed, unnecessary. One such purpose is speech if one is already fluent in that area.

Likewise, in many languages this sort of knowledge is not even necessary for the purpose of accurately transposing the auditory system into the visual system. In the case of English, this particular kind of knowledge becomes necessary in part when one proceeds to write, namely for the purpose of differentiating the possessive cases singular and plural from each other and from all other functions collectively: predicate substantive plural, indirect object plural, direct object plural, subject plural, object of preposition plural, third person singular of the verb in the present tense. One soon realizes then that the need for such knowledge is determined by practical purposes and by the integral circumstances of a given language.

One additional point may be made here concerning the role of an awareness of the form and function of linguistic symbols. If one thinks of language as a system of symbols for communication, he is both right and wrong. Here is why: although symbols are necessary, and although some sense of form and function of those
symbols is necessary even on the most automatic level of communicative application, they are not necessarily sufficient for effective communication. Under some circumstances they are not even necessary, and their very absence at times is the element sufficient to effect understanding. Understanding, then, relies largely on context for its realization. The very fact that one speaks in sentences proves the point. Words are put into sentences in order to bring them into relationship with one another, thus establishing a context. Ambiguous sentences are further proof for the necessity of context. The intended meaning of something like, "Visiting relatives can be a nuisance," will be gathered only from a given context in which the phrase is used. However, the forms and attendant functions here are necessary. Furthermore, much of everyday communication is transacted very effectively in incomplete sentences, so much so, that complete, logical, syntactically neat sentences would be felt to be out of place and somehow unauthentic.

What has been said in this section is, from a linguistic viewpoint, very condensed and limited. Nevertheless, it does shed some light on the problem of whether or not the systematic study of the structure of the mother tongue should be part of the curriculum in ethnic weekend schools. Classroom observation and interviews led to the conclusion that in some quarters there is great un-
Several things become apparent. Grammar for grammar's sake is more or less pointless and in addition tends to kill the spirit of all involved, excepting, perhaps, some individuals with a scholarly bent. But grammar in the right fashion for the right purpose is absolutely necessary in language study. Curriculum makers and language teachers need to be well versed in applied linguistics. In addition, language teachers need to know how to develop appropriate teaching strategies and techniques in order to teach facts of grammar effectively, in context.

It has been demonstrated, though in a minimal way, that it is necessary to be discerning as to what exactly is necessary, under what circumstances, and for what purposes. The necessary aspects then need to be taught well. All this leads directly to the next point.

Bilingualism

The third consideration is the fact that most students in ethnic weekend schools are bilingual. In many ethnic weekend schools there are recent immigrant children who are fluent in their mother tongue, but are just in the initial stages of learning English. There are all those children who were born in America, but do not speak English when they enter kindergarten or even the first grade. In
addition there are those who do not speak the ethnic mother tongue when they first enroll in the ethnic weekend schools although some of them hear the mother tongue sporadically at home. Obviously, many ethnic schools face serious problems, given the wide range in the mother tongue fluency among their students. What makes the difficulty even greater is the fact that many of the students who are quite fluent in their mother tongue do in fact not speak the standard language (standard Polish, standard German, standard Italian), but a dialect, often an obscure one, depending on the geographic origin and other background of the family. Needless to say, wherever all of these factors are very prominent, teaching in that ethnic school is not a simple matter. One alleviating circumstance does enter into the picture. The groups and formal organizations which ethnics join are those with whom they have most in common. Consequently, speakers of a certain dialect are usually concentrated in specific groups and organizations, though this is not a hard and fast rule.

Geographic distribution and changing socio-economic status do in some instances influence the composition of group membership. Unfortunately, meaningful statistics regarding this matter are not readily accessible. If people in a sense opt out of the group in which one might expect to find them, it doesn't follow that one can locate them in some other group. To begin with, one would have to have
some very good insights into overall ethnic social patterns in order to know where to begin looking for those who change their affiliation.

This changing group membership or multiple group membership where it does exist is mentioned because it has both linguistic and educational implications. It may, indeed, determine which one of the accessible ethnic schools one's children will or will not attend.

Furthermore, the higher the socio-economic or socio-cultural level of the group, the closer is its speech to the respective standard language. Traditionally, the speech of the upper social strata became the standard language, whereas the speech of the lower socio-cultural strata became regarded as dialect. Wherever the school population consists of speakers of dialects which are extensively incongruent with the respective standard language, students and teachers work under added strain because the language of the school and of the instructional materials is not the language the children speak or hear at home. This means that in such instances, then, the children in the ethnic school are required to perform in what amounts to a third language. This is, indeed, a difficult task to accomplish given the constraints of time under which the ethnic schools operate. Nevertheless, the objective of learning the standard version of the ethnic language is not only a valid objective, it is an extremely important one: whatever literature of any kind exists in
the respective group's country of origin is written almost exclusively in the standard language. Literature in dialect—in European languages—is very limited in content, in circulation and in general utility and significance. Obviously, therefore, access to the extant literature of one's group requires at least a reading knowledge of the standard language.

Depending on the nature and extent of the structural divergence between the standard language and the dialect of the speakers, it is in many instances very likely that much will have to be relearned in phonology, morphology and syntax if the pupils' background is the dialect rather than the standard language. Teachers and curriculum makers in ethnic weekend schools are very much aware of these factors.

Language Dominance Patterns

Another factor in this total picture that needs to be understood thoroughly is the matter of the language dominance of the individual pupils. As stated earlier in this section, most children in ethnic weekend schools are bilingual, some even multilingual. One of their languages is English if they have been growing up in America. This is true even if the language of the parents is exclusively the ethnic mother tongue. Children usually have English language contacts through the mass media and with other children.
There are some, admittedly, who have no such contact and who enter the kindergarten level of the ethnic school speaking only the ethnic language of their home.

In any case, within this whole framework of bilingualism, the matter of language dominance is, educationally, a very important factor if an individual's linguistic patterns exert extensive influence upon the structure of his conceptual organization. Language, after all, is one system of symbols by means of which human consciousness orders its experience of reality.

In addition to language dominance, or the absence thereof, it is also important to know whether a bilingual or multilingual child has learned his languages simultaneously or consecutively; and if consecutively, then at what age level was each language acquired.

In considering the factors of language dominance and time-frame of language acquisition, the following combinations emerge that seem to matter educationally:

1. The ethnic mother tongue is the child's dominant language.
2. English is the child's dominant language.
3. The child is at a stage where ethnic mother tongue dominance is regressing in favor of English dominance. This phenomenon is frequent among ethnic children, but, unfortunately, it can be recognized only by persons who have known the child over a period of time and who are
in a position to notice the change. Such persons in a child's environment are, unfortunately, only in rare instances possessed of the right attitudes and skills to channel the child's language competence in the direction of equal fluency in both languages.

4. The child is equally fluent in two, possibly more, languages and has sufficient opportunity to continue to be fluent in all his languages.

5. The child has learned the languages in which he is fluent simultaneously and from the beginning of his speech development, or at least has attained fluency in his second language before he was seven or eight years old.

6. The child learned his two languages successively, with age-specific fluency in his mother tongue throughout his developmental stages, while progress in the second language started later and age-specific fluency in it was attained no earlier than his early teens.

7. The child begins to acquire or actively expand his second language upon entering grade school. In the case of this type of child in the ethnic weekend school the situation is acutely portentous if the child's second language is the ethnic language. Successful progress in his case is contingent upon a whole set of circumstances: whether sounds, structure and vocabulary are taught him in such a fashion as to effectively shortcut the time for him to learn at least enough to be able to follow classroom
instruction with increasing comprehension of the spoken language; whether he will learn quickly how to read so that through reading he might expand his passive vocabulary which he can eventually turn into active vocabulary; whether he will get help of some kind with the language, at home or from friends; on how much time he actually devotes to learning the language. The ethnic weekend school, after all, is in session only for a limited number of hours per weekend.

Before commenting on the educationally salient implications of the aforementioned combinations of language dominance and time-frame of language acquisition, it is necessary to refer to one more factor that plays an important role in the teaching and learning of a second language. The psychological and educational implications of that factor, however, are understood rather incompletely by educators in general, though bilingually fluent language teachers, on the whole, are much more aware of some of those implications.

Functions of Language

It is established practice in the language teaching profession to administer placement tests to students who have some knowledge of the language in the study of which they are about to enroll. The immediate purpose of such testing is, of course, to determine how much of the structure of the given language the individual knows, and to place him
into a group of similar competence. This practice is followed in one fashion or another also in ethnic weekend schools whenever a child is not fluent in the language of the school.

Now, with the task of testing accomplished, the intended purpose of measurement is achieved to the extent that linguistic functioning consists of the satisfactory performance in combining specific memory retrieval items with certain cognitive and psychomotor skills that are necessary to make the performatory competence manifest. Undoubtedly, such placement testing procedures do indeed reveal the manifest linguistic skills of the student; what one so often fails to look at, however, is the nature of his mistakes. It is the nature of those mistakes that can reveal something of the structure of the individual's thought processes. Why is this important?

Apart from purposes of communication, different individuals use language in different ways and for different functions. For some, language, if ever so silent and unconscious, is the very vehicle of their thought processes. For others, abstracted linguistic structures serve, in varying degrees, as models for conceptual structures. Again for others, language is something like a catalyst for conceptualization--ideas, concepts whose initial formulation came about without the employment of any aspect of language are subjected to scrutiny and amplification through language.
And then there are those for whom language is strictly a means of communication with others, but not with themselves: speech-language—or language in the sense of simple social communicative intercourse.

Basically, then, there are two types of individuals: those who use language to organize their experiences, and those who do not. Among the latter group one often finds the authentic bilingual or multilingual individual who has acquired all his languages simultaneously and achieved age-specific fluency in them. The greater the structural discrepancies between his languages, the more he may be aware of the discretionary character of each of them as a system. It becomes not only easy, but in many instances necessary, for such an individual to realize his conceptual organization without any assistance from language. And if this indeed is the case with a given individual, then one perhaps needs to realize that his linguistic performatory skills may not be as good as those of the monolingual or one-language dominated individual—all other factors being equal—who uses language continually for both communication with others and for ordering experience in his own consciousness. Effectiveness here is literally the result of practice. This compels consideration of the vast implications for varied and individualized approaches to classroom instruction in general, and to language teaching in particular. This is a problem which the ethnic weekend schools can
hardly begin to cope with because of all the constraints under which they operate.

There are some facts about them of which the ethnic weekend schools are very aware: the vast majority of their pupils are in the upper half of their respective class in the children's regular weekday schools. This fact in itself, of course, does not answer the question whether these children are above average students because they are bilingual-bicultural, or whether they attend weekend schools because of their academic performance and related factors. This awareness is based chiefly on numerous informal surveys.

Teachers and parents who were interviewed agreed without exception that bilingual-bicultural children have a much broader and more diversified awareness than monolingual-monocultural children. This gives them a perspective on alternate possibilities in relating to objects and events in their experience; it gives them certain advantages in problem solving situations; it can help them discover that the inner self can affirm its reality quite apart from the constraints and limits of language and culture.

Cultural Goals

In this section, the second broad area of the ethnic weekend schools' curricula, the teaching of the ethnic heritage will be examined.
The first revelation the visitor or investigator encounters is that the members of the respective group do not perceive themselves in their activities—particularly not in community activity such as a school enterprise—in relation to other groups, but rather they see themselves as just themselves, doing things and functioning in ways that have been handed down for generations. They see themselves in relation to their common roots, common traditions, common concerns, common values and purposes, common experience of the group and its destiny, all things with which the individual can identify. All these internalized determiners of behavior which characterize a given group and the individual in relation to the group, operate quite matter-of-factly, almost unconsciously. Thus, it is the very spirit of this setting, its character and fabric that become the immediate and essential means of the intended content of instruction and its outcomes. Depending on the temperament and personal background of the investigator, the more he or she is able to let go of his or her own background and become immersed in the situation at hand, the better the formative impact of the total setting can be grasped, for a culture is an affair of the heart as much as it is an affair of the mind; it is the total way of life of a given group. The ethnic weekend school is an integral element of the ethnic matrix in which the respective group acts and lives. It is a state of being at home
and of not being concerned with matters extraneous to this state.

It may be well to dwell a little on some of the ingredients of the gossamer, of the magic that carries forth a culture through time and space, and sustains and inspires it with an ever renewed will toward survival and self-assertion.

First of all, there are common roots, roots common to all the members of the group. What are roots? They are all the factors and elements within the total constellation of a culture that provide its participants with nourishment, sustenance, strength and an assured place on the common 'soil' in which to grow and live and be themselves.

When we think of roots in the cultural context, we normally think of a geographic place of origin, of a common history, language, customs, beliefs, experiences, sufferings, joys, ways of doing things. And it is good that we do think of these as roots, for they are, indeed, clearly discernible, readily definable, almost tangible factors in the life of a culture and its participants. Yet, there are other factors that constitute roots, factors not so clearly discernible, not so readily definable, that determine the shape of diverse things within a culture and give it its particular character. We need to think about this second type of factor just as much as about the first type.

What are the forces that produce one type of patterning of interpersonal relationships and expectations in one
culture, and quite a different type in another? What is it that produces complex polyphonic folk music in one culture, and simple monophonic melodies in another; and that those 'melodies' do not sound very melodic to many of us? What are the forces that determine the preferences for certain intervals, rhythms, tonalities in the music of one group versus others? Why did the Egyptians build pyramids, the Greeks columned structures and others Gothic cathedrals?

Why is it that in one culture people feel perfectly free to show and express emotions, while in others people 'keep a stiff upper lip'?

Why did some cultures produce an abundance of monuments in all the arts, while others, for instance, have produced nothing in the area of graphic and plastic arts, but have developed a rich verbal culture that has become refined to the level of a national art wherein the wit and the heart 'overfloweth' (the Irish for instance)?

What are the forces that caused some cultures to become highly technological, while others remained idyllically pastoral in every sense of the word?

And language, that most superb among human inventions! How have we managed to develop more than two thousand five hundred versions on our small planet, and in addition, so many subvarieties thereof?

Perhaps one can reduce all the aforesaid questions to a general formula: (a) What forces determine the type
of models a given culture generates? (b) What forces determine what types of models are acceptable or preferable?

A culture, it seems, can be defined as models within a model.

Like so many other things, culture is a system of all the factors in the life of a group of people, and of the interrelationships of those factors. Culture as a whole is more than the sum of its parts. When trying to understand it and transmit or teach it, it is imperative to look very attentively, very discerningly not so much at its more obvious component parts, but rather at the more intangible interrelationships of all its elements. It is necessary to discover how people perceive themselves in relation to their various external and internal environments. What do they expect of other people, and what do they expect of themselves? What do they think others expect of them? What are the various motivating forces behind their actions? How do their beliefs affect their actions? What sort of beliefs do they adhere to? What beliefs are important? How do their particular beliefs influence their value system?

How do they utilize resources? What are their concepts of "efficiency", "beauty", "duty", "responsibility", "liberty", "the good life", "service to others", "happiness", "God", "interdependence of peoples", "honesty", "trust", "corruption", "values of material things" and so on and so forth.
How do they make choices? How do they make friends? How do they respond to shifts in the environment? Who exerts what powers over whom? What social or economic prestige do certain skills enjoy? The list of such questions is almost inexhaustible, for the minds and hearts of people in their interactions with various environments can produce results sufficient in quantity and quality to boggle one's imagination. One of the ultimate questions concerning a culture does seem to be: who determines who is to decide? This is, however, not the only question of this type.

Whatever the shape of a given culture and, consequently, its heritage, its uniqueness is perceived by its participants as well as by the outside observer only when viewed in relation to other groups and cultures. This observation is salient not so much with regard to understanding a cultural heritage, but rather very much so with regard to transmitting that heritage. Its essence is of a political nature, and the fact of whether or not one realizes this, can become the fulcrum beneath the lever that weighs group maintenance (survival) against extinction. Uniqueness becomes equivalent with identity. Identity becomes a matter of self-preservation. Self-preservation becomes a matter of life-and-death importance. Consequently, uniqueness can and does sometimes become subjected to a little more than reasonable amounts of enhancement and emphasis. The results can lead to conflict among diverse
groups, depending on the fabric of the over-all mosaic of competing groups. Add to this the impact which the intense discussion of recent years concerning ethnicity has had upon society at large, and it becomes easy to understand why some of the ethnic schools have experienced a new impetus in their activities and in their enrollments.

Culture and Curriculum

Let us now return to the cultural heritage component of the ethnic schools' curricula. What exactly do the schools teach, and what strategies are used?

The largest portion of teaching the cultural heritage occurs in and through the teaching of the ethnic mother tongue. The content of the reading materials on all levels of instruction is selected and organized in such a fashion in most schools that it is practically saturated with facts from the respective group's cultural heritage. At times the obvious facts are so compounded that the subtler facts are definitely relegated to obscurity and downright invisibility. Fortunately, the latter situation does not always pertain. Reasons and interrelationships behind events and actions in the story content are discernible in many, many instances. Values, motives, choices and decisions are often clearly stated, at other times implied, but easily recognizable.

The teachers at all levels do make an earnest effort
to adjust the classroom discussion and explanation of the materials read, to the students' ability to comprehend. Most of the time they are successful in this endeavor. At times, however, when the reading content presupposes a certain amount of direct, personal experience on the part of the readers, comprehension fails due to the abstractness of the situation and the inability of the students to relate to the content. As has been pointed out in the section on language teaching, there are many problems pertaining to the availability of thoroughly suitable textbooks and other instructional materials. This does not facilitate either the instructional process or the students' understanding.

In the upper grades and on the high school level in many schools the curriculum consists of separate subject areas: the history, geography and literature of the respective group's country or place of origin. The instructional content as well as the reading materials thus become more diversified and more detailed. Also, discussion becomes easier and more enjoyable than in the lower grades. In schools where the curriculum and the instruction are well organized, the students do gain much systematic knowledge of their ethnic heritage. Yet, what is cognitively grasped needs practical application and participatory involvement on the part of the students, if the ethnic heritage is, indeed, to be transmitted. Here it becomes obvious how important other experiences in the students' lives are:
the ethnic character of the student's home life; the ethnic group's various social and cultural activities in which the students participate; the school's extra-instructional activities--the celebration of religious and/or secular feasts, contests, singing and dancing, theatrical performances, ethnic arts and crafts activities and similar things. Many ethnic groups also sponsor various sports organizations in whose activities the young people participate. All of these activities provide opportunities for living the ethnic heritage, and only through active participation in it does the ethnic heritage become transmitted. The schools cannot transmit it during a few short hours on some thirty-six Saturdays out of the year; they can only attempt to put some order into the students' experience of that heritage and give him some systematic information about its past evolution.

It ought to be pointed out, perhaps, at this juncture that in their perception of their role in the transmission of the ethnic culture as well as in their approaches to this task, understandings and degrees of zeal do vary among the various ethnic schools. Though most of them have a realization, unarticulated though it may be, that an ethnic heritage cannot be transmitted, in the full sense of the word, in a matter of a few short hours on Saturdays, many approach the task with total enthusiasm. The result is often that the schools and teachers turn out to be
purveyors of information, resource persons for abstract, almost theoretical knowledge. The process of instruction becomes almost "scientific", while its content, particularly in the teaching of the history and sociology of the given group, tends to center on those aspects that put the respective group into a very positive light, and when that at some point is not quite possible, then the context of the circumstances is presented in such a fashion that the misfortunes incurred evoke compassion for the miseries of one's own kindred. In short, the past has become heavily mythicized with a slant toward the impressive. Such a stance, furthermore, is not altogether incompatible with the traditional stance of the ethnics' 'new' environment that has long cherished its self-proclaimed attributes of "the biggest", "the best", "with the most". Perhaps that is one reason why myths are allowed to stand.
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Helena Sromek, teacher, Pulaski Polish Saturday School in Chicago.

Theodore Weiss, Principal, Beth Hillel Academy in Wilmette, IL.

Sophia Ziolo, Principal, Henryk Sienkiewicz Polish Saturday School in Cicero, IL.
APPENDIX A
APPENDIX A

NAMES AND LOCATIONS OF SELECTED ETHNIC SCHOOLS IN THE CHICAGO AREA

Schools are alphabetized by ethnic groupings under letter codes which correspond to map marked with letters to indicate their approximate location in Cook County and adjacent areas.

ARMENIAN SCHOOL (CODE A)

Armenian General Benevolent Union
1456 Ridge Avenue
Evanston, IL 60201

CHINESE SCHOOLS (CODE B)

Chinese Weekend School
8237 Kenton Street
Skokie, IL 60076

St. Therese Chinese Mission All Day School
218 W. Alexander
Chicago, IL 60616

CROATIAN SCHOOLS (CODE C)

Croatian Cultural Center of Chicago, Inc.
2845 W. Devon Avenue
Chicago, IL 60659

Croatian Heritage School
1628 W. Morse Avenue
Chicago, IL 60626

Croatian Saturday School
2864 East 96th Street
Chicago, IL 60617
Croatian Saturday School
2823 South Princeton
Chicago, IL  60616

CZECH SCHOOLS (CODE D)

Alois Jirasek
Sokol Berwyn Hall
6445 27th Place
Berwyn, IL  60402

Brookfield Czech School
Sokol Brookfield
3907 Prairie
Brookfield, IL  60613

Jan Neruda Czech School
28th and South Karlow
Chicago, IL  60624

Karel Havlicek School
15th and Ridgeland
Berwyn, IL  60402

Tomas Masaryk Czech School
5701 22nd Place
Cicero, IL  60650

ESTONIAN SCHOOL (CODE E)

Estonian House, Inc.
Estonian Lane
Prairie View, IL  60069

GERMAN SCHOOLS (CODE F)

German Weekend School
5723 W. Camp Lane
Morton Grove, IL  60063

German Weekend School
4740 N. Western Avenue
Chicago, IL  60625
German Weekend School of Villa Park
15 N. 2nd Avenue
Villa Park, IL  60181

Weekend School of the Danube Swabians
4219 N. Lincoln Avenue
Chicago, IL  60618

GREEK SCHOOLS (CODE G)

Greek Language School
Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church
6041 West Diversey Avenue
Chicago, IL  60639

Greek Language School
St. Demetrios Greek Orthodox Church
2727 West Winona Street
Chicago, IL  60625

Plato Greek School
St. Andrew's Church
5649 North Sheridan Road
Chicago, IL  60660

HUNGARIAN SCHOOLS (CODE H)

Hungarian Weekened School
Rogers Park Baptist Church
1900 West Greenleaf
Chicago, IL  60626

Hungarian Weekend School
St. Stephen, King of Hungary, R. C. Church
2015 W. Augusta Blvd.
Chicago, IL  60622

ITALIAN SCHOOL (CODE I)

Italian Saturday School
Italian Cultural Center
1621 North 39th Avenue
Stone Park, IL  60165
JAPANESE SCHOOLS (CODE J)

Futabakai Japanese School  
6400 Sheridan Road  
Chicago, IL 60626

Japanese School  
1212 W. Cornelia  
Chicago, IL 60657

Japanese School  
Buddhist Temple  
1151 West Leland  
Chicago, IL 60640

Midwest Buddhist Temple  
1763 North Clark  
Chicago, IL 60614

JEWISH SCHOOLS (CODE K)

Beth Hillel Religious School  
3320 Big Tree  
Wilmette, IL 60091

Hillel Torah North Suburban Day School  
3003 West Touhy  
Chicago, IL 60645

Ida Crown Jewish Academy  
Pratt and California  
Chicago, IL 60626

Solomon Schechter Day School  
5200 South Hyde Park  
Chicago, IL 60615

KOREAN SCHOOLS (CODE L)

First Korean Christian Church  
3848 North Greenview  
Chicago, IL

Korean Language School  
Korean Presbyterian Church of Cicero  
1220 South 60th Court  
Cicero, IL 60650
LITHUANIAN SCHOOLS (CODE M)

Chicago Lithuanian School
Lithuanian Youth Center
5620 South Claremont
Chicago, IL  60636

Cicero Lithuanian School
1510 South 49th Court
Cicero, IL  60650

Kristiono Donelaicio Lithuanian School
6901 South Fairfield
Chicago, IL

Lithuanian Jesuit Youth Center
5620 South Claremont
Chicago, IL  60636

Lithuanian Pedagogical Institute
5620 South Claremont Avenue
Chicago, IL  60636

Nativity of B. V. M. Catholic School
3820 South Washtenaw
Chicago, IL  60645

NORWEGIAN SCHOOL (CODE N)

Norway Center
2350 North Kedzie Avenue
Chicago, IL  60647

POLISH SCHOOLS (CODE O)

Emilia Plater Polish Saturday School
1713 Burning Bush Lane
Mount Prospect, IL  60056

Jackowo Polish Saturday School
3636 West Wolfram Street
Chicago, IL  60618
Kopernik Polish Saturday School
923 North Kostner Avenue
Chicago, IL 60651

Kosciuszko Polish Saturday School
5730 West Fullerton Avenue
Chicago, IL 60639

Maria Konopnicka Polish Saturday School
4327 South Richmond Street
Chicago, IL 60632

Maximilian Kolbe Polish Saturday School
5843 West Strong Street
Chicago, IL 60630

Paderewski Polish Saturday School
8615 Normal Avenue
Niles, IL 60648

Polska Szkoła im. Henryka Sienkiewicza
4940 West 13th Street
Cicero, IL 60650

Pulaski Polish Saturday School
1118 North Noble Street
Chicago, IL 60622

Pulaski Polish Saturday School
1135 North Cleaver
Chicago, IL 60622

RUSSIAN SCHOOL (CODE P)

Russian Saturday School
2056 North Kedzie Avenue
Chicago, IL 60639

SERBO-CROATIAN SCHOOLS (CODE Q)

Serbo-Croatian Language School
Yugoslav Seventh Day Adventist Church
2120 West Sunnyside
Chicago, IL 60625
Serbian Orthodox Holy Resurrection Parish School  
5701 North Redwood Drive  
Chicago, IL  60631

St. Steven of Decani Serbian Orthodox Church  
3543 West Leland Avenue  
Chicago, IL  60625

SLOVAK SCHOOLS  (CODE R)

Slovak School  
Slovak American Club, Inc.  
6801 W. Cermak  
Berwyn, IL  60402

Slovak School  
St. Simon Catholic Church  
5157 South California Avenue  
Chicago, IL  60632

TURKISH SCHOOL  (CODE S)

Turkish Weekend School of the Turkish American Cultural Alliance  
8746 East Prairie Road  
Skokie, IL  60076

UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS  (CODE T)

School of Ukrainian Studies in Chicago  
2224 West Rice Street  
Chicago, IL  60622

St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church  
2238 West Cortez  
Chicago, IL  60622

Ukrainian Saturday School  
Nativity Ukrainian Catholic Church  
4952 South Paulina Street  
Chicago, IL  60609
APPENDIX B

Following is an alphabetized list of interviewees who provided much of the information on which this dissertation is based. Their schools are indicated, followed by their respective mailing addresses:

Bogojevich, Milenko (Mr.)
Teacher
Holy Resurrection Serbian Orthodox Parish School
5701 North Redwood Drive
Chicago, IL 60631

Cernius, Rimas (Mr.)
Teacher
Lithuanian High School
6842 South Campbell Avenue
Chicago, IL 60629

Dundulis, Alex (Mr.)
Director
Lithuanian Pedagogical Institute
7031 South Maplewood Street
Chicago, IL 60629

Hubchak, Nicholas (Mr.)
Principal
School of Ukrainian Studies
2610 West Crystal Street
Chicago, IL 60622
or
2224 West Rice Street
Chicago, IL 60622

Kaiser, Michael (Mr.)
Past Principal
Weekend School of the Danube Swabians
6310 North Keystone Avenue
Chicago, IL 60646

Klemm, Maria (Mrs.)
Principal
Weekend School of the Danube Swabians
4219 North Lincoln Avenue
Chicago, IL 60618
Kolak, Czeslawa (Mrs.)
Teacher
Pulaski Polish Saturday School
6132 North Meade
Chicago, IL 60639

Kreiling, Nick (Mr.)
Chairman of the Schoolboard
Society of the Danube Swabians, Inc.
6549 North Natoma Avenue
Chicago, IL 60638

Likanderis, Alexandra (Mrs.)
Member of School Board
Lithuanian Jesuit Youth Center
5620 South Claremont Avenue
Chicago, IL 60636

(Mrs. Likanderis is also the mother of several children attending the Lithuanian weekend school)

Masilionis, Juozas (Mr.)
Principal
Lithuanian High School
4632 South Keating Avenue
Chicago, IL 60630

Maynard, Senko (Mrs.)
Teacher
Chicago Futabakai
c/o The Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Chicago
230 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, IL 60601

Mishell, Pola (Mrs.)
Teacher
Beth Hillel Academy
4001 West Madison Street
Skokie, IL 60076

Nakane, Kenji (Mr.)
Principal
Chicago Futabakai (Japanese Language School)
c/o The Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Chicago
230 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, IL 60601
Nazarewycz, Julia (Mrs.)  
Teacher  
School of Ukrainian Studies  
3249 West Potomac Street  
Chicago, IL 60651

Osaka, Akira (Mr.)  
Assistant Principal  
Chicago Futabakai  
c/o The Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Chicago  
230 North Michigan Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60601

Rychlinska, Anna (Mrs.)  
Past Principal  
Henryk Sienkiewicz Polish Saturday School  
1409 Kenman Avenue  
La Grange Park, IL 60525

Segiuchi, Keiko (Mrs.)  
Teacher  
Chicago Futabakai  
5636 North Kenmore Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60660

Sromek, Helena (Mrs.)  
Teacher  
Pulaski Polish Saturday School  
5251 West Altgeld Street  
Chicago, IL 60639

Weiss, Theodore (Mr.)  
Principal  
Beth Hillel Academy  
3220 Big Tree Land  
Wilmette, IL 60091

Ziolo, Sophia (Mrs.)  
Principal  
Henryk Sienkiewicz Polish Saturday School  
4940 West 13th Street  
Cicero, IL 60650
The following is a list of several students of the ethnic weekend schools who were later students of the author and who were enrolled in her language courses in college. These former students of the ethnic weekend schools contributed much information about the said schools from the student's point of view and should not be overlooked for their contribution:

Bogojevich, Lillian (Miss)  
Student  
Holy Resurrection Serbian Orthodox Parish School  
3032 North Hamilton Street  
Chicago, IL  60619

Spurgis, Nora (Miss)  
Student  
Lithuanian School  
4239 South Fairfield Avenue  
Chicago, IL  60632

Strikas, Raymond (Mr.)  
Student  
Lithuanian School  
2644 West 98th Street  
Chicago, IL  60642

Szewczyk, Iwanna (Miss)  
Student  
School of Ukrainian Studies  
2205 West Iowa Street  
Chicago, IL  60622
INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

The following is the interview instrument used by the author in her personal interviews with the interviewees listed in Appendix B:

OUTLINE FOR SCHOOL DESCRIPTIONS

Name of schools (Accurate particulars)
Location: full address, phone(s)
Contact person
Sponsoring group
Independent or league membership
Times of instruction: days and clock hours
Internal structure
Teacher characteristics
Enrollments
Curriculum
Textbooks and materials
Instructional approaches in teaching of language and cultural heritage
Testing procedures
Influence of students' home background on achievement
Special supportive activities: Festival programs, Competitions for awards (poetry, etc.), Other
Why are you sending your children to this school?  
(Directed to parents)

Do you believe that being bilingual is preferable to being mono-lingual and why?  (Directed to parents, teachers and students)
APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Wilma M. Hoffmann has been read and approved by the following Committee:

Dr. Ernest I. Proulx, Director
Student Teaching
School of Education, Loyola

Rev. Walter P. Krolikowski, S. J.
Professor of Foundations of Education
Loyola

Dr. John M. Wozniak
Professor of Foundations of Education and
Dean of the School of Education, Loyola

Dr. Mary Jane Gray
Director of Teacher Education
Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

10-12-78
Date

Director's Signature