In the wake of the Oakland Ebonics controversy evidence of linguistic bigotry against Blacks and Latin@s in the United States was revealed in schools and society, including linguistic harassment of English language learners on the job. This presentation is multinational, based on studies of alternative forms of linguistic discrimination against low-income populations in the United States, Jamaica, Brazil, France, and South Africa. Evidence of discrimination in schools, perpetuating racial and/or socioeconomic disparities in educational achievement exists in each of the preceding countries. Studies of linguistic profiling in the United States reveal overt discrimination against Blacks and Latin@s in housing markets across the nation; that is, based on experimental collaborations with fair housing agencies in states that have large non-white populations. Beyond legal considerations derived from evidence of racial discrimination in housing markets, Spanish speakers have occasionally been fired because of language usage; that is, where employers have insisted on “English only” work environments that deny Spanish speakers usage of their mother tongue; such policies may be in conflict with the first amendment. Litigation pertaining to Latin@s and Blacks for whom English is not native are ongoing, based on claims of linguistic harassment in the workplace; that is, where racist remarks by employers resulted in hostile work environments for non-white employees, especially if they were not native speakers of English. Although South Africa now has eleven official languages, linguistic, educational, and occupational preferences still favor fluent speakers of English and Afrikaans. Disparities in educational achievement and occupational opportunities in that country show some striking similarities and noteworthy differences to instances of linguistic profiling in the United States.

Experimental bilingual education programs in Jamaica seek to close educational achievement gaps that reflect long-standing socioeconomic class and racial divisions on that island nation. Linguistic discrimination and educational attainment in Jamaica has more to do with economic status than with race. Evidence of racial discrimination in France has less to do with French fluency, and more to do with family heritage. Parisians of African descent tend to speak fluent French, however, their names often belie their religious background and African heritage. The Parisian suburbs that are home to many Parisians of African ancestry have witnessed disproportionately high rates of unemployment, riots, and constrained opportunities to obtain housing in middle class or affluent Parisian neighborhoods. Pending studies of linguistic discrimination as they relate to health disparities will be introduced prior to the culmination of the presentation, which includes two short videos: a brief MSNBC interview with the late Johnnie Cochran regarding linguistic discrimination during the O.J. Simpson trial, and an award winning public service announcement by the “Ad Council” that depicts linguistic discrimination in housing against culturally diverse Americans who “speak with an accent.”
The presentation begins with a brief PBS video from the documentary, “Do you speak American?” That video sets the stage for introducing two linguistic controversies: the Ebonics controversy (i.e. Speaking while Black), and efforts to promote English only as the national language (i.e. Speaking while Brown). Both of these linguistic controversies are relevant to the linguistic legacy of African Americans and Latin@s throughout the United States. The presentation is international in scope, and based on ten years of longitudinal research in the United States, Jamaica, Brazil, France and South Africa; that is, regarding low-income populations and sources of discrimination in schools, housing, and employment, as well as legal and medical disparities that strongly afflict people of color. To what extent, if any, do linguistic differences reinforce racial and/or socioeconomic barriers to academic success and equal access to justice or health care?

In order to place these remarks in historical context, the presentation describes the displacement of Native American languages throughout North America, Central America, South America and the Caribbean as a result of colonization and slavery. From a purely linguistic point of view, linguistic Darwinism accounts for the decline of indigenous languages throughout the Americas, and the rise of European languages; that is, resulting from colonization and the corresponding assendancy of English, Spanish, French, Portuguese, and Dutch throughout post-colonial North-to-South America. The unique linguistic legacy of the United States is then described, that is, before turning more directly to the plight of those who speak Ebonics or Spanish natively.

Title VII funds devoted to bilingual education will be discussed as part of this presentation, because the Ebonics debate in Oakland raised troubling questions about the role of race, language, and English proficiency, as they relate to educational achievement, or a lack thereof. Longitudinal evidence regarding racial and linguistic disparities for black and Latin@ students in the United States will be presented before the introduction of similar evidence in Jamaica and South Africa.

The presentation then shifts to the topic of housing discrimination, and experimental evidence that was gathered in the United States regarding linguistic profiling against African Americans and Latin@s who live on the east and west coasts. Experimental studies of telephone requests to rent or purchase housing were conducted by testers who worked for fair housing agencies in different urban and rural communities. Farm workers seeking housing in the Napa Valley who have learned English as a second language fared less well regarding their requests to rent housing than did native speakers of English, regardless of dialect. Studies of linguistic profiling against black fair housing testers in Philadelphia, St. Louis, and the San Francisco Bay area reveal statistically significant bias against speakers of Ebonics; they were more likely to be declined requests for appointments, or their voice messages were simply ignored. By contrast, white testers who are native speakers of mainstream American English routinely received return phone calls, or they were granted appointments to view rental or purchase properties. The racial bias through voice recognition that we describe is not accidental, and has direct legal relevance to pending court cases in association with the National Fair Housing Alliance and their local constituents throughout the country.

The presentation briefly introduces some relevant legal cases before turning to the topic of linguistic harassment on the job. Members of minority groups have frequently
been the victims of linguistic discrimination resulting from harassment on the job that is illegal and often targeted at blacks and Latin@s, particularly if they are immigrants who have learned English as a second language. Operational and legal definitions of linguistic harassment are introduced in association with ongoing litigation in collaboration with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. For example, Don Imus insulted African American women and humanity when he referred to members of the Rutgers University women’s basketball team as “Nappy headed hoes” and “Jigaboos.” Although his racially offensive and sexist comments were stated on the air, and not on the job, his comments are indicative of the types of racial and ethnic slurs that are routinely suffered by Latin@s and African Americans. LGBT populations also suffer from forms of linguistic harassment on the job, suffering insults specifically targeted toward sexual orientation. Different cases of linguistic harassment in the workplace will be introduced within the context of EEOC litigation in defense of immigrant workers who are not native speakers of English.

Many of the linguistic and racial issues that are introduced within the United States context share similarities with some of the linguistic, educational, and legal circumstances shared by low-income populations elsewhere. Some of these international parallels are introduced with respect to racial segregation in South Africa, and the linguistic demands that were placed upon the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The issue of linguistic discrimination in Jamaica is then introduced, which has less to do with race than class on that island nation. Experimental bilingual education programs for Jamaica are then described, along with policy implications for education that are relevant to Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. Race is also less salient in Brazil than is class; however, slave descendants in Brazil tend to speak with distinctive accents that echo the Ebonics debate within the United States, along with low educational achievement for slave descendants. Racial gaps in educational performance between black and white students in the United States and South Africa are presented prior discussion of black language usage in Jamaica and South Africa, where “Black English differs greatly from the varieties of vernacular African American English that are the result of slavery in the United States, Guyana, and other Caribbean nations where English is the dominant language.

The international portion of this discussion concludes by turning to France, where discrimination against people of African descent who reside in the Parisian suburbs was predicted in our early research on linguistic discrimination in that country. Briefly, the French do not collect data based on race as a matter of policy; as a result, social science research in that country differs greatly from the tradition of race-based social science research in the United States. With generous support from the Ford Foundation we evaluated employment prospects for French citizens based on their names, their place of birth, and the place of birth of their parents; that is, as alternatives to otherwise missing racial demographic data regarding potential employment discrimination in France. We discovered that linguistic proficiency is less relevant in France than it is in other parts of the world. Many Parisians of African descent are fluent French speakers, but, they do not possess French names. Our experiments included telephone calls by Jean Paul or Pierre to obtain jobs or housing. However, when the very same individuals called requesting the same jobs or housing using the names “Mohamed” or “Hasan” they were routinely rebuffed and denied either jobs or housing.
The presentation concludes by returning to the United States, and two brief videos: the first includes an appearance by the late Johnnie Cochran, debating with this author about the relevance of evidence of linguistic profiling during the O.J. Simpson trial; the debate is humorous, and relevant to all Americans, regardless of their linguistic background. The final video was produced by the Ad Council in support of research on linguistic discrimination in association with the National Fair Housing Alliance, and it received an award for the Public Service Announcement of the Year. Final remarks discuss legal and policy implications, as well as new studies in collaboration with medical professionals that explore linguistic diversity in relationship to health disparities.
JOHN BAUGH
Margaret Bush Wilson Professor in Arts and Sciences
Professor of Psychology, Anthropology, Education, English, Linguistics, African & African American Studies, American Culture Studies, Philosophy-Neuroscience-Psychology, and Urban Studies

Washington University in St. Louis
Campus Box 1109, 226 McMillan Hall
St. Louis, MO 63130
Tel: (314) 935-5960 Fax: (314) 935-9390
jbaugh@wustl.edu
http://www.artsci.wustl.edu/~jbaugh/Site/Welcome.html

EXPERIENCE

Washington University in St. Louis
Margaret Bush Wilson Professor in Arts and Sciences 2005-Present
Professor of Psychology, Anthropology, Education, English, with specializations in Linguistics
Director, African and African American Studies Program 2005-2010

Stanford University
Professor Emeritus of Education and Linguistics 2005-Present
Professor of Education and Linguistics 1990-2005
Director, Stanford Teacher Education Program 1994-1996

Swarthmore College
Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology 1978-1979
Lecturer, Black Studies, Linguistics, Sociology & Anthropology 1975-1978

University of Texas at Austin
Associate Professor of Linguistics, Anthropology, and Foreign Language Education 1984-1990
Assistant Professor of Linguistics and Anthropology 1979-1984

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA
Research Fellow 1988-1989

Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, DC
Visiting Scholar 1982-1983

EDUCATION
Ph.D., Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania 1979
M.A., Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania 1976
B.A., Speech/Rhetoric, Temple University 1972

Dissertation: Linguistic Style Shifting in Black English
Committee: William Labov (Supervisor), John Fought, Dell Hymes, Erving Goffman
HONORS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS


H. Educator of the Year, 100 Black Men of Silicon Valley, Inc. (1999).


L. Fellowship, Center For Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (1988-89).

M. National Science Foundation (#BNS87-00864) in support of CASBS fellowship.

N. President’s Associate Teaching Excellence Award, University of Texas (1988-89).

O. Faculty Research Award, University of Texas Research Institute (1988-89).

P. Travel Award to the 16th International Congress of Linguistics in Berlin, National Science Foundation (1987).

Q. Research Award, University of Texas Policy Research Institute (1986).


U. Summer Research Award, University of Texas Research Institute (1980, 1982).

V. Fontaine Fellow, University of Pennsylvania (1974-78).

W. Research Fellow for William Labov, National Science Foundation (1973-74).

X. Travel and Study Award, The Ford Foundation (1972-1973).

ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES

- Project Director/Principal Investigator, American Linguistic Heritage Survey (in association with the Ford Foundation project on Linguistic Profiling) (2002-2010).
- Member, President and Provost’s Planning, Policy and Progress Committee, Stanford University (2003-2004).
- Director, Stanford Teacher Education Program (1994-96).
- Vice-Chair, Board of Trustees, Center for Applied Linguistics (1983-1989).
C. RESEARCH INTERESTS

Development of interdisciplinary research, including quantitative and qualitative studies that support efforts to promote greater social opportunities and improved policies in education, medicine, law, law enforcement, and business; that is, as derived from corresponding linguistic research and evaluation. Linguistic profiling and various forms of linguistic discrimination based on race, sex, age, sexual orientation, region, and class in advanced industrialized societies. Applied Linguistics, including educational and social applications of linguistics, with special emphasis on the problems of minority groups. Applications of linguistics to teacher education. Sociolinguistics, specializing in quantitative analyses of linguistic variation and languages/dialects in contact. Controlled experiments of housing discrimination based on speech. Policy analyses of language minority students, including speakers of nonstandard dialects. Studies of professional negligence and malpractice in educational contexts. Linguistic diversity and literacy. Language attitude analyses and related policy implications. Linguistic prejudice and discrimination. Historical linguistics. Interdisciplinary approaches to discourse analyses. International comparisons of educational needs and development in socially stratified speech communities. Analyses of linguistic background and differential access to health care. Language, equity, and environmental change. Development of econolinguistic theory as a linguistic diagnostic in support of various public policies.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

- Member, Board of Directors, Oracle Education Foundation, Inc., Redwood Shores, CA (2002-Present).
- Member, Board of Directors, Raising a Reader, Silicon Valley Community Foundation, Palo Alto, CA (2003-Present).
- Member, Board of Directors, St. Louis Black Repertory Theatre, St. Louis, MO (2005-2010).
- Founding Member, Board of Directors, Eastside College Preparatory School, East Palo Alto, CA (1996-Present).
- National Linguistic Advisory Committee, Corporation for Public
PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

C. American Anthropological Association
D. American Association of Applied Linguistics
E. American Educational Research Association
F. American Dialect Society
G. Association of Psychological Science
H. Linguistic Society of America
I. Modern Language Association
J. National Council of Teachers of English
K. Teachers of English to Speakers of other Languages

EDITORIAL ASSIGNMENTS

• Member, Editorial Board, Intercultural Communication Studies, Trinity University (2004-2010).
• Member, Editorial Board, American Speech, American Dialect Society (1983-89).
• Member, Editorial Board, Texas Linguistics Series, University of Texas Press (1984-90).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

A. Books Authored


CONSULTING ACTIVITIES

Confidential linguistic consultation has been provided through legal testimony, depositions, and meetings with members of legal firms. Additional consultation has been provided at least once to each of the following organizations:

C. Alameda County Office of Education, Hayward, CA
D. American Association of Applied Linguistics
E. Apple Computer Corporation, Cupertino, CA
F. California State Department of Education, Sacramento, CA
G. The Council for the International Exchange of Scholars
H. Delaware State National Advisory Committee for Systemic Reform
I. Developmental Learning Materials, Dallas, TX
J. Eastside College Preparatory School, East Palo Alto, CA
K. Educational Testing Service, Princeton, NJ
L. The Gordy Foundation, Los Angeles, CA
M. The Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest, Hungary
N. The Johnson Foundation, Racine, WI
O. The Linguistic Society of America, Washington, DC
P. The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, New York, NY
Q. The Modern Language Association, New York, NY
R. The National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, DC
S. The National Fair Housing Alliance, Washington, DC
T. The National Institute of Education, Washington, DC
U. The National Institute of Health, Washington, DC
V. The National Research Council, Washington, DC
W. The National School Boards Association, Arlington, VA
X. The National Science Foundation, Washington, DC
Y. The New York Times, New York, NY
Z. Public Broadcasting System, Washington, DC
AA. The Oakland Unified Public School District, Oakland, CA
BB. The Oracle Education Foundation
CC. The Rockefeller Foundation, New York, NY
DD. The United Negro Colleges, New York, NY
EE. The United States Department of Education
FF. The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development
GG. The University of Cape Town
HH. The University of Vienna, Applied Linguistics Institute
   • Extensive private consultation with attorneys, law enforcement and first responders who are concerned with human voice recognition