

FOURTH EDITION

BILINGUAL AND ESL CLASSROOMS

Teaching in Multicultural Contexts

CARLOS J. OVANDO
Arizona State University

MARY CAROL COMBS
University of Arizona

VIRGINIA P. COLLIER
George Mason University

FOREWORD BY JIM CUMMINS
University of Toronto

AFTERWORD BY EUGENE E. GARCÍA
Arizona State University



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Carmen—A Case Study of Demographic Shift in North Carolina

Carmen was one of many English language learners from Mexico to start school in the North Carolina public schools in the fall of 2000. She is part of a growing number of Latinos who have come to the state of North Carolina in recent years to live, work, and learn. Carmen had spent the first 10 years of her life in a rural ranching community in Mexico where she was raised by her mother and grandparents. When she was a baby her father moved to the United States in order to find work. He returned as often as possible to visit his growing family and always sent money to help support them. He lived and worked in California, Texas, and Florida, but when crossing the border became almost impossible, he realized it was time to bring his family with him to the United States. Before he did this, he needed to find more permanent employment and a place to live. He was drawn to North Carolina by its promise of steady work in agriculture, construction, textile mills, and meat packing plants. He was also looking for a safe community and good schools. He found all of this in a small city in western North Carolina and he sent for his wife and daughters to join him.

By the time Carmen arrived at her new school, North Carolina had the fastest growing Latino population in the United States. Over the past decade schools, churches, hospitals, and universities had been working to provide services to the new members of their community. Schools began to implement ESL and bilingual programs; many churches offered services in Spanish; health care providers searched for interpreters; and universities worked to educate both the new immigrants and members of the local community who had lived in the state for generations. The traditional black and white dichotomy of the south was becoming more complex as the Latino immigrant population became permanent and continued to grow rapidly. The relationship between many blacks and Latinos became contentious as Latinos now filled many low wage jobs and many African Americans believed that the state's new focus on the educational needs of English language learners came at the cost of black students.

In 2000 the state was still striving to adjust to the changing face of many of its city neighborhoods and small towns. While Carmen was immediately enrolled into an ESL program, placed into an age appropriate grade, and paired up with a bilingual Latina in her class, the transition was not without turmoil. With very little native language support, she was often exhausted by the task of learning English. She also encountered a variety of new cultures. She had to learn to understand and become understood by both her white and African American peers. She rose to the challenge and her class embraced their new friend, though outside of the classroom Carmen and her Latino friends stuck mostly to themselves or their white classmates. Her family became involved in the Latino parent group at the school and she joined a local bilingual Girl Scouts club. With her strong literacy skills in Spanish and ESL support, she was able to keep up with most of the content in her classroom and she made

strong academic progress. Today, she continues to grow in her new school, community, and country. She hopes one day to be a bilingual teacher or a bilingual lawyer to help other Spanish speaking families like her own.

Carmen is fortunate to have immigrated to the United States during a time of our nation's history when there is a legal, academic, linguistic, and sociocultural infrastructure supporting language minority students like her. For as we shall see, federally sponsored bilingual and ESL education is a fairly recent phenomenon. In 1968 the passage of the federal **Bilingual Education Act**¹ brought an exciting yet controversial approach to educating language minority students to the attention of educators throughout the United States. Educators and linguists in the area of English as a second language (ESL) had developed a substantial knowledge base in their field over the years, and educators had experimented with various forms of bilingual education in the United States since at least the early 1800s (Ovando, 1999).

Thirty-two years after the passage of the federal Bilingual Education Act of 1968, the field of bilingual and ESL education has matured theoretically, conceptually, and curricularly (Cummins, 2000). Yet there is still passionate controversy over the best ways to educate language minority students and induct them into mainstream society (see Crawford, 2000; Cummins, 2000; Ovando & Pérez, 2000). As we enter the new millennium, our society and our schools will continue to be challenged to serve the growing numbers of language minority students from Latin America and Asia (see related section on immigration in this chapter). Hence, it is crucial that educators, researchers, and policymakers listen attentively to the inner voices of language minority students, who may be prisoners of silence in English-dominant classrooms. It is axiomatic in educational circles that all students learn best when they experience curricular content and processes that mirror their lived cultures, languages, and socioeconomic realities (Gumperz, 1996; Minami & Ovando, 1995).

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND ESL?

Bilingual and ESL programs take on many, many different forms throughout the United States, depending on state regulations and guidelines, school district policies, the community context, and the composition of each local school population. In Chapter Two we will discuss the various types of bilingual and ESL programs, but let us begin here with a few basic definitions.

Bilingual Education

Any discussion about bilingual education should begin with the understanding that bilingual education is neither a single uniform program nor a consistent "methodology" for teaching language minority students. Rather, it is an approach that encompasses a variety of program models, each of which may promote a variety of distinct



BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF A BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

In its most basic form, a bilingual education program is one that includes these characteristics:

1. The continued development of the student's primary language (L₁).
2. Acquisition of the second language (L₂), which for many language minority students is English.
3. Instruction in the content areas utilizing both L₁ and L₂.

Source: California Department of Education, 1981, p. 215.

goals. For example, while some bilingual education program models promote the development of two languages for bilingualism and biliteracy, other programs may incorporate the students' first language merely to facilitate a quick transition into English. There are bilingual education programs that aim to preserve an **indigenous or heritage language** as an ethnic, cultural, or community resource.² There also are bilingual education programs with an explicit goal to assimilate or socialize students into the mainstream of society (Baker, 2001). Consequently, bilingual education is "a simple label for a complex phenomenon," as Cazden & Snow (1990) have suggested, because not all programs necessarily "concern the balanced use of two languages in the classroom" (Baker, 2001).

(Throughout this book, the terms L₁ and L₂ will be used with L₁ referring to the child's first language and L₂ referring to the second language that the child is learning.)

Because of the inseparable connection between language and culture, bilingual programs also tend to include historical and cultural components associated with the languages being used.³ The rationale for the inclusion of the cultural component in bilingual education programs is reflected in this quote from Ulibarri (1972):

In the beginning was the Word. And the Word was made flesh. It was so in the beginning and it is so today. The language, the Word, carries within it the history, the culture, the traditions, the very life of a people, the flesh. Language is people. We cannot conceive of a people without a language, or a language without a people. The two are one and the same. To know one is to know the other (p. 295).

English as a Second Language

English as a second language (ESL) is a system of instruction that enables students who are not proficient in English (**English language learners**) to acquire academic proficiency in spoken and written English. ESL is an essential component of all bilingual education programs in the United States for students who are English language learners. In addition, ESL classes taught through academic content are crucial for English language learners when first-language academic instruction is not



RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE ROLE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND ESL

The professional organization **Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)** has taken the position that bilingual instruction is the best approach to the education of language minority students (TESOL, 1976, 1992b). In other words, according to the TESOL organization, ESL should be *part* of a larger bilingual program that also involves instruction in the student's L₁. This important position is shared by the authors of this book. The "TESOL Statement on the Education of K-12 Language Minority Students in the United States" (1992) recommends a four-prong bilingual configuration to meet the needs of language minority students:

- Comprehensive English as a second language instruction for linguistically diverse students that prepares them to handle content area material in English.
- Instruction in the content areas that is not only academically challenging, but also tailored to the linguistic proficiency, educational background, and academic needs of students.
- Opportunities for students to further develop and/or use their first language to promote academic and social development.
- Professional development for both ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) and other classroom teachers that prepares them to facilitate the language and academic

growth of linguistically and culturally different children. (p. 12)

In addition, TESOL has recognized that the acquisition of English by English language learners is an extended and complex process. The organization issued a more recent policy statement (1999) on the acquisition of academic proficiency in English, in which it recommended that programs for ELLs incorporate the following elements:

- No time limits for services that support and move towards standards-based education.
- Sustained professional development for ESL and grade/content level teachers.
- Ongoing student assessment that uses fair, reliable, and valid qualitative and quantitative measures.
- Accountability for stakeholders (e.g., students, teachers) at different levels of implementation (e.g., school, district, state).
- Native language support to help students achieve academic progress.
- Cultural and linguistic diversity in school curriculum and programs.
- Emphasis on academic and content-based English language instruction.
- Active parental involvement in a student's education.

feasible, as is the case in contexts where low-incidence language groups (too few speakers of one language for bilingual education to be provided) are present. **ESL content (or sheltered) classes** may be self-contained, or students may attend ESL content classes for part of the school day and participate in monolingual English instruction in grade-level classes (in the "mainstream") the remainder of the day.

As mentioned before, however, it is not always feasible to implement such a bilingual program. When the number of English learners is insufficient, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) recommends monolingual instruction with an ESL component; the organization does not consider monolingual instruction *without* an ESL component adequate to provide language minority students with the specialized instruction they need to successfully acquire English language skills (TESOL, 1976, 1992b).

These brief definitions and position statements just begin to hint at the many issues involved in the implementation of bilingual and ESL programs, issues we will be considering throughout this book. In this first chapter, however, our most important task is to examine the reason for our professional existence: the academic and sociocultural well-being of our students. Who are the learners in bilingual and ESL classrooms? What particular and diverse needs do they have, and how can teachers be sensitive to all of their variations in personality, educational background, social class, culture, ethnicity, national origin, language competence, religion, learning styles, and special skills and talents? For the remainder of this chapter we will examine the range of students in bilingual and ESL classrooms, the backgrounds the students bring with them, what happens when such backgrounds are mixed into the culture of the schools, and how teachers can use this information to know their students better.

DEMOGRAPHICS

Since the middle of the twentieth century—particularly during the last three decades—U.S. society has become increasingly multicultural and multilingual. Prior to 1965, when Congress abolished the national-origins quota system, Europe was the major source of immigrants coming to the United States. By the 1980s, however, 85 percent of immigrants to this country were coming from Third World countries (Crawford, 1992a, p. 3). As shown in Table 1.1, since 1970 the foreign-born population of the United States has increased rapidly due to large-scale immigration, primarily from Latin America and Asia. The total U.S. foreign-born population rose from 9.6 million in 1970 to 14.1 million in 1980, and from 19.8 million in 1990 (Gibson & Lennon, 1999) to 28.4 million in 2000.

According to 1990 census data, the total U.S. population grew by 9.8 percent between 1980 and 1990. The number of whites increased by 6.0 percent during this 10-year span, African Americans by 13.2 percent, American Indians (including Eskimos and Aleuts) by 37.9 percent, Asian and Pacific Islanders by 107.8 percent, Hispanic Americans by 53.0 percent, and “Others” by 45.1 percent. Of a U.S. population estimated at 248.7 million in the 1990 census, 30 million were African Americans (12 percent), 22.4 million were Hispanic Americans (9 percent), 9.8 million were “Others” (3.9 percent), 9.7 million were Asian Americans (3 percent), and 2.0 million were American Indians (0.8 percent) (Barringer, 1991, p.1).

In addition to these demographic variations, immigrants have continued to flow rapidly into the United States. By 2000, the Census Bureau estimated the country's total foreign-born population at 30 million, or roughly 11 percent of the nation's 281 million residents (Armas, 2001). That count included 35.5 million Hispanics nationwide—approximately 2.5 million more than had originally been estimated. The continuing influx of Asian immigrants, reported at 25.5 percent of the total foreign-born population for 2000 (Lollock, 2001), led the Census Bureau to project that San Francisco will soon become the second major U.S. city (Honolulu was the first) with a higher Asian than white population (McCormick, 2000).

These population changes—sometimes referred to as the *demographic imperative*—have resulted in large numbers of school entrants whose first language

TABLE 1.1 European, Hispanic, and Asian Immigrants with U.S. Total and Foreign-born Population: 1970–2003 (in thousands)

Year	U.S. Total	U.S. Foreign-born	U.S. Foreign-born Populations ^a		
			Hispanics	Asians	Europeans
2003	290,809	33,500 (11.7%)	17,856 (53.3%)	8,375 (25.0%)	4,590 (13.7%)
2002	288,400	32,500 (11.5%)	16,965 (52.2%)	8,288 (25.5%)	4,550 (14.0%)
2000	281,421	28,379 (10.1%)	14,477 (51.0%)	7,246 (25.5%)	4,255 (15.3%)
1990	248,791	19,767 (7.9%)	8,407 (42.5%)	4,979 (25.1%)	4,350 (22.0%)
1980	226,546	14,079 (6.2%)	4,372 (31.0%)	2,539 (18.0%)	5,149 (36.6%)
1970	203,210	9,619 (4.7%)	1,803 (18.7%)	2,489 (25.9%)	5,740 (59.6%)

^aPercentages of the U.S. total foreign-born population.

Sources: Campbell J. Gibson and Emily Lennon, *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-Born Population of the United States*, 1999; Diane Schmidley, *The Foreign-born Population in the United States: March 2002*, Current Population Survey, U.S. Census Bureau, 2003; Luke J. Larsen, *The Foreign-born Population in the United States: 2003*, *Current Population Reports*, U.S. Census Bureau, 2004; U.S. Census Bureau, *Current Population Survey: Ethnic and Hispanic Statistics Branch, Population Division, March 2000*; U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 2000.

is not English (see Table 1.2). Most educational discourse and learning environments to date, however, have continued to reflect the discourse practices of mainstream society, with often unfortunate results for nonmainstream students, including language minority students (Cazden, 1988; Gee, 1990; Michaels, 1981). According to John Gunperz (1996), linguistic minorities will soon outnumber monolingual English speakers in many places in the United States, and U.S. educators are not well prepared to work effectively in such diverse contexts. Banks (1991a) has succinctly summarized the changing demographics landscape and its impact on classrooms in the twenty-first century:

The percentage of people of color in the nation will continue to rise throughout the early decades of the next century. Indeed, the 1990 census revealed that one out of every four people who live in the United States is a person of color and that one out of every three people will be a person of color by the turn of the century. Likewise, the ethnic and racial makeup of the nation's classrooms is changing significantly. Students of color constitute a majority in 25 of the nation's largest school districts and in California, our most populous state with a population of thirty million people. Students of color will make up nearly half (46 percent) of the nation's school-age youth by 2020, and about 27 percent of those students will be victims of poverty (p. 1).

Reflecting a general lack of preparedness for the increased "browning" of the United States student population is the nationwide critical shortage of well-prepared teachers who can work effectively with the large and growing number of students whose first language is not English. This shortage will become even more severe in the next two decades, when, for example, the ratio of language minority teachers to language minority students will drop to an all-time low unless

TABLE 1.2 Immigrant and Native Children Enrolled in K–12 Schooling in the United States: 1970–2000 (in thousands)

Year	K–12 Enrollment			Total K–12 Enrollment	Percentage of Immigrant Enrollment in Total K–12 Population
	Children of Immigrants ^a		Children of Native Parents		
	Foreign-born (1st generation)	U.S.-born (2nd generation)			
1970	770 (24.8%)	2,354 (75.2%)	45,676	48,780	6.4%
1980	1,506 (32.2%)	3,169 (67.8%)	41,621	46,296	10.1
1990	1,817 (31.6%)	3,926 (68.4%)	35,523	41,266	13.9
1995	2,307 (29.2%)	5,590 (70.8%)	41,451	49,348	16.0
2000	2,700 (25.7%)	7,800 (74.3%)	44,200	51,700	20.1

^aPercentages of total children of immigrant population

Sources: Jennifer Van Hook and Michael Fix, "A Profile of the Immigrant Student Population." In J. R. DeVelasco, M. Fix, and T. Clewell (Eds.), *Overlooked and underserved: Immigrant children in U.S. secondary schools*. Washington DC: The Urban Institute Press, 2000; Michael Fix and Jeffrey Passel, *U.S. immigration: Trends and implications for schools*. Washington DC: The Urban Institute Press, 2005.

strong actions are taken to reverse current trends. For example, although Spanish-speaking students constitute the largest number of language minority students in U.S. schools, there is a dramatic shortage of teachers who come from Hispanic backgrounds (Crawford, 1999; Delpit, 1995). Applebome (1996) notes that the first challenge in the preparation of teachers for the twenty-first century will be to address the "growing mismatch between the background of teachers and the students they will be teaching" (p. 22).

TYPES OF LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS

As used in this book, the term *language minority student* (in the United States) refers to a student who comes from a home where a language other than English is spoken. According to a 1992 **National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE)** publication, more than 7.5 million school-age children in the United States were from homes in which a non-English language was spoken. The predictions are that this language minority student population will surge to about 35 percent of all schoolchildren by the year 2000 (NABE, 1992, p. 3). Language minority children are now the fastest-growing group in schools in the United States (McKeon, 1992).

This large language minority category includes a broad range of patterns of language proficiency. Language minority students may or may not have enough proficiency in English to do well academically in all-English instructional settings. They may be essentially monolingual in English, or they may be monolingual in a non-English language, or they may possess varying degrees and types of bilingualism.

And, of course, their language proficiency status changes as they mature and as they progress through school. The parents or grandparents of monolingual English-speaking language minority students may still have varying degrees of proficiency in the ancestral language, but the children may be essentially proficient only in English, understanding just a few, if any, household words or phrases from the family's language of origin. At the other extreme are the children of recent immigrants, who are usually monolingual in the family's first language. (We say usually because these children may sometimes be bilingual in several non-English languages, or they may have some English proficiency from having studied English in their home country.) In between the two monolingual extremes are a complex array of mixes of bilingual proficiency. Although it is an oversimplification of the picture, such language minority students may be more proficient in English than in their ancestral language (English dominant), fairly balanced in proficiency in both languages, or more proficient in the second language than in English (e.g., Farsi dominant, Korean dominant, Spanish dominant, Vietnamese dominant, and so on). This issue of various kinds of bilingualism will be explored further in Chapter Four.

Until recently, students who are either monolingual in the home language or have some English proficiency but are still more fluent in their home language have been referred to as limited-English-proficient (LEP) students. Data from state education agencies receiving Title VII funding suggest that in 1989-1990 there were about 2.2 million limited-English-proficient students in the United States (Meyer & Feinberg, 1992, p. 109). More recently, the Stanford Working Group (1993) estimated the number of LEP students to be much greater, perhaps as many as 3.3 million children between the ages of 5 and 17.

Although the term LEP has been used extensively in literature and demographic information about this group, the term has recently been criticized for its negative connotations. It has been argued that the use of the word *limited* in the term **limited-English-proficient** reflects a focus on what the child cannot do rather than on what he or she can do, and that it implies a bias against non-English speakers as being less able than English speakers. Thus many educators have begun to use the more neutral term *English language learner* (ELL). This term conveys that the student is in the process of learning English without having the connotation that the student is in some way defective until he or she attains full English proficiency. However, like LEP, the ELL designation is still somewhat problematic in that it focuses on the need to learn English without acknowledging the value of the child's proficiency in L₁ (Crawford, 2004, p. xxi). Despite this drawback, we will generally use ELL throughout this book because we agree that it is a more positive and less stigmatizing term than LEP. However, LEP will appear occasionally when it was the original term used in a source we are citing.

Figures such as 7.5 million language minority children, or 3.3 million ELLs, although very important, do not reveal the rich mix of language minority students found in classrooms today; nor do these figures tell us who is eligible for bilingual services and how long they are to be served. Such students range from indigenous minorities whose ancestors have been here for tens of thousands of years to very recent immigrants from virtually every region of the world. As such, our language minority children represent both the oldest and newest members of American

society. Throughout the nation's history, assimilative and acculturative factors have had powerful impacts on the lives of such students, producing many different configurations of language and culture. Language minority students in bilingual classrooms, for example, may include English dominant students with a language minority background, bilingual students who are proficient in both English and their home language, and English language learners.

A closer look at these groupings in bilingual classrooms reveals that English-dominant language minority students may be involved in a bilingual program to improve academic achievement and perhaps additionally to develop their home language skills. An English-dominant language minority student may be a Hispanic American or American Indian child who speaks English predominantly or exclusively and yet is exposed to the family's other language through parents or grandparents. English-dominant language minority students often come from stigmatized ethnolinguistic groups that, because of societal pressures, historical circumstances, or geographical location, have not fully maintained their ancestral languages. Although considerably acculturated into the English-speaking milieu, they may be socioeconomically or socioculturally marginal, and they may speak a variety of English that puts them at a linguistic disadvantage in the mainstream English classroom. (The issue of standard English as a second dialect will be discussed in Chapter Four.) Some of these English dominant language minority communities are undergoing linguistic and cultural revitalization today, and bilingual education has become an important avenue for the realization of their hopes for their children (Ovando & Gourd, 1996).

Besides these students whose parents want them to be reexposed to their ancestral languages through bilingual instruction, many bilingual students are enrolled in bilingual classes because of their desire to continue learning in two languages and living in two cultures. For such students who are already considerably fluent in two languages, bilingual instruction constitutes enrichment of their academic experience, an affirmation of the family's ethnolinguistic identity, and a highly valuable contribution to the nation's supply of well-educated, biliterate, bilingual citizens.

The language minority students most often associated in the public eye with bilingual and ESL instruction are, of course, the ELLs who upon school entry lack the necessary English skills for immediate success in an all-English curriculum. Bilingual instruction for such students is a way of providing educational equity and quality. Through bilingual instruction, including instruction in ESL, English language learners can begin to develop the linguistic and academic skills appropriate to their level of cognitive development. As these ELLs gradually become English proficient, they also enrich the nation's linguistic resources if they are able to maintain their home language through strong bilingual programs.

STUDENT AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

⊗ When I came from the Dominican Republic at the age of 11 and entered the New York City public schools, I felt as if all of a sudden my previous knowledge and lived

experiences were disregarded and thrown out the window. It seemed as if most teachers focused their energies only on teaching me English. My sister and I cried many times, for we didn't know what was going on.

(—Cristian Aquino-Sterling, Graduate student in College of Education at Arizona State University, 2001)

Very few, if any, educators would argue against the value of being familiar with students' cultural background, socioeconomic background, and previous schooling experience. While such information about any student is valuable, it becomes even more important when the student population includes children of language minority groups. Because of cultural and linguistic differences, insufficient knowledge in such situations can clearly lead to a greater risk of failure in school adjustment and cognitive growth. In this section, then, we will consider the cultural, social, and academic contexts that surround language minority students.

The Role of Culture

Because language and culture are so thoroughly intertwined, language minority students are almost by definition also cultural minority students. Given that the role of culture is so important in bilingual and ESL situations, an entire chapter of this book is dedicated to this issue (Chapter Five). Cultural traits are commonly associated with such salient features as language and racial background, name, clothing, and food. While such obvious cues are just the tip of the cultural iceberg, many of the negative attitudes found in society towards minority ethnic groups are rooted in fairly simplistic interpretations of items in those categories. However, beyond these obvious markers of being "different," many more subtle but important aspects of ethnicity contribute to a student's identity. For example, the roles assigned to individuals within and outside the family may vary significantly according to cultural backgrounds. Lines of authority and socialization expectations as manifested in birth order, sex roles, and division of labor are powerful agents in molding children's social relationships.

Values and religion, as expressions of belief systems, serve as windows to the interior of cultural structures. The things that we believe in, whatever they may be— independence, individual choice, freedom, conformity, nonconformity, economic success, community, optimism, idealism, materialism, technology, nature, morality, future time orientation, achievement orientation, the work ethic, democracy, socialism, capitalism, extended family, cooperation, competition, education, magic, horoscopes, Buddhism, pantheism, secular humanism, agnosticism, Judaism, Catholicism, Protestantism, and on and on—provide a powerful synthesis of how we as humans attempt to make at least partial sense of the world surrounding us. The new linguistic and cultural environment that a language minority student encounters at school may intentionally or unintentionally affirm or negate the values of the child and his or her family. A young person who has been taught to be quiet and unquestioning when dealing with adults, for example, may find that his or her idea of the "good student" is not rewarded in an open, student-centered classroom.

Styles of nonverbal communication are also an important aspect of cultural identity. In communicating with each other, humans draw from many paralinguistic actions as well as from the verbal message. Cultural groups attach different meanings to types of body movements, spatial distance, eye contact, and emotional tone (Birdwhistell, 1970; Cazden, John & Hymes, 1972; Hall, 1959; Goodwin, 1990; Phillips, 1988). The significance of a laugh, a pat on the shoulder, or a hug can be quite different depending on the cultural background of the person interpreting it. What message, for example, does a Chamorro student convey with the up-and-down motion of the eyebrows? (Among the Chamorros of Guam, raising the eyebrows and tilting the head back slightly indicate recognition of a person's presence. It is a silent hello.) Or what message does a Puerto Rican student convey by twitching the nose to a friend? (It is a way to signal a subtle message to the friend.) Knowledge of such nonverbal codes affects the outcome of intercultural communication between the cultures of the home and of the school.

Students who are new to the United States have usually had some type of exposure to the popular version of "American" culture before immigration. For some immigrants, impressions of the United States may be based on what Hollywood projects through the movies.¹ Others may have a more accurate vision of particular characteristics of life in the United States. Many, for example, have more realistic impressions of the country filtered through the interpretations of friends or relatives who have preceded them to the United States.

Once in the United States, many immigrant families continue to maintain strong ties with their ancestral lands. These ties are very enriching culturally and linguistically. However, they also sometimes contribute to an experience of bicultural ambivalence—the feeling of being treated as Americanized while visiting their country of origin, and yet not being accepted as *real* Americans by mainstream society in the United States. It is not uncommon for such students to report that when they visit their relatives in their home country they often feel uneasy and somewhat out of place culturally and linguistically—these students often have become highly acculturated to U.S. mainstream cultural patterns, and they may not speak their ancestral language fluently, if at all. For example, after the election/defeat of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua in 1990, the conservative government of Violeta Chamorro invited Nicaraguan expatriates to return from the United States. With this influx came a group of young people from the United States called the "Miami boys." Nicaraguans gave them the name because many of their cars had Florida license plates, and their style of dress and taste in music reflected contemporary U.S. cultural and linguistic norms since many of these young people had become adolescents while in the United States. When their parents took them back to their country of origin, many of them experienced cross-cultural difficulties in Nicaragua.

Although born in the United States, indigenous language minority children also encounter mainstream cultural patterns that are alien to types of behavior and communication fostered at home. The children are exposed to these new patterns through migration to urban centers or simply through entry into the school system. How students and their families react to the differences they find in these

new settings depends both on the impressions and attitudes towards the mainstream culture that they bring with them and on the way their cultural background is accepted in the school context.

The Social Context

Socioeconomic Status

⊗ The single largest variable that predicts SAT scores is family income. If you want higher SAT scores, you need to get your kids born into wealthier families. You know, it's great to tell kids to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, but you better put boots on them first.

(—Paul Houston, American Association of School Administrators, Washington, DC, 1996)

Many students in bilingual and ESL classrooms come from sociocultural groups that have been and continue to be the recipients of varying degrees of socioeconomic marginality and racial or ethnic discrimination. However, students served through bilingual instruction are not uniformly from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Language minority students often have recently undergone changes in their socioeconomic status. Sometimes such students come from relatively well-educated middle-class families who face a different economic and social situation until they get themselves on their feet in the United States. Many language minority students, depending on the economic conditions, undergo social adjustments because of the change in the way they fit into society. This can be the case whether the family has moved from a higher socioeconomic status in the country of origin to a lower status in the United States or whether it is experiencing upward mobility.

Tied in with the social class of language minority students is the fact that much of what they represent is strongly linked to their geographical region of origin. Very often immigrants from rural areas have considerably different values and customs than their urban counterparts from the same country. Urban residents, for example, may have been exposed more frequently to the popular cultural version of the United States portrayed through the mass media, which serve as a powerful assimilator worldwide.

Prejudice and Discrimination

When considering the social context of language minority students, one has to explore the ways in which negative perceptions of their sociocultural and political status can affect their lives. How mainstream citizens perceive that language minority groups fit into the social texture of the nation can have a strong impact on both immigrants and indigenous minority populations. Some research indicates that the positive or negative perceptions of the mainstream population towards the minority population can affect the academic performance of language minority students as they internalize these perceptions (Jacob & Jordan, 1993; Ogbu, 1978, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988).

History, economic conditions, and political conflicts all play important roles in how various language minority groups are perceived. As an example of the changing political terrain, during the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and the Persian Gulf War of 1991, many Americans felt hostility towards certain segments of the Arab population, especially those from Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq. Following the terrorist attacks, for example, many Arab university and college students were ostracized by their U.S. peers, and in some cases this caused them to withdraw from classes and return to their home countries. During the Persian Gulf War of 1991, an Anglo-American parent who had a brother fighting in the Persian Gulf War asked a teacher in Oregon to have her elementary students write letters of support to the U.S. soldiers stationed in the Persian Gulf. The teacher decided to refuse the parent's suggestion because some of her students were Arab, and she did not want to bring politics into the classroom. This, however, frustrated and angered some of the mainstream parents, who felt that the presence of Arab children in the classroom should not preclude the option of letters supporting U.S. foreign policy.

As mentioned in our discussion of demographics, in recent years our classrooms have experienced an influx of students from such diverse regions of the world as Central America, Africa, Eastern Europe, the former Soviet republics, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and the Caribbean. Many of these immigrants and refugees are fleeing from political strife, violence, and poverty. To these newcomers, the United States may seem to have a Jekyll and Hyde personality. On the one hand, the Statue of Liberty is a symbol that U.S. society welcomes the oppressed of the world. Yet, on the other hand, the United States also has a fairly consistent track record of xenophobia, especially when the economy is sputtering. Given this reality, immigrant and refugee families must be prepared psychologically to handle hostile treatment from members of U.S. society who may feel threatened by the presence of newcomers. Yet, immigrant and refugee children may also be the recipients of care and advocacy from many, including their bilingual and ESL teachers.

Today, worldwide trade issues also have the increasing potential to raise negative feelings towards individuals who represent countries where economic growth may threaten the U.S. economy. In the 1990s there was increasing talk about economic and regional nationalism. Thus, for example, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which includes Canada, the United States, and Mexico, has generated heated discussions about winners and losers. This type of discussion can easily develop into hostile attitudes towards people whose countries of origin are perceived as harming our way of life. In the case of Mexico, for example, opponents of NAFTA fear "that Mexico intends to use its relatively cheap labor to steal American manufacturing jobs" (Golden, 1993, p. C1). Closer to home, tucked amidst the corn fields of the Midwest are Japanese car factories that, while providing jobs for the local population, also generate a fair amount of hostility towards the Japanese presence in the area.

Often, high numbers of newcomers to a community produce a powerful backlash as well. This has been the case, for example, in Dade County, Florida, where Cuban linguistic, cultural, and business practices compete with non-Cuban

practices. Bretzer's (1992) excerpts from interviews she conducted in the Miami area illustrate the tensions experienced between Cubans and non-Cubans:

⊗ I couldn't believe it. I mean, it was like a foreign country . . . a Spanish-speaking country. You won't see a sign that's in English. . . . It was Spanish, every word on every building—it was Spanish. (p. 213)

The [Cuban] culture . . . has taken over—there is no integration. . . . If you are working someplace . . . the language is mainly Spanish; if you don't know it, you don't belong here. . . . They consider this Cuba across the water . . . They all carry guns as part of their culture. . . . Probably 98 percent of the drug arrests are from the element. . . . They brought a lot of things we really don't need, but it is a part of their culture. . . . Now it is up to us, with our tax money, to open schools that don't speak English (p. 215).

Fearful of the potential economic, cultural, and linguistic impact that new immigrants could have on their communities, established residents in other parts of the country have expressed similar hostility towards their new neighbors. This has been the case, for instance, with the Hmong in Fresno, California, and Mexican migrant workers who have opted to establish permanent communities in rural areas of the nation. There are, however, instances where such initial hostilities are overcome by open-mindedness and goodwill. Such is the case in Monterey Park, California, a town of about 62,000 residents that was predominantly Anglo in the 1960s. Monterey Park experienced a 70.6 percent increase in Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asia between 1980 and 1986. Such a demographic shift brought about a strong backlash from established residents who thought their way of life was threatened. Horton and Calderón (1992) captured the evolution of the struggle over language politics and economic concerns between the Chinese community and the established residents of Monterey Park and its eventual resolution as follows:

We trace the language struggle from an abortive attempt to declare Official English in 1986 to electoral support for Proposition 63, the state's Official English amendment later in the same year, to compromises on city codes regulating the use of Chinese business signs in 1989.⁵ It is a story of initial polarization and conflict, followed by a lessening of language struggles and accommodation to the realities of a multiethnic community (p. 187).

It would probably be safe to say that virtually all bilingual and ESL teachers are familiar with such community conflicts and that they can recall instances of prejudice or discrimination towards language minority students and their families. Pretending that such issues do not exist will not make them go away, and we will return to this theme again in this chapter when we look at the emotional issues for language minority students.

Previous Schooling Experience

In exploring language minority students' home backgrounds, we have thus far considered the role of culture and the social context of the students' lives. Another

important aspect of getting to know our students that is related to their sociocultural background is the families' attitude towards formal schooling and the students' previous academic experiences. We will look at previous schooling and attitudes first from the point of view of the immigrant student, and then from the point of view of the indigenous student.

The nature of an immigrant student or family's previous school experience depends on socioeconomic status, country of origin, and the circumstances of the geographical move. Some students have been provided with a sound base of knowledge that can be transferred to the English curriculum, whereas others have had almost no schooling. The cases of Beto and Mee, two language minority high schoolers, represent the extremes:

- ⊗ • **Beto, a teenager who spent his childhood in the Dominican Republic, never had a chance there to attend school regularly and to learn how to read. Because his academic background knowledge is so extremely limited, he needs intensive instruction in the language he knows best, Spanish. Now, through lessons in Spanish, he has made three grades' progress in reading and math in one year, and he is beginning to learn enough English to transfer his reading and math skills to English.**
- **Mee, a Korean-born student, is already literate in her native language due to her previous education. Her literacy and broad knowledge base in Korean are helping her to understand materials in English, and she is excelling in mathematics because of previous exposure to the concepts.**

Even for children who come to the United States as preschoolers or who are born in the United States of recent immigrants, the parents' schooling experiences in the country of origin affect the way the children's schooling is perceived. Information about parents' and students' previous schooling is valuable not only for making curricular adjustments but also for taking an affirmative posture towards the learner. Some immigrant parents, for instance, arrive from countries that stress an authoritarian style within the school: The adult commands, and the children play a strictly subordinate role. Placing a child from such a setting into one with a degree of academic and physical freedom often confuses the learner. In some countries children are exposed to a fairly standardized curriculum nationwide, and there is a high degree of uniformity in pedagogic methods. To families from such backgrounds, the variety of options available in most American school systems today may seem quite puzzling. A predominant approach to instruction in some countries emphasizes memorizing information rather than problem-posing, inquiry-driven, or open-ended learning activities. Students or parents accustomed to such pedagogy may feel uncomfortable initially with the critical thinking and discussion format that they may encounter in the new school environments. The student may have been rewarded previously for taking a passive learning role, or the family may have expected her or him to assume that role. A teacher who is aware of the different traditions that enabled the student or the student's parents to survive in

the previous academic environment can help these students adjust to a more active role. Whether students have experienced small or large group instruction, whether time schedules and attendance requirements have been strict or lax, whether oral or written work has been emphasized, and whether there has been a cultural bias towards cooperation or competition and independence all have an effect. Finally, immigrant parents from any social class background may be unprepared for the design and value systems of schools in the United States. Standardized tests, authentic assessment, varied grading systems, learner-centered instruction, cooperative learning structures, and interactive, experiential learning are among many practices that may be unfamiliar to immigrant parents.

On the other hand, parents of indigenous minority students may be familiar with the operation of local school systems, but they may have experienced chronic failure in those systems. Their failure in turn influences what they want for their children as they are educated in the same systems. For example, Hispanic Americans have tended in the past to have less formal schooling than the mainstream population, with a relatively high rate of students dropping out before completing high school (Vargas, 1988, p. 9). Given the resultant lower incomes as well as generally weak academic skills, many such parents are not in a position to help their own children financially and academically. Against overwhelming odds, some of these Hispanic American children will prosper academically. Unfortunately, however, many of them will ultimately replicate their parents' earlier paths of poverty and school failure by also dropping out of high school at a rate as high as 45 percent in some school districts (Trueba, Spindler, & Spindler, 1989, p. 28).

WHAT HAPPENS AT SCHOOL

As we have seen, language minority students bring a very broad range of different sociocultural backgrounds and previous schooling experiences to school. Consequently, many researchers argue that much of the difficulty language minority children experience in school can be attributed to the apparent mismatch between the world of the home and the world of the classroom (Jacob & Jordan, 1993; Jordan, 1984; Mehan, 1991; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Ogbu, 1992; Trueba, Guthrie, & Au, 1981). The potential consequences of the home-school mismatch and the corresponding curricular and instructional challenge to create more culturally compatible classroom practices will be discussed in Chapter Five. To set the stage, though, we will look here at some of the emotional issues, the linguistic issues, and the academic issues facing language minority students when they arrive at school.

The Emotional Issues

A basic part of analyzing the level of integration of language minority students into the life of the school is a consideration of their emotional needs and experiences. Combining the variation in cultural patterns with the individual personality of each student results in many different ways that language minority children may

react to a particular classroom situation. The following sketches illustrate just a few behaviors from the wide range these students exhibit:

- Reserved, silent, seated in a corner, Lan prefers the isolation and comfort of written exercises. She prefers not to respond orally to the teacher or to Vietnamese peers. Who knows her innermost thoughts with her family gone and her familiar world taken away?
- Pedro is a highly energetic 13-year-old who acts out his aggression in class. An Ecuadorian Indian, short compared to his classmates, he alternately is eager for lessons and teases classmates. He drives his teacher crazy.
- A handsome and bright new student, José, arrives from Venezuela. He is immediately popular and highly social, adjusts well to the new school context, and picks up social English extremely fast. He attends school faithfully and follows all the rules. Then the bilingual counselor discovers that he is a drug peddler in the back corner of the school yard.
- Yuki, an elementary Japanese student, has always spoken only in a whisper. Today she is playing an ESL game in which she acts out sentences such as "I am jumping." She becomes so involved in the game that she forgets her self-consciousness and speaks in an easily heard tone of voice for the first time.

Teachers working with such students must be prepared to accept the likelihood that some of them may have some difficulty learning because of unhealed emotional scars from political and social upheavals. Their lives may represent on-and-off schooling experiences under very stressful conditions in their ancestral countries. They may have had dehumanizing refugee camp experiences in host countries. Some may be living with total strangers in the United States because their families sent them out of their war-torn countries in search of safety. Garbarino (1992), a child psychologist who specializes in the lives of children from the world's war zones, notes that "lethal violence in a young life often leads to nervousness, rage, fear, nightmares and constant vigilance" (p. 6). While it is unrealistic to expect bilingual and ESL teachers to be psychologists, social workers, immigration experts, and surrogate parents, it is important for us to be aware of these possible problems and to know where to find professional help for these students if they appear to need it.

Sensitizing oneself to the emotional needs of language minority students sometimes requires careful observation on the part of the teacher. In the business of the classroom day, we may not take time to notice and appreciate the messages we are being sent. A desire to express one's cultural or personal identity may come in very subtle ways. Consider the following story of an ESL teacher working with one of his students:

⊗ Using Cuisenaire rods, the ESL teacher modeled an activity which reinforced color, direction, and prepositions. He sat with his back to a student, who gave him directions as to how to place the rods. If the student communicated her directions clearly in English, the teacher would end up with the same configuration of rods that

she had formed. Kyun Sun did a great job, and her teacher ended up with the targeted design. The girl, very proud of her work, then explained to the teacher that he had formed the symbol for her name in Korean.

Unfortunately, whether actual or perceived, subtle or blatant, some form of racial and ethnic discrimination is a reality of life in most culturally plural environments. The school may be one of the first places where language minority children discover that they are perceived by the mainstream culture as being different. An American-born language minority student from a rural background recalls, "When we came to this city I first experienced prejudice in school, and that really cut me down. I wanted to go back where we came from, but my parents wanted me to stay here with them." As they mature, students, like their adult models, assess the sociocultural texture of society and notice what is valued and what is devalued. One impact that discrimination or prejudice can have on a person is a feeling of not being in control of the environment, which in turn can lead to low self-esteem (Cummins, 1986a; Ogbu, 1992). Although school, unfortunately, is certainly one of the places where language minority students may experience prejudice, school is also an important place where they can learn to confront it. Bilingual and ESL teachers, therefore, have an important role in encouraging their language minority students to believe in themselves and to affirm their ethnolinguistic heritage.

Another way language minority students may begin to feel alienated and defeated is to be placed in a grade that does not correspond to their age. In the past, new ELLs were often placed in a grade lower than they would normally be placed according to their age, the theory being that the work would be easier for them and that they would have more time to catch up as they learned English. Even if language minority students were initially placed in an age-appropriate grade, age-grade mismatches often occurred when the students were retained because they had not yet learned enough English to go on to the next grade. However, when the age-grade mismatch happens, it all too often results in the student just waiting to quit school. Regardless of a school's language policy, research clearly shows that repeated grade retention ultimately leads to an extremely high probability of a student's dropping out (Trueba, Spindler, & Spindler, 1989). A variety of alternative methods can be used in the elementary grades to provide age-appropriate, meaningful schooling to ELLs through such means as multilevel, nongraded classes and cooperative learning. Older than average high school ELLs need alternative secondary programs that can address their age-grade mismatch within a supportive environment, combining features such as individualized instruction, counseling, work experience opportunities, intensive language training, and academic preparation for postsecondary education.

The establishment of trust is another affective issue that may take on special features in the case of the language minority student. For example, students' and families' academic expectations may differ in their view of the school's academic expectations for the students. Where such differences exist, they can be a barometer of the level of trust between the school and the students and their parents. Regardless of whether they are justified, feelings on the part of some language

minority students that less is expected of them are real and have to be faced. Take, for example, the thoughts of two language minority students with a high degree of resentment. One explains:

⊗ I want to be a doctor and I want to go to some third-world country because they need a lot of doctors there. What motivates me is when the white man tells me that I can't do it. It's up to me to prove that I can. It really makes me angry.

The other student, a college-bound senior who entered the school system as an English language learner, reflects on the expectations she thought teachers had of her:

⊗ When I first came here to grade school the teachers thought I would have a lot of problems and they ended up putting me in a reading class a couple of grades below what I could read. I think it was a Dick and Jane book. In high school now, some of the teachers talk real slow, like I don't understand or something, but then others . . . well, it seems like it's always either below my knees or above my head! I don't relate to my school counselor very well. I've done all the financial aid stuff for college pretty much myself.

As students establish their ethnic identity, they also confront many emotion-laden issues. Many factors contribute to a child's formation of ethnic identity, and schools are an important arena in which these identities are shaped. For example, the nature of the ethnic identity children establish for themselves may depend partially on the ethnic composition of the school they attend. Although many other factors are involved in a student's self-concept, a school with a large proportion of language minority students sometimes may provide a supportive environment for more positive self-identification (Ovando, 1978a). Conversely, schools in which only a small number of students receive bilingual or ESL instruction may create the possibility of feelings of stigmatization. It is not unusual for children to feel uncomfortable about receiving any special academic assistance, but the fact that language minority youth are filtering their experiences through a different culture and language background may tend to make them particularly vulnerable. An ESL tutor, for example, wonders about the psychological impact of a pullout program on an ELL:

⊗ I am concerned about María Angela's feelings as to why I was asked to work with her. I don't want her to think, "I am an especially poor student, so they've assigned me a special tutor."

The Linguistic Issues

For language minority students the process of acquiring English itself can be a highly emotional experience. Research syntheses by Brown (1994); Dulay, Burt, and Krashen (1982); Genesee (1987); and Schumann (1980) suggest that affective factors play a powerful role in the acquisition of a second language. As Mettler (1983) puts it, in learning a second language the "chances for success seem to be lodged as firmly in the viscera as in the intellect" (p. 1).

Language is usually the most salient issue as language minority students establish their role within the classroom. It is the dominant theme in the instructional process and the driving force behind the organization of bilingual and ESL classrooms. In addition to coming to the classroom with a different oral language base, language minority students also come with different literacy traditions: different writing systems, different concepts of sound-symbol relations, different modes of discourse, and different story patterns.

Finding the appropriate balance in instruction between the first and second language is another challenge. For example, a language minority student may appear to have very strong English oral communication skills in informal situations, but be very weak in reading and writing in English. It is often difficult for teachers who have mastered the English language to maintain a realistic perspective on the amount of time it takes a student to become academically proficient in a second language. After students have mastered the basics of informal, conversational English, it is easy for teachers to assume incorrectly that they comprehend the many forms of expression, vocabulary items, and sentence structures encountered in content-area class work in English. The amount of language information that students must absorb becomes particularly striking after the primary grades, which rely on a simpler language base, more visual aids, and many more hands-on experiences. Two university students' journal entries on classroom observations of ESL students suggest the difficulties such students can face in the upper grades:

- Several idiomatic expressions were really unfamiliar to Ounalom, such as "John Doe" and a "Dear John letter." "John Doe" was surprisingly difficult to explain. It makes you realize what is involved in English content mastery for an English language learner.
- Patricia has not yet decided what her report topic will be. Time lines are a possibility. She expresses considerable anxiety over this oral presentation. She is better able to communicate with pen and paper than verbally, and she admits to being embarrassed to speak in front of others.

Another linguistic issue that has to be addressed is language variation. There are many Englishes throughout the world, and in the United States alone we have Black English, "Walter Cronkite" English, Brooklynese, Bostonese, Appalachian English, bush English in Alaska, Hawaiian Pidgin, Chicano English, and on and on. Language minority students acquire communicative competence in English from peers, other family members, sports activities, and the media, in addition to the formal classroom. Consequently, the type of language students learn varies with the context. English teachers sometimes become frustrated when language minority students use so-called incorrect English despite efforts to instill in them a standard version of the language. Students, however, learn to speak English not only to get good grades and please their teachers but also to survive socially and fit in with the sociolinguistic structure of their communities and peer subcultures. Keeping in mind the important sociocultural role that language patterns play in the lives of all students can help teachers value language variation in the lives of students across speech communities.



RECOMMENDATIONS TO SCHOOL PERSONNEL ABOUT THE USE OF L₁ AT HOME

Affirming the importance of authentically rich two-way communication processes at home through the first language, Coelho (1994) makes the following recommendation to school personnel:

- Inform parents of the value of continuing to use the first language rather than a poor model of English at home. Cummins (1981b) describes several studies that indicate the importance of the first language as a tool for the development of concepts that can be transferred into the second.
- If parents read or tell stories to their children in the first language, the children will continue to acquire a variety of rhetorical forms and genres of the written language as well as in the language of day to day interaction. The richer their experience with the first language, the more easily they will acquire the second. Children who already read and write the first language should continue to do so, as this will facilitate their reading and writing in English (p. 524).

As in any linguistic community, language minority students also are likely to represent a wide range of language variation in their home language. Hispanic American students, for example, may be exposed to a standard form of Spanish in the bilingual classroom that differs markedly from the Spanish they are familiar with at home. Therefore, in getting to know the students' backgrounds, the bilingual or ESL teacher is not just dealing with standard English and the standard form of the home language; variation in language may be represented in English as well as in the other languages used by students.

Another facet of the language variation found among bilingual and ESL students is the existence of varying levels of proficiency in the first as well as the second language. It is easy to think of students in terms of two simple categories: English language learners and English proficient students. But another layer must be added to the construction of language categories: There are also students who, relative to their age, lack full communicative competence in both the home language and English. This may be the result of schooling experiences with "subtractive bilingualism," in which the first language is being lost as the second language is learned (California Department of Education, 1981, pp. 217-18).

Ancestral language loss also may occur because non-English-speaking parents, in an effort to help their children acquire English quickly, talk to them in their second language, English. Sometimes, unfortunately, this practice is catalyzed by teacher pressure. Moved by the desire to have non-English speaking students acquire English as quickly as possible, well-meaning but ill-advised teachers sometimes recommend that language minority parents use English with their children at home. When this happens, the nature of the communication between parents and children tends to become impoverished. Parents, for example, may find it difficult, if not impossible, to share with their children

their most subtle, rich, and intimate feelings and thoughts in a language that is alien to them.

While some language minority students may be struggling to hang on to their first language because English is used at home, fortunately there are also language minority students who speak only English but whose ancestral language is being revitalized. Although grandparents, adapting to the melting pot expectations of the past, might have suppressed their ancestral languages, some parents today want to restore traditional languages and cultures for their children (Ovando & Gourd, 1996). In areas such as Alaska and Guam, for example, which have strong oral traditions but little written literature, language revitalization has prompted the development of curricular materials in native languages (Ovando, 1984, 1997). An Inupiak Eskimo college student compares her elementary school language development, which included only English, with that of a younger niece today:

⊗ When I go back home from college I'm trying to tell my dad everything that has happened to me at school in our language [Inupiak], and he'll be really exhausted because he corrects me and tries to understand what I'm saying, so finally he says, "Why don't you tell your mother instead!" I started learning how to read and write my native language in college, but I have a niece in third grade who first learned how to read and write in Inupiak. We used to write letters to each other in Inupiak, and it was funny because we were both learning to write the language, I in college and she in first grade.

Finally, in surveying the linguistic issues of students in bilingual classrooms, it is important not to forget the English proficient students who are not from language minority homes. Because it is illegal to intentionally school students in segregated contexts, bilingual classrooms should have a proportion of such language majority English-speaking students. These children may be in a bilingual classroom simply as a result of residence in a neighborhood where the school has a bilingual program, or they may have been intentionally enrolled in the bilingual program by language majority parents who value learning a second language and exposing their children to the multicultural reality of our society. For example, some bilingual programs are part of a magnet school that attracts students from several different neighborhoods. The native English-speaking students in bilingual classrooms may be from a variety of backgrounds. In some inner-city schools, for example, many bilingual classrooms are composed predominantly of language minority students and English-language-background African American students, with perhaps a few English-language-background white students.

The ethnic and linguistic mix in bilingual classrooms helps to keep them from becoming isolated linguistic and cultural enclaves, and it makes it possible for many English-speaking children to have the academically and personally enriching experience of being exposed to different languages and cultures. TESOL's (1993) position illustrates the growing importance of seeing bilingual education as truly a national resource for *all* students, including monolingual English-speaking students:

For students who come from homes where only English is used, bilingual education means the opportunity to add another language to their repertoire so that they, too, will have alternate means of learning and communicating beyond their

families and immediate communities. The mix of language minority and language majority students in bilingual classrooms enables children in such contexts to play a mutually important role with each other as linguistic and sociocultural models. (p. 1)

A two-way bilingual classroom, one that provides second-language learning for *all* children, enriches the academic and the sociocultural experience of both language minority and language majority students. (See Chapter Two for more information about such two-way programs.) How the participation of language majority children in bilingual education can be beneficial to the individual and to the nation is colorfully illustrated in the following essay by a fourth grader of Japanese ancestry:

⊗ American people should study two languages. When you travel to another country you can make friends easier by speaking their language. When you grow up if you work for the government and the government wants to have a meeting with another country, if you can speak their language you can talk to them and you will know what they are saying. If you grow up and become a teacher and a new student is Japanese and you can speak Japanese, if the student doesn't know a word you can talk to them in Japanese and tell what the meaning is. When you go shopping in another country and there's a hamburger shop, if you want to buy two hamburgers you can. If you can't speak another language you don't get any hamburgers. In Japan most people study English and Japanese. In Canada most people speak French and English. In America most people do not speak two languages. It would be a good idea for Americans to learn two languages.

The Academic Issues

One of the principal reasons for bilingual education is to keep children from falling behind academically, and both the emotional and linguistic issues we have discussed thus far build directly into the key goal of helping each child reach his or her full educational potential. The principle of the educational use of language minorities' L₁, particularly in the early stages of learning, is not a new one. One of the primary justifications for the passage of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act was actually a 1953 UNESCO document entitled *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*. This publication was the result of a 1951 meeting of international experts who concluded that "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue" (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1953, p. 11).

Because language minority students in the United States do not start on an equal playing field with their language majority peers, both the content of learning—math, science, social studies, language arts, music, art, and so on—and the processes of learning—cooperative learning, holistic assessment, culturally compatible classroom practices, and so on—must be made appropriate for them. Through bilingual education, children can be keeping up in the subject areas with instruction in their primary language while at the same time they are playing catch-up with the English necessary to function socially and academically in

English dominant classroom settings. While the catch-up challenge can be great at all grade levels, it becomes even more critical in middle school and high school, which have more structured curricula with less emphasis on learning by doing and increased emphasis on abstract language. The key objective at all grade levels, however, is to provide academic experiences in a language that the child can understand, so that students become well educated at the same time that they are learning English. Throughout this book, of course, we will be addressing factors that either inhibit or promote academic success among language minority students in bilingual and ESL classrooms. In particular, the chapters on language, teaching, content areas, and assessment deal with academic issues.

Several years ago, while supervising elementary student teachers in Anchorage, Alaska, one of the authors had the following experience. It illustrates several points related to not only the implicit and explicit assumptions and expectations that teachers often have about language minority students' academic potential, but also how such notions may translate to either positive or negative outcomes:

⊗ Following my customary routine, I stopped in the teachers' lounge to mingle with the cooperating teachers and student teachers before classes started. On this particular day I noticed an unusual joy on the part of my student teacher's third-grade cooperating teacher. She told me that she was eagerly anticipating today's arrival in her classroom of twin brothers who had just recently come from Japan. I asked her whether she was worried about possible linguistic, cultural, or academic difficulties. "Oh, no!" she replied. "On the contrary, I know that they will do very well in all those areas and our students will enjoy having them around. Furthermore," she continued, "I can always count on the ESL teacher to help out if I need any assistance." True to the cooperating teacher's prediction, the twin Japanese third graders adjusted well socially, did well academically, and very early in the semester learned the word "cuts," which they quickly began to use effectively to move ahead in the lunch line. Embedded in the teacher's sense of positive anticipation for her Japanese students was a set of notions related to the Japanese students' prior knowledge, schooling experiences, ability to acquire a second language, motivation, and family support that somehow corresponded to an ideal that would produce success.

What is significant about this particular case is that the teacher ascribed all sorts of positive attributes to these students before she even knew them. Yet, while such attitudes existed for these boys, prior expectations about children of Alaskan native ancestry were often the opposite. This attitude contributed, unfortunately, to negative academic consequences for many Alaskan native students in the school. This example illustrates the power of a teacher's expectations in either promoting or limiting academic success for language minority students. An antidote to the damage that preconceived notions can do is the ability to set aside certain expectations and be prepared to discover each child as an individual as you interact with him or her, with his or her family, and with the community. We turn now to just this theme—discovering the student.

DISCOVERING THE STUDENT

⊗ Sometimes I would try to look like I knew what was going on; sometimes I would just try to think about a happy time when I didn't feel stupid. My teacher never called on me or talked to me. I think they either forgot I was there or else wished I wasn't (*Indiana Daily Student*, January 1993, p. 13).

Reflecting on her experience in grade school, a bilingual college student accentuates in the preceding quotation the importance of teachers having more than an illusion of knowledge about their students. Knowing as much as possible about the language minority student enables the teacher to relate with empathy and to foster a learning environment that is meaningful.

One of the most pervasive characteristics of human behavior is that we rarely ignore each other. As teachers, for instance, we are constantly monitoring the quality and quantity of our students' intellectual and social development. We may like to think that the intellectual observations we make are based on objective achievement criteria, but this is often not the case. The social or cultural profiles we develop of our students often are also based on stereotypic or assumed collective data about their worlds. Quite often when we meet a new language minority student, we tend to assign to that student our collective stereotypic view of his or her world. As teachers we are often unconsciously trapped by that perception, and we need to remind ourselves to move beyond it to see each student not only as a member of his or her culture, but also as an individual with idiosyncratic patterns. To do so, however, means taking time to develop trust and openness—with immigrants, refugees, and native-born language minority students. While it is only natural for us to continue to develop positive, neutral, or negative perceptions of persons based on subjective, impressionistic data, teachers of language minority students can benefit from a somewhat more systematic and rational approach to gathering information about our students. Notwithstanding all of the other rigorous demands of the classroom, it is useful to examine the cultural details students bring as much as possible, because these details do have an important impact on the learning process.

Discovering the student is certainly not a process that has to wait until the teacher has a classroom of his or her own. It is extremely important for teachers in training to begin to develop the habit of sociocultural observation early in their careers. Although preservice teachers may not have the advantage of getting to know particular students over a long period of time, they may have the advantage of being able to take a little more time to explore different ways to discover students' backgrounds. Therefore, when we talk in this section about what teachers can do to get to know their students, we are addressing both preservice and in-service teachers. Preservice teachers, in addition to using their coursework on multiculturalism and community context, can use case studies, early observation experiences, internships, tutorial experiences, and student teaching experiences to develop their skills in sociocultural observation and reflection.



GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

DISCOVERING STUDENTS' LIVES

There are, of course, so many questions to ask and so little time to ask them. As long as we know what kinds of questions we need to be asking, and as long as we are alert for answers as they emerge, we will be well on our way to discovering the students in bilingual and ESL classrooms. Beyond the assessment of language minority students' L₁ and L₂ proficiency and the development of a basic cultural profile, the following topics can be used as an ongoing guide in the process of getting to know our students.

1. Background topics relevant to all language minority students
 - a. Immigrant or native-born status
 - b. Socioeconomic profile, including educational level of parents
 - c. Rural versus urban backgrounds
 - d. Parents' aspirations for themselves and their children, including expectations for schools
 - e. Types of racial or ethnic prejudice that students may have experienced
 - f. Attitudes towards maintenance or revitalization of home language and culture
2. Background topics generally more relevant to immigrant or refugee students
 - a. Country of origin
 - b. Length of residence in the United States
 - c. Extent of ties with home country
 - d. Political and economic situation in region from which they emigrated
 - e. Reasons for emigration
 - f. Other countries lived in prior to arriving in the United States
 - g. Amount and quality of schooling in L₁ prior to arriving in the United States, including
 - the extent of math and science training as well as literacy
3. School observations
 - a. Activities students enjoy or dislike, as a reflection either of cultural values or of their own personalities
 - b. Students' nonverbal communication
 - c. Students' comments on life in the United States, if immigrants, or comments about majority culture, if indigenous minorities
 - d. Signs of positive and negative adjustment in peer relationships
 - e. Comments that indicate a desire to share something of their home background
 - f. Comments that reflect students' developing concept of their ethnic identity
 - g. Students' own notions of the purpose of bilingual or ESL instruction as it relates to their own education.
4. Use of literature, media, classes, and in-service opportunities and participation in the life of ethnic communities
 - a. Gathering information from a wide variety of resources
 - b. Being alert to possible biases or distortions in materials or presentations
 - c. Distinguishing between descriptions of traditional cultural patterns and contemporary patterns
 - d. Cross-checking and relating what has been learned with the experiences of your own students and their families

One approach to discovering the student is to read the available educational literature on various language minority groups. Unfortunately, because of the necessity to present conclusions, some of the information on language minority students found in the education literature tends to overgeneralize. Thus the teacher may acquire reductionist information about a cultural group that provides him or her with a sense of security but that also perpetuates stereotypes. Writers on education, like other people, are bearers of their own cultural and social blinders and may therefore develop points of view about language minorities that are

colored by their own backgrounds. Because teachers want to discover who their students are, they may receive information packets or take part in in-service training programs that provide lists of characteristics, language overviews, historical outlines, and sketches about holidays, customs, and foods. While there are certainly varying degrees of congruence between this kind of information and the actual lives of students, teachers are not always sufficiently exposed to the ever-changing and internally heterogeneous characteristics of cultural groups. Therefore, as we take time to focus on individual student variables that may affect teaching strategies, it is important not only to seek out the available information bases, but also to be open to variations and surprises. This is particularly true when working with information about “traditions,” which may in some ways project an image that time has stood still. Overemphasis on descriptions of the traditional culture may lead to somewhat static or romanticized views that overlook the changes—some subtle, some glaring—that students are undergoing as members of contemporary cultural groups (Schafer, 1982, pp. 96-97). For example, a teacher learning about Japanese culture may be interested in kimonos and the tea ceremony, but his or her Japanese students may be more interested in sharing their comic books and robot toys.

Within the first days of school, teachers become immediately absorbed in time-consuming tasks that keep them from paying careful attention to who each student is. These tasks include completing regular paperwork, establishing classroom management and discipline procedures, organizing materials, supervising standardized testing, adjusting curriculum plans, and attending meetings. Many such duties interfere with the philosophical ideal of positive, caring student-teacher relationships. Yet we all want very much to show care and concern for the success of all our students. When everything seems to be going right—students are on task, classroom activities are varied and stimulating, behavior problems are minimal—then a teacher can feel fulfilled. But we rarely feel that we have accomplished that ideal. There are always students who seem hard to reach, who continually demand our attention but rarely settle down to accomplish a task, who would progress much better with one-on-one help that is not available, or who are obviously underchallenged by the tasks the class as a whole needs to master. Therefore, getting away from preconceived notions about language minority students and making a deliberate effort to take a fresh look is not always easy. Teachers, like everyone, are subject to the limitations associated with their own interpretations of and inferences about the world. One way to start is by examining our image of our own role vis-à-vis these students. For example, we might ask, “Do I see myself as a facilitator of student learning, a cultural and academic agent with the power to help children succeed, or do I see myself as an exploited cog in the bureaucratic machine of the school district?” The way we see ourselves will affect the way we see our students.

In looking at ourselves, our own ethnic or language background can serve as another point of departure. Members of our own families—if not our own generation, then perhaps our parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents—may have had experiences parallel to those of some of our language minority students today. How did our parents and members of our local communities interact with people

of other cultural backgrounds when we were growing up? As adults, what positive and negative experiences have we had dealing with persons from cultural or language backgrounds different from our own? Also, what positive and negative experiences have we had in learning a second language ourselves? Many preservice and in-service teachers will attest to the tremendous value of writing an autobiography as a way of beginning to understand oneself as a cultural being. Through a written autobiography we can reflect in depth on events that have shaped our views of ourselves and of those who are unlike us.

Throughout this chapter we have discussed a wide variety of themes to be considered in exploring the identity of students in bilingual and ESL classrooms. Almost anyone reading this chapter, however, would question the practicality of expecting teachers to keep carefully prepared written ethnolinguistic profiles on each student. It is not unreasonable, however, for teachers to keep a running file of mental notes. We say "running" because it cannot be assumed that the child will remain static or that our perceptions at a given moment are completely accurate. Therefore, a valid student profile will reflect changing perceptions and changing behavior as the year goes on. Getting reliable information about a student will depend on the use of a variety of assessment and ethnographic sources. Outside of the classroom, for example, sources can include conversations with parents, the local ethnic media, community events, multicultural conferences and in-services, and literature on various cultural groups. Within the school context, understanding can be gained through such sources and activities as portfolios, student compositions, journals, discussions, role-playing, and informal classroom and playground observation.

Cutting across all of the above school contexts and community contexts is teaching style, which has an absolutely crucial role to play in the extent of opportunities to develop rich student profiles. Pedagogy that activates the student voice and embraces the local community provides a much richer environment for student understanding than pedagogy that treats students as if they were empty vessels into which knowledge is to be poured. In learning environments where students engage in extended discourse (rather than providing brief answers to teacher-initiated questions), and where students' community life and background experience provide a platform for the scaffolding of new knowledge, teachers are much more likely to be able to discover who their students are emotionally, socio-culturally, and linguistically.

Sylvia Ashton-Warner (1963), a creative, caring, and pioneering multicultural educator who worked among Maori children in New Zealand, captured quite cogently the importance of discovering and linking the life of the student with that of the school:

The method of teaching any subject in a Maori infant room may be seen as a plank in a bridge from one culture to another, and to the extent that this bridge is strengthened may a Maori in later life succeed (p. 28).

The following program models illustrate some of the planks in instructional bridges that have appeared to date in our field.

PROGRAM MODELS

While federal and state policies have a strong impact on school programs, many policy decisions that focus on the specifics of program implementation are made at the local school level. The program models for bilingual/ESL education that have evolved in the United States over the past three decades represent a mixture of federal, state, and local policy influences. In addition, research on program effectiveness in bilingual/ESL education has had some influence on the policy decisions regarding implementation of these program models at the local level.

Historically, many different names have been given to program variations in bilingual/ESL education. Not infrequently, educators define these differently from school to school. Likewise, researchers, politicians, and journalists have sometimes used program labels in bilingual/ESL education inappropriately and have caused confusion for the field. Included here are concise clarifications of the most common terms used to define differences in programs among bilingual/ESL educators in the United States.

Use of the Primary Language of Language Minority Students

The most prominent characteristic that defines differences among programs in bilingual/ESL education is how much the primary language (L_1) of the students is used for instruction. Historically, programs have defined this for language minority students by the number of years of exposure to English. Under this approach, students receive bilingual instruction until they are proficient enough in English to achieve academically in their L_2 (English) at the same level as native English speakers. Currently, programs are changing from this remedial perspective for bilingual instruction to an enrichment perspective, recognizing that the research clearly demonstrates the benefits of additive bilingualism. As a result, the strongest models with an enrichment perspective, the 90-10 bilingual immersion model (also referred to as two-way bilingual or dual-language education), ultimately designed for grades K through 12, are increasing in number across the country.

Enrichment or Remediation?

The remaining differences between program models boil down to the social perception of the program, as viewed by school staff, students, and community, and the social consequences of the program design. When the underlying goal of the program is to “fix” students who are perceived as having a problem, the program generally separates the students from the mainstream and works on “remediation.” The consequence is usually that students receive less access to the standard curriculum, and the social status quo is maintained, with underachieving groups continuing to underachieve in the next generation. When the focus of the program is on academic enrichment for all students, with intellectually challenging, interdisciplinary, discovery learning that respects and values students’ linguistic and cultural life experiences as an important resource for the classroom, the program becomes one that is perceived positively by the community, and students are academically successful and deeply engaged in the learning process (Chiang, 1994; Clair, 1994;

McKay & Wong, 1988). We shall examine some of the historical program models from this point of view.

ESL or ESOL

English as a second language (ESL), also known as ESOL (English to speakers of other languages), is an integral and crucial component of all bilingual programs. During the English portion of the instructional time, ESL-trained teachers provide students with access to the standard academic curriculum, taught from a second-language perspective. The ESL teacher is also responsible for teaching age-appropriate English language arts objectives from a second-language perspective. In team-teaching situations, the ESL and bilingual teachers closely coordinate the curriculum together, providing for content reinforcement without repetition in each language. In addition, in schools with low-incidence language groups, where there are too few speakers of one language in one or two adjacent grades to provide bilingual support, ESL teachers serve the essential role of providing English language learners with access to English and academic content, taught from a second-language perspective.

ESL PULLOUT

ESL pullout is the most expensive of all program models in bilingual/ESL education because it requires hiring extra resource teachers who are trained in second-language acquisition (Chambers & Parrish, 1992; Crawford, 1997). In the United States, ESL pullout is the most implemented and the least effective model (Thomas & Collier, 1997).⁵ Problems with this model are lost time in students' access to the full curriculum, lack of curriculum articulation with grade-level (mainstream) classroom teachers, and no access to primary language schooling to keep up with grade-level academic work while learning English. The social assumption is that the language the child speaks is a problem to be remediated, and students often feel that they are stigmatized by attending what is perceived as a remedial class.

ESL pullout teachers have to struggle with many issues. If the teacher is lucky enough to have a resource room, ESL students may come and go during the day, some staying a short time and others a long time. Students of many ages may be together in one given time period—some may be missing science, while others are missing social studies or math. The ESL teacher has little time to plan individual content lessons for each student, so students miss important academic work. Many ESL teachers are itinerant teachers who have to travel to several schools in one week.

Alternatives to ESL pullout currently under experimentation include various models of inclusion. The least effective inclusion models are those that place the ESL teacher or aide in the back of the classroom to tutor students individually using worksheets. The most promising models are team teaching with the grade-level teacher, where the two teachers share equal teaching responsibilities for the whole class, have joint planning time, and collaborate well together. The big advantage of team teaching is that students do not have to be exited from a separate program, and they are part of the mainstream in a more socially supportive environment.

ESL Content, or Sheltered Instruction

In the 1980s, the field of ESL began to move away from models that taught only the English language, recognizing that students inevitably get behind in their schooling while they are learning English so language and academic content should be taught together. ESL content teaching is a very effective method for teaching the English language when delivered by a trained specialist in second-language acquisition, who clearly has both language and content objectives in each lesson. Research has found that in ESL content teaching the school curriculum can be a natural, motivating, hands-on way to acquire language through experimenting in science, solving problems in math, analyzing the community from a social studies perspective, exploring authentic children's literature, and reading and writing across the curriculum.

ESL content classes are often self-contained at the elementary school level for one to two years, with a gradual shift towards placing students in their age-appropriate grade-level classes. At the secondary school level, students attend classes in subjects that they need to graduate from high school, taught by dual-certified ESL teachers or by subject-matter specialists who have been trained in second-language acquisition. Throughout the eastern half of the United States, the term *ESL content* or *content ESL* is most often used for this type of program, whereas the West Coast, especially California, uses the term *sheltered instruction*, or more recently, *Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE)*. Sheltered instruction refers to a content subject (science, math, or social studies) taught to ESL students by a teacher who has certification in the content area being taught as well as specialized training in instructional strategies designed to meet the linguistic and cultural needs of English language learners. That teacher might also have certification in ESL or might team with an ESL teacher. Sheltered English instruction provides students with continuing English language development, access to the core curriculum, and opportunities for classroom interaction. It is based on the premise that language is best learned when it is taught as "comprehensible input" (Krashen, 1985) or instruction that is understandable. For instruction to be comprehensible, it must be specially designed to "make sense" to the students and to provide them with opportunities to participate in learning activities. Sheltered instruction also promotes the idea that instruction is best taught through context-embedded experience. In other words, students acquire second-language skills when these skills are taught in meaningful context and are not isolated from subject matter (Crawford, 1997, 1999; Glendale Unified School District, 1990; Northcutt Gonzales, 1994; Peregoy & Boyle, 1997; Valdez Pierce, 1988).

In sheltered English instruction, "meaning is conveyed not through language alone but with the help of gestures, body language, visual aids, demonstrations and hands-on experience" (Glendale Unified School District, 1990, p. 2). Other sheltered strategies include slow but natural levels of speech, clear enunciation, short, simple sentences, repetition and paraphrasing, controlled vocabulary and idioms, visual reinforcement, and frequent comprehension checks (Lessow-Hurley, 1996, p. 78).

ESL content teaching or sheltered instruction is much more effective than ESL pullout because students have access to more of the curriculum while they are

learning English. Sheltered instruction typically is a component of bilingual education programs, and serves as a bridge from an ESL class to an all-English academic content class. It is important to note, however, that it is the consensus of the research and practitioner literature on sheltered English instruction that this method is best used with students who have acquired an intermediate or advanced level of proficiency in English, particularly for classrooms in which English learners and mainstream students are present.

As with ESL pullout, sometimes mainstream staff and students may perceive ESL or sheltered content classes as remedial in nature, making it hard to undo the social stigma attached to the program. However, enrichment bilingual programs and other such innovations have successfully transformed the school community's perception of ESL content classes into "gifted" or "accelerated" curricula. The more teachers plan together to develop age-appropriate, cognitively complex, thematic ESL content lessons (to be discussed in the next chapter), the more students and the school community can come to view ESL as enrichment. On the issue of cost-effectiveness, if ESL content teachers are incorporated into the mainstream staff, providing ESL students access to the core curriculum, this model can be much more cost-effective than ESL pullout.

NEWCOMER PROGRAMS

Over the last several years, newcomer programs have been developed for newly arriving immigrant students in some school districts. These programs combine teaching ESL with content instruction, as well as some L₁ academic support when feasible, and they provide social service information to assist families with



adaptation to this country. For desegregation purposes, students are not generally kept in a separate newcomer program for more than one to two years.

“Structured Immersion”

Structured immersion is a misnamed program model that was promoted by English Only proponents with a political agenda in the early 1980s. The name was taken from Canadian immersion programs with the plan to implement immersion in the United States. But immersion programs in Canada are very strong bilingual programs with academic instruction through two languages for grades K through 12. The U.S. planners failed to implement the Canadian model, leaving out the crucial L₁ component, and providing instruction only in English. Thus, this is just another form of ESL content teaching in a self-contained class. The term *structured* was used to refer to highly structured materials that introduce students step-by-step to the English language, and the first materials used in the program, “Distar Reading, Language, and Arithmetic,” were designed for students with learning disabilities. In the first evaluations of this model, as ESL students moved through the grades their scores plummeted as they reached cognitively more complex work in fifth and sixth grades. As originally designed, “structured immersion” did not prove to be an effective program model because the materials did not match the natural second-language acquisition process, which is not sequential and is very complex (as will be seen in Chapter Four). ESL content classes using discovery learning across the curriculum have been much more effective than structured approaches to teaching language. It is unfortunate that antibilingual education ballot initiatives in California and Arizona have targeted young English language learners—the very group for whom a structured immersion model and sheltered English instruction is most problematic. School districts that dismantle their bilingual programs in favor of structured English immersion face both the legal and curricular challenge of providing English language learners with *full* access to the academic core content areas. Anything short of this may result in “watering down” the curriculum, thus denying students the equal education they are legally entitled to (Becijos, 1997; Crawford, 2000; Valdés, 2001).

Bilingual Education

Transitional or Early-Exit Bilingual Education

In transitional bilingual classes, students who are not yet proficient in English receive instruction in their native language in all subject areas as well as instruction in English as a second language, but only for a limited number of years (typically two to three), with a gradual transition to all-English instruction. Native language academic work is provided to keep students on grade level while they are learning English. Such a short-term program offers fewer opportunities to include English speakers, so this is generally a segregated model. The highest priority of most transitional bilingual programs is teaching English, with the goal of mainstreaming students into grade-level classes as soon as possible. In transitional bilingual programs, students have made greater gains than in ESL pullout programs, but students have

been much more academically successful in enrichment bilingual programs such as immersion, two-way, and developmental or late-exit (Ramírez, Yuen, Ramey, & Pasta, 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997).

The transitional model has many problems. As with ESL pullout, transitional bilingual classes are generally perceived as a remedial program, a lower track for slow students. Teachers complain that they feel so much pressure to implement all-English instruction that they have to water down the academic content in students' L₁ to have enough time to teach English, which lessens the cognitive complexity of the work in which students engage in either language. Transitional bilingual education is often perceived by staff and students as another form of segregated, compensatory education, which in general has had limited success in raising students' achievement scores. Some researchers and vocal minority groups criticize transitional bilingual instruction as another means of perpetuating the status quo of the society, keeping language-minority students in separate groups that are perceived as having low ability, thus maintaining their lower-class status (Hernández-Chávez, 1977; Kjolseth, 1972; Spener, 1988, Valdés, 2001).

Another major problem with the transitional model is the common misconception that two years is sufficient time to learn a second language for schooling purposes. All research findings in studies following students' long-term success show that the longer students remain in a quality bilingual program, the more they are able to reach academic parity with native English speakers and sustain the gains throughout the remainder of their schooling (Collier, 1992c; Thomas & Collier, 1997). The native English speaker is constantly gaining 10 months of academic growth in one school year. Thus students not yet proficient in English, who initially score very low on the tests in English (typically three or more years below grade level, because they cannot yet demonstrate in L₂ all that they actually know), have to outgain the native speaker by making 15 months' progress on the academic tests in L₂ (one and one-half years' academic growth) with each school year over a six-year period, in order to reach the typical performance level of the constantly advancing native English speaker. When students are allowed to keep up to grade level in academic work in their primary language for more than two to three years, they are able to demonstrate with each succeeding year that they are making more gains than the native English speaker and thus closing the "gap" in achievement as measured by tests in English. After five to six years of quality bilingual schooling, students are able to demonstrate their deep knowledge on the school tests in English as well as in their native language, achieving on or above grade level (Thomas & Collier, 1997).

Transitional bilingual education has generally been the main model for bilingual schooling implemented in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s. This model has been most widely supported by federal and state funding. Spener (1988) points out that this may be purposeful:

If U.S. society needs to recruit and prepare new candidates for a growing number of low-status, poorly compensated slots in the opportunity structure, transitional bilingual education programs for non-English-speaking immigrants may be construed by the majority as part of a "reasonable" set of educational policies for the nation. . . . Educational policy can serve to reinforce caste distinctions in the society by providing, more or less intentionally, non-White people with an inferior education.

In doing so, the educational system plays a role in creating a pool of adults who are "qualified" to be economically exploited, unemployed, or underemployed (p. 148).

Many researchers, including Spener, have found that enrichment models of bilingual schooling are much more effective for students' long-term academic success. The remaining models of bilingual schooling to be discussed below are all considered to be enrichment, additive models.

Maintenance or Late-Exit or Developmental Bilingual Education

The maintenance model, now generally referred to as developmental bilingual education, places less emphasis on exiting students from the bilingual program as soon as possible. Students in bilingual classes receive content-area instruction in both languages throughout their schooling, or for as many grades as the school system can provide. The large majority of maintenance bilingual programs implemented throughout the United States in the 1970s and 1980s were for grades K through 5 or K through 6, with no continuation at the middle school or high school level. For this reason, David Ramírez coined the term *late-exit* to refer to programs that were first developed as transitional bilingual models but were able to continue L₁ support through the end of the elementary school years. In a longitudinal study comparing structured immersion, early-exit bilingual education, and late-exit bilingual education, Ramírez found that students in the late-exit bilingual classes were the only ones reaching parity with native speakers on standardized tests in English (Ramírez, Yuen, Ramey, & Pasta, 1991). Other studies of maintenance or late-exit or developmental bilingual education have shown that high academic achievement can be demonstrated on tests in the second language after four to six years of bilingual schooling (Collier, 1992c; Cummins, 1996b; Thomas & Collier, 1997).

Ideally, maintenance or developmental bilingual education would include classes taught through both languages in a curriculum infused with a multicultural perspective for grades K through 12, with continuing dual language offerings at the university level. Realistically, the only way such programs might develop in the United States would be through the demands of English-speaking parents whose children attend two-way bilingual classes. Politically, the term *maintenance* prompted a flurry of political controversy back in the 1970s over how federal money should be spent, with some concern raised that native-language maintenance was not the task of the federal government (Epstein, 1977). However, maintenance bilingual education supported at the local level has become an issue of great political and economic significance for local communities that wish to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage, and it has created new pride and dramatic improvement in achievement in some bilingual Navajo schools in the Southwest (Cantoni, 1996; Reyhner, 1986). To avoid the politics associated with the term, most programs have shifted from the term *maintenance* to *developmental*. Another form of developmental bilingual education is dual-language or bilingual immersion, to be described next.

Bilingual Immersion, Two-Way Bilingual, or Dual-Language Education

The immersion model was originally developed in Canada in the 1960s for majority language students to receive their schooling through both French and English

from K through 12. The term *early total immersion* is used to refer to the initial immersion experience, in which 90 percent of the school day is in the *minority* language (the language less supported by the broader society), for kindergarten and first grade. Following the introduction of literacy and math through the minority language in grades K through 1, the majority language is introduced into the curriculum in grade 2 or 3, and time spent using the majority language gradually increases until the curriculum is taught equally through both languages by grade 4 or 5. This model, called the 90-10 model in the United States, is becoming increasingly popular for two-way programs, especially in California and now in Texas. For the English speakers it is a bilingual immersion program, emphasizing the minority language first, and for the language minority students it is a bilingual maintenance model, emphasizing their primary language first for literacy and academic development. Both groups stay together in this model throughout the school day and serve as peer tutors for each other. In research studies on this model in both Canada and the United States, academic achievement is very high for all groups of students participating in the program when compared to comparable groups receiving schooling only through English (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Dolson & Lindholm, 1995; Genesee, 1987; Lindholm, 1990; Lindholm & Aclan, 1991; Lindholm & Molina, 1998, 2000). The Case Studies schools in California followed this model with great success. (For a detailed description of the Case Studies schools, see Crawford, 1999.)

Another form of dual-language program that works well is the 50-50 model, in which half of the instructional time is in English and half of the instructional time is in the minority language for grades K through 12. In both the 90-10 and the 50-50 models, maintaining separation of languages is an important principle, and the appropriate percentage of instruction in each language is carefully planned. Lessons are never repeated or translated in the second language, but concepts taught in one language are reinforced across the two languages in a spiraling curriculum. Teachers might alternate the language of instruction by theme or subject area, by time of day, by day of the week, or by the week. If two teachers are teaming, each teacher represents one language. Two teachers would share and exchange two classes. This is a mainstream bilingual model and can be the most cost-effective of all models, if the same pupil-teacher ratio is followed as the desired pupil-teacher ratio for the whole school system.

The term **developmental bilingual education** was first introduced in the United States in the 1984 Title VII federal legislation as another way to describe this type of enrichment program, which is designed for both language minority students and native English speakers. This term emphasizes the linguistic, cognitive, and academic developmental processes in both L_1 and L_2 that are ongoing throughout the school years in a developmental, or dual-language, or two-way bilingual immersion program. All of these names are used for the same enrichment model. These enrichment bilingual programs are immensely successful in promoting all students' long-term academic achievement (Thomas & Collier, 1997).

As stated earlier, Stern (1963) coined the term *two-way* to differentiate between one language group being schooled bilingually (one-way bilingual education) and

two language groups being schooled bilingually through each other's languages (two-way bilingual education). Two-way bilingual programs integrate language minority and language majority students in a school setting that promotes full bilingual proficiency and high academic achievement for both groups of students. "By uniting these two groups of students, two-way bilingual programs help to expand our nation's overall language competence by conserving and enhancing the language resources that minority students bring to school with them and promoting the learning of other languages by English speakers" (Christian, 1994, p. 3). Criteria for success in two-way bilingual education include a minimum of four to six years of bilingual instruction, focus on the core academic curriculum, quality language arts instruction in both languages, separation of the two languages for instruction, use of the non-English language for at least 50 percent of the instructional time (to a maximum of 90 percent in the early grades), an additive bilingual environment that has full support of school administrators, a balanced ratio of students who speak each language (e.g., 50 to 50 or 60 to 40, preferably not to go below 70 to 30), promotion of positive interdependence among peers and between teachers and students, high-quality instructional personnel, and active parent-school partnerships (Lindholm, 1990). Two-way programs are growing in number and in the diversity of languages taught (Christian & Whitcher, 1995). This is a promising enrichment model for bilingual schooling, and an effective way of promoting school reform (Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000; Dolsen & Lindholm, 1995; Lindholm & Aclan, 1991; Lindholm & Molina, 1998, 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Thomas & Collier, 1997).

Education, as a bridge, should enhance communication, understanding, and human potential for language minority and language majority students alike. Although this is not an easy task, teachers have no choice but to continue exploring and growing as cross-cultural mediators for their language minority students. For, as the Mexican novelist, Carlos Fuentes (1992), puts it, "Cultures only flourish in contact with others; they perish in isolation" (p. 346).

SUMMARY

This chapter focuses on the importance of getting to know the lived experiences of our language minority students as a *sine qua non* for creating exciting and academically promising teaching and learning classroom environments. Because the essence of life is often captured through personal narratives, the chapter opened with Carmen's story as a way to invite the reader to partake vicariously in the complex set of geographic, social, economic, religious, linguistic, academic, and emotional experiences surrounding his life.

Attempting to unpack the bilingual and English-as-a-second language (ESL) knapsack, the chapter then explains the symbiotic relationship between the different types of dual language instruction and ESL programs vis-à-vis state regulations and guidelines, school district policies, community support, and the composition of each local school population.



Go to the Online Learning Center at www.mhhe.com/ovando4e to access the Student Study Guide with practice quizzes, Web links, and PowerWeb articles and newsfeeds.

Buttressed by policy statements from TESOL, the chapter recommends a set of instructional practices affirming the positive role of primary language in the cognitive, social, and emotional development of the students. TESOL also affirms research findings suggesting that the acquisition of English as a second language is an extended and complex process that is situated in sociocultural, political, pedagogical, ideological, and demographic contexts.

Since the mid-twentieth century, U.S. society has become increasingly multicultural and multilingual. Before 1965, when Congress terminated the national-origins quota system, Europe was the major source of immigrants to the United States. By the 1980s, however, 85 percent of immigrants to this country were coming from Third World countries (Crawford, 1992b, p. 3). These population changes—or “demographic imperative”—have produced large numbers of students whose first language is not English. Yet most teachers unfortunately tend not to be well prepared to work effectively with these students. Hence, a challenge in the preparation of teachers for this millennium will be to address the “growing mismatch between the background of teachers and the students they will be teaching” (Applebome, 1966, p. 22).

Language minority students represent a huge variety of sociocultural, economic, political, linguistic, and academic experiences. Thus educators need to become familiar with the push and pull forces that have produced these migration patterns to the United States. Equally important, however, language minority educators need to understand the historical facts and events that have shaped the attitudes and behaviors of indigenous populations towards assimilation and schooling practices in the United States. Too often stigmatized indigenous languages and cultures are seen as problems in school and society rather than as resources or as rights in our democratic and pluralistic society.

This chapter has suggested ways to affirm the lived experiences of our language minority students—their cultures, their social contexts, and prior schooling experience. Anchored in these past contexts, schools can then provide teaching and learning environments that maximize and take advantage of the plurality of experiences to create exciting teaching and learning challenges and opportunities for all of our students, not only those who speak Standard English and come from middle and upper class backgrounds.

KEY TERMS

Bilingual Education Act, 8	National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), 13
Developmental bilingual education, 41, 42	Structured English immersion, 39
English as a second language (ESL), 8, 9, 10	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), 10
English language learner (ELL), 9	Transitional bilingual education (early-exit bilingual education), 39
ESL content (or sheltered) classes), 10	Two-way, dual-language, or bilingual immersion education, 41
Indigenous or heritage language, 9	
Limited English proficient (LEP), 14	

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

1. According to the authors there is an important relationship between social class and academic achievement. Explain how the interplay between these two variables might impact the academic performance of foreign-born language minority students.
2. How might the previous schooling experiences of immigrant children (or, indeed, of their parents) influence these children's performance in an American classroom? For example, if students have been exposed in their home countries to instruction that emphasizes rote memorization or passive learning, how might they react to the student-centered, problem-solving, or inquiry-driven approaches that characterize many American classrooms? More importantly, how would you—as their teacher—help ease their transition into the American educational system?
3. Consider the cases of Beto and Mee described on page 21. Why would content-area instruction in Spanish be more appropriate for Beto than an ESL-based curriculum? Similarly, why would Mee likely excel in ESL, with little or no support in Korean? What are the *pedagogical* and *policy* implications of these two cases for language minority education? Finally, although Mee might benefit from ESL instruction, while Beto would not, why is it critical for teachers to guard against a “model minority” stereotype of Asian or Pacific Islander students that portrays them as smart and hardworking?
4. Why do the authors argue that the loss of an ancestral or heritage language has cultural, emotional, or academic consequences for language minority students? How might students' schooling experiences with “subtractive bilingualism” lead to the loss of their first languages?
5. Why do you think that sheltered English instruction has become fashionable with English Only proponents?
6. As a teacher, how might you use narratives as a way to get to know your students, parents, and community members?

RESOURCES

Immigration and Demographics

Portes, A., & R. Rumbaut. *Immigrant America*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

- *Immigrant America* is a synthesis of “where we stand theoretically and empirically with respect to questions of immigration and ethnicity in the United States.” The authors give a compelling analysis of the distinctive features of the new immigration dynamics.

Suárez-Orozco, C., & M. M. Suárez. *Children of immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

- *Children of Immigration* addresses how immigrant children fare in America. Departing from the premise that one-fifth of all school-age children in America are children of immigrants (in New York City the rate is 18 percent and they speak over 100 languages), the

authors discuss the socioeducational implications resulting from such a reality and answer questions such as “What thought has American society given to the special needs of these students?” “Have we done anything to accommodate them?” “What have they experienced?”

Social Class, Parental Education, and Academic Achievement

Larreau, A. *Home advantage: Social class and parental intervention in elementary education*. 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

- *Home Advantage* examines issues of social class and parent involvement in schooling, as well as issues of interconnectedness/separation between family and