Bilingual and ESL Classrooms

Teaching in Multicultural Contexts

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BILINGUAL AND ESL CLASSROOMS: TEACHING IN MULTICULTURAL CONTEXTS,
FIFTH EDITION

To the memory of my ancestors,
who passed on to me
their cultural and linguistic heritage and
adventurous spirit,
and for my father.

—Carlos J. Ovando

To my current and future students at the University of Arizona, and to Claudia,
Sarah María, and Amilcar.

—Mary Carol Combs

About the Authors
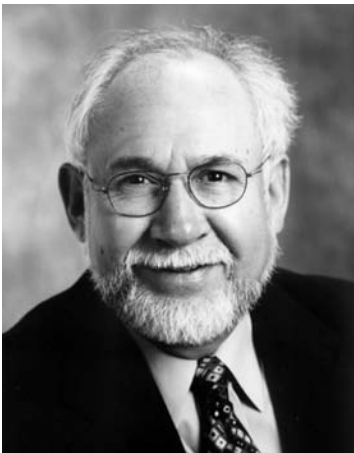
CARLOS J. OVANDO is professor in the School of Transborder Studies, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, at Arizona State University. He coordinates the master's degree program in the social and philosophical foundations and a multisection undergraduate course titled Culture and Schooling. He also teaches graduate and undergraduate courses addressing issues on language policy, culture and schooling, bilingual education, applied research, and curriculum and instruction. He was an advisor for the Initiative of the Americas office of the vice president for university school partnerships and College of Education—office of the dean, Arizona State University. He has served as associate dean for teacher education and director for the Division of Curriculum and Instruction. Prior to joining the faculty at Arizona State University, he served as chair of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at Indiana University, Bloomington, and he served as director of the Bilingual Education Program. Professor Ovando received his PhD in Curriculum and Instruction and International Comparative Education from Indiana University. A former high school Spanish teacher, his research, teaching, and service focus on factors that contribute to the academic achievement of language minority students and ethnically diverse groups. He has served as guest editor of two special issues of *Educational Research Quarterly* and contributed to the first and second editions of the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education.* In addition, Professor Ovando has published in the following venues: *Educational Researcher, Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education*, *Peabody Journal of Education, Bilingual Research Journal, Phi Delta Kappan, Educational Leadership,*

Kappan Delta Pi Record, Race Ethnicity and Education, *World Yearbook 2003: Language Education* (Kogan Page/Thompson), and the *Harvard Educational Review*. His books include: (with Virginia P. Collier and Mary Carol Combs) *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms: Teaching in Multicultural Contexts,* 4th ed. (McGraw-Hill, 2006; fifth edition in press); (with Peter McLaren) *The Politics of Multiculturalism and Bilingual Education:Teachers and Students Caught in the Cross Fire* (McGraw-Hill, 2000); and (with Colleen Larson) *The Color of Bureaucracy: The Politics of Equity in Multicultural School Communities* (Thompson/Wadsworth, 2001).

In partnership with the Paulo Freire Institute at UCLA, he continues to be involved with a research initiative examining how globalization has affected educational reform in K–12 and higher education systems in several countries in Latin America, North America, Europe, and Asia. The countries selected to date for the study are the United States, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and China. Professor Ovando has served as a consultant on English as an international language for the regional English offices of U.S. embassies in Mexico, Costa Rica (cosponsored by Costa Rica Multilingüe, a national language planning and implementation initiative sponsored by the Casa Presidencial of Costa Rica), and Peru (cosponsored by the Fulbright Commission). He is currently researching globalization and equity issues within south-to-south migration patterns, especially in Central America.

Professor Ovando has given presentations in Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Egypt, England, Guam, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Puerto Rico, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Spain, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States. He has been a professor of education at Indiana University, Oregon State University, the University of Alaska, Anchorage, and the University of Southern California. He has also been a visiting scholar at the Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica (Instituto de Estudios Latinoamericanos) and the University of Washington, Seattle. He has worked with Chicanos, Mexican nationals, Athabascan Indians, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, African Americans, Southwestern Indians, Chamorros, Costa Ricans, and Nicaraguans. He is the recipient of two Teaching Excellence Recognition awards from the School of Education at Indiana University. In recognition of his commitment to education and support for the Latino community, Professsor Ovando also received the 2010 Indiana University Distinguished Latino Alumni Association Award. He has served as a Discipline Peer Review Committee member for the Fulbright Specialists Program as well as on the selection committee for the Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program. He also serves on the Truman Scholarship selection committee at The Barrett Honors College at Arizona State University. Professor Ovando has served on various editorial boards, including the *American Educational Research Journal* (AERJ), the *Bilingual Research Journal,* and the *International Multilingual Research Journal* (consultant editor). Born in Nicaragua, Carlos Ovando immigrated to the United States in his preteen years and has therefore experienced firsthand many of the academic, sociocultural, and emotional issues that confront language minority students in the United States. He is a naturalized citizen of the United States.

MARY CAROL COMBS is an adjunct associate professor of practice in the Department of Teaching, Learning, and Sociocultural Studies, at the University of Arizona. She teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in language policy, bilingual and multicultural education, and sheltered English/English as a second language instructional methodologies. Dr. Combs's academic interests include bilingual education policy and law, language planning, indigenous language revitalization and development, and bilingual and ESL teacher preparation. She is currently conducting research on the literacy development of young immigrant children in Structured English Immersion classrooms. Dr. Combs is the former director of the English Plus Information Clearinghouse, a national clearinghouse on language rights and public policy based in Washington, D.C., and she remains active in national networks concerned with policy developments in bilingual education.

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*Written and contributed by James Crawford.

Preface

This fifth edition of *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms* is a very different text from the first, second, third, and fourth editions published in 1985, 1998, 2003, and 2006, respectively. Since the release of the first three editions, the field has matured dramatically, and the research knowledge upon which it is based has expanded enormously. We think this is good news! In writing this fifth edition, we have worked hard to continue providing an accurate, carefully written, and detailed overview of our field and the research on which it is based.

The major goal of this book continues to be to take a comprehensive look at research, policy, and evidence-grounded effective practices in U.S. schools for students who are from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. The demographic predictions still are that students with close connections to their bilingual/bicultural heritages (now labeled "English language learners" by the federal government, with this label being widely used in the field) will be very large in number in the near future, becoming the majority in many states over the next two decades (see Chapter 1). Thus, we educators urgently need to provide appropriate, meaningful, and effective schooling for these students, who too often have been underserved by U.S. schools. This book speaks to all educators, with the goal of providing rich examples of effective practices and their underlying research knowledge base.

Audience

We feel that it is the responsibility of all educators, not just specialists, to prepare themselves to work with language minority students. Therefore, *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms* is written for both preservice and experienced educators serving grades pre-K through 12—mainstream, bilingual, ESL, and special education teachers, as well as administrators, school counselors, and educational policymakers.

We have written this book to serve a variety of purposes. For example, the book can be used for introductory courses in bilingual/multicultural/ESL education such as foundations of bilingual education, methods of teaching ESL, methods of teaching in bilingual education, multicultural education courses designed to introduce teachers to issues in cultural diversity, and education leadership courses that prepare principals to serve in schools with culturally and linguistically diverse students. This book also may be used for ongoing staff development, to update teachers and administrators on the extensive research base and its implications for practice in the field of bilingual/multicultural/ESL education. Likewise, graduate and undergraduate students alike can use the book as a comprehensive reference on research, policy, and practice in our field. The book also can be used by bilingual/ESL faculty as a professional reference for mainstream teacher education faculty, providing an overview of our field.

Balance of Theory and Practice

In the chapters of this book we weave theories of bilingualism, second-language acquisition, cultural transmission, content integration, assessment of language minority students, bilingual special education, policy and practice, and community relations. To examine and to bring to life the necessary interplay between theory and classroom application, we include engaging vignettes of students and teachers, and instructional guidelines features, and thought-provoking questions at the end of each chapter. Throughout the book we have emphasized that language and culture are integral components of the instructional process in all classes for all students, and that instruction should be provided in a warm, supportive sociocultural environment that stimulates students' continuous linguistic, cognitive, and academic development.

We believe that bilingualism and the accompanying intercultural awareness is a source of great human richness *and enlightenment among nations operating in the international arena*. All the students we serve are learning formally and informally how to deal with the multiple worlds they live in at home and at school. Educators, through the quality of education that they provide, represent an important bridge to students' success in benefiting fully from the multiple languages and cultures they are experiencing. As with the first, second, third, and fourth editions, this fifth edition emphasizes the integration of ESL and bilingual education. Bilingual and ESL staff members serve the same student populations, coordinate programs and resources jointly, and often receive comparable professional training. Likewise, we envision schools where all staffs work together, collaborating for the benefit of all students, rather than schools that operate separate, isolated programs. Everything in this book can be applied to all students and all educators, to enrich the schooling experience for staff and students together.

CLASSROOM FOCUS

Because of our desire to engage undergraduate and graduate students with the complex pedagogical issues we cover, we have developed several features designed to aid readers in seeing the relevance of the theory to the classroom.

Chapter-Opening Vignettes and Quotes

Each chapter begins with a short vignette or quote chosen for its relevance to the material to follow.

Integrated Voices

Throughout the chapters, the voices of ELLs and parents are integrated (and highlighted through a special text treatment) in order to share their experiences.

Guidelines for Teaching

This feature, which was introduced in the third edition, provides practical, "how to" information for classroom teachers. These boxes highlight topics such as Recommendations to School Personnel about the Use of L_1 at Home, Guiding Principles for Choosing Technology, and Appropriate Test Use for Language Minority Students (from the National Research Council).

Reflection Questions

Each chapter concludes with questions designed to help readers synthesize and reflect upon what they have read and to think about it in the context of the classroom.

TERMINOLOGY

Recognizing that the first four editions of this book have been used over the past 25 years as a foundation book for many teacher education programs for certifying bilingual and ESL teachers, in this fifth edition we have worked very hard again to utilize the most widely used but politically sensitive terminology in our field wherever possible. Over the years, many terms have been used in U.S. schools that have been offensive, derogatory, demeaning, or inaccurate in describing a given student population or education program. Throughout the book, with endnotes, we explain our chosen use of terms when there is variation in usage. We ask that educators continue to listen to the voices of the varying culturally and linguistically diverse communities that our schools serve and to be sensitive to lessened use of terms that offend or misrepresent the richness of all peoples' heritages (see Crawford, 2004, p. xxi for an excellent discussion on the elusive quest on finding a so-called "perfect label" for students whose mother tongue is not English).

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The text is organized into 10 chapters:

Chapter 1: Students   This introductory chapter defines the focus of the book: linguistically and culturally diverse students attending U.S. schools. Through poignant and personal examples, the authors guide educators in discovering the complexity and richness of these students' life experiences. Among the topics explored in this chapter are the soaring demographics driving changes in schools, the sociocultural home and school contexts surrounding language minority students, and the emotional, linguistic, and academic experiences these students face in school. In this fifth edition, we have also moved the following topics from the Program Models section in Chapter 2 to Chapter 1—Use of the Primary Language of Language Minority Students—Enrichment or Remediation? We did so in order to strengthen internal conceptual and applied congruity between the two chapters as well as to open space in Chapter 2 to update the research evidence related to ESL Content, or Sheltered English Instruction.

Chapter 2: Policy and Programs   Crucial reading for school administrators, written in the context of the current school reform movement, this chapter provides a policy overview of the development of the field of bilingual/ESL education in the United States. The chapter begins with a section on the politics of the English Only movement and discusses state-level antibilingual ballot initiatives. The authors then analyze federal and state policies of the past four decades in language minority education, including legislation and court decisions, with a look to the future. At the local educational level, the types of programs designed to serve language minority students largely influence school policy. New to this chapter is a thorough analysis of the No Child Left Behind (PL 107–110, 115 Stat.1425, 2002) legislation and its concomitant requirement: adequate yearly progress (AYP) and English language learners. The chapter concludes that No Child Left Behind, the most recent authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, eliminated the Bilingual Education Act outright, replacing it with "Title III, Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students." The new legislation emphasizes English acquisition and achievement, not the development of bilingualism and biliteracy. James Crawford contributed to this chapter.

Chapter 3: Teaching   Opening up with the personal story of North Carolina's Teacher of the Year, who happens to be an ESL teacher, this chapter is designed for teachers, as well as administrators who supervise teachers and staff development personnel. The authors define the active, inquiry-based, interdisciplinary teaching style that is promoted throughout this book as a means to high student achievement, based on research on school effectiveness with culturally and linguistically diverse learners. Among the teaching strategies explored in this chapter are cooperative learning, critical pedagogy, and interdisciplinary, multisensory lessons, using as examples art, technology, and music incorporated into instruction that connects to students' lives inside and outside school.

Chapter 4: Language   The language and culture chapters (4 and 5) provide the deep research foundation for the unique resources that language minority students bring to the classroom from their close connections to their bilingual/bicultural heritages. The authors present a comprehensive review of current research on first- and second-language acquisition for school, including linguistic, sociocultural, and cognitive processes that influence language acquisition. This chapter also contains a new section about the contribution of sociocultural theory to second language teaching and learning. The second half of the chapter addresses current approaches to teaching English as a second language, teaching language arts in a bilingual classroom, and infusing the teaching of language and multicultural literature across the full curriculum.

Chapter 5: Culture   This second foundational chapter provides the crucial research base on culture and the integral role it plays in schooling students of diverse linguistic and cultural heritages. Rejecting superficial views of culture, the authors present an in-depth review of anthropological views of culture contrasted with popular perspectives, cultural transmission, biculturalism, acculturation, assimilation, cultural pluralism, and multicultural education. The chapter also covers issues of marked and unmarked languages and cultures, stereotypes, ethnocentrism, cultural relativity, cultural difference theories, socioeconomic and political factors, cultural compatibility studies, sociocultural theory, and knowledge construction studies.

Chapter 6: Mathematics and Science   This chapter explores the current school reform movement in the teaching of mathematics and science and its application to language minority students and their diverse needs. Using the rich resources that can emerge in student contexts with linguistic and cultural diversity, the authors demonstrate through many examples the integration of cognitively rich mathematics and science content with the development and enrichment of students' knowledge base in first and second languages and cultures. Included are examples for using school and community resources and a review of resources for the teaching of multicultural science and math programs. Because the fields of mathematics and science represent "cultural capital" for our students in the school curriculum, the chapter argues that all students be provided with opportunities to access content in these areas.

Chapter 7: Social Studies   This chapter opens with Lou Ann Merkle's poem—*From the Other Side*—echoing an art teacher's spontaneous reaction to the terrorists' attack on the World Trade Center in New York City on September 11, 2001, and provides teachers with practical strategies for the teaching of social studies integrated with language and culture. In the school reform context, the authors illustrate the power of social studies for cognitively challenging, linguistically rich, and culturally meaningful lessons. The authors provide rich practical examples for tapping community knowledge and resources for multicultural and global perspectives in social studies.

Chapter 8: Assessment   Written for school administrators, bilingual and ESL teachers, as well as teachers working in mainstream settings, this new chapter by

Lorraine Valdez Pierce provides an overview of assessment decisions in bilingual/ESL education, including federal and state policies. Topics include identification of culturally and linguistically diverse students, assessment practices upon entry into a school system, placement decisions, ongoing authentic classroom assessment, assessment for exit or reclassification when needed, accountability for individual student progress, and program evaluation. New to this chapter is an analysis of No Child Left Behind legislation vis-à-vis assessment of English language learners.

Chapter 9: Bilingual Special Education   This chapter, written by Theresa Ochoa, begins with a vignette of Andrés and then offers a definition of bilingual special education. It also includes a concise analysis of court cases directly related to the assessment and placement of English language learners into special education programs. Special education researcher Theresa Ochoa acknowledges the legitimate concern of historical overrepresentation of language minority students in special education programs, but unabashedly asserts that special education *is* appropriate for some English language learners. Ochoa articulates the formidable challenges faced by general educators who work with English language learners experiencing sustained academic difficulties. She asks special education educators and policymakers alike to consider whether those difficulties are related to second-language acquisition or to cognitive deficiencies.

Chapter 10: School and Community   Written for all educators—administrators, teachers, and counselors—this final chapter captures the celebration of school and community collaboration when schools begin to recognize the potential for deeper learning in partnership with their local communities of diverse linguistic and cultural heritages. The chapter provides varied examples of rich school and community partnerships that have transformed schools for the benefit of all—students, parents, educators, policymakers, and the community.

New Coverage in the Fifth Edition

This new edition presents updated research on and expanded coverage of key issues related to the education of English language learners in the United States such as continuing controversies and findings in demographics, the impact of globalization on K–12 public schooling, evidence-driven teaching practices, white normativity, using technologies developed for language minority populations, making sense of Census 2000, and achievement levels of ELLs in math and science. More specifically, this fifth edition includes:

- **Expanded coverage of the No Child Left Behind legislation.** The discussion of No Child Left Behind legislation and its implications for bilingual learners and ELLs has been expanded and integrated throughout the text. Included in this new coverage is information on the evolution of Title VII (The Bilingual Education Act) into Title III (The English Language

Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act), new Title III funding formulas for school districts serving English language learners, its implications for English language learners, including language arts and content areas.

- **An expanded and updated "Human Face of Bilingual Students and ELLs."** Carlos's story has been expanded (with a new ending!) and transformed into the text's Prologue. Changing demographics are presented through the personal story of Lizbeth Alfaro, an ESL teacher-of-the-year from Costa Rica. Mary's story is accompanied by her favorite teaching strategies, providing insight into an effective teacher's experience in the classroom.

- **A revised assessment chapter.** Written by Lorraine Valdez Pierce, a leading authority on assessment for language minority students, this chapter provides the latest research and information for bilingual and ESL teachers, as well as teachers of language minority students in mainstream settings. The chapter has been revised to include expanded coverage of authentic assessment, standardized testing, and linking instructions and assessment to No Child Left Behind legislation. Additionally, more real examples have been added to illustrate concepts discussed.

- **A revised chapter on special education.** In this chapter, Theresa Ochoa brings her expertise in the education of culturally and linguistically diverse students to a discussion of the unique needs of bilingual and ESL students with sustained academic difficulties. The chapter has been revised to include more information on special education populations, IDEA, and No Child Left Behind legislation.

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Acknowledgments

FOREWORD

In 1985, when Carlos Ovando and Virginia Collier introduced the first edition of this book, bilingual education had an established track record in the United States and a growing body of research attesting to its effectiveness. In their remarkably comprehensive treatment of the subject, Ovando and Collier offered a detailed but highly readable examination of bilingual and ESL student characteristics—the historical development of the field, program models, assessment, the role of language and culture in bilingual and ESL program planning, and concrete strategies for teaching math, science, social studies, music, and art to second-language learners. But the 1980s were also marked by what the authors called the "ups and downs of the politics of bilingual education," as the Reagan administration curtailed bilingual program spending, the Official English movement took root, and heated and conflicting media portrayals served to confuse rather than enlighten the public on the issues.

A generation has passed since the publication of the first edition, and Mary Carol Combs, who contributed to the third and fourth editions, has joined Carlos Ovando as the book's primary coauthor in this updated fifth edition. Readers could not ask for a more knowledgeable, expert, or internationally acclaimed writing team. The book you now hold in your hands has become a national best seller and a "must read" for all who venture into the field of bilingual, ESL, and multicultural education. For seasoned veterans of the field, it remains an indispensable resource.

Yet much of the same "up and down politics" noted by Ovando and Collier in 1985 continues to characterize bilingual and ESL education. As Ovando, Collier, and Combs pointed out in an earlier edition, "Popular attitudes about the field rarely stem from scientific understanding of second-language acquisition or pedagogy; yet they have exerted a major influence on policy-makers" (2003, p. 43). And so, 25 years after this book first appeared in print, it is appropriate to pause and take stock: How far has the field of bilingual and ESL education come? How are English language learners faring in U.S. schools? What can we learn from the vast

store of accumulated knowledge—much of it contained within the covers of this book—to inform education policy and practice? With linguistic and cultural diversity in the nation's schools increasing exponentially, and on the cusp of the reauthorization of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation, finding pedagogically and morally sound answers to these questions is crucial to our collective future.

First, what we know from decades of research in the field: Students who enter school with a primary language other than English perform significantly better on academic tasks when they receive consistent, cumulative, content-rich academic support in their native language. The most exhaustive study to document this was undertaken by Wayne Thomas and Virginia Collier over a period of 14 years, and reported in 1997. For 700,000 students representing 15 languages and five different school systems, the most significant predictor of academic success—defined as English learners achieving full parity with native-English speakers in all subjects (not only English) in five to six years—was schooling for four to seven years in their primary language. More important, these findings held true for children who entered school with little or no English exposure, children raised bilingually from birth, or children who spoke English as their primary language and who were learning their heritage language as a second language. These findings are supported by a wealth of studies from around the world. In a recent study of thousands of students and hundreds of schools in multilingual Ethiopia, for example, Kathleen Heugh and her associates found that students who have the benefit of mother tongue instruction for the full length of their primary schooling (eight years) perform as well as or better than their peers in English-only classrooms on assessments of English, science, and mathematics. Heugh et al. (2007, p. 81) point out that students "who learn in their mother tongue can interact with the teacher, with each other, and with the curricular content in ways that promote effective and efficient learning." Throughout the world, these researchers conclude, "students who study in their mother tongue are better able to learn to read and write efficiently, understand mathematical concepts, and develop high levels of academic competence, than those who are not able to study in the mother tongue" (2007, p. 27).

If research findings such as these are well known and widespread, equally well known are the statistics documenting deep and persistent education disparities for English learners in U.S. schools. My own research has been conducted in collaboration with indigenous communities and schools. Compared with their white mainstream peers, Native American students are 73 percent more likely to be placed in remedial education programs and 117 percent more likely to leave school without a high school degree (National Caucus of Native American State Legislators, 2008). As we read in the present volume, similar disparities are evident for immigrant and other marginalized students. According to education researchers Patricia Gandara and Megan Hopkins, these students "struggle in school more than any other group of students except those who have been identified for special education," falling "far behind other children on virtually all academic measures" (2010, p. 11). The title of their book, *Forbidden Language,* suggests a disturbingly potent force in perpetuating these inequities: the exclusion of students' home language and culture in school.

Despite this extensive research base, federal education policy continues to promote an exclusionary, monolingualist, and monoculturalist approach. Indeed, the term "bilingual" was expunged from the NCLB legislation, with the former Bilingual Education Act replaced by the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act; the unit responsible for its administration renamed the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students; and the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education was reconstituted as the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition. High-stakes English-only testing has been a hallmark of the past decade of federal education policy. While this may be tempered in NCLB's intended legislative successor, "Race to the Top," the standardization and English-only movements are not likely to abate. Races seldom end with everyone represented equally at the finish line. The "up and down politics" continue, with English learners caught in between.

In this educational and political environment, the fifth edition of *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms* is more timely than ever. In their extensively updated text, Professors Ovando and Combs provide educators with evidence-based strategies to address federal policy mandates while affording instruction that builds on learners' prior knowledge, affirms their cultural and academic identities, promotes equity and excellence, and characterizes by a pedagogy of caring. These are precisely the qualities described by the senior author in "Carlos's Story," when, after years of demeaning English-only schooling, the young Carlos Ovando encountered a teacher who encouraged his mother tongue and taught him "important lessons about caring."

"Carlos's Story" and this book illuminate the transformative potential of a genuinely responsive pedagogy. To further illustrate this point, I close with a parallel story. In a small town in officially English-only Arizona, where a third of the schoolchildren are Latino and a quarter are Native American, there is a K-6 public magnet school called Puente de Hozho. The school's name comes from the Spanish words *puente de* (bridge of) and the Navajo *hozho,* meaning beauty or harmony. Translated into English, the school's name is Bridge of Beauty. As described by the school district's bilingual and ESL program director, Dr. Michael Fillerup, the school's goal is to "harmonize without homogenizing" by creating an environment in which children from diverse language and culture backgrounds "learn harmoniously together while pursuing 'the Power of Two,' the ability to speak, read, and write proficiently in two languages" (Fillerup, 2010, p. 1). The school offers two parallel bilingual programs: a conventional dual immersion model in which native Spanish-speaking and native English-speaking students are taught jointly for a half day in each language, and one-way Navajo immersion in which English-dominant Navajo students are taught for most of the day in Navajo, their heritage language. Bilingualism and bi-/multiculturalism are central, not auxiliary, to the school curriculum. As one teacher explained to me: "The school itself represents real life. English is taught, Spanish is taught, Navajo is taught, and that really is how the world is." When children leave the school, she added, "they know that out there, there will be children speaking Spanish and English . . . and it's OK. It's OK to be different."

Puente de Hozho has consistently met state and national standards for adequate yearly progress (AYP). In fact, its students outperform their peers in monolingual English schools. Just as important are the less quantifiable but equally consequential program effects: enhanced student motivation, self-esteem, and, as Fillerup puts it, the "smiles on the faces of parents, grandparents, and students as they communicate in the language of their ancestors" (2005, p. 16).

In the present volume, Ovando and Combs offer educators ways to build "bridges of beauty" between diverse English learners' home backgrounds and the language and culture of the school. In so doing, they help us navigate the often treacherous "up and down" political terrain in which bilingual and ESL education resides. For Ovando and Combs, the starting and ending points in traversing this terrain are the learners themselves. By keeping our eyes fixed on the learners and, in the authors' words, the "great human richness" they bring with them to school, we can enrich and transform education for all.

Teresa McCarty
Phoenix, March 2010

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Carlos's Story

The oldest of nine children, I immigrated to Corpus Christi, Texas, from Nicaragua with my family in 1955, after a three-year residency in Guatemala and about a year in Saltillo, Mexico. There, my paternal grandmother, a younger brother and sister, and I waited for my father, who had left us behind while he and another part of his family preceded us to the United States. As for many other immigrants from Latin America, Mexico for us was a stepping-stone to the richer and freer United States. According to my father, the primary reason for our move was freedom of religion and better economic and social conditions for the family. In other words, necessity and opportunity were the push-and-pull forces that propelled us to the United States.

As a member of this family, I not only shared the primary cultural and linguistic patterns from Nicaragua but also had values from both the Catholic and Protestant faiths. Nicaraguan language, food, and other cultural patterns continued for many years to dominate the socialization practices in my home. I did not, however, experience a deliberate push from my parents to achieve academically in my new country. For example, I do not recall my parents ever asking to see my report cards or expressing interest in visiting my school to talk to my teachers about which classes I should take or to find out how I was doing in my classes. As is the case with many other newly arrived immigrants, it may be that while my parents were tacitly interested in my academic well-being, they did not know how or were apprehensive to enter an unfamiliar American school. It could also be that because they were so involved in their own economic, linguistic, emotional, and economic survival, they entrusted their children's academic and peer socialization to school personnel—*los maestros son los padres de los estudiantes afuera del hogar*/teachers serve as in loco parentis (Larson & Ovando, 2001).

In those years, schooling practices in south Texas for language minority students like me were of the sink-or-swim variety. Although already about 14 years old, I was placed in the sixth grade upon arrival in Texas. Unable to make sense of what was going on in the classroom that year, I was retained. I also received my

first paddling from the school principal, Mr. Hamshire, for speaking Spanish to an Anglo female student sitting next to me. While I was beginning to pick up English for social purposes after a few months of being exposed to it, my expressive skills were virtually nonexistent. Moreover, I was having a great deal of difficulty mastering the more abstract academic English that is necessary to do well in school—a process that some second-language acquisition researchers claim may take up to seven years in optimally supportive sociolinguistic and schooling contexts (Cummins, 2000).

Such troublesome initial contact with the U.S. cultural experience in the schools made me question who I was and why we had left the cultural and linguistic safety of Nicaragua and Latin America for a strange and at times cold and hostile society. Why was I punished for speaking Spanish on school grounds? Why did many of my Mexican American schoolmates seem ashamed of speaking Spanish or reluctant to do so? Why did many such students speak only English? Why did Mexican Americans, African Americans, and European Americans (commonly referred to as Anglos in south Texas) live in segregated neighborhoods and attend segregated schools? Why were there separate drinking fountains for "Coloreds" and "Whites," and which fountain should I use? Was I stupid for not appropriating the English language quickly enough to keep up with my classmates? Why was I in classes with students who were much younger and more immature than I was? Oh, how I longed in those days to show my teachers and classmates what I knew in Spanish! I wish I could have been able to answer my teacher's questions in class to let my classmates know that I was intelligent and liked class discussions and ideas.

Feeling alone in a strange world, having flunked sixth grade, I withdrew into a shell and began to entertain self-doubts about my intellectual abilities and my Latin American heritage. Slowly, however, I rediscovered within myself the primary cultural, linguistic, cognitive, and athletic gifts that I had brought with me to the United States. I remember reassuring myself that I had once been an able student who had many friends and was good in sports. As I came to grips with who I was in this new sociocultural and linguistic reality, a big change occurred when my family moved from south Texas to Defiance, Ohio, about two years after entering the United States. In the new setting, suddenly the Spanish sounds and Latin American cultural patterns so ubiquitous in south Texas took a backseat to the English and European American norms of northern Ohio. Now I had no choice but to choose my friends from the English-speaking world, and I felt simultaneously afraid and excited.

Increasingly, I saw myself becoming integrated socially, academically, and linguistically into another world that I did not fully understand but that pulled me to its epicenter. I made the varsity baseball team as a high school freshman in a competitive sports program, and it felt good to be recognized for doing something well. As it turned out, organized sports became a great peer equalizer and a source of ego strength for me. Academically, however, most teachers appeared color-blind and insensitive to my newcomer status to the United States (see Nieto, 2004). I often felt invisible in the school environment (Olsen, 1997).

My academic career took a different path when somebody in the Mennonite church congregation saw me coming out of a pool hall and told my father. Soon after that, in the hope of saving me from a life of sin, my father sent me to a private Mennonite high school in northern Indiana. There, I worked for my room and board, improved my conversational skills in English, and learned important lessons from the Mennonite community about the work ethic and about caring. One very culturally and linguistically sensitive teacher at the Mennonite school encouraged me to maintain and improve my Spanish, and this encouragement eventually led to my receiving second place in a statewide competition in Spanish. I subsequently received several scholarship offers from colleges and universities, and suddenly I envisioned myself in the world of ideas. I later majored in Spanish in college, taught it at the high school level, and then went on to receive a PhD in Curriculum and Instruction, Latin American Studies, and International Comparative Education from a major research university in the Midwest.

The Past Catches Up with Carlos: An epilogue

In the third edition of this book, my story ends with my having received a PhD from Indiana University. Unfortunately, I left out an event in my life that has forced me to take stock of my cultural, socioeconomic, and linguistic identities: In 1992, while on a visit to Nicaragua to speak to the Ministry of Education, I stumbled onto the whereabouts of my mother, whom I had not seen in more than three decades.[1] Here is the story.

While participating at a TESOL meeting in Vancouver, British Columbia, I received an unexpected phone call from my former PhD thesis director at Indiana University inviting me to go with him to Managua. To further entice me, he assured me that I could address the Nicaraguan Ministry of Education during the visit. I accepted the invitation, and we left for Managua on Wednesday of the following week via Houston, Texas, arriving at Augusto César Sandino International Airport at about 8:30 p.m. the same day. There we were greeted by a man who had been contracted to drive us around for the next few days. On our way to the place where we would be staying, I mentioned to him that I had not seen my mother for many years, that there was a good chance that she might still be living in Nicaragua, and that it would mean a lot to me if we could track her down during this trip. My comments piqued his interest, and he asked me for her name. I told him that her name was Marina Méndez.

The next day, as we were on our way to deliver a package to a relative in Managua, our driver suddenly pulled the dilapidated and dusty jeep to the side of

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[1] I lost track of my mother because she and my father separated when I was little. I later learned in the United States that the common-law relationship didn't last because Mother wanted Dad to leave the priesthood, marry her, adopt a secular life, and raise their three children. Apparently, my father didn't want to follow that path. Following the separation, Dad and my *abuelita* grandmother Elena raised the three children, of whom I was the eldest.

the road, flagged down a truck driver going in the opposite direction, and motioned for him to come over. Aware that the trucker was familiar with many of Nicaragua's rural and urban sectors, our driver asked him whether he knew where we could find the Méndezes in Nicaragua. The truck driver paused and then suggested that we drive to San Rafael del Sur, the town where my father had started his career as a priest and where he fell in love with my mother.

Filled with a sense of adventure and trepidation, the three of us—the chauffeur, my former thesis advisor, and I—drove a rented car on Saturday to San Rafael del Sur. There, with instructions from the truck driver, we stopped at the plaza central/ central plaza to look for a butcher named Méndez who conceivably might be of help in locating my mother. He was not there, but others gave us directions to his wife's residence. We drove to her house and knocked on the door, and an attractive middle-aged woman came out followed by her little daughter. I introduced myself and told her that I was looking for relatives of my mother, Marina Méndez, who might know her whereabouts. She smiled, went back into the house, and then reemerged with a huge mango as a gift. She told us that her daughter would take us to a close relative nearby who might have more information about my mother. By this time we were being followed by a large group of children, who seemed happy to have visitors in town. Eventually we arrived at a hut with a dirt floor and no door. Inside we were greeted by a grandmother figure, two younger females, and several small barefooted children wearing T-shirts with English sayings on them. Chickens, dogs, and small pigs wandered in and out.

I explained to the family that I was Carlos Ovando, eldest son of Marina Méndez. The elderly woman said that we should go to the pulpería/ small grocery store near the church, where we would find Lola, my mother's sister-in-law, who had taken care of me during my early childhood years. Feeling nervous, I told my companions that I wanted to be the last person out of the car. Once inside, I greeted the family, and when Lola saw me, she jumped out of her seat, hugged me, and called me Chalito—my nickname as a child. After recovering somewhat from the emotional episode, I asked her if she knew anything about my mother. She told me that that my mother lived in Brooklyn, New York, and that for the past several years she had sent Christmas cards, which Lola kept in a safe place. She then asked a granddaughter to bring the stack of dusty cards. I carefully examined them, and discovered that the last card, dated Christmas 1988, had a return address in Brooklyn. I copied the address, hoping to put a tracer on it after I returned to the United States the following week. Suddenly, Lola suggested that I contact her son who lived in Managua to see if he had seen my mother more recently, for according to her, my mother sometimes visited her two sisters in Managua without stopping in San Rafael del Sur. When I returned to Managua that evening, I called Lola's son, left a voice mail indicating who I was, and asked him to please call me collect in the United States if he had fresh information about my mother's whereabouts.

Monday evening of the following week, while I was having dinner with my family at my home in Bloomington, Indiana, the phone rang. I picked it up, and a male voice said that Marina Méndez, a friend of his family, wanted to speak with me. The moment I heard her voice, I knew that she was my mother. We compared

notes about our lives, and I invited her to visit me in Bloomington shortly thereafter. It turned out that she had arrived in Nicaragua from San José, Costa Rica, to visit her two sisters the same day that I arrived there from Houston, Texas. She was staying at this friend's house in Managua, where Lola's son found her and told her that I was looking for her. In fact, not only did we arrive in Nicaragua the same day some 30 years later, but we discovered that our respective flights from San José and Houston had arrived some 40 minutes apart.

For me, finding my mother has meant having to reexamine in a more complex manner the essence of my personal and professional life. As I continue to be a culture-bearer and a culture-maker, I must now factor into my life surprising extended family kinship patterns and sociocultural realities. Life for me has come full circle—the past has caught up with me.

Students

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, because 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 Scout troop. 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 in our nation's history when there is a legal, academic, linguistic, and sociocultural infrastructure supporting language minority students like her. Although Carmen was not placed in a bilingual classroom, which would have provided her with academic support in Spanish while she learned English, she received assistance in English as a second language instruction. Strong support for Spanish literacy development at home and involvement in bilingual community activities also made Carmen's experience in school more positive. Finally, Carmen's academic success confirms what we already know from many years of research in second language learning and teaching—English language learners learn best when their language needs are met.

As we shall see in this chapter and in chapter 2, 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 for 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).

Forty-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 are entering 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 find ways to hear 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

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GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

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 (L_1).

2. Acquisition of the second language (L_2), which for many language minority students is English.

3. Instruction in the content areas utilizing both L_1 and L_2.

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

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population. What both bilingual and ESL approaches have in common is the conviction that English language learners are most effectively taught when their home languages are used for instruction, or when the instruction they receive—even if provided in English only—incorporates strategies to aid language and academic acquisition. Bilingual and ESL education recognizes that the academic success of English learners requires a different approach. That is, we cannot teach English language learners in the same way that we teach English proficient students. In this chapter we will discuss the various types of bilingual and ESL programs, beginning 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 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 and 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 L_1 and L_2 will be used. L_1 will refer to the child's first language and L_2 will refer 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 Ulibarrí (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 (ELLs)**—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 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.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

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 L_1. 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 (ELLs) 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 toward 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.

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 (Jensen, 2008). 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 33.5 million in 2003

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%)

[a]Percentages 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.

(Larsen, 2004). Demographers project that the 2010 Census will show that one in four schoolchildren has at least one foreign-born parent (Jensen, 2008).

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 2003, the Census Bureau estimated the country's total foreign-born population at 33.5 million, or roughly 12 percent of the nation's 286 million residents (Armas, 2001; Larsen, 2004). That count included a majority of Hispanics, whose population reached a nationwide total of 44.3 million in July 2006, millions more than had been estimated only years prior (U.S. Census, 2008). 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).

Recent data show that the first half decade of the twenty-first century saw the same high levels of immigration to the United States that characterized the 1990s. In light of these findings, demographers from the Urban Institute project the foreign-born population to reach 42 million to 43 million by 2010, accounting for over 13 percent of the total U.S. population, and over one-fifth of all international

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

Year	Children of Immigrants[a]		Children of Native Parents	Total K–12 Enrollment	Percentage of Immigrant Enrollment in Total K–12 Population
	Foreign-born (1st generation)	U.S.-born (2nd generation)			
1970	770 (24.8%)	2,334 (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	54,700	20.1

[a]Percentages 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, 2003.

migrants spanning the globe (Capps et al., 2005). So while 2000 Census figures estimated non-Hispanic whites to lose their majority status by 2059, the latest consensus is much earlier—by 2042 (Overberg & Bazar, 2008).

These population changes—sometimes referred to as the *demographic imperative*—have resulted in large numbers of school entrants whose first language 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 Gumperz (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 U.S. 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 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 is 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 4.

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 *limited-English-proficient* (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* 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 L_1 (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, are very important, but they 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 4.) 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 enter school lacking 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

Few 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, chapter 5 is dedicated to this issue. 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 toward 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 so on—provide a powerful synthesis of how we as humans attempt to make at least partial sense of the world around 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; Philips, 1983). 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.[4] 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 toward 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 toward 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, after 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 toward 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. soldiers.

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 toward 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 toward 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 toward 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 toward 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 toward 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 toward 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 5. 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 that 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 post-secondary 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.

Guidelines for Teaching

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. 324).

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. 217–218).

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 2 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' L_1, 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 titled *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 the implicit and explicit assumptions and expectations that teachers often have about language minority students' academic potential and shows 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.

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.

Guidelines for Teaching

DISCOVERING STUDENTS' LIVES

There are 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' L_1 and L_2 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 toward 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 L_1 prior to arriving in the United States, including

the extent of math and science training as well as literacy
   h. Languages other than English and their home language to which the students have been exposed

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

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 cere-mony, 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 class-room 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 accom-plished that ideal. There are always students who seem hard to reach, who contin-ually 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 obvi-ously 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 genera-tion, 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 lan-guage backgrounds different from our own? Also, what positive and negative expe-riences 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, socioculturally, 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 toward 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 L_1 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 L_1 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 4). 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 are 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' L_1 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 L_2 all that they actually know), have to outgain the native speaker by making 15 months' progress on the academic tests in L_2 (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 L_1 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; Dolson & 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

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Go to the Online Learning Center at www.mhhe.com/ ovando5e to access the Student Study Guide.

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 her 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. 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 toward 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*

Developmental bilingual education, *43*

English as a second language (ESL), *8, 10*

English language learner (ELL), *10*

ESL content (or sheltered) classes, *10*

Indigenous or heritage language, *9*

Limited English proficient (LEP), *15*

National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), *14*

Structured English immersion, *40*

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), *10*

Transitional bilingual education (early-exit bilingual education), *41*

Two-way, dual-language, or bilingual immersion education, *36*

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?

ENDNOTES

1. The federal Bilingual Education Act of 1968, long known as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, was changed to Title III in its most recent reauthorization.

2. We use the term *heritage language* to refer to an immigrant, ethnic community, or ancestral language.

3. While the literature sometimes refers to *bilingual-bicultural education,* in this book we use the term *bilingual education* generically, to include culture as well.

4. For a fascinating Japanese interpretation of U.S. stereotypic cultural patterns, derived largely through U.S. films shown in Japan, see Kolker and Alvarez (1991), *The Japanese Version* (videotape).

5. In 1988, Barry Hatch, the city councilman of Monterey Park, presented a controversial ordinance to "require two-thirds English on all business signs" (Horton & Calderón, 1992, p. 190).

POLICY AND PROGRAMS

There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.

Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the education program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful.

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas,
writing for the majority in Lau v. Nichols, *1974*

Schools in the United States are currently undergoing a major transformation. Administrative structures, instructional methods, curricular materials, and assessment practices are being analyzed, modified, and in some cases radically changed. One impetus for the transformation is the reality of rapidly changing demographics. Increasingly heterogeneous classes are the norm in urban and rural areas in all regions of the country. If current population trends continue, as mentioned in chapter 1, it is projected that somewhere between the years 2030 and 2050, school-age children now labeled minorities by the federal government will be the majority in U.S. schools in all regions of the country (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Umaña-Taylor, A., 2009). Moreover, because demographers predict that by 2050 the United States will have more in common with Latin America than with Europe, many of these school-age children will have Spanish as their first language. Another impetus is the passage of the federal **No Child Left Behind** Act of 2001, the most recent **reauthorization** of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (see the subsequent discussion later in the chapter regarding NCLB's role in the demise in 2002 of the **Bilingual Education Act of 1968;** see also Crawford, 2004, p. xvi).

The transformation of schools, now increasing in momentum, is a response to educational practices of the past several decades that have not been effective in promoting the academic achievement of all students. Students with close connections to their bilingual/bicultural heritages have been especially underserved by U.S. schools. Policy issues regarding how these students are served have evolved around power relations between groups in the broader society. Thus when educators view particular groups of students as having "problems" in need of "remediation," the deficit perspective tends to reinforce social status relations between groups that exist in the wider society (Bomer, Dworin, May, & Semingson, 2008; García & Guerra, 2004; Ruiz, 1984; Shields, Bishop, & Mazawi, 2005; Valdés, 1996, 2001; Weiner, 2006). When educators genuinely strive for the academic success of all students, they are working toward assisting groups to move out of poverty and away from other risk factors, and thus they actually transform, in the long term, existing social status relationships between groups.

In general, U.S. school policies for serving culturally and linguistically diverse students that developed during the 1970s and 1980s focused on separate school programs to "fix" what was viewed as a "problem," the deficit perspective noted

previously. For example, bilingual and ESL educators were specialists to whom students with little proficiency in English were sent for extra help and special services. After receiving such assistance for some limited period of time, students were "exited" from those support services or "mainstreamed," similar to the approach taken in special education in the past.

But today, practices of tracking and ability grouping are being seriously questioned. Elementary and middle schools are restructuring to meet the needs of heterogeneous classes and to eliminate practices that tend to segregate students into what can become permanent tracks (Christenbury, Bomer, & Smagorinsky, 2009; Gamoran, 1990; Garcia, 2008; Oakes, 1985, 1992; Oakes, Wells, Yonezawa, & Ray, 1997; Wheelock, 1992). Curricular reforms stress the interdisciplinary nature of learning and the importance of developing authentic, real-life language through meaningful academic content across the curriculum through active inquiry, discovery, and collaborative learning (Aulls, Shore, & Delcourt, 2008; Blumenfeld, 1996; Brophy, 1992; Knodt, 2008; Leinhardt, 1992; Fox & Short, 2003; Short & Burke, 1991). The movement toward school-based management has encouraged shared decision making among the principals, teachers, and parents at each local school (Leithwood, 1992; McKeon & Malarz, 1991). Experimentation with performance and portfolio assessment has led to use of a wider range of assessment measures for instructional and program evaluation purposes (Abedi, 2004; Darling-Hammond, Ancess, & Falk, 1995; Ekbatani & Pierson, 2000; Herman, Aschbacher, & Winters, 1992; O'Malley & Valdez Pierce, 1996). These reforms may or may not assist linguistically and culturally diverse students. While they have the potential to transform schools, bilingual and ESL educators must collaborate actively in the transformation to create the deeper change needed to establish equitable, safe, and meaningful environments for learning for all students.

This chapter examines school policies and programs for culturally and linguistically diverse students as they have developed in the United States over the past several decades. As we revisit some of the main events that have shaped educational services designed to meet language minority students' needs—the politics of the field, the history of federal and state legislation and court decisions, and the types of school programs that have developed in bilingual/ESL education—it is important to keep in mind the way in which power relations between groups play a role in decisions that are made. This framework sheds light on the ups and downs of the politics of the field, and it helps us clarify the vision of our long-term goal: the academic success of linguistically and culturally diverse students, which helps to ensure the academic success of all students. We will begin our exploration of policy issues with a discussion section on the politics of bilingual education.

The Politics of Bilingual Education*

Bilingual education arouses strong emotions, both pro and con. It evokes conflicting views of American identity, ethnic pluralism, immigration policy, civil rights, and government spending for social programs. Popular attitudes about the field rarely stem from scientific understanding of second-language acquisition or

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*This section to page 60 written and contributed by James Crawford.

pedagogy; yet they have exerted a major influence on policymakers. Indeed, "politicization" is a commonly heard criticism of bilingual education. Ravitch (1985) alleges that "advocates press its adoption regardless of its educational effectiveness. . . . The aim is to use the public schools to promote the maintenance of distinct ethnic communities, each with its own cultural heritage and language."

Not surprisingly, bilingual education has attracted political support among the groups it serves—for example, from the Congressional Hispanic Caucus—although for stated reasons that have to do with academic excellence and equity, not ethnic separatism. It is also important to note that, where bilingual education is concerned, politicization is a two-way street. Many of the program's detractors themselves press an agenda that goes well beyond the classroom. Explaining his bill to terminate federal funding for bilingual education, Representative Toby Roth (R–WI) says: "I want all Americans to be the same. That is my mission" (Cohen, 1993).

Analyzing public opinion research, Huddy and Sears (1990) conclude that "symbolic politics"—resentment of special treatment for minority groups, anti-Hispanic bias, and hostility toward immigrants—"play a significant role in promoting opposition to bilingual education." Since that time, such feelings appear to have hardened, following the passage of numerous Official English laws and anti-bilingual-education initiatives in several states. In a Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll, 80 percent of respondents said schools should "require [immigrant] students to learn English . . . before enrolling in regular classes." (Of these, one-quarter believed that English should be taught "in special classes at their parents' expense.") Only 16 percent favored bilingual instruction (Rose & Gallup, 2005). Yet responses to such surveys often vary, depending upon how questions are posed. In another poll, conducted by the National Opinion Research Center in 1994, 26 percent were strongly in favor and 38 percent somewhat in favor of bilingual education, whereas 15 percent were strongly opposed and 16 percent somewhat opposed to bilingual education (Donegan, 1996).

If we have learned anything from the passage of antibilingual initiatives, it is that voters are divided about the best way to educate English language learners. But it is also clear that voters bring to the ballot booth strongly ingrained myths about education in general and about language learning in particular—for example, the beliefs that bilingualism confuses students or even handicaps their cognitive growth and that they could "pick up" a second language easily and rapidly through "total immersion" (Crawford, 1998). Language ideologies are also influenced by family legends and ethnic prejudices: "My great-grandfather came to this country without a word of English, and he succeeded without bilingual education"; "English may be spreading throughout the world, but Spanish is taking over the U.S.A." (Crawford, 2004, p. 62; see also Ovando & Wiley, 2003, for a more elaborated discussion of this ideology over time).

It seems evident as well that public opinion on bilingual education has become increasingly negative. Krashen (2002) notes that opinion polls conducted in Chicago and New York State indicated strong support for intensive English instruction (61 percent in Chicago, 58 percent in New York). But he argues that the hostility toward bilingual education was less noteworthy in these polls than

the fact that so few respondents had no opinion or were undecided (6 percent in Chicago, 9 percent in New York). This is troubling in light of the fact that the polling questions were reasonable, Krashen says, and did not suffer from some of the bias problems plaguing earlier polls on this issue.

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-247) became law in a very different political context. Passing Congress without dissent, it became **Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act,** a late front of the War on Poverty. At the time, the new law embodied a consensus among policymakers that the prevalent "sink-or-swim" approach to teaching English was both an educational failure and a denial of equal opportunity for language minority students. Exactly how bilingual instruction would work remained unclear, but with Hispanic dropout rates approaching 75 percent in some areas, there was an eagerness to experiment with what the legislation called "new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs." Senator Ralph Yarborough (D–TX), chief sponsor of the 1968 act, remained somewhat vague about its goals: whether the intent was solely to promote a transition to English proficiency or also to maintain and develop students' native language skills. If educators and researchers perceived any conflict between these objectives, they did not express it at the time (Crawford, 1992a, 2004), nor did the federal officials who awarded discretionary grants to local school districts.

By the mid-1970s, however, mediocre results in early Title VII programs (Danoff, Coles, McLaughlin, & Reynolds, 1977–78) and symbolic objections to the use of public funds to perpetuate "ethnic languages" (Epstein, 1977) generated the first political backlash against bilingual education. Albert Shanker (1974), president of the American Federation of Teachers, criticized the goal of native-language maintenance as a diversion from schools' "melting pot" role of teaching English as rapidly as possible. Others warned that if bilingual education promoted minority languages and cultures, it might foster Quebec-style separatism in the United States. Reacting to such concerns, in 1978 Congress voted to limit Title VII support to transitional bilingual programs. Suddenly the native language could be used only "to the extent necessary to allow a child to achieve competence in the English language" (P.L. 95-561; quoted in Leibowitz, 1980).

The English Only Movement

In this political climate, Senator S. I. Hayakawa (R–CA) linked the growing discontent with bilingual education to a wider critique of U.S. language policy. He argued that the nation sends "confusing signals" to immigrants by requiring them to learn English as a condition of naturalization while simultaneously inviting them to vote and attend school in their native tongues. Though "well-intentioned," such programs "have often inhibited their command of English and retarded their full citizenship" (Hayakawa, 1982). To "clarify" this situation, in 1981 Senator Hayakawa proposed a constitutional amendment declaring English the official language of the United States. But the measure went beyond mere symbolism. If ratified, it would have forbidden government agencies—federal, state, or local—from adopting or enforcing

"laws, ordinances, regulations, orders, programs, [or] policies . . . which require . . . the use of any language other than English" (S. J. Res. 72, 1981). Two years later, on retiring from the Senate, Hayakawa helped to found an advocacy group, U.S. English, to lobby for Official English and against bilingualism in public life.

Thus began the English Only movement. It grew rapidly through media attention, direct-mail fundraising, and grassroots campaigns. Within five years of its founding, U.S. English claimed 400,000 dues-paying members and an annual budget of $6 million (Crawford, 1992b). By 2010, 26 states had active Official English laws on their books, including constitutional amendments passed by voter initiative (over the opposition of large language minority communities) in states such as California, Florida, Arizona, and Colorado. In 1996, the U.S. House of Representatives passed the so-called "English Language Empowerment Act," a statute that would have severely limited the federal government's ability to communicate in any other language. The bill died in the U.S. Senate, however, before becoming law. House Speaker Newt Gingrich and other Republican leaders in Congress, who had initially championed the legislation, soon abandoned the cause when they found that it alienated more voters, especially Latinos, than it attracted to their party (Crawford, 2000). Since that time, English Only bills have been bottled up in committee. Although the Senate approved an Official English amendment to immigration legislation in 2006, the measure never came to a final vote.

Americans often assume that the U.S. Constitution already specifies English as the nation's official language (64 percent in one survey; Associated Press, 1987). On learning otherwise, many tend to view such proposals as an innocent gesture, merely a recognition of the primacy of English in the United States. Proponents have strengthened this impression by couching their arguments in positive terms. In a nation of immigrants, they say, English has served as our strongest common bond, allowing Americans to overcome differences of race, religion, and national origin. By acting now to halt government's "mindless drift toward bilingualism" (Bikales, 1987), the United States can avoid future conflicts like those that have beset Canada and other nations divided along language lines. Moreover, for immigrants, English is "the language of full participation . . . the door to opportunity" (U.S. English, 1990). In short, according to a U.S. English promotional brochure, "A common language benefits our nation and all its people."

Language minority advocates perceive a more sinister agenda. Behind the rhetoric of national unity, they say, lurks a mean-spirited, even racist desire to lash out against ethnic minorities by terminating bilingual services that ease their adjustment to American society. Language restrictionism distracts attention from an agenda of immigration restrictionism, according to this view. Critics point out that U.S. English was founded by leaders of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, a lobby that has called for a moratorium on the admission of newcomers until the nation can assimilate those already here. Rather than producing social harmony, English Only campaigns have crystallized "anti-Asian and anti-Latino animosities" (Pérez-Bustillo, 1992), polarizing communities from Lowell, Massachusetts, to Monterey Park, California.

Why did the framers of the U.S. Constitution fail to designate an official language? Today many assume that bilingualism was simply not a concern at that time. Yet, in fact, the United States has never been a linguistically homogeneous society. In the census of 1790, German Americans made up 8.7 percent of the population, a proportion comparable to that of Hispanic Americans, 9 percent, in the census of 1990 (Crawford, 1992a). Language legislation was considered at the nation's founding, notably a proposal by John Adams (1780) to establish an official academy "for refining, improving, and ascertaining" American English. But a majority of early leaders worried that such schemes might jeopardize civil liberties, opting instead for a "policy not to have a policy" on language (Heath, 1976). This is not to say that tolerance has always reigned. Throughout U.S. history, there have been numerous instances of language-based discrimination and coercive assimilation, especially during periods of territorial conquest and large-scale immigration (Leibowitz, 1969). Yet rarely have language conflicts assumed national proportions.

Perhaps the more relevant question is why English Only fervor developed in the United States during the 1980s. Obviously, with the arrival of an estimated 8.7 million immigrants (U.S. Census Bureau, 1992), this was a decade of increasing linguistic and cultural diversity, as well as increasing anxiety about demographic change. Nativist lobbies, pointing to the social and economic costs of immigration, began agitating for tight quotas on legal entrants and aggressive "border control" to keep out the undocumented. Yet for many Americans, themselves the descendants of immigrants, such appeals are tainted with unfairness, recalling the days when Congress excluded or limited the admission of certain nationalities as racial undesirables. By contrast, the call to "defend our common language" carries no unsavory baggage, while still conveying (for some, if not all) a coded message: *English First means America First. Speak our language or get out!*

Never mind that the "threat" to English is largely imaginary. For example, while the Spanish-speaking population is growing rapidly in the United States, thanks to immigration and higher-than-average birthrates, so too is that population's rate of anglicization, or shift to English as the dominant language (Veltman, 1988). In the 2000 Census, among U.S. residents aged five and above, all but 4 percent reported speaking English "well" or "very well" (Crawford, 2002). So whence the concern about bilingualism? Fishman (1992) suggests that the English Only movement "may largely represent the displacement of middle-class fears and anxieties from the more difficult, if not intractable real causes . . . to mythical and simplistic and stereotyped scapegoats. If those with these fears are successful in passing Official English amendments, this would represent another 'liberation of Grenada,' rather than any mature grappling with the really monumental economic, social, and political causes of conflict" (p. 169).

Impact of Official English

Contrary to warnings by opponents, so far English Only legislation has had little direct impact on the rights of minority language speakers. To secure easy passage, proponents have often drafted simple declarations—for example, "The English

language shall be the official language of Arkansas" (Arkansas Code, § 1-4-117)[1]— leaving courts and legislators to sort out the details. Such laws have generally been interpreted as symbolic statements about the role of English rather than as binding prohibitions on government's use of other languages.

At the state level, Arizona's Proposition 106 (1988) posed a serious legal threat to bilingual services with its explicit mandate: "This State and all political subdivisions of this State shall act in English and no other language" (Arizona Const. Art. XXVIII). The restriction applied not only to state and local agencies but also to public schools and to government employees in the performance of their duties. Exceptions were permitted for purposes of public safety, criminal justice, foreign-language teaching, and native-language instruction "to provide as rapid as possible a transition to English." But the loopholes were so narrow that legal experts predicted the amendment would prohibit, among other things, instruction in Native American languages at state institutions, state-funded translations of documents into Braille and American Sign Language, and parent-teacher communications in any language other than English. Proposition 106 never took effect, however, because a federal court ruled that it violated the freedom-of-speech guarantees in the U.S. Constitution (*Yñiguez v. Mofford,* 730 F. Supp. 309 [D. Ariz. 1990]). That decision was later "vacated" on technical grounds by the U.S. Supreme Court. But in 1998, the Arizona Supreme Court unanimously agreed that the English Only measure violated the First Amendment rights of state employees and of Arizona residents whose English is limited (*Ruíz v. Hull,* 191 Ariz. 441. [1998])*. Later that year Alaska voters adopted a similar law and it, too, was struck down as unconstitutional.

Notwithstanding their limited legal effects, English Only campaigns have had damaging political effects on bilingual education. U.S. English worked hard to place Proposition 63 on the California ballot in November 1986, conscious that the legislature would shortly be deciding whether to extend the state's bilingual education law (Crawford, 2004). After the Official English measure passed with 73 percent of the vote, Governor George Deukmejian vetoed two attempts to extend the legal mandate for native-language instruction, once regarded as the nation's strongest; Governor Pete Wilson later vetoed another. This left a state with 40 percent of the nation's LEP[2] students with no law governing bilingual education, making the program vulnerable to political attacks over the coming decade.

Meanwhile, the landslide for Proposition 63 did not escape notice in Washington, where in early 1987 Congress began work to reauthorize the federal Bilingual Education Act. The California vote strengthened the hand of Secretary of Education William J. Bennett (1985), who had recently launched an attack on Title VII as "a failed path," "a bankrupt course," and a waste of $1.7 billion up to that time. He accused bilingual educators of attempting to promote "a sense of cultural pride" at the expense of "proficiency in English, our common language." As long as research remained "inconclusive" about its value, he asked, why should most

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*In 2006, Arizona voters adopted a less restrictive version of Official English that has thus far gone unchallenged in court.

schools receiving Title VII grants be required to use native-language instruction? Secretary Bennett proposed to expand federal support for "special alternative instructional programs" such as "structured immersion" in English, even though such approaches had rarely been evaluated for effectiveness in teaching language minority children.

Powerful members of Congress were initially cool to Bennett's arguments. At the request of the House Education and Labor Committee, an expert panel was assembled to evaluate his claim that there was "no evidence" for the benefits of native-language instruction. The panel concluded that, to the contrary, "the research showed positive effects for transitional bilingual education on students' achievement" in English and other subjects (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1987). A majority of the experts recommended that Title VII's preference for native-language instruction be retained.

Nevertheless, political winds in the spring of 1987 favored the critics of bilingual education. In the wake of Proposition 63, 37 state legislatures were considering English Only bills of their own (Crawford, 1987). Public opinion polls showed overwhelming support for such legislation. Members of Congress who had supported bilingual education in the past suddenly became squeamish about defending a "mandate" for native-language instruction. After much backroom maneuvering, a compromise was reached that allowed up to 25 percent of Title VII grants to be diverted to nonbilingual programs (P.L. 100-297).

Meanwhile, English Only proponents expanded their lobbying activities, seeking to exert a direct influence on education policy. They also channeled substantial resources into organizations that specialized in opposing bilingual education, such as Learning English Advocates Drive (LEAD), a California-based teachers group, and the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development (READ), created and funded by U.S. English to sponsor studies by researchers who favor nonbilingual alternative programs.

In response to the English Only movement, advocates for language minority students rallied around a policy alternative known as English Plus. They argued that "the national interest can best be served when all members of our society have full access to effective opportunities to acquire strong English language proficiency plus mastery of a second or multiple languages" (English Plus Information Clearinghouse, 1992). While linguistic diversity entails certain costs, such as the need to provide bilingual services, it also brings major benefits. As the world becomes more interdependent through mechanisms such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, the government should actively cultivate skills in languages other than English through programs like developmental and two-way bilingual education. At the same time, it should enable linguistic minorities to acquire English, for example, by remedying the shortage of ESL classes for adults (a crisis that English Only proponents have largely ignored). In sum, English Plus conceives bilingualism not merely as a problem but, more importantly, as a resource that "contributes to our nation's productivity, worldwide competitiveness, successful international diplomacy, and national security" (English Plus Information Clearinghouse, 1992, p. 152). Although this philosophy made limited inroads

against the English Only movement, by the 1990s it began to exert an influence on policymakers concerned with bilingual education.

Changing Terms of Debate

While the critics of bilingual education inflicted only modest blows against the program in the 1980s, they did succeed in defining the terms of the policy debate. Public discussion focused heavily, sometimes exclusively, on the question of how to teach immigrant children English as rapidly as possible: through bilingual or all-English approaches. Language of instruction, the key political issue, became for many the key pedagogical issue as well. Secretary Bennett (1985) described bilingual education and ESL as "alternative instructional methods," ignoring other details of program design. Beginning in 1984, Congress established Title VII grant categories along similar lines: special alternative instructional programs (no native language used), transitional bilingual education (native language used until students are proficient in English), and developmental bilingual education programs (native language continued after students are proficient in English). The U.S. Department of Education funded an eight-year, multimillion-dollar study to compare the effectiveness of structured immersion, "early-exit" bilingual, and "late-exit" bilingual program models, differentiated largely by quantity of native-language instruction. The late-exit model proved most beneficial over the long term (Ramírez, Yuen, Ramey, & Pasta 1991).

Educators and researchers, recognizing that numerous variables determine academic success or failure, have grown impatient with the obsessive and simplistic focus on language of instruction. While English language learners have unique needs (as well as unique abilities), they also have much in common with other students. Yet the politicization of the policy debate has tended to isolate LEP children—defining them solely by what they lack: English—and to perpetuate low expectations for their achievement. In recommendations to Congress and the Clinton administration, the Stanford Working Group (1993) argued that policymakers should respond to this problem in two ways:

> (1) "Language minority students must be provided with an equal opportunity to learn the same challenging content and high-level skills that school reform movements advocate for all students," while receiving instruction and assessment that are linguistically and culturally appropriate; and (2) "Proficiency in two or more languages should be promoted for all American students," including language minority students, whose bilingualism should be valued and encouraged.

These ideas were largely embraced and incorporated into the 1994 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act. For the first time, funding priority was given to programs that "provide for the development of bilingual proficiency both in English and another language for all participating students" (P.L. 103-382). The policy change resulted in, among other effects, an explosive growth of two-way bilingual (also known as dual immersion) education, which became eligible for federal support on a large scale. In 2001, however, Congress reversed direction once again,

eliminating not only the goal of bilingual proficiency but even the word *bilingual* from the text of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (now known as No Child Left Behind).

The Unz Era

This radical change at the federal level reflected still more radical moves by the states. In 1998, California voters approved an initiative mandating English-only instruction for English language learners—the first such law since the World War I era. The ballot measure was financed and organized by a Silicon Valley millionaire and aspiring politician named Ron Unz. Unlike earlier English Only proponents, Unz dissociated himself from the anti-immigrant lobbies; indeed, he posed as an immigrant advocate against schools that allegedly failed to teach English. He dubbed his campaign "English for the Children," a slogan with wide appeal, and portrayed the California initiative, Proposition 227, primarily as a way to improve second-language instruction for immigrant students. The measure's restrictive provisions were largely overlooked in media coverage. Editorials, whether pro or con, treated Unz as a school reformer whose ideas should be seriously considered. From the outset, public opinion polls reported overwhelming public support for the initiative, not only among native English speakers, but among Hispanic and Asian Americans as well (Crawford, 2000). Support slipped somewhat as voters learned about the darker side of Proposition 227 and its counterpart, Proposition 203 in Arizona. For bilingual education supporters, however, the problem was that most voters never heard those arguments. What they did hear was a simple and convincing case against bilingual education.

The sponsor of Proposition 227 built this case on a foundation of myths and misconceptions that were already widespread among the public. For example:

- The notion that young children should be able to learn a second language within few months to a year at most; judged by that standard, 95 percent of California schools were failing each year, Unz claimed (English for the Children, 1997).
- The erroneous claim that most English language learners were in bilingual programs and the slander that such programs failed to teach English; therefore, bilingual education was to blame for the high dropout and underachievement rates among Latinos, Unz argued.
- The belief that most immigrant parents in California opposed bilingual education; thus schools' insistence on using native-language instruction denied parental rights to choose, Unz charged.

There was no need to produce solid evidence on behalf of such claims—which was never forthcoming—because they reinforced the conventional wisdom about bilingual education. Again, in contrast to previous English Only arguments, which tended to be symbolic and emotional, these were practical and credible.

A contributing factor was that neither researchers nor practitioners in the field had done much to address such fallacies over the years. To challenge them

effectively in a short election campaign was probably impossible. The organized campaign against Proposition 227 did not even try. Rather than explaining what was right with bilingual education, it focused on what was wrong with the initiative, stressing its extreme provisions. These included:

- Mandating a one-size-fits-all approach for English language learners known as "structured English immersion," a program "not normally intended to exceed one year" (English Language in Public Schools, 1998; §305), despite the lack of any scientific evidence for its effectiveness.
- Restricting the rights of language minority parents to choose the kind of program they want for their children; to be eligible for bilingual programs, students under the age of 10 must have "special needs" (§311).
- Threatening teachers and administrators with severe penalties for "willfully" violating the English Only rule, including lawsuits for personal financial damages (§320).
- Blocking future legislation to amend or repeal the initiative without a two-thirds "supermajority" vote in the California legislature or another ballot initiative (§335).

Whether valid or otherwise, these arguments were poorly communicated to the voters and seemed to have little impact. The initiative's opponents never found a clear message to counter the rhetoric of Ron Unz. Californians ultimately regarded Proposition 227 as a referendum on whether to stress English to the exclusion of native-language instruction. Their vote was a resounding YES, 61 percent to 39 percent, although—contrary to the pollsters and pundits—Latinos ended up voting NO by nearly 2 to 1.

Over the next four years, similar scenarios played out in Arizona and Massachusetts, where voters approved Unz-sponsored measures by even larger margins, although an unusual confluence of events led to defeat for the English Only campaign in Colorado (Crawford, 2008). Soon after, the stormy debates over language of instruction began to abate nationwide, as the No Child Left Behind Act distributed federal funding for English-learner programs without specifying a pedagogical approach. With its new assessment and accountability mandates, however, the law created a new set of challenges for bilingual education.

Historical Background

Having visited some of the politics that prevail at this point in time, let us now travel back in time to review the history of the development of the field of bilingual/ESL education in the United States.

U.S. Schooling in Languages Other Than English

The 1800s

Contrary to commonly held current beliefs in the United States, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, multiple languages other than English were used as

the languages of instruction in U.S. schools. As different groups of varied languages and countries of origin established homesteads in U.S. territories, a general sense of geographical and psychological openness existed. Some communities were self-sufficient and agrarian based; others were ethnic pockets in urban areas (Crawford, 2004; Daniels, 1990; Dicker, 1997; Kloss, 1977; Ovando, 1978b; Sollors, 1998). Historical records show that during the nineteenth century, many public and private schools used languages other than English as mediums of instruction. In 1900, for example, records show that at least 600,000 children in the United States were receiving part or all of their schooling in German in public and parochial schools (Crawford, 2004; Ovando & Wiley, 2003; Kehr, 1998; Kibler, 2008; Kloss, 1977; Langer, 2008; Ramsey, 2009; Tyack, 1974). During the nineteenth century, following annexation of the Territory of New Mexico, either Spanish or English or both could be the language of a school's curriculum (Leibowitz, 1971; Woodrum, 2009), and more than a dozen other states passed laws providing for schooling in languages other than English (Crawford, 1992a, 2004; Schmid, 2001). During the second half of the nineteenth century, bilingual or non-English-language instruction was provided in some form in some public schools as follows: German in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, Colorado, and Oregon; Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish in Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Washington; Dutch in Michigan; Polish and Italian in Wisconsin; Czech in Texas; French in Louisiana; and Spanish in the Southwest (Crawford, 2004; Kloss, 1977).

The 1900s

Toward the end of the 1800s, however, there were increasing demands for all immigrants to be assimilated into one cultural and linguistic mold. Between 1900 and 1910, a surge of new immigrants—over 8 million—were admitted to the United States, with the largest numbers coming from southern, eastern, and central Europe (Barkan, 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Stewart, 1993). Those northern and western European immigrants already established in the United States clamored for power to control institutions, and one solution to the power struggle focused on schools. Thus schools were charged with the task of "Americanizing" all immigrants, and by 1919, 15 state laws had been passed calling for English Only instruction (Higham, 1992). This push for English-dominant cultural and linguistic homogeneity became established as a pattern within schools during the first half of the twentieth century. It was spurred by many factors, such as the standardization and bureaucratization of urban schools (Tyack, 1974), the need for national unity during the two world wars, and the desire to centralize and solidify national gains around unified goals for the country (González, 1975). During the half-century from World War I to the 1960s,

> Language minority students were subjected to severe punishment whenever they resorted to a language other than English on the playground or in the classroom. The legacy of that period continues today, as demonstrated by language minority parents whose ambivalence toward bilingual education often reflects fears that their children will be punished for using a non-English language (Arias & Casanova, 1993, p. 9).

In the early 1920s, the U.S. Congress passed extremely restrictive immigration laws creating a national-origins quota system that discriminated against eastern and southern Europeans and excluded Asians. With fewer numbers of new immigrants, second-generation immigrants stopped using their heritage languages, and bilingual instruction disappeared from U.S. public school instruction for nearly half a century (Crawford, 1992a).

The experience of indigenous groups, whose land was eventually incorporated into what is now the United States, was even more repressive. From the 1850s to the 1950s, indigenous Spanish speakers in Texas and California endured mandated English Only instruction, and Mexican Americans in Texas were placed in segregated schools until segregation was ruled illegal. While the U.S. government initially recognized the language rights of the Cherokees under an 1828 treaty, the record for most other American Indian[3] groups reflected repression of native languages and cultural traditions, a policy also applied to the Cherokees in time. In 1879, federal officials began sending American Indian children to boarding schools, away from their families, where they were punished for speaking their native language, a policy that continued into the 1950s, leading to enormous language loss among many indigenous groups (Crawford, 2004; Ovando & Wiley, 2003). Of over 300 original languages of North America, 210 of these languages remain, an estimated 154 in the United States (21 fewer than we reported in the fourth edition of this book). Among these, half are spoken only by elders over 70 (Cultural Survival Quarterly, 2007). Only about 18 of these languages are still being passed on to the children: in Hawaii, Hawaiian; in Alaska, Siberian Yupi'k and Central Yupi'k; in Arizona and New Mexico, Cocopah, Havasupai, Hualapai, Yaqui, Hopi, Navajo, Tohono O'odham, Western Apache, Mescalero, Jemez, Zuni, Tiwa, and Keresan; in Oklahoma, Cherokee; and in Mississippi, Choctaw (Krauss, 1996). Nonetheless, even formerly "robust" languages like Navajo—the largest language group in the United States—is severely endangered (Krauss, 1998). After such a long history of language loss, Reyhner (1996) passionately portrays the reasons for stabilizing and restoring indigenous languages:

> Many of the keys to the psychological, social, and physical survival of humankind may well be held by the smaller speech communities of the world. These keys will be lost as languages and cultures die. Our languages are joint creative productions that each generation adds to. Languages contain generations of wisdom, going back into antiquity. Our languages contain a significant part of the world's knowledge and wisdom. When a language is lost, much of the knowledge that language represents is also gone (p. 4).

As one result of this historical pattern of repression of many immigrant and indigenous languages among the U.S. populace, the lack of foreign-language skills became evident during World War II with the sudden need for military and civilian personnel who were proficient in many world languages. U.S. personnel returning from overseas duty helped to change the prewar disregard for the importance of multiple language resources (Peña, 1976a; Rivas-Rodriquez, 2005; Wilson, 2009). Eventually, as the cold war mentality and the Soviets' launching of Sputnik, the first earth-orbiting satellite, increased the need for the United States to compete for

international status and power, the **National Defense Education Act of 1958** provided federal money for the expansion of foreign-language teaching.

Although this step represented an improvement in foreign-language policy, it did not resolve the two conflicting philosophies prevalent in U.S. policy that remain to this day. On the one hand, the federal government has recognized the need to develop and support foreign-language instruction for improved international relations, economic development, and national security purposes. On the other hand, a natural resource that new immigrants bring to this country is lost as U.S. schools continue to encourage the loss of native languages of linguistic minorities through insistence on exclusively English instruction. The majority of newcomers entering U.S. schools do not have access to classes taught in their native language. In schools where bilingual education is available, the most widely implemented form is transitional bilingual education, which is designed as remedial instruction to be offered for only two to three years, after which students are expected to function exclusively in English.

English as a Second Language

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when English classes were taught for immigrants largely for purposes of "Americanization" (Perlmann, 1990; Williamson, Rhodes, & Dunson, 2007), there was not yet a conscious effort to professionalize the field of English as a second language (ESL). The first U.S. steps toward formalizing this field of teaching focused on the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL) in other countries. In 1941, the U.S. Department of State and the Rockefeller Foundation supported the founding of the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan, which began formal training of U.S. teachers for teaching EFL abroad and taught intensive EFL courses to 2,100 international students in its first 10 years of existence. Also during the 1940s, the first EFL textbooks and teacher references were published (Alatis, 1993).

The profession of teaching English as a second language within the United States began to expand in the 1960s in response to increasing numbers of immigrant and refugee children entering the country, as well as to the growing numbers of international students attending U.S. universities. The 1965 immigration law dramatically increased the number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States and eliminated the national origins quota system, thus providing for more diversity among immigrants from all regions of the world. The professional organization Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) was established in 1966, development of ESL textbooks expanded, and courses in linguistics and ESL methodology were increasingly demanded (Paulston, 1976).

With specialized classes in which students received instruction at their level of English proficiency, ESL instruction represented a significant change in school policy. In the early twentieth century, the approach to schooling had been to immerse immigrants with native-English-speaking students in all content-area classes taught in English with no form of special support. Cohen (1976) coined this sink-or-swim approach, submersion. A few immigrants survived the submersion

process, but most suffered low educational attainment. ESL instruction improved the process of teaching English to speakers of other languages, but in the first decades of ESL expansion, little thought was given to helping students keep up with academic work in math, science, social studies, and other curricular areas. Even as late as 1975, the TESOL Guidelines for the Preparation of ESOL Teachers (formally approved by the professional organization that year) made no mention of the need for ESL teachers to teach the English language through academic content, other than to "help students gain knowledge of American social customs, traditions, folklore, history and literature" (Norris, 1977, p. 31). The ESL curriculum of the 1950s and 1960s placed little emphasis on the importance of using a student's home language and culture as a knowledge base on which to build academic success through two languages of instruction. Even with the expansion of ESL teaching during this period, it is important to remember that few students had access to ESL support (Crawford, 1999).

Bilingual Instruction of the 1960s

The Cubans' arrival in Miami following the revolution of 1959 reintroduced bilingual instruction into U.S. schools. During this period, bilingual instruction was a response to very specific local conditions—the need to provide education for the Cuban refugees as they poured into Miami. Cubans quickly established private schools with classes taught in Spanish with the hope that the people could eventually return to their island; but as they recognized that the political situation would not be easily changed, they began to persuade the public schools to establish some bilingual classes. The nation's first new bilingual program in this century began at Coral Way Elementary School in Miami in 1963, and its success soon led to the establishment of other bilingual schools in Dade County, Florida, as well as in other states in the United States (Pellarano, Fradd, & Rovira, 1998). González (1975) suggests that many special factors influenced the Cubans' success in establishing bilingual schools, such as their middle- and upper–middle-class status; the presence of trained Cuban teachers among those who resettled; the aid of the Cuban Refugee Act in providing special training and jobs for the refugees; special sympathy for the refugees, who were seen as victims of their political situation; and a lesser degree of racism expressed toward them because of the predominance of Hispanics of light-skinned European stock among the first groups to arrive.

In 1964, following Florida's example, Texas began to experiment with some bilingual instruction in two school districts. By 1968 bilingual education was being provided in at least 56 locally initiated programs in 13 states. The large majority were Spanish–English programs, but six other languages were represented (Andersson & Boyer, 1970). These bilingual programs were locally developed and funded, and they were supported by the local community of each school. By 1971, the first International Bilingual/Bicultural Education Conference was held in the United States (Mackey & Andersson, 1977), and the National Association for Bilingual Education was officially incorporated as a professional organization in 1975 (Peña, 1976b).

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF TITLE VII LEGISLATION, 1968–2001

Federal influences on bilingual/ESL schooling are one part of the policy picture. But it must be kept in mind that the U.S. Constitution does not mention education as a duty of the federal government; thus the responsibility for education policy decision making resides at the state and local levels by provision of the 10th Amendment. At the same time, over the past half century, the federal government has gradually redefined its role in education as the responsibility for assessing the condition and progress of educational achievement in the United States (Beebe & Evans, 1981).

> The government has a responsibility to improve education through initiatives in research, development and evaluation. The government must also preserve individuals' rights to equitable participation in the educational system. When this is nonexistent, it must intervene to address critical educational problems which affect the entire country. . . .
>
> The education of limited-English-proficient (LEP) students enrolled in the nation's public schools constitutes an unmet educational need that has national impact. Several factors catapult this need to national attention: (1) the number of LEP students is significant and growing; (2) LEP students have educational rights that are protected by federal laws and statutes; and (3) this group has traditionally not been well served by the educational system (Sosa, 1996, p. 34).

We will first explore the federal perspective, while keeping in mind that federal funding represents approximately 6 to 9 percent of the total amount spent on education in the United States, which limits the amount of federal influence. However, the federal government can have an impact on school policy decisions indirectly, through denial of federal funds that provide support for students in the categories of federal funding. In the sections that follow, we will review the two major categories of federal influence on bilingual/ESL education: federal legislation and court decisions. Secada (1990) presents the federal role in this way:

> Federal policy in bilingual education since 1960 has been driven by efforts to mandate and efforts to entice. Both are efforts to ensure equal educational opportunity for minority language children of limited English proficiency. Mandated programs are coercive. They grew out of court decisions enforcing civil rights legislation such as **Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964** and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974. Enticement programs, on the other hand, are voluntary. They grew out of the Great Society's War on Poverty, which funded local district efforts to improve educational opportunity for the disadvantaged, as in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The distinction between mandate and enticement is like that between a carrot and a stick: Funding is the carrot and legal mandates are the stick (p. 83).

Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act

The first federal legislation for bilingual education (the first "enticement") was passed by Congress in 1968 under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary

Education Act. The new law created a small but significant change in federal policy for linguistic minorities. The civil rights movement and the climate of social change of the 1960s had spurred the passage of legislation focusing on the special needs of minorities. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 represented the first national acknowledgment of some of the special educational needs of children of limited English proficiency.

This was a popular piece of legislation with bipartisan support; 37 bilingual education bills were introduced in the 1967–68 Congress. The final version focused on the needs of children of poverty who had little or no proficiency in English, with mostly a remedial, compensatory focus (Crawford, 1999; Lyons, 1990). The original sponsors of the bill had hoped to emphasize the advantages to the nation of developing students' bilingualism/biculturalism, resulting in increased academic achievement and bilingual resources for the United States. Modest funding was provided at $7.5 million for fiscal year (FY) 1969 (a federal fiscal year referring to the period from October 1, 1968, to September 30, 1969), with 76 projects funded to support educational programs, train teachers and aides, develop and disseminate instructional materials, and encourage parental involvement (Crawford, 1999).

Provisions of the Original 1968 and 1974, 1978, 1984, 1988 Title VII Reauthorizations

Funding Appropriations

The Bilingual Education Act was reauthorized in 1974 and 1978, with appropriations increasing each year until FY 1980, when $166.9 million was spent and 564 projects were funded. The lower appropriations that followed during the Reagan years from 1980 to 1988 represented a 47 percent reduction from the spending level in 1980 for Title VII programs, at a time when support for all other education programs declined by 8 percent (Lyons, 1990). During this period, media reports gave the impression that support for bilingual education had ended in most public school programs, a misrepresentation of what was actually happening at the local level. In FY 1996, $128 million was appropriated for Title VII programs, and in FY 1997, $156.7 million, indicating continuing minimal support at the federal level in comparison to other federally funded education programs, at a time when the number of students with little or no proficiency in English was increasing at a rapid rate (Zapata, 1996). Figure 2.1, expanded from Crawford (1997, p. 30), provides an overview of Title VII funding from 1980 to 2001, adjusted for inflation.

Students Eligible for Federal Services

The 1968 Bilingual Education Act specified that services were to be provided to "children who come from environments where the dominant language is other than English" and from families with incomes below $3,000 per year. The 1974 amendments changed the law to include eligibility for all children of "limited-English-speaking ability" (LES—defined as limited in listening and speaking skills in English), ending the low-income requirement, and the 1978 law expanded the

Title VII Appropriations, 1980-2001
(adjusted for inflation)
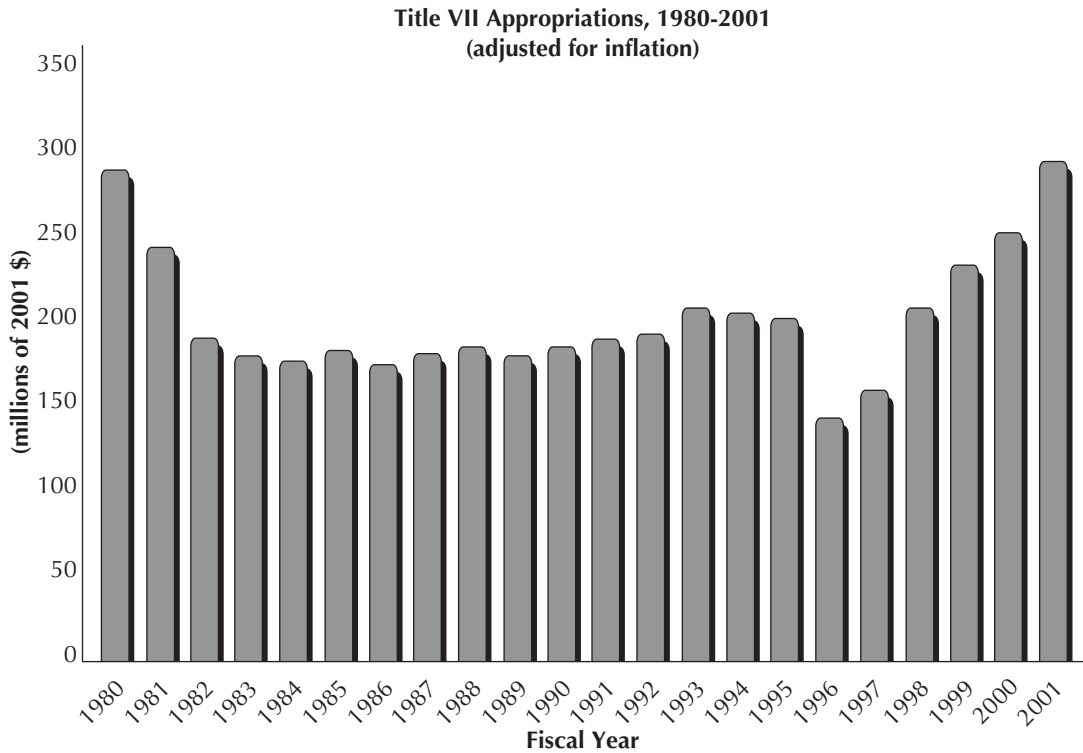
Figure 2.1   *Title VII Appropriations (adjusted for inflation)*
Source: Crawford, 2001 (*see* page 68 for discussion of Title VII and NCLB's Title III).

definition to include eligibility for children of limited-English proficiency (LEP—listening, speaking, reading, and writing). The last change allowed students to remain in a program until they reached deeper proficiency in both oral and written English, rather than requiring that they be tested and exited solely on the basis of oral skills (Leibowitz, 1980). It was an important step for the federal definition of who is eligible for Title VII funds to include students who do not yet know how to read and write the English language. Unfortunately, the overall impact of both definitions, LES and LEP, was that many programs funded with Title VII funds from 1968 to 1994 maintained a remedial, compensatory perspective, keeping students in a separate program until they reached a certain level of performance, after which they were exited from the special services. The 1994 federal funding, which will be discussed in a section below, attempted to change this perspective. Many bilingual/ESL educators and students dislike the acronym LEP, introduced with good intentions in the 1978 law and still used in most states, because of the term's pejorative connotations, which imply that these students have a problem, rather than recognizing that their knowledge of another language and bicultural or multicultural experiences bring rich resources to the classroom.

Purposes of the Federal Funding

The three purposes of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act were to "(1) increase English-language skills, (2) maintain and perhaps increase mother-tongue skills, and (3) support the cultural heritage of the student" (Leibowitz, 1980, p. 24). The reauthorizations in 1974 and 1978 placed increasing emphasis on the importance of mastery of English language skills as the main purpose of the bill. The 1978 bill also allowed participation of English-speaking children in bilingual programs funded by Title VII, as long as the number did not exceed 40 percent of such language majority students. The inclusion of English speakers was a small beginning toward addressing the conflict in federal language policy. By providing funding for integrated bilingual classes, foreign-language education for language majority students was enhanced, and at the same time, a few policymakers viewed native-language maintenance for language minority students as a national priority for the first time. The main intent of the 1978 change, however, was to prevent the segregation of students on the basis of national origin to comply with legal requirements. The law cautioned that "the objective of the program shall be to assist children of limited English proficiency to improve their English language skills, and the participation of other children in the program must be for the principal purpose of contributing to the achievement of that objective" (Lyons, 1990, p. 70).

The 1984 Bilingual Education Act introduced several new grant programs. Previously, most of the funding had been used for transitional bilingual education, a short-term (two- to three-year) bilingual program. The new categories of funding included family English literacy (to include parents and out-of-school youths in services provided), special populations (to provide services for preschool, gifted, and special education students), academic excellence (to replicate exemplary models), developmental bilingual education (to support native-language maintenance), and special alternative instructional programs (to provide program alternatives for low-incidence language groups). The academic goals of Title VII of the 1984 act were stated more precisely as "allowing a child to meet grade-promotion and graduation standards" (Crawford, 2004, p. 122).

The introduction of developmental bilingual education (DBE) as a category of funding in the 1984 reauthorization represented another breakthrough in moving away from compensatory, remedial perspectives to viewing bilingual education as an additive, enrichment school program. Developmental bilingual programs extended provisions in the 1978 law that "where possible," DBE programs should enroll approximately equal numbers of native English-speaking children and children "whose native language is the second language of instruction in the program" (Lyons, 1990, p. 76). However, subsequent appropriations bills provided little funding for this category relative to the larger amounts provided for the long-standing Title VII transitional bilingual programs. English Only proponents supported more funding for "special alternative instructional programs," and the 1988 law authorized up to 25 percent of the funding to be spent in this category, but through FY 1997, Title VII funding remained largely for programs that provided instructional support both in the home language and in English. The 1988 law placed a three-year limit on funding for any applicant, requiring that most students be "mainstreamed" in three years. Thus it continued to emphasize short-term transitional

bilingual education as the main model supported by federal funds. However, the 1994 law radically changed this perspective by deemphasizing program models and encouraging schools to develop responses to the reform movement that encompassed the whole school and the whole school system.

Training and Resources

The 1968 Bilingual Education Act provided for training of bilingual personnel through grants, contracts, and fellowships to local educational agencies (LEAs), state educational agencies (SEAs), and institutions of higher education (IHEs) that were expanded in 1974 and 1978. In addition, beginning in 1974, the federal Office of Bilingual Education began to fund a network of institutions designed to provide resources and services to state and local school districts. In 1994, the specialized resource centers funded under Title VII were combined and streamlined within new comprehensive regional assistance centers funded by general funds across all federal programs in education.

In 1977, the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition (NCELA) was established to collect, analyze, synthesize, and disseminate information related to linguistically and culturally diverse students in the United States. This is the central information center for the field of bilingual/ESL education in the country. As of the 1990s, NCBE operates a site on the Internet that includes an online library with bibliographic databases, technical assistance network information, and numerous NCBE publications that provide research syntheses on current issues in the field.

Title VII of the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 and School Reform

Among the many changes occurring at federal, state, and local levels, the reauthorization in 1994 of the federal legislation for education, Improving America's Schools Act (IASA—formerly ESEA), and its companion legislation, Goals 2000: Educate America Act (which provided a framework for state reform), had some impact on shaping education for language minority students. In order to bring language minority students' issues to the discussion table in the reform movement, in 1992–1993 a group of researchers and language minority advocates called the Stanford Working Group convened a series of national meetings that resulted in a report proposing changes to the federal legislation:

> For too long, LEP children have been kept on the margins of American education and education reform. . . . The goal of the Working Group . . . is to ensure that LEP students' unique needs and bilingual potential are addressed within the context of raising education achievement for all. . . . A survey of the current condition of education for LEP students reveals areas of dire need, as well as unfulfilled potential (Stanford Working Group, 1993, pp. 1–2).

The report of this group, as well as proposals from the Congressional Hispanic Caucus and many other advocacy organizations, resulted in substantial changes to federal funding for language minority education. Funding for language minority

students became available through both Title VII and Title I funds, whereas before, LEP students had generally been excluded from Chapter I (now Title I) services.

Moving away from the remedial, compensatory, deficiency model of bilingual education to enrichment and innovation, the new Title VII funding was designed with the following principles, which came directly from the Stanford Working Group:

1. All children can learn to high standards.
2. Limited-English-proficient children and youth must be provided with an equal opportunity to learn the challenging content and high-level skills that school reform efforts advocate for all students.
3. Proficiency in two or more languages should be promoted for all students. Bilingualism enhances cognitive and social growth and develops the nation's human resources potential in ways that improve our competitiveness in the global market (U.S. Department of Education, 1995, p. 16).

To lead school districts to reform efforts, the old program models were deemphasized, and replaced by four major categories of funding that focused on the function that the funding served: program development and implementation grants, program enhancement projects, comprehensive school grants, and systemwide improvement grants. By moving away from funding that focused on programs differentiated by the language(s) used for instruction to a more comprehensive and flexible approach to program, school, and school system reform, the funding encouraged creativity, innovation, and revitalization.

School districts were encouraged to create comprehensive school reform plans that integrated bilingual/ESL education into the core of the school system, and were financed by local, state, and federal funding sources. Systemwide, integrated bilingual/ESL education programs included effective, research-based teaching and assessment practices, year-round professional development, innovative curricula supported by interactive education technology, and close partnerships for learning with the linguistically and culturally diverse school community (G. N. García, 1994). The implementation of two-way developmental bilingual education programs, where possible, was strongly encouraged as part of the plan for reform efforts because of their proven effectiveness. "The additive bilingual environment of developmental bilingual education programs is designed to help students achieve fluency and literacy in both languages, meet grade-promotion and graduation requirements by providing instruction in content areas, and develop positive cultural relationships" (U.S. Department of Education, 1995, p. 18).

"No Child Left Behind" (PL 107–110, 115 Stat. 1425, 2002)*

School reform presented a rare opportunity for bipartisanship following the disputed presidential election of 2000. Immediately after taking office, President George W. Bush offered his proposal for reauthorizing the Elementary and

*This section to page 70 written and contributed by James Crawford.

Secondary Education Act—"No Child Left Behind"—and made it the centerpiece of his domestic agenda. Lawmakers responded by putting aside ideological divisions and seeking ways to compromise. For Democrats the top priority was increased funding for school programs; for Republicans, more local flexibility and less federal control over how the money would be spent. Both parties stressed greater "accountability for results" in the form of higher academic standards, required annual testing in grades three through eight, and increasingly severe sanctions for "failing schools." The final bill comprised nearly 700 pages, incorporating these and other policy changes, the most sweeping changes since 1965. When it came to bilingual education, Congress moved to demolish the structure it had created seven years earlier. It is fair to say that the Bilingual Education Act, as conceived in 1968, died a quiet death in 2001; most of its functions were inherited by the states.

Under the new law, Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act, has been renamed Title III, the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act. It replaces the system of federally administered, competitive grants for school programs with "formula grants" administered by state education agencies (see Table 2.1). Bilingual education programs will remain eligible for funding, without restrictions (e.g., a three-year limit on student enrollment) that Republicans had proposed. At the same time, however, the 75 percent funding set aside for native-language programs was repealed. States are merely required to distribute funding to local school districts on the basis of their LEP student and immigrant student populations—unless the annual appropriation dips below $650 million. In that (unlikely) event, the old federally administered grant program

TABLE 2.1 ESEA/NCLB Title III

(Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students)
APPROPRIATIONS (2002–2011) (in millions)

Year	Amount
2002	664.3
2003	683.7
2004	681.2
2005	675.8
2006	669.0
2007	669.0
2008	700.4
2009	730.0*
2010	750.0*
2011	800.0**

*Estimate
**Requested

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, http://www2.ed.gov/about/ overview/budget/ budget11/summary/appendix1.pdf, http://www2.ed.gov/ about/overview/budget/ history/edhistory.pdf.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

**HOW NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND HELPS ENGLISH
LANGUAGE LEARNERS**

Under No Child Left Behind, the academic progress of every child will be tested in read-
ing and math, including those learning English. All English language learners will be
tested annually to measure how well they are learning English, so their parents will know
they are progressing. States and schools will be held accountable for results.

- No Child Left Behind gives states the freedom to find the best methods of instruc-
  tion. The new law does not dictate a particular method of instruction for learning
  English and other academic content.

- States and local education agencies must establish English proficiency standards
  and provide quality language instruction, based on scientific research for English
  acquisition, in addition to quality academic instruction in reading and math.

- States and local education agencies must place highly qualified teachers in
  classrooms where English language learners are taught.

- Children who are becoming fluent in English are also learning in academic content
  areas such as reading and math, and they will be tested in these areas so they are
  not left behind.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, 2002.

would be reinstated. National grants for professional development have been
retained, but their funding has been capped at 6.5 percent of annual spending—
considerably less than before. The pedagogical emphasis of Title III is on English
acquisition and academic achievement in English–not the cultivation of bilingual-
ism, as stressed in the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994. Failure to meet
"benchmarks" for second-language acquisition will make states and districts vulner-
able to financial penalties.

Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) and English Language Learners

No Child Left Behind created a new and complex structure of goals, incentives,
and penalties (Crawford, 2004). The legislation requires each state to develop a
yearly accountability plan that reports the percentages of students scoring at pro-
ficiency levels of achievement in reading and language arts, mathematics, and sci-
ence. These reports must indicate whether students are making "**adequate yearly
progress**" (AYP). AYP must be reported for all students, including designated sub-
group categories: economically disadvantaged students, racial and ethnic minori-
ties, students with disabilities, and English language learners. Ninety-five percent
of students in each subgroup must participate in annual achievement testing, man-
dated for students in grades 3 through 8. English language learners must be
assessed for proficiency each year.

Schools whose students fail to make AYP for two consecutive years will be designated as needing improvement and targeted for assistance. Repeated failures in subsequent years will result in increasingly severe penalties: parents can transfer their children to other schools with districts required to cover the costs of transportation, private tutoring, remedial classes, replacing staff or implementing a new curriculum, restructuring the school as a charter school or implementing a new curriculum, or turning it over to the state or a private company.

AYP requirements present special, even unrealistic, expectations for English language learners (Abedi, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008; Harper, Jong, & Platt, 2008; Menken, 2006; Solano-Flores, 2008; Solorzano, 2008). As we reported in chapter 1, research by Thomas and Collier (1997) has shown that in order for ELLs to reach the typical performance level of native English speakers, they must make 15 months' progress on academic tests in English for each school year over a six-year period (compared to the 10-month gain that native English speakers are expected to make each year). When English language learners are allowed to keep up to grade level in academic work in their primary language for more than two to three years, they are better able to demonstrate with each succeeding year that they are catching up to native English speakers and thus are closing the gap in achievement as measured by tests in English.

Jamal Abedi (2004), in a critique of AYP reporting for English language learners, similarly argues that the No Child Left Behind mandate for subgroup reporting assumes that students in all subgroup categories "start the achievement race at about the same rate" (p. 10). This perspective is highly problematic, he argues, as is the law's imposition of penalties on schools serving ELL students. This is because a "needs improvement" label applied to schools serving ELLs may itself derive from invalid assessment data and unreliable reporting. For instance, No Child Left Behind expects all subgroups tested, including English language learners, to achieve 100 percent proficiency in English language arts. But if English language learners "were proficient in English language arts, they would not be ELL students in the first place" (Abedi & Dietel, 2004, p. 785). If ELL students make significant progress in math and reading tests, they will be reclassified as fluent English proficient students, and consequently will move out of the subgroup. Those left behind will typically be low-performing students or new English language learners who arrive at schools with lower levels of language proficiency. In effect, this means that the ELL subgroup will never reach 100 percent proficiency, and schools serving large numbers of these students will either earn or retain the "in need of improvement" label (Abedi, 2004; Abedi & Dietel, 2004).

Abedi (2004) reports that another problem with AYP reporting for ELL students is that achievement tests often confound student demonstration of content knowledge with test language comprehension. He argues that because most standardized tests are conducted in English—and field-tested with native English speakers—they invariably function as English language proficiency tests. Even when English language learners are familiar with content knowledge, they cannot effectively demonstrate this knowledge if they do not understand the language of the tests. ELL students with intermediate or advanced proficiency in English also

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ADEQUATE YEARLY PROGRESS REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Jamal Abedi (2004, pp. 4–5) argues that there are major inconsistencies in the No Child Left Behind Act's "adequate yearly progress" reporting for English language learners. Unique assessment issues related to ELLs call into question the validity of AYP reporting, and NCLB mandates place undue test performance pressure on schools with large numbers of these students. Abedi lists at least six areas of inconsistency:

- Inconsistency in LEP classification across and within states. Different states and even different districts and schools within a state use different LEP classification criteria, thus causing inconsistencies in LEP classification/reclassification across different educational agencies. This directly affects the accuracy of AYP reporting for LEP students.

- Sparse LEP population. The number of LEP students varies across the nation, and, in the case of a large number of states and districts, the number of LEP students is not enough for any meaningful analyses. This might skew some states' accountability and adversely affect state and federal policy decisions.

- Lack of LEP subgroup stability. A student's LEP status is not stable over time, and a school's LEP population is a moving target. When a student's level of English proficiency has improved to a level considered "proficient," that student is moved out of the LEP subgroup. Those who remain are low performing, and new students with even lower levels of language proficiency may also move into the subgroup. Therefore, even with the best resources, there is not much chance for improving the AYP indicator of the LEP subgroup over time.

- Measurement quality of AYP instruments for LEP students. Students' yearly progress is measured by their performance on state-defined academic achievement tests, but studies have shown that academic achievement tests that are constructed and normed for native English speakers have lower reliability and validity for LEP populations. Therefore, results of these tests should not be interpreted for LEP students the same way they are for non-LEP students.

- LEP baseline scores. Schools with high numbers of LEP students have lower baseline scores, which have year-to-year progress goals that are much more challenging and might be considered unrealistic, considering that their students may continue to struggle with the same academic disadvantages and limited school resources as before.

- LEP cutoff points. Earlier legislation adopted a compensatory model in which students' higher scores in content areas with less language demand (such as math) could compensate for their scores in areas (such as reading) with higher language demands. NCLB, however, is based on a conjunctive model in which students should score at a "proficient" level in all content areas required for AYP reporting. This makes the AYP requirement more difficult for schools with many LEP students.

Source: J. Abedi, "The No Child Left Behind Act and English Language Learners: Assessment and accountability issues," Educational Researcher, 33(1), 2004, pp. 4–14.

would have difficulty interpreting linguistically complex test questions. Abedi (2004, p. 7) provides some examples:

> Some linguistic features slow down the reader, make misinterpretation more likely, and add to the reader's cognitive load, thus interfering with the concurrent task. Indexes of language difficulty include word frequency/familiarity, word length, and

sentence length. Other linguistic features that might cause difficulty for readers include passive voice constructions, comparative structures, prepositional phrases, sentence and discourse structure, subordinate clauses, conditional clauses, relative clauses, concrete versus abstract or impersonal presentations, and negation.

Abedi (2004) points out that these inconsistencies, among others, seriously threaten the validity of AYP reporting and in fact exacerbate the responsibilities of educators and schools serving English language learners. He contends that the No Child Left Behind legislation has conceived an overly simplistic view of the measurement of academic achievement for English language learners, and that accurate and fair assessment of all subgroup categories requires much more serious consideration. "Despite attempting to solve the age-old problem of heterogeneity among LEP students," he writes, "the NCLB seems to perpetuate it, thereby leaving more room for children to be left behind" (2004, p. 11).

In early 2004, the U.S. Department of Education attempted to address these programs by relaxing some of the AYP requirements for English language learners. For example, DOE allowed ELL students to take the mathematics assessment with accommodations, and states could exclude from AYP calculations ELL math and language arts scores for the first year that students are enrolled. In addition, DOE would allow states up to two years to include the scores of reclassified ELL students in the AYP reporting for that subgroup. According to Secretary of Education Rod Paige, this additional flexibility in AYP reporting would allow schools and school districts to get credit for improving the English language proficiency of their ELL students from year to year (Department of Education, February 19, 2004).

This added flexibility, while helpful in the short term, is essentially "symbolic," argue Abedi and Dietel (2004), and represents at best a brief reprieve from NCLB requirements. They continue, "NCLB's adequate yearly progress requirements encourage the retention of the most capable ELL students within the ELL subgroup, contrary to educational purposes. Allowing states to include the test scores

Guidelines for Teaching

144 WAYS TO FAIL AYP

In Southern Arizona, 45 schools did not meet the "adequate yearly progress" requirements of No Child Left Behind for the school year 2003–2004. These schools, serving high numbers of minority students, were evaluated based on a lengthy checklist, including student attendance during the school year, the number of students taking the state achievement test (Arizona's Instrument to Measure Standards, or AIMS), and student test scores. Student progress at these schools was also measured by gender, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and special education status. For Arizona schools to make AYP, they needed to demonstrate 100 percent progress in each of 144 single categories. Missing the goal in even one category—for example, the number of Native American students taking the AIMS test—would result in failure.

Source: J. Sterba & S. Garrect Gasson. "45 Schools Don't Meet Feds' Mark." Arizona Daily Star, September 3, 2004.

of redesignated ELL students for two years symbolizes flexibility in the requirements. . . . We believe that ELL redesignation should count for something positive and not serve as a disincentive" (p. 785).

Robert Linn (2003), in a presidential address at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, presented the case that performance standards for all students must meet what he calls "an existence proof," that is, a goal that schools can reasonably achieve:

> We should not set a goal for all schools that is so high that no school has yet achieved it. For example, if no school has 100 percent of its students scoring at the proficient level or higher, we should not expect all schools to reach that level in the next 12 years. Indeed, I would argue that if 90 percent of the schools currently fall short of the 100 percent proficient goal, then that is an unrealistic expectation for all schools to achieve within a dozen years (Linn, 2003, p. 4).

Abedi and Dietel (2004) agree that "existence proofs" ought to apply equally to schools serving English language learners, but that to date, no school in the United States with a sizable population of students acquiring proficiency in English has met the AYP requirements of No Child Left Behind.

Education Policy in the Obama Administration

When Barack Obama became president of the United States in January 2009, educators throughout the country hoped he would overhaul the No Child Left Behind legislation. During his campaign, Obama had harshly criticized the law's focus on testing, and Michelle Obama, in a campaign stop in Ohio, had declared that NCLB was "sucking the life out of public schools" (LaCara, 2008). Linda Darling-Hammond, a respected professor of education from Stanford University and well-known critique of No Child Left Behind, was advising the Obama campaign on education policy, and many hoped she would become the next secretary of education. President Obama ultimately selected former chief executive officer of the Chicago Public Schools Arne Duncan for the post.

Shortly into his term, President Obama began to show signs that the administration's education policies would not diverge much from those of former President George Bush. He praised No Child Left Behind, pledging to make teacher qualifications more stringent and to promote national academic standards (Dillon, 2009). To address the increasing economic recession in the country, Obama signed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA), which provided billions of dollars for public education. However, the education provisions in the ARRA required states to commit to major changes in the ways they adopted and implemented standards and assessments, improved student achievement, measured student success, and recruited and rewarded teachers.

The administration also established the **Race to the Top** Fund, a multibillion-dollar competitive grants program "designed to encourage and reward States that are creating the conditions for education innovation and reform; achieving significant improvement in student outcomes, including making substantial gains in

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"RACE TO THE TOP" FUND

The federal Department of Education describes Race to the Top as "a $4.35 billion fund created under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA), the largest competitive education grant program in U.S. history. The Race to the Top Fund (referred to in the ARRA as the State Incentive Grant Fund) is designed to provide incentives to states to implement large-scale, system-changing reforms that result in improved student achievement, narrowed achievement gaps, and increased graduation and college enrollment rates" (*Federal Register, 74(221),* November 18, 2009/ Rules and Regulations, p. 59688). For an RTTP grant to be awarded, states must commit to major changes in four areas and meet rigorous selection criteria:

- Adopting standards and assessments that prepare students to succeed in college and the workplace and to compete in the global economy;

- Building data systems that measure student growth and success, and inform teachers and principals about how they can improve instruction;

- Recruiting, developing, rewarding, and retaining effective teachers and principals, especially where they are needed most; and

- Turning around the lowest-achieving schools.

Selection criteria

A. State Success Factors *(125 points)*
- Articulating state's education reform agenda and LEAs' participation in it *(65 points)*
- Building strong statewide capacity to implement, scale up, and sustain proposed plans *(30 points)*
- Demonstrating significant progress in raising achievement and closing gaps *(30 points)*

B. Standards and Assessments *(70 points)*
- Developing and adopting common standards *(40 points)*
- Developing and implementing common, high-quality assessments *(10 points)*
- Supporting the transition to enhanced standards and high-quality assessments *(20 points)*

C. Data Systems to Support Instruction *(47 points)*
- Fully implementing a statewide longitudinal data system *(24 points)*
- Accessing and using state data *(5 points)*
- Using data to improve instruction *(18 points)*

D. Great Teachers and Leaders *(138 points)*
- Providing high-quality pathways for aspiring teachers and principals *(21 points)*
- Improving teacher and principal effectiveness based on performance *(58 points)*
- Ensuring equitable distribution of effective teachers and principals *(25 points)*
- Improving the effectiveness of teacher and principal preparation programs *(14 points)*
- Providing effective support to teachers and principals *(20 points)*

E. Turning Around the Lowest-Achieving Schools *(50 points)*
- Intervening in the lowest-achieving schools and LEAs *(10 points)*
- Turning around the lowest- achieving schools *(40 points)*

F. General Selection Criteria *(55 points)*
- Making education funding a priority *(10 points)*
- Ensuring successful conditions for high-performing charters and other innovative schools *(40 points)*
- Demonstrating other significant reform conditions *(5 points)*

Source: http://www2.ed.gov/programs/ racetothetop/ index.html.

student achievement, closing achievement gaps, improving high school graduation rates, and ensuring student preparation for success in college and careers" (Race to the Top Program, Executive Summary, http://www2.ed.gov/programs/racetothetop/ index.html). One of the more controversial requirements of RTTP was a plan to

evaluate teachers based on their students' test scores. If states refused to adopt this policy, they would not be eligible for RTTP funds (Dillon, 2010).

In the latest reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, underway as we go to press, the Obama administration has proposed eliminating NCLB's 2014 deadline that all students achieve 100 percent academic proficiency; instead, he has replaced it with a mandate that students graduate high school "college or career ready." In order to determine what "college or career ready" means, 40 states are collaborating on a definition of common standards leading to the mandate (Dillon, 2010, p. 1). Administration officials agreed to eliminate the unpopular AYP reporting system and evaluate schools based on gains in student achievement. Reauthorization proposals pledged to reward schools that made significant progress and sanction others whose students did poorly (Quaid, 2010).

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

Michigan State University Professor Yong Zhao suggests sardonically that states competing for RTTP money should include the following points in their applications if they have any chance at all of winning a grant award:

1. Stop paying teachers and principals a salary. Instead, pay them on a per-standardized-test-point basis each day. At the end of the school day, simply give each student a standardized test. Then calculate what the teacher and principal will be paid that day based on the growth of the student, that is, on how much the student has improved over the previous day. This is true accountability and is sure to keep teachers and principals on their toes. . . . You also will need to ignore the fact that "accountability" has driven many teachers out of the schools, and to forget about attracting highly qualified talent to the teaching profession.

2. Remove all "non-core" academic activities and courses and reduce all teaching to math and reading. What the U.S. secretary of education wants is "increasing student achievement in (at a minimum) reading/language arts and mathematics, as reported by the National Assessment of Educational Progress and the assessments required under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act" and "decreasing achievement gaps between subgroups in reading/language arts and mathematics, as reported by the NAEP

and the assessments required under the ESEA." Actually, no need to teach students these subjects; just teaching them how to pass the tests may be even more effective.

3. Make sure every child takes courses in STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics), the more the merrier. This is because, as the guidelines state, "Emphasis on Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM)" is a "Competitive Preference Priority," worth 15 points, and you either get 15 points or nothing. But this requires you to ignore research findings such as those from showing that "over the past decade, U.S. colleges and universities graduated roughly three times more scientists and engineers than were employed in the growing science and engineering workforce," and that "there is no evidence of a long-term decline in the proportion of American students with the relevant training and qualifications to pursue STEM jobs" (Lowell & Salzman, 2009).

4. This suggestion is only for the states of Alaska and Texas, because the others have already committed themselves to doing it: Develop and adopt "a common set of K-12 standards ... that are supported by evidence that they are internationally benchmarked and build toward college and career readiness by the time of high school graduation." The other 48 states have signed on to the Common Core State Standards

Initiative spearheaded by the National Governors Association and the Council of Chief State School Officers. So I guess the initiative counts, even though it covers only two subjects. . . To wholeheartedly embrace this suggestion, states have to overlook the damages national standards can do to education, and not take into consideration the fact that having national standards neither improves education for students nor narrows achievement gaps.

5. Write in lots of money for testing companies and assessment consultants in the application, because you will be rewarded for "developing and implementing common, high-quality assessments." In the spirit of this recommendation, I would also suggest that you promise to test the students more frequently, at least twice a day—once when they come to school and once when they leave—because this will help you collect more data to meet the data-systems requirement and hold teachers accountable.

6. Oh, and while you're at it, include a proposal to bar all children under the age of 18 from entering museums, public libraries, and music events; lock up all musical instruments in schools, and fire all music, art, and physical education teachers; close sports facilities; disconnect all Internet connections; and cut down on lunch time, because the Race to the Top initiative wants to lengthen the school year and school day, and all these are distracting kids from studying for the tests. Of course, these actions will save money as well.

. . . But other than all that, your new federal funding should enable you to do great things.

(Excerpted from "Over the top: Six tips for winning 'Race to the Top' money," *Education Week,* December 11, 2009. Retrieved February 24, 2010, from http:// www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2009/ 12/16/ 15zhao_ep.h29.html?tkn= LORFbD2ErP8zjvjZLyJbIIRWrScNDjBHnIJ7)

Court Decisions and the Office for Civil Rights

While the debates in Congress have continued on language policy issues with limited funds provided under Title VII for school districts that wish to apply for extra funding to meet their continually changing demographic needs, another level of federal policymaking ruled by the federal courts and the executive branch of government has had considerable influence on the developments in U.S. language minority education—and these decisions are mandates. Federal court decisions of the 1970s and 1980s, as well as enforcement guidelines monitored by the Office for Civil Rights, a function of the executive branch of government, have forced school systems in many regions of the United States to reexamine their practices in schooling language minority students.

Basic Rights of Language Minority Students

Over the past several decades, federal policy for the protection of the educational rights of language minority students has gradually evolved through court decisions and federal legislation that have extended the interpretation of basic rights provided in the U.S. Constitution. Three important federal laws that establish these basic rights are the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution (passed in 1868), which guarantees all persons equal protection under the laws of the United States; Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination on the

basis of "race, color, or national origin" in any federally assisted program; and the **Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974,** which states that:

> No state shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin, by. . .the failure of an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs [20 U.S.C. §1703(f)] (cited in Lyons, 1992, p. 10).

U.S. Office for Civil Rights

In August 1974, Congress passed the Equal Educational Opportunities Act, which gave legislative backing to the Lau decision and extended its scope to apply to all

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THE *LAU V. NICHOLS* SUPREME COURT DECISION, 1974

Of all the court decisions based on one or more of the above federal laws, the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) has had by far the most significant impact in defining the legal responsibilities of schools serving limited-English-proficient students. In the early 1900s, the few court decisions that issued rulings related to language policy were mainly concerned with preserving and promoting English as one of the key elements in the formation of U.S. national identity (Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977b). *Lau v. Nichol*s did not deny the importance of learning English, but the Supreme Court justices ruled unanimously, on the grounds of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that some 3,000 Chinese students in San Francisco were not being provided an equal educational opportunity compared with their English-speaking peers.

The Supreme Court decision did not specify the remedy for schools to provide a more "meaningful education" for students of limited English proficiency, although it described bilingual education and ESL as possible remedies. In the consent decree that followed, the San Francisco school district agreed to provide bilingual/bicultural education for students of limited English proficiency. The *Lau v. Nichols* decision had a direct and immediate impact on the growth of bilingual education programs.

Although it did not expressly endorse bilingual education, the Lau decision legitimized and gave impetus to the movement for equal educational opportunity for students who do not speak English. Lau raised the nation's consciousness of the need for bilingual education, encouraged additional federal legislation, energized federal enforcement efforts, led to federal funding of nine regional "general assistance Lau centers," aided the passage of state laws mandating bilingual education, and spawned more lawsuits (Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977a, p. 139).

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public school districts, not just those receiving federal financial assistance. Additional pressure on school districts to implement some kind of meaningful instruction for students of limited English proficiency came from the **U.S. Office for Civil Rights (OCR),** which issued the 1975 **Lau Remedies**.

The 1975 Lau Remedies

The 1970 OCR Memorandum and the *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court decision led to expansion of Title VI enforcement under the Ford and Carter administrations, resulting in the 1975 Lau Remedies, developed to provide OCR guidelines for compliance. The guidelines specified procedures for identifying language minority students and assessing their English language proficiency (to be presented in chapter 8), determining appropriate instructional treatments, deciding when students were ready for mainstream[4] (grade-level) classes, and determining the professional standards expected of teachers of language minority students (Lyons, 1990). The Lau Remedies strongly encouraged school districts to implement bilingual education wherever feasible, for example, in each school district that had at least 20 students of limited English proficiency who spoke the same primary language. Schools were generally required to provide these students with ESL support combined with academic content taught through the student's strongest language, until students reached sufficient proficiency in English to experience academic

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THE 1970 OCR MEMORANDUM

An important precedent to the Lau Remedies was the OCR Memorandum of May 25, 1970, sent by the then Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the chief state school officer of every state and to the superintendents of school districts with large numbers of language minority students. The 1970 memorandum was upheld in the *Lau v. Nichols* decision and was incorporated into the OCR manual of compliance procedures for Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (Castro Feinberg, 1990). It stated:

1. Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin–minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.

2. School districts must not assign national origin–minority group students to classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of criteria that essentially measure or evaluate English language skills; nor may school districts deny national origin–minority group children access to college preparatory courses on a basis directly related to the failure of the school system to inculcate English language skills.

3. Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin-minority group children must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible and must not operate as an educational dead-end or permanent track.

4. School districts have the responsibility to adequately notify national origin–minority group parents of school activities that are called to the attention of other parents. Such notice in order to be adequate may have to be provided in a language other than English (Pottinger, 1970).

success in monolingual English classes. Furthermore, these guidelines redefined bilingual education to include bilingual/bicultural program models that go beyond transitional to provide ongoing bilingual/bicultural instruction after students are proficient in English, resulting in students who can function equally well in both languages and cultures (González, 1994).

The Lau Remedies represented a new level of federal requirements where none had existed previously. School districts were now required to demonstrate that they had some kind of effective educational program for students of limited English proficiency. If a school district was found to be out of compliance, it could be threatened with loss of federal funds (Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977a). Lyons (1990) describes the results:

> The Lau Remedies quickly evolved into de facto compliance standards as DHEW moved aggressively to enforce Title VI during the Ford and Carter administrations. Between 1975 and 1980, OCR carried out nearly 600 national-origin compliance reviews, leading to the negotiation of 359 school district **Lau plans** by July 1980 (p. 72).

The Proposed 1980 Lau Regulations

The 1975 Lau Remedies were never published in the *Federal Register,* and after a court decision questioned their enforceability in August 1980, a new set of **Lau regulations** was proposed. Written in substantial detail, these regulations

Guidelines for Teaching

FEDERAL COURT DECISIONS AFTER *LAU V. NICHOLS*

Since the *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court decision in 1974, a number of important federal court decisions have continued to refine the interpretation of the educational rights of language minority students that are guaranteed in the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974. "Parents frustrated by OCR's inaction retain the option of taking their complaints directly to federal court" (Crawford, 1999, p. 58), and that is precisely what parents have done in state after state. Even before *Lau*, the judicial trend of mandating some form of bilingual instruction had begun with cases such as *United States v. Texas* (San Felipe del Río School District, 1971) and *Arvizu v. Waco* (Texas, 1973). Soon after *Lau*, a lawsuit filed by Mexican-American parents in *Serna v. Portales* (New Mexico, 1974) resulted in a federal court mandate to implement a bilingual/bicultural curriculum, revise assessment procedures to monitor Hispanic students' academic achievement, and recruit bilingual personnel.

Aspira v. Board of Education of the City of New York (1974) was a decision with far-reaching implications for bilingual education. On behalf of 150,000 Hispanic students, the consent decree, which remains in effect today, mandates a system of identification of Hispanic students in need of special instruction, describes necessary teacher qualifications, and sets standards for instruction in English and Spanish (Crawford, 1999). Bilingual instruction was also required as part of the overall desegregation plan in the three desegregation cases of *Morgan v. Kerrigan* (Boston, 1974), *Bradley v. Milliken* (Detroit, 1975), and *Evans v. Buchanan* (Wilmington, Delaware, 1976) (Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1978).

In *Cintrón v. Brentwood* (1978), the court ordered this New York school district to keep recently hired bilingual teachers who were being dismissed because of declining enrollment in the district. Two plans submitted by the school district were rejected by the court as violating desegregation guidelines and the Lau Remedies. The school district was ordered to develop a new plan for bilingual/bicultural education that included identification, long-term assessment of LM students' academic performance, development of appropriate and high-quality desegregated programs for all students, and professional development for bilingual teachers (Lyons, 1992). In *Ríos v. Read* (1977), a district court ruled that the school district of Patchogue-Medford, New York, was obligated under Lau to provide a quality program for students of limited English proficiency. The court rejected the school district's practice of providing mostly ESL instruction with 40 to 50 minutes of content instruction in Spanish for kindergarten and first grade only. Again, the school district was ordered to identify language minority students, validly assess their abilities, and provide ESL and bilingual instruction by competent bilingual personnel.

Castañeda v. Pickard, 1981

"Perhaps the most significant court decision affecting language minority education after *Lau*" (Lyons, 1992, p. 19) is *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981). The school district in Raymondville, Texas, was charged with violation of language minority students' basic rights under the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974. In this case, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals formulated three criteria for evaluating programs serving LEP students: (1) The school program must be based on "sound educational theory"; (2) the program must be implemented effectively, with adequate resources and personnel; and (3) the program must be evaluated and determined to be effective, not only in the teaching of language but also in access to the full curriculum—math, science, social studies, and language arts (Crawford, 1999). Since this court decision, the "Castañeda test" has been applied by the courts in other cases and has been used as a standard in OCR guidelines for compliance with the *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court decision.

In another well-publicized case, *U.S. v. the State of Texas* (1981), U.S. District Judge William Wayne Justice ordered bilingual instruction in grades K through 12 for all Mexican American students in Texas with limited English proficiency, stating that "the state of Texas had not only segregated students in inferior 'Mexican schools,' but had 'vilified the language, culture, and heritage of these children with grievous results'" (Crawford, 1999, p. 44). At the time, Texas had state-mandated bilingual education in grades K through 3 only. A year later, though, a federal appellate court reversed the ruling.

Court decisions of the 1980s built on the Castañeda criteria included *Keyes v. School*

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GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING, *continued*

District #1 (1983), in which a U.S. District Court ruled that the second and third criteria for the transitional bilingual program had not been met. The program was judged as being not adequately implemented. The court declared that more bilingual teachers needed to be hired; standards for measuring teachers' bilingual proficiency needed to be established; adequate professional development for bilingual/ESL teachers must be provided; and appropriate assessment instruments must be used to measure the program's effectiveness. In 1987, in *Gómez v. Illinois State Board of Education*, under the Equal Educational Opportunities Act, it was ruled that state education agencies are also responsible for ensuring that language minority students' educational needs are met, including identification and assessment of language minority students and placement of students in appropriate programs.

Special Education for LM/LEP Students

Several court decisions have focused on the legal responsibilities of schools for serving language minority students with special needs (see chapter 9 for a more extensive discussion of the special education for culturally and linguistically diverse students). Overrepresentation and underrepresentation of LM students in special education classes are continuing concerns. Federal legislation such as the 1975 Education of the Handicapped Act (P.L. 94-142) and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 provides important protection under the law (Lyons, 1992). Under P.L. 94-142, students of limited English proficiency must be assessed in their primary language to determine appropriate educational program placement. The court case *Diana v. California* (1970) first brought legal attention to the overrepresentation of language minority children in classes for the mentally retarded. As a result of this settlement and the federal legislation, IQ has ceased to be the predominant construct for special education assessment, replaced by measurement of adaptive behavior and linguistic and cognitive tasks in the student's primary language (Figueroa, 1980). School districts continue to be held accountable through court decisions such as *Y. S. v. School District of Philadelphia* of 1988, brought on behalf of 6,800 Asian American students in Philadelphia's schools. One of the students named in this suit, a Cambodian

refugee, had been placed in classes for the mentally retarded based on tests developed for English-speaking students (Lyons, 1992).

Plyler v. Doe, 1982

Another landmark case taken all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court was *Plyler v. Doe* (1982). The resultant ruling of the highest court in the United States guarantees the rights of undocumented immigrants to free public education. Based upon the equal protection provisions of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, public schools are prohibited from (1) denying undocumented students admission to school, (2) requiring students or parents to disclose or document their immigration status, or (3) requiring the social security numbers of students (Carrera, 1989).

School districts may not arbitrarily require students to present social security numbers, maintain lists of students with alien registration numbers, report or refer students to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services (except in the case of an I-20 visa matter with parental authorization), nor classify undocumented or other immigrant students on the basis of their federal immigration status as nonresidents under state school attendance laws. However, districts may collect information for the purpose of documenting eligibility for funding by the Emergency Immigration Act or the Transition Program for Refugee Children by asking whether a student has arrived in the United States within the last three years and is in his or her first district of school attendance, and whether the student has status as a refugee under federal immigration law (Castro Feinberg, 1990, p. 146).

The *Plyler v. Doe* Supreme Court decision figured prominently in a federal judge's ruling striking down many of the provisions of Proposition 187, a ballot measure passed by California voters in 1994 in an attempt to slow down illegal immigration. The new law required public school personnel to report to law enforcement agencies and the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the U.S. Department of Justice all persons—children and parents—who were not able to prove their legal immigration or nationality status in the United States (Macías, 1994). "Judge Pfaelzer's ruling responded to arguments by civil rights and

specified identification and assessment procedures and proposed alternative methods of instruction for limited-English-proficient students, such as transitional, maintenance, or two-way models of bilingual education, and ESL for low-incidence language groups. The proposed regulations drew intense criticism for being too specific (whereas the 1975 remedies were considered too ambiguous), and coming three months before the presidential election, the regulations became a campaign issue. As a result, the regulations were withdrawn. New Lau compliance standards were developed in 1985, based chiefly on *Castañeda v. Pickard* (to be discussed below), but these guidelines were not published as official regulations. Many fewer OCR compliance reviews were conducted during the Reagan and Bush years (González, 1994; Lyons, 1990).

In 1988, "Congress acted to restore its intent to deny *all* federal assistance to school districts that violate the educational rights of students because of race or color or national origin in any of its programs" (Lyons, 1990, p. 31); however, the Bush administration did not greatly increase enforcement of OCR compliance reviews. When Clinton became president in 1993, the newly appointed assistant secretary for civil rights, Norma Cantú, began an intensive effort to initiate numerous compliance reviews, focusing on whole school systems. Priorities in OCR investigations have focused on access for limited-English-proficient students, overinclusion of minorities in special education, testing and admissions bias, and underrepresentation of women and minorities in mathematics and sciences (Pitsch, 1994; Schnaiberg, 1994b). For school districts cited as out of compliance, OCR reviews have focused on the following issues for language minority students who are limited in English proficiency (LM/LEP students): identification and assessment of LM/LEP students, education programs for these students based on sound theory and research, program participation data, program staffing and training, designation of exit criteria if the program is separate from the mainstream, program evaluation and modification, notices to parents in home language, segregation and facilities, access to special opportunity programs (e.g., gifted, magnet schools, advanced placement programs), and appropriate placement and services in special education when needed.

State Policies

State Legislation

Since the U.S. Constitution delegates most education decision making to the states, school policies for language minority students are strongly influenced by legislation and funding sources at the state level. This book cannot provide the rich detail of developments in state policies due to limited space; it is important that educators gather information from individual state education agencies on the requirements and resources for their jurisdictions because they vary greatly from state to state.

During the first half of the twentieth century, several states had statutory prohibitions against the use of languages other than English for instruction. But along with the federal passage of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, many states passed legislation to assist local school districts with implementation of bilingual and ESL services, repealing or ignoring the earlier laws (González, 1994; Gray, Convery, & Fox, 1981). By 1971, 30 states permitted or required some form of bilingual instruction, while 20 states prohibited such instruction (National Advisory Council for Bilingual Education, 1978–79). By 1983, bilingual education was explicitly permitted by law in 43 states. And as of 1996, bilingual education was mandated with specific guidelines for the requirements in nine states: Alaska, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Texas, and Wisconsin. Although laws in seven states—Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and West Virginia—still prohibit instruction in languages other than English, these bans are no longer enforced. Of the states that permit or mandate bilingual education, 21 provide some form of special funding for school districts to use for LM/LEP students (Crawford, 1999; Gray, Convery, & Fox, 1981).

In 1969, New Mexico was the first state in this century to pass legislation authorizing instruction in languages other than English (Crawford, 1999). But the first state legislation to mandate bilingual education was enacted by Massachusetts in 1971. The Massachusetts state law contributed to the institutionalization of transitional bilingual education as a program model that, in the early 1970s, was also adopted in many other states' laws regarding the education of LM/LEP students (González, 1994). (We will define this and other historical program models in the next section.) All states require the inclusion of ESL as an essential component of all bilingual programs. Ten states explicitly permit the inclusion of monolingual English speakers in two-way bilingual classes for desegregation purposes, and other state laws prohibit the segregation of LEP students. A few states have provisions for bilingual maintenance programs.

California is an interesting example of strong state laws that come and go with the politics of bilingual/ESL education. In 1986, California had a comprehensive bilingual education law, with specific policies for implementation. As the state with the largest number of limited-English-proficient students, with 40 percent of the national LEP enrollment in 1994–1995 (Silcox, 1997), California has immense needs. The California Department of Education found in 1994 that 27 percent of California LEP students (over 300,000 children) received no special language services at all, and only 28 percent of the state's LEP students received bilingual

instruction that included both primary language content instruction and English language development (Affeldt, 1996). Yet in a political climate in which California voters declared English the state's official language in 1986, when the bilingual education statute came up for reauthorization in the same year, even though it was endorsed by "virtually every school board and educators' organization in California . . . and it breezed through the legislature," the governor vetoed the measure. The California state bilingual education legislation had been

> A virtual bill of rights for language minority children, providing guarantees unmatched in other states (p. 195) . . . popular with many parents and educators because it clarified the schools' obligations: how to evaluate and reclassify LEP children, when to establish bilingual classrooms and what to do about a shortage of qualified bilingual teachers. These strict requirements also bred opposition, especially among teachers who had to learn a second language or risk losing their jobs (Crawford, 1999, pp. 63, 195).

However, in spite of the demise of the law, many of the requirements have remained in effect, through use of other state statutes and continuing state monitoring visits. Prior to the passage of Proposition 227, no California school districts had chosen to dismantle their bilingual programs, and numerous school districts continued to expand and improve the quality of bilingual services. Bilingual schools that were cited by the state or federal government as exemplary have continued to excel, and innovative bilingual curricula and models have spread to other schools (Crawford, 1999).

The state of California has also pioneered in cooperative work between OCR and the state education agency to assist school districts with plans for accountability when they have been cited as out of compliance with federal or state guidelines. One example was the comprehensive bilingual education plan negotiated with the Oakland Unified School District, following a class action suit filed by nine families of LEP students in 1985. With the development of a five-year plan that met the concerns of all parties, bilingual education state funds were reinstated (Affeldt, 1996; Schnaiberg, 1994a).

State Certification of Bilingual/ESL Teachers

Another level of state policymaking that influences implementation of school programs is formal teacher certification or licensure. According to a 1999 survey of state education agencies, 41 states and the District of Columbia offered either ESL or bilingual/dual-language teacher certification or endorsements. Of these, 22 states offered both ESL and bilingual certification or endorsements and 23 states had legislative requirements that teachers placed in ESL classrooms must be certified in ESL. Similarly, 17 states had legislative requirements that teachers placed in bilingual/dual-language classrooms must have bilingual/dual-language certification. Ten states did not provide either a bilingual or ESL endorsement: Alaska, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Vermont. States that offered ESL but not bilingual teacher certification were Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Montana,

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS (ELL) (2009) DATA FROM: HTTP://WWW.EDWEEK.ORG/ APPS/QC2009/STATE_COMPARE.HTML?INTC=ML#TABLE_2

TEACHING ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

	State has teacher standards for ELL instruction (2008–09)	State requires all prospective teachers to demonstrate competence in ELL instruction (2008–09)	Number of certified teachers in Title III language-instruction programs (2006–07)	Additional certified teachers needed for Title III in next five years as per-cent of cur-rent teachers (2006–07)	Number of ELL students per certified Title III teacher (2006–07)	State offers incentives to earn ESL license and/or endorsement (2008–09)	Types of language programs provided under Title lll (2006-07)		State bans or restricts native language instructions (2008–2009)
							Instruction in English and other language	Instruction in English only	
AL			197	10.20%	86		No	Yes	
AK			952	3.50%	20		Yes	Yes	
AZ	✔	✔	10,500	14.30%	16	✔	Yes	Yes	✔
AR	✔		1,052	66.50%	19	✔	No	Yes	✔
CA	✔		—	—	—		—	—	✔
CO	✔		5,161	48.40%	17		Yes	Yes	
CT			838	1.40%	34		Yes	Yes	✔
DE			89	168.50%	76	✔	Yes	No	
DC			123	0.00%	38		Yes	Yes	
FL	✔	✔	48,327	5.10%	3	✔	Yes	Yes	
GA	✔		1,827	50.10%	31		No	Yes	
HI			—	—	—		No	Yes	
ID	✔		1,219	9.80%	14	✔	Yes	Yes	
IL	✔		5,593	53.90%	31		Yes	Yes	
IN	✔		1,613	62.00%	26		Yes	Yes	
IA	✔		190	131.60%	87	✔	Yes	Yes	
KS	✔		1,188	25.30%	19	✔	Yes	Yes	
KY			3,973	6.30%	3		No	Yes	
LA			150	121.30%	54		Yes	Yes	
ME			89	65.20%	33		Yes	Yes	
MD	✔		943	62.50%	36	✔	No	Yes	
MA	✔		—	—	—		Yes	Yes	✔
MI	✔		579	17.30%	119		—	—	
MN	✔		1,253	44.80%	49		Yes	Yes	
MS			332	25.60%	10		Yes	Yes	
MO			50	6570.00%	372		Yes	Yes	
MT	✔		24	41.70%	147		Yes	Yes	
NE	✔		403	34.70%	43		Yes	Yes	
NV			990	27.40%	128		Yes	Yes	
NH	✔		114	26.30%	24		No	Yes	✔
NJ	✔		3,751	5.30%	15		Yes	Yes	
NM	✔		8,846	11.30%	7		Yes	Yes	
NY	✔	✔	2,009	24.90%	53	✔	Yes	Yes	
NC	✔		4,459	25.20%	20		Yes	Yes	
ND	✔		40	112.50%	114		Yes	Yes	

Guidelines for Teaching, *continued*

	State requires all prospective teachers to demonstrate competence in ELL instruction (2008–09)	Number of certified teachers in Title III language-instruction programs (2006–07)	Additional certified teachers needed for Title III in next five years as per-cent of cur-rent teachers (2006–07)	Number of ELL students per certified Title III teacher (2006–07)	State offers incentives to earn ESL license and/or endorsement (2008–09)	Types of language programs provided under Title lll (2006-07)		State bans or restricts native language instructions (2008–2009)
State has teacher standards for ELL instruction (2008–09)						Instruction in English and other language	Instruction in English only	
OH		1,203	34.00%	23		Yes	Yes	
OK		711	49.80%	46		Yes	Yes	
OR	✔	113	—	466		Yes	No	
PA	✔	—	—	—		Yes	Yes	
RI	✔	369	0.00%	24		Yes	Yes	
SC		460	60.90%	55		No	Yes	
SD		25	12.00%	146		Yes	Yes	
TN	✔	844	150.00%	27		No	Yes	
TX	✔	24,000	58.30%	31		Yes	Yes	
UT		1,795	199.80%	28		Yes	Yes	
VT	✔	57	61.40%	20		No	Yes	
VA	✔	1,697	64.80%	49		—	—	
WA		1,229	712.00%	66	✔	Yes	Yes	
WV	✔	94	53.20%	14	✔	No	Yes	
WI	✔	2,640	125.00%	13		Yes	Yes	✔
WY	✔	37	—	56		No	Yes	

Nebraska, North Carolina, Oregon, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. Three states—Michigan, North Dakota, and Wyoming—offered bilingual but not ESL teacher certification (McKnight & Antunez, 1999).

One of the major problems with the development of these licensing standards for teachers is that many of the states' standards for ESL teachers were developed in the 1970s or early 1980s, when ESL teachers were expected to teach only the English language. Thus the typical state-required coursework for ESL teachers focused mostly on theoretical and applied English linguistics courses that analyze the structure of the English language (Collier, 1985). But in the 1980s, the move-ment toward content-based ESL, recognizing that LEP students must receive access to the full curriculum (math, science, social studies, and language arts), resulted in the need for ESL teachers to be licensed to teach across the curriculum. Some states actually require dual licensure, adding ESL as an endorsement on top of stan-dard teacher certification, but other states require only the coursework in English linguistics. This leads to the serious problem that often ESL teachers are not prepared to teach the subject areas that they are assigned to teach, and in some states they are not given the coursework in child and adolescent development and

teaching methods that prepare them for their work. In some states, the bilingual teaching credential has some of the same problems, but most states require bilingual teachers to be fully licensed across the curriculum, using the same standards as those for all grade-level (mainstream) teachers, plus coursework in bilingualism and second language acquisition, foundations of bilingual education, and incorporation of a cross-cultural or multicultural perspective into the curriculum.

Leading School Reform at the Local Level

With the current school climate focused on restructuring, realigning curricula, school improvement, and systemic reform as described at the beginning of this chapter, educators are continually redefining the changes that need to be made in schools. The challenge is to stimulate policy changes at all levels: innovating in school leadership, recruiting qualified bilingual/ESL teachers, continuing professional development, developing challenging bilingual/bicultural materials across the curriculum, and developing authentic assessment measures for the classroom and program evaluation measures that provide students access to future educational opportunities. We bilingual/ESL educators are part of this educational transformation. We have pointed out the inequities in student achievement and the need for major changes in U.S. schools. Now it is crucial that we lead our schools, joining in collaboration with all educators to create a more equitable, safe, and meaningful learning environment for all students. The chapters of this book that follow will provide a thorough, comprehensive, research-based guide to effective educational practices that will lead culturally and linguistically diverse students, as well as all students, to high academic achievement.

Summary

The history of language minority education over the last two centuries has been contradictory. While the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were marked by a general tolerance toward the use of immigrant languages for instruction in both private and public schooling, growing anti-immigrant sentiments and subsequent restrictive immigration legislation in the twentieth century resulted in widespread "Americanization" efforts and English Only instruction as a national policy. American Indian students endured a repressive education in boarding schools located far from their families and homes. The result of this historical pattern was a severe loss of cultural and linguistic resources among immigrant and indigenous groups alike.

Although the federal government increasingly acknowledged the growing need for linguistically competent military and civilian personnel, especially during World War II and the Cold War, it has never fully accepted the linguistic resources that new immigrants bring to our country. Most immigrant students still receive their education in English only, with some instruction in English as a second language. If bilingual education is available, it typically is transitional, designed as remedial instruction for only two or three years, after which students are expected to continue their education in English only. Unfortunately,

reauthorizations of the federal Bilingual Education Act since 1968 have not addressed this contradiction. While early Title VII legislation was characterized by its promotion of compensatory, deficit models of bilingual education, the 1994 reauthorization encouraged the development of bilingualism and biliteracy. No Child Left Behind, the most recent authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, eliminated the Bilingual Education Act outright, replacing it with "Title III, Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students." The new legislation emphasizes English acquisition and achievement, not the development of bilingualism and biliteracy.

Key Terms

Adequate yearly progress, *70*

Bilingual Education Act of 1968, *48*

Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, *78*

Lau plans, *80*

Lau regulations, *80*

Lau remedies, *79*

National Defense Education Act of 1958, *61*

No Child Left Behind, *48*

Race to the Top, *74*

Reauthorization, *48*

Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, *51*

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, *63*

U.S. Office for Civil Rights (OCR), *79*

Reflection Questions

1. Many people mistakenly believe that bilingual education in the United States is a recent phenomenon, that is, that bilingual programs have been implemented only since the late 1960s. How would you correct this perception? What are some examples of early bilingual education programs in the United States?

2. The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) is considered to be among the strongest federal endorsements of the right of English language learners to a "meaningful" and equal education. Why did the court rule that Chinese students in San Francisco were receiving an "unequal" education? In other words, why might an education provided on "equal terms" (the standard in *Brown v. Board of Education*), in fact, not be equal? Did the Supreme Court's decision in Lau make bilingual education mandatory across the nation?

3. Currently, the federal government uses the three-part Castañeda test to determine school district compliance with federal civil rights laws. What might trigger this test? How does the test work?

4. Trace the development of the Bilingual Education Act since 1968. How has the legislation changed over each subsequent reauthorization? What were some of the political forces that influenced these reauthorizations?

5. What are the adequate yearly progress (AYP) requirements of No Child Left Behind? How do they affect schools and school districts serving English language learners? Why are these requirements ill-conceived, according to some?

6. How do the incentives and sanctions in the Obama administration's Race to the Top resemble or differ from those in No Child Left Behind's AYP reporting requirements? Should teacher evaluations be made on the basis of how well their students do on standardized assessments? Is there a need for national academic standards?

ENDNOTES

1. After signing the measure into law in 1987, then-Governor Bill Clinton insisted that the legislature add a proviso: "This section shall not prohibit the public schools from performing their duty to provide equal educational opportunities to all children." Nevertheless, bilingual education remains illegal in Arkansas under another state law (§6-16-104), which authorizes a fine of up to $25 a day for teachers who use a language other than English for instruction.

2. While we have chosen throughout this book to avoid use of the phrase *limited-English-proficient students* wherever possible because of the pejorative connotation associated with the word *limited* and its acronym LEP, throughout most of this chapter we shall use limited-English-proficient students and LEP because we are referring to the official term used in government documents, court cases, and federal and state legislation. In general, the acronyms LEP and LM/LEP (language minority/limited-English-proficient students) are still the most common terms used in most U.S. federal and state policy documents.

3. In this book, we use the term *American Indian* to refer to all indigenous groups descended from the original inhabitants, prior to the Europeans' arrival, of the land defined by current U.S. political boundaries. While the U.S. government uses the term *Native American* (to avoid the misnomer originally created by Christopher Columbus who thought he had discovered the water route to India), the term *American Indian* is still preferred by most indigenous groups of American Indian heritage. Our use of the term *American Indian* is not to be confused with the descendants of those who have emigrated to the United States from the country of India in South Asia.

4. Throughout this book, wherever possible, we have substituted the term *grade-level* for *mainstream* to use terminology introduced by Enright and McCloskey (1988) that has fewer negative associations in our field. However, we continue to use the term *mainstream* in this chapter when policy documents use this term, or when we wish to emphasize the contrast between the curricular mainstream and separate bilingual and ESL classes that are not taught on grade level during the portion of the day that is taught in the second language.

5. In the state of Arizona, for example, ESL pullout is even illegal. The consent decree in a recent federal court decision, *Flores v. Arizona,* requires that English language development be combined with content area instruction for all English language learners in the state.

TEACHING

North Carolina Teacher of the Year 2004–2005:
An Immigrant's Success Story

*Coming from a third world country and a large family, with low-income, uned-
ucated parents and poor language skills, I had more than one reason to be
labeled "at risk." I came to the United States when I was 16 years old and
entered a high school in the state of Iowa where there were no other Hispanic
immigrants. Teachers did not use any ENL (English as a new language) strate-
gies, modifications, or scaffolding techniques. There was no special support for
English language learners. It was a sink-or-swim situation.*

*At times, it was difficult to cope. I had no friends at school. I could not commu-
nicate in English. I received poor grades, which in turn devastated my self-esteem.
My personality changed completely. Formerly a happy, outgoing, bubbly girl, I was
now quiet, shy, and scared. Every time I went to school, I was afraid of failure and
ridicule. My classmates would make fun of my accent and my English. I started iso-
lating myself and crying out of frustration almost every night. I was missing every-
thing back home in Costa Rica. It was almost impossible to deal with my emotions,
develop my language skills, and learn the subject content at the same time.*

*Even though my first experience in a new country was painful, my parents
always motivated me to study. We knew that the only avenue out of poverty is
education. They constantly encouraged me to stay in school, to graduate, to
"become somebody," as my father would say. I knew I had to study in order to be
free from the bondage of poverty and ignorance. I did not want to be crippled by
those two enemies for the rest of my life.*

*A year later, I graduated from high school and went back to Costa Rica to
pursue my BA in English. I wanted to become an educator so that I could bring
hope to the poor, motivate children to stay in school, and inspire others to
become professionals. I had discovered a key that can open the doors to many
opportunities, and I had it in my hand. As a teacher, I could give that key to my
students and show them how to use it.*

*Several years later, I had the opportunity to come back to the United States
to teach. I started out as a Spanish teacher, but I was not completely satisfied in
that position, so I decided to enroll in the ESL (English as a second language)
licensure program at North Carolina State University. I have been teaching ENL
for five years now, and I have found a new joy in my career. I work with immigrant
students from different countries who are going through the same difficulties I
went through more than 20 years ago. But this time it is different: They are not
alone. They have an advocate who understands and helps them. They are enti-
tled to a sound education, and I make sure they receive the necessary modifica-
tions and support.*

*I believe that immigrant students have two main needs: appreciation and
achievement. They need to feel welcomed and accepted just as they are. It is impor-
tant to validate their native language and culture at school, instead of ignoring or
rejecting such an essential part of their identity. English language learners also
need to experience success and a sense of achievement. If they do not succeed in the*

classroom, they will leave our schools and find the wrong kind of success in the streets. It is imperative that educators apply ENL strategies, scaffolding techniques, and modifications to promote achievement among our immigrant students.

In Catawba County, North Carolina, I make sure that there is a network of communication and support for our English language learners. I often meet with the students' regular homeroom teachers, giving them the opportunity to share their concerns about these children. Thus, I am able to plan according to my students' needs. I am well informed about the subjects and the content they are learning and the areas in which they need more support.

I also have a close relationship with my students' parents. I give them my home number, and I visit them when necessary. I keep parents informed about their children's progress and the areas in which they need to improve. I plan, organize, and conduct a "Partners in Print" program in Spanish. This is a support group for both parents and students. We meet one evening a month to practice reading strategies and math skills. Parents and children enjoy this time of learning together, and parents become aware of what their children need to learn and how they can help at home, even in their native language. "Partners in Print" has proved to be a very successful program. It connects home and school, validates students' native language, boosts students' self-esteem, and empowers parents to participate in their children's education.

I am a firm believer in bilingualism and biculturalism. When I came to the United States at the age of 16, which is a difficult age for any teenager, I had strong roots to anchor me in times of trial. My native language was well developed, and my culture, music, food, customs, traditions, and values were all ingrained in me. Even though I was different at school—the only Hispanic in an otherwise all-white school—I was very proud of being Costa Rican. My parents would often say, "El hombre bilingüe vale por dos" (A bilingual man is worth twice as much). I believe that your native language and culture are so much a part of your identity that you cannot become a fully satisfied individual if you have to hide or omit this part of who you are. That is why I believe that it is only right to support and encourage the development of our immigrant students' native language. It is essential that our schools promote bilingualism and biculturalism. Bilingualism is an asset needed to compete in a multicultural society and in a global market. I firmly believe that diversity of thought, of language, and of culture will only enrich our schools and lives.

Today I can say that education has transformed my life. If not for public education, I would probably be picking coffee in the hot valleys of Costa Rica or cleaning houses for a meager salary. Because I used the key of education to open the doors of opportunity, I earned a master's degree in education and National Board Certification in English as a New Language. Today, I am the first Hispanic and first ENL teacher to achieve the title of North Carolina State Teacher of the Year. I am a living example of how teachers who encourage their students can have a positive impact in their lives, in spite of the home environment.

Lizbeth Alfaro, North Carolina Teacher of the Year, 2004–2005.

Do you tend to see your students as empty vessels to be filled by you? Do you tap into the students' lived experiences to anchor your classroom activities? Do you tend to see other people's children as your own and see yourself in their futures? Do you tend to see your students as being "at risk"? What motivates you to be in the classroom? When do special moments happen? Which experiences excite you? Teaching, we all agree, is about making a difference in our students' lives. And we know we do make a difference in many different ways, but teaching decisions are often hard, and in the spontaneous energy of a classroom full of humans, we have to respond to the moment and hope our decisions are good ones. As new teachers, we sometimes feel overwhelmed with the responsibilities we are given. Experience helps, but as we build up a repertoire of teaching strategies, we can also become stale, bored, perhaps out of touch. Those of us who are experienced teachers often need to renew the energy from our imaginative preteaching days by discovering new instructional strategies that work, as well as exploring new knowledge with our students. We teachers today must reflect on our teaching for professional growth, renewal, and insights into the teaching process. In doing so, however, we must also strike an uneasy balance between ideal and controlled teaching and learning contexts from the top down. For example, the mantra of multicultural education is to know, to care, and to act. Yet, at times teachers' principles of caring and advocacy may be compromised by legislative mandates. For example, under the No Child Left Behind (**NCLB**) legislation (U.S. Department of Education, 2002), our nation made a commitment to ensuring that every student would have a great teacher by the year 2006. And while no reasonable person would question the desirability that each child should have great teachers to reach his or her potential, the fact of the matter is that under NCLB, teachers have felt constrained to meet the law's requirement for higher student test scores and subsequent pressures to achieve them through the implementation of top-down education policies, "teacher proof" reading programs, and high-stakes standardized testing. Since the passage of No Child Left Behind, schools and school districts have moved away from student-center, inquiry-based instructional approaches. Indeed, NCLB has severely limited the kinds of curricular choices and day-to-day teaching flexibility that schools once enjoyed (Fine, Bloom, & Chajet, 2003; García, Kleifgen, & Falchi, 2008; McNeil, Coppola, Radigan, & Vasquez Heilig; Menken, 2008; Olson, 2007). The implications for educating language minority students under NCLB have been and continue to be profound. As Crawford (2004) writes:

> Under . . . No Child Left Behind, federal competitive grants for programs serving LEP students have been replaced by formula grants administered by the states. Not just the goal of developing native language skills, but all references to bilingualism have been expunged from the law. While bilingual education is still eligible for funding, several new provisions—including mandatory high-stakes testing in English—encourage schools to move toward all-English instruction. No Child Left Behind puts great stress on "scientifically based research" as a guide for program design. Thus far, however, no such basis has been offered for the federal policy reversal on educating English language learners (p. xvi).

Lastly, teachers working in city schools with children of poverty whose primary language often is not English would tend to agree with Noguera's (2003) position that higher standards and more tests alone will not make low-income urban students any smarter and the schools they attend more successful without substantial investment in the communities in which they live to improve employment opportunities, housing, and health care. This chapter presents current research on variations in instructional teaching styles that are especially important to consider when working with language minority students.

Portrait of a Traditional Classroom

At desks in rows facing the front, students quietly take notes as the teacher lectures, using the blackboard at the front of the room. Students are instructed to open their textbooks to read a section and answer the questions connected to what the teacher has just presented. Perhaps the teacher passes out worksheets to expand the points made. Students practice rote learning through memorization and recall of facts. The teacher makes every classroom decision. Students raise their hands to be called on, and the teacher chooses who gets to speak, one at a time. Students do not leave their desks unless given special permission by the teacher.

Worldwide, most classrooms still function in this way, especially in high schools and universities. Teachers who were schooled under this system of teaching prefer the convenience of sequenced textbook lessons, which require little effort in lesson planning on the teacher's part, and strict teacher control of the class. Knowledge transmission is the goal of these classes, based on an assembly line, factory model from the industrial age of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Why, then, if it is so easy to teach this way, are current teacher educators pushing for major changes in teaching styles? What is motivating us to try to change the way that schools facilitate learning? Unprecedented large-scale immigration to the United States that has surpassed all previous records is responsible for many of the conceptual and methodological changes occurring in the teaching profession. For example, Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco (2001) points out that teachers increasingly have children in their class from all parts of the globe. The lived experiences of these children reflect myriad schooling experiences, non-English languages, cultures, and socioeconomic status that need to be integrated cognitively, linguistically, and socioculturally into the bloodstream of the curriculum. This highly complex post-Cold War reality is characterized by 1) new information and communication technologies, 2) the emergence of global markets and post-national knowledge-intensive economies, and 3) unprecedented levels of immigration and displacement (p. 345). In turn, these three pillars have changed the ways teachers prepare students for this century. As we argued in Chapter 1, teachers have come to understand that we cannot teach our English language learners in the same way that we teach our English-proficient students. In the current legislative climate, the academic success of ELLs depends more than ever on innovative and creative ways to teach.

The Workplace of the Twenty-first Century

Among the many changes taking place in the transformation from an industrial age to an information-driven, technological age is the demand for a well-educated workforce. But "well-educated" is defined differently in the professional world of today than it was a century ago. In the past, the number of years of schooling that a student completed implied that student's mastery of a given body of knowledge. But today the knowledge explosion is overwhelming in all fields of study. Students stay in school longer and longer, as the expected credentials for many jobs are being expanded. Yet when a degree is completed, graduates know that they still have much to learn. Since it is no longer possible for students to master everything there is to know in their given field during their formal studies, and since new knowledge will continue to transform the basic knowledge base, it is essential that students learn how to get access to all sources of knowledge.

This means that we can no longer rely on the traditional classroom to provide the learning context needed for student inquiry. The knowledge explosion occurring in all fields requires both access to greatly varied technology and print sources as well as a different way to approach the learning process, through active, inquiry-based learning. The workplace of today, from low- to high-income professions, requires extensive collaboration with other employees, and workers' willingness to expand their own professional development through implementing new uses of technology, developing new roles in the workplace, and tackling new problems to be solved.

Students need extensive experience with collaborative knowledge gathering and problem solving for reasons beyond preparation for the workplace, however. Research and theory from cognitive psychology have led us to a new view of the learning process itself. Today we view learning as "a highly interactive process of constructing personal meaning from the information available in a learning situation and then integrating that information with what we already know to create new knowledge" (Marzano, 1992, p. 5). Additionally, students are expected to acquire what scholars in our field have called multiple or "new literacies" (Alvermann, 2006; Gee, 2008; Kist, 2005; Lankshear & Knobel, 2006, 2007, 2008; McPherson, Wang, Hsu, & Tsuei, 2007; Street, 2005). We shall explore these new perspectives on learning after a glimpse at some less helpful practices in bilingual and ESL classes.

Passive Learning

In 1991, a large congressionally mandated longitudinal study was completed to assess the relative effectiveness of three types of programs for language minority students (Ramírez, Yuen, Ramey, & Pasta, 1991). One of the many findings of the study focused on the types of teaching styles found in ESL and bilingual classrooms. Classroom observational data, collected from 1984 to 1989 among 51 elementary schools and 554 classrooms in nine school districts and five states (California, Florida, New Jersey, New York, and Texas), revealed a preponderance

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

FACTORS TO CONSIDER WHEN TEACHING NON-ANGLO-EUROPEAN DOMINANT STUDENTS

- The past experiences and opportunities of ethnically different students are often not the ones teachers recognize and value.

- Measures of achievement and aptitude have traditionally been most appropriate for white, middle-income groups.

- Instructional content and strategies have also been developed primarily for white, middle-income students.

- Teachers often lack understanding of cultural differences and have lower expectations for student success.

- The student may not be fluent in standard English or may speak a dialect the teacher regards as slang.

- The student may have a learning style preference that is not accommodated by the teacher.

- The student may not be accepted by a majority of classmates, a factor that has been found to lower achievement levels among children in the minority group.

Source: Bennett, 2003, p. 219.

of bilingual and ESL classrooms that were teacher dominated, where students were treated as passive learners and were assigned only cognitively simple tasks.

> Without exception, across grade levels, . . . teachers do most of the talking. . . . Students produce language only when they are working directly with a teacher, and then only in response to teacher initiations. In over half of the interactions that teachers have with students, students do not produce any language (i.e., using nonverbal responses such as listening or gesturing). When students do respond, typically they are providing simple information recall. Rather than being provided with the opportunity to generate original statements, students are asked to provide simple discrete close-ended or patterned responses. Not only does this pattern of teacher/student interaction limit a student's opportunity to create and manipulate language freely, but it also limits the student's ability to engage in more complex learning. . . . In summary, teachers do not teach language or higher order cognitive skills effectively. Teachers in all three programs offer a **passive learning** environment, limiting student opportunities to produce language and to develop more complex language and conceptual skills (Ramírez, Yuen, Ramey, & Pasta, 1991, pp. 421–422).

But this pattern is not unique to bilingual and ESL classrooms. Other large-scale studies of U.S. education have found the same phenomenon prevalent across many classrooms of all grade levels (Goodlad, 1984; National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1991; Oakes, 1985; Porter, 1989; Sirotnik, 1983). If passive classrooms are still in common practice, how do education researchers and school reformers characterize **active learning,** our goal in U.S. education reform?

Active, Inquiry–Based Learning

Students actively engaged in solving a problem, discovering new ways of perceiving their world, intensely applying learning strategies to the next task, developing family-like community among classmates, sharing the excitement of a special discovery—these glimpses of invigorating, deep learning occur naturally in a classroom that promotes active learning. An active learning environment is one in which both learners and teachers "share a vision of and responsibility for instruction . . . , [and where] integration of the student's home, community, and culture are key elements" (Fern, Anstrom, & Silcox, 1995, p.1).

In our bilingual and ESL teacher education classes, we are often asked how teachers can create an active environment for English language learners when the teacher does not share the students' first language. Our teachers want to make the educational experience of ELLs meaningful, but are unsure about what steps to take. We believe strongly that bilingual and ESL classrooms can be dynamic spaces for active learning and that teachers can implement discovery-oriented, inquiry-based approaches in ELL classrooms as effectively as they can in mainstream, English medium classrooms. Christian Faltis and Cathy Coulter (2008) provide a helpful framework for the facilitation of active learning, or "active participation" in classrooms serving immigrant students and English language learners:

> By active, we mean that students are engaged socially, emotionally, and intellectually in whatever activity they are doing. Students can be actively listening, selectively attending to key ideas, steps, explanations, and vocabulary. They can be

Guidelines for Teaching

PRINCIPLES TO FOLLOW FOR EFFECTIVE CLASSROOMS FOR LINGUISTICALLY AND CULTURALLY DIVERSE STUDENTS

- Any curriculum, including one for diverse children, must address all categories of learning goals (cognitive and academic; advanced as well as basic).

- The more linguistically and culturally diverse the children, the more closely teachers must relate academic content to a child's own environment and experience.

- The more diverse the children, the more integrated the curriculum should be. That is, multiple content areas (e.g., math, science, social studies) and language learning activities should be centered around a single theme. Children should have opportunities to study a topic in depth and to apply a variety of skills acquired in home, community, and school contexts.

- The more diverse the children, the greater the need for active rather than passive endeavors, particularly informal social activities such as group projects in which students are allowed flexibility in their participation with the teacher and other students.

- The more diverse the children, the more important it is to offer them opportunities to apply what they are learning in a meaningful context. Curriculum can be made meaningful in a number of creative ways. Science and math skills can be effectively applied, for example, through hands-on, interactive activities that allow students to explore issues of significance in their lives (García, 1994, p. 275).

actively figuring out through inference and deduction why something is happening or not as they expected. They can be reading silently, actively making sense of some author's narrative or expository text. They can be writing out notes for later study or making a draft of what they want to explain or devising a chart that shows similarities and differences between two events. They can be questioning or reflecting in journals or learning logs or engaging in discussions about content with classmates. In each of these examples, students are active because they are engaged in practices that use prior knowledge to enter into new language uses and meanings that further their understanding (p. 37).

Almost a century ago, John Dewey (1916) spoke passionately of the benefits of discovery learning for all students. Today teacher educators have extended Dewey's vision of active learning as crucial to education in a democratic society, and educational research has demonstrated the power of this instructional approach for the academic success of diverse students of many different backgrounds (Apple & Beane, 1995; Brooks & Brooks, 1993; Harmin, 1994; Katz, Scott, & Hadjioannou, 2009; Moll & Ruiz, 2005). But while an active learning classroom environment benefits all students, it is even more critical to language minority students' success.

When examining the length of time that it takes for students who are not yet proficient in English to achieve academically in English at the typical performance level of native English speakers in all content subjects (4 to 12 years or more), it becomes exceedingly clear that we are holding language minority students back, and therefore increasing the gap between native and nonnative English speakers, in passive classrooms emphasizing basic skills approaches to teaching. Research examining language minority student performance in bilingual, ESL, and grade-level classes taught through collaborative discovery learning using meaningful, cognitively complex, interdisciplinary content has found that active learning accelerates language minority students' academic growth, leading to eventual high

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

CONCEPTUAL DIMENSIONS OF A RESPONSIVE PEDAGOGY

- Bilingual/bicultural skills and awareness.
- High expectations of diverse students.
- Treatment of diversity as an asset to the classroom.
- Ongoing professional development on issues of cultural and linguistic diversity and practices that are most effective.
- Basis of curriculum development to address cultural and linguistic diversity.
- Attention to and integration of home culture/practices.
- Focus on maximizing student interactions across categories of [native language], Spanish and English proficiency, and academic performance.
- Focus on language development through meaningful interactions and communications.

academic performance comparable to or exceeding that of native English speakers (Thomas & Collier, 1997). In this research, based on over 700,000 language minority student records from 1982 to 1996 in five school districts in several regions of the United States, Thomas and Collier found that the major factors that accelerate language minority students' academic achievement in the second language are cognitively complex on-grade-level academic instruction across the curriculum through students' first and second languages; the use of current approaches to teaching in an interactive, discovery learning environment at school; and a transformed sociocultural context for language minority students' schooling.

Other research on the effectiveness of language minority education suggests the importance of creating a classroom environment that promotes active learning. Such an environment includes cognitively complex lessons, an integrated and thematic curriculum, collaborative learning, and building upon the language-culture-knowledge base that the student brings to the classroom (Au, 1993; Chamot, Dale, O'Malley, & Spanos, 1992; Cummins, 1996b; Dalton & Sison, 1995; Echevarria & Graves, 2007; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2010; Faltis, 2006; Faltis & Coulter, 2008; García, 1991, 2001; 1994; Goldenberg, 1991; Henderson & Landesman, 1992; Lockwood & Secada, 1999; Moll, 1988a; Ovando, 1994; Ovando & McLaren, 2000; Panfil, 1995; Rivera & Zehler, 1990; Romo, 1999; Rosebery, Warren, & Conant, 1992; Tashakkori & Ochoa, 1999; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Thomas, 1994; Valdés, 2001; Valdez Pierce, 1991; Warren & Rosebery, 1995).

Summarizing effective classroom practices for language minority students, García (2001) suggests that an interactive, student-centered learning context, anchored on the language and culture of the home, plays a major role in the academic and social success of language minority students.

Moreover, in identifying ways to address cultural and linguistic diversity in responsive learning communities, García (2001) proposes the following conceptual dimensions for teacher practices.

> In committing to a dynamic partnership with the students, it is crucial that teachers select and apply instructional strategies that acknowledge, respect, and build on the language and culture of the home. Teachers play the most critical role in students' academic success, and students become important partners with teachers in the teaching and learning enterprise (García 2001, p. 153).

ACTIVATING STUDENTS' PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

An underlying, basic concept of the active, inquiry-based classroom is that authentic, personally meaningful learning must connect to students' prior knowledge. This crucial principle means that learning in a diverse class incorporates the rich linguistic and cultural life experiences that each student brings to the classroom. Students' diverse experiences while growing up are gifts, resources, and a rich knowledge base. Cognitive psychologists' theories are grounded in this basic concept: that we learn by connecting new knowledge to our existing schemata. In second-language learning, we get the "Aha" through lots of rich clues to meaning, among the most important clues being those that connect to what we already know.

To activate students' prior knowledge, the teacher must become an active partner in the learning process so that students and teachers are both learners and meaning makers (Cummins, 1996b; Goodman & Wilde, 1992). Thus students actively participate in choosing the curricular themes that are developed, exploring community knowledge, and creating writings (text) that are generated from exploration of the theme. Visuals, manipulatives, posters, time lines, science experiments, journal writing, rich storybooks, puppets, and many other concrete experiences can activate students' prior knowledge and life experiences. In the sections on art, technology, and music in this chapter, we will explore glimpses of classes that activate students' prior knowledge. **Critical pedagogy** and **accelerated learning,** also to be examined briefly in this chapter, are based on connecting closely to the linguistic and cultural learning context outside of school, bringing community and school into a collaborative, meaningful partnership for authentic inquiry.

Cooperative Learning

Now that we have examined the general definition of active learning and the research base that has found active, discovery learning to be a key ingredient in language minority students' success in school in the United States, we shall explore the specifics of implementation. **Cooperative learning,** also referred to as collaborative learning in secondary and higher education contexts, is one element in an active learning classroom that is crucial to management of an interactive class. Cooperative learning, as implemented in the United States, generally refers to many varied ways to structure a class in small, heterogeneous student groups (usually of two to six members, with four an ideal size), to accomplish individual or group goals for learning that require cooperation and positive interdependence.

Throughout human history, group learning has been an ancient and honored tradition for passing on the knowledge of the elders from one generation to the next. Over the centuries, humans have used small-group collaboration for most forms of learning, until the twentieth century, when the numbers of students being formally schooled increased so dramatically that class size led teachers toward knowledge transmission through lectures. Cooperative learning structures have helped teachers return to the most time-honored approach to learning, in a small-group context, even when class size is large.

Research on Cooperative Learning

Today many forms of cooperative learning are practiced in countries around the world (Nunan, 1992; Slavin, 1989). In the United States since the 1970s, cooperative learning has been used to improve cognitive, academic, social, and affective outcomes in classrooms as an alternative to individualistic, competitive structures. The research base for cooperative learning is strong, with hundreds of studies documenting the effectiveness of this instructional approach for teaching diverse student populations (Calderón, 1994, 2007; Echevarria & Graves, 2006; Faltis, 2006; Faltis & Coulter, 2008; Holt, 1993; Jacob, 1999; Jacob, Rottenberg, Patrick, & Wheeler, 1996; Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1986; Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, 1991; Kagan, 1986, 1992; Kessler, 1992; Slavin, 1988a, 1989, 1990; Slavin, Sharan, Kagan, Hertz-Lazarowitz, Webb, & Schmuck, 1985). Research supports cooperative learning for bilingual students:

> (1) To support interaction and thus the development and use of the first language in ways that support cognitive development and increased second language skills; (2) to increase the frequency and variety of second language practice through different types of interaction; (3) to provide opportunities to integrate language with content instruction; (4) to provide inclusion of a greater variety of curricular materials to stimulate language use as well as concept learning; and (5) to provide opportunities for students to act as resources for each other and thereby assume a more active role in learning (Calderón, Tinajero, & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 1992; McGroarty, 1989; Tinajero, Calderón, & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 1993, p. 242).

Students participating in a two-way bilingual program derive even greater benefits from the use of cooperative learning. Because native speakers of each language are present in each cooperative group, these peer teachers stimulate higher levels of linguistic and content accuracy, including interaction at challenging cognitive levels. In addition, "the students' first language acquires high status, and their self-esteem flourishes as they become experts for other students," transforming the bilingual program into an enrichment program. "The bilingual/bicultural cycle enables inclusion of a greater variety of curricular materials, real-life experiences, and authentic literature from diverse cultures," in which "newcomers find that their expertise in language and cultural capital is valued and nurtured" (Calderón, 1994, pp. 96–97).

Principles of Cooperative Learning

When teachers are first introduced to cooperative learning, they sometimes express skepticism as they try out one or two suggested structures presented in a staff development session. But it is very important to think of cooperative learning as diverse in its definitions, characteristics, and potential uses. It is also important to understand what cooperative learning *is not.* Soltero (2004) points out that a group of students sitting together and completing the same assignment does not mean that they are engaging in a structured cooperative activity. Similarly, organizing students into groups does not necessarily ensure collaborative work. Teachers need to monitor that *all* members of cooperative groups participate, rather than only one or two. Real collaborative learning occurs when "students learn knowledge, skills, strategies, or procedures in a group, and then apply the knowledge or perform the skill, strategy, or procedure alone to demonstrate their individual mastery of the material" (Soltero, 2004, p. 105). Nonetheless, the concept of cooperative learning is adaptable, flexible, and meant to be used creatively by teachers. As teachers experiment with cooperative learning structures, each class responds differently, and new ideas emerge for implementation (Holt, 1993). Hertz-Lazarowitz and Calderón (1994) present a comprehensive professional development model to train, coach, and provide follow-up support systems for teachers implementing cooperative learning.

Keeping in mind the adaptability of varied approaches to cooperative learning, we present a few guidelines from some of the key thinkers in the field. David and Roger Johnson, teacher educators who helped to initiate the current movement toward use of cooperative learning in the United States:

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

FIVE ELEMENTS OF COOPERATIVE LEARNING

1. Positive interdependence, a sense of working together for a common goal and caring about each other's learning.

2. Individual accountability, whereby every team member feels in charge of their own and their teammates' learning and makes an active contribution to the group. Thus there is no "hitchhiking" or "freeloading" for anyone on a team—everyone pulls their weight.

3. Abundant verbal, face-to-face interaction, where learners explain, argue, elaborate, and link current material with what they have learned previously.

4. Sufficient social skills, involving explicit teaching of appropriate leadership, communication, trust, and conflict resolution skills so that the team can function effectively.

5. Team reflection, whereby the teams periodically assess what they have learned, how well they are working together and how they might do better as a learning team (Kohonen, 1992, p. 35).

Working from these principles, Kagan (1992) has collected a wide variety of teaching strategies that help teachers experiment with cooperative learning, including structures that focus on building team and class social skills, structures that assist with academic information sharing and content mastery, and structures that build communication and thinking skills. Most of Kagan's key concepts focus on practical advice to teachers for implementation strategies that are crucial to classroom management. Kessler (1992) provides another excellent teacher reference for bilingual/ESL teachers on the use of cooperative learning in teaching L_1 and L_2 through mathematics, science, and social studies, as well as language and cognitive development. The following sections review a few teaching decisions to consider when first implementing cooperative learning.

Forming Teams

Heterogeneous student teams are very important for students' academic and social development; this idea is a fundamental concept for many cooperative learning specialists. The rationale for diversity within one team is that heterogeneity maximizes the possibilities for peer tutoring and improves intercultural communication across groups. Generally, in cooperative learning teachers assign students to teams by mixing students by gender, ethnicity, language proficiency, and academic achievement. If students select their own teammates, status hierarchies persist. If random selection is used, teachers run the risk of creating "loser" teams. Yet there is no prescriptive rule to follow for assigning students to teams. Sometimes students' self-selection of team members can serve a purpose in one lesson; random selection is occasionally meaningful; and homogeneous groupings can serve an important purpose for language minority students. Thus the overall guide for teachers is to use great variety, to change team members so that the same group of students does not work together for weeks, and to change team formation patterns (Kagan & McGroarty, 1993; Kohonen, 1992).

A special issue when working with language minority students is to balance homogeneity with heterogeneity in team formation. This is a complex issue that must be carefully planned, depending upon the goals and instructional objectives for each group of students. During the academic portion of the day, when subjects are taught in students' primary languages, students may be grouped homogeneously by language. Likewise, beginning ESL students need times when specialized ESL content lessons are tailored to their proficiency level. Thus homogeneous groupings may be very important for language minority students at times during the instructional day (Echevarria & Graves, 2007; Kagan & McGroarty, 1993; Rothenberg & Fisher, 2007). Yet without access to native English-speaking peers for some portion of the school day, language minority students can get stuck in low-status tracks that do not lead to academic success. In two-way bilingual programs, homogeneous student groupings are not often needed, since peer tutoring is a crucial component of this model for academic work in two languages. Again, flexibility and variety in cooperative learning teams, classroom structures, and program designs are an important part of teacher decisions in lesson planning.

Structuring Team Activities

Many details of a cooperative learning activity need to be carefully planned ahead of time, more than can be included in this short review. Among the decisions that a teacher needs to make (some of which should be decided democratically with students) are the physical arrangements, role assignments for team members, group procedures that will promote interaction, rules for group work, and systems for managing movement and noise in the classroom (Echevarria & Graves, 2006; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2010; Faltis, 2006; Faltis & Coulter, 2008; Goor & Schwenn, 1993). Possible role assignments (to be rotated among team members) might include quiet captains, timekeepers, materials monitors, praisers and cheerleaders, equalizers and encouragers (to encourage less involved students to contribute and to motivate the team when it gets bogged down), recorders (to write down each significant group decision), presenters (to share group findings with the class), coaches (to facilitate peer assistance), taskmasters (to help the group start and stay on task), reflectors (to reflect back to the group comments about how well they worked together), and question commanders (to help answer or redirect team questions before calling on the teacher for help) (Goor & Schwenn, 1993; Kagan, 1992, Chapter 14, pp. 10–12). Other suggested role assignments that are especially helpful for English language learners are checkers (to check for preparation, completeness, agreement, or understanding among teammates) and bilingual facilitators (negotiating meaning and understanding through both L_1 and L_2 as needed) (Kagan & McGroarty, 1993). For other details of classroom management, it is very helpful to refer to references on cooperative learning, such as Holt (1993), Kagan (1992), and Kessler (1992).

Team and Class Building

Kagan emphasizes the importance of activities that "help students get to know each other, build a positive sense of team identity, accept individual differences, provide mutual support, and develop a sense of synergy" (Kagan & McGroarty, 1993, p. 59). These are especially important for students who have had little previous experience with group work, including recent arrivals from other countries. Many of the team and class building activities proposed in Kagan (1992) and Kessler (1992) assist with language and content acquisition and involve negotiation of meaningful topics. These activities help to develop a supportive, safe, trusting classroom environment that builds students' self-esteem and willingness to participate.

An important caution must be mentioned here. Newcomers recently arrived from other countries may initially experience negative feelings toward cooperative learning. Negative reactions may include counterproductive behavior by students and parental feelings that teachers are not doing their job when students are asked to teach one another and to pursue discovery learning (Saville-Troike & Kleifgen, 1986; Reis, 2008). Students who have been taught from a knowledge-transmission perspective may initially perceive cooperative groups as play rather than learning and feel that the teacher does not have control of the class. With

patience and the assistance of students (peer teachers) in the class who understand and value cooperative learning, along with bilingual staff and parents who can provide support to new parents, new arrivals can gradually come to perceive and value the class process as one in which deep learning is taking place.

Structures for Learning

To provide one example of the difference between competitive and cooperative classroom structures in teacher training sessions, Kagan demonstrates a common competitive structure, "Whole-Class Question–Answer," and contrasts it with the simple cooperative structure "Numbered Heads Together." In the competitive structure, the teacher asks a question, and students who wish to respond raise their hands. The teacher calls on one student, who attempts to state the correct answer. In this arrangement, students vie for the teacher's attention and praise, creating negative interdependence among them. In other words, when the teacher calls on one student, the others lose their chance to answer; a failure by one student to give a correct response increases the chances for other students to receive attention and praise. Thus, students are set against each other, creating poor social relations and establishing peer norms against achievement (Kagan, 1993, p. 10).

In contrast, Numbered Heads Together uses the following strategy to call on students. At the beginning of the lesson, students number off within each group of four, remembering their assigned numbers. When the teacher asks a question, students put their heads together in their groups and discuss the answer, making sure every team member understands the answer. The teacher then calls a number (1, 2, 3, or 4) and students with that number raise their hands to respond.

Positive interdependence is built into the structure; if any student knows the answer, the ability of each student is increased. Individual accountability is also built in; all the helping is confined to the heads-together step. Students know that once a number is called, each student is on his or her own. The high achievers share answers because they know their number might not be called, and they want their team to do well. The lower achievers listen carefully because they know their number might be called. Numbered Heads Together is quite a contrast to Whole-Class Question–Answer in which only the high achievers need participate and the low achievers can (and often do) tune out (Kagan, 1993, pp. 10–11). A teacher can use this simple example of a cooperative learning structure to check for comprehension and emphasize key concepts. But overuse of Numbered Heads Together and other structures of the same type could lead to student learning that emphasizes low-level knowledge recall with little higher-order cognitive development. Thus it is important for teachers to use a wide range of cooperative learning structures that lead to deep academic, cognitive, and linguistic development. Other types of structures that Kagan (1992) presents in great detail include structures for communication building, mastery of content, and concept development.

Jigsaw, originally developed by Elliot Aronson and his colleagues (Aronson, Blaney, Stephan, Sikes, & Snapp, 1978), is a good example of a strategy for peer exploration of readings, with many variations and uses for heterogeneous classes.

Using Jigsaw for second-language classes taught through content is demonstrated in Coelho (1992); Soltero (2004); and Echevarria, Vogt, and Short (2010). Other structures focus on peer learning of a given body of knowledge, including structures developed by Robert Slavin and his colleagues, such as Student Teams Achievement Division and Teams-Games Tournaments, Team-Assisted Individualization, and Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (Calderón, 2007; Slavin, 1989). Many structures work on developing students' thinking skills, such as Think-Pair-Share and the use of Venn diagrams (Kagan, 1992). Cooperative project designs include such strategies as Group Investigation, developed by Shlomo Sharan (Sharan & Sharan, 1976), and Co-op Co-op, developed by Spencer Kagan to eliminate between-team competition and emphasize expressive, probing problem solving (1992).

Evaluating Student Outcomes

Decisions need to be made regarding assessment that include evaluation of group processes, individual student accountability, and team accountability. Students' monitoring of their own learning process, as well as their group's achievements, can be structured into the activities (Goor & Schwenn, 1993). Classes should set team goals that encourage cooperation across teams, rather than competition among teams. Individual student testing is an important part of assessment within a cooperative learning classroom, but tests should be authentic and meaningful, and connected to the goals of class work within teams. Many cooperative learning structures include ways to assess individual student and team achievements.

Coaching Teacher Colleagues

Cooperative learning is not easily implemented after only one staff development session. Once teachers make a commitment to try cooperative learning strategies, they need extensive collegial support. School administrators need to build in ongoing staff development training, attend the sessions with teachers to serve as mentors and facilitators, provide plenty of opportunities for collegial coaching and teaming across classrooms, allow time for teacher growth and experimentation, avoid fast and simple solutions, and have a focused vision and mission for the school (Calderón, 2007; Hertz-Lazarowitz & Calderón, 1994). The same principles of cooperative learning for students apply to collaborative teaching. Holt's summary on cooperative learning is a fitting statement to close this section:

> Cooperative learning has become popular for many reasons. It adds variety to the teacher's repertoire. It helps teachers manage large classes of students with diverse needs. It improves academic achievement and social development. It prepares students for increasingly interactive workplaces. However, one of its most powerful, long-lasting effects may be in making school a more humane place to be by giving students stable, supportive environments for learning (Holt, 1993, p. 8).

ACCELERATED LEARNING

Now we are ready to explore another aspect of active learning. Cooperative learning provides a system for dynamic partnership in the learning process. But if the curricular content presented to students is frequently low in cognitive demand, an interactive class can still be deadly. How can we ensure language minority learners' engagement in discovery learning, enabling our students to make the leaps needed to achieve academic success with each succeeding year of schooling?

We are adopting the term *accelerated learning* as symbolic of cognitively complex, discovery learning. In the next section we will combine this concept with a crucial additional dimension from language minority educators who understand the importance of critical pedagogy and empowerment. Henry Levin (1987, 1988; Levin & Hopfenberg, 1991; Hopfenberg, Levin, & Associates, 1993) has developed a model for accelerated schools and applied it to a substantial number of schools with culturally and linguistically diverse student populations. The model helps schools with high concentrations of "at-risk" students to change their governance structure and to implement an inquiry curriculum that incorporates community funds of knowledge, so that parents, teachers, students, administrators, and the community take responsibility for turning the school into a high-achieving school. Remedial classes and pullout programs have been found to slow down learning. Accelerated schools focus on enrichment rather than remediation, building on the strengths that all children bring to the classroom as well as the community knowledge and resources that are often untapped (Rothman, 1991).

Levin describes his work in the 1980s examining school practices with so-called at-risk students, in which he conducted research syntheses, visited schools around the country, and interviewed members of school communities at local, state, and federal levels.

> I came to a startling conclusion: The inevitable consequences of existing educational practices used with students in at-risk situations actually undermined the future success of these students. Even though these students started school behind other students in academic skills, they were placed in instructional situations that slowed down their progress. They were stigmatized as remedial students or slow learners and assigned boring and repetitive exercises on worksheets. . . . School districts, with the support of the publishers, had saddled schools with "teacher-proof" approaches that consisted of low-level textbooks in combination with student workbooks full of dull and tedious exercises. Rarely did I see opportunities for problem solving, enrichment, or applications of knowledge that drew upon student experiences and interests.
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> To me the solution seemed obvious: Instead of slowing down these students . . . we needed to accelerate their progress. . . . Finally, I found the appropriate learning approach in the enrichment strategies used for gifted and talented students—the design of creative approaches that build on strengths. . . . Accelerated school staff and parents use a pedagogy constructed on the strengths and cultures of the children (and indeed all members of the school community), with a heavy reliance on relevant applications, problem solving, and active, "hands-on" learning approaches

as well as an emphasis on thematic learning that integrates a variety of subjects into a common set of themes. Finally, parental involvement both at home and school is central to the success of an accelerated school (Hopfenberg, Levin, & Associates, 1993, pp. xii–xiv).

The perspective still dominant in many U.S. classrooms, that we need to teach basic skills before students can move into more cognitively complex work, is no longer supported by most current research. Educators have experimented with honors classes, enrichment programs, magnet bilingual schools, and other forms of accelerated learning for minority students, in which the social perception of schooling is changed—not the students. Our students have the potential giftedness that sensitive teachers can tap, if we can provide the learning context that allows all students to flourish. Examples from accelerated bilingual schools in California and Texas are provided in Hopfenberg, Levin, and Associates (1993) and Calderón and Carreón (1994).

Critical Pedagogy

To probe deeper into how and why cognitively complex lessons work best for the beginning ESL student and the young bilingual learner as well as students of all social classes, ages, and special needs, analyses from critical pedagogy provide important insights. Paulo Freire (1970, 1973, 1998a, 1998b, 2004, 2007, 2008) warned educators over two decades ago that we need to get away from stultifying, boring, debilitating curricula that have no meaning in students' lives. Two decades after Freire published his original work, little has changed, as Cummins noted (1989a):

> Unfortunately, the reality is that schools continue to promote rote memorization rather than **critical thinking** and encourage consumption of predetermined knowledge rather than generation of original ideas; the curriculum has been sanitized such that students rarely have the opportunity to discuss critically or write about issues that directly affect the society they will form. Issues such as racism, environmental pollution, U.S. policy in Central America, genetic engineering, global nuclear destruction, arms control, and so on, are regarded as too "sensitive" for fragile and impressionable young minds. Instead, students are fed a neutralized diet of social studies, science, and language arts that is largely irrelevant to the enormous global problems that our generation is creating for our children's generation to resolve (pp. 5–6).

When we introduce thematic units that tackle tough issues connected to students' life experiences, students quickly become deeply engaged in the learning process. An imaginative teacher can explore burning questions with no clear answers with students. Together they can choose a unit that has meaning in students' lives, and pursue a deeper knowledge base, all with class members collecting many different sources of information, developing research skills, analyzing, evaluating, actively collaborating, and working on solving problems while tolerating the ambiguity that is a part of all deep knowledge gathering.

Critical pedagogy involves problem posing, reflective thinking, knowledge gathering, and collaborative decision making. It helps students and teachers find and express their voice, in oral and written form (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; McClaren, 2000; Torres-Guzmán, 1993). Three teachers explain it this way: "Students recognizing that they are the protagonists in the story of their own lives, and feeling adequately empowered to act upon this knowledge, has become paramount to our vision of education" (Adkins, Fleming, & Saxena, 1995, p. 202). Critical pedagogy also involves teacher risk taking by exploring new knowledge and being open to new ways of perceiving the world, including thinking about ways to transform power relations that exist within and outside schools. A bilingual high school teacher speaks out passionately for changes in school curricula and school structures.

⊗ **Critical pedagogy has become a way of learning and living for my students and me. . . . Unfortunately, most of my oppressed students' social injuries are very deep; the oppressive educational practices they have experienced have left them seriously scarred. They do not trust teachers, administrators, police, or any person holding a position of high authority at school or in the community. It takes much time, understanding, and patience to peel off the layers of distrust, fear, and hate created by teachers and a curriculum that seldom has validated their language, their culture, their daily experiences—in sum, their authentic selves and history (Terrazas, 1995, pp. 280, 284).**

Critical pedagogy applied to the young student includes transforming the process of literacy development in school to creative bilingual/bicultural methods

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Guidelines for Teaching

CHARACTERISTICS OF A PEDAGOGY FOR EMPOWERMENT

Cummins (1986a, 1989a, 1989c, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996b) has written extensively on the coercive relations of power between subordinate and dominant groups, with school serving as one of society's institutions that perpetuates existing power relations. For language minority students to experience success in school, Cummins encourages a pedagogy for empowerment with the following characteristics:

- Minority students' language and culture are incorporated into the school program.
- Minority community participation is encouraged as an integral component of children's education.
- The pedagogy promotes intrinsic motivation on the part of students to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge.
- Professionals involved in assessment become advocates for minority students by focusing primarily on the ways in which students' academic difficulty is a function of interactions within the school context rather than legitimizing the location of the "problem" within students (Cummins, 1989a, p. 58).

of reading (Ada, 1980, 1988, 1991; Pérez & Torres-Guzmán, 1996) and the use of numerous forms of meaningful print and genres of writing to help children construct meaning; enjoy reading and writing; and use the written word to learn about, interpret, reflect, explain, analyze, argue, and act upon the world (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Faltis & Hudelson, 1998; Hudelson, 1989, 1991, 1994; Kirkland & Jackson, 2009). Catherine Walsh (1991a, 1991b, 1995, 1996) expresses the transformation needed in literacy practices in schools in an impassioned voice:

> Traditional skills-based approaches to literacy assume that knowledge is neutral, universal, and verifiable information that must be formally acquired and taught. Instruction breaks this knowledge down into manageable, discrete pieces that are systematically fed to students in a controlled way. . . . These approaches tend to exacerbate racial/ethnic, language, class, and gender stratifications, deny what it is children do know, and track students into levels that they forever carry with them . . .

Whole language challenges the traditional approach by presenting a view of knowledge that is connected to the student, her/his social context, and personal/social needs. The acquisition of knowledge (i.e., learning) is considered to be a part of a natural meaning-making process in which the student actively draws from prior knowledge and lived experience to construct meaning; the teacher helps facilitate and encourage such exploration and interaction. . . . But from a critical perspective, the problem with whole language is that it tends to treat all experience as neutrally lived and equally accepted. . . .

> Critical [pedagogy] approaches recognize knowledge as always partial and problematic, as bound in complex ways to the social, political, cultural, linguistic, and economic conditions of the society and to the meanings, experiences, and lived lives of students. In practice, critical approaches challenge teachers and students to work together . . . to construct new and sometimes different ways of interpreting, understanding, reading, writing and acting in the classroom, with one another and the world (Walsh, 1995, pp. 93–94).

For readers wishing to explore more writings on critical pedagogy, Paulo Freire (1970, 1973, 1978, 1985, 1998, 2004, 2007, 2008; Freire & Macedo, 1987; McClaren, 2000; Nieto, 2008; Shor & Freire, 1987), a Brazilian educator who played a significant role in transforming educational contexts in Africa, Latin America, and Europe, provides a worldwide perspective. Henry Giroux (1988, 1992, 1993; Giroux & Simon, 1989) writes from a theoretical sociology of education perspective, applying the theory to U.S. institutional contexts. Ovando & McLaren (2000) examine contested political and pedagogical issues surrounding multiculturalism and bilingual education in U.S society.

Within the field of language minority education, the previously cited work of Jim Cummins and Catherine Walsh is seminal. A book produced by the California Association for Bilingual Education (Frederickson, 1995) provides the first volume written by both "experts" and teachers that examines ways teachers have collaborated as they wrestle with critical pedagogical perspectives to transform schooling for language minority students. A number of very readable sources by Sonia Nieto

(2000, 2002, 2003, 2004) present creative and meaningful strategies. These works also present case study data with students' and teachers' voices as illustrations of theory, research findings, and critical, multicultural curriculum and teaching.

Art

Etched deeply in our psyche is a powerful desire to affirm, to recognize, or to create beauty. For some of us our spiritual and mental selves have found a bond through the reflection of a full moon on the surface of a glasslike, tranquil, and secluded lake, or a stunning and prolonged sunset over an ocean bay. For others, beauty has manifested itself in the form of the delicate and smooth texture of an infant's skin, an extraordinarily handsome face, or a mother duck surrounded by her ducklings. As humans, we universally decorate our artifacts or ourselves— notice for example, the current popularity of tattoos across varying age groups. People from all cultures create designs, textures, smells, colors, and forms that express intimate feelings, bonds, identity, and knowledge. Art, as a universal form of human expression, is an essential ingredient of learning to be woven into thematic lessons.

Artistic expression in the form of drawing, painting, weaving, pottery, crafts, puppetry, photography, computer graphics, print making, sculpture, collage, origami, calligraphy, beadwork, masks, gardening, cooking, and woodworking evokes in us strong emotional and cognitive responses. Art allows us to create a socioculturally rich environment, stimulating linguistic, cultural, cognitive, affective, and psychomotor development. By engaging the senses of touch, taste, smell, sight, and sound, teacher and students are pushed and pulled toward each other's perspectives and encouraged to exchange and expand their views of the world. As an example of the natural integration of art into science lessons with a diverse class, one teacher, Karen Gallas (1994), provides a glimpse of her vibrant classroom.

⊠ **One afternoon in early June, six children and I crowd around a butterfly box watching a painted lady chrysalis twitch and turn as the butterfly inside struggles to break free. Juan, who is seated on a chair next to the box, holds a clipboard on his lap and is carefully sketching the scene. This is his third sketch of the day chronicling the final stage in the life cycle of the butterfly. It will complete a collection he began in early May, when mealworms arrived in our first-grade classroom. As he draws, the children agonize over the butterfly's plight. They have been watching since early that morning, and they all wonder if the butterfly will ever get out. Sophia smiles to herself and then begins to hum a tune.**

"I'll sing it out," she says.

"Yeah, let's sing it out!" agrees Matthew, and all the children begin to improvise a song. Juan looks up, smiles, and continues to sketch.

Events such as these have become almost commonplace in my classroom. Over the course of the school year, this particular class of children questioned, researched,

wondered, and discussed their way through a wide variety of subject matters and concepts. What distinguished their learning process from that of many other children, however, was the presence of the arts as an integral part of their curriculum: as a methodology for acquiring knowledge, as subject matter, and as an array of expressive opportunities. Drawing and painting, music, movement, dramatic enactment, poetry, and storytelling: Each domain, separately and together, became part of their total repertoire as learners. . . .

Juan arrived in September from Venezuela, speaking no English but filled with joy at being in school. As I struggled during our first few weeks together to find out what he could and could not do . . . he would suggest cheerfully, "Paint?" Paint, for Juan, meant drawing, painting, modeling, or constructing, and it was his passion. . . . His visual representations became a catalogue of science information and science questions, and that information began to provide material for his involvement in reading and writing and learning a new language (pp. 130–132).

This kind of spontaneous magic occurs when teachers plan and gather numerous resources for exploring a theme in multidimensional ways. When integrating art into a thematic unit, it is important to approach the process from an art education perspective that is nontraditional. After a theme has been chosen and collaborating teachers and students gather many resources for studying the theme in depth, art experiences will naturally emerge from the data gathering that include students' participation in artistic creation as well as responding to other artists' works. By giving learners an opportunity to engage in truly personal expressive choices, teachers can avoid the homogenizing tendencies often exhibited in arts and crafts activities in traditional approaches to art in education. Perhaps too often, children are given a subject—for example, a duck—followed by instructions, after which the students faithfully produce ducks that all look remarkably similar. But words of advice from an experienced art teacher warn teachers not to succumb to "assembly-line" art production.

⊗ **Too much concern with how a product is made inhibits expression. Educators too often teach technique, directing the use of materials in lockstep procedures that guarantee a particular outcome. . . . I ask students to start their artwork "in the middle." They understand that to mean, literally, the center of what they are looking at, such as the nose or surface of the face of an animal in a photograph or the red of the apple in a still life. They know to let their work grow from that place, although they may choose the particular place to start. . . .**

When observing an artifact, students may do several exercises with different media. Second graders are given the four colors they need to analyze the patterns in Kente cloth from Ghana. The paper they work on is cut to the size they need to show one segment of the cloth, and the whole of the paper is colored. Then they actually weave their own interpretation of the pattern, doing as many as two or three weavings that measure four by ten inches. They are given the time to experiment, to see if they can show diagonals, or to decide how many strings they need to use to make a consistent pattern (Grallert, 1991, pp. 264, 267).

As our students connect to their heritages, exploring art from a global perspective, folk art can be examined at the local museum, collected at secondhand shops, and discovered through human resources of the community (Schuman, 1992). "Folk art is the visual manifestation of the cultural environment of a people. . . . The folk art objects brought to the classroom need not be exotic or one-of-a-kind, because it is sometimes the simple common items that provide more insight into the lives of their creators and their users" (Carrillo Hocker, 1993, p. 156). Suggestions for using folk art and artifacts include examining how each piece was made, how it was used, the environment within which it existed, where it fits in chronological time, influences on its design, and its function in deeply rooted value systems as well as comparing it to similar artifacts from other cultures (Carrillo Hocker, 1993).

Cross-cultural experiences through art with young adolescents can delve into deeper connections to historical, sociopolitical, and ethnolinguistic roots. Powerful connections to heritage are present in every form of aesthetic expression. Myths, folk tales, drawings, carvings, and paintings objectify a cultural group's concept of reality. Forces that are not explainable appear concrete and often are thought of as the force itself. Ceremonies, rituals, and artifacts explain weather, hunting and gathering successes, and crops growing or failing (McFee & Degge, 1977, p. 291).

Students may want to explore traditional and modern art forms of cultural groups represented in the classroom. To what extent are the murals of East Los Angeles the personal artistic expressions of the individual Chicanos who painted them, and to what extent are they extensions of the ethnic experience as expressions of social protest? What symbolism and myth are present in an Inuit sculpture of smooth black stone? What emotions and philosophical perspectives are conveyed in producing different kinds of Japanese watercolor brush strokes? In summary, art is powerful for connecting to the imagination, developing language, examining the natural world in science, exploring cultural roots, and deepening sociopolitical awareness in social studies.

Technology

A phenomenon very different from art but powerful in its potential to enhance student learning is the pervasiveness of technology. In schools teachers have increasing access to audio and video equipment, compact disc players, cameras, computers, interactive videodisc players, and other technological devices to deepen instructional possibilities. Furthermore, technology is here to stay, assuming no major global catastrophe. In fact, technology seems to be defining the future of our whole world in many ways.

As we incorporate the use of technology into education, however, we are reminded that any innovation has a downside along with the benefits and excitement that it generates. Technological devices may get purchased but lie unused when teachers are intimidated by the hardware, or the available software may not meet curricular objectives, or often the school budget shortsightedly ignores the

maintenance and repair costs of the technological equipment. Language minority students have much less access to computers in schools than native-English-speaking students (Becker, 1990; Neuman, 1994; Roberts, 1988). And even when they do have access, computers are too often used for individualized drill and practice activities with low-level cognitive demand, or as rewards for completing assignments, rather than as an integral part of meaningful, complex thematic instruction. At home, children may sit passively in front of the television for hours. As Brown (1993) explains,

> Bilingual teachers are interested in using technology but want to do so in a way that is consistent with their goals of encouraging students to actively and critically examine and question the world around them, all the while interacting with and learning from one another and the community in which they live. . . . The unfulfilled promises associated with technology use have left bilingual teachers with mixed feelings. . . . How to justify the greater use of machines that have traditionally placed the student in a passive role?
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> . . . The wisest and most powerful uses of technology are likely to come from sound pedagogical principles and from a knowledge of the language minority students in our classroom and their communities. The most important factors in exploring what those uses might be are not related to technical expertise but rather to trusting our instincts as humane teachers (pp. 178–179).

Thus, using technology does not ensure excellent teaching. Teachers should first focus on creating an active learning environment and then use technology as one of many important components of effective teaching. In this section, we examine a few examples of technology use in an interactive, discovery classroom for language minority students. We will focus on technologies that are accessible, inexpensive, and that have been shown to work well in culturally and linguistically diverse classes.

Telecommunications

For general information on the use of telecommunications in education, a comprehensive reference is Roberts, Blakeslee, Brown, and Lenk (1990). Among the most exciting uses of technology with language minority students, the Orillas network is a well-cited example of creative school partnerships across distances using relatively inexpensive telecommunications technology (Brown, 1993; Brown & Cuellar, 1995; Cummins & Sayers, 1990, 1995; DeVillar & Faltis, 1991; Faltis & DeVillar, 1990, 1993; González-Edfelt, 1993; Johnson & Roen, 1989; Sayers, 1993a, 1993b, 1996). This project, formally titled De Orilla a Orilla (From Shore to Shore), links bilingual, ESL, and second/foreign language classes in many schools across the United States, including Puerto Rico, with schools in Argentina, Canada, Mexico, Costa Rica, France, and Japan. Promoting bilingual literacy acquisition and maintenance through interactive discovery learning with native-speaking peers and long-distance school partnerships through telecommunications (using a computer, modem, and local phone line) has led to student-produced bilingual books, newspapers, and journals; collecting and analyzing oral histories and folklore from extended families and community; intercultural analyses of community life

through social science methods of research; and cross-linguistic analyses (Brown, 1993; Sayers, 1993a, 1993b). The education technology column in NABE News provides electronic mail addresses for bilingual/ESL educators' networks (see Sayers, 1996).

Electronic mail (e-mail) is only one of many uses of the computer for purposes of communication with others nearby and in far distant places. Through the phone lines, which are used to link computer systems around the world, the Internet has emerged as a rich source of information and interconnections of people throughout the world. The World Wide Web interface was developed to provide users easy access to the Internet through graphics, sound, animation, and video, using hypertext that provides clearly visible links to other documents (Randall, 1996). Possibilities abound for uses of this massive and relatively inexpensive teaching resource. With one microcomputer in your class linked up to a local phone line of an Internet service provider, you have a world library at your fingertips. Bilingual and ESL teachers must demand access to these resources and let their students become experts on the Web. Once students recognize the power of this resource, literacy in L_1 and L_2 becomes desirable and meaningful, and students become collaborators in the learning process. As Snell (1996) notes, however,

> After human teachers, the Internet would represent the most important educational resource in the world if every student had a computer. That not being the case, the Internet as it stands is an exercise in the expansion of inequality. By and large, the students who now have access to the Internet already have access to well-supported schools, well-paid teachers, and well-stocked libraries. . . . However, by familiarizing themselves with the educational resources the Internet offers, teachers, administrators, and parents may acquire the ammunition they need to sell their schools on the necessity of classroom computing. . . . Newsgroups, IRC [Internet Relay Chat—in many world languages] channels, Gopher menus, and Web pages can offer access to a world of information about, and exchange with, other cultures and communities and experts in every field. It's the best all-around encyclopedia, textbook, and teaching video money can buy (pp. 93–94).

Video

Another example of an accessible technology that is both relatively low in cost and easy to use is the videocassette player. Endless uses of video abound for educational purposes, including language learning, but teachers are cautioned to use it meaningfully, for authentic, cognitively complex learning, not as a filler for passive viewing. The field of ESL enthusiastically embraced video in the 1980s, with several publications providing lots of advice on teaching techniques (e.g., Allan, 1985; Duncan, 1987; Hutchings, 1984; Lonergan, 1984; Maxwell, 1983; and Stempleski & Tomalin, 1990), including such tips as selecting short clips of one to five minutes, planning previewing activities to prepare students for what they will see, experimenting with prediction and other critical analyses through silent viewing or sound only, and planning meaningful postviewing follow-up. Some of these

sources approach language lessons as brief, entertaining experiences that stand by themselves rather than as interconnected acquisition of thematic academic content, as practiced in more current approaches. But when teachers use video segments for meaningful development of a thematic unit, the potential for deep learning is strong (Pally, 1994). Closed captioning in the form of television subtitles, developed for the hearing-impaired TV viewer and available for many current educational TV programs, has been found to improve beginning, intermediate, and advanced ESL students' oral and written comprehension and vocabulary acquisition dramatically, making authentic material more accessible to nonnative speakers (Neuman & Koskinen, 1990; Spanos & Smith, 1990; Vanderplank, 1993).

The video camera has still more power to transform lessons. Just as students feel proud of their own pictures that teachers snap of them working and put on display in the classroom, the video camera captures special moments. Brown (1993) describes a remarkable experience in a family literacy program for Spanish-speaking families in the Pájaro Valley Literacy Project in California, when videotapes made for the evaluators turned into an effective teaching tool. Project facilitators decided to videotape the presentations by group leaders, the discussion circles where parents (who were also developing emergent literacy along with their children) related the themes in the books to their own lives, and the open dialogue that followed, with the parents reflecting on the books their children had written that they had read together during the past week. Some parents requested that they be allowed to check out the videotapes. At home, families repeatedly watched themselves on videotape and invited other family members to watch with them, and parents and children gained more confidence with each succeeding week.

⊠ **As the school year progressed . . . these parents . . . had become leaders and policymakers in their community. The videos, originally intended only for use by the teachers for documentation purposes, became a highly significant part of the whole project. . . . In contrast to education videos, whose purpose is to introduce new facts and concepts and to bring into the classroom scenes from the outside world, here the video is used to capture images of the participants themselves in the process of learning and engaging in dialogue to create knowledge together. Encouraging the participants to reflect more critically on their own learning provides them greater insight into their own experiences as learners, while giving them greater confidence to act upon these insights (Brown, 1993, p. 182).**

Microcomputers

Extensive sources are available on use of the microcomputer in language minority education. This glimpse can only hint at the possibilities. We have already seen the power of electronic mail in the Orillas project, connecting classrooms across countries for discovery learning. Other examples of ESL/EFL students' participation in interactive writing using e-mail are illustrated in Gaer and Ferenz (1993); Goodwin, Hamrick, and Stewart (1993); Krauss (1994); Sullivan (1993); and Sutherland and Black (1993). For all ages of students, process writing is fun to do

on the microcomputer. When students see their own writing in published form, it gives them strong incentives to take responsibility for their own editing process with multiple drafts, especially since word processing makes it easy to correct errors (Monroe, 1993). Less research has been conducted on language minority students' response to the writing process with word processing, but initial studies find the technology a very promising and important tool (e.g., Neu & Scarcella, 1991; Peyton & Mackinson-Smyth, 1989; Phinney, 1991; Salavert, 1991; and Susser, 1993). An excellent, practical teacher reference for the use of microcomputers in teaching the reading and writing process from a constructivist, inquiry perspective is one by Willis, Stephens, and Matthew (1996). This book provides many tips on useful software, electronic mail, and the World Wide Web.

Microcomputer software for bilingual/ESL classes is another story. Since most of the instructional software that has been developed for bilingual and ESL classes by commercial publishers is very low-level in cognitive demand and tends to encourage passive learning environments, teachers need to develop a very critical, analytical perspective when reviewing software for use. In a search for innovative computer-based programs exhibited at the 1993 TESOL Convention, Hunt (1993) concluded:

> Most of the software focused on typical vocabulary or grammar drill and practice....
> The very nature of drill and practice software runs counter to the natural acquisi-
> tion approach for L_2 instruction because it tends to present isolated, noncontextu-
> alized exercises that focus on accuracy rather than fluency (p. 8).

Hunt (1993) found only "a small number of exemplary multimedia products designed for the ESL learner" (p. 8). As a technology specialist, she advises ESL and bilingual teachers to look for instructional products that have flexibility for use with a range of grades and levels of proficiency; thematic presentation of materials within a rich contextual framework; appropriate, relevant, current content; opportunities for students to listen, speak, read, and write; open-ended questions and writing prompts that allow creative student responses; plenty of opportunities for natural interaction with peers; mixed media in the package (e.g., laser disc, microcomputer, and/or CD-ROM resources, audiotapes, and print materials); extensive system guides; and in-service training provided by the publishers (Hunt, 1993, pp. 8–9). Microcomputer software developed for teaching L_2 has generally included activities focused on tutorial help, drill, and practice, problem solving, instructional games, text manipulation, text generation, and simulations (presented here from low to potentially higher cognitive demand) (González-Edfelt, 1993).

Another issue of importance to language teachers when using microcomputers has been their silence, limiting the development of students' listening and speaking skills. Technology has continued to make great strides in development of peripheral audio devices as well as digitized and synthesized speech and speech processing systems, but these are expensive to use. The latest developments in interactive videodisc technology and interactive hypermedia are the most promising for active learning environments, with the development of inexpensive large storage capability through CD-ROM (Compact Disc–Read Only Memory) making it possible to create exciting multimedia for schooling (González-Edfelt, 1993; Soska, 1994).

Principles for Technology Use

These examples of the potential of technology use provide only a glimmer of things to come. Technology specialists in our field describe the technology revolution that is taking place worldwide in this way:

> The development of educational technology in the past five years has been so rapid as to leave us gasping. Our ability to realize the fantastic implications for us and our students, to capitalize on the potential of each new discovery for enhancing our efforts, and to implement the latest capability always lags far behind the dramatic announcement [of each new development] . . . (Garett in Dunkel, 1991, p. xiii).

It seems fitting to close this section with principles for technology use that were developed by Kristin Brown (1993), based on the writings of Paulo Freire, Celestin Freinet, Mario Lodi, and Alma Flor Ada, as well as current research on language acquisition, the writing process, and collaborative learning. This small portion of her advice to teachers demonstrates the wealth of ideas for technology use in active, collaborative bilingual/ESL classes.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR CHOOSING TECHNOLOGY

- Look for technologies over which you can get control, especially communications technologies. Find ways to use technologies as tools for creating knowledge in social contexts. Tool applications might involve producing and filming original plays with a videotape recorder, using audiocassette recorders for intergenerational interviews, writing with a word processor, doing research with databases, or mounting joint projects with distant classes through telecommunications. In particular, look for . . . technologies that will allow your students to capture, record, and share their own words and worlds.

   In searching for tools that will be useful in your classroom, do not overlook the potential uses of old or "out-of-date" machines such as overhead projectors, thermofax machines, or slide projectors that may be gathering dust on the shelves at your school. Consider using technologies that are not usually found in classrooms, such as fax machines, to exchange student artwork and illustrated poems with other classes or to consult with local business or community organizations. Finally, getting control over technology may mean not using the machines with the materials or software that come with them. A ditto machine does not have to be used for worksheets; a roomful of expensive drill and practice software may be less useful than a single public domain word processing program with Spanish fonts.

- Look for technologies that will allow students to publish their writing.

- Look for technologies that will allow you to record oral language.

- Encourage students to work collaboratively to create group texts.

- Encourage students to use technology in responding creatively and critically to the books they read.

- Use technology to promote critical reflection.

- Use technology to engage your students in dialogue with another class: long-distance team-teaching partnerships (Brown, 1993, pp. 193–197).

Language minority students must have access to technology (Mielke & Flores, 1994), the force driving us into a new era, referred to increasingly as the information age. Schools are changing, and "technology . . . can contribute substantially to the active, experiential learning that Dewey advocated decades ago" (O'Neil, 1993, p. 1). We language minority educators can lead the way, by creating meaningful social contexts for learning that use technology to transform "deficit, remedial" perspectives into and "cultures-as-resource" perspectives for collaborative learning.

Music

Music is such an integral part of young people's lives these days that it would be foolish to ignore the power of this sensory experience for storing knowledge permanently in memory. Music stimulates our emotions, relaxes or intensifies the senses, and increases stimuli for retention of an experience. The more multilayered a learning experience is, the more mechanisms we have for retrieving knowledge imprinted on long-term memory (Stevick, 1976). Taste, touch, smell, sight, and sound stimulate extrasensory mechanisms for memory retrieval. Thus music integrated into a thematic unit is a natural means to explore students' multiple intelligences (Gardner, 1993).

Today, with technology as a resource, many natural experiences with music can be woven into thematic lessons. Children naturally try out rhythms, foot stomping, skipping, jumping, hand clapping, finger snapping, and moving to the sounds, adding another stimulus for storage of a learning experience in long-term memory. Young adolescents prefer to be cautious in their response to music or any other stimulus because of all the changes they are undergoing emotionally and physically. Thus for middle and high school students, a democratic process, through which students and teacher together choose the musical experiences to be integrated into the curriculum, helps to create the socio-affective environment for maximum learning.

The possibilities are endless. Suppose that your class, composed of several students from Central America, after watching portions of the movie *El Norte,* chooses to develop a thematic unit on the Maya and their descendants in southern Mexico and Guatemala. Your local museum, library, and community residents help you and your students gather resources. You have contacted the Orillas coordinator, who finds a partner e-mail class in Oaxaca, Mexico, to exchange materials and serve as a data collection site for the research questions the sister classes develop. Ancient and contemporary art, music, and folklore from the peoples inhabiting the Yucatan peninsula, gathered through this process, could lead the class to many research questions to be explored in history, geography, sociology, anthropology, science, and mathematics. Music your class discovers might include contemporary music with heavy influences from the United States, ethnomusicologists' collections of folk traditions passed on through the centuries (e.g., Bensusan & Carlisle, 1978; Macías, 1991), marimba bands playing both ancient and contemporary music, guitarists and harpists exploring ancient melodies or creating current protest music, traditional musicians playing flute and drum in ceremonies in the highlands of Guatemala, orchestras playing music of Europe, and so on. Your class

might get curious about what musical instruments are used, what they are made of, and how they are handcrafted. Where do the materials come from to make the instruments? What produces the sound? How are they used? For the musical instruments that the Maya descendants use, what kind of history time lines demonstrate new influences from what other cultures? Who enjoys what kinds of music across social classes, ethnic groups, ages, gender, geographic regions? What factors produce changes in music, and how is music passed on from generation to generation? How does immigration to the United States affect musical traditions and preferences for first-, second-, and third-generation families?

Developing a unit such as "The Maya and Their Descendants" can feel quite daunting to a first-year teacher who imagines having to collect all those materials alone. In all thematic lesson building, teaming across classrooms, perhaps the whole school, makes it possible to collect and share the resources needed to explore learning at a deep level. Once the project takes off and students accept their responsibility for data collection, community resources or "funds of knowledge" (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992; González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) will emerge from parents and the community.

Other ways to explore music include playing or singing composed music (the most common strategy of teachers), as well as creating music (mainly done by the music educator or the budding young musician). Singing a song is often perceived by a class as side entertainment, and is meaningful only when students see the song's direct connection to the unit they are working on. The key to the use of every curricular area, including music, is to work on lessons that provide students with variety in every aspect of its use. Humans have created music varying greatly by type, purposes for use, geographic region, environmental conditions, cultural patterns, language(s) used, musical instruments used, and all social patterns of human life. When students experience that variety in human expression, it expands their perceptions of the world and each other (Dobbs, 1992). Music deepens their knowledge base and energizes the learning process.

You can help students listen to all types of music from all peoples of the world by using music when students enter and leave class, during breaks, and at meaningful points in lessons connected to thematic content. Together you can sing, dance, and play music. You can analyze the words in music, musical instruments, social uses of music, and politics of music. You can experience the intense emotions stirred up by music, explore the imagination, feel the connections between music and every other aspect of human life. Students can affirm and celebrate their bilingual/bicultural heritages and understand the deep function that sounds, sights, touch, smells, and tastes have in defining what is important and meaningful in people's lives.

Weaving It All Together

How, then, can teachers prepare cognitively complex lessons that are multidimensional? We can do it through celebrating life in all its complexity in the classroom, through multisensory experiences that weave together math, science, social studies, language, literature, technology, music, art, dance, movement, games, and

folklore, while connecting to students' and community knowledge across many cultural dimensions. In Chapters 4 through 7, you will examine many ways to explore and to integrate the standard academic content areas in your teaching. In the remainder of this chapter, we will explore further dimensions of life experiences that stimulate the learning process for language minority students.

Why do we recommend multidimensional learning? Psychologists' theories of intelligence have helped educators understand that in formal schooling we tend to develop and reward only certain narrow aspects of the human brain's capabilities. For example, Robert Sternberg's research has led him to identify three major intellectual abilities—analytical, creative, and practical. Creative intelligence allows us to cope with novelty, and practical intelligence enables us to apply what we know to everyday situations. Sternberg's research has found that intelligence is not an inborn trait; instead, it is mediated by the environment and can be taught and enhanced (Viadero, 1994). Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (1983, 1993) identifies seven different forms—linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, and intrapersonal intelligence. Gardner posits that each person possesses all seven intelligences (and perhaps more yet to be identified), with some developed more than others, and they work together in complex ways. Both Sternberg and Gardner agree that IQ tests measure only one form of intelligence, which is rewarded in school but may not be the key to success outside of school (Viadero, 1994).

Applying Gardner's theory to the classroom, Armstrong (1994) proposes multimodal teaching—"reaching beyond the text and the blackboard to awaken students' minds" (pp. 49–50)—through thematic experiences that cross the whole spectrum of human experience. We shall explore several examples of the potential of these modalities, with the hope that teachers will collaborate to create other multidimensional lessons stimulated by these ideas. Many other modalities not presented here for lack of space, such as drama, folklore, games, puppetry, storytelling, and all forms of written narrative, should be explored in active, discovery classrooms.

Summary

The content and process of teaching and learning do not occur in a vacuum. The lived experiences of students and teachers should provide a rich context to engage the learning community in a critical, meaningful, and life-affirming educational experience. Anchored in the linguistic, cultural, and cognitive background of students, teachers face the challenge of uncovering and implementing effective ways for teaching and learning in a pluralistic society vis-à-vis legislative mandates and ideological forces that often challenge the caring, inspirational, and advocacy aspects of effective teaching.

Research findings suggest that culturally and linguistically compatible classroom practices that are active, inquiry based, and cooperative in nature tend to function well for language minority students. Hence, this chapter proposed that the traditional "banking" model of schooling be replaced with engaging constructivist approaches that lead students to "the

threshold of [their] own minds." Ultimately, effective teachers are passionate about the world of ideas, know their field well, see their own lives mirrored in their students' futures, and stand ready to advocate for their students. As noted in the autobiographical statement by the 2004–2005 North Carolina Teacher of the Year at the beginning of the chapter, effective teaching and learning with language minority students entails intersecting the lives of the teacher, parents, schools, communities, and students in a true partnership.

KEY TERMS

Accelerated learning, *101*

Active learning, *97*

Cooperative learning, *101*

Critical pedagogy, *101*

Critical thinking, *109*

NCLB, *94*

Passive learning, *97*

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

1. What do you believe to be the role/responsibility of teachers in providing a meaningful and effective education to students of linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds?
2. According to the authors, teachers can no longer rely on the traditional classroom to provide the learning context needed for student inquiry. Based on your own understanding of the nature and demands of contemporary society, elaborate on reasons that would support their claim.
3. What are the effects of "passive learning" approaches to education? What other approaches do you find to be more effective, especially when faced with the challenge of teaching in linguistically and culturally diverse contexts? Explain why.
4. Explain the role of critical pedagogy in the bilingual and ESL classroom. Identify ways in which you could begin to implement this practice in your own teaching and learning. Are there risks associated with taking a pro–social justice agenda in classroom activities?
5. What do the authors mean by the concept of "multidimensional" teaching and learning? Design a lesson that incorporates its aspects.
6. How can art and technology serve as mediums to enhance teaching practices in the bilingual and ESL classroom? What artistic and technological activities have you found to be of specific value when teaching in linguistically and culturally diverse contexts? Explain why.
7. Examine innovative and creative ways that teachers can use Twitter, Facebook, Myspace, Skype, YouTube, smartphones, and video cameras to enhance both the content and process of the school curriculum.
8. In your view, what impact has globalization had on policies and practices in K–12 education in pluralistic settings?
9. What impact has NCLB had on bilingual schooling in terms of federal funding, curricula, and L_1 and L_2 as mediums of instruction?

Language

Language is very much *like a living organism. It cannot be put together from parts like a machine, and it is constantly changing. . . . Language does not contain meaning; rather, meaning lies in the social relationships within which language occurs. Individuals in communities make sense of language within their social relationships, their personal histories, and their collective memory. . . . Our own language practices come from our cultural experience with language, but our individual language practices along with those of others collectively make the culture. Indeed the different ways people use language to make sense of the world and of their lives are the major distinguishing features of different cultural groups.*

At the same time, language is always changing as we use it. Words acquire different meanings, and new language structures and uses appear as people stretch and pull the language to make new meanings. Consequently, the meaning that individuals make from language varies across time, social situation, personal perspective, and cultural group. . . . School actually plays a modest role in language acquisition, the bulk of which occurs outside the school. In schools we must learn to teach language in a way that preserves and respects students' individuality at the same time that we empower them to learn how to be responsible and responsive members of learning communities (International Reading Association and National Council of Teachers of English, 1996, pp. 7–9).

School personnel serving language minority students often wonder what works best. What factors strongly influence students' development of their first and second languages? How long does it take to learn a second language? What are the most effective instructional practices that will foster students' academic success? How can we implement them in the current trend toward uniform national standards, top-down curricular policies, and teacher evaluations increasingly linked to test scores? This chapter provides answers to these questions based on the current research, as well as an overview of effective instructional practices for teaching language in schools. The knowledge base presented in this chapter can be applied to the teaching of English as a second language (ESL), to sheltered English content subjects, and to English language arts (English as a first or dominant language), as well as to any other language (Spanish, Vietnamese, Arabic, and so on) taught as a first or second language.

The teaching of language is intimately connected to the major education reform movements described in the previous chapters. Language teachers can no longer teach language in isolation from the rest of the curriculum. Indeed, No Child Left Behind's Adequate Yearly Progress expectations for English language learners, as well as rigorous state standards, oblige teachers to combine both language development and content teaching. At elementary and middle schools, teachers are collaboratively planning thematic units that integrate curricular areas, so that students discover the interdisciplinary connections and uses of knowledge outside of school. While high schools are still organized by isolated subject areas, the reforms at elementary and middle school levels are beginning to have an impact on high schools through some experimentation with structural reforms.

In the United States, the teaching of English language arts has undergone radical transformation over the past three decades. The focus of the older curricular approaches taught discrete skills in grammar, spelling, punctuation, and vocabulary memorization, with critical thinking applied mainly to literary analysis. The old discrete-skills curriculum isolated language structures from context, established artificial sequences of language skills to be mastered, simplified texts to control sentence structures and vocabulary, and emphasized measurement of student progress through discrete-skills tests.

Although states like Arizona, where we live and work, have reinstated this antiquated approach to the teaching of language minority students, researchers and teachers continue to advocate a constructivist, sociocultural, and whole-language philosophy of learning. In contrast, such an approach places emphasis on the integration of language and content, fostering personally and academically meaningful language development. The four language modes (formerly referred to as "skills") of listening, speaking, reading, and writing are taught as an integrated whole, with written and oral language developed simultaneously. Lessons are learner-centered and meaningful to students' lives inside and outside school. Language lessons engage students in social interaction and collaborative learning. The focus is on the social construction of meaning and understanding the process of reading and writing (Edelsky, Altwerger, & Flores, 1991; Freeman & Freeman, 1992, 1994; Goodman, 1986; Hamayan, 1989; Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Lim & Watson, 1993; Pérez & Torres Guzmán, 2002; Strickland, 1995; Torres Guzmán & Gómez, 2009; Weaver, 1988; Whitmore & Crowell, 1994). Students first acquire literacy through their own writings and share children's literature as well as experiences across the curriculum through, for example, science experiments, recipes, games, instructions for making things, math problem solving, interactive computer communications, and map reading. Most of all, language is developed for meaningful purposes both in and out of school. A constructivist approach to the teaching of language arts reflects the perspective articulated by publications of the International Reading Association (2001, 2002, 2004) and the National Council of Teachers of English (1996, 1999, 2006, 2008) in the opening quote of this chapter.

A large body of research on language acquisition continues to provide the theoretical support for a constructivist, whole-language philosophy for teaching language. Media coverage has inaccurately presented constructivist and whole-language advocates as embroiled in controversy with those who support phonics instruction. In contrast to the oversimplified stories in the press, the general philosophy of whole language incorporates phonics and other analytic skills into the natural language acquisition process. Phonics advocates a push for phonics to be taught first in literacy development, whereas whole-language approaches start the initial stages of literacy with focus on meaningful, authentic, natural uses of language, with explicit instruction in phonics and other skills, as needed, when learners are developmentally ready. We will discuss this in more detail in the section of this chapter on whole-language approaches.

Research in first-language acquisition, second-language acquisition, and the simultaneous acquisition of two languages can provide teachers with insights into

the language acquisition process with implications for the classroom. This chapter will explore (1) important research findings on language acquisition; (2) the contribution of sociocultural theory to second-language learning and teaching; (3) instructional approaches to teaching a second language; (4) teaching language arts in a bilingual classroom; and (5) teaching language and multicultural literature across the curriculum for bilingual, ESL, and grade-level classrooms.[1]

Language Acquisition

Teachers and parents have many misconceptions about language learning. Contrary to popular belief, second-language learning is difficult and complex for all ages, including young children. Acquiring a first or second language takes a long time, and the process of second-language acquisition varies greatly with each individual learner. The notion that first language "interferes" with a second language has been resoundingly rejected by extensive research findings on the positive role the first language plays in second-language acquisition. Cognitive and academic development of a student's first language provides especially crucial support for second-language acquisition. This section of the language chapter provides an overview of current research findings in language acquisition that have strong implications for the classroom teacher.

The Prism Model: Language Acquisition for School

Thomas and Collier (1997) first proposed a useful conceptual model to illustrate the interrelationships among the four components that influence first- and second-language acquisition in a school context. The developmental process that all students experience throughout the school years is subconscious and ongoing. Figure 4.1 illustrates this developmental process by showing the interdependence of all four components—sociocultural, linguistic, academic, and cognitive processes—which occur simultaneously. While this figure looks simple on paper, it is important to imagine that this is a multifaceted prism with many dimensions.

Sociocultural Processes

At the heart of Figure 4.1 is the individual student going through the process of acquiring a second language in school. Central to that student's acquisition of language are all of the surrounding social and cultural processes occurring through everyday life within the student's past, present, and future, in all contexts—home, school, community, and the broader society. Sociocultural processes at work in second-language acquisition may include individual student variables such as self-esteem, anxiety, or other affective factors. At school the instructional environment in a classroom or administrative program structures may create social and psychological distance between groups. Community or regional social patterns such as prejudice and discrimination expressed toward groups or individuals in personal and professional contexts can influence students' achievement in school, as well as societal patterns such as the subordinate status of a minority group or acculturation
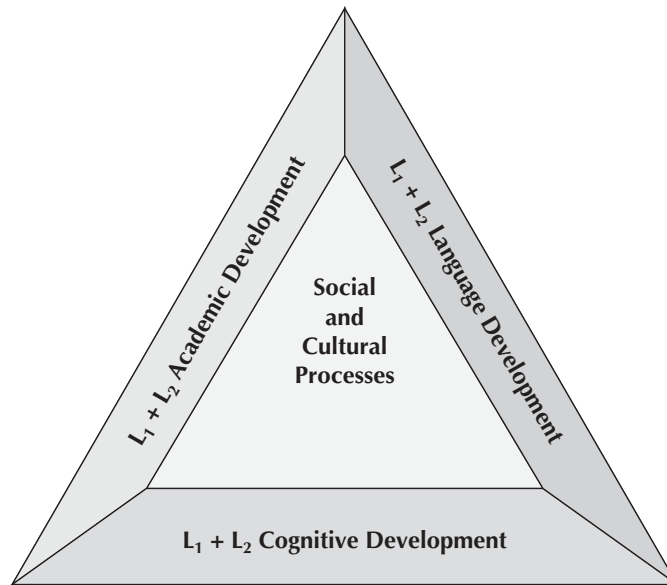
Figure 4.1   *Language Acquisition for School:*
The Prism Model
Source: W. P. Thomas & V. P. Collier, 1997.

versus assimilation forces at work. These factors can strongly influence the student's response to the new language, affecting the process positively only when the student is in a socioculturally supportive environment.[2]

Language Development

Linguistic processes, a second component of the model, consist of the subconscious aspects of language development (an innate ability all humans possess for acquisition of oral language), as well as the metalinguistic, conscious, formal teaching of language in school and acquisition of the written system of language. This includes the acquisition of the oral and written systems of the student's *first* and *second languages* across all language domains, such as phonology (the pronunciation system), vocabulary, morphology and syntax (the grammar system), semantics (meaning), pragmatics (how language is used in a given context), paralinguistics (nonverbal and other extralinguistic features), and discourse (stretches of language beyond a single sentence). To ensure cognitive and academic success in a *second* language, a student's *first* language system, oral *and* written, must be developed to a high cognitive level at least through the elementary school years.

Academic Development

A third component of the model, academic development, includes all schoolwork in language arts, mathematics, the sciences, and social studies for each grade level,

K through 12, and beyond. With each succeeding grade, academic work dramatically expands the vocabulary, sociolinguistic, and discourse dimensions of language to higher cognitive levels. Academic knowledge and conceptual development transfer from first language to second language. Thus it is most efficient to develop academic work through students' first language, while teaching second language during other periods of the school day through meaningful academic content. In earlier decades in the United States, we emphasized teaching second language as the first step, and postponed the teaching of academics. Research has shown us that postponing or interrupting academic development is likely to promote academic failure. In an information-driven society that demands more knowledge processing with each succeeding year, students cannot afford the lost time.

Cognitive Development

The fourth component of this model, the cognitive dimension, is a natural, subconscious process that occurs developmentally from birth to the end of schooling and beyond. An infant initially builds thought processes through interacting with loved ones in the language of the home. This is a knowledge base, an important stepping-stone to build on as cognitive development continues. It is extremely important that cognitive development continue through a child's first language at least through the elementary school years. Extensive research has demonstrated that children who reach full cognitive development in two languages (generally reaching the threshold in L_1 by around ages 11 to 12) enjoy cognitive advantages over monolinguals. Cognitive development was mostly neglected by second-language educators in the United States until relatively recently. In language teaching, we simplified, structured, and sequenced language curricula during the 1970s, and when we added academic content into our language lessons in the 1980s and 1990s, we watered academics down into cognitively simple tasks. We also too often neglected the crucial role of cognitive development in the first language. Now we know from our growing research base that we must address linguistic, cognitive, and academic development equally, through both first and second languages, if we are to ensure students' academic success in the second language.

Interdependence of the Four Components

All of these four components—sociocultural, academic, cognitive, and linguistic— are interdependent. If one is developed to the neglect of another, this may be detrimental to a student's overall growth and future success. The academic, cognitive, and linguistic components must be viewed as developmental, and for the child, adolescent, and young adult still going through the process of formal schooling, development of any one of these three components depends critically on simultaneous development of the other two, through both first and second languages. Sociocultural processes strongly influence, in both positive and negative ways, students' access to cognitive, academic, and language development. It is crucial that educators provide a socioculturally supportive school environment that allows natural language, academic, and cognitive development to flourish in both L_1 and L_2 (Collier, 1995a, 1995c; Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Thomas & Collier, 2002).

Linguistic Processes

The synthesis of research on language acquisition that follows presents three of the four major dimensions of the Prism Model: *linguistic, sociocultural,* and *cognitive*. The *academic* dimension of the Prism, focused on the specifics of language acquisition *in a school context,* will be discussed in more detail in the second half of this chapter, as well as in the Mathematics and Science and Social Studies chapters. Most major theories of second-language acquisition developed in the past decade have incorporated these three overall dimensions of language development—linguistic, sociocultural, and cognitive processes (Ellis, 1985, 1994; Larsen-Freeman, 1985; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; McLaughlin, 1987; Wong Fillmore, 1985, 1991a). We shall begin with the linguistic dimension.

First-Language Acquisition

A common misconception of parents, teachers, and increasingly education policymakers, is to assume that it takes a short time to acquire a language. Research on first-language (L_1) acquisition can help us understand the complexity of language development, a lifelong process (Adamson, 2005; Berko Gleason, 2001; Clark, 2003; Lust & Foley, 2004). Development of oral language is universal; all children of the world have the same capability, given no physical disabilities and access to a source of human language input. From birth through age 5, children subconsciously acquire oral language (listening and speaking), advancing to the level of a 5-year-old in L_1 phonology, vocabulary, grammar, semantics (meaning), and pragmatics (how language is used in a given context). While we think of this as a fantastic accomplishment, L_1 is not yet halfway completed at this age. From ages 6 to 12, children subconsciously continue oral development of complex grammar rules, subtle phonological distinctions, vocabulary expansion, semantics, discourse (stretches of language beyond a single sentence), and more complex aspects of pragmatics (Berko Gleason, 2001; Clark, 2003; de Villiers & de Villiers, 1978; Foster-Cohen, 2009; Goodluck, 1991, 1996; Horn & Ward, 2004; Huang, 2007; McLaughlin, 1984). This oral L_1 development is not formally taught; it is subconsciously acquired through *using* the language.

   Formal instruction in school introduces L_1 written language—the modes of reading and writing—to be mastered across all the language domains mentioned above. Each grade level adds to the cognitive complexity of language development needed for each subject (mathematics, sciences, social studies, language arts). By adolescence, L_1 proficiency, developed both in and out of school, has reached a very complex level. Even so, there are aspects of first-language acquisition that continue across one's lifetime, including vocabulary development, writing skills, and many pragmatic aspects of language (Berko Gleason, 2001; Bialostok & Craik, 2006; Clark, 2003; Collier, 1992a, 1995; Foster-Cohen, 2009; Harley, Allen, Cummins, & Swain, 1990; McLaughlin, 1985).

Simultaneous Bilingual Acquisition

Acquisition of a second language (L_2) is equally complex. A young child who is raised from birth as a simultaneous bilingual goes through the same subconscious acquisition process with both languages. Most children being raised bilingually experience a developmental stage of appearing to combine at least some aspects of the two languages into one system, followed by several stages that lead to separating the two languages into distinct language systems sometime between three to five years of age. Given regular exposure to, and cognitive development in, both languages over time, the same level of proficiency develops in two languages (de Houwer, 2009; Goodz, 1994; Hakuta, 1986; Harding & Riley, 1986; Hatch, 1978; MaCardle & Hoff, 2006; McLaughlin, 1984). Children who are fortunate enough to develop strong academic proficiency in both languages are likely to experience cognitive advantages over monolinguals (Baker, 1993; Bialystok, 1991, 1999, Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994; Bialystok, Majumde, & Martin, 2003; Costa, Hernandez, Costa-Faidella, & Sebastian-Galles, 2009; Díaz & Klingler, 1991; Emmorey, Luk, Pyers, & Bialystok, 2009; Genesee, 1987; Hakuta, 1986; Kaushanskaya & Marian, (2009).

Second-Language Acquisition: Social Language

While some children are raised bilingually from birth, many more are successive bilinguals who begin exposure to their L_2 at a later age. The purposes of acquiring the L_2 and opportunity for exposure to that language have significant influence on the amount of proficiency developed. Crucial components to the language learning process are

> (1) *learners* who realize that they need to learn the target language and are motivated to do so; (2) *speakers of the target language* who know it well enough to provide the learners with access to the language and the help they need for learning it; and (3) a *social setting* that brings learners and target language speakers into frequent enough contact to make language learning possible.

All three components are necessary. If any of them is dysfunctional, language learning will be difficult, or even impossible. When all three are ideal, language learning is ensured. Each of them can vary in a great many ways, however, and some of this variation can critically affect the processes by which language is learned (Wong Fillmore, 1991a, pp. 52–53).

For example, when a child is using the L_2 for communication with friends in play, conversation may begin to flow within a few months. Given the three essential components outlined above, for communicative purposes the vocabulary, grammar, phonology, semantics, and pragmatics of L_2 will develop over a two- to three-year period, although "differences of up to five years can be found in the time children take to get a working command of a new language" (Wong Fillmore, 1991a, p. 61).

In this book, we use the term **social language** to refer to the dimension of language proficiency first referred to by Cummins as "basic interpersonal communicative skills" (BICS) or "context-embedded" or "conversational" or "contextualized" language (Cummins, 1979a, 1981b, 1986b, 1991, 1996b, 2000). In social

language, meaning is negotiated through a wide range of contextual cues, such as nonverbal messages in face-to-face interaction or written feedback in a letter from a friend or an e-mail message. Social language is more than the acquisition of listening and speaking; it includes the development of literacy for use in situations such as shopping, use of transportation, or access to health services. Children, adolescents, and adults generally develop substantial proficiency in L_2 social language within two to three years, given access to L_2 speakers and a social setting that encourages natural interaction. For those just beginning L_2 acquisition as adolescents or adults, retention of an accent is so universal that nonnative pronunciation is not considered to be an issue in proficiency development, unless the accent impedes the flow of communication.

Age of Initial Exposure to the Second Language

A myth also exists that young children are the fastest learners of a second language. Adults are fooled by the nativelike pronunciation that young children acquire quickly, but this is one of the few advantages that young children have over older learners. In fact, substantial research evidence has shown that young children may not reach full proficiency in their second language if cognitive development is discontinued in their primary language (Bialystok, 1991; Collier, 1988, 1989c, 1992c, 1995; MacSwan & Pray, 2005). Given the necessary prerequisites for L_2 acquisition to happen as defined above by Wong Fillmore, older learners from approximately ages 9 to 25 who have built cognitive and academic proficiency in their first language are potentially the most efficient acquirers of most aspects of academic L_2, except for pronunciation. An accent-free pronunciation is more likely if a second language is introduced before puberty. Adult learners past their 20s just beginning a second language may have more difficulty than the adolescent or young adult (Harley, 1986; Long, 1990; Scovel, 1988; Singleton & Lengyel, 1995; Zan, 2004). However, adults usually experience less difficulty with third- and fourth-language acquisition if they are already very proficient in the oral and written systems of their first two languages.

A research synthesis on the optimal age question written two decades ago (Krashen, Scarcella, & Long, 1982) concluded that "older is faster but younger is better." Now we know that this generalization applies mainly to conversational or oral language development. When reading and writing are added to the picture, a very different conclusion emerges. To state that one age is better than another to begin second-language acquisition would be greatly oversimplifying the complex interrelationships between development of language and cognition as well as social, emotional, and cultural factors (Collier, 1987, 1988, 1989c, 1992a, 1995). As proficiency in academic language develops at school, age interacts with many other variables that influence the language acquisition process, to be discussed below.

Second-Language Acquisition: Academic Language

When the purpose of L_2 acquisition is for use in educational settings, then the complexity of language proficiency development expands greatly. We use the

term **academic language** to refer to "a complex network of language and cognitive skills and knowledge required across all content areas for eventual successful academic performance at secondary and university levels of instruction" (Collier & Thomas, 1989, p. 27). Cummins (1979a, 1981b, 1986b, 1991, 2000) first popularized this dimension of language, referring to it as "cognitive academic language proficiency" (CALP) as well as "context-reduced" or "decontextualized" language. This dimension of language proficiency is an extension of social language development. In other words, social and academic language development represents a continuum; they are not separate, unrelated aspects of proficiency. However, academic language extends into more and more cognitively demanding uses of language, with fewer contextual clues to meaning provided other than the language itself, as students move into more academically demanding work with each succeeding grade level.

A number of researchers have criticized Cummins's theorized distinction between social and academic language. For example, Edelsky (1996) suggests that a student's acquisition of academic language might be merely a growing "test-wiseness." In other words, if academic proficiency is typically measured through student performance on reading tests, what counts as academic skills are their scores on these tests. Edelsky argues that such a conceptualization of academic language, however unintended, reduces literacy to a "collection of skills which can be justifiably represented by, and equated with, scores on reading tests" (p. 69). MacSwan and Rolstad (2003) in a similar critique worry that theorizing a distinction between social and academic language actually privileges the latter. The implication of such a distinction is that academic proficiency can be acquired only in school, and not through home or family discourses. MacSwan and Rolstad acknowledge that the distinction between social and academic language is intuitively appealing, and indeed, has provided support for bilingual education and literacy development in students' first languages. They point out the theory's uncomfortable connection to deficit perspectives of language and culture, especially the inference that schooling in and of itself actually improves one's language.

In a more recent critique, Aukerman (2007) questions the usefulness of the framework for classroom teachers of English language learners, arguing that we may be doing students a disservice if we blame their academic difficulties on "something *they* are said to lack—mastery of the 'right' kind of language" (p. 626, emphasis in original). Referencing the cross-cultural research of Scribner and Cole (1981), Aukerman reminds us that what counts as academic language is socially constructed, and similarly, its use cognitively is a social phenomenon. For instance, Scribner and Cole researched the literacy practices among the Vai of Liberia, finding that different languages within the community were associated with different cognitive tasks. That is, cognitive academic language proficiency (Cummins's CALP) in one language "did not neatly map onto CALP in another" (Aukerman, 2007, p. 629). Finally, Aukerman questioned the notion that language is ever really decontextualized. Her study on the literacy development of a kindergarten English language learner indicated when confronted with incomprensible or "decontextualized"

language, he actually "reconceptualized" it in a way that made sense to him. She writes:

> Children gain familiarity with language and literacy not as a consequence of mastering material presented "without a context," but rather as they become proficient at identifying, creating, and expanding linguistic (and extralinguistic) contexts. They do this in conversation with others, with teachers and peers, through whom new contexts for reading and writing, for speaking and thinking, acquire meaning. Understanding academic language without understanding the demands of the context does a child little good (Aukerman, 2007, p. 631).

Aukerman argues that viewing proficiency in academic or decontextualized language as a prerequisite for success in school is, at best, misleading, and at worst, destructive. "Language *must* be in context," she maintains, "to be meaningful at all" (p. 632).

Given these contradictions, what should a good teacher do? We believe that dialogue and scholarly disagreement about accepted theories are useful and illuminating. They provide us with insights about how English language learners acquire language and literacy, and how we can better assist them. Ultimately, however, good teachers will provide their students with opportunities to develop both social *and* academic language in context. Consider, for instance, that activating students' background knowledge and prior experience might begin with social language, including many contextual supports through, for example, visuals, maps, charts, manipulatives, music, and pantomiming. As the lesson continues, new knowledge is developed and applied through increasingly cognitively complex tasks that extend students' cognitive and academic development through meaningful application in cooperative groups. Development of academic language is using language "to explain, to classify, to generalize, . . . to manipulate ideas, to gain knowledge, and to apply that knowledge" across all academic subjects (Swain, 1981, p. 5). Academic language development crosses all levels of Bloom's (1956) taxonomy of educational objectives in the cognitive domain—knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation—for all grade levels and all content areas. Developing L_2 academic language is not watering down the curriculum; instead, students actively participate in lessons through meaningful, contextualized language that stimulates their cognitive and academic growth.

Academic Language: How Long?

When one realizes that academic language development is a continuous process throughout a student's schooling, the length of time required for this complex process can be better understood. For example, in the United States, native-English-speaking students are constantly acquiring a deeper level of proficiency in academic language in English. A newcomer who has had no previous exposure to English must build proficiency in social and academic language in English *and* catch up to the native speaker, who is not standing still waiting for others to catch up, but is continuing to develop higher levels of academic proficiency (Thomas, 1992). Cultural knowledge embedded in the native speaker's past experience adds

to the complicated task the second-language student must face. Research has shown that when immigrants in the United States and Canada are schooled only in L_2, it takes a minimum of 5 to 10 years to attain grade-level norms in academic L_2, and it takes even longer when students do not have a literacy base in L_1 (Collier, 1987, 1989c, 1992c; Collier & Thomas, 1989; Cummins, 1981b, 1991, 1992; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Dolson & Mayer, 1992; Genesee, 1987; Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000; Ramírez, 1992). However, when students are schooled in L_1 and L_2 at least through grade 5 or 6, they are able to maintain grade-level norms in L_1 and reach grade-level norms in academic L_2 in 4 to 7 years (Collier, 1992c; Genesee, 1987; Ramírez, 1992). Furthermore, after reaching grade-level norms, students schooled bilingually stay on or above grade level, whereas those schooled only through L_2 tend to do less well in school in the upper grades (Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002).

Interdependence of First and Second Languages

Many studies have shown that cognitive and academic development in L_1 has a strong, positive effect on L_2 development for academic purposes (Collier, 1989c, 1992c; Cummins, 1991; Díaz & Klinger, 1991; Freeman & Freeman, 1992, 1994; García, 1993; Genesee, 1987, 1994; Hakuta, 1986; Lessow-Hurley, 2005; Lindholm, 1991, Lindholm Leary, 2001; McLaughlin, 1992; Slavin & Cheung, 2005; Snow, 1990; Tinajero & Ada, 1993; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986). Academic skills, literacy development, concept formation, subject knowledge, and learning strategies all transfer from L_1 to L_2 as the vocabulary and communicative patterns are developed in L_2 to express that academic knowledge. Cummins (1976, 1979a, 1981b, 1986b, 1991) refers to this phenomenon as **"common underlying proficiency"** or the **"interdependence" of languages.** Cummins's view is supported by research in linguistic universals, which has found many properties common across all languages at deep, underlying structural levels (Ellis, 1985, 1994; Hinkel, 2005). Only in surface structures do languages appear to be radically different. But still deeper than language itself is the underlying knowledge base and life experience that students have developed in L_1, all of which is available to them once they have the ability to express that knowledge in L_2. L_1 literacy is considered a crucial base for L_2 literacy development. Many research studies have found that a wide variety of skills and learning strategies that are developed in L_1 reading and writing can have positive transfer to L_2 reading and writing (Au, 1993; Bialystok, 1991; Cummins, 1989c, 1991, 1996b; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Genesee, 1987, 1994; Hakuta & August, 1998; Hudelson, 1994; Johnson & Roen, 1989; Lessow-Hurley, 1990; Lindholm, 1991; Meyer & Fienberg, 1992; Slavin & Cheung, 2003; Snow, 1990; Tinajero & Ada, 1993; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986).

The old notion that L_1 "interferes" with L_2 has not been supported by research evidence (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; McLaughlin, 1984, 1985, 1992). It is clear that L_1 serves a function in early L_2 acquisition, but it is a supportive role rather than a negative one. In the beginning stages of L_2 acquisition, acquirers lean on

their L_1 knowledge to analyze patterns in L_2, and they subconsciously apply some structures from L_1 to L_2 in the early stages of interlanguage development. Most linguists look upon this process as a positive use of L_1 knowledge. Less reliance on L_1 structures occurs naturally as the acquirer progresses to intermediate and advanced stages of L_2 acquisition. Overall, research has found less L_1 influence on L_2 vocabulary and grammar development once students move beyond the beginning levels of language acquisition. Students beginning L_2 exposure as adolescents and adults experience some L_1 influence on L_2 pronunciation throughout their lives. Also, research in L_2 academic writing has found considerable influence from L_1 on L_2 rhetorical thought patterns (Connor & Kaplan, 1987).

Threshold Hypothesis

Some studies indicate that if a certain academic and literacy **threshold** (Cummins, 1976) is not reached in L_1 (with at least four to five years of L_1 schooling), students may experience cognitive and academic difficulties in L_2 (Collier, 1987, 1995; Collier & Thomas, 1989; Cummins, 1976, 1981b, 1991, 2000; Dulay & Burt, 1980; Duncan & De Avila, 1979; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). Not only are L_1 literacy skills important to L_2 literacy in languages with obvious transfer possibilities, but also literacy skills from non-Roman-alphabet languages (such as Arabic, Hindi, Korean, and Mandarin Chinese) assist significantly with acquisition of L_2 literacy in a Roman-alphabet language such as English (Chu, 1981; Cummins, 1991; Thonis, 1981). Swain, Lapkin, Rowen, and Hart (1990) found that L_1 literacy has a strong positive impact on academic achievement even in L_3 for language minority students attending Canadian bilingual immersion programs.

Earlier, we described some of the main critiques of Cummins's academic-social language distinction. A few of the same researchers have criticized Cummins's threshold hypothesis as well, suggesting that its origin can be traced to the deficit theory of **semilingualism,** or the belief that some language minority children do not know any language at all, or speak their native and target languages with only limited ability (Crawford, 2004; Edelsky et al. 1983; Edelsky, 1996; MacSwan, 2000; MacSwan & Rolstad, 2003, 2005; Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986; Wiley, 1996). This belief has little theoretical or empirical validity, they argue, because all normal children acquire the language of their speech community, and thus are unlikely to arrive at school without the ability to understand or speak it. Moreover, the term *semilingualism* fits all too well into popular stereotypes about children who do not know English and do not know their mother tongue either, and therefore do poorly in school settings (MacSwan, 2000).

Cummins initially used the term in the context of the **threshold hypothesis** to characterize the low levels of academic proficiency that some bilingual students appeared to manifest in their two languages. He argued that failure to attain strong academic proficiency in either language "might mediate the consequences of their bilingualism for cognitive and academic development" (cited in Cummins, 2000, p. 100). Cummins made clear that such a condition was the result of discriminatory schooling and the systemic denial to language minority students the opportunity to

access literacy and academic language in either L_1 or L_2. Over the years, Cummins has repudiated his earlier use of the term (1979a, 2000), stating that it "has no theoretical value in describing or explaining the poor school performance of some bilingual students" (2000, p. 99). Nonetheless, he argues forcefully that the attainment—or not— of academic language proficiency is the principal variable in school success:

> . . . The denial of the theoretical utility of the construct of "semilingualism" does not imply that the academic language proficiency (CALP) that bilingual students develop in their two languages is irrelevant to their academic progress. In fact, there is overwhelming evidence that for both monolingual and bilingual students, the degree of academic language proficiency they develop in school is a crucial intervening variable in mediating their academic progress. The vast majority of those who have argued that "semilingualism does not exist" have failed to realize that theoretical constructs are not characterized by existence or nonexistence but by characteristics such as validity and usefulness, or their opposites. Most have also declined to engage with the question of how language proficiency is related to academic achievement and how individual differences in academic language proficiency should be characterized (2000, p. 99).

MacSwan (2000) and MacSwan and Rolstad (2003, 2005) extend the discussion about semilingualism and academic language proficiency in recent works. In a review of research studies of language variation, linguistic structure, school performance, and language loss, they argue that all of the research findings are either spurious or irrelevant. The authors maintain that semilingualism, as the basis of the threshold hypothesis, is essentially indistinguishable from classical prescriptivism, because it ascribes special status to the language of school, and hence to the language of the educated classes. Thus, the threshold hypothesis itself, like semilingualism and the BICs/CALP distinction, assumes that the *academic* language of the school is richer or inherently superior to the *social* language spoken by minority children at home. While first language literacy "and knowledge of academic discourse and vocabulary are certainly relevant to *academic* achievement, they are not relevant to *linguistic* achievement. All normal children achieve linguistically" (MacSwan, 2000, p. 35, emphasis in original). Wiley (1996), in his own critique of Cummins's distinction between "context-embedded/cognitively undemanding" social language and "context-reduced, cognitively demanding" academic language, similarly argues against the perspective that "literate academic language is *intrinsically* more cognitively demanding than oral language" (p. 171).

The deficit implications of the threshold hypothesis for policy and pedagogy have not been fully explored. On the one hand, the theory hypothesizes that helping children achieve academic or cognitive thresholds in L_1 first—which then theoretically contributes to academic success in L_2—is only possible at school (in a bilingual education program, for example) and not in a language minority home where there are perceived linguistic and literacy deficiencies. On the other hand, the threshold hypothesis has been widely embraced by teachers and researchers alike and has been used as the justification for bilingual education program models that emphasize academic instruction in L_1, accompanied by a gradual increase in English language development. Indeed, as we discussed earlier, many studies have

indicated that cognitive and academic development in students' first language contributes positively to both the acquisition of English and academic success in school.

Input and Interaction

Essential to the language acquisition process is a source of input. This is best provided by speakers of the target language in a social setting in which the target language speaker selects and modifies the L_2 input in the context of social interaction with the L_2 learner so that real communication takes place (Wong Fillmore, 1991a). Krashen (1981, 1982, 1985) posits that the key to L_2 acquisition is a source of L_2 input that is understood, natural, interesting, useful for meaningful communication, and approximately one step beyond the learner's present level of competence in L_2. His **input hypothesis** is conceptualized by the formula *i + 1*, where *i* represents *input*, or a particular stage in the learner's acquisition of a second language, and *+ 1* represents a level just above the learner's proficiency. Krashen argues that second language learners learn their L_2 in one principal way—through through their exposure to comprehensible input. He reasons that if we want learners to development proficiency in their second language, we must teach it at a level just beyond their comprehension, but scaffold or shelter our instruction to make it comprehensible.

In L_1 acquisition for children, adults and older children provide natural input through caregiver speech, and a modification of vocabulary and structures to enable meaningful communication with the child. Some common characteristics of caregiver speech are focusing on the here and now, shortening sentences, repeating through rephrasing, inserting pauses, modeling what the child seems to want to say, correcting errors indirectly, and focusing on communication rather than language form (Berko Gleason, 2001; de Villiers & de Villiers, 1978; Snow & Ferguson, 1977; Wells, 1985). A natural stage of beginning L_1 acquisition can also

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GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

SECOND-LANGUAGE WRITTEN INPUT

While spoken input in L_2 comes from conversations, written input comes from reading in L_2 (Au, 1993; Krashen, 1985; Smallwood, 1991; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Tinajero & Ada, 1993). The most useful and meaningful texts for L_2 learners have characteristics similar to spken language:

1. They are written in readable, natural language that is interesting, useful, and approximately one step beyond the student's present proficiency level in L_2.

2. They are cognitively appropriate for a student's maturity level.

3. They activate the students' background knowledge and life experiences, which is accomplished best through readings that present a bicultural or multicultural perspective.

be observed in beginning child L_2 acquisition, a **silent period** of several months when children mostly listen to the new language, without being forced to produce the new language. Young ESL beginners who rarely speak in the new L_2 have been found to make just as much, and frequently more, progress in L_2 acquisition as their more talkative classmates by the end of the first year of exposure to L_2 (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982; Saville-Troike, 1984; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986).

While respecting an initial need for a silent period, as research has continued to discover the complexities of L_2 acquisition, most linguists today would agree that language acquisition does not generally occur purely through a source of input, but through *interaction* with that source of input (Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Chaudron, 1988; Ellis, 1985, 1990, 1994; Gass & Madden, 1985; Hatch, 1983; Swain, 1985; Wong Fillmore, 1989, 1991a). Researchers focusing on teacher talk as a source of L_2 input have found modifications in speech similar to those in caregiver speech, such as nonverbal pauses, gestures, and facial expressions; changes in volume and manner of delivery; simplification of syntax; repetitions, paraphrases, and expansions; use of visual aids and realia; and comprehension checks. Interactional features of teacher talk have added to the above strategies clarification and confirmation checks, explicit error correction and modeling appropriate form, as well as introducing playfulness with language (Smallwood, 1992).

Output is just as essential as input (Swain, 1985; de Bot, 1996). Output comes from the L_2 learner in the form of speaking and writing. Interactional features mentioned above in spoken language are also available to students in written language through feedback from teachers and peers. Writing experienced through the writing process, with stimulation from peer and teacher interaction in response to each stage of the writing, leads to new language acquisition (Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Goodman & Wilde, 1992; Hudelson, 1994; Izumi & bigelow, 2000; Johnson & Roen, 1989; Kasper, 2009). In summary, the negotiation of meaning through oral and written language between L_2 learners and native speakers is considered central to the acquisition process.

Second–Language Acquisition as a Natural, Developmental Process

Research evidence has found that many aspects of L_2 acquisition appear to be driven by an internal capability of the brain to facilitate this natural process. This innate ability is available to children, adolescents, and adults, in both untutored and classroom-assisted L_2 acquisition (Chomsky, 1957, 1965; Christiansen, Collins, & Edelman, 2009). Research on interlanguage (L_2 acquirers' language produced at various stages of L_2 acquisition) and language universals (properties common to many or all languages) continues to identify aspects of the process that most L_2 acquirers experience. While each student varies in the order and the rate at which specific language features are acquired, there are general, predictable stages that most learners pass through (Brown, 1994a; Eckman, 2004; Ellis, 1985, 1994; Hakuta, 1987; Krashen, 1981; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Sharwood Smith & Truscott, 2005).

For example, there is a developmental sequence to the acquisition of nega-
tion, interrogation, and relative clauses in ESL acquisition. In the first stage, most
acquirers commonly produce a word order that does not necessarily reflect the
standard word order of English, and some sentence constituents are omitted. In
the second stage, the acquirer begins to use English word order and most required
sentence constituents are there, but grammatical accuracy is not. Grammatical
morphemes begin to be used more systematically and meaningfully in the third
stage. In the fourth stage, the acquirer moves to acquisition of more complex sen-
tence structures (Ellis, 1985, pp. 58–64). Studies of ESL morpheme acquisition also
provide evidence for a natural developmental sequence, regardless of the learner's
background or L_1. For example, as a general pattern, the morpheme *-ing,* the plu-
ral, and the helping verb *to be* are acquired much earlier than the regular past
tense, third-person singular present tense, and the possessive (Ellis, 1994; Krashen,
1977, 1981; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991).

Teachers can facilitate the natural process by recognizing that acquisition of
any given feature in the language cannot be mastered quickly. A morpheme, for
example, will be acquired in stages, with gradual awareness and refining of rules
surrounding that morpheme, as the detail of complexity of its use becomes more
evident to the acquirer. Formal or direct instruction in grammatical constructions
cannot speed up the natural developmental process, although it might help to facil-
itate it. Errors need not be viewed as lack of mastery but as positive steps in the L_2
acquisition process. While recognizing that the natural L_1 acquisition process is an
innate capability also available to L_2 acquirers, much greater individual variation
occurs in L_2 acquisition than in L_1 acquisition (Bayley & Langman, 2004; Bialystok &
Hakuta, 1994; Hakuta, 1986, 1987; Wong Fillmore, 1991a; Regan, 2004). This varia-
tion is due to the interaction of many other factors in second-language acquisition,
including those discussed in the preceding section on linguistic processes, as well
as sociocultural and cognitive variables to be discussed in the following sections.

Social and Cultural Processes

Social and cultural factors in the second-language acquisition process represent a
wide range of mostly external forces that strongly affect the instructional context,
such as students' socioeconomic status and past schooling, the functions of L_1 and
L_2 use within a community, attitudes toward L_1 and L_2, social and psychological dis-
tance between L_1 and L_2 speakers, subordinate status of a minority group, cross-
cultural conflict, and many more potential factors. While many social and cultural
factors may not be easily modified by teacher or student, educators can adapt
existing instructional practices and educational structures to provide as support-
ive an educational environment as possible for students' acquisition of L_2 and their
successful academic achievement.

Extensive research from anthropology, sociology, sociolinguistics, psycholin-
guistics, social psychology, and education has identified many very powerful socio-
cultural influences on L_2 acquisition for schooling. To ignore these factors is
equivalent to setting up a system for the academic failure of many L_2 students. The

sociocultural context is different in each school setting, and it is therefore difficult to generalize findings from one community or school to another. However, research in each school setting can provide new insights into sociocultural patterns to illustrate the complexity of their interaction with the L_2 acquisition process. This brief review does not begin to cover the wide range of social and cultural processes that can interact with linguistic and cognitive variables. Only a few examples will be presented here, with expansion of this discussion in Chapters 5 and 10.

Language Use at School

An issue as seemingly simple as language use is fraught with sociocultural complications. Within school, what is allowed is often a reflection of language status within a given community. When the majority group wishes to keep a minority group in subordinate status, often school rules are subconsciously used to maintain the hierarchical relationship between groups. Use of a minority language is sometimes perceived as a threat by monolingual majority language speakers. Educational historians' analyses of U.S. school patterns in the twentieth century are replete with examples of repression of minority language use at school—including physical punishment (Crawford, 1992a; Tyack, 1974). Why do we feel so threatened?

While in most other countries of the world bilingualism is the norm and is present in everyday life for all classes of society and all age groups (Grosjean, 1982), in the United States the pattern during the twentieth century has been to encourage the eradication of bilingualism as quickly as possible. Yet in spite of this pattern, bilingualism persists. L_1 is used at home or in the language minority community because a person's L_1 is intimately connected to his or her self-identity. It is the first means of expression of soul, kinship, emotions, tastes, sounds, and smells. L_1 is associated with the most important and intimate aspects of existence. To take L_1 away is to rob a person of his or her most basic identity and meaning in life.

Estimates from the 1990 U.S. Census have found that 55.9 million persons, or 22.5 percent of the total U.S. population, speak a non-English language at home (Waggoner, 1991). While the fear is expressed that immigrants are not learning English, this is far from the reality. Research clearly shows that a language shift to English as the primary language occurs among language minorities faster in the United States than anywhere else in the world (by the second or third generation). Our high rate of immigration, with new arrivals daily, masks the language shift to English as the primary language that is actually occurring at a very rapid rate (Crawford, 1992a; Grosjean, 1982; Veltman, 1988).

Bilingual school personnel and educated language minority parents, who work on building students' cognitive development in L_1, describe what an uphill battle it is to fight U.S. societal pressure for children to switch to English and lose L_1 as quickly as possible. Lambert (1975, 1984) refers to the lack of societal support for a minority language, with gradual loss of L_1, as subtractive bilingualism, a consequence of social pressure sometimes present in majority-minority relations. If L_1 loss occurs too early in life, however, it is associated with negative cognitive effects. Subtractive bilinguals (who lose L_1) perform less well on many cognitive and academic measures than additive bilinguals (who acquire L_2 *and* maintain L_1).

Societal and community patterns are reflected in school in relationships among various ethnolinguistic student groups and among students and staff. Conscious analysis of these forces can lead to constructive, democratic decisions for change for a classroom as well as for the whole school. Bilingual programs that provide strong instructional support for both L_1 and L_2, with more equal status given to the two languages, are the most successful programs for language minority students, for both L_2 academic development and building students' self-confidence and self-esteem (Collier, 1989c, 1992c; Thomas & Collier, 1997). Among indigenous groups, L_1 revitalization in schools is crucial for cognitive development, to connect to the deep knowledge passed on within each ethnolinguistic community from generation to generation (Fishman, 1991; Hinton & Hale, 2001; McCarty, 2004; Ovando, 1994; Ovando & Gourd, 1996), such as intimate knowledge of the ecology of a region and human responses to that environment. L_1 loss can lead to "a destruction of intimacy, the dismemberment of family and community, the loss of a rooted identity" (Slate, 1993, p. 30). In schools with no instructional support for L_1 for language minority students, decisions can be made regarding social language use that reflect respect for the functions of L_1 for identity and cognitive development, as well as social and emotional support. Creating a school context for additive bilingualism demands respect and valuing of all minority languages, dialects, and cultures (Baker, 2001; Cummins, 1996b; Trueba, 1991).

Language use decisions apply not only to majority/minority languages in use in the school community but also to regional varieties of language (such as the use of nonstandard dialects of a language). Linguists look upon all varieties of language as equally complex, grammatical, and purposeful (or they would not exist). Acknowledging that a language variety serves an important function in a given community and then assisting students with an analysis of the uses and contrasting features of that variety and the standard variety affirm students' identity and help with the process of bidialectal acquisition (Delpit, 1998; Ovando, 1993).

Sociolinguists and anthropologists have amassed a significant body of knowledge examining the functions of language use in many culturally varied ethnolinguistic communities for a comparison with typical genres taught in U.S. schools. These studies have generally found a wealth of functions of language use that support and broaden the academic uses of language in school, much richer than the narrow stereotypical perceptions that school staff members have of language development at home and in the community (Díaz, Moll, & Mehan, 1986; Heath, 1986; Minami & Ovando, 2004; Trueba, Guthrie, & Au, 1981). When closer school–community relations are developed, what is frequently revealed is a richer, more complex range of language use in the home, community, and professional life, and a very narrow, restricted focus of uses of language at school. In several regions of the United States where a large ethnolinguistic community exists that has experienced discrimination and resultant low academic achievement in schools, researchers and school staff have worked together to forge linkages between the community and school, resulting in contagious excitement among students and staff as an expanded school curriculum is developed that recognizes the social and cultural nature of learning and language development. Exciting,

ongoing school–community linkages have radically transformed school practices and L_2 academic achievement among, for example, African Americans (Heath, 1983), Ethiopian Americans, Haitian Americans, Portuguese Americans (Warren, Rosebery, & Conant, 1990), Hawaiian Americans (Au & Jordan, 1981; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1993; Wilson & Kamaná, 2001), Mexican Americans (Ada, 1988; Delgado-Gaitán, 1987, 1990; Moll & Díaz, 1993; Moll, Vélez-Ibáñez, Greenberg, & Rivera, 1990), and Navajo students (McCarty, 2004; Rosier & Holm, 1980; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1993).

Students' Socioeconomic Status

Any group of educators gathered together can very quickly identify many student background factors that they believe affect their students' success or lack of success in the classroom. How much these factors affect the L_2 acquisition process has not yet been analyzed extensively because it is difficult to control these variables in research, and their influence on L_2 development varies greatly from one student to another. For example, socioeconomic status (SES) was identified in educational research of the 1960s and 1970s as one of the most powerful variables influencing student achievement. A common approach to language teaching of the 1970s and early 1980s was to assume that students of low SES background were best taught through a carefully structured, sequenced, basic skills approach to language arts. Today, substantial research has found that this practice actually widens the gap in achievement between middle- and low-SES students as the students move into the upper grades; whole-language approaches to language teaching hold more promise for addressing the language needs of students of all income backgrounds (National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988; Oakes, 1985; Rothman, 1991; Valdez Pierce, 1991).

For language minorities, severe poverty is not necessarily closely correlated with L_2 academic failure. The circumstances for each ethnolinguistic family in the United States may vary greatly, and many other factors may interact with SES to make it a less powerful variable in academic language development. Most new immigrants go through a shift in SES from home country to host country, some from higher SES to lower status in the United States, and others experiencing upward mobility upon emigration. Recent research on effective schools for language minority students has found that low SES is a less powerful variable for students in schools that provide a strong bilingual/bicultural, academically rich context for instruction (Collier, 1992c; Cummins, 1996b; Krashen & Biber, 1988; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Rothman, 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997; Valdez Pierce, 1991).

Students' Past Schooling and Escape from War

Past educational experience is another factor in students' background that is much more powerful than SES for acquisition of academic L_2. Immigrants from an economically depressed region of the world may have experienced fewer school hours per day because of overcrowding of schools, or they may have come from a rural area with limited accessibility to formal schooling. Over the past decade,

large numbers of new students have arrived in the United States from war-torn areas of the world, where they experienced long periods of interrupted schooling or crowded refugee camp conditions with little opportunity for instructional support. Very little research has been conducted on recent arrivals with little or no formal L_1 schooling. These students appear to need lots of academic support in the language in which they are cognitively more mature, L_1, in order to develop literacy, mathematics, science, and social studies knowledge as quickly as possible to make up for years of missed instruction. In special programs developed for students from war-torn areas, teachers say that some students may also need lots of emotional support and counseling to deal with the scars of violence they have witnessed, lost family members, and continuing trauma of establishing stable family relations and meeting their basic survival needs.

In an analysis of Hmong adaptation to the U.S. school culture, Trueba, Jacobs, and Kirton (1990) concluded that the Indochinese children they studied who had escaped war and emigrated from refugee camps needed bicultural learning environments "to break the vicious cycle of stress, poor performance, humiliation, depression, and failure" (p. 109). The researchers recommended school curricula for the Indochinese students that would provide a meaningful way to integrate language, culture, and community knowledge, making each academic activity functionally meaningful and connecting it to students' prior knowledge, based on the model developed by Tharp and Gallimore (1988). This model has been successfully applied to language minority students in Hawaii, Arizona, and California, significantly increasing academic L_2 achievement.

Caplan, Choy, and Whitmore (1992) examined 6,750 Southeast Asian boat people who emigrated to the United States following devastating hardships suffered in war and relocation camps. The researchers collected extensive information on these Indochinese parents and their children, using survey data, interviews conducted in L_1, and students' academic records at school, including grade point averages and standardized test scores. Contrary to the researchers' expectations, they found that the strongest predictors of L_2 academic success for these Indochinese children were parents' maintenance of L_1 at home, reading books in L_1 to their children, and strong retention of their own cultural traditions and values, including providing a supportive home environment that placed a high value on love of learning. These were families that, for the most part, had not had extensive opportunities for formal schooling in the past; education had been a restricted privilege for the well-to-do. In spite of parents' lack of formal education and lack of English proficiency, they were able to provide the family support needed to help their children excel in L_2 academic achievement through continuing development of their first language and cultural heritage at home.

Length of Residence in the Country of Immigration

For immigrants, length of residence in the country of immigration is a key variable in L_2 acquisition for the first five years of exposure to the natural L_2 environment (Cummins, 1991). Teachers can expect immigrants who have received at least four to five years of schooling in L_1 to make substantial progress in academic L_2 with

each succeeding year of exposure to L_2. For example, after five years of exposure to English in the United States, many immigrants with strong educational backgrounds from their home country begin to reach the stage of L_2 proficiency where they can successfully compete with native speakers on standardized measures of academic achievement. Five years is the shortest amount of time found in any study of immigrants being schooled completely in L_2 after arrival in the United States (Collier, 1989c, 1992c; Thomas & Collier, 1997). But it is important to understand that it takes at least five years because school measures of academic success are school tests that change with every year of school in contrast to a language proficiency test, which is a more static measure. Nonnative speakers are being compared to native speakers who are also growing linguistically, academically, and cognitively with each year of schooling, and the tests for each grade level change to reflect this growth.

Thus it is unreasonable to expect students to make faster progress. Language acquisition cannot be accelerated; it is a developmental process that occurs over many years, given the basic conditions for acquisition: access to speakers of the target language and a social setting that encourages natural interaction with target language speakers. Exiting students from special support in ESL classes after two to three years should be done only with the clear understanding among grade-level teachers that L_2 development is at the most half completed and that these students will still be continuing to acquire L_2 skills with each succeeding year within the mainstream. Length of residence in the country of immigration is one of several very strong variables influencing L_2 development, but only through the first five to seven years in the new country.

Interestingly, quantity of L_2 input applies to number of years of exposure to L_2, but not to number of hours per day. Those who prefer "sink-or-swim" all-English instruction, although providing no special support of any kind for limited-English-proficient students is not in compliance with U.S. federal standards,[3] argue that the more instruction provided in English, the faster immigrants will learn English. While this argument sounds logical, the research on this topic has clearly shown that half a day of instruction in L_2 is just as effective as a full day, when the other half of the day consists of continuing academic instruction in L_1. Students being schooled bilingually, who receive only a half day of L_2 exposure, have generally taken four to seven years to reach L_2 academic proficiency comparable to that of a native speaker. Academic skills being developed in L_1 transfer to L_2, and this can be a crucial base for L_2 academic development (Collier, 1992c, 1999; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986).

The Classroom Environment and Affective Factors

The social context within the classroom can affect students' L_2 acquisition in many varied ways. Wong Fillmore (1991a) describes some of the basic social processes needed for natural L_2 acquisition to occur:

> Learners have to make the speakers aware of their special linguistic needs, and get them to make whatever accommodations and adjustments are necessary for successful communication—a difficult task. Communication with learners is

never easy because it takes special thought and effort to make oneself understood, and to figure out what the learner is trying to say. . . . When target language speakers and learners interact, both sides have to cooperate in order for communication to take place. The learners make use of their social knowledge to figure out what people might be saying, given the social situation. The learners assume that the speech used by the speakers is relevant to the immediate situation; if the target language speakers are being cooperative, this will indeed be true. This is possible when the social settings in which learning takes place provide meaningful contacts between learners and speakers of the language (pp. 53–54).

To create an acquisition-rich classroom environment, teachers need to plan lessons that begin by activating students' background knowledge and lead to discovery of new knowledge through problem-solving, interactive tasks. Cooperative learning (explored in Chapter 3) can serve as a classroom management structure for grouping students in varied ways to allow for peer interaction and discovery learning.

Establishing a cooperative learning environment among students is not an easy task, but it is essential to language acquisition. Research in L_2 acquisition has shown that a student's lowered anxiety level, self-confidence, and self-esteem are important affective factors that enhance the language acquisition process (Brown, 1994a; Krashen, 1982; Richard-Amato, 1996). Students need a supportive classroom environment in which affective or emotional development is valued as much as the cognitive side of learning. While most current L_2 acquisition theories emphasize a balance of linguistic, social, and cognitive factors, there is no doubt that the *interaction* of social, affective, and cultural factors with linguistic and cognitive factors can strongly influence the language acquisition process.

Societal Factors

One more example of the wide range of potential sociocultural influences on acquisition of L_2 for schooling can be classified as the societal factors. These are powerful influences that are sometimes very difficult for a school staff to overcome. However, they can be modified by creating a school culture different from the society around it, when the staff and students decide that they really want the sociocultural context for schooling to change.

Societal factors basically revolve around relations among groups, such as the social and psychological distance between L_1 and L_2 speakers, perceptions of each group in interethnic comparisons, cultural stereotyping, intergroup hostility, subordinate status of a minority group, patterns of assimilation (losing first culture when acquiring second culture) or acculturation (acquiring and affirming both first and second cultures) (Brown, 1994a; McLaughlin, 1985; Schumann, 1978). These factors can immensely complicate the L_2 acquisition process, but research is imprecise in determining the extent and range of their influence. Majority–miority and interethnic relations are at the heart of these factors influencing L_2 acquisition. The term *empowerment* has come to symbolize the struggles embodied in each group's access to education and general success in life.

Some analyses of societal structures can be very depressing, such as Ogbu's (1974, 1978, 1987, 1992, 1993) conclusion that the United States is essentially a

caste society that excludes true participation of subordinate and indigenous minorities (incorporated into this country against their will through slavery, conquest, or colonization) in access to education or career opportunities for advancement. Oakes and colleagues (Oakes, 1985; Oakes, Wells, Yonezawa, & Ray, 1997) have found extensive evidence of institutionalized racial bias in the U.S. educational system, with minority students still being counseled into nonacademic tracks and generally denied many educational opportunities. She encourages major U.S. educational reform to eliminate tracking and to use cooperative learning for interactive, interdisciplinary, multicultural, and problem-solving classes.

Other analyses of language minority education have examined, for example, inequality and discrimination in U.S. schools (Suárez-Orozco, 1987, 1993); language minority parents' perceptions of school and the need for closer school–community linkages (Delgado-Gaitán, 1987, 1990); and the role of transitional bilingual education in maintaining the status quo in majority–minority relations because short-term support for both L_1 and L_2 development is too limited to be of help (Hernández-Chávez, 1977, 1984; Spener, 1988). Cummins (1995) presents a major analysis of U.S. societal patterns from a language minority perspective and proposes "empowerment pedagogy" (pp. 70–86) as the best way to challenge societal structures reflected in education. Instead of a knowledge transmission approach in which "the teacher's role is to drill skills into reluctant skulls" (p. 71), empowerment pedagogy creates an interactive, experiential classroom in which critical thinking skills are developed; cooperative learning is used for interactive, small-group problem solving; and process writing is developed. Social and cultural factors influencing language acquisition will be discussed in much more detail in Chapters 5 and 9.

Cognitive Processes

Cognitive processes refer to the aspects of language development that occur inside a student's head. In contrast to the natural, subconscious linguistic processes described earlier, some cognitive processes can be mediated by the learner and influenced by the teacher and the instructional setting. How central these conscious cognitive processes are to second-language acquisition is the subject of an ongoing debate. Krashen (1981, 1982) popularized a distinction between subconscious acquisition and formal, conscious learning, basing his ideas on Chomsky's and other linguists' work. Chomsky (1957, 1965) posits that an innate language acquisition device is the central mechanism in first-language acquisition. Krashen believes that this innate mechanism is also central to the acquisition of a second language, thus taking the position that formal learning in the classroom serves a very limited role in the language acquisition process. However, others such as Ellis (1985, 1990), Wong Fillmore (1991a), McLaughlin (1987), and O'Malley and Chamot (1990) give conscious cognitive processes a more central role in second-language acquisition. Wong Fillmore (1991a) describes some of the cognitive processes that she considers central to second-language acquisition:

> What learners must do with linguistic data is discover the system of rules the speakers of the language are following, synthesize this knowledge into a grammar,

and then make it their own by internalizing it. . . . Learners apply a host of cognitive strategies and skills to deal with the task at hand: They have to make use of associative skills, memory, social knowledge, and inferential skills in trying to figure out what people are talking about. They use whatever analytical skills they have to figure out relationships between forms, functions, and meanings. They have to make use of memory, pattern recognition, induction, categorization, generalization, inference, and the like to figure out the structural principles by which the forms of the language can be combined, and meanings modified by changes and deletions (pp. 56–57).

Many linguists have analyzed a great variety of ways in which cognition plays a role in second-language acquisition, more than can be reviewed in this brief discussion (see, for example, the journal *Language and Cognitive Processes*). The studies on language transfer have found that L_2 acquirers rely on their knowledge of L_1 for learning the L_2, noticing features in the input in L_2 and comparing those features with their internal language systems. Interlanguage theory analyzes the stages that learners go through in hypothesis testing regarding the rules of the new language system, although this occurs mainly at the subconscious level. Ellis (1994) presents a detailed analysis of cognitive accounts of second-language acquisition.

Studies on linguistic universals provide further evidence for the role of cognition in second-language acquisition. In the theories that explore the role of innate knowledge, some linguists have analyzed linguistic universals by attempting to identify typological universals through the study of many world languages. Other researchers have followed the generative school started by Chomsky, studying each individual language in great depth in order to identify the principles of grammar underlying and governing specific rules, referred to as Universal Grammar (Ellis, 1994). This research provides further evidence for what Cummins refers to as the interdependence of languages, or common underlying proficiency (1976, 1979a, 1981b, 1986b, 1991, 1996b), an important concept for bilingual and ESL educators to understand (discussed earlier in this chapter).

Learning Strategies

As cognitive psychologists and linguists have continued to explore the relationship between language and cognition in first-language acquisition, Chamot and O'Malley (1986, 1987, 1994; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990) have extended this research to second-language acquisition. They have found that second-language learners' use of learning strategies makes a significant difference in their academic success in the second language. Learning strategies are the techniques that students use to understand and retain information and to solve problems.

Oxford's (1990) classification of strategies used in language learning includes three general categories of indirect strategies—metacognitive, affective, and social strategies—and adds three categories of direct strategies—memory, cognitive, and compensation strategies. Oxford (1990) defines learning strategies as "operations employed by the learner to aid the acquisition, storage, retrieval, and use of information . . . to make learning easier, faster, more enjoyable, more self-directed, more

> ### Guidelines for Teaching
>
> **LEARNING STRATEGIES**
>
> - Metacognitive strategies—planning for learning, monitoring one's own comprehension and production, and evaluating how well one has achieved a learning objective.
>
> - Cognitive strategies—manipulating the material to be learned mentally (as in making images or elaborating) or physically (as in grouping items to be learned or taking notes).
>
> - Social/affective strategies—either interacting with another person in order to assist learning, as in cooperative learning, and asking questions for clarification, or using affective control to assist learning tasks (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994, pp. 60–61).

effective, and more transferable to new situations" (p. 8). Research has found that second-language learners who receive instruction with explicit teaching of learning strategies become more efficient and effective learners (Oxford, 1990; Thomas, 1994; Wenden & Rubin, 1987).

L_1 Cognition and L_2 Academic Language Development

Cummins's (1991) research synthesis on attribute-based aspects of L_2 proficiency (internal to the learner) has shown that cognitive processes are much more responsible for *academic* language development and less closely correlated with *social* language development. In contrast, L_2 social language development is strongly related to both the personality of the learner and the quality and quantity of L_2 input received by the learner (Cummins, 1984b, 1991). Furthermore, strong research evidence demonstrates consistent crosslingual relationships between L_1 and L_2 cognitive and academic language development. Acquisition of academic L_2 is closely connected to cognitive development in L_1. The research evidence overwhelmingly shows that when a student's cognitive and academic growth in L_1 is more fully developed, the student's proficiency and academic development in L_2 will deepen (Collier, 1992c; Cummins, 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997).

This has implications for the language spoken at home. Many well-meaning U.S. teachers advise language minority parents to speak only English at home. Yet this is the worst advice that can be given. When parents and children speak the language they know best, they are working at their highest level of cognitive maturity and are continuing cognitive development. Parents do not have to be formally schooled to provide this crucial support. For example, solving problems together, building or fixing something, cooking meals, talking about a television program, or going somewhere together are cooperative family activities that can stimulate the continuation of children's cognitive processes. Once language minority parents understand the importance of L_1 cognitive development and the role they can play in reinforcing their children's cognitive growth, they are usually overjoyed to assist

schools with L_1 cognitive development at home (Arnberg, 1987; Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1992; Delgado-Gaitán, 1990; Dolson, 1985; Genesee, 1994; Moll, Vélez-Ibáñez, Greenberg, & Rivera, 1990; Saunders, 1988; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988; Wong Fillmore, 1991b).

Another important implication of the research on crosslingual transfer of cognitive development is that we can no longer afford the time wasted in teaching language in isolation from the rest of the curriculum. For the deepest level of proficiency in a second language, both first and second languages should be developed through continuing cognitive and academic growth in L_1 and L_2 through cognitively demanding mathematics, language arts, science, and social studies interdisciplinary problem solving.

Individual Variation

Probably the strongest generalization that could be made regarding second-language acquisition is that there is great individual variation among students acquiring L_2. This is due to the large number of interacting variables across the four dimensions of language acquisition just described in this chapter: linguistic, sociocultural, cognitive, and academic. Personal attributes such as personality, age, aptitude, and cognitive styles, as well as the sociocultural circumstances of learning and many other factors interact with each other in extremely complex ways. The interwoven relationship among linguistic, sociocultural, academic, and cognitive processes is an everyday reality that teachers must face by creating a classroom context where the magic can happen. The next section on instructional approaches to teaching a second language addresses that reality.

The Contribution of Sociocultural Theory to Second-Language Acquisition

Sociocultural approaches to language and cognitive development were inspired by the ideas of Lev Vygotsky, a Russian educator and psychologist who wrote his seminal works in post-revolution Russia. Vygotsky viewed education as a fundamental social and cultural activity. For him, instruction, or the "capacity to teach" (Moll, 1990), was a uniquely human activity.

Vygotsky observed that all human pedagogy, whether between children and their caregivers or in formalized school settings, occurs within social and cultural contexts. He was interested in the ways these contexts influenced individual cognitive development, and especially, how human thinking is *mediated* through the use of tools, or culturally constructed artifacts. These tools might include books, paper, clocks, technology, toys, eating utensils, etc., or concepts like identity, person, family, time, literacy, law, religion, mind, etc. (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 59). Humans create these artifacts and concepts over time and, therefore, make them available to succeeding generations, who, in turn, modify the artifacts before passing them on even further. Vygotsky described this process as mediation, or the way that humans use these tools to "establish an indirect, or mediated, relationship

between ourselves and the world" (Lantolf, 2000, p. 1). Sociocultural theory is thus a *theory of the mind* (Wertsch, 1990, 1991) that embeds the development of human thinking within human social and cultural practices.

Probably the most well known of Vygotsky's theories is the **Zone of Proximal Development** (ZPD), which he proposed as a means of understanding the relationship between learning and development. Vygotsky conceptualized the ZPD as a metaphorical space in which social forms of mediation develop, and within which humans appropriate and internalize mediational means (Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). The ZPG is most commonly described as the difference between what an individual can achieve when acting independently and what she might achieve when acting with the support of another. In other words, the ZPD represents the difference between *real* and *potential* learning, that is, what she can only do today with the help of "a more competent other" (typically an adult), compared to what she will be able to do on her own tomorrow (Blanck, 1992; Lantolf, 2000; Moll, 1992; Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky believed that learning— and the cognitive and language development learning makes possible—was first and foremost a social activity. Thus a Vygotskian approach to schooling would argue that learning and intellectual development are optimally achieved through the creation of collaborative activities within social and cultural contexts.

Until relatively recently, researchers in second-language acquisition have not paid much attention to **sociocultural theory** as a means of explaining the language behavior of second-language learners. We believe that sociocultural theory provides a unique and useful framework through which teachers can observe and interpret the ways that English language learners develop their first and second languages. For example, many of us have observed second-language learners talking to themselves when reading a text or engaging in a task. Are they simply making noise? Or is something else going on? If the children's talk is related to the task at hand, sociocultural theorists might explain that the children are using their "private speech" to mediate their learning (Lee, 2008; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Saville-Troike, 1987).

According to Lantolf (2000), private speech originates in social exchange with others but serves an important cognitive function for the individual learner. In private speech, learners ask and answer questions, and interrupt or adjust an activity if they sense they cannot complete it correctly. For these learners, private speech may help them derive meaning from the activity. For teachers, knowing the important developmental function of private speech helps us more fully understand and appreciate the cognitive implications of the students' private conversations.

It may also be helpful to observe students' learning as *participation* rather than merely *acquisition*. Sociocultural theorists would argue that the former is much more dynamic (or dialogic) and active than the latter, and that the tasks we organize in our classrooms should be seen as "emergent interactions" rather than specific kinds of language performance (Donato, 2000, p. 20). The implications of this perspective for teaching English language learners are illuminating: If we see participation as a cognitive rather than mechanical activity, we should organize more collaborative (group) tasks in our classrooms. Because dialogic interaction is one of the principal tenets of sociocultural theory, it stands to reason that if students

collaborate on joint projects, expertise would emerge as a shared feature of the group rather than as solely an individual achievement (Swain, 2000). If language acquisition occurs through social exchange with peers and teachers, group interactions provide English language learners with linguistic and metalinguistic benefits when they have to collaboratively verbalize strategies like predicting, planning, and monitoring. Active verbalization of these strategies is a more effective way for students to mediate their own learning (Lantolf, 2000; Swain, 2000).

Sociocultural theory also provides teachers with an alternative interpretation of the phenomenon of imitation. Instead of viewing a learner's imitation of the actions of her classroom peers as mechanical mimicry or copying, we could see it as an important means of becoming part of the group. Lave and Wenger (1991) call this kind of imitation **legitimate peripheral participation.** It is peripheral participation in an activity because the learner may not specifically comprehend the instruction associated with the activity. But the participation is also legitimate because it allows her to participate in the collective activity of the group. Lave and Wenger and other researchers (Hawkins, 2004; Rymes & Pash, 2001) have conceptualized legitimate peripheral participation as one of the important cognitive processes that newcomers go through. As they become more proficient in learning activities, they move from the periphery of a community of practice to the center (Wenger, 1998). However, key to this process is social interaction and apprenticeship with peers and adults. English language learners are not just mimicking their peers in a mechanical fashion (whether through speech or with gestures); they are imitating and transforming the activity into something new. English learners also want to be part of the classroom community, and imitation is a legitimate way for them to participate, not unlike joining a club.

Finally, as noted earlier, the Zone of Proximal Development is a useful metaphor to describe the learning spaces that occur between student and teacher or student and student. Contemporary Vygotskian scholars (see for example, Moll, 2001; González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Lee & Smagorinksy, 2000) have urged a broader conceptualization of the ZPD. Although a metaphorical understanding of the ZPD is helpful, describing the zone as merely a setting in which "more capable others assist less capable ones" fails to capture the importance of the *reciprocal*, social relationships within it that make development possible (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005, p. 260). It is these relationships that mediate and fuse what Vygotsky called *everyday* and *scientific* concepts:

> The key difference between the two is that scientific or schooled concepts (e.g., mammals and socialism), as compared with everyday concepts (e.g., boats and cars), are systematic: That is, they form part of and are acquired in school and the other out of school, but their systematicity, that explains how scientific concepts form part of an organized system of knowledge and can thus be more easily reflected on and manipulated deliberately; consequently, through schooling, these concepts become objects of study (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005, p. 260).

The implications of this idea for the schooling of English language learners are significant: Cognitive development *and* academic content acquisition will occur

> ### Guidelines for Teaching
>
> #### WHAT DOES LEGITIMATE PERIPHERAL PARTICIPATION LOOK LIKE IN THE ESL OR BILINGUAL CLASSROOM?
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> In a recent visit to a Structured English Immersion first-grade classroom in Tucson, Arizona, we observed Sarai trying hard to participate in a group activity on the rug. The teacher was reading a story aloud in English to the children, defining vocabulary words they might not know, and asking them to predict what would happen next. Sarai, a monolingual Spanish speaker, was sitting at the back of the circle of students, carefully watching what the other students would do. If they raised their hands, she raised hers a split second later. When the teacher directed the students to consult their "shoulder buddies" about a particular question she had asked, Sarai imitated her peers by moving closer to another child and leaning into her. Sarai was engaged in **legitimate peripheral participation** in the social activity of the group (Lave & Wenger, 1991). She may not have understood what consulting a shoulder buddy meant, but she followed the action of her peers, and she was able to participate as a member of the classroom.

within the ZPD if students are able to use their own social and cultural resources—their family and community **funds of knowledge**—to mediate and make sense of that content. Awareness of the important connection between in-school and out-of-school knowledge encourages teachers to create "zones of practice" in which "the everyday and spontaneous comes into contact with the scientific and the schooled" (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005, p. 267). The zone of proximal development thus symbolizes a dynamic, dialogic process. Under the right conditions, this process could indeed occur in our classrooms.

Instructional Approaches to Teaching a Second Language

Second-language teaching approaches (such as teaching ESL, sheltered content subjects, or teaching Spanish or Vietnamese or Arabic as a second language in a two-way bilingual class) have gone through a radical transformation over the past decade, keeping in stride with curricular reform occurring in mathematics, science, social studies, and language arts for native speakers. Some of this change has occurred more easily in the elementary grades because these school structures are smaller and more flexible and curricular subjects are not as tightly defined by time periods and by specialists for each subject as they are in high schools. This change has not by any means occurred everywhere, and many teachers who have more recently completed their teacher education training and have embraced the new ideas bemoan the slowness of school systems to change. Nevertheless, the curricular reforms are spreading rapidly across the United States. The difference from previous "fads" in education is that the suggested changes are backed by considerable research evidence that these changes will make a substantial difference in all students' academic achievement.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

PROMISING PRACTICES FOR HETEROGENEOUS CLASSROOMS

All current research findings imply that the most promising classroom practices for heterogeneous classes are:

- Having language taught through meaningful content, usually organized by themes.
- Chosen through teacher–student collaborative inquiry and discovery learning.
- In a cooperative learning setting, with use of a wide variety of classroom structures that involve extensive interaction among students.
- Leading to tasks that involve creative problem solving and stimulate the development of higher-order thinking skills.
- Making use of the latest technological advances available to students to prepare students for the workplace of the twenty-first century where workers will need to problem solve cooperatively, be comfortable with technology, and know how to get access to information resources.

Reflecting the reality of a decade ago, the language chapter of the first several editions of this book focused on the teaching of language as a subject by itself. Now ESL and bilingual teachers increasingly are being asked to team teach with other subject area teachers, or to coordinate curricula more closely with grade-level teachers, or to serve as a second-language specialist across the curriculum within the grade-level classroom, or to continue to teach in a separate classroom but to teach language and content areas simultaneously. Language is no longer taught as an isolated subject area.

In this chapter, while we take time to focus on particular aspects of language teaching, all of these aspects of language development do not take place in isolation, but in a context in which the teaching of language is integrated with academic content and uses all language modes (listening, speaking, reading, and writing). Throughout this book, we also make a strong case for providing wherever possible for the social integration of minority and majority students, for the instructional integration of all staff, and the integration of home and school contexts.

Current Approaches to ESL and Bilingual Instruction

In the 1990s, U.S. educators called for major reforms in all areas (instructional methods, curricular materials, assessment practices, and administrative structures) to respond to dramatic demographic changes (increased immigration to the United States and mobility within the United States) and major shifts in the economy and the workplace as we move into the twenty-first century. Current approaches to language teaching are a response to these global changes as well as a reflection of new insights from research in language acquisition, reviewed in the first section of this chapter.

In the United States, heterogeneous classes are a reality that is here to stay. As teachers have responded to this reality, we have recognized that no single method of teaching language is effective with all students (Bruna & Gomez, 2008; Hamayan, 1993; McCarty, 2005). Recent second-language acquisition research has also discovered many complex interacting factors that influence the process of language development, with great variability from one learner to another. Therefore, current instructional approaches represent a blend of past and present techniques that have evolved over time in response to students' needs, changing assumptions about the language learning process, and implications from research on second-language acquisition. No convenient label can be used to identify one specific approach or instructional method that is currently fashionable. In the following paragraphs, we will try to summarize some of the most salient features of current approaches to second-language teaching.

Integration of Language and Content

The overriding drive in current changes occurring in second-language teaching is the need to teach language through the means of something essential and meaningful to the student. When the goal of an ESL class is to prepare students for academic success in classes taught in English, as is the case in teaching ESL in grades K through 12, then ESL is best taught through lessons that teach meaningful mathematics, science, social studies, and language arts concepts simultaneously with second-language objectives. Thus we have shifted from an ESL approach that focused mainly on *grammatical knowledge* of English, which was in vogue for the first half of the twentieth century, to the goal of *language use* common to the varied communicative approaches introduced in the 1960s and 1970s, to current approaches that teach *language use in a meaningful context* begun in the late 1980s and 1990s. Teaching meaningful academic language requires establishing close coordination with teachers who teach students of the same age. The ESL teacher needs to know the curricular objectives for each grade level and each subject area of the students assigned to his or her classes. Depending on the circumstances of students' past educational experiences, an ESL teacher needs to know not only the age-appropriate objectives but also all prior grade-level objectives to help students catch up and keep up with the academic work required of their age group. Schools with bilingual instruction provide crucial support with this process.

Teaching language lessons through academic content does not mean taking all the fun out of ESL. In fact, these can be exciting, magical classes. How about a primary school ESL math/science project to plan and build a terrarium or any other type of enclosure for some plants and animals for your classroom, with careful research on an ecologically sound environment for these living creatures that will join your class? At the secondary level, you might plan a math/science/social studies unit with your Central American, Brazilian, or Columbian students on the destruction of tropical rain forests and the ecological consequences for the Americas through examination of statistical graphs and charts gathered from environmental agencies, exploration of political and economic patterns in U.S.–Central American relations, analyses of birds' migratory patterns across the Americas as

well as species threatened with extinction in the rain forests, geographical analy-
ses of land use and topographical features, and future planning for the ecological
health of the Americas. The chapters on culture, social studies, mathematics, and
science that follow this language chapter will provide many more examples of
ways to develop meaningful language through content lessons. (For readings on
ESL taught through content, see Adamson, 1993; Becijos, 1997; Brinton, Snow, &
Wesche, 1989; Cantoni-Harvey, 1987; Case, 2002; Chamot & O'Malley, 1994;
Cocking & Mestre, 1988; Crandall, 1987, 1993; Crandall, Dale, Rhodes, & Spanos,
1989; Echevarria & Graves, 2002; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2004, 2008; Faltis,
1996, 2006; Fathman & Quinn, 1989; Fathman, Quinn, & Kessler, 1992; Freeman &
Crawford, 2008; Mohan, 1986; Padilla, Fairchild, & Valadez, 1990; Porter, 2009; Pray
& Monhardt, 2009; Reiss, 2001; Richard-Amato & Snow, 1992; Rosebery, Warren, &
Conant, 1992; Short, 1991, 1993; Smallwood, 1991; Snow, Met, & Genesee, 1989).

Content ESL and Sheltered Content Teaching

Chapter 1 of this book defined content ESL and sheltered content instruction, and
discussed the benefits and policy limitations of both approaches. While content
ESL and sheltered content instruction represent significant improvements on ESL
pullout or more traditional approaches to ESL, English language learners them-
selves may view sheltered classes as remedial or socially stigmatized, especially if
students are segregated from age and grade peers in mainstream classes (Valdés,
2001). Additionally, English Only ballot initiatives in California, Arizona, and
Massachusetts impose sheltered instruction on young learners of English as a sec-
ond language, the very group for whom this approach may be inappropriate.

Guidelines for Teaching

WHAT IS SHELTERED CONTENT INSTRUCTION? WHO BENEFITS FROM IT?

Linda Northcutt Gonzales (1994, p. 5), in a useful book designed for teacher inservices on
sheltered content instruction, defines sheltered teaching as a "synthesis of several compo-
nents of quality teaching and second-language acquisition research. It has been called the
missing link for those students who need to learn academic English and engage skills
mastered in the first language. Sheltered instruction offers a solution to those schools that
have a number of language groups to serve with limited staff." Northcutt Gonzales also
offers the following formal guidelines for determining which English language learners
would benefit from sheltered teaching. Typically, these are English language learners,

1. Who come from strong academic backgrounds in the first language.

2. With intermediate fluency in the second language who have acquired English and
   basic skills in the American school system.

3. Who were born in the United States, but who were not given the opportunity of
   primary language learning and English as a second-language program.

4. Who speak languages in which bilingual staff are not available.

Nevertheless, sheltered content instruction for English language learners with intermediate fluency in English can be highly effective, since it provides students with access to academic subject matter through comprehensible language and context (Echevarria & Graves, 2002). Skilled sheltered content teachers use a variety of strategies and materials to convey meaning to English language learners, including the use of props, graphic organizers and other visuals, multimedia, demonstrations, modeling, and expressive body language (Becijos, 1997; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2004, 2008; Northcutt Gonzales, 1994; Reis, 2001, 2005, 2008).

Whole Language

Many ESL and bilingual approaches advocate a whole-language philosophy, originally developed for English speakers in English language arts classes, as central to the second-language teaching process. The whole-language philosophy of teaching is based upon results of language research conducted over the past 30 years analyzing the developmental process that occurs naturally as children acquire their first language (oral and written). The same natural processes are at work in second-language acquisition, and increasing research evidence shows that the same strategies can be extremely effective in second-language teaching (Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Evans, Arnot-Hopfer, & Jurich, 2005; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Hamayan, 1993; Whitmore & Crowell, 1994).

Whole-language approaches focus on use of authentic language that is meaningful to students, proceeding from whole to part, integrating development of multiple language modes and domains. Whole language focuses on using language, focusing on meaning first, getting students to write early and often, accepting invented spelling for beginners but expecting conventional spelling as students advance in the writing process, exposing students to high-quality literature and authentic texts from diverse writing genres, allowing students to make choices in reading, and encouraging all to be voracious readers (Willis, 1995).

Part-to-whole approaches to language teaching dominated first- and second-language teaching in the United States until the 1970s. Isolated units of language—sounds, letters, grammar rules, and words—were emphasized as a first step in learning language. Whole language emphasizes a focus on meaning first and the parts come naturally later, as students are ready to focus on the details of language, through reading authentic text and the students' own writing. Whole-language teachers avoid the practices of teaching skills in isolation or in a strict sequence, using readers with controlled vocabulary, or using worksheets and drill. In contrast, a whole-language lesson might start with reading a story together, collecting litter in the schoolyard and classifying it by attributes, hand-making tortillas and eating them, or creating an origami figure.

Whole-language principles are very humanistic, respecting the strengths each student brings to the classroom and encouraging discovery learning through extensive social interaction, with students and teachers as partners in the learning process. Curriculum is constantly negotiated to meet the students' interests and needs. Building on students' prior knowledge and experiences, in a culturally and linguistically diverse class the rich linguistic and cultural resources shared by students

and teacher create a dynamic, empowering context for learning. Whole language allows self-correction to emerge by addressing accuracy through engagement in functional contexts that emphasize fluency over accuracy. While some policymakers portray whole language as responsible for low student achievement and propose a return to basic skills approaches, research has found that U.S. students are achieving at higher and higher levels with each succeeding year and therefore the standards are raised each year, in what David Berliner calls "the manufactured crisis" (Berliner & Biddle, 1995). While the newspaper headlines present the dialogue as though teachers must choose between whole language and phonics (e.g., Sánchez, 1996), most teachers have adopted a whole-language perspective that incorporates the teaching of phonics concepts when students reach the "teachable moments" in the natural language development process. (For more reading, see Au, 1993; Cazden, 1992; Carrasquillo & Hedley, 1993; Edelsky, 1996; Edelsky, Altwerger, & Flores, 1991; Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Freeman & Freeman, 1992, 1994; Genesee, 1994; Goodman, 1986; Goodman, Bird, & Goodman, 1991; Goodman, Goodman, & Flores, 1979; Goodman & Wilde, 1992; Harste, Burke, & Woodward, 1981; Heald-Taylor, 1989; Hudelson, 1989; Noden & Vacca, 1994; Spangenberg-Urbschat & Pritchard, 1994; Strickland & Morrow, 1989; Whitmore & Crowell, 1994.)

Guidelines for Teaching

SHELTERED CONTENT INSTRUCTION STRATEGIES

Echevarria and Graves (2002), in a highly readable book about the theoretical foundations and practical applications of sheltered instruction, provide excellent suggestions for how teachers can incorporate these strategies into their teaching:

- Modeling. The teacher models what is expected of the students. Before students begin solving word problems in math, the teacher takes the students through a word problem step-by-step, modeling useful strategies for solving such problems. Students with diverse levels of ability benefit from concrete, step-by-step procedures presented in a clear, explicit manner.

- Hands-on manipulatives. This approach can include learning aids from Cuisenaire rods in math, to microscopes in science, to globes in social studies.

- Realia. For a unit on banking skills, students might practice filling out actual bank deposit slips and check registers. When learning about geology, students might be given samples of rocks and minerals. For consumerism, students might read actual labels on products.

- Commercially made pictures. There are a variety of photographs and drawings on the market that depict nearly any object, process, or topic covered in the school curriculum.

- Teacher-made pictures. As an alternative to buying pictures to enhance lessons, the teacher can draw pictures or cut them out of magazines.

- Overhead projector. As material and information are introduced, the overhead projector can be used to give constant clues to students. Teachers jot down words or sketch out what they are presenting. The written representation of words gives students learning English a chance to copy the words correctly, since certain sounds may be difficult to understand when presented orally. Students with learning problems often have difficulty processing an

continued

inordinate amount of auditory information and are helped with the visual clues offered through an overhead projector.

- Demonstration. In a middle-school class studying archeology, a student asked how artifacts get buried deep underground. Rather than relying on a verbal explanation that would have been meaningless to many of the students learning English, the teacher demonstrated the process. First, he placed a quarter in a pie pan and proceeded to blow dirt on the quarter, covering it slightly. He then put dried leaves on top, followed by a sprinkling of "rain." Finally, he put some sand on top, and the quarter was then underneath an inch or so of natural products. Although the process was described in the text, most students did not have the reading skills or English proficiency to understand it. The demonstration made a much greater impression on the students and was referred to later when discussing the earth's layers and other related topics.

- Multimedia. Technology offers a multitude of options in this area, from something as simple as listening to a tape recording of Truman's announcement of the dropping of the atomic bomb to an interactive laser computer display. Videos, filmstrips, CD-ROM programs, and tape recordings are examples of multimedia that can enhance comprehension for English language learners.

- Time lines. These are particularly useful in the social sciences. As one lesson progressed through Western Civilization, a time line was mounted along the length of a wall that visually represented each historical event as it related to other events and periods in history. As an event was studied, the teacher made some visual representation on the time line and continued adding to it throughout the course of the year.

- Graphs. Information represented visually often makes a greater impact and is easier to remember. Graphing the students' weekly consumption of junk food, fruits and vegetables, and milk products is more interesting and meaningful than simply reading about the various food groups and recommended servings. The text becomes more understandable when the graphing activity is completed before reading the text. Many of the terms and concepts will then already be familiar to the students.

- Bulletin boards. Visual representation of lesson information can be put on bulletin boards for reference, whether it is an example of a business letter, some friendly letter formats, or a three-dimensional paper model of stalactites and stalagmites with labels.

- Maps. This can be one of the most effective means of easily creating context, since many subjects relate to geography. When talking about the rain forest in science, its location can be shown on a map. History class lessons about wars can become more meaningful if the territories are shown on a map.

- Real-life activities. These might include surveys, letter writing, simulations, or constructing models. Students should get lots of opportunities for listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

- Previewing new vocabulary or terms. New words should be introduced, highlighted, and written for students to see. Vocabulary knowledge in English is one of the most important aspects of oral English proficiency for academic achievement. To be more effective, vocabulary development needs to be closely related to subject matter.

- Creating a word bank on butcher paper and posting the word banks around the room. Word banks can then become reference points for students to remember definitions and relationships among terms and to model correct spelling.

- Reducing the linguistic load of teachers' speech through the following techniques:

  - Slower speech.

  - Clearly enunciated speech.

continued

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING, *continued*

- Use more pauses between phrases.

- Use consistent vocabulary.

- Use appropriate repetition or natural redundancy.

- Songs, chants, raps, patterned stories.

- Reinforce vocabulary, language structures, and intonation.

- Communicate the same idea repeatedly using different words.

- Clarify terms and vocabulary.

- Use gestures and body language.

- Use an abundance of positive reinforcement.

- Interaction between students. It is especially important for students learning English to practice using the new language in meaningful ways. Grouping, or cooperative learning, is critical when working with students with a variety of language and learning abilities. Heterogeneous grouping is encouraged, both with respect to language proficiency and academic skill level. Group activities offer students with diverse abilities an advantage by utilizing one student's strengths to compensate for a classmate's weakness. Grouping gives students the opportunity to clarify key concepts in their primary language as needed, by consulting an aide, peer, or primary language text. One of the benefits of sheltered instruction is that students are exposed to good models of English language as well as the opportunity to practice using English in academic settings.

- Linking concepts to students' background. This process is twofold: It taps the students' previous knowledge on the topic being studied and ties it to the lesson, and it validates students' cultural background and experience by providing opportunities for students to talk about their lives and relating them to the topic.

- Relating content material to previous lessons. English language learners need relationships between new learning and past lessons explicitly stated to clarify the connection between lessons.

- Vary your instructional strategies. Effective sheltered instruction offers a variety of learning opportunities for students, including explanation, modeling, demonstration, and visual representation. When students are acquiring a new language, varying the delivery modes assists in subject comprehension and helps keep students engaged in learning throughout the lesson.

- Frequent checks for understanding. These can be done individually or by asking group questions.

- Vary your reading options. These might include teacher read-alouds, buddy reading, and silent reading. Listening to reading on tape is also effective. Varying the reading format allows students to have reading experiences that are assisted or scaffolded by others. Scaffolding is the process of providing support as needed, with less support required as students move toward independent functioning.

- Design lessons to provide students with a wide variety of learning opportunities. These will include opportunities to use higher-level skills, including problem solving, hypothesizing, organizing, synthesizing, categorizing, evaluating, and self-monitoring.

Source: J. Echevarria & A. Graves. Sheltered Content Instruction: Teaching English Language Learners with Diverse Abilities. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1998, pp. 65–75.

Cognitive Development

Language, academic, and cognitive development all go hand in hand. As our students increase their knowledge of a second language across all subject areas, they need to have continuing development of thinking skills. As we have seen in the language acquisition section, continuing L_1 cognitive development is crucial while L_2 is being developed. Faster acquisition of cognitive skill development occurs in L_1 because the student is functioning cognitively at his or her age or maturity level in L_1. But along with continuing L_1 cognitive development in school and out of school (wherever possible with parents, weekend schools, bilingual classes, and peer and sibling tutoring), thinking skills can consciously be developed in ESL classes, from beginning through advanced levels, as well as in grade-level classes. Once students discover that they can regulate their own learning, they can take control of the learning process.

O'Malley and Chamot (1990) conducted extensive research on the learning strategy acquisition of ESL students. They define learning strategies as "the special thoughts or behaviors that individuals use to help them comprehend, learn, or retain new information" (p. 1). The learning strategies that students develop are one important aspect of cognitive development that can make a significant difference in students' academic achievement. Teachers can consciously assist students with learning strategy acquisition by finding out what strategies students are already using through interviews and think-aloud tasks, selecting new strategies to be taught, and assisting students with transfer of strategy use to new academic tasks. Earlier in this chapter, metacognitive, cognitive, and social/affective learning strategies were defined. Details for teaching specific learning strategies can be found in Chamot and O'Malley (1994). Another practical reference for teaching learning strategies is Oxford (1990).

Chamot and O'Malley (1994) developed their own L_2 teaching approach that incorporates many of the characteristics of current approaches described throughout this section. But their Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) is unique in one particular way: CALLA trains teachers how to focus on students' explicit acquisition of learning strategies at the same time that language is being taught through content. CALLA is designed to meet the academic needs of limited-English-proficient students in upper elementary and secondary schools at intermediate and advanced levels of ESL; students need to have at least a basic level of proficiency in the language of instruction to benefit from the conscious focus on learning strategies. ESL student achievement in CALLA math classes looks very promising in an examination of student progress over a three-year period (Chamot, Dale, O'Malley, & Spanos, 1992; Thomas, 1994).

CALLA does not simplify the curriculum, but it presents cognitively demanding activities at ESL students' developmental level:

> A common reaction to the less-than-fluent English of a student is to teach content from a lower grade level and to expect from LEP students only lower-level cognitive skills such as simple recall. CALLA demands the opposite. LEP students need to learn content appropriate to their developmental level and previous educational

experience; higher-level thinking skills are as much to be expected from them as from any other student. Instead of watering down content for LEP students, CALLA teachers make challenging content comprehensible by providing additional contextual support in the form of demonstrations, visuals, and hands-on experiences, and by teaching students how to apply learning strategies to understand and remember the content presented. When asking LEP students higher-order questions, CALLA teachers evaluate responses on the basis of the ideas expressed rather than on the correctness of the language used (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990, p. 194).

Chamot and O'Malley recommend beginning CALLA lessons with ESL science, which provides many natural opportunities for hands-on discovery learning. ESL mathematics should be next, because in the upper grades math is highly abstract and has a more restricted language register than science. Social studies is third, and English language arts the fourth subject introduced because of the complex level of reading and writing required as well as underlying cultural assumptions (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990).

In general, cognitive development includes every aspect of the development of complex thinking skills, across all aspects of life—academic, professional, and personal. For students, cognitive development takes place both at home and in the classroom. But many times school staff unconsciously hold ESL students back by presenting material far below students' cognitive abilities. ESL lessons can be cognitively complex even when students' English language proficiency is quite limited. Including students' first language and culture in their school experience can be another powerful way of continuing cognitive development at age-appropriate levels.

Valuing Students' First Languages

Although federal and state language policies for English language learners would suggest otherwise, research and pedagogical approaches to bilingual and ESL instruction provide strong affirmation of students' first languages. All school staff and parents who are not familiar with language acquisition findings of the past 20 years must be reeducated regarding the incorrect assumptions of foreign language educators that first language "interferes" with second language. The research evidence is very clear that first-language development provides crucial support for second-language development. The more that students are given positive opportunities for L_1 development, the better they will succeed academically in L_2. This confuses some ESL teachers who interpret L_1 support to mean that they should let their students speak L_1 in the ESL classroom as much as they want to. This is not needed as long as students have other opportunities to develop cognitively and academically in L_1. Once you have established clear objectives for each aspect of the instructional process, you can mediate with your students the times when L_1 is allowed and other times when all communication is expected to be exclusively in L_2. Most of an ESL class should be conducted in L_2. But during the first year of beginning ESL, it can be very important for students to be able to use L_1. For example, the Natural Approach allows students to use L_1 while they are in the preproduction and early speech production stages. The structured immersion program

model also allows students to respond to the teacher in their native language during the first year of academic work in second language.

Incorporating Multicultural/Global Perspectives

Education research findings have clearly established that students learn best when lessons connect to their past experiences (Au, 1993; Genesee, 1994; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). Activation of students' prior knowledge is considered the first step in any meaningful instructional activity (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994; Freeman & Freeman, 1992). What better way to do this than through lessons that approach each theme or topic from a multicultural or global perspective, using the natural resources that language minority students bring to the classroom from their past experiences?

However, most teachers immediately interpret multicultural perspectives to mean emphasizing a few points about other nations, or celebrating holidays and heroes of other cultures, activities that usually degenerate into superficial glimpses of culture and lead to stereotyping and woefully inaccurate misinformation. The

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GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

SUPPORTING STUDENTS' FIRST LANGUAGES

Teachers can support students' first languages by:

- Teaching academic content courses in L_1.

- Working with bilingual school staff (counselor, librarian, janitor, everyone).

- Using L_1 volunteer tutors (including parents, cross-age and peer tutors).

- Providing books and other resources in L_1 in the library and all classrooms.

- Preparing units in lessons that incorporate other languages in a meaningful way (e.g., bilingual storytellers, L_1 pen pals across classes or schools through e-mail, journal writing in L_1, environmental print in L_1 for young readers, show-and-tell in L_1, learning centers in L_1).

- Building partnerships with parents to continue L_1 cognitive/academic development at home.

- Using the school building for after-school or weekend school classes taught in L_1. Encouraging students to contribute articles in L_1 to student publications.

- Inviting ethnic community members as resource persons.

- Allowing social use of L_1 outside of classes.

- Encouraging extracurricular activities and school celebrations in L_1. Providing signs throughout the school in the different languages of the community.

- Sending newsletters and school information to parents in L_1. Providing family math and literacy programs evenings or weekends.

Sources: See Cummins, 1996b; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Scarcella, 1990; Tinajero & Ada, 1993.

type of multicultural/global perspective that we encourage is presented in depth in the next chapter on culture. It involves examination of how we humans lead our lives every day, or the complexities of the human spirit and mind in response to our environment. It also includes being open to a more global perspective as we address each theme of our class.

For example, homelessness and hunger are phenomena affecting the world in strikingly global ways. ESL and bilingual social studies lessons that examine the environmental reasons for the existence of these conditions and the effect that they have on people who experience them can include many ways of presenting and sharing multicultural, global perspectives. Immigrants to the United States are often shocked to find out that here, too, many people experience homelessness and hunger, and they feel angry and want to understand why and how such conditions could exist in one of the wealthiest nations of the world. When students go through a process of gathering information on an urgent topic, a multicultural/global perspective unfolds with time and in-depth research together.

Close home–school collaboration brings a natural bicultural or multicultural perspective into the classroom (Haneda, 2007). Many collaborative research projects that link community and schools are described in Saravia-Shore and Arvizu (1992) as well as other sources mentioned in this chapter under sociocultural processes of language acquisition, and in Chapters 5 and 7.

Students and Teachers as Partners in Learning

Another feature of current approaches to second-language teaching that contrasts sharply with methods of most of this century involves a major shift in the teacher–student relationship. In many ways, we are returning to John Dewey's philosophy of the early twentieth century that emphasized student-centered, discovery learning. While the ESL or bilingual teacher serves as a guide or facilitator, teacher and students together are exploring new knowledge and new ways of perceiving the world. Together, teacher and students might study the natural world, solve practical mathematics problems, or examine social and historical patterns in

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Guidelines for Teaching

TRANSLATION AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Translation of sentences or thoughts is no longer considered to be a very useful skill for purposes of language acquisition because students tend to tune out L_2 instruction while waiting for L_1. Instead, students are encouraged to think in their L_2. However, translation of words can be an efficient way of acquiring vocabulary, especially for abstract words that are not easily pantomimed or illustrated. Bilingual dictionaries can be a handy resource in the ESL classroom, not a crutch.

Another use of L_1 can be appropriately planned times for peer tutoring. If your school is unable to provide a bilingual teacher or teacher aide for your students, allowing peers' time in the lesson to analyze a problem to be solved in their native language can be a very effective reinforcement for content instruction.

human behavior. Or following Freire's approach, problems are posed and acted upon (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003; Freire, 1985; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Kincheloe, 2008; Shor & Freire, 1987). In this process, the teacher is no longer the "expert," but is discovering new ways of exploring knowledge along with the students. This might mean that sometimes students lead the class in new curricular directions, depending upon how a unit develops. The teacher might initiate a theme, but as it unfolds, students contribute considerably to gathering the knowledge base that the class develops.

An integral component of the teacher–student partnership is the affective dimension. As students and teachers gradually become friends, the classroom can become a place for sharing at the level of family or close community. Igoa (1995) presents an eloquent, inspiring story of a teacher's reflections on her students' "inner world." Through the voices of the immigrant children in her classroom and through her own reflections on her teaching, her book provides examples of creative ways to integrate art, music, language arts, and content learning with the emotional side of learning, in a familylike, supportive, loving partnership.

Thus, the role of the learner has changed from that of a passive recipient of knowledge about the language he or she is learning, and from an automatic applier of rigid language rules, to an active decision maker in the language learning process and a creative generator of newly acquired language. This notion applies to very young learners as well as to older students (Hamayan, 1993, p. 17).

A major rationale for the shift to learner-centered, experiential approaches is based on the current knowledge explosion. As we move into the twenty-first century, with each passing year it is becoming more impossible for any professional to know everything he or she needs to know in one field. Knowledge transmission methods of instruction appeared to be effective when the knowledge base remained the same. But now we must prepare students to know how to gain access to new knowledge and to critically apply, evaluate, and solve problems based on changing knowledge (Cummins, 1986a, 1989c, 1996b, 2000).

Interactive Classrooms

Since the teacher is no longer the authority figure around whom all activity is centered in a second-language classroom, teachers need to provide an appropriate environment for students to work with each other on academic tasks. The rationale for creating a highly interactive class is based on the centrality of peer interaction for stimulating the second-language acquisition process (Brown, 1994b; Faltis, 1996; Wong Fillmore, 1989, 1991b). Other reasons for creating a classroom climate in which students spend considerable time working in small groups or pairs are that cooperative learning structures result in dramatic academic gains, especially for students at risk (Calderón, 1994; Holt, 1993; Johnson, 1994; Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1986; Kagan, 1986; Slavin, 1988c); that cooperative learning helps develop prosocial skills; and that students need to be prepared for an increasingly interdependent workplace (Kagan, 1992). (See Chapter 3, for an overview on cooperative learning with language minority students.)

Thematic, Interdisciplinary Instruction

Current approaches to teaching ESL and bilingual classes also take an interdisciplinary approach. Earlier in this section we introduced the integration of language and content. Thematic approaches to teaching provide a meaningful framework for development of units that teach language through exploration of multidisciplinary material. Themes can be broad or narrow in focus, but they should capture students' imagination enough to stimulate them to gather information, and they should naturally lead to application across multiple content areas.

We have already mentioned two problem-posing themes that can be approached from a global perspective: hunger and homelessness and the ecological interconnectedness of the rain forests of the world. Young children might explore themes that develop self-awareness and discovery of their community and its resources. Other themes might develop feelings, such as remembering someone special and re-creating that person's geographical and historical setting; or leaving home—the trauma or joy surrounding that event, the circumstances that can cause people to migrate to new homes, and the changes the move brings to their lives. Some themes could focus on improving the quality of life where the students live, investigating how something works, understanding an everyday event such as the detailed weather report on the local news and the importance of that information for several professions, analyzing one current event in international news in great depth, or exploring the knowledge base of an ancient non-Western culture, such as the Maya in southern Mexico and Central America or the Han Dynasty in China, by examining their uses of mathematics, the sciences, art, music, literature, sports, religion, and the geographical and historical circumstances of their existence.

Themes generally focus on something that is a universal experience, where through gathering knowledge students can identify with some of the information and can apply, analyze, synthesize, and evaluate the material, creating new knowledge that will lead to additional curiosity and new problems to be solved. Sometimes specific curricular objectives required in each subject area for each grade level can at first discourage teachers from developing rich thematic units. But collaborative planning with other teachers usually leads to many creative ideas for reaching the specific curricular objectives through authentic and meaningful themes that explore the universal human experience. In the chapters that follow, we will present other examples of themes that can be explored through integrated language, mathematics, science, and social studies.

Use of Technology

Given the explosion of the uses of technology in the workplace, home, and school over the past decade, it is essential that current approaches to teaching ESL and bilingual classrooms incorporate into the thematic material for lessons many meaningful experiences with electronic devices and greatly varied uses of instructional multimedia. The use of audiocassette players, video equipment, cellular phones, compact disc players, cameras, computers, interactive videodisc players,

CD-ROMs, modems and other networking equipment, voice recognition and voice synthesis systems, and other electronic devices soon to be available can enliven student interaction, enrich knowledge gathering, and deepen language minority students' experiences in preparation for the workplace of the twenty-first century. Using computers in instruction can expand students' language and academic skills through use of word processing software, spreadsheets, database software, communications programs, graphics packages, hypermedia, and access to telecommunications such as electronic mail and the Internet.

Teaching Language Arts
in a Bilingual Classroom

Empowering bilingual students by providing them with the academic strategies and cognitive strengths they need to be effective learners is the overall goal of bilingual classes. The instructional approaches outlined in the previous section—incorporating whole-language approaches taught through thematic, interdisciplinary academic content with a multicultural perspective in an interactive classroom using the latest technology, with students and teachers as partners in discovery learning—are crucial to bilingual students' academic success. In other words, what works well in ESL and grade-level classes also is very effective in bilingual classes.

The most conclusive research findings to date on the role of native language instruction point to the critical importance of literacy and cognitive development in the students' primary language as crucial to academic success in the second language (Adamson, 2005; Au, 1993; Bialystok, 1991; Cummins, 1989c, 1991, 1996b; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Flood, 2003; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Genesee, 1987, 1994; Hudelson, 1994; Johnson & Roen, 1989; Lessow-Hurley, 1990; Lindholm, 1991; Osborn, 2005; Snow, 1990; Tinajero & Ada, 1993; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986). When students receive high-quality instruction in their first language, then academic skills, literacy development, concept formation, subject knowledge, and learning strategies will all transfer from L_1 to L_2 as the vocabulary and communicative patterns are developed in L_2 to express that academic knowledge. Thus, in a bilingual language arts class taught in students' primary language, the teacher is developing language skills that will enhance students' cognitive and academic growth. What, then, is the goal that a bilingual teacher should strive to reach in a language arts class?

Defining Bilingual Proficiency

Goals of a bilingual program differ, depending on the amount of proficiency in the two languages desired by the school community. We believe strongly that basic L_1 literacy developed in transitional (or early-exit) bilingual programs is not sufficient to reach the threshold level that Cummins (1976) posits is crucial to second-language success. Students need to receive at least four to five years of high-quality

L_1 schooling to avoid the risk of cognitive difficulties in L_2 (Collier, 1987; Collier & Thomas, 1989; Cummins, 1976, 1981b, 1991, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002).

The reason for these widely differing definitions of bilingualism centers around the context in which the two languages will be used. Fishman (1966) and other sociolinguists posit that the purposes of using two languages vary greatly from one region to another and from person to person, according to the topic, listener, and context. Linguists would consider it unrealistic to require that bilingualism always be defined as the complete mastery of two languages in all contexts.

Nevertheless, we encourage the strong definition of bilingual proficiency proposed by Bloomfield (1933) within a school context for the following reasons. First, all public school programs in the United States have as one of their goals the development of full proficiency in English. To reach a deep level of academic proficiency in English as a second language, it is necessary to build a sufficient level of proficiency in the first language. Without that academic and literacy base in L_1, students are likely to suffer cognitive difficulties in L_2. The most conclusive research to date on comparisons of different types of L_1 support for language minority students comes from the state of California, where the programs with the most minority language instruction are the ones in which language minority students are excelling in academic achievement (California Department of Education, 1991; Crawford, 2004; Krashen & Biber, 1988; Wong Fillmore, 1991a).

The goal of strong bilingual proficiency includes the development of listening, speaking, reading, and writing modes in both languages and the ability to use both languages for all academic work across the curriculum at each grade level. In the

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

THE CONTINUUM OF BILINGUALISM

Linguists have a wide range of definitions of bilingualism, forming a continuum from a very strong version proposed by Bloomfield (1933) to weak versions proposing minimal competence in L_2. For example, a bilingual is one who:

1. Has nativelike proficiency in two languages (Bloomfield, 1933).

2. Can use two languages alternately (Weinreich, 1953).

3. Can produce meaningful sentences in L_2 (Haugen, 1969).

4. Can use two languages alternately, although the point at which a person actually becomes bilingual is arbitrary or impossible to determine (Mackey, 1962).

5. Can engage in communication in more than one language (Fishman, 1966).

6. Possesses at least one language skill (listening, speaking, reading, or writing) in L_2 to a minimal degree (Macnamara, 1967).

7. Can use a passive knowledge of L_2 and a little lexical competence to transact business in L_2 (Diebold, 1961).

8. Speaks only one language but uses different language varieties, registers, and styles of that language (Halliday & Strevens, 1964).

United States, schools rarely provide bilingual instruction beyond the elementary grades; yet bilingual immersion educators in Canada believe that a bilingual program should provide academic instruction in both languages throughout grades K through 12. U.S. educators need to provide much more L_1 support for bilingual students in secondary education. Overall, at the present time high school language-minority students are not doing at all well in school (Collier & Thomas, 1989; Dentzer & Wheelock, 1990; Faltis & Coulter, 2007; Minicucci & Olsen, 1992, 1993; Thomas & Collier, 1997).

Dialect Diversity

In a whole-language approach to teaching language arts in a bilingual classroom, a good bilingual teacher uses authentic language that is meaningful to students, developing oral and written language in each lesson through shared multicultural children's literature, students' own writing, and problem solving across the curriculum. As students write more and more, communicating ideas and using inventive spelling at beginning stages, the multiple drafts in the writing process help them gradually understand the process of transforming speech to print, with editing for form emphasized in the later stages of development of a good piece of writing.

When implementing quality language arts instruction, all teachers must face instructional decisions regarding their attitudes toward the great variety of language usage that students bring to the classroom from the communities in which they have lived. This can be a thorny issue in bilingual language arts classes, because some bilingual teachers have been trained to teach the language as a foreign language and have become accustomed to correcting errors from the point of view that one standard form represents the only "acceptable" form of the language. Sometimes teachers may see the particular oral language varieties represented in class as in need of remediation, to be eradicated in favor of a standard variety. It takes special sensitivity to understand the full complexity of all the language varieties represented in a class and the appropriate varieties to teach (Baugh, 2009; Godley, et al, 2006; Merino, Trueba, & Samaniego, 1993; Valdés, 1981). The following example illustrates the dilemma bilingual teachers face:

In a first-grade bilingual classroom, composed primarily of children of very recent immigrants from rural Mexico, the assignment is to write about something that happened in the story "Jack and the Beanstalk." Marta's sentence reads as follows: "Jack jue ne ca la giganta." "Ne" is a spelling error for "en," but the rest of the sentence is written correctly according to the Spanish that the child speaks. In standard Spanish, the sentence would read: "Jack fue a la casa de la giganta."

Most bilingual teachers must deal with some form of language contact, raising the issue of which variety to teach. Standard? If so, from which country or region? Local dialect? What should they do with a mixed variety when two languages are in close contact? After the first step of recognizing why these spoken varieties exist, the next step is to respect and affirm each spoken variety that each student

brings to the classroom. The same affirmation of the benefits of bilingualism applies to multidialectalism. These varieties do not harm children. Linguists view each variety as a creative and rich example of human language development. Researchers have found that, contrary to the common assumption that a first language "interferes" with the second language, the relationship between L_1 and L_2 is a very positive one. Likewise, dialect researchers have discovered that analysis of the differences between spoken varieties of a language and the written standard variety can lead a teacher and students to new insights that bring cognitive benefits similar to those associated with proficient bilingualism (Heath, 1983, 1986; Wolfram & Christian, 1989).

Bilingual teachers need not worry about learning a new version of the standard variety of language that they speak. Using Spanish as an example, teachers from Spain, Argentina, Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, California, Colorado, or Texas usually represent greatly varied regional varieties of *standard* Spanish, with vocabulary and pronunciation patterns unique to each region. Students will likely bring still more regional varieties to the bilingual classroom. The bilingual teacher models her own variety, making it clear to the students where she is from and helping them to become aware of language differences between countries, regions, cities, and even city blocks (Zentella, 1981). She can affirm the varieties represented by students in class, and as students become older and more cognitively aware, they can benefit from understanding the differences and affirming spoken varieties as creative uses of language. The teacher can model the standard written variety and talk about it as acquisition of a new language, radically different from spoken language.

Dialects become more of a challenge to affirm and incorporate into instruction when they are stigmatized by the dominant language group in a given region. Educators in the past have tended to blame a stigmatized language variety, home environment, or both for the student's lack of success. The solution proposed in the past was eradication of the stigmatized variety:

> Eradication, . . . which may be said to be the traditional view of the English-teaching profession as a whole, looks upon dialects other than the standard as deficient in themselves, as deserving of the stigma they have attracted, and as the causes of severe problems in the total learning process including the acquisition of reading and writing skills. Educators who hold this view look upon the educational process as a means by which one is made to distinguish "right" from "wrong." They see themselves as the tools by which a particular student can rid himself of stigmatized dialect features and become a speaker of the "right" type of English—well known to be a passport to achievement, success, and acceptance. They insist that as educators they have a solemn duty to their students that includes the total eradication of nonstandard dialects (Valdés, 1981, pp. 14-15).

Another strategy used in a few inner-city schools has been to teach a spoken and written version of the variety of African American English used in a particular city, assuming that students will be able to function more effectively in that community and attempting through the schools to give more affirmation to acceptance of that variety of speech. This position of appreciation of dialect differences is a very

> GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING
>
> **INVENTED SPELLING, ERROR CORRECTION, AND NEW LANGUAGE VARIETIES**
>
> Now that inventive spelling is encouraged in the early grades, teachers of young students have become more accustomed to accepting the varied ways that students write down what they hear as cute and creative. But teachers of grades 3 through 12 struggle with the appropriate time for error correction and the form error correction should take. This type of instructional decision is usually made still more complicated by the wide range of spoken dialects that the students bring to the classroom.
>
> First, it is helpful to recognize that spoken languages are constantly in a process of change. For example, while strict English grammar teachers complain, spoken English continues to split infinitives, place prepositions at the ends of sentences, and accept incomplete sentences as legitimate, complete thoughts. Changes occur to spoken languages when a language is moved to a geographical location separate from its origin, or when its speakers are socially isolated. Geographical or social isolation in the new setting ensures the development of a new language variety. Languages also change when they come in contact with other languages. As members of one language community interact with members of another and, as a result of the contact, some members begin to use aspects of both languages for different tasks, each language influences the other (Ferguson & Heath, 1981; Fishman & Keller, 1982; Grosjean, 1982; Heath, 1983; Hernández-Chávez, Cohen, & Beltramo, 1975; Ovando, 1993; Valdés, 1981, 2001; Wolfram & Christian, 1989).

positive way to affirm local varieties, but it does not deal effectively with the reality of the workplace, in which minorities are held back from jobs on the basis of the language variety they speak and write. In the 1960s, when curricular materials developed especially for African American English speakers were first proposed, many African American educators and community leaders opposed the idea on the basis that even though the materials were linguistically justifiable, the use of such materials would likely result in the resegregation of African American children (Stewart, 1987).

The most popular current view among linguists and bilingual educators is the acceptance of bidialectalism. This position affirms the importance of home dialect and its appropriate use within the community in which it is spoken, while at the same time teaching the standard written and spoken varieties of language. Affirming home language means that students may speak in native dialect in the classroom without being told that they are wrong. Instead, teacher and students together analyze the differences between their dialects and the standard variety. Students are thus empowered, through affirmation of their linguistic roots and through the cognitive stimulus of multidialectal development, which eventually brings additional resources to their professional life:

> Cognitive psychologists . . . tell us that we build our cognitive repertoire on prior knowledge, experiences, attitudes, and skills. It is a layering process. Educators, therefore, dare not destroy what was there before. The goal should be to build on and add to what is already present in the lives of students. Creative bridges using the early

socialization patterns of the home language and culture can be useful in motivating students to learn. This means that such students will come to see their teachers as professionals who understand the value of their nonstandard languages and use their structure and function to build another layer of linguistic skill that will enable these students to negotiate the prestige varieties of [their two languages] in the larger society and thus to have more options in their lives (Ovando, 1993, pp. 223–24).

Language Distribution in the Bilingual Language Arts Classroom

Another instructional decision that is extremely important in a bilingual classroom is the distribution of the two languages across the curriculum. The percentage of use of each language for language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies sends a clear message to students regarding the esteem and importance of each of the two languages as valued by the school community. When a school program has chosen to emphasize both languages equally in the curriculum, students are more likely to take their academic work in both languages seriously, as well as to build a deep level of oral and written proficiency in both languages.

In Chapter 1 we reviewed the major variations in the distribution of the two languages within a bilingual program, alternating the language of instruction by teacher, by content areas, by time of day, or by day(s) of the week. In the first years of experimentation with U.S. bilingual education of the late 1960s and early 1970s, it was quite common to see language arts classes in which switching from one language to the other occurred often in the bilingual classroom, especially in the geographic regions of the United States in which English and Spanish are in close contact and many bilinguals use the two languages interchangeably, including the use of code-switching. Some researchers have analyzed the advantages and disadvantages of the concurrent use of the two languages, advocating for the separation of the two, especially for language arts instruction (Christian, 1994; Crawford, 2004; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Legarreta, 1979, 1981; Lindholm, 1990; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Milk, 1986; Ulanoff & Pucci, 1993; Wong Fillmore, 1989). Today, more and more bilingual language arts classrooms are clearly defining the language of instruction by blocks of time devoted to one language at a time. If any concurrent bilingual teaching is done, it might take place in some content teaching, but the languages are kept separate within each language arts block. The California Department of Education, after many years of research analyzing student progress within many different types of programs, has concluded that separation of the two languages through clear curricular decisions is the best strategy for language minority students' long-term academic achievement (California Department of Education, 1991; Crawford, 2004).

Language and Multicultural Literature across the Curriculum

This chapter would not be complete without a final section addressing the teaching of the four language modes—listening, speaking, reading, and writing—as well as the second major component of language arts classes—literature. However,

traditions of only a decade ago regarding the teaching of these skills in second-language classes are radically different from approaches to instruction in English language arts, ESL, and bilingual classes as practiced today.

The shift to whole-language approaches has radically changed the focus of teaching from an emphasis on discrete language subskills in isolation (such as phonics, spelling, punctuation, grammar points, and vocabulary words to be memorized) to the integration of all four language modes (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) combined with other content areas, and the use of authentic literature rather than simplified basal texts. "The ideas that undergird whole language are here to stay. . . . Textbooks have already changed radically in response to the whole language movement. . . . Use of whole language is pretty widespread. . . ." (Willis, 1993, p. 8).

The discrete-skills curriculum isolated language skills from meaningful contexts, established artificial sequences of language skills to be taught from simple to complex (as defined by the textbook writer), simplified texts to control sentence structures and vocabulary, and emphasized measurement of student progress through discrete-skills tests. In contrast, whole language puts strong emphasis on meaning first. Listening, speaking, reading, and writing are taught as an integrated whole, with each lesson developing oral and written language. The focus is on the social construction of meaning and understanding the process of the acquisition of reading and writing. Whole-language lessons are learner centered and meaningful to students' lives inside and outside school (Cazden, 1992; Edelsky, Altwerger, & Flores, 1991; Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Goodman, 1986; Goodman & Wilde, 1992; Hamayan, 1993; Heald-Taylor, 1989; Hudelson, 1994; Peregoy & Boyle, 1993; Pérez & Torres-Guzmán, 1996; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; Tinajero & Ada, 1993; Whitmore & Crowell, 1994).

Does this mean that teachers no longer need to teach or assess language subskills? Of course not. Whole language includes development and careful monitoring of each detail of language acquisition for each learner, but the *context* of discrete skill development has changed to emphasize listening to and reading authentic, meaningful texts, as well as expanding the speaking and writing genres developed in school and understanding the writing process. The learner takes increasing responsibility for developing a repertoire of learning strategies in listening and reading and for communicating effectively, as well as correcting his or her own errors in speaking and writing (Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Willis, 1993).

Stepping back in time to revisit older approaches to teaching second or foreign languages, the rationale for isolating and emphasizing each of the four language skills was to encourage teachers to provide a balanced approach to each. For example, the grammar-translation approach was rightfully criticized for its emphasis on the teaching of reading and writing while neglecting oral language development. The audiolingual method in its early years overemphasized listening and speaking by holding students back from reading and writing in the second language for the first six to eight weeks of a course. Most revised audiolingual texts modified the approach to provide a balance of the four skills from the beginning, but these texts still inappropriately emphasized a sequence of skill acquisition as

first listening, then speaking, then reading, and finally writing. Current research does not support this sequence. The experimental methods of the 1970s and early 1980s such as Silent Way, Community Language Learning, Total Physical Response, and Natural Approach also tended to emphasize oral language development first, followed by very simplified written work in later lessons (Celce-Murcía, 1991; Larsen-Freeman, 1986; Richards & Rodgers, 1986).

Today, reading and writing research has proved that these artificial sequences do not foster natural language acquisition. Instead, the learning process occurs in an integrated fashion, through the stimulation of a meaningful context in which language is developed. Isolating subskills and analyzing their use is a natural part of a process in whole-language classes, but the focus is on a meaningful context through which students understand why they need to learn these details of language use. The misconception that oral language must be mastered by young children before written language is taught has been replaced by the early emphasis on reading and writing from the beginning stages of exposure to the second language for students of all ages in grades K through 12 (Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Goodman, 1986; Hudelson, 1994).

Another way to understand the relationship among the four language modes (formerly called skills) is to focus on the contrast between receptive and productive language. Listening and reading are the receptive modes, which always exceed the productive modes of speaking and writing. Our receptive vocabulary is often 10 times larger than our productive vocabulary. In other words, students can comprehend much more through listening and reading than they demonstrate in speaking and writing tasks in school. To be held back from the reading process by well-meaning teachers who think that students must have a speaking knowledge of ESL before they can start reading is a faulty assumption not supported by the reading research (Edelsky, Altwerger, & Flores, 1991; Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Goodman, Goodman, & Flores, 1979; Goodman & Wilde, 1992; Hudelson, 1994; Peregoy & Boyle, 2005; Tinajero & Ada, 1993).

Teaching Listening and Speaking

With the understanding that all four language modes are integrated into each lesson in bilingual, ESL, and grade-level language arts classes, we will mention a few points regarding the differences between spoken and written language. For example, spoken English is much more informal in grammatical expectations: There is no differentiation between who and whom; prepositions occur at ends of sentences; verb contractions are assumed; infinitives are split. Natural variations in sound patterns occur when native speakers speak at normal speed, leading to contractions and omissions of words and sounds (e.g., "Whuchagunnadoo?" for "What are you going to do?").

Spoken language has variations in nonverbal aspects of language, as well as intonation, emotional overtones, redundancy, corrections, pauses, hesitations, fillers, false starts, colloquialisms, and register (the social context in which language is spoken and resultant modifications needed in style of speech). Spoken

language can produce grammatical sentences without subjects, verbs, auxiliaries, or other parts of speech, and can drop grammar markers not essential to meaning. Spoken conversations are interactive, with meaning negotiated between two or more people; special situations have to be constructed for immediate feedback in writing, such as peer feedback in a writing workshop (Long & Richards, 1987; Omaggio Hadley, 1993; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992).

The best way to teach spoken language is to use live language, spoken by native speakers, from a variety of natural and rehearsed sources, using technology to capture conversations and formal spoken language through radio, television, newspapers, magazines, telephone recordings, museums, performances, and events. For example, some Total Physical Response materials tend to emphasize artificial sequences of commands to develop listening comprehension, but the idea of responding physically to commands can be applied to natural uses of language, such as learning to use a piece of equipment in the classroom, following instructions for origami, cooking, conducting a science experiment, or doing physical exercises. Other authentic listening comprehension activities can be dialing recorded messages such as the time or the weather; listening to classroom directions or lectures; attending a large public gathering such as a concert, religious service, movie, or performance by a famous speaker; and taking a guided tour of a farm, zoo, museum, business, government facility, or historic site.

Interactive academic tasks, with lots of opportunities for talking to occur through peer interaction in partnerships, small groups, and total-class work, are essential. Each lesson directly connects students' reading and writing tasks to the oral work. The teacher serves as a model and as the facilitator to achieve the multiple aims of each lesson. Shared literature or nonfiction can activate students' background knowledge and provide the stimulus for activities to reinforce the content and language objectives. Video and audiocassette players and computers can incorporate art, music, and photography into lessons, taking the place of the language laboratory and allowing students to develop, expand, and choose new learning experiences.

Problem solving, interviews, storytelling, drama, role-playing, simulations, and cooperative games can expand student uses of spoken and written language. Guests from the multiethnic communities of the school neighborhood, field trips, and use of multicultural community resources are rich stimuli for meaningful lessons. For older students, survival skills and consumer knowledge provide endless sources for expansion of authentic lessons using live language, such as use of the telephone, the media, the library, bank, social services, housing, shopping for food and clothing, transportation, and medical assistance.

Literacy in First and Second Languages

Reading and writing are the most crucial language modes for school success. Yet an amazing number of transitional bilingual and ESL programs for primary school children consider competence in oral English as the main exit criterion for placing students in grade-level classes. Some students who miss developmental stages in

reading and writing are able to acquire those skills on their own, but many more do not fill in the gaps and stay behind in academic preparation. The teaching of reading and writing in both first and second languages provides the backbone for any school program and for full development of proficiency in academic language. This does not mean that students need three or four hours per day of language arts classes in first and second languages. Reading and writing are effectively taught through science, math, and social studies lessons, as well as through language arts.

An early bilingual program decision to be made when addressing the teaching of beginning reading to students of multiple language backgrounds involves the language chosen for students to learn to read first. Can literacy skills be developed simultaneously in a student's two languages? Does it make any difference whether students begin to learn to read in their primary language or in their second language?

For language minority students, the research indicates that the most successful long-term academic achievement occurs when the students' primary language is the initial language of literacy (California Department of Education, 1984, 1991; Collier & Thomas, 1989, 2002; Crawford, 2004; Cummins, 1979a, 1981b, 1986b, 1991, 2004; Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000; Krashen & Biber, 1988; Ramírez, Yuen, Ramey, & Pasta, 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986). In contrast, language *majority* students who are taught to read initially in their second language show no negative consequences (Genesee, 1987; Thomas & Collier, 1997, Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Researchers have found that speakers of the dominant language learning to read first in L_2 often pick up reading in L_1 before formal instruction of literacy in L_1 is introduced in bilingual classes. Thus, students in a 90-10 two-way bilingual program in which majority and minority students are working together can follow a sequence similar to that of early total immersion used in Canada. This program model introduces the minority language as the language of instruction for 90 percent of the school day for the first two years (grades K through 1), gradually adds English literacy in second or third grade, and by fourth or fifth grade presents half of the instruction in each language. The state of California has concluded that the 90-10 two-way bilingual immersion program is its most successful model of bilingual instruction. Early total immersion has also been the most successful program model among bilingual immersion programs in Canada. Researchers cited in Cummins (1996b), Tucker (1980), Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988), and the California Department of Education (1984) explain that in contexts in which the language minority group feels ambivalence or hostility toward the majority group, the insecurity and confusion result in low academic performance. Use of the minority language at the beginning stages of instruction builds language minority students' identity and feelings of self-worth and reduces feelings of ambivalence toward the majority language and culture. Thonis (1981) concludes:

> The case for native-language reading instruction for language minority students is strong. The rationale can be defended on logical grounds and empirical evidence. . . . Once language minority students have learned to read well and have understood the strategies for obtaining meaning from print, these abilities provide a solid foundation for literacy skills in the second language (p. 178).

A second choice for literacy development is to develop reading skills in the two languages simultaneously. This appears to cause some initial confusion, which is generally short-lived and does not affect long-term academic achievement. Researchers of bilingual immersion programs in Canada have found that students studying in two languages who receive sequential literacy acquisition reach native-like levels of proficiency in L_2 one year sooner than those acquiring literacy simultaneously (California Department of Education, 1984; Cummins & Swain, 1986). However, in the United States, several two-way bilingual schools that implement half a day of instruction in each language for all elementary school grades (K through 5 or K through 6) have chosen to teach literacy in the two languages simultaneously with no negative academic consequences for students. Instead, both language minority and English-speaking students achieve above the 50th percentile on all academic measures in second language by fifth or sixth grade and remain high achievers throughout their schooling (Thomas & Collier, 1997).

The clearest, unambiguous finding of hundreds of research studies on bilingual literacy is that first-language literacy is a crucial variable influencing second-language literacy in a very positive way. As reviewed earlier in the section of this chapter on language acquisition, many studies show that numerous skills in reading transfer from one language to another (Au, 1993; Bialystok, 1991; Cummins, 1989c, 1991, 1996b, 2002; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Genesee, 1987, 1994; Hudelson, 1994; Johnson & Roen, 1989; Lessow-Hurley, 2005; Lindholm, 1991; Lindholm & Leary, 2001; Pérez & Torres-Guzmán, 1996; Snow, 1990; Tinajero & Ada, 1993; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986). Even when the two languages do not use the same writing system, researchers have found that general strategies, habits and attitudes, knowledge of text structure, rhetorical devices, sensorimotor skills, visual-perceptual training, cognitive functions, and many reading readiness skills transfer from L_1 to L_2 reading (Chu, 1981; Cummins, 1991; Mace-Matluck, 1982; Swain, Lapkin, Rowen, & Hart, 1990; Thonis, 1981). Students who are literate in L_1 generally progress much faster in L_2 reading than those who are not literate in their primary language.

In long-term research on academic achievement, Collier and Thomas (1989, 2002) found that by grade four, language minority students who were not literate in their first language because they were schooled exclusively in English in the United States were three years behind their peers who had received at least three years of schooling in their first language before emigrating to the United States. This means that parents should be encouraged to continue the use of L_1 at home with children for development of full proficiency, including reading and writing if possible, especially if the school does not have the resources to provide bilingual personnel for all language groups. Any use of L_1 at home, both oral and written, will benefit students' cognitive development, all of which will transfer to cognitive and academic development in L_2 when the students acquire L_2 vocabulary and communicative patterns to express that knowledge.

Over the past decade, greatly increasing numbers of immigrants or refugees, arriving from war-torn countries or regions that have suffered catastrophic natural disasters, have experienced interrupted schooling or may never have had the

opportunity to attend school. Older preliterate students present a special challenge to bilingual and ESL teachers, because of the general policy in U.S. schools to place students according to their age, regardless of the grade level they have reached in past schooling. Some schools have arranged for special one-on-one literacy instruction for these students in L_1 and L_2 through the use of teacher aides, student teachers, and volunteers. Other schools provide special needs classes taught by an ESL teacher. The most meaningful instruction for these students is intensive L_1 cognitive and academic development and L_1 counseling to deal with emotional issues that students often need to resolve from recent and past experiences, coupled with initial oral work in ESL, followed by reading and writing in ESL as soon as a solid literacy base is established in L_1. The greatest challenge these students present is to find ways to integrate them socially with students of their own age, while at the same time to present meaningful lessons at both their level of maturity and their level of cognitive development.

Teaching Reading and Writing

Many wonderful sources are available that provide detailed strategies for the teaching of reading and writing in bilingual, ESL, and heterogeneous grade-level classes. Our limited space here cannot do justice to this very important knowledge base for teaching. We will provide the reader with a few glimpses of the richness of current approaches to teaching reading and writing and refer to a few of the many resources available for teachers today.

Our overall goal in teaching reading and writing is to enable students to use and enjoy reading and writing "to learn about and interpret the world and reflect upon themselves in relation to people and events around them . . . and to explain, analyze, argue about, and act upon the world" (Hudelson, 1994, p. 130). Au (1993) emphasizes the importance of constructing meaning through written language by making students' background experiences central to the literacy process, using culturally responsive instruction.

In a literate society, children become aware very early of the importance of written language in their world through books, the media, signs, printed containers, logos, instructions, letters in the mail, and endless forms of environmental print. Reading and writing are natural processes that most students can readily acquire when they are given a classroom environment for learning to read and write that makes full use of the natural reading activities surrounding them (Goodman, 1986; Hudelson, 1994). Children might first learn to read stories that they dictate to the teacher (the language experience approach), directions for class responsibilities that students create (e.g., "feeding our rain-forest tree frogs"), e-mail letters with a brother/sister bilingual school in another country or state, dialogue journals or peer journals, personal filmstrip stories that share inner feelings (Igoa, 1995), games, recipes, instructions about how to make things, a class newspaper, math puzzles, results of science experiments, maps of the school neighborhood, and published stories and poems created by classmates using word processing.

Dialogue journals have been used extensively in bilingual, ESL, and grade-level classrooms to develop writing skills as well as to enhance personal communication and mutual understanding between teacher and student. Using this technique, each student keeps a notebook in which a private written conversation is carried on between teacher and student or between two peers in class. The writing style is informal, conversational language, and students are free to write about anything of interest to them. The teacher makes no error correction other than modeling correct form through the response given. A teacher's comments should be warm, supportive, and responsive to the student's attempt to communicate. While the main focus of dialogue journal writing is on functional, personal, interactive use of the language, teachers report that students also improve in grammar, spelling, form, and content as the year goes on, without direct error correction, and students are extremely proud of their progress when they compare early entries with their writing at the end of the year (Johnson & Roen, 1989; Hudelson, 1989; Peyton, 1990; Peyton & Reed, 1990).

Formal writing is now taught as a process that involves several stages, including multiple drafts and revision through peer feedback. Students from kindergarten through grade 12 and beyond are writing and writing, first using invented spelling (in kindergarten) and later refining their revision skills as the nature of text development evolves with their developing language competence. As students write, they gain greater confidence and take on responsibility for the writing process.

In the prewriting stage, students need many opportunities to develop the ideas and information that will become the text of their writing. Extensive time should be allowed for prewriting, which is a significant proportion of the writing process (up to 40 percent of the total time involved). In this stage, teachers can provide a context that facilitates the prewriting process, including such strategies as brainstorming ideas, fantasizing, storytelling, word mapping or webbing, conversations with peers, strategic questioning, information gathering through interviews and reading, free writing or quick writing (in the form of stream of consciousness with any style acceptable), creating an illustration, or sharing an experience (Adamson, 1993; Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Hudelson, 1994; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992). Goodman and Wilde (1992) describe the importance of creating a writing environment that empowers writers:

> The opportunity to move around the classroom and the availability and accessibility of appropriate writing materials and resources invite writers to "live off the land," a metaphor Donald Graves uses to describe how writers make use of a rich classroom environment. Such an environment provides opportunities and resources for children to think about, read about, talk about, and extend their composing. The freedom to use reference books and dictionaries and to stare out the window or at the ceiling, as well as to interact with teachers, peers, paraprofessionals, and others who participate in the community life of the classroom, dynamically influences children's writing. (p. 8)

The second stage of writing involves getting the first ideas down on paper, focusing on communicating thoughts to a known audience. Fluency is more

important than accuracy at this stage. The third stage includes sharing and responding to this first draft, usually in small groups or pairs of classroom peers. When a new class begins this process, the total class can be the context for the teacher to model strategies to be used in a peer writer's workshop. Peer feedback does not happen naturally; teachers have to facilitate the process through guidance and careful modeling of positive feedback to each writer (Samway, 1992). Teacher–student conferences can be another form of writing feedback.

The fourth stage of writing includes revision in response to feedback, additional peer feedback, and more revision. Revision should first focus on communicating ideas, organizing the writing, making sense to the desired audience, use of beginnings and endings, transitions, and choice of words. The fifth stage involves editing for the mechanics of usage and spelling, and can be done with peer editors, dictionaries, spell checks on the computer, and all resources needed to "get it right." Publishing is the final stage in the writing process, and can be done through displays of student work, either handwritten or written using word processing on the computer (Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Johnson & Roen, 1989; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992). These stages described above provide a starting point for teachers and students to become familiar with the writing process. With a stimulating classroom environment and experienced teachers, many other creative ways to approach the writing process can emerge.

Many different genres of writing should be developed in the classroom, ranging from personal eventcasts, narratives, formal academic writing, letters, list making, form filling, literary writing, and journalistic writing, to all types of writing required for each subject area at each grade level (Heath, 1986; Kaplan, 1988). Writing is the most difficult language skill to be mastered in both first and second languages. For older students acquiring a second language, written discourse (formal thought patterns) in first language is likely to have considerable influence on second-language writing (Connor & Kaplan, 1987; Purves, 1988).

Writing stimulates reading. Reading stimulates writing. And talking about one's own writing and other authors' writings, as well as connected life experiences, leads to continuing cognitive and academic growth through language acquisition: a full circle. Emergent literacy is stimulated through a print-rich classroom environment; sharing oral and written personal narratives, journal writing, and conversational writing with student partners; fluent readers (including the teacher) reading aloud daily, using predictable and familiar books; read-alongs and sing-alongs; story mapping; and sharing oral narratives from home, such as storytelling, commenting, questioning, jointly constructing a story, teasing, jokes, and riddles (Au, 1993; Hudelson, 1994; Pérez & Torres-Guzmán, 1996; Tinajero & Huerta-Macías, 1993). Phonics and other subskills of the reading process are taught within a meaningful context, through a combination of student discovery and teacher guidance.

Most important of all is the recognition that literacy acquisition is "a profoundly social phenomenon" (Hudelson, 1994, p. 137; Wells, 2009). All reading and writing researchers in language minority education emphasize the importance of collaborative activities with peers, cross-age tutors, and adults in many

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THE ACQUISITION OF THE WRITING PROCESS

Following two years of research on the acquisition of the writing process among Tohono O'odham children in Arizona, Goodman and Wilde (1992, p. 224) described a set of principles that emerged from observing these Tohono O'odham classrooms and are fundamental to any sound curriculum in writing:

- Children learn to write by writing.

- Children learn to write in a social environment that encourages and supports writing.

- Children learn to write as they know their audiences and use writing for a variety of purposes of communication.

- Children learn to write as they express themselves through many varieties, modes, and genres of writing.

- Children learn to write as they read a wide range of different kinds and genres of reading materials.

- Children learn to write as they make personal choices and decisions about what to write and what to read.

- Children learn to write as they experiment, take risks, and invent new forms of writing while they try to express their meanings through writing.

- Children learn to write as they talk about and critique their own compositions with others, and as they discuss and critique the compositions of others with them.

- Children learn to write when they share with others through writing what they've learned about specific content in social studies, science, math, or other areas of the curriculum that they care about and are interested in.

- Children learn to write when they have important ideas or concerns to share with others.

- Children learn to write as they make miscues (errors) and inventions and self-monitor and self-correct their own writing.

- Children learn to write with teachers who understand the factors that influence writing and can organize rich literacy environments that will support children's learning.

varied interactive settings as essential to reading and writing acquisition (Adamson, 1993; Au, 1993; Brisk & Harrington, 2007; Cantoni-Harvey, 1987, 1992; Carson & Leki, 1993; Cook & Urzua, 1993; Delgado-Gaitán, 1990; Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Goodman & Wilde, 1992; Heath & Mangiola, 1991; Hudelson, 1994; Johnson & Roen, 1989; Pérez & Torres-Guzmán, 1996; Peyton, 1990; Peyton & Reed, 1990; Rigg & Enright, 1986; Samway, 1992; Scarcella & Oxford, 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Tinajero & Ada, 1993; Williams & Snipper, 1990).

Research in language minority schools, homes, and communities has uncovered the rich "funds of knowledge" or "cultural resources" within each community (Banks & Banks, 2004; Dworin, 2006; González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Moll & Díaz, 1993) that schools often overlook. Through collaborative research on reading and writing acquisition, teachers and researchers have discovered exciting ways to connect home and school literacy development in Native American communities (Au, 1993; Goodman & Wilde, 1992; McCarty, 2005; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1993), Hawaiian American communities (Au, 1993; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1993), Mexican American communities (Ada, 1988;

Campos & Keatinge, 1988; Delgado-Gaitán, 1987, 1990; Edelsky, 1986; Heath, 1986; Heath & Mangiola, 1991; Moll & Díaz, 1993; Moll, Vélez-Ibáñez, Greenberg, & Rivera, 1990), and other Hispanic American communities (García, 1991; Hudelson, 1989, 1994; Pérez & Torres-Guzmán, 1996; Saravia-Shore & Arvizu, 1992; and Tinajero & Ada, 1993).

Multicultural Literature

Finally, a language arts class incorporates books, poems, and stories written by authors who are skilled using the magic of words to create humor, excitement, suspense, beauty, joy, struggles—mirroring life in all of its social and cultural complexity. A wealth of rich and original literature can excite and overwhelm the teacher trying to choose appropriate materials for students. Yet whole-language approaches are based on the principle that original literature (sometimes referred to as "trade books") is much more motivating and meaningful than the simplified texts that were typical of basal readers and ESL readers of the 1970s and 1980s.

Annotated teacher references are widely available in libraries for classical and contemporary literature used in U.S. classrooms, but they are focused mostly on U.S., British, and Canadian authors. To address teaching in the multi-cultural classroom, Smallwood (1991) created one of the first comprehensive, annotated guides for multicultural/multiethnic literature available in English for grades K through eight that can be used in ESL, bilingual, and grade-level classes. Bosma (1992) provides annotations of folk literature from around the world.

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STRATEGIES FOR INCORPORATING LITERATURE FOR LANGUAGE MINORITY ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS

Strategies for incorporating literature into lessons for language minority adolescents and young adults may include the use of award-winning adolescent novels that deal with culturally complex issues (Sasser, 1992); the use of poetry, folktales, myths, and authentic world literature (Bosma, 1992; Lott, Hawkins, & McMillan, 1993; Sasser, 1992); and reading aloud sensitively chosen children's literature with universal themes, having the following selection criteria:

- Interest-provoking titles.
- Simple structure with a strong, meaningful theme.
- Fresh and challenging vocabulary.
- Creative and vivid illustrations.
- Irreverent, rebellious stories with a twist (Khodabakhshi & Lagos, 1993, p. 52).

Other references with lists of multiethnic books but no annotations include Tiedt and Tiedt (1990) and Harris (1993). Analyses of multicultural children's literature with annotations of selected books are provided in Harris (1992), which includes chapters analyzing the Puerto Rican (Nieto, 1992) and Mexican American (Barreras, 1992) experiences as represented in children's literature. A number of publishers that exhibit at the annual conference of the National Association for Bilingual Education have produced some beautiful children's literature in Spanish and other languages.

Using multicultural literature in the classroom, students and teachers can experience the power and magic of language through oral and written words passed on through the generations from myths, folktales, novels, short stories, and poetry. We can reflect on our own life experiences in crossing cultures through the eyes of contemporary artists. We can study the multitude of ways people have interpreted reality, varying cultural values, the depth of cultural traditions, environmental reasons for varying behavior, and the changes occurring in the world now as a result of technology. Students can experience global perspectives and can re-create the stories that have power for them personally in their own writing or through dramatizations.

Language is enchanting, powerful, magical, useful, and personal. Language is our means of discovery of the world and our response to the world. As teachers we serve as catalysts for our students to make the best use of their two or more languages. Our languages are the most powerful tools we have.

SUMMARY

This chapter has considered the complex processes involved in second-language acquisition. As we have seen, the process of acquiring a second language is neither simple nor short term, but involves the interaction of social, linguistic, academic, and cognitive variables. Although often counterintuitive to people outside of the field of bilingual or ESL education, research has provided consistent evidence for the interdependence of first and second languages. In other words, first-language academic development is strongly correlated with second-language acquisition and academic success in school.

For language minority students, L_2 acquisition typically occurs in a school context, where students also are expected to learn academic content knowledge. Consequently, instructional approaches designed for English language learners must effectively address their language needs as well as their academic development. While traditional approaches to ESL instruction emphasized the grammatical knowledge of English, more contemporary strategies have focused on the teaching of language use for meaningful communicative or academic purposes. Increasingly, ESL and content area instruction is being integrated to develop students' second language and to help them acquire the academic knowledge necessary for school success.

Go to the Online Learning Center at www.mhhe .com/ovando5e to access the Student Study Guide.

Key Terms

Academic language, *133*

Common underlying
proficiency/interdependence
of languages, *135*

Funds of knowledge, *153*

Input hypothesis, *138*

Legitimate peripheral participation, *152*

Semilingualism, *136*

Silent period, *139*

Social language, *131*

Sociocultural theory, *151*

Threshold hypothesis, *136*

Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), *151*

Reflection Questions

1. Although research studies suggest otherwise, many people persist in believing the myth that young children are faster and more efficient learners of a second language than are adults. Why do you think people continue to believe such a myth? What does the research, in fact, suggest about young second-language learners?
2. Why do the authors argue that the low socio-economic status of many language minority students is not an accurate predictor of their academic success or failure in school?
3. Why are some researchers critical of the "threshold hypothesis" and argue that it is related to the

theory of semilingualism? What are the implications of the threshold hypothesis for policy and practice in bilingual education?
4. How does sociocultural theory contribute to our understanding of second-language acquisition? What are some of the particular theories that might help teachers understand the linguistic behavior of their English language learners?
5. Why do researchers and practitioners argue that in K–12 classrooms it is more beneficial to integrate language and content instruction, rather than teach them as isolated subjects?

Endnotes

1. We have adopted the term *grade-level* classroom from Enright and McCloskey (1988) to replace the term *mainstream* or *regular* classroom, in the spirit of many professionals' concerns to use terms with fewer negative associations in our field. *Mainstream* is used in the field of special education to distinguish between classes that all students attend and special education classes in which students might be placed for a short or long period of time when they have special needs that cannot be met in the mainstream classroom. This term has been adopted by our field,

but in many contexts it is not appropriate. When students are placed in ESL classes, they are generally a part of the mainstream for most of their school day, and ESL provides additional mainstream support to their schooling, an additive process. Likewise, transitional bilingual classes provide extra support for students' cognitive and academic development, as a part of the mainstream process, an added benefit. Two-way bilingual classes are grade-level, mainstream classes for all students who wish to receive the positive benefits of schooling in two languages. Therefore, *grade level* in our book refers to classes in which students are performing age-appropriate

academic tasks at the level of cognitive maturity for their age and grade level. Many bilingual and ESL classes are also grade-level classes.

2. The theoretical concept of sociocultural processes is very similar to Jim Cummins's work on "negotiating identities" (Cummins, 1996). Emphasizing that human relationships are at the heart of schooling, Cummins shows that when powerful, affirming, respectful, and trusting relationships are established between teachers and students, students experience academic success that transcends poverty, societal subordination of groups, or past experience with war or other trauma. "Within this framework, empowerment can be defined as the *collaborative creation of power*. Students whose schooling experiences reflect collaborative relations of power develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically. They participate competently in instruction as a result of having developed a secure sense of identity and the knowledge that their voices will be heard and respected within the classroom. They feel a sense of ownership for the learning that goes on in the classroom and a sense that they belong in the classroom learning community. In other words,

empowerment derives from the process of negotiating identities in the classroom" (Cummins, 1996, p. 15).

3. The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) stated that merely providing limited-English-proficient students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum that native-English speakers receive is equivalent to denying limited-English-proficient students a meaningful education. The Supreme Court justices ruled that U.S. public schools must provide some kind of special support to limited-English-proficient students. Most subsequent court decisions have ruled in favor of some combination of academic instruction in students' native language plus support from ESL specialists. "Sink-or-swim" practices can result in an OCR investigation. Also note that although we have chosen throughout this book to avoid use of the phrase *limited-English-proficient students* because of the pejorative connotation associated with the word *limited* and its acronym *LEP,* we use the federal government term here to be consistent with federal terminology still used in federal legislation and court decisions.

CULTURE

Culture . . . is not so much a matter of an inert system in which people operate, but rather a historical construction by people that is always changing. This change is not necessarily for better, not necessarily for worse, but always changing because the essence is not order, the essence is volition. The essence is how people work to create culture, not what culture is.

—*Henry Glassie, folklorist, 1992*

No one is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting points, which if followed into actual experience for a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively white or black or Western or Oriental. Yet just as human beings make their own history, they also make their cultures and their ethnic identities (p. 336).

—*Edward Said, 1993*

No Culture Can Survive If It Attempts to be Exclusive.

—*Mahatma Gandhi*

In the lives of language minority students in our schools and communities we can see many different cultural processes at work. Such processes, however, can often defy easy understanding on the part of educators, because they can be interpreted (or misinterpreted) in conflicting ways. On the one hand, cultural processes are the complex, fluid, mysterious, and subtle ways in which we both transmit and create culture. But on the other hand, in interpreting them we can end up with fixed labels that reduce cultural patterns to simplistic and dangerous stereotypes. Thus, at times we may agree with both Glassie's sense of the disorderliness of culture and Said's notion of culture as a series of "starting and connecting points," while at other times we may be eagerly looking for pegs on which to hang cultural labels— labels that will confirm our desire for cultural stability and predictability.

Numerous factors contribute to cultural identity and have the potential either to bring us together or to separate us from each other. Some of the factors that contribute in varying degrees to cultural identity are ethnicity, geographical region, national origin, social class, level of education, types of contact with other cultural groups, religion, gender, and age. Yet, for all of the good pedagogical intentions associated with the process of identifying such factors and attaching cultural labels, there is always the danger of doing a disservice to the complex nature of cultural processes and thus to the individual student. As Maxine Greene states (1993):

> No one can be considered identical with any other, no matter what the degree of gender, class, ethnic or cultural identity ostensibly shared. Neither fixed in place nor voiceless, no one can be conceived as an endlessly reproducible repetition of

the same model, to be counted for in accord with general laws of behavior. Nor can any human be predefined. The self is not something ready-made, John Dewey wrote; "but something in continuous formation through choice of action." Within that flux, the person is forever embarking on new beginnings, reaching beyond what is to what might be.

Embracing the dynamic and volitional nature of cultural processes suggested by Greene, we interpret culture in this chapter as a deep, multilayered, somewhat cohesive interplay of language, values, beliefs, and behaviors that pervades every aspect of every person's life and that is continually undergoing modifications. When we study culture, it becomes an abstraction—albeit a useful one—for giving meaning to human activity. What it is *not* is an isolated aspect of life that can be used mechanistically to explain phenomena in a multicultural classroom or that can be learned as a series of facts. When we discard the dynamic and multidimensional views of culture for a series-of-facts view of culture, our efforts to implement **multiculturalism** become unrealistic when compared to the complex day-to-day events in the cultural life of the classroom (see Chapter 1 for discussion on the impact that globalization and the unprecedented demographic shift in U.S. society are having on redefining the cultural complexity of school life). With respect to culture there *should* be an uneasy and creative tension between theory and practice, because this reflects the elusive and impermanent nature of cultural knowledge and processes. This "multifaced," "locally situated," and "time and context bound" view of culture is reflected in the post-modern interpretation of cultural processes (see Davis, 2009; Grbich, 2004; Ovando & Gourd, 1996).

To establish a broader basis for what we mean and do not mean by the word *culture,* in the first section of this chapter we consider various perspectives on the concept of culture—first the anthropological view and then popular views. In the second section we look at processes involved in the development of children's cultural identities: cultural transmission, biculturalism, acculturation, and assimilation. For the remainder of the chapter we delve into multicultural education as it relates to language minority students. To do this, in the third section of the chapter we introduce the principles of cultural pluralism and multicultural education. In the fourth section we examine cultural concepts relevant to prejudice and discrimination, and in the fifth section we explore the role of culture in the school success of language minority students. In the final section, we continue to examine the role of culture in achievement more closely through a survey of relevant ethnographic studies.

Throughout the entire chapter, we ask you to remember the importance of personal reflection on the topics that we address. Making educational decisions regarding cultural differences can be much more slippery or abstract than making decisions about how to set up a bilingual cooperative learning group, how to introduce reading in a second language, or how to make use of L_1 during content area instruction, for example. Whether you are a preservice or an in-service teacher, we ask that you pause throughout this chapter to reflect on how the topics relate to your own experiences—experiences that you have had with your family, in your own schooling, with your peers and friends, with your co-workers, in your travels, in community activities, or with your students. Unless we personally confront

cultural issues such as acculturation, assimilation, ethnocentrism, stereotyping, discrimination, and deficit theories—just to name a few—we cannot assume that we have adequately "covered" culture (M. Calderón, personal communication, December 16, 1996).

Perspectives on the Concept of Culture

The Anthropological View of Culture

The concept of culture has been something of an enigma for social scientists. There is, to begin with, disagreement as to how culture should be defined (Ovando, 2008; Ovando & McCarty, 1992; Wax, 1993). A common point of departure for discussion, however, is the definition formulated in 1871 by one of the earliest anthropologists, E.B. Tylor: "Culture . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of society" (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1963, p. 81). Such broad, listlike definitions of culture have served as natural seedbeds for cultural analysis and intellectual enrichment for many years. However, if one views culture as an innumerable and complex set of nongenetic characteristics, as suggested by Tylor's definition, anthropological analysis runs the risk of limiting itself to what Geertz (1973) refers to as

> turning culture into folklore and collecting it, turning it into traits and counting it, turning it into institutions and classifying it, turning it into structures and toying with it (p. 29).

For this reason, contemporary anthropologists have suggested a less segmented and more conceptually intricate perspective (Geertz, 1973; Jacob & Jordan, 1993). As a proponent of a deeper view of culture, Geertz (1973) offers the following interpretation:

> Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.
> Cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And, worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is. It is a strange science whose most telling assertions are its most tremulously based, in which to get somewhere with the matter at hand is to intensify suspicion, both your own and that of others, that you are not quite getting it right. . . . Anthropology, or at least interpretive anthropology, is a science whose progress is marked less by a perfection of consensus than by a refinement of debate. What gets better is the precision with which we vex each other (pp 5–29).

Culture Is Learned

In other words, culture is not carried in the genes. Consider a child who accidentally touches a hot object. The immediate withdrawal of the hand is a physical

Guidelines for Teaching

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL DEFINITION OF CULTURE

Despite conceptual disagreement over a specific definition of culture (Wax, 1993), anthropologists do tend to agree on three of its most basic characteristics (Hall, 1976, p. 13):

1. Culture is not innate, but learned.
2. Culture is shared and it has an important role in defining the social boundaries of different groups.
3. The various facets of culture are interrelated.

reflex that does not have to be taught. However, whether the unpleasant surprise elicits from the child a scream of "Ay!" or "Ow!" becomes a cultural artifact, something transmitted through social interaction. Because a newborn child comes equipped with virtually no cultural baggage, an essential characteristic of being human is the manner, consciously and unconsciously, in which we transmit cultural patterns to succeeding generations. The premise that culture is learned, not inherited, is so basic to all considerations of the concept that it has often been used as a definition of culture by itself. Long before children enter the formal classroom, a rich mixture of culturally coded behavioral patterns have been learned through enculturation, a term described by Margaret Mead (1963) "as the actual process of learning as it takes place in a specific culture" (p. 185).

Because cultural patterns are learned, they are highly variable. Administration of justice among children, for example, does not follow one pattern that is innate to all humans. A pattern observed among some native Hawaiian families is that when children are involved in argumentative behavior with siblings or friends, parents tend to discipline all involved rather than attempting to identify the guilty parties. Consequently, these children may learn that it pays to take care of their concerns within their peer groups rather than sharing them with the adults (Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). But the same children may also learn that in their classrooms, which generally operate out of a different cultural system, the teacher may often want to know who is responsible for the unacceptable behavior. Such an approach may teach children different ways of interacting with each other and with adults.

Culture Is Shared

Culture exists only in relation to a specific social grouping. Humans acquire and create culture only as members of society. Therefore, as groups constantly maintain some aspects of their identity while periodically modifying other aspects, individuals serve the dual function of being culture bearers as well as culture makers. This continuous flux reflects what Berger (1967) refers to as "the cultural imperative of stability and the natural state of culture as unstable" (p. 6). To put it another way, human beings are constantly in the process of becoming *a part of* and *apart*

from a given cultural context (Adler, 1972). For example, a child becomes a part of her home cultural environment as she learns ways to give or get information and to give or get attention appropriate to her ethnic group (Goodwin, 1990; Hymes, 1979). In school, however, she may grow apart from these patterns to some extent as she learns alternative forms of communication that characterize the classroom setting (Heath & Mangiola, 1991). Through such social contact with members of her own and other cultural groups her cultural identity develops.

While culture plays a role in defining ethnic boundaries, these boundaries are usually quite porous. To use a saying that folk singer Pete Seeger attributes to his father, "plagiarism is basic to all culture." Throughout history, societies have borrowed a great deal from each other (Wax, 1993). This borrowing has been a principal source of the instability of culture and of the constant development of cultural patterns "apart from" the original ones. This perpetual state of becoming— of new beginnings crafted on old ones—gives culture its dynamic and fascinating character.

Cultural Components Are Interrelated

The cultural traits of a particular group of people are largely integrated with each other into an interrelated whole. In other words, cultural traits are not a random hodgepodge of discrete customs with no relation to each other. To some extent this integrated consistency derives from adaptation to the environment. For example, in preindustrial societies, the traits of low population density, a nomadic lifestyle, and limited material possessions relate to a hunting and gathering society. Higher population density, permanent communities, and more acquisition of material possessions emerged with the development of agriculture-based societies. Cultural patterns tend toward a psychological integration of values and beliefs as well. For example, child-rearing practices and family living arrangements within a particular cultural group tend to reflect the same values and beliefs that the groups' folktales portray (Ember & Ember, 1988, p. 26). Of course, no two individuals within any cultural group are completely alike, and change is constantly occurring. Therefore, cultural components are not always in complete harmony with each other, but there is certainly an adaptive tendency toward reasonable consistency.

Because cultural patterns are integrated, a change in one aspect of the culture can, and probably will, affect many other facets of the culture. Looking just at examples involving education, consider the introduction of compulsory formal schooling into remote Alaskan native villages. Athapaskan Indians of the Yukon traditionally followed a seminomadic way of life, moving from fishing camps to hunting camps as the seasons changed. In the 1930s, however, "compulsory education forced parents to keep their children in school and thus abandon their traditional seasonal rounds" (Simeone, 1982, p. 100). Thus, with changes in the form of education also came changes in residential patterns, along with concomitant changes in subsistence patterns, the local economy, patterns of social interaction, and the loss or weakening of indigenous languages (Ovando, 1994). The Micronesian island of Pohnpei underwent a comparable process when the introduction of

Western schooling patterns brought about many other changes in cultural patterns (Falgout, 1992).

The above generalizations—that culture is learned, shared, and integrated— provide some important grips on the concept of culture, but they do not give one a comprehensive hold. Culture is learned, but most of the teaching of culture is unreflected on, and the content is somewhat modified as it is transmitted. Culture is shared and defines boundaries, but the exact same culture is not shared by all members of a social group, and the boundaries are highly permeable. Components of a culture seem to be interrelated as in a system, but this system does not always seem to behave according to clear, systematic rules.

Finally, to make the understanding of culture even more evasive, there is the problem of inevitable bias. Because we are all culture bearers, when we study or simply observe the behavior of members of a cultural group, we cannot dissociate our own cultural background completely from the topic of inquiry. Because we all view the world through our cultural lenses, objectivity is a goal we can only hope to approach but will probably never reach. If we implement a critical pedagogy that activates students' prior experiences, incorporates community knowledge, and addresses sociocultural issues of concern to students, we will certainly have a wealth of important cultural information to use in the teaching and learning process. But as we make instructional decisions based on our observations of students' cultural backgrounds, it is extremely important to remember that our interpretations will always be colored by our own cultural and individual values. This issue of subjectivity will be discussed further in the third section of this chapter, when we take a look at cultural concepts relevant to prejudice and discrimination.

Popular Views of Culture

The High Civilization View

Educators have often tended to use the word *culture* as meaning the accumulation of the so-called "best" knowledge, ideas, works of art, and technological accomplishments of a particular group of people. This "high civilization" or "highbrow" view of culture (Levine, 1988), in the case of Western civilization, conjures up the image of the sophisticated cognoscente familiar with Shakespeare, Dante, Cervantes, Socrates, Mozart, Michelangelo, and so on. Such a sophisticated person may scoff at the unfortunate slob who "doesn't have any culture." Curricula in the United States have implicitly and explicitly stressed the importance of Western ideals as the hallmark of culture. This view of culture (minus the snobbery) can be justifiably taught as an appreciation of a historical heritage, and it can be an important component of the liberal arts curriculum (Banks, 1993; Banks & Banks, 2004; García, 1993). However, a monocultural view of the accomplishments of the Western or English-speaking world, at the expense of the social, cultural, and linguistic realities that surround minority learners, may have significant negative effects. Lack of acknowledgment of multiple cultural traditions can be related to high dropout rates, alienation, and low academic achievement (Banks, 1993; Ogbu, 1978, 1992; Stanford Working Group, 1993; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Trueba, 1987).

The Set-of-Traits View

Another common approach to culture—one that we refer to as the "set-of-traits" point of view—is the tendency to view culture as a series of significant historical events and heroes, typical traditions, and culturally coded concepts or terms. Erickson has referred to such superficial treatment as "cultural tourism"—a focus on the more colorful and salient aspects of a group of people (Erickson, 1997, p. 46). Tongue in cheek, the set-of-traits point of view has also been called the "laundry list" approach and the "facts, fun, and fiestas" approach. Using the laundry list approach to Mexican American culture, for example, an educator could conclude that students should know about such items as Benito Juárez, César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, *la Virgen de Guadalupe, Cinco de Mayo, La Raza, cholos, Aztlán,* and *la quinceañera.* The argument for this approach is that the better informed students are about a culture, the less prejudiced they will be. And there is some empirical evidence to support the argument (Banks, 1991b; Glock, Wutnow, Piliavin, & Spencer, 1975; Lambert & Klineberg, 1967).

The set-of-traits view, however, is extremely limited and easily promotes the view that culture is highly static rather than being a complex, interrelated, and varying construct. The approach obscures the reality of individuals as culture bearers and culture makers, who not only carry their culture but also may help to reconstruct their cultures and their ethnolinguistic identities (see Ma & Carter, 2003). It does not lend itself to the consideration of people's **acculturation** (see Ovando, 2008, pp. 8–9) or **assimilation,** (see Ovando, 2008, pp. 42–43) nor does it portray **culture** as an integrated configuration adapted to a particular context. There is also the danger that this type of approach may lead to stereotyping, especially of already stigmatized minorities. One is inclined to assume falsely that everything on the cultural "list" is meaningful in the same way to every member of the cultural group. This view of culture may also encourage one to feel a sense of distance from the everyday immediacy of cultural phenomena. The "bits" of culture become discrete abstractions, items that can be reduced to right or wrong on a multiple-choice test. Instead, it is important to observe the actual behaviors of students and parents in and outside of the classroom and to ask many questions. For example, instead of assuming that a given holiday or celebration is meaningful for all members of a particular ethnic group, the teacher may wish to ask the students and parents themselves, "What holidays or celebrations are most important to you? Why?" (Saville-Troike, 1978, p. 37). The responses to such inquiries may confirm what was already known, but they may also reveal new dimensions to a student's ethnic identity.

Both the high-civilization view of culture and the set-of-traits view have some pedagogical validity, but they are not in and of themselves sufficient to achieve an understanding of culture in the multiethnic classroom. Both views deprive us of an awareness of culture as an integral aspect of our own lives—as the web we all weave, together and separately, day after day. Both views bypass a premise particularly essential to multicultural education: that no child or teacher is without culture. This premise is the critical source for the role of culture in the classroom. An awareness of culture is not only the discovery of others but also the discovery of

ourselves, and of our own webs. To illustrate this point, consider the reaction of a group of adult students, learning to read for the first time, to a picture of their village—the first they had ever seen. (This incident occurred in São Tomé, an island off the west coast of Africa.)

⊗ **The class first looked at the picture in silence, then four of them got up as if by arrangement and walked over to the wall where the picture code of the village was hung. They looked attentively at the picture, then they went over to the window and looked at the world outside. They exchanged glances, their eyes wide as if in surprise, and, again looking at the picture, they said, "It's Monte Mario. That's what Monte Mario is like, and we didn't know it" (Freire, 1981, p. 30).**

Processes in the Development of Cultural Identities

As teachers, we are working with young people who are not only developing physically, emotionally, socially, academically, and cognitively, we are also working with children who are developing culturally. As stated in the first section of this chapter, children are not born with a culture, they learn it. In the case of language minority children, the process is a particularly interesting one as they build their cultural identity within the multiple contexts of their home environment, the school environment, and the larger dominant sociocultural environment. To better understand this process of cultural development, we will consider Mead's model of cultural transmission, and then we will look at the interrelated issues of biculturalism, acculturation, and assimilation.

Cultural Transmission

We have already introduced Mead's concept of enculturation (see Ovando, 2008, pp. 245–247) when we described the child's process of learning cultural patterns. However, the process is not a simple, straightforward one in which children always learn "all there is to know" from older family members. A lifelong student of cultural transmission in Western and non-Western societies, Margaret Mead (1978) concluded that the process by which new members learn the scope and detail of their own culture is not, and never has been, a smooth and painless one. She identified three kinds of cultural transmission processes: postfigurative, cofigurative, and prefigurative.

Postfigurative Transmission

In postfigurative transmission, adult community members pass on values, beliefs, and behaviors to the upcoming generation with little alteration. Usually in such contexts the children question the cultural patterns they receive from their elders very little. In the United States, for example, the Amish and Hutterite subcultures closely represent postfigurative processes. Immigrants from traditional or rural societies may also have a background of strong postfigurative cultural transmission.

Cofigurative Transmission

In cofigurative transmission communities there are multiple cultural role models—old ones and contemporary ones. Emergent cultural traits may be attributed to the sharing between parents and children at a time when the traditional cultural patterns have lost some power over the young. Cofigurative communities may be represented, for example, by immigrant groups that are partially disengaging from the past and are beginning to relate in different ways with their children growing up in the United States. "But Mom, that's not the way you do it here," may be a beginning signal that cofigurative culture change is occurring within the ethnic community.

Prefigurative Transmission

In this type of cultural transmission the children to a large extent create culture change. For example, immigrant parents in prefigurative situations vicariously experience much of American society and culture through their children. The reality that such children present to their parents has been secured from the formal school system and from many informal channels—peers, street culture, television, radio, magazines, newspapers, clubs, and organizations. These children are frequently the source of many answers for their parents' concerns. They serve as translators at the doctor's office, for example, or they write the school absence excuse for their younger siblings. Virtually everything new is filtered through the children, who may put aside some of their old values as being obsolete. Frustration and stress may sometimes begin to characterize many of the interactions between parents and children. There may also be a sense of power or superiority on the part of the prefigurative youth. As Handlin (1951) put it years ago, referring to the acculturation process across immigrant generations, "the young wore their [U.S.] nativity like a badge that marked their superiority over their immigrant elders" (pp. 253–54).

While Mead analyzed the development of cultural identity across generations, another important way to look at the process is from the standpoint of interaction among various cultural groups. From this point of view we will look at biculturalism, acculturation, and assimilation.

Biculturalism

A person is bicultural when he or she has the capacity to negotiate effectively within two different cultural systems. Being bicultural, however, does not necessarily mean giving equal time to both cultures in terms of behavior. There may be many traits from one culture or both that the person understands but doesn't necessarily act out, such as religious rituals or family traditions (Kim, 1988; Paulston, 1992; Saville-Troike, 1978). The following statement by a Greek American scholar provides a window into the dynamics of **biculturalism** in the United States:

Living in two worlds, the one American, the other of the immigrant Greek, was not an emotional strain. It was a natural thing to do and made it possible to achieve early in my life a sense of identity, something which we are trying now to achieve with the cultural minority groups in our schools. . . .

Phenomenologically, my work world and my social world are a seamless fabric of a continuing experience. This bicultural experience provides me with an active comparative and contrastive set of insights into American and immigrant cultures as continuing lived experiences. . . . I feel that the opportunity to experience cultural conflict and the cultural integrity earned through the resolution of that conflict are vital affective education (cited in Havighurst, 1978, pp. 15–16).

Although one would think that an understanding of biculturalism would be an important aspect of public policy on bilingual education, surprisingly little theorizing has been given to the concept (Harris, 1994). Anthropology, for example, which has so much to say about culture, has very little to say about biculturalism. The term receives only a small paragraph, as a subheading under the term *acculturation,* in the *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (Sills, 1968, p. 24). The *Dictionary of Anthropology* does not even include a listing for the term *bicultural* (Seymour-Smith, 1986). And while perhaps a majority of bilingual programs are described as "bilingual/bicultural" programs, the extent to which learning a second language actually implies becoming bicultural is something that has not been significantly analyzed. Paulston (1992) substantiates the lack of work on this topic. In her search of the literature she found only five entries under *biculturalism.*

The tendency in the United States has been to perceive biculturalism as an abnormality (Social Science Research Council, 1954, p. 982). This tendency to view biculturalism negatively is related to much linguistic and psychological work done during the first half of the twentieth century that suggested that bilingualism was an undesirable trait. Such research alleged, for example, that bilinguals "had lower IQ scores than monolinguals, were socially maladjusted, and trailed monolinguals in academic performance" (Reynolds, 1991, p. 145). Similarly, Diebold (1968) pointed out that in the past a common perception in the United States was that bilingualism was detrimental to personality development because the knowledge of two languages was thought to imply two separate, culture-bound personality structures operating within the same individual.[1]

A more positive view of biculturalism emphasizes the maintenance of identity by means of changes in cultural patterns. For example, studies by Clark, Kaufman, and Pierce (1976); Delgado-Gaitán (1994); Merino, Trueba, and Samaniego (1993); Suárez-Orozco (1989); Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995); and Spindler and Spindler (1990) suggest that culture contact in the United States generates "situational ethnicity"—individuals have a range of types of bicultural behavior that vary in their emphasis on minority cultural patterns and majority cultural patterns. For example, in an investigation of the ethnic identity of Mesquakie Indians, Polgar (1960) found that the teenagers he studied regularly went through a process of biculturation. Through their reservation life and contact with the outside community (especially through the schools) they had been simultaneously enculturated into traditional Mesquakie life and media-influenced dominant culture lifestyles.

Based on research among Eskimo students in rural Alaska, Kleinfeld (1979) has also concluded that institutions such as schools play a highly significant role in the

establishment of young people's cultural identities. She has noted two characteristics that can foster the "bicultural fusion" of the minority child:

1. Significant reference groups in the majority culture (such as teachers, majority group classmates, media) hold the minority culture in esteem and significant reference groups in the local minority culture (such as parents, peers, older youth who are trendsetters) hold the majority culture in esteem.
2. Central socialization settings (home, school, religious groups, ethnic organizations) fuse elements from both cultures rather than separate them (Kleinfeld, 1979, p. 137).

Kleinfeld's findings suggest that school personnel and community members who have mutual respect for each other's values and who also are open and adaptable in their interaction with one another enhance children's ability to function biculturally as both members of an ethnic group and participants in American society at large.

Acculturation

Although the term *biculturalism* has not been researched extensively in the field of anthropology or education, the related terms *acculturation* and *assimilation* have been used exhaustively to analyze culture contact. Acculturation is a process by which one cultural group takes on and incorporates one or more cultural traits of another group, resulting in new or blended cultural patterns. The *Dictionary of Anthropology* describes acculturation as "processes of accommodation and change in culture contact" (Seymour-Smith, 1986, p. 1). For example, as rural Mexican immigrant youngsters start wearing baseball caps and listening to heavy metal music, they are acculturating to outward aspects of contemporary U.S. culture. However, although these children may quickly adopt some U.S. clothing styles and musical tastes, such things as their language usage patterns, gestures, facial expressions, value systems, and social interaction styles will most likely remain more Mexican for a much longer period of time. As Nieto (1994) puts it, students often maintain such "deep culture" while they acculturate to their new cultural environment in more superficial ways.

Cultural change through acculturation does not necessarily mean loss of the original cultural identity. For example, a Koyukon Athapaskan who uses a snowmobile instead of sled dogs is still an Athapaskan Indian. It is not a set of particular traits that counts in ethnic identity as much as it is the fact that the Athapaskan considers him or herself as a member of a distinct group (Erickson, 1997). Acculturation can frequently be seen as an additive process, one that can result in bicultural or even multicultural identities. Acculturated individuals are able to employ situational ethnicity because they have the knowledge and skills to function in two or more different cultural contexts. As Erickson points out, in today's world most humans actually are multicultural, especially those who live in large, complex societies (see Ovando, 2008; Erickson, 1997).

Assimilation

Acculturation, instead of resulting in biculturalism and situational ethnicity, can alternatively result in assimilation. Assimilation is a process in which an individual or group completely takes on the traits of another culture, leaving behind the original cultural identity. The absorption of many European immigrant groups into majority U.S. cultural patterns and social structures has generally been described as a process of assimilation. For many years in the past one of the goals of many school programs in the United States has been to assimilate indigenous and immigrant minority children into the majority culture. For example, the policy of assimilating American Indian youth through education is clearly reflected in the 1887 statement by J. D. C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "If we expect to infuse into the rising generation the leaven of American citizenship, we must remove the stumbling blocks of hereditary customs and manners, and of these language is one of the most important elements" (Adams, 1988, p. 8).

Because the concept of the assimilative **melting pot** has been such a strong theme in the history of the United States, there is a tendency to still assume today that many young people will want to entirely assume dominant cultural patterns. However, Nieto (1996, 1994) found in her own case studies of 12 high school students, as well as in other researchers' work, evidence that many contemporary minority students—despite some conflicts and mixed feelings—have pride in their background and express a desire to maintain their language and culture. As one of the students in her case study said, "You gotta know who you are" (1996, p. 284). She also notes research evidence that suggests that students who resist assimilation may also be more successful academically. For example, one study of Southeast Asian students found a positive correlation between higher grades and maintenance of pride in ethnicity (see Ovando, 2008, for an expanded discussion of assimilation).

Multicultural Education

Cultural Pluralism as a Basis for Multicultural Education

As language minority students enter adulthood, they will have to confront the degree to which United States society is prepared to accept their multiple cultural identities through an ethos of cultural pluralism. Cultural pluralism characterizes a society in which members of diverse cultural, social, racial, or religious groups are free to maintain their own identity and yet simultaneously share equitably in a larger common political organization, economic system, and social structure. Cultural pluralism is an extremely sensitive political issue in many nations throughout the world. Biculturalism can conceivably be seen as a matter of individual choice, but a positive or negative stance on cultural pluralism as a national policy touches on the most basic definitions of nationhood. In the United States, for example, with its growing diversity, there is a renewed public debate regarding the best way to induct historically marginalized groups into the sociocultural fabric of society. Some argue that unless diversity is harnessed

through an assimilative process into a common culture and language, the country will become divided into many ethnic enclaves with very particular agendas that could threaten the unity and future of the nation. For example, the works of Bennett (1984); Bloom (1987); D'Souza (1991); Epstein (1977); Finn, Ravitch, and Fancher (1984); Glazer (1985); Gray (1991); Hirsch (1991); Ravitch (1990); and Sowell (1993) reflect this general point of view. The American historian, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., in his controversial book, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections of a Multicultural Society* (1992, p. 18), echoes the above concerns, asking, "Will the center hold? Or will the melting pot give way to the Tower of Babel?" Looking specifically at education, Lutz (1994) reports that some writers hold that cultural pluralism will lower academic standards through an emphasis on "feel good" learning, and further that it will teach wrong values and infringe on the right to freedom of speech through enforcement of political correctness.

Supporters of cultural pluralism, however, argue that it is not only possible but necessary to affirm ancestral cultural and linguistic roots while concurrently sharing a set of pluralistic democratic principles, especially through the school curriculum. Supporters of cultural pluralism hold that the inclusion of diversity in both the content and the process of schooling practices gives society its sociocultural coherence. Cultural pluralism in fact puts into practice *e pluribus unum* and thus enables us to live up to the founding democratic principles of our society (Banks, 1993; Banks & Banks, 2004; Graff, 1992).

The above interpretation of cultural pluralism is of course an ideal, which has, so far, come quite short of its mark in the United States. With respect to public school policy, the controversy cannot be resolved to suit everyone's ideological or pedagogical persuasion. Cultural pluralism elicits strong passions because it challenges us to rethink our conception not only of a just society but also of who we are as as citizens of the United States and what makes us unique. Critics of cultural pluralism who fear a loss of national character would do well to consider whether or not that supposed character has ever been a constant. National character, if it can even be identified, is not a straitjacket—an all-encompassing yet vague force that causes particular types of behavior in particular groups. It has always been a developing and adjustable framework, very responsive to social and economic conditions. For example, it would be very difficult to find many cultural similarities between the "typical U.S. citizen" of 1797 and the "typical U.S. citizen" of 2004, even if we could find such a thing as a "typical" citizen. Maintenance of any ethnic identity within the United States is not a result of adherence to rigid cultural laws but occurs within the context of adjustments to social and economic conditions and cross-cultural contacts. Language minority children in a school that values their ethnic heritage would be highly unlikely, as a consequence of such schooling, to lock themselves into all the behaviors and values traditionally held by members of their ethnic group. While remaining secure in their ethnic identity, they would more likely alter some of the characteristics of that identity as they experiment with new behaviors that are effective in new social contexts.

Dimensions of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is built on the premise of the need to prepare all children, minority and majority, to participate equitably in a culturally pluralistic society. And like its conceptual partner, cultural pluralism, it too has been subject to severe criticism, as suggested above by Lutz. Cummins (1996a) argues that the debate is so heated because multicultural education

> Entails a direct challenge to the societal power structure that has historically sub-ordinated certain groups and rationalized the educational failure of children from these groups as being the result of their inherent deficiencies. Multicultural education . . . challenges all educators to make the schools a force for social justice in our society (p. xvi).

Multicultural education is challenging and controversial not only because it has the potential to mobilize communities of learners as social change agents but also because it makes us rethink our ideas of what constitutes effective teaching: Are teachers to be merely transmitters of consensus values and dominant culture knowledge, or are they to be coparticipants with students in knowledge construction and social action?

As suggested by these broad issues of social justice and knowledge construction, multicultural education today is defined by leaders in the field as a comprehensive approach to schooling that can touch on virtually every aspect of the educational process, from power and decision-making structures to curricular content to instructional practices to community relations (Banks & Banks, 2004; Bennett, 1995a; Grant & Sleeter, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Nieto, 1996; Ovando & McLaren, 2000). Nieto (1996, pp. 306–323), for example, anchors her broad approach to multicultural education within the sociopolitical context of contemporary society, and she identifies seven key characteristics of multicultural education, which we summarize and paraphrase in the nearby Guidelines box.

This multifaceted definition shows that multicultural education is a highly challenging concept that can be viewed as an organizing principle for systemic school reform. Nieto (1996) argues that without such a transformative sociopolitical approach, multicultural education is just a trip to "fairyland" (p. 9), another set-of-traits or cultural tourism approach to the issue. Erickson (1997, p. 53) provides us with a good illustration of the limits of a multicultural approach that does not address the larger sociocultural and political factors that affect school achievement. Distinguishing between what he calls the visible and the invisible aspects of culture, he describes a potential scenario in which a classroom has visible signs of a multicultural curriculum—for example, a poster of Frederick Douglass is displayed, the children learn vocabulary in Swahili or Yoruba, and they also study about West Africa from a positive point of view. However, in this same early childhood classroom, cultural variation in language use patterns—a less visible aspect of culture—is not recognized, resulting in lower expectations for some students. Erickson gives the example of the teacher's assessment of "reading readiness." The teacher holds up a sheet of red paper and asks a low-income African American child, "What color is this?" Because the child comes from a cultural background in

Guidelines for Teaching

CHARACTERISTICS OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

1. Multicultural education is antiracist. It does not gloss over the presence of racism in society but addresses it.

2. Multicultural education is basic. It is an integral component of education along with other core subjects.

3. Multicultural education is vital for both majority and minority students.

4. Multicultural education is pervasive in the entire schooling process. It is not a separate subject.

5. Multicultural education is education for social justice. It connects knowledge and understanding with social action.

6. Multicultural education is a process. It is ongoing and dynamic and involves relationships between people as much as it does content.

7. Multicultural education is critical pedagogy. Teachers and students in a multicultural learning environment do not view knowledge as being neutral or apolitical (Nieto, 1996).

which adults tend not to use such known-answer questions in conversations with children, he or she is confused by the nature of the question and answers in Black English, "Aonh-oh." (I don't know.) The teacher makes a negative evaluation of the child's nonstandard English pronunciation coupled with an assumption of limited vocabulary development, and the child may well be on his or her way to a tracked program of low achievement, despite the presence of an outwardly multicultural curriculum.

In this book, reflecting the premise that multicultural education should be comprehensive, we address many different aspects of the multicultural approach throughout the entire text. We discuss Banks and Banks's first dimension, content integration, in a variety of contexts—in particular, Chapter 3 (including art, music, and technology) and the chapters on language, social studies, math, and science address incorporating multicultural materials and perspectives. (Another useful resource for content integration is Grant and Gómez's book, *Making Schooling Multicultural: Campus and Classroom* (1996), which includes separate chapters on multicultural content integration in math, science, social studies, art, music, physical education, health, theater, and television and film.) We describe how Banks and Banks's second dimension, knowledge construction, is related to the concepts of active learning and critical pedagogy in Chapter 3. We also consider knowledge construction later in this chapter and in Chapter 7. The final three dimensions—prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering schooling— also appear indirectly throughout the book as we consider the many different ways in which to provide an equitable education for language minority students. However, we will focus most directly on these three dimensions in the remainder of this chapter. We will first look at prejudice reduction in light of the issues of

marked and unmarked cultures, **stereotyping,** and ethnocentrism and **cultural relativism.** We will then look at equity pedagogy and empowering schooling environments as we examine the role of culture in the school success of language minority students.

Prejudice and Discrimination

Through the civil rights movement, educators developed a greater awareness of prejudice and discrimination in schools. For example, one study done in the early 1970s for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, based on observations of 494 classrooms in the Southwest, revealed that teachers directed 21 percent more questions to European Americans than to Mexican Americans, praised or encouraged European Americans 35 percent more often, and accepted or used European Americans' ideas 40 percent more often (Jackson & Cosca, 1974). Despite the growth of such awareness in the 1960s and 1970s, the fact remains today that prejudice and discrimination are still frequent presences within schools across the nation (see Arzubiaga & Adair, 2010). ESL and bilingual educators have both firsthand and secondhand knowledge of this discrimination as they work with children from a broad range of backgrounds. Nieto (1994) gives the example of the thoughts of one immigrant high school student from Cape Verde (an island nation west of Senegal) who came to the United States at the age of 11:

⊠ **When American students see you, it's kinda hard [to] get along with them when you have a different culture, a different way of dressing and stuff like that. So kids really look at you and laugh, you know, at the beginning (p. 47).**

We will focus our examination of prejudice and discrimination on the implications of the following cultural concepts: marked and unmarked cultures, stereotypes,

and ethnocentrism and cultural relativism. Teachers who bring an understanding of such concepts to the school environment will be better prepared to analyze and address the discrimination that occurs in bilingual and ESL settings.

Marked and Unmarked Languages and Cultures

The terms **marked** and **unmarked language,** and by extension, **marked** and **unmarked culture,** distinguish between the different degrees of status assigned to particular cultural groups. Fishman (1976), a linguist who analyzed the education of language minority students from a broad, international perspective, introduced the terms. In the context of bilingual education, Fishman (1976) defined a marked language as one "which would most likely not be used *instructionally* were it not for bilingual education, that is to say, it is precisely bilingual education that has brought it into the classroom. Conversely, a language is *unmarked* in a bilingual education setting [if it] would most likely continue to be used instructionally, even in the absence of bilingual education" (pp. 99–100). In other words, marked languages are the ones associated with less social status and political power. In the United States the unmarked language is standard English.

Expanding the concepts of marked and unmarked languages to the groups they most closely represent, unmarked culture in the United States tends to be associated with white, middle-class, nonethnic, English-speaking groups. It is unmarked in the sense that it reflects a somewhat mythical generalization of the way the typical "American" is "supposed" to be. That is, according to this view, whiteness, while holding a privileged, normative position in society, is often invisible and taken for granted. In the words of Nakayama and Krizek (1998), "Whiteness . . . affects the everyday fabric of our lives but resists, sometimes violently, any exterior characterization that would allow for the mapping of its contours" (p. 88). Marked culture, on the other hand, is associated with the stigmatized and sometimes subordinate status of socioeconomically or culturally defined minority groups. Most curricula in public schools in the United States tend to emphasize unmarked cultural values, because the unmarked culture is the one that wields by far the most power in educational institutions.

Spolsky (1978, p. 28) suggested that one goal of bilingual education should be to enable language minority students to experience unmarked civic life outside the boundaries of their marked culture without being stigmatized. For schools to allow this would imply their unprejudiced acceptance of the blending of characteristics of the unmarked and marked cultures. We are all too often unable to approach this ideal, of course, and the stigmatization of marked languages and cultures in the United States continues to be a problem as evidenced by the chronic difficulty in gaining full acceptance of bilingual programs that have a strong, long-term use of L_1 and a strong cultural component.

Nieto (1996) effectively describes the potential burden of carrying a marked cultural background in school:

> *Who does the accommodating?* This question gets to the very heart of how students from nondominant [marked] groups experience school every day.

> Dominant-group students, on the contrary, rarely have to consider learning a new language to communicate with their teachers. They already speak the acceptable school language. The same is true of culture. These students do not generally have to think about their parents' lifestyles and values because their families are the norm. . . . Students from other groups, however, have to consider such issues *every single day.* Their school experiences are filled with the tension of accommodation that students from the dominant group could not even imagine (p. 334).

The intuitive awareness of marked and unmarked languages and cultures appears to develop in children at a fairly young age. Consider the following dialogue that a colleague of one of the authors overheard, which reflects an awareness of marked and unmarked status among three elementary-age students:

⊗ **Three middle-class teachers who work at a largely Hispanic American, lower-income elementary school have come to school on a Saturday to catch up on work. These three teachers have all brought their daughters along, all of whom attend middle-class elementary schools. The children are all native English speakers—two European American girls and one Mexican American girl who is very acculturated to the unmarked culture. They are working at a table cutting out decorations when a local, Mexican American mother comes into the classroom and carries on an extended conversation in Spanish with one of the teachers. After the mother leaves, this conversation arises among the children:**

Linda (Mexican American): I know how to speak Spanish—my grandmother taught me. But I don't like to!

Laurie (European American): I know. There's a girl in my class who all she does is speak Spanish and she's so dumb! All she does is copy my work.

Jennifer (European American): People who speak Spanish aren't dumb. They just can't help it.

Cummins (1989b) found the same phenomenon in a study of four first-generation Mexican American fifth graders. Although these students were not fully proficient in English, they rarely used their native language, Spanish, explaining that this language was just for "dumb kids." The adverse pedagogical implications of this bias against the marked language are significant. As Cummins points out, the students' avoidance of use of the marked language, coupled with the school's failure to capitalize on the students' experiences and language-rich home environment, resulted in serious limits on their opportunities to employ more abstract discourse and higher levels of cognitive functioning.

The case of immersion bilingual education programs provides another revealing example of the role of marked and unmarked cultures in educational outcomes. Edelsky (1996), reflecting on the studies she and Hudelson conducted in two Spanish–English two-way immersion programs in the late 1970s, noted that for children in such programs, "Clues mount up quickly over which language must be learned" (p. 26). For example, in one of the programs, which was an alternate day program, the unmarked language, English, very frequently crept into use during Spanish days—much more so than Spanish crept into use during English days.

On Spanish days, English speakers were often given comprehension checks in English, whereas on English days, Spanish speakers were less likely to be given such assistance through their L_1. Because English was the unmarked language, it was taken for granted by children and teachers alike that this was the language that all students would have to learn. Spanish speakers made great strides in English over the course of the year, while English speakers knew little more than colors, numbers, and social routines in Spanish after months of exposure to the marked language.

Edelsky suggested that, although the outside effects of the larger social structure cannot be totally neutralized, intensive efforts can be made within the school to lessen the degree of markedness of the marked language by making greater efforts to use the languages equitably. This stance is borne out by the findings in California, alluded to in Chapter 3, that suggest that a 90 percent marked/10 percent unmarked pattern of language use in the early grades is the most effective form of immersion education for both language majority and language minority students. The heavy emphasis on the marked language in the early grades helps the marked language speakers to develop their cognitive skills in a less prejudiced atmosphere, and it provides the unmarked language speakers with an environment in which—within the confines of the school—the marked language is actually the one that counts the most.

Stereotypes

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language defines a **stereotype** as "a conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified conception, opinion, or image." Although we have all been victims as well as users of stereotypes, they become particularly significant when talking about marked cultural groups. The following comments from a high school student of Lebanese origin reflect his mixed feelings over stereotypes and his desire to be judged as an individual rather than according to the generally negative view of Middle Easterners portrayed in the media. Despite this student's statement that it doesn't matter, one gets the feeling from his overall comments that perhaps the stereotype does matter to him:

⌘ **Some people call me, you know, 'cause I'm Lebanese, so people say, "Look out for the terrorist! Don't mess with him or he'll blow up your house!" or some stuff like that. . . . But they're just joking around, though . . . I don't think anybody's serious 'cause I wouldn't blow up anybody's house—and they know that . . . I don't care. It doesn't matter what people say. . . . I just want everybody to know that, you know, it's not true (Nieto, 1994, p. 35).**

Hispanic Americans in the United States are often stereotypically lumped into one cultural group by non-Hispanic Americans. Judging from the media, one might assume all Hispanic Americans are in pursuit of a soccer ball, are Roman Catholics, have large extended families, and like to eat jalapeño peppers (see Yosso & García,

2010). Hispanic Americans, however, are not at all a homogenous group: They form a cultural, social, and historical mosaic. Mexicans eat tortillas, but Cubans do not. Most Hispanic Americans are associated with Catholicism, but a growing number are Protestant, and many have African-influenced religious traditions called *santería*. Some have become so acculturated that they speak little or no Spanish, whereas many have maintained a strong language loyalty. Many Hispanic Americans in the Southwest are second only to American Indians as our earliest residents, but many are newcomers who have immigrated recently. Some have strong rural ties, whereas others are firmly rooted within the urban context (Arias, 1986b). Even within a single Mexican American *barrio,* one encounters many different Mexican Americans, not "the typical Mexican American." Here is a description of El Hoyo, a Chicano neighborhood in Tucson, Arizona, by the author Mario Suárez (1973):

⊠ **Perhaps El Hoyo, its inhabitants, and its essence can best be explained by telling a bit about a dish called *capirotada*. Its origin is uncertain. But, according to the time and the circumstance, it is made of old, new, or hard bread. It is softened with water and then cooked with peanuts, raisins, onions, cheese, and panocha. It is fired with sherry wine. Then it is served hot, cold, or just "on the weather" as they say in El Hoyo. The Sermeños like it one way, the Garcías like it another, and the Ortegas still another. While it might differ greatly from one home to another, nevertheless it is still *capirotada*. And so it is with El Hoyo's Chicanos (p. 102).**

Region of origin is one example of a factor that may account for some of the deviation a child shows from stereotyped patterns of behavior for a given cultural group. Just as a great variety of regional cultural patterns can be found in the United States (see García, 2001), there are also very striking regional differences within the countries of origin of most immigrant families (Arzubiaga, Noguerón, & Sullivan, 2009; Ovando, 2003; Jensen, 2010; Delgado-Gaitán & Trueba, 1991; Stevenson, 1994). Some Cambodians established in the United States, for example, may be offspring of Hmong tribesmen, who are from rural, nontechnological mountain villages, whereas others may be the children of white-collar apartment dwellers from Phnom Penh. Although all of them are Cambodians, the behavior and adjustment patterns exhibited by the two groups will be considerably different. The significance of place of origin also explains why one first grader in a school composed predominantly of recent immigrants from rural Mexico doesn't "seem" like the other children and occasionally points out to her teacher and peers that her family is from the Mexican city of Ensenada, rather than from a small farm or *rancho*. She has taken upon herself the responsibility of making sure that the teacher doesn't stereotype her.

While overgeneralization is one problem with stereotypes, another is that actual behavior patterns can change much faster than stereotypes do. Gender roles provide just one example of the many ways in which this may happen. All cultural groups have developed expectations, attitudes, and values associated with a person's gender, and institutions such as the family serve to maintain these

expectations. Consequently, outsiders to a culture may expect masculine or feminine behavior of a group member to conform to stereotyped notions. For example, many Mexican families used to place little importance on formal education for girls, resulting in females' lower educational aspirations. However, gender roles are changing both in Mexico and Mexican American society. Research evidence suggests that today Mexican American girls may actually place a higher value on education than their male counterparts (Bennett, 1995b, p. 665; Carter & Wilson, 1994; Ovando, 1978a).

Because of the damage that negative stereotypes has inflicted on individuals and groups over time, educators are "supposed" to think of stereotyping as a bad thing (Contreras, 2010; Lee, 2009). And yet, like ants, stereotypes do not seem to go away no matter how hard we try to eradicate them. Some educators argue that precisely because stereotyping is here to stay we should make the concept useful by subjecting it to critical interrogation. For example, one can make an effort to distinguish between personal traits and ethnic traits (Bem, 1970; Longstreet, 1978). For the teacher this distinction becomes a process of balancing an awareness of general cultural or subcultural traits with an affirmation of the absolute uniqueness of every child. It also becomes a process of contrasting the cultural variations represented by actual students with the existing stereotypes. As a step toward effective teaching in the bilingual or ESL classroom, it is therefore important to assess the within-culture diversity already existing in the school's cultural microcosm. In a multiethnic environment, the interplay between stereotyped behavior patterns and personal patterns is amazingly intricate for children as they adjust to their culturally varied settings—the home culture versus the world of television, school versus the street, first-generation adult values versus second-generation youth values, and so on. The sociocultural background of the child in the bilingual or ESL classroom, therefore, emerges not in clear-cut stereotyped patterns but in varied types of behavior. In understanding a student's behavior, it is helpful to strike a balance between a more culturally based stereotypic perspective and a totally individualized perspective. The misperceptions stemming from a stereotypical perspective are well known, but on the other hand a totally individualized perspective is skewed because it does not take into account the powerful molding forces of culture (Robert & Lichter, 1988).

Teachers, of course, are not the only people with stereotypic views. Students and parents bring their own stereotypic views to the bilingual or ESL classroom. Some Mexican American children may arrive in the kindergarten classroom with unconsciously formed expectations about *gabacho* behavior based on parents' or older siblings' perceptions. (*Gabacho* is a term used by Mexican Americans to refer, often derogatorily, to European Americans.) A Korean immigrant parent may approach his first meeting with an American teacher with certain stereotypical assumptions about the teacher's high degree of permissiveness. In considering the presence of prejudice in school environments, therefore, teachers also need to be aware that students and parents may bring negative stereotypes to school interactions.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism, the belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group, can emerge in many different configurations within the multiethnic classroom. Ethnocentric reactions may occur on the part of the teacher toward the student, on the part of the student toward the teacher, between students, on the part of the parent toward the teacher, and so on. The sense of group identity attained by prejudice against another group is demonstrated with the following story. After India gained its independence from Britain, there was a strong push to soften the rigid caste system. A group of idealistic students supposedly approached some members of the Harijan caste (the untouchables) and started to talk with them about the past injustices of the caste system. The students suggested to the Harijans that they should become politically involved and elect officials who would improve their lot. No sooner had the speaker finished his speech, when one of the outcast members said, "The only way the system can improve is to develop another group below us so that we can look down upon them."

In multicultural societies, such as the United States, the balance between cultural pride and negative ethnocentrism—with its resultant prejudice and discrimination—is delicate. Just how much ethnocentrism is innocuous cultural pride and how much is damaging to the social fabric? Consider the emotional high many Hispanic American soccer fans may feel when an Argentine or Mexican player scores a goal for his national team in a critical World Cup match. Most would say that this is not ethnocentrism, just healthy cultural pride. David Bidney, an anthropologist who studied ethics from a cross-cultural perspective, suggested that cultural pride itself need not be equated with ethnocentrism. He stated that it is not "the mere fact of preference for one's own cultural values that constitutes ethnocentrism but, rather the uncritical prejudice in favor of one's own culture and the distorted, biased criticism of alien cultures" (Bidney 1968, p. 546). It is this type of critical prejudice that can do so much damage to the development of the minority child. What happens, for example, to the self-concept of a language minority child who absorbs so many negative evaluations of his cultural background that by the time he is 10 he prefers to hide his ethnicity as much as possible and even avoids being seen with his parents?

Cultural Relativism

Cultural relativism is an important concept for bilingual and ESL educators because it serves as an antidote to the damaging effects that conscious or unconscious ethnocentrism can have on the emotional and academic development of language minority children. Cultural relativism, as described by Bidney, involves "tolerance based on skepticism of universal, objective standards of value as well as the idea of progress" (1968, p. 547). As a *philosophical* doctrine, cultural relativism can imply that there are no universal norms by which all cultural groups should be judged, and as such, the concept can raise many ethical problems. For example, is female circumcision or the use of corporal punishment that leaves bruises or other longer-lasting effects to be considered objectively acceptable on the basis of

adherence to cultural relativism? As a *method* for coming to understand a cultural system and for viewing cultural change, however, cultural relativism is basic to all cultural inquiry. It constitutes an attempt to interpret data from the viewpoint of the people being observed or studied, rather than applying the values of one's own cultural system to the subject (Bidney, 1968, p. 543). The novelist (and former anthropology student) Kurt Vonnegut (1974), in an introduction to a children's book, *Free to Be You and Me,* proposes cultural relativism as a way of looking at how people may interpret their multiple worlds:

⊗ **One thing I would really like to tell them [children] about is cultural relativity. I didn't learn until I was in college about all the other cultures, and I should have learned that in the first grade. A first grader should understand that his or her culture isn't a rational invention; that there are thousands of other cultures and they all work pretty well; that all cultures function on faith rather than on truth; that there are lots of alternatives to our own society (p. 139).**

Cultural relativity is, of course, easier to talk about than to practice in the classroom, especially when members of cultural groups subscribe to beliefs, values, or behaviors that run counter to those prescribed for traditional educational settings in the United States. For example, from a culturally relative point of view, standard and nonstandard versions of a language are of equal validity in terms of performing the function of communicating a message. Yet, within the classroom, teachers of language minority students may find it difficult to accept the nonstandard dialect as a valid one and still believe that they are providing adequate standard language preparation for the students. To consider an example involving teachers' own language varieties, teacher-training institutions generally consider the ability to use standard English as part of the requirements for becoming certified. An aspiring Alaskan teacher who wished to return to teach in her home village, however, expressed doubts to one of the authors as to whether teacher certification was worth the price of alienating herself from her home community by giving up her bush English—a variety of English spoken by many Native Alaskan villagers.

All of us grow up with a basic core of set values; to have to reexamine them vis-à-vis other modes of behavior can be a disturbing task. However, cultural relativism is an important tool for educators as it enables us to move toward less prejudiced perceptions. For an American with a relativistic point of view, the British do not drive on the *wrong* side of the road. They simply drive on the *left* side of the road. To achieve the perspective of cultural relativism, understanding the *underlying premises* for the behavior is as important as understanding the behavior itself. Because culture is accumulated learning, it involves a long history of people responding as needed to environmental conditions and problems. Consider another example from the Alaskan bush. An imported teacher from the "lower 48" was trying very hard to have her Athapaskan youngsters develop cuddly feelings for a pet rabbit that she had brought to the classroom. When the children responded in unexpected ways she became very puzzled. After all, she had assumed that all children liked rabbits as pets. To accept the children's behavior, she had to understand

that in their subsistence-oriented environment, a rabbit was more likely to be considered a source of food than something to be petted. From the children's point of view, it was the teacher's behavior that was puzzling.

Having an awareness of marked and unmarked cultures, the role of stereotyping and ethnocentrism, and the framework of cultural relativism will help us to better understand the ways in which prejudice and discrimination appear in schooling contexts. However, simply being aware of such issues will not reduce the incidence of various forms of bias. Considering ways to reduce prejudice brings us back to the pervasive nature of effective multicultural programs. For example, Nieto (1996, pp. 330–331) refers to a variety of research findings that suggest, in essence, that actions speak louder than words. Explicit "antiprejudice" lessons for students or "one-shot" treatments seem to be less effective than broad-based programs that are infused into the curriculum through such practices as cooperative learning and the inclusion of social justice issues within academic content. A "before" and "after" lesson plan from Grant and Sleeter (1989, pp. 110–111) illustrates how prejudice reduction can be built in to academic learning without explicitly addressing it as a separate lesson topic. In Grant and Sleeter's monocultural example of a unit on American Indians, the listed objectives are to identify reservations in the students' state and name the tribes, to list geographical features in the state that have American Indian names, and to appreciate local American Indian art and literature. In a multicultural unit design on the same subject, the objectives change significantly: The students will identify areas of good and bad agriculture on a state map, analyze the distribution of land to whites and American Indians and the consequences of that distribution, make bar graphs from numerical data, differentiate between institutional racism and individual prejudice, and appreciate the potential of their own actions against institutional racism. This lesson plan demonstrates the important role of critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1992, 2000) in prejudice reduction, as students involved in the above lesson would be examining power issues within a historical context and also exploring avenues of social action.

Looking beyond individual lessons to overall school climate, we began this section by noting that it is the marked students who traditionally have had to do most if not all of the accommodating in school. Díaz, Moll, and Mehan (1986) suggest a schoolwide process of "mutual accommodation" in which both teachers and students make modifications that build toward more equitable school success at the same time that they allow for integrity of marked cultures. Such an atmosphere of mutual accommodation allows fewer opportunities for prejudice and discrimination to impinge on the quality of the school environment for language minority students.

The Role of Culture in Language Minority Achievement

We now look at Banks's last two multicultural dimensions, equity pedagogy and empowering school structures, by more closely examining the role of culture in the school success of language minority students. Language minority students

reflect a very broad range of achievement levels: Some of the nation's finest young scholars are language minority students, whereas other language minority students fail to complete high school or exit with a very inadequate education. These students find themselves without the necessary literacy and learning skills to find adequate employment opportunities or to participate effectively as citizens in a democracy.

Explanations for school failure or success, of course, are heavily colored by the assumptions on which they are based. When searching for factors to help explain the tendency toward lower educational achievement of many language minority students, educators and policymakers in the past all too often pointed fingers in the direction of the students' sociocultural backgrounds, suggesting that the students possessed deficiencies that impeded academic success. For example, educators often placed recently arrived language minority students in the lowest curriculum track, thus virtually guaranteeing low achievement levels (Arias, 1986). Hispanic Americans for a number of years were very frequently misplaced in classes for the educable mentally retarded, based largely on IQ tests that did not take into account language proficiency or cultural bias (Figueroa, 1980). The apparent assumption underlying such practices was that lack of English language skills equaled lack of academic potential (California State Department of Education, 1986).

Some progress has been made since the days when many ELLs were erroneously placed in highly inappropriate programs, assuming that it was up to the individual to sink or swim. There is recognition today that a complex variety of social, economic, cultural, and personal factors can all play roles in influencing the education outcomes of such students. As we look at the role of culture in school success, therefore, we must also take into consideration the relationship of cultural factors to other variables. As Banks and Banks (1997) point out, "It is necessary to conceptualize the school as a social system in order to implement multicultural education successfully" (p. 1). Exploration of education for language minority students with a map drawn from social and cultural analysis is important because such a map can help us to discover the "hidden curriculum"—that is, the concealed norms, values, and beliefs of the school culture and social system that can hinder or promote children's cognitive, linguistic, and social development (Beyer & Apple, 1988).

To better understand the role of culture in the school success of language minority children, first we will look at the legacy of deficit theories and its impact on school success. Then we turn to the development of cultural difference theories, and next we put these perspectives within the context of larger socioeconomic and political factors. (You may want to consult Banks and Banks, 2004; Cortés, 1993; Cummins, 1986; Jacob & Jordan, 1993; and Nieto, 1996, for their more in-depth discussions of the complex array of theories that have been used to explain the tendency toward the academic underachievement of many minority students.)

As we proceed through this discussion of cultural factors in school achievement, it is useful to recall Thomas and Collier's prism, which was introduced in

Chapter 4. At the center of the triangular prism are "sociocultural processes," which are interrelated with all three interconnected anchoring points of the prism: language development, cognitive development, and academic development. Through our discussion of the role of culture in school success, we will be examining a range of such sociocultural processes as they affect language minority students' linguistic, cognitive, and academic development. By building a strong awareness of the role of these sociocultural processes within the prism, bilingual and ESL teachers are in a better position to take an effective role in the implementation of equity pedagogy and empowering sociocultural structures within the schools.

Deficit Theories

There are essentially two aspects to deficit theory: genetic deficit and **cultural deficit.** (Ginsburg, 1986; Valencia, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999; Sánchez & García, 2010; and Yosso, 2005, may be consulted for a detailed review and critique of deficit theories.) The genetic deficit framework, which has existed in a variety of forms for many years as a justification for personal and institutional racism, resurfaced in new ways in the 1960s. At this time, some researchers suggested through statistical analyses that a group's overall capacity to learn is enhanced or constrained by their inherited genes. Researchers such as Jensen (1969) suggested that the academic underachievement of minorities had little to do with the environment, class, ethnicity, or the nature of assessment procedures and much to do with the kinds of genes inherited by the individual. It is important to note that despite the general lack of respect that social scientists have had for such genetic determinism theories, Herrnstein and Murray (1994) in the 1990s again renewed a national debate over the role of genetics with the publication of *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life.* Their genetically deterministic argument rekindled the debate over Jensen's discredited genetic view. It seemed to have tapped racist and xenophobic sentiments in the country, as evidenced by the large amount of media coverage and the number of weeks that the book was on the best-seller list of *The New York Times*. Despite all of the interest in the book, the genetic heritage explanation, with its racist base, is flawed and extremely harmful to the education of minority students. It compares such students, who have varied cognitive, linguistic, socioeconomic, political, and cultural patterns, with language majority students, who serve as the criterion for intellectual and sociocultural "normalcy" (Delpit, 1995).

The second view, the cultural deficit view, which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, is perhaps as pernicious as the genetic deficit explanation. This "culture of poverty" approach implied that academic underachievement among many groups of minority students was anchored in their socioculturally, economically, linguistically, and intellectually impoverished environments, and tended to devalue the sociocultural and linguistic background of students as well as to blame the victim (Valentine, 1968; Ryan, 1976; Ovando & Gourd, 1996; Minami & Ovando, 2004). Jacob and Jordan (1993) have summarized some of the key areas in which the culture of poverty children were said to be deficient: "cognitive development,

attention span, expectations of reward from knowledge and task completion, ability to use adults as sources of information, ability to delay gratification, and linguistic and symbolic development" (p. 5). Looking more closely at linguistic development, language skills have been an important component of much cultural deficit research in the past (Jacob & Jordan, 1993; Guthrie & Hall, 1983), and there still is a lingering yet erroneous view among some educators today that lower-income ethnic minorities enter school with faulty oral language and literacy patterns that inhibit their intellectual development.

Like the genetic deficit viewpoint, the cultural deficit viewpoint is flawed in that it brings to the research a predetermined idea of what constitutes "normalcy." Researchers evaluate children's performance based on their discipline's culturally influenced ideas about "normal" affective, cognitive, and language development patterns. Then, when they identify other patterns within particular groups, the implication is that these patterns are defective, rather than simply being different.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the effect of cultural deficit perspectives on bilingual and ESL instruction for ELLs has been evident in the preponderance of programs that have tended to view lack of English proficiency as a problem that had to be fixed through remedial programs, with the goal of exiting the children into mainstream classrooms as soon as they have become, so to speak, "normal." One bilingual teacher in the 1970s reflected on her feeling that public bilingual education would not be so threatening to its opponents if it were not associated with allegedly "culturally deprived" groups:

⊗ **If I were telling people that I taught in a French/English program at an elite private school, I think it would be easy to rave about the virtues of bilingual education and get agreement from virtually everyone. But that is not quite the context of my bilingual school, which is about 95 percent minority and in one of the lowest-income neighborhoods of the city. My students are too often perceived as problems rather than as promises, as members of the "culture of poverty" whose cultural values need to be changed.**

Cultural Difference Theories

The basic premise of cultural difference theories is that the failure of schools to effectively address discrepancies between sociocultural and linguistic patterns in the home and in the school produces underachievement (Bennet, 2007; Forman, Minick, & Stone, 1993; Jacob & Jordan, 1993; Lomawaima, 1995; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). Rather than blaming minority students for their underachievement, which genetic and cultural deficit theories would do, cultural difference theories proceed from the anthropological notion that "minority students and their families and communities are no less well endowed, in basic intelligence, talents, language, culture, or life experience, than members of the majority population. Therefore, clashes with majority culture schools, when they occur, are matters not of deficit, but of difference" (Jacob & Jordan, 1993, p. 10).

Within this field of culturally based research into minority student achievement, a number of interrelated terms have been used. One of the early terms was *home-school mismatch.* Other terms that researchers and practitioners use for instruction derived from cultural difference theories are *culturally compatible, culturally congruent, culturally appropriate, culturally responsive,* and *culturally relevant* (Nieto, 1996, p. 146). Despite differences in focus and in the degree to which educators believe that school practices must mimic home practices, the general concept of this type of research remains that schools that make accommodations according to cultural backgrounds will enhance minority achievement. For example, Ladson-Billings, who developed her concept of "cultural relevance" through a case study of highly effective teachers within a predominantly African American community, found that the teachers in her study were able, through culturally relevant teaching, to provide an environment in which students could "choose academic excellence yet still identify with African and African American culture" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 17).

Such home–school differences can manifest themselves in a very broad range of ways in the classroom. Three of the major ways that we will examine here are cognitive styles, language variation, and language use patterns.

Cognitive Styles

Teachers today are aware through their training and experience that children vary in their cognitive styles, and a body of research suggests that these styles may be influenced by cultural background (Bennett, 1995a, González, 2010). Banks (1988) in a review of studies on cognitive style, for example, found that ethnicity tended to have a greater influence on cognitive style than did social class, suggesting that there is a link between cultural background and approaches to learning. Child-rearing practices, degree of stress on individual orientation versus group orientation, ecological adaptations to the environment, and the ways that language is used are just some of the factors that may result in patterns of cultural differences in cognitive styles (Bennett, 1995a).

While an awareness of potential differences in cognitive styles can be valuable, it can also be misleading. Notions about culturally influenced cognitive styles can be based on faulty research and can also lead to stereotyping. The difficulty in finding clear answers about the relationship between culture and cognitive styles is evident in many studies. Cole and Scribner (1974) did an international review of research on culture and cognition, covering the areas of language, perception, conceptual processes, memory, and problem solving, and two of the main things that they learned from the careful review was how *not* to ask questions and how *not* to design and carry out research in culture and cognition (p. 173). For example, apparent difficulty in performing certain cognitive tasks, as a researcher looking for cultural differences presents them, may not necessarily be related to a difference in cognitive styles but instead to different schemata, or networks of background knowledge. A Navajo from a remote rural area, for example, may be more likely to successfully complete sequencing tasks if initially they are based on the care of sheep rather than on small pictures of a trip to an urban supermarket (Bingham & Bingham, 1979; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975).

We can use the issue of so-called "field-dependent" or "field sensitive" learning to illustrate how cognitive style research can lead to negative stereotyping. In the 1970s, research by Ramírez and Castañeda (1974) suggested that Mexican American children had a field-dependent learning style. Other research studies emerged suggesting that African Americans and American Indians also shared this type of learning style. According to these researchers, field-dependent students did not prosper academically in U.S. schools because they tended to rely heavily on learning styles that were deductive, global, highly personalized, cooperative, and group normed rather than relying on field-independent styles that were inductive, linear, analytical, fomulaic, impersonal, independent, and individually oriented (Ramírez & Castañeda, 1974, p. 142). Irvine and York (1995, p. 484), in a survey of the literature, concluded, however, that findings on patterns of field dependence and field independence had been "premature and conjectural." Nevertheless, the concepts, for a period of time, influenced many educators and had a negative effect on the perceptions of minority students, because the field-dependent style had a less positive connotation than the field independent style from the point of view of dominant cultural patterns.

Another problem with theories on cultural differences in cognitive styles is that implementation in the classroom of culturally compatible learning strategies can be difficult. Nieto (1996, p. 139), for example, refers to at least 14 identified types of learning style differences and 13 learning style theories. As has been suggested many times now, culture is truly complex, deep, and changing. As we survey lists of observable behaviors that have been developed to supposedly identify learning styles, we need to remember that there are usually uncharted waters surrounding those behaviors and we may not be in a position (by virtue of knowledge, training, or experience) to penetrate them. Just as the essence of culture is not order but change, students' cognitive styles are not necessarily static. In a constructivist sense, students are developing multiple learning styles in response to their learning environments.

Despite the difficulties with cognitive style theories, the concept of cultural variability in such styles does have a role to play in understanding cultural factors in the achievement of language minority students. Confirming the inconclusive but at the same time promising aspects of learning styles, Irvine and York (1995) state:

> The research on the learning styles of culturally diverse learners is neither a panacea nor a Pandora's box. The complexity of the construct, the psychometric problems related to its measurement, and the enigmatic relationship between culture and the teaching and learning process suggest that this body of research must be interpreted and applied carefully in classrooms of culturally diverse students. . . . However, learning-styles research has significant possibilities for enhancing the achievement of culturally diverse students. This body of research reminds teachers to be attentive not only to individual students' learning styles but to their own actions, instructional goals, methods, and materials in reference to their students' cultural experiences and preferred learning environments (p. 484).

Language Variation

In Chapter 1, we introduced the notion that a great deal of language variation can exist within the bilingual or ESL classroom, in both English and in the non-English languages. In a bilingual setting in Los Angeles, one teacher identified three varieties of English and three varieties of Spanish in her classroom. Each variety carried with it information about social status and the cultural background of the speaker: Instruction officially went on in the standard forms of English and Spanish, but students used two other varieties of English—Black English and Chicano English—and two other versions of Spanish—Chicano Spanish and a rural northern Mexican variety.

Related to the issue of standard and nonstandard language is the process of word borrowing, which occurs naturally in language contact situations. Consider the word *grocería*. A Nicaraguan living in the Midwest may use this word to refer to a grocery store, when in fact *grosería* (spelled differently, but pronounced the same way) means "cuss word" in standard Spanish. However, in the Midwestern Spanish-speaking community where the speaker lives, *grocería* is a natural and legitimate word for grocery store, especially because the usual places in which one buys food in Nicaragua are very unlike the physical setup of large supermarkets in the Midwestern United States—words used in Nicaraguan Spanish for places to buy food don't really fit well in the new context. However, this natural process of language adaptation can be negatively misinterpreted as a reflection of weak language skills. For example, nonlinguists sometimes refer derogatorily to the blend of Spanish and English as "Spanglish." (See Stavans, 2003, *Spanglish: The making of a new American language*.)

Code-switching is another important aspect of language variation that affects language minority students. Suppose that a bilingual Mexican American child says to another peer, "*Ándale, pues,* I don't know," or "Gimme the ball, *que le voy a decir a la maestra*."[2] Such language behaviors, sometimes erroneously labeled as reflections of "semilingualism," are also natural adaptations to language contact situations (see Macswan & Rolstad, 2003). Research, for example, suggests that code-switching among bilingual people is both a predictable and a creative skill that follows patterns and performs special communicative functions (Ferguson & Heath, 1981; Jacobson & Faltis, 1990; Timm, 1993; Valdés, 1980).

To the purist, both word borrowing and code-switching may seem to be a threat to the integrity of the standard language, but such language mixture has always been a part of language change and as such is part of the larger and inevitable process of culture change (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982). However, students who navigate two overlapping linguistic worlds in a school environment that is not accepting of cultural differences may find barriers to school success. A bilingual education researcher describes his personal questioning of his language identity:

With what language was I raised? What language do I speak in the Chicano community? Is it Spanish? Is it English? Is it even a language? Early in my elementary school days I learned that I was not speaking English; and later, in high school, when

I was enrolled in what I thought would be an easy course, Spanish, I was told that I didn't speak Spanish! (Carrasco, 1981b, p. 191).

Because of the use of nonstandard language patterns, many of the children who qualify for bilingual or ESL instruction represent linguistic backgrounds that all too often are still perceived as being "deficient" by speakers of standard English. Such judgments are unconsciously woven in with judgments of the quality of the child's cultural background, and can result in lower expectations of the child's ability, which will in turn lead to lower achievement by the child. When we introduced these language differences in Chapter 4, in the context of language arts instruction, we noted the importance of accepting nonstandard language varieties in the classroom at the same time that standard forms are added to the students' repertoire of language proficiencies. Erickson (1997, p. 32) provides an example of lost learning opportunities due to culturally insensitive approaches to language differences. Referring to Piestrup (1973), he describes a first-grade reading lesson in which the teacher wanted the children to read aloud and "remember your endings" (the final consonant sounds at the ends of words). The teacher had one student reread "What did Little Duck see?" four times until he or she finally pronounced the final "t" in "what." Such an approach certainly does not encourage a child to perceive reading as a pleasurable experience. The time spent insisting on pronunciation of final consonants is at the expense of time that could be spent bringing some personal meaning and higher-level thinking skills to the story of Little Duck. Erickson calls this an example of a "cultural border war" that results in lower achievement, and we will return to this concept later in the chapter.

Language Use Patterns

We have learned from ethnographic studies of human communication that there are cultural differences in the ways in which people communicate with each other. Using videotapes, audiotapes, and participant observation, researchers interested in differences in how cultural groups use language to communicate collect data on a variety of classroom and community interaction patterns: for example, types of listening behaviors, ways of showing attention, turn-taking structures, questioning patterns, the ways in which topics of conversation are organized, body movements, and the rhythm and cadence of conversations. Researchers who have studied these differences in classrooms and minority communities have in some cases found evidence to suggest that some modification of school patterns to more closely resemble home and community patterns may have a positive effect on school success for language minority students. In the last section of this chapter, "Ethnographic Approaches to Cultural Understanding," we will return to look more closely at some examples of home–school differences in participant structures and other language use patterns.

Social, Economic, and Political Factors in Achievement

Cultural difference theories—addressing such issues as cognitive styles, language variation, and language use patterns—have contributed greatly to our understanding

of schooling outcomes for language minority students. However, the issue of cultural congruence cannot provide a complete explanation for the lower achievement levels of some groups of language minority students. Ogbu (1986), for example, argues that cultural differences alone cannot explain differences in school success, pointing out a pattern in which culturally different recent immigrant students are more likely to succeed academically than culturally different castelike minority students who have been subject to generations of discrimination. Whether immigrant or castelike minority, there are also cases where minority children achieve success even though the instructional practices at their school are not culturally congruent, suggesting that "other factors not related to cultural conflict must be involved as well" (Nieto, 1996, p. 149).

Some theorists use a distinction between microforces and macroforces to analyze cultural versus sociopolitical factors in school success for minority students. The behaviors and human interactions that teachers, students, family members, and community members engage in every day both inside and outside the classroom constitute the microforces that may affect student success. Such microforces are associated with cultural difference theories about school achievement, because cultural difference research focuses in very closely on the minutia of human interaction. Macroforces, on the other hand, are those large socioeconomic and political patterns that are generally not accessible to intervention strategies on the part of educators. They have to do with who holds wealth and power in the society and how the distribution of such status is maintained or altered. We will look at these macroforces first by considering in a general sense the role of socioeconomic status (SES) in the school success of language minority students and then by examining social reproduction theory as it applies to language minority students.

Socioeconomic Status

The ability to perceive the interplay between SES and cultural variables is important in the context of bilingual and ESL instruction because people often associate the terms *ethnic group, language minority,* and *English language learner* with lower SES. However, it is important to remember, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that they do not necessarily go hand in hand. For example, using a typology that distinguishes between ethnic groups that have tended to be relatively successful socioeconomically and those that have not, Havighurst illustrated a variety of patterns that emerge through the interplay of ethnic identity, cultural models, and socioeconomic structures. Through this interplay, it emerges that some minority groups have in the past managed to position themselves successfully within the given educational and socioeconomic structure, while other groups have not been served fairly by existing educational and economic opportunities (Havighurst, 1978, pp. 14–18). However, despite the fact of socioeconomic diversity within the language minority community, it is true that a disproportionate number of language minority children do come from lower-income homes.

It is no great surprise that parents' SES can be a strong factor in school success for both majority and minority students. Using an approach called status attainment research, investigators such as Coleman et al. (1966) and Jencks et al. (1972)

gathered extremely large sets of research data from across regions, ethnic groups, and social classes and performed a variety of statistical analyses to isolate the extent to which such variables as family background, innate ability, peer influences, and schooling practices explained students' variation in performance on standardized tests. Jacob and Jordan (1993) indicate that such status attainment researchers have generally concluded "that family background is highly related to student performance on standardized tests and that school variables, except for some characteristics of teachers, are not significantly related to student test performance" (p. 6). An important component of family background is SES—parents' education level, occupation, and income level.

From a cynical point of view, then, we could conclude that the best way for language minority students to ensure their academic success is to "choose their parents well." However, macrolevel status attainment research, like microlevel cultural difference research, has been criticized for its inadequacy in explaining the variability in achievement among minority students. There are also methodological challenges to the types of measurements used. Critics also fault this type of approach for ignoring the microforces at school that must come into play for the macro input variables such as parents' SES to result in particular outcomes (Jacob & Jordan, 1993, pp. 6–7). We can use an interesting example from the 1970s to illustrate one way in which microforces may intervene between macro input variables and achievement outcomes. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission found in a 1972 study that the degree of acceptance of the use of Spanish by Hispanic children was related to the income level of the students' families. The no-Spanish rule, which was present in many schools in the Southwest at this time, "was more likely to be enforced when the proportion of Chicanos in the school was high and the socioeconomic status of the population was low" (Peñalosa, 1980, p. 11). The macro-input variable of low SES resulted at the microlevel of daily school interactions in the discriminatory treatment of the students' L_1, which in turn could be argued to have contributed to the outcome of low achievement. Thus, one could argue that it was not the SES that caused the low achievement, but the ensuing prejudicial treatment that stemmed from the low status of the students.

Social Reproduction Theory

Social reproduction theory provides another type of sociopolitical macro explanation for schooling outcomes. Associated with such researchers as Bowles and Gintis (1976), proponents of social reproduction theory hold that, as instruments of the dominant classes, the schools' implicit and explicit curricular infrastructures serve as vehicles through which the larger society's socioeconomic and cultural inequalities are reproduced. This view of society suggests that macrostructural forces in society largely determine how well children will succeed in school. Thus, if language minority students attend poor neighborhood schools with a working-class student population, the chances are great that such students' outcomes will be influenced not only by what they experience in the courses they take but also through many other aspects of the school environment. Such things as the physical layout of the school (prisonlike or campuslike, for example), the nature of the

relationships between students and teachers, and the quality of the courses (watered-down "basic" courses versus challenging course content) all may be said to reflect the dominant versus the subordinate status of different schools (Nieto, 1996, p. 235).

Social reproduction theory (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) has been challenged, among other things, for being excessively deterministic and overstating the connection between highly varied local school practices and the larger capitalistic structure of society. Theorists also challenge social reproduction theory, such as status attainment theory, for failing to address at the microlevel the school practices that produce the unequal outcomes (Mehan, 1989). Some social reproduction theorists, however, have to some degree incorporated microfactors into their model by introducing the concept of "cultural capital." By defining cultural traits as a form of "capital" within the socioeconomic system, they argue that marginalization of minority students occurs because their cultural capital has little value in the social structure of the school. Consequently, they find themselves at a disadvantage compared to students who have large amounts of dominant society "cultural capital" to invest in school success (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; McLaren, 1989).

Another variation of social reproduction theory is Erickson's resistance theory. Erickson (1987) combines aspects of cultural mismatch theory with the socioeconomically deterministic premise of social reproduction theory to suggest a process in which early cultural differences in the schooling process initiate school failure. This failure then becomes entrenched within some groups as they actively begin to resist the school's culturally hegemonistic social reproduction patterns. For example, students may resist "selling out" to the dominant culture's expectations through attitudes and classroom behaviors that have negative effects on their learning. From this perspective, minority students are not just victims of the reproduction of social inequalities: They become actors who are involved in a struggle. As we mentioned previously in this chapter, Erickson (1997) has described such conflicts as cultural border wars. Our earlier reference to the teacher who battled with her students over the pronunciation of final consonant sounds was an example of such a cultural border war. We can also see evidence of resistance theory in the results of a yearlong study comparing teachers who negatively sanctioned Black English with teachers who accepted the presence of Black English. At the end of the school year, the students in the sanctioned classroom actually used more Black English than they had at the beginning of the year. The students whose Black English had been accepted, however, used more standard language patterns by the end of the year (Erickson, 1997, referring to Piestrup, 1973). Erickson's resistance theory mitigates the deterministic implications of social reproduction theory by suggesting that schools that are willing to acknowledge and address sociocultural issues are less likely to set off cycles of resistance. As Erickson (1997) states, "In the short run, we cannot change the wider society. But we can make school learning environments less alienating. Multicultural education, especially critical or antiracist multicultural education, is a way to change the business as usual of schools" (p. 50).

While acknowledging the power of strong macroforces such as socioeconomic inequality, perpetuation of power structures, and the presence of racism, many researchers agree that there is evidence that schools that embody a multicultural approach to education can provide more equitable opportunities than schools that ignore multicultural issues. In other words, despite socioeconomic and political macroforces, treatment of cultural differences still has a role to play in school success. Nieto points out that while racism, inadequate health care, substandard housing, and all the other negative effects of poverty are serious causes for concern, there are schools that manage to be more successful than others in such contexts. Social and economic hardships "do not in and of themselves doom children to academic failure" (Nieto, 1994, p. 26). Faltis (1996, 2007), surveying the field of culturally appropriate learning environments, cites a variety of studies that indicate that teachers' changes in the context for learning that are based on an understanding of cultural differences between the home and the school can lead to improved school success. Also, looking specifically at bilingual programs, in Chapter 4 we referred to evidence suggesting that SES can be a less powerful variable in academic achievement for language minority students in schools that have a strong, academically rich bilingual program. The Significant Bilingual Instructional Features Study (Tikunoff, 1985; Tikunoff et al., 1991) provides broad-based evidence for the key role that cultural relevance can play in the quality of programs for language minority children. This large study involved observation and data collection in 58 classes with students from many different linguistic origins at six sites throughout the United States. Through analyses of all of the data, researchers identified several culturally relevant factors in effective bilingual instruction (Tikunoff, 1985, p. 3).

To summarize our exploration of the role of culture in school success for language minority students thus far, we return again to Nieto (1996, p. 245), with whom we began this section by listing her defining factors of multicultural education. In her extensive review of factors in school success for minority students, she concluded that

> School achievement can be understood and explained only as a multiplicity of sometimes competing and always changing factors: the school's tendency to replicate society and its inequalities, cultural and language incompatibilities, the limiting and bureaucratic structures of schools, and the political relationship of ethnic groups to society and the schools. Nevertheless, it is tricky business to seek causal explanations for school success and failure. . . . Structural inequality and cultural incompatibility may be major causes of school failure, but they work *differently* on different communities, families, and individuals. How these factors are mediated within the school and home settings and their complex interplay probably are ultimately responsible for either the success or failure of students in schools (Nieto, 1996, p. 245).

As bilingual and ESL educators, we have an important role to play as to how these factors are mediated within the local schools. Díaz, Moll, and Mehan (1986) emphasize the role of "pedagogically optimistic teachers" in this process. Such teachers are able to change the classroom social organization patterns for full

participation of students from a variety of backgrounds through a variety of culturally appropriate learning environments. Through such actions, teachers in bilingual and ESL classrooms can help to foster multicultural programs that nurture equity and an empowering school climate.

Ethnographic Approaches to Cultural Understanding

In the previous section on the role of culture in school achievement we have just concluded, despite the acknowledged power of socioeconomic and political macroforces, that teachers can have an effect on learning outcomes through the development of multicultural learning environments. By surveying some examples of ethnographic studies that examine sociocultural processes in the classroom and the community, we can develop a more specific understanding of the evolving ways in which educators can effectively address cultural diversity. Such ethnographic studies have had and will continue to have an important role in helping educators understand cultural processes in bilingual and ESL classrooms. **Ethnography** is a vital tool in the construction of culturally sensitive learning environments for language minority students. Ethnographic approaches enable us to see the school as a sociocultural system; they explore the insiders' perspective on the schooling process; and they place education within the context of the community to see how communication and learning take place both inside and outside of the classroom walls. Microethnography, a type of ethnography that focuses in on selected aspects of human interaction and language use, can, for example, provide insights into "how learning is mediated by adults in the classroom and how concrete activities of communication shape the way children cope cognitively with different learning tasks" (Moll, 1981, p. 442).

As we consider the following ethnographic studies in a progression from earlier work up to more recent work, we will see a general move away from the idea that home and school cultures must be closely matched, and we will also see a movement toward greater interest in culturally relevant knowledge construction processes in classrooms. As we move into the discussion of knowledge construction processes, we will also consider the important role of teachers in ethnographic research.

Cultural Compatibility Studies

We start by discussing one of the best-known and most comprehensive projects on cultural compatibility, the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP). During the 1970s and 1980s KEEP researchers conducted a series of studies on home–school mismatch, looking at social interaction in the home, in the community, and in the classroom. Psychologists, cultural anthropologists, sociolinguists, and curriculum specialists collaborated in a broad spectrum of applied research studies on the academic achievement of children of native Hawaiian ancestry, who

have tended to have some of the lowest achievement levels of any group in the nation. In searching for cultural explanations for the tendency of minority groups toward lower academic achievement, Kamehameha researchers operated under the following assumption:

> Minorities are members of coherent cultural systems and that their difficulties are not the consequence of personal and/or social deficits and pathologies. Second, the classroom is held to be an interface of cultures in which the learning process is disrupted because teachers and pupils have incongruent expectations, motives, social behaviors, and language and cognitive patterns (Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974, p. 261).

KEEP project members used a three-stage process for improvement of instruction for Hawaiian children. First, KEEP researchers developed a knowledge base regarding Hawaiian children within the context of their home culture and their school experience. They gathered information on such topics as home socialization, social motivation, language production, phonemics, sociolinguistics, cognitive strategies, and standard English acquisition. (For example, one area of cultural mismatch that they identified was the value placed on personal autonomy. The researchers observed that in their homes the children were socialized to value being contributors to the family's well-being rather than to value independent living [Tharp, 1994]. In the classroom, however, personal accomplishment was valued for its own sake rather than as a contribution to the needs of others.) In the second stage, researchers and teachers collaborated to apply this database to the development of an effective program in the project's laboratory school. Finally, through in-service training and collaboration between consultants and teachers, the instructional program was implemented in public schools that had a concentration of Hawaiian students (Tharp et al., 1981; Tharp, 1994; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1993). One of the project's videotapes, *Coming Home to School: Culturally Compatible Classroom Practices,* demonstrated how teachers, by getting a glimpse of native Hawaiian students' natural home cultural environment, saw these children demonstrating talents seldom revealed in the classroom. Teachers were then able to use the filmed information as a guide in selecting culturally and instructionally appropriate learning environments.

While KEEP researchers considered a culturally responsive curriculum to be a keystone for effective schooling, identifying what is and is not essential in the match between the home and school was also important. Some important home cultural patterns were positively applicable to the classroom. Language use patterns in the home, for example, were transferred to classroom reading instruction through emphasis on comprehension rather than phonics, and through an open, relaxed, "talk story" discussion approach in place of the "teacher-asks-a-question/one student-answers/teacher-evaluates" format. (The talk story is a particular type of discourse pattern that the researchers observed to occur regularly in Hawaiian homes.) The researchers concluded that other home cultural patterns, however, seemed to have a neutral effect on classroom performance. For instance, they found that the English of the classroom did not have to match the students' variety of English, Hawaiian pidgin, for achievement to improve.[3]

A variety of ethnographic studies published in the 1980s focused on communication patterns and participant structures of language. For example, Mohatt and Erickson (1981) conducted a study on language use patterns in Native American classrooms by comparing an Indian and a non-Indian teacher. Mohatt and Erickson observed such behaviors as how teachers gave directions and how they monitored student activities. They also studied the rhythm of the teachers' pause times between questions and answers. They found that the Indian and non-Indian teachers used different participation structures in the classroom. For example, the non-Indian teacher used more direct commands and singling out of students for individual responses or contributions. However, it is also interesting to note that as the school year progressed the non-Indian teacher began to use more of the participation structures that were characteristic initially of the Native American instructor only. Mohatt and Erickson's study thus suggested two things for the teacher in the bilingual or ESL classroom. First, the ethnicity of the instructor can have an effect on the participation structure that evolves in the classroom and on the degree to which that structure complements the students' own communication styles. Second, if teachers' ethnicity differs from that of students, it may be possible for teachers to adapt their style as they gain experience with classroom participants.

In another investigation of language patterns, Morine-Dershimer (1983) studied the effect of teachers on the "communicative status" of students in multiethnic classrooms. Students with high communicative status were defined as those with a high frequency of classroom verbal participation and were viewed by classmates as people one could learn from. In her research, Morine-Dershimer found that teachers could "create" varied distributions of communicative status within their classrooms, depending on the types of instructional strategies they employed. The types of students who attained high communicative status via a textbook-based teaching approach, for example, differed from the types of students who attained high status via an experience-based approach. This research implied that a more equitable distribution of communicative status opportunities could be realized in multiethnic classrooms through the intentional use of varied types of instructional strategies.

Philips's study on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in eastern Oregon was a sociolinguistically based investigation that compared interaction styles within the classroom and the community. In her research Philips studied the cultural differences in attention structure and regulation of talk between home and school. Among her principal findings were that Warm Springs Indian students "speak too softly, hesitate too long before speaking, and engage in too much visually received signaling *from the point of view of teacher expectations* [italics added]" (Philips, 1983, p. 129). Philips, however, pointed out that one's position in the social structure influenced how researchers and educators perceived such miscommunication. That is, because of the teacher's higher social status and authority, observers tended to conclude that it was the students who misunderstood, whereas logically it could just as well be said that it was the teacher who misunderstood. In other words, it would be just as reasonable to say that the teachers talked too loudly,

didn't pause long enough before speaking, and didn't make use of sufficient visual signaling. Based on her research, Philips suggested that even if teachers had good intentions, they and their students could miscommunicate nonverbally. She argued that because nonverbal behavior is extremely difficult to monitor consciously, ethnic discrimination by teachers might continue to occur even if deliberate efforts were made to eliminate it.

Another influential study of language use patterns was Heath's research with children in a community in the Piedmont Carolinas, where many African American residents spoke a nonstandard variety of English. Heath found that these children in her study tended to be very unresponsive to the teachers' questions in school, and consequently educators perceived the children to be deficient in language skills. Through her ethnographic work, Heath observed that the questioning patterns used in the home were different than those used at school. Consequently, when teachers changed their questioning style at school to one more similar to the home style, there was a significant change in the students from a passive to an active role in classroom discussions. This success then served as a bridge to traditional classroom questioning patterns (Heath, 1983).

As ethnographic studies of language minority education continued into the 1990s, researchers began to question some of the conclusions regarding cultural patterns and learning styles previous researchers had made. To varying degrees some researchers set aside the notion that cultural patterns in the classroom necessarily had to emulate those found in the home. For example, McCarty et al. (1991), based on their research on the Rough Rock Indian reservation, concluded that the idea of the nonverbal Indian student was a myth. In reaching that conclusion, they raised questions about the very concept of culturally based learning styles. The researchers noted that in the past educators had tended to favor nonverbal and short-answer types of instruction for American Indian students in an effort to establish culturally compatible classrooms. The result, according to McCarty et al., has been detrimental to the students' development of higher-order thinking processes and the use of inquiry methods. The researchers worked with Navajo staff members from the Native American Materials Development Center to design and implement a bilingual inquiry-based social studies program. Teachers using this program were to emphasize inquiry and information-seeking questions. Project members designed the program to use the students' prior knowledge of the local community as a bridge to their understanding of new problems and their solutions. Because they were working in an instructional environment that was based on their own experience and knowledge and was designed to emphasize inquiry, the researchers observed that the students did indeed become more verbal. They concluded that it was classroom discourse patterns that had previously limited the nature of their verbal responses.

Sociocultural Theory and Knowledge Construction Studies

A growing number of studies based in sociocultural theory reflect the move away from a focus on culturally compatible classroom practices. From the point of view

of sociocultural theory, "both student and teacher are engaged in the process of constructing their minds through social activity" (García, 1994, p. 146). The work of Vygotsky (1978) can be seen as a link between research in cognitive styles and the development of the sociocultural framework. Vygotsky postulated that children's cognitive structures are developed through the actions and speech of their caretakers and are transmitted through social interaction. It follows, therefore, that culturally coded styles of speech and social interaction result in culturally related patterns of cognitive structure. To come to an understanding of students' cognitive structures, it is therefore important to develop a database of the sociocultural patterns surrounding the learner. Therefore, the use of ethnographic methods continues to be important in the context of sociocultural research.

Building on sociocultural theory, it follows that the extent to which the cultural and linguistic resources of the community are used in the knowledge construction process will positively or negatively affect the teaching and learning process. For over 10 years, Moll and his colleagues have been using a sociocultural approach in their field studies that links schools closely with their Hispanic American communities in the Southwest. Guided by principles from anthropology, psychology, linguistics, and education, and building on the research of Vélez-Ibáñez (1993) and Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (1992), Moll and his colleagues have examined resources Hispanic American communities use to survive economically as well as to provide academic, linguistic, cultural, and emotional support for their children. This body of research suggests that the use of the Hispanic American community as a resource can play a key role in the academic and sociocultural well-being of Hispanic American students (Moll, 1992; Moll & Díaz, 1993). We have already alluded to this concept of the use of local funds of knowledge when we discussed literacy development in Chapter 4, pointing out that connections between home and school literacy development can enhance language minority students' learning. We will return to the theme again in the final chapter of the book, "School and Community."

Sociocultural theory implies that certain instructional approaches will be more favorable than others for the establishment of an environment in which knowledge construction thrives. Some instructional approaches used in socioculturally based classrooms are dialogue, teacher colearning, peer collaboration, questioning, use of students' prior knowledge, and joint knowledge construction (Wells & Chang-Wells, 1992). Moll and Díaz (1993), using the framework of knowledge construction, focus on the "immediate environment of learning" rather than on the possible mismatch between the home culture and the school culture. In a series of studies, they collaborated with teachers to compare the reading instruction of elementary-age native Spanish speakers in Spanish and English. They also studied the English writing instruction of junior high school native Spanish speakers. In both cases they found evidence of a "watered-down curriculum" that did not use the students' cultural and linguistic resources in the knowledge construction process. In the case of the elementary students, they observed that students who could read very well in Spanish and who demonstrated sophisticated comprehension skills during Spanish reading instruction were being given only very simple

decoding lessons during English reading instruction, with an emphasis on correct pronunciation. Once the English reading teacher was given an opportunity to observe the students' skills in Spanish reading, the researcher and teacher were able to work together to change the social organization of instruction and to use bilingual support through L_1 to remove the unnecessarily simplified constraints of the previous English reading program.

A similar pattern of reductionist instructional strategies was observed in writing instruction at the junior high school. The native Spanish speakers were doing very little extended writing in English, ostensibly because of their lack of English skills. The researchers began by studying uses of writing in the students' community and by talking to parents about local issues that were important to them. This generated possible topics for writing assignments from which students could choose. Then in a two-phase process, students collected information on their topics through homework assignments, usually consisting of interviews of community members. Then they wrote and revised their essays or reports. Although the products contained many grammatical errors, the important point was that the students were now doing work that was comparable to what the native English speakers were doing in terms of the development of expository skills. In both this case and the previous one, the principal question of the investigators and the teachers was "how to maximize the use of available resources to overcome reductionist instructional strategies" (Moll & Díaz, 1993, p. 74). Reflecting the shift away from emphasis on home–school cultural mismatch, the authors argued that "to succeed in school one does not need a special culture; we know now, thanks to ethnographic work, that success and failure is in the social organization of schooling, in the organization of the experience itself" (Moll & Díaz, 1993, p. 78).

We conclude this brief review of several ethnographic studies by noting the valuable role that teachers can and do play in such research.[4] Because one of the goals of ethnography is to gain some understanding of a cultural system from the insider's perspective, collaboration between researchers and teachers is valuable. In fact, the distinction between teacher and researcher can become blurred as they both take on the role of learners. Collaboration between researchers and teachers was an important component of Moll and Díaz's (1993) studies, which we just described. The teachers involved in these studies kept journals of their observations and innovations, and the research team used these to help guide their investigations. Using a similar approach, Calderón (1996) developed a project in which teachers were trained to work as microethnographers within their classrooms. In this study of two-way bilingual programs in a Texas–Mexico border town, pairs of teachers team taught. This made it possible for team partners to observe classroom sociocultural interaction on a regular basis. The purpose of the observations was to help the teachers be able to step back and develop an understanding of such things as the different types of discourse that were valued in Spanish and English instruction and the different types of social relationships of power that were sanctioned or encouraged. The 24 teachers involved in the study formed a Teachers Learning Community, which met regularly to discuss their

observations. With the data collected, the teachers developed new ways of looking at their daily routines. According to Calderón (1996),

> By creating a culture of inquiry through ethnography, professional learning was focused and accelerated. With the tools of "teacher ethnography" the teams of monolingual and bilingual teachers grew closer together. They learned about their teaching by observing children and their partner. Their partner provided a mirror for their teaching. Change became meaningful, relevant, and necessary. Although far from perfect still, the teachers' continuous learning is bringing about instructional program refinement and greater student gains as evidenced by preliminary academic and linguistic data for the experimental and control students in the study (p. 8).

It is clear that ethnographic approaches can be used in many ways to enable educators to better understand the role of culture in bilingual and ESL classrooms. Ethnographic approaches help educators analyze the dynamics of human interaction in the learning process, they provide us with broader perspectives on the assessment of student competencies, they develop our awareness of culturally influenced patterns of communication, they provide a window into the character of the local community, and they increase our sensitivity to the cultural influences on social, curricular, and organizational structures of the school. Through all of the above, they provide insightful ways for teachers to observe and improve the multicultural learning process.

Guidelines for Teaching

THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN EDUCATION

Trying to summarize all of this as succinctly as possible, we conclude that the 1978 resolution of the Council on Anthropology and Education on the role of culture in educational planning is still quite valid:

1. Culture is intimately related to language and the development of basic communication, computation, and social skills.

2. Culture is an important part of the dynamics of the teaching-learning process in all classrooms, both bilingual and monolingual.

3. Culture affects the organization of learning, pedagogical practices, evaluative procedures, and rules of schools, as well as instructional activities and curriculum.

4. Culture is more than the heritage of a people through dance, food, holidays, and history. Culture is more than a component of bilingual education programs. It is a dynamic, creative, and continuous process, which includes behaviors, values, and substances shared by people, that guides them in their struggle for survival, and gives meaning to their lives. As a vital process it needs to be understood by more people in the United States, a multiple society that has many interacting cultural groups (Saravia-Shore, 1979, p. 345).

Summary

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Given the all-encompassing nature of culture, our discussions in this chapter have ranged far and wide. We started by arguing for a complex view of culture as an elusive but powerful force in students', families', and teachers' lives. Then we explored children's development of cultural identities and found a multifaceted and dynamic process. Next, we turned to the broad dimensions of multicultural education as an organizing concept for how to capitalize on cultural diversity in bilingual and ESL settings. Within this context, we examined cultural concepts relevant to prejudice and discrimination, and we then turned to the role of culture in school success for language minority students. Armed with the argument that culturally relevant instruction did have a role to play in school achievement, we finally looked at ethnographic studies as important tools in the development of locally sensitive educational environments that take advantage of the cultural and linguistic wealth of their communities.

In 1968 Jackson wrote in *Life in Classrooms* that schools have a hidden curriculum, and today we are still exploring all of the implications for language minority students. These children adapt to, learn from, contribute to, or rebel against the largely concealed and yet powerful beliefs, values, behaviors, and language use patterns that schools embody. At the same time these children are maintaining, modifying, or discarding the largely unstated and yet powerful beliefs, values, behaviors, and language use patterns that they bring to school from their homes and communities. To the degree that we can make these changes mutual learning processes instead of battles, we can enhance the life opportunities for language minority students.

We return to our initial theme in this chapter: the perplexing webs that we all weave as cultural beings. The thoughts of a Vietnamese-origin high school student powerfully illustrate the elusive nature of culture. Referring to his teachers, he said,

> They understand something, just not all Vietnamese culture. Like they just understand something *outside*. . . . But they cannot understand something inside our hearts (Nieto, 1994, p. 53).

We cannot understand cultures completely, but we can know and accept that we do not understand everything; we can be prepared to learn from as well as with the students in our schools. For teachers in bilingual and ESL settings the significance of culture will always be so close and yet so difficult to capture. The patterns and perceptions are always changing, because "the essence is how people work to create culture, not what culture is" (Glassie, 1992). As culture bearers and culture makers we are all continuously transmitting and constructing new realities, creating our own history, cultures, and ethnic identities. As bilingual and ESL educators, we can play an enormously important role in working together with all our students as culture bearers and culture makers to create culturally peaceful schooling realities that foster each child's full potential.

Key Terms

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Acculturation, *193*

Assimilation, *193*

Biculturalism, *195*

Cultural deficit theory, *212*

Reflection Questions

1. How would *you* define culture? In what terms do you think of yourself as a cultured person? Do you agree with the idea that culture is learned, not inherited? Explain.

2. Elaborate on the differences between the anthropological and the popular views of culture presented in this chapter.

3. How does Margaret Mead's model of "cultural transmission" presented in the chapter relate to individuals growing up in a multicultural society like the United States? What challenges does the model present when considering the adaptation process of immigrant families?

4. How are the concepts of *biculturalism, acculturation,* and *assimilation* related? Which concept(s) will best aid you in describing your own process of development of cultural identity? Do you view cultural diversity as a positive or negative phenomenon? Explain.

5. Elaborate on the importance of *cultural pluralism* as a basis for multicultural education. What are some political connotations underlying the concept when viewed from the perspective of nationalism? Are there concrete ways in which our society promotes and/or hinders *cultural pluralism?* Explain.

6. Bilingual and ESL educators play an active role in the implementation of multicultural education. Using the "five dimensions of multicultural education" identified by Banks and Banks (1995) as a point of departure, design an action plan for implementing the various dimensions within a multicultural school community or classroom.

7. How is ethnocentrism related to prejudice and discrimination? In what sense does cultural relativism provide an antidote to the damaging effects of conscious or unconscious ethnocentrism? Design a lesson plan geared to introduce your students to the concept of cultural relativism as a method for cultural inquiry and understanding.

8. What implications do the various "deficit theories" discussed by the authors have on the educational achievement of minority language students? Design an argument that would render both theories as flawed.

9. What is the role of ethnography or naturalistic inquiry in multicultural education?

10. Why is it often difficult for white, middle-class teachers to come to grips with the concept of white privilege in U.S. society?

Endnotes

1. Current linguistic studies find no basis for the idea that bilingualism is detrimental to personality development or cognitive functioning. In fact, in many studies bilinguals have been found to have a more diversified pattern of abilities than their monolingual peers (Bialystok, 1991; Hakuta & Díaz, 1985, p. 322; Moran & Hakuta, 1995). For further discussion of the cognitive aspects of bilingualism, see Chapter 4.

2. Translations: "Gosh, well, I don't know." "Gimme the ball or I'm gonna tell the teacher."

3. KEEP programs did result in improved test scores for many students, and the KEEP studies on cultural factors in school success have been very influential in guiding research and practice in language minority settings. However, recently some Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) have placed the findings and practices of KEEP educators under new scrutiny. For example, Hewett (in press), a native Hawaiian educator, criticizes KEEP researchers, who were not generally Kanaka Maoli, for having represented the voice and curricular perspectives of the colonizer. Hewett questions the research approaches and the generalizations they made about Hawaiian children and how they learn. For example, she takes issue with KEEP's reification of "talking story," as it is referred to among the Kanaka Maoli, into "the talk story" and then using it in the classroom without fully understanding the meaning of this cultural practice. As Hewett sees it, "talking story" is an intricate part of the Hawaiian way of life—part of a web of social communication—not something to be turned into an instructional method. This and other points that Hewett raises demonstrate once again the complexity of cross-cultural studies: Our cultural lenses and our place in the sociopolitical structure continually affect our perceptions and consequently our conclusions and actions.

4. There are other informative ethnographic studies that we do not refer to in this chapter. In the last chapter, "School and Community," we will discuss several of these ethnographies, which are important in the field of bilingual and ESL education.

Mathematics and Science

A well-known scientist (some say it was Bertrand Russell) once gave *a public lecture on astronomy. He described how the earth orbits around the sun and how the sun, in turn, orbits around the center of a vast collection of stars called our galaxy. At the end of the lecture, a little old lady at the back of the room got up and said: "What you have told us is rubbish. The world is really a flat plate supported on the back of a giant tortoise." The scientist gave a superior smile before replying, "What is the tortoise standing on?" "You're very clever, young man, very clever," said the old lady. "But it's turtles all the way down!"*

Stephen Hawkins, 1998

Perhaps part of *what is at work here is the invisible discursive power embedded in Western metaphysics, one that privileges the mind in the mind/body hierarchy of knowing. The invocation of science serves to privilege reason, objectivity, and masculinity, concepts that have long been viewed in the Western tradition as stable, and therefore more trustworthy, poles in the dialectic relationships that exist as reason/emotion, objectivity/subjectivity/ masculinity/femininity.*

Nakayama & Krizek, 1998

Next to learning to read, developing mathematical competency represents the single largest investment by educational systems worldwide. Even the simplest economic activity is dependent on mathematical skills. Further, the linkage between mathematics and science has led to numerous policy documents, including recent calls to improve international competitiveness.

Committee on Prospering in the Global Economy of the 21st Century: An Agenda for American Science and Technology, 2007

Given the importance that science, mathematics, and technology will continue to play in shaping our personal and professional lives as well in the understanding of how the universe is put together (see Gutstein, 2006; Hawkins, 1998; Rutheford & Ahlgren, 1990; Trefil, 2008), a bilingual or ESL program that is designed to ensure quality instruction in these areas will be doing a better job of preparing its children for tomorrow's interdependent global village. And according to the No Child Left Behind Act (2002) this means that ". . . curricular content, instructional methods, and forms of assessment not only be aligned with state standards and/or NCTM Principles of Standards for School Mathematics but also to ensure that their students score well and continue to make adequate yearly progress (AYP) in state

assessments" (Palacios, 2005). Before we examine, however, the issues and approaches involved in mathematics and science education for language minority students, let us take a look at one English language learner's experience in kindergarten mathematics, told from the point of view of the child's ESL teacher.

Rui's Encounter with More and Less

⊠ I am an ESL teacher, and one of my students is Rui, a kindergarten boy. Rui arrived from Japan very recently, and consequently his English expressive skills are at this time limited to one- or two-word responses. Rui is the only English learner in his classroom and I work with him individually for 45 minutes a day. Although I am bilingual, I do not happen to speak Japanese, and among the activities that I use with Rui are mathematical, manipulative-based exercises.

Rui's classroom teacher often puts in "special requests" for vocabulary or concepts to be taught during Rui's ESL time, and one day when I came to get Rui, she asked me to teach him the meanings of "more" and "less." I used a variety of paired sets of real objects, and I had one of my puppets ask me which set had more or less. For each of the puppet's questions I modeled the target response by pointing to one of the sets and responding with the appropriate word, "more" or "less." Rui understood immediately and began taking his turn responding to the puppet's questions, exclaiming intermittently in English, "Easy, easy!" (He had learned this word from his kindergarten peers.) After a little practice with real objects, I tried the exercise with paired workbook pictures of sets, and he always responded correctly. Then, at a more symbolic level, I showed him paired numerals, again asking, "Which one is more/less?" He continued to respond correctly, minus some typical kindergarten confusion with sixes and nines. It was clear that within the span of 10 minutes of instruction I had not taught him the *concept* of more and less; he showed that he already had that concept in his repertoire of cognitive skills. I had just taught him to associate the English words "more" and "less" with that concept.

Rui's teacher is concerned that he is not keeping up with the other students, and she often asks me for a quick progress report when I bring him back to the classroom. When I told her on this particular day that Rui could respond to more and less problems now, she threw up her arms in delight, went over to Rui, and exclaimed, "Boys and girls, boys and girls! Rui! Rui, tell all the boys and girls what more means!" Virtually every curious kindergarten eye was on Rui as he responded with frightened, uncomfortable silence. The teacher tried prompting. "More means . . ." but Rui was no more ready to explain with words in English what more *meant* than I was ready to explain long division in Japanese. The teacher looked over at me and smiled as she shook her head.

"He needs objects or numbers. He can show you," I explained.

"Oh, yes. Well. I see. Rui, that's all right, honey. I'm going to give you a big hug."

By this time Rui was almost in tears. Rui's teacher means well, and when I talked to her later in the day she realized without my saying very much that she had gone about probing his skills in a less-than-ideal manner. Still, for Rui's sake, and for the sake of the other students' perceptions of Rui, I wish the incident had not happened.

From Rui's point of view, the "more–less" day was probably not one of the better experiences in his kindergarten career. The point we wish to emphasize is that Rui had already mastered, within a Japanese language context, the *concept* of more and less and what he was being taught on that day was to associate the English words with the concept. This is an important distinction that, when overlooked, can lead to the underestimation of the math and science knowledge base of children who are learning English. And there are many other experiences, in many other classrooms, for many other language minority students, that are less than optimal for the acquisition or demonstration of mathematics and science skills.

What conditions can enhance the achievement of language minority students in mathematics and science classrooms? To arrive at an answer to this question we will discuss six interrelated topics: (1) the mathematics and science achievement of language minority students, (2) current **mathematical standards** and reform in math and science education, (3) opportunity to learn standards for language minority students, (4) approaches for the effective use of L_1 and L_2 in mathematics and science instruction, (5) cultural issues in math and science instruction, and (6) theme-based math and science instruction.

Achievement of Language Minority Students in Mathematics and Science

Educators often predict informally that language minority students will have fewer problems with mathematics than language arts because "math is a universal language." Maybe they haven't talked to a teacher who has tried to help an ELL solve a word problem that is written in English. In reality, teachers and students employ a great deal of language in the math and science teaching and learning process. Research in the mathematics achievement of the student population as a whole suggests a connection between math and language in that there is a somewhat positive relation between mathematics achievement and verbal proficiency. Although the question of how these two areas influence each other is largely unanswered, Cocking and Chipman (1983) note that the so-called universal mathematical language is mediated in the classroom through the oral and written language of instruction, and thus proficiency in the language of instruction can reasonably be expected to have an effect on the acquisition of concepts and skills.

When we look at achievement data for minority students (which, of course, include many language minority students and speakers of nonstandard varieties of English), we can find both promising patterns and inequitable patterns (see Lee, 2006; Oakes, Joseph, & Muir, 2004). The promising news is that between the 1990–1991 and 2003–2004 academic school years, Scholastic Achievement Test (SAT) scores in math for most ethnic groups rose for the most part. For example, Puerto Ricans gained 13 points; Asian Americans, 29; African Americans, 8; and American Indian, 20. The exception to this positive trend in SAT scores among ethnic groups has been Mexican American students, whose scores dropped one point on mathematics (College Board, 2004). The Mexican American mathematic SAT

decrease could be due to the unprecedented influx of poor and uneducated Mexican immigrants over the past decade. Despite the general pattern of gains, however, the average SAT math scores of all minority groups except Asian Americans still tend to fall behind those of European American students, as shown in Table 6.1.

Data from the 2003 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) reveal that gains in mathematic achievement from 1996 to 2003 occurred across grades 4, 8, and 12 and across all ethnic groups (see Table 6.2).[1] Though this is an encouraging trend, gains in mathematics for all ethnic minority groups except Asian Americans continue to fall well below those of their Euro-American peers as of 2003. As shown in Table 6.3, NAEP science data indicate that students in grades 4, 8, and 12 have not made substantive achievement gains from 1996–2000 in science. As with the trends seen in NAEP mathematic achievement, science scores of ethnic minority groups (except Asian Americans) continue to compare unfavorably with their Euro-American counterparts.

Achievement data reported in problematic census categories such as "white" and "Hispanic" reveal overall deficiencies in the quality of education offered to African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and American Indians, but they also hide the complexities of the issue. For the sake of generalization the categories compare racial groupings with ethnic and linguistic groupings. White, for example, is a racial categorization, while Hispanic is essentially a linguistic-origin categorization. Also lost is the extensive cultural, sociological, and socioeconomic heterogeneity within each group, as well as the effect of language proficiency and length of residence in the United States for ELLs. The 2000 Census, however, opened up the categories to include a wider variety of ethnic groups subsumed under racial categories. For example, "Asian" now includes: Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Other Asian; "Hispanic" now includes Hispanic or Latino (of any race), Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Other Hispanic or Latino. Yet, the Hispanic categories still do not acknowledge Central or South Americans, or Spanish from Spain. And while there is evidence that researchers increasingly question the fairness of the image of Asian Americans as the "model minority" (see Lee, 2006 and 1996; Ooka Pang, Kiang, & Pak, 2004), unfortunately the stereotypic image that Asian students are exemplary students continues, especially in mathematics, science, and technology (see the 2003 URL—themodelminority.com—as an example of strong resistance within the Asian American community to the stereotype, which is viewed as divisive and patronizing). Ironically, between 1999 and 2005, more minority students than white students took Advanced Placement (AP) exams. And Asians had the highest mean AP exam score while Blacks had the lowest (KewalRamani, Gilbertson, Fox, & Provasnik, 2007).

The "model minority" image according to Tsang (1982) is reflective of research done largely in the 1960s that focused principally on Chinese American and Japanese American samples. The present Asian American population, however, is much larger and more diverse (see Lee, 1996; Oakes, Joseph, & Muir, 2004). While the overall pattern for the group is one of strong achievement in math and science, there are groups within the larger group for whom this is not necessarily the case

TABLE 6.1 Mathematics SAT scores by Ethnicity and Academic Year

Ethnicity	Academic Year		Gain Score	Euro-American Comparison
	1990–1991	2003–2004		
White	513	531	18	0
Puerto Rican	439	452	13	–79
Mexican American	459	458	–1	–73
Black	419	427	8	–104
Asian American	548	577	29	46
American Indian	468	488	20	–43

Sources: College Board, *College-Bound Seniors 2004: A Profile of SAT Program Test Takers.* From www.fairtest.org; College Entrance Examination Board, National Report on College Bound Seniors, various years.

TABLE 6.2 NAEP Mathematics Scores by Ethnicity and Grade (1996–2003)

Ethnicity	Grade and Academic Year					
	Grade 4		Grade 8		Grade 12	
	1996	2003	1996	2003	1996	2003
White	232	243	281	288	279	287
Black	198	203	240	252	239	252
Hispanic	207	222	251	259	249	258
Asian American	229	246	n/a	291	n/a	289
American Indian	217	223	n/a	263	n/a	265

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 1990, 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2003 Mathematics Assessments.

TABLE 6.3 NAEP Science Scores by Ethnicity and Grade (1996–2000)

Ethnicity	Grade and Academic Year					
	Grade 4		Grade 8		Grade 12	
	1996	2000	1996	2000	1996	2000
White	160	160	159	162	159	154
Black	124	124	121	122	124	123
Hispanic	128	129	129	128	130	128
Asian American	151	n/a	152	156	149	153
American Indian	144	140	148	134	145	139

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP),1996 and 2000 Science Assessments.

(see Ooka Pang, Kiang, & Pak, 2004). For example, Ovando (2000) argues that the so-called model minority stereotype oversimplifies the lived experiences of many Asian students, masking the diversity within Asian American communities due to social class, religion, language, ethnicity, migratory status, length of residence, and education (p. 4). On the other hand, the generalized census category data also hide the many exciting individual success stories among language minority students. For example, out of the twelve 2004–2005 National Finalists for the very prestigious Siemens Westinghouse Math, Science, and Technology Awards, five represent language minority students, the children of immigrants. Nevertheless, despite the exceptions and despite the limitations of lumped statistical data, most bilingual and ESL teachers would probably agree that all too often language minority students are not being given opportunities to achieve at the same level in math and science as English-proficient majority students. The explanations for such gaps in achievement, not surprisingly, are many. The generally lower performance of minority students in math and science cannot be attributed to any one factor: There are complex and interrelated sociopolitical, socioeconomic, cultural, linguistic, and instructional factors. Regarding assessment, Cocking and Chipman (1983) note that the actual competence of minority students may be undermeasured because the style or format of the testing instrument fails to tap their actual concepts and skills. For example, a consumer testing group called FairTest argues that the SAT continues to be biased in its questions about topics and concepts more familiar to affluent students and males. Even though there is evidence that the usual assessment tools may undermeasure actual achievement, it is still reasonable to suppose that actual proficiency is lower than it should be based on classroom performance.

Contextualizing Math Performance of American Indian Students

Focusing in on American Indians, Schindler and Davison (1985) offer the following four reasons for their general pattern of lower math proficiency: (1) math anxiety related to low sense of self-efficacy; (2) difficulty with English language processing for ELLs; (3) a cultural orientation of the traditional school math curricula that is quite different from students' experiences, and (4) the lack of use of visual and manipulative modalities in the curriculum, which is dominated by abstract and symbolic modalities (pp. 148–149). Using a contextually interactive model, Cocking and Mestre (1988, pp. 19–20) suggest that in general, language minority students' performance in mathematics is influenced by both linguistic and nonlinguistic factors such as (1) entry characteristics of the learner (cognitive ability patterns such as mathematical concepts, language skills, reading, and learning ability); (2) educational opportunities provided to the learners (such as time on task, quality of instruction, appropriate language, and parental or other assistance); and (3) motivation to learn (such as motivation to engage by including cultural/parental values, expectations for awards, and motivational nature and cultural appropriateness of instructional interaction).

In looking at one factor, socioeconomic status (SES), we see in the case of the SAT that lower scores in general do tend to correlate with lower family income

levels and lower levels of parent education. However, in Chapter 5 we discussed how school microforces may either perpetuate the socioeconomic pattern through unequal educational opportunity or potentially mitigate to some degree the effects of low SES. One recent study of Asian Americans, which considered the relative weight of school experience factors versus racial-ethnic and family background factors, found that particularly in the area of mathematics, school experiences were as important as family background in determining the amount of student learning. In other words, as the authors state, "Students can excel if they are given or guided to proper school experiences" (Peng, Owings, & Fetters, 1984, p. 17).

Further suggesting that school factors can make a difference in math and science achievement, Ginsburg (1981) found that differences among young children in mastery of basic mathematics concepts were not related significantly to social class or racial background. In other words, preschool children from the varied backgrounds he studied had very similar levels of the understanding of basic number concepts. For school-age children of some language minority groups, however, there was evidence that as they advance through the grades their average scores start to lag further and further behind the averages for majority students. For example, the mathematics achievement gap for Hispanic Americans and American Indians increases at each age level—ages 9, 13, and 17 (Cocking & Chipman, 1983, p. 17). This certainly suggests that school opportunities may be a strong factor.

In a nationwide statistical study of the distribution of opportunities for math and science learning, Oakes (1990) also found strong evidence that lower-income minority students tended to be served inequitably. Such students were more likely to be placed in low-track classes and had less access to a full math and science curriculum. In addition, they were taught by less qualified teachers, had less access to math and science equipment and facilities, and were less likely to receive instruction that was active and inquiry based, thus having less opportunity to develop problem-solving skills.

Looking specifically at the minority-student subcategory of language minorities, Cocking and Chipman (1983) also noted that teachers of language minority students were actually less likely to have adequate training and skills in mathematics pedagogy, and that the amount of instructional time allotted to mathematics might be insufficient because of the emphasis on language development for ELLs. Despite progress during the past decade in the integration of math and science instruction with language development, all too often language minority students are not receiving the services that they need to reach their full potential in the areas of science and mathematics. For example, McKeon (1994) reports from a study of California schools that language minorities were much less likely than majority students to have access to computers. Looking specifically at English language learners, the researchers found that only 11 percent of those who would benefit from bilingual programs were enrolled in such programs. With so few students receiving instructional support in their first language, it is no wonder that far too many fall behind in math and science proficiency. The same survey also found that more than half of the California high schools in one study did not offer adequate content-area bilingual or ESL classes in such subjects as math and science—classes

specifically designed to meet the needs of English language learners. The result of the lack of such course offerings is reflected in the following quote from an 11th-grade native Spanish speaker who immigrated from Mexico at the age of 14:

⊗ **"For me, they shouldn't have put me in Basic Math. I should have been in Algebra. But there is more English vocabulary in Algebra so they said I couldn't take it until I learned more English. I felt I was spending time with things I already knew, but then that's required of Latin immigrants. We waste our time because we don't know English yet" (Olsen, 1988, p. 50).**

Current Standards and Math and Science Reform

Imagine a classroom, a school, or a school district where all students have access to high-quality, engaging mathematics instruction. There are ambitious expectations for all, with accommodation for those who need it. Knowledgeable teachers have adequate resources to support their work and are continually growing as professionals. The curriculum is mathematically rich, offering students opportunities to learn important mathematical concepts and procedures with understanding. Technology is an essential component of the environment. Students confidently engage in complex mathematical tasks chosen carefully by teachers. . . . Students are flexible and resourceful problem solvers. . . . Orally and in writing, students communicate their ideas and results effectively. They value mathematics and engage actively in learning it (National Council of Teachers of Mathematics [2000], p. 3).

Buttressing NCTM's vision above for equity, quality, and relevance in mathematics education, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, the National Science Teachers Association, the American Association for the Advancement of

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Guidelines for Teaching

WHO CAN LEARN MATH? ALL STUDENTS!

Along with these promising proposals for reform, the issue of equity has become very important in the design of standards for math and science instruction. The phrase *all students* is used often in the publications of the NCTM. Authors of the Professional Standards for Teaching Mathematics (NCTM, 1991) define all students to include:

- Those who have been denied access to opportunities as well as those who have not.
- African Americans, Hispanic Americans, American Indians, and other minorities as well as the majority.
- Female as well as male.
- Those who have not been successful as well as those who have.

Science, the National Science Resource Center, and the National Science Foundation, along with many other organizations, have called for reform in math and science education for *all* students. Catalyzed by general evidence of math and science illiteracy in the United States, such organizations have proposed the implementation of more rigorous mathematics and science curricula that are inquiry-based, holistic, hands-on, lifelike, interdisciplinary, and equitable. The current standards in these fields call for curricular reform that will enable students from all backgrounds to understand and value math, science, and technology in their daily lives. The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) (1989, pp. 5–6), for example, has established the following goals for students: to learn to reason mathematically, to learn to communicate mathematically, to become confident in their mathematical abilities, and to become mathematical problem solvers. These

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GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

SIX PRINCIPLES FOR SCHOOL MATHEMATICS

- *Equity.* The vision in mathematics education challenges a pervasive societal belief in North America that only some students are capable of learning mathematics. Excellence in mathematics education requires high expectations and strong support for all students. That is, all students should have access to an excellent and equitable mathematics program that provides solid support for their learning and is responsive to their prior knowledge, intellectual strength, and personal interests.

- *Curriculum.* A curriculum is more than a collection of activities: It must be coherent, focused on important mathematics, and well articulated across grades. A coherent curriculum effectively organizes and integrates important mathematical ideas, and gives guidance about when closure is expected for particular skills or concepts.

- *Teaching.* Effective mathematics teaching requires understanding what students know and need to learn and then challenging and supporting them to learn it well. It requires knowing and understanding mathematics, students as learners, and pedagogical strategies. Teaching mathematics well is a complex endeavor, and there are no easy recipes.

- *Learning.* Students must learn mathematics with understanding, actively building new knowledge from experience and prior knowledge. The requirements for the workplace and for civic participation in the contemporary world include flexibility in reasoning about and using quantitative information. Conceptual understanding is an important component of the knowledge needed to deal with novel problems and settings.

- *Assessment.* Assessment should support the learning of important mathematic skills and furnish useful information to both teachers and students. Whether the focus is on formative assessment aimed at guiding instruction or on summative assessment of students' progress, teachers' knowledge is paramount in collecting useful information and drawing valid inferences. Assembling evidence from a variety of sources is more likely to yield an accurate picture.

- *Technology.* Technology is essential in teaching and learning mathematics; it influences the mathematics that is taught and enhances student learning. Electronic technologies— calculators and computers—are essential tools for teaching, learning, and doing mathematics. Technology, however, should not be used as a replacement for basic understanding and intuitions. The possibilities of engaging students with physical challenges in mathematics are dramatically increased with special technologies.

NCTM goals imply an emphasis on problem solving and conceptual understanding, with less emphasis on rote memorization.

Building on the foundations of the original *Standards* (1989, 1991, & 1995), the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (2000) has also established six *Principles* emphasizing high-quality mathematics education for *all* students. Concerned about equity issues, NCTM has likewise developed *Content and Process Standards* for all students. The document describes the understanding, the knowledge, and the skills all students should acquire in grades pre-K–12 (see guiding principles below). Guided by the above overarching principles, NCTM also provides a set of content and process standards to inform curricular goals and practices (see next page).

Also interested in making the science curriculum accessible to all students, the National Science Teachers Association has proposed that the current "layer

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GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

CONTENT AND PROCESS STANDARDS FOR SCHOOL MATHEMATICS PRE-K–12

Content Standards:

- *Number and operation*. Instructional programs in K–12 should enable all students to understand numbers, the ways of representing numbers, relationships among numbers, and number systems; understand the meanings of operations and how they relate to one another; and compute fluently and make reasonable estimates.

- *Algebra*. Instructional programs in K–12 should enable all students to understand patterns, relations, and functions; represent and analyze mathematical situations and structures using algebraic symbols; use mathematical models to represent and understand quantitative relationships; and analyze change in various contexts.

- *Geometry*. Instructional programs in K–12 should enable all students to analyze characteristics and properties of two- and three-dimensional geometric shapes and develop mathematical arguments about geometric relationships; specify locations and describe spatial relationships using coordinate geometry and other representational systems; and apply transformations and use symmetry to analyze mathematical situations.

- *Measurement*. Instructional programs in K–12 should enable all students to understand measurable attributes of objects and the units, systems, and processes of measurement and apply appropriate techniques, tools, and formulas to determine measurements.

- *Data analysis and probability*. Instructional programs in K–12 should enable all students to formulate questions that can be addressed with data and collect, organize, and display relevant data to answer them; select and use appropriate statistical methods to analyze data; develop and evaluate inferences and predictions that are based on data; and understand and apply basic concepts of probability.

Process Standards:

- Problem solving or engaging in a task for which the solution method is not known.

- Reasoning and proof or a formal way of expressing particular kinds of reasoning and justification.

- Communication or a way of sharing ideas and clarifying understanding.

- Connections or emphasis on the interrelatedness of mathematical ideas.

- Representation or the ways in which mathematical ideas are presented and used by the students to model physical, social, and mathematical phenomena.

cake" approach to middle school and high school science be abandoned (Aldridge, 1995). (The layer cake approach refers to the practice of taking one full year of biology, then never going back to it; one full year of chemistry, then never going back to it, and so on.) Instead, the association recommends that all middle and high school students take science every year for six years, covering fewer topics in greater depth each year and spreading out each discipline over several years. In other words, the new high school science curriculum would include a biology component each year, a chemistry component each year, a physics component, and an earth/space science component each year. Throughout these strands the focus would be on *how* we know what we know and why we believe it to be true.

In our postmodern world, mathematics, science, and technology have become an important source of "cultural capital" for particular segments of the U.S. student population. Unfortunately, however, as Schoenfeld (2002) notes, ". . . disproportionate numbers of poor, African American, Latino, and Native American students drop out of mathematics and perform below standard on tests of mathematical competency, and are thus denied both important skills and a particularly important pathway to economic and other enfranchisement" (p. 13). It is thus particularly important that NCTM, the leading organization of mathematic educators, is concerned that all students in our society receive a high level of instruction in mathematics.

Opportunity to Learn Standards

Equity, of course, is much easier to talk about in principle than to put into action. For example, some educators initially feared that the excellence reform movement would backfire for language minority students. They anticipated increases in the student dropout rate because of tougher math and science requirements for graduation. However, as requirements generally increased in the 1970s and 1980s, the increase in dropout rates that some expected did not occur. For example, Mirel and Angus (1994) observed that from 1982 to 1990 the percentage of Hispanic Americans taking three years of math and science in high school increased from 6 percent to 33 percent. During this time, however, the dropout rate for this group did not increase. Based on these findings, Mirel and Angus posited that in the long run the raising of academic standards *can* potentially result in more equal educational opportunities (see Oakes, Joseph, & Muir, 2004, for confirmation of the above findings).

However, notwithstanding the good intentions and the potential of the current standards for all students, equitable math and science opportunities for many language minority students remain an unfulfilled goal. As Apple (1992) noted on the possibilities and limitations of the NCTM standards (1989, 1991), the proposals have not been sufficiently grounded in or discussed in the context of the sociocultural, economic, and ideological realities found in today's schools. For example, the standards do not forcefully address the need for systemic, multicultural reform that is relevant to the needs of language minority students in math and science classrooms. To use just one illustration, is it really fair to hold English language learners to the same common standards as English-proficient students? As McKeon (1994, pp. 45–49) observed, holding English language learners to common standards may,

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"OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN" STANDARDS

In this situation, the key word in equal educational opportunity is opportunity. The authors of the "TESOL Statement on the Education of K–12 Language Minority Students in the United States" argue, for example, that along with more demanding academic standards, there must be "opportunity to learn" standards for English language learners. These "opportunity to learn" standards are:

- Access to positive learning environments.
- Access to appropriate curriculum.
- Access to full delivery of services.
- Access to equitable assessment (TESOL, 1992, pp.12–13).

in fact, be uncommonly different for LEP students, asking them to perform at a much higher cognitive and linguistic level than their monolingual English-speaking peers." As an illustration, if you speak limited Russian and have to write a report on photosynthesis in Russian, "you are actually performing a much more difficult task than your Russian speaking peers" (McKeon, 1994, p. 3). The task is even more difficult if you have never studied photosynthesis in English to begin with.

Applying these standards more specifically to math and science, language minority students need access to a multicultural math and science environment that builds on the background and interests that they bring to the classroom, age-appropriate instruction in math and science instead of watered-down instruction, math and science classes that make appropriate use of L_1 and that use effective second-language methods of content instruction, and opportunities to show their math and science competence in a variety of ways.

Bilingual and ESL teachers obviously need strong conceptual understandings of first- and second-language development as well as principles of multicultural education to work toward the realization of such opportunities for math and science. In addition, teachers' attitudes, motivation, and competencies in mathematics and science are critical to the students' affective and academic development. Most bilingual and ESL teachers are not specialists in math or science, but they can make the best of the math and science skills that they do possess by collaborating with math and science specialists and by modeling an appreciation for the fields for their students. Language minority students are more likely to find these areas engaging and meaningful, and thus to succeed in these subjects, when their teachers:

1. Understand the functions of mathematics and science historically as well as in contemporary society.
2. Make the mathematics and science curricula responsive to the local cultures and languages.
3. Are themselves enthusiastic and curious about the mystery, complexity, and simplicity of mathematical and scientific concepts, applications, and processes.[2]

With these "opportunity to learn" standards established, we turn now more specifically to the use of language and culture in math and science classrooms. As we discuss first language and then culture, we again find Thomas and Collier's prism (Chapter 4) useful. In science and math classrooms, academic development, cognitive development, and language development all form an interdependent triangle. As we look at the use of language, we will see that in active, integrated learning environments the development of language proficiencies, thinking skills, and math and science knowledge are all intertwined. When we look at culture and theme-based instruction in the final sections of the chapter, we are touching on the center of Thomas and Collier's prism, the sociocultural processes that interact with the outer points of language, cognition, and math and science knowledge.

Language in Mathematics and Science Classrooms

Teachers may have in their science or mathematics classes quite a mix of students: ELLs, bilingual students, English monolingual majority students, and English monolingual minority students. How can they meet the language development needs of these students while at the same time providing all of them with opportunities to fully develop their mathematics and science knowledge at grade-appropriate levels? There are no immediate, absolute, or universal answers. As with bilingual and ESL programs in general, math and science solutions have to be adapted to the local context. However, because of the primacy of language as a vehicle for cognitive and academic development, how it is used in the bilingual or ESL classroom can have a significant impact on the quality of math and science learning environments. In this section we will first discuss the use of L_1 in math and science contexts. Next we look at content ESL. We will finish with a look at several programs that exemplify the principles of language-rich environments for math and science at the same time that they exemplify principles of active, inquiry-driven math and science instruction in bilingual or ESL contexts.

Use of L_1 for Math and Science Instruction

As noted in Chapter 4, the research by Cummins (1981), Thomas and Collier (1997), and Collier (1989, 1995) suggests that it can take anywhere from 5 to 10 years or more for English language learners to reach the necessary levels of academic language proficiency to compete on par with native English speakers in content areas such as math and science. Collier and Thomas also indicate that for English language learners to do well academically through instruction in a second language, their first-language oral and literacy skills ideally must be developed at least to threshold levels commensurate with a sixth-grade education. Because scientific and mathematical skills and knowledge acquired through L_1 transfer across languages, instruction in such subjects in the first language is an efficient and culturally appropriate way of developing math and science literacy for language minority students while they are learning English (Cummins, 1992, p. 91).

The following three studies provide evidence of the effectiveness of L_1 instruction for math achievement. Students in bilingual education programs in Fremont and San Diego in California outperformed a control group of students of the same socioeconomic status who were not in bilingual programs in the math portion of the California Test of Basic Skills in grades three through six (Krashen & Biber, 1988, p. 60). Ramírez (1992, p. 91) likewise found in his research that primary language support through bilingual instruction enhanced mathematical achievement. In a study of alternative instructional programs such as newcomer centers, sheltered English programs, and content ESL programs, researchers also found that use of L_1 was one of the important factors for concept development in subject areas such as math and science (Tikunoff et al., 1991).

Assessment

For ELLs an adequate diagnosis of math and science knowledge requires that the teacher speak the child's first language or secure the assistance of a speaker of the learner's first language. Through this initial screening teachers can determine what the students know in their primary language. Because of the broad range of language minority student backgrounds, the knowledge base can range from that of students who have had virtually no formal training in math and science in their country of origin to that of foreign-born students who are far ahead of most U.S. students of their age in math and science. For skills and knowledge that students have already gained through their home language, the teacher may plan to focus instruction on the acquisition of English language competencies that will enable them to transfer the abilities to the English language instructional context. However, for skills and knowledge that English language learners have not yet developed in their home language, instruction in L_1 will more likely ensure successful learning. In other words, new math and science content instruction is generally most effective if done in the home language; it will take time for the skills to be demonstrated in the second language.

L_1 Delivery Approaches

An important instructional decision for math and science lessons in bilingual classes is the alternation of the two languages. Today more and more bilingual classes are clearly defining the language of instruction by blocks of time devoted to one language at a time. Decisions regarding the amount of instructional time spent in each language are made by alternating languages by subject area or theme, by time of day, by day of the week, or by week. In this section, we will examine some of the historic patterns of language use in bilingual classes: alternate, preview–review, and concurrent approaches. However, as part of the reform movement, bilingual teacher educators have frequently chosen the alternate approach, keeping the languages of instruction clearly separated as the preferred model. Research has clearly shown that separation of the two languages leads to higher academic achievement in the long run.

The alternate language approach clearly structures a separation between the two languages in a bilingual program. In subject area alternation, for example, one

year of a program might include mathematics in Spanish, with science in English. The following year math would be in English, with science in Spanish. For a half-day alternate bilingual program, on one day all lessons conducted in the morning might be in English, and those in the afternoon in Spanish. On the following day, Spanish would be the language for morning lessons and English the language in the afternoon. Alternate approaches to bilingual content area avoid the repetition of lessons in each language within the class period, which can happen with poorly implemented concurrent approaches.

For students of very limited proficiency in one of the languages of instruction, the alternate model may not be appropriate, as such students may miss too much math or science content during the time that teaching is done in the second language. As they develop increasing proficiency in a second language, the students may be introduced to an increasing amount of science and mathematics instruction in their second language, at which point an alternate program might be more appropriate to their needs. It is within a bilingual maintenance program, in which students have fairly strong proficiencies in both languages, that the alternate language approach may be the most appropriate for math and science instruction.

In the older preview–review approach, the teacher introduces a mathematics or science lesson in one language and presents the body of the lesson in the second language. In the preview session, the teacher or bilingual assistant gives an overview of the concept and accompanying science and mathematics terminology to be presented in the lesson, so that they will be understood when they appear in the main body of the lesson in the second language. For example, part of the preview of an elementary science lesson on measurement of temperatures to be presented in English might include an explanation in Korean of the meaning of such English words as *increase* and *decrease*. After the main body of the lesson is completed, the lesson might be reviewed in one of several ways. For example, the students might be divided by language dominance, with reinforcement activities conducted in each group's dominant language, or the lesson may be reviewed and expanded with all the students together, using the concurrent approach to elicit what was learned from the presentation. This approach rests to some extent on well-informed decisions by the teacher on when to use which languages most effectively. Although two languages are used in the preview–review method, the main body of the lesson is presented in only one language. Therefore, this approach may lend itself best to lessons that have many visual or physical cues. For example, if an integrated mathematics and marine biology lesson involves the measurement on the playground of the average length of the blue whale, the activity itself will provide many cues even though the student does not understand the language in which the activity is being conducted. On the other hand, if a lesson is more abstract, such as in a written explanation of how photosynthesis works, a student who does not speak the language of the main presentation may become lost despite the introduction in his or her native language.

The concurrent approach, switching back and forth in one lesson between two languages, is in disrepute with most linguists and educators because it may not control for instructional balance of the two languages, and it may not motivate

students to learn the second language because first-language explanations are so immediately available. However, the concurrent approach is still used in many math and science classrooms. For teachers who have a full command of two languages or who have a bilingual team partner or paraprofessional, the skilled use of both languages helps all students, both English-dominant and English learners, understand and participate actively in math and science thought processes. Concurrent teaching, however, is a skill. It requires giving equivalent rather than literal translations as well as avoiding unnecessary repetitions of material. It requires careful decisions about switches to the other language based on knowledge of students' proficiency levels in each language and the context of the moment. It also requires that the teachers and paraprofessionals have a sound knowledge of science and mathematics terminology in both languages. The rationale for the skilled use of the concurrent approach in mathematics and science is to make sure that the information contained in the lesson is comprehensible to all students and is accessible in an intellectually challenging way. ELLs, for example, might be able to follow simple, visually cued instructions for an experiment in English, but they might not be able to generate hypotheses or analyze results without access to L_1. Teachers using the concurrent approach can encourage contributions in whichever language the child speaks best, and then have those ideas restated in the other language if necessary so that every child, regardless of language background, participates in the math or science discussion.

Content ESL/Sheltered English Instruction

Unfortunately, full bilingual programs in mathematics or science are not available for many English language learners. However, content ESL or sheltered English programs in math and science will increase the opportunities for such language minority students to master mathematical and scientific concepts despite little or no use of L_1. Ideally, however, content ESL and sheltered programs should be coupled with strategies to provide some access to L_1 if at all possible. For example, a bilingual tutor or paraprofessional may be available, or students may be grouped so that bilingual children can assist ELL classmates through their L_1. Content ESL or sheltered classes can be used in a variety of contexts. Content ESL and sheltered English instructional approaches to math and science are important for students who have never had access to bilingual programs, but they are also important for students who have left early-exit bilingual programs. Such students are still developing their academic language skills in L_2 and will therefore benefit from the specialized support that content ESL provides for math and science. In addition, content ESL approaches can be found in bilingual programs because math and science may be used as a medium for developing the second language.

As a means of providing English language learners with instruction that simultaneously develops second language skills and content-area knowledge, content ESL and sheltered instructional approaches have grown tremendously in recent years. These approaches are based on two important linguistic concepts. The first is Krashen's (1982) familiar concept that language acquisition occurs when students,

in an interesting, low-anxiety context, are provided with comprehensible input that is slightly above their level of understanding. The second concept is that second-language proficiency entails control of not only social but also academic language. As discussed in Chapter 4, academic language tends to be more abstract and complex, and thus more challenging for students. It takes more years to master than social language. This is the type of language that is present in math and science classrooms, and by integrating these subjects with linguistically appropriate support in L_2 development, the student has a better opportunity to develop academic language. According to Crandall (1987):

> Many content-based ESL programs have developed to provide students with an opportunity to learn CALP [academic language], as well as to provide a less abrupt transition from the ESL classroom to an all-English-medium academic program. Content-based ESL courses—whether taught by the ESL teacher, the content-area teacher, or some combination—provide direct instruction in the special language of the subject matter, while focusing attention as much or more on the subject matter itself (p. 7).

One can imagine a range of instructional emphases for content ESL and sheltered teaching. At one end of the continuum, we have ESL lessons that happen to use a math or science topic as a means for developing second-language skills. At the other end, we have lessons whose main objective is to develop math or science concepts but that use techniques of second-language acquisition to maximize students' understanding of the content. Lessons that focus more specifically on second-language development tend to be found within the confines of an ESL class composed of ELLs, whereas an emphasis on content instruction with the adjunct use of second language principles is somewhat more likely to be found in a classroom of mixed proficiencies. Situations arise in which each end of the continuum may be appropriate, and, as a continuum, there is not always a clear demarcation between the ESL focus and the content focus.

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THE INTEGRATION OF SECOND-LANGUAGE ACQUISITION WITH SCIENCE CONTENT

Fathman, Quinn, and Kessler (1992) identify the following strategies for use in classes that integrate second-language acquisition with science content, and the same principles would apply for math:

- Promoting collaboration between teachers and among students.
- Modifying language.
- Increasing the relevancy of science lessons to students' everyday lives.
- Adapting science materials.
- Using language teaching techniques in presenting science concepts (p. 4).

We will look more closely now at aspects of the second and last items on the above list, modifying language, and using language teaching techniques. Specifically, we will consider identification of language objectives, the role of error correction, use of **multiple modalities,** vocabulary development, modeling, **learning strategies,** and integration of reading and writing. As we look at these strategies, we will be giving examples of content ESL math and science approaches or programs that reflect specific strategies. However, as we proceed, notice that the various programs we describe reflect many different strategies, not just the one we are highlighting.

Identification of Language Objectives

As math and science activities proceed in the second language, students encounter a very large vocabulary and a considerable array of sentence structures. As they participate in the lesson, however, teachers can design the activities to focus on certain vocabulary sets or grammatical structures as they occur naturally in the context of the lesson. Following are some brief examples of second-language objectives that may be developed while children are engaged in mathematics or science activities.

Classification activities can provide students with a variety of simple language structures appropriate for beginning second-language learners. If beginning ELLs are building a vocabulary of plants and animals while they are using classifying skills in science, the following sentence patterns can emerge as the students give each other directions on how to sort picture cards:

The turtle is not a plant.
The pine tree is a plant.

Teachers may use attribute blocks to simultaneously develop beginning language skills and classification thought processes. Attribute blocks are sets of geometric figures possessing several specific attributes—size, thickness, color, and shape, for example. There is a large thick blue circle, a small thick blue circle, a large thin blue circle, a small thin blue circle, a large thick red circle, a small thick red circle, and so on. As Cantieni and Tremblay (1979) pointed out in their description of an immersion program, attribute blocks provide an "immediate concrete situation in which vocabulary can be learned and questions and answers formulated" (p. 249). While they classify attribute blocks according to varying traits, students can learn descriptions for color, shape, and size. They may also develop adjective placement as teachers and other students model statements such as "the red triangle" or "the big red triangle." If students are classifying the blocks into a six-compartment grid based on two attributes (e.g., color—red, yellow, or blue—and size—big or little), the following question-and-answer exchange could take place:
(Holding up a block) Where does it go?

(Taking the block and placing it in the grid) It goes here.
Or, at a slightly more advanced second language level:
Where does this big red block go?

It goes in the third box in the first row.
Where does this little blue block go?
It goes in the first box in the second row.

Cuisenaire rods are another device that allows learners to make the linguistic connection between manipulation of a mathematical concept and use of a second language. Opportunities to use comparisons, for example, can be combined with the exploration of mathematical equality and the commutative property:

One orange rod is as long as 10 white rods.
Ten white rods are as long as 1 orange rod.

As ELLs become literate in English, they may gain writing practice in the second language by composing mathematics word problems. Using supermarket advertisements, students can combine development of a food vocabulary with practice in the solution of real-life mathematical problems that their classmates or parents might face:

> Masumi has $20. He wants to buy one box of cereal, three frozen pizzas, and two bottles of soda. The cereal costs $2.59; the pizzas cost $3.79 each; and the soda costs $1.89 a bottle. Does Masumi have enough money?

The Role of Error Correction

Even though the primary focus of a science or math activity may be language development, error correction generally should not become a part of this teaching process. Suppose that in a particular ESL lesson, the teacher is using the topic of the circulatory system. If a child says, "The heart pump blood" instead of "The heart pumps blood," he or she has adequately communicated the scientific fact despite the grammatical error. Some teachers may feel compelled to consistently correct such errors, but most errors are developmental and thus temporary anyway. Furthermore, error correction does not seem to cure the mistakes (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982; Echevarria & Graves, 2002; Ellis, 1994), and teachers who focus on errors may impede the maintenance of a positive language learning environment. Focus on the communicative function of English as opposed to its form is theoretically sound for young ELLs and it also lends itself more naturally to lessons in math and science content. When students are excitedly comparing relative sizes of fractions using slices of pizza, no one will want to stop for error correction.

Use of Multiple Modalities

Mathematics and science topics possess great motivating power for engaging English language learners. Children are great admirers of natural and human-made mathematics and science phenomena. The snake in a cage in the book corner or the new row of computers in the media center fascinates them. Therefore, the teacher who is able to integrate second-language development activities with mathematics and science content will be providing highly motivating contexts for

both language and content development. Students like to smell, touch, see, hear, taste, connect, disconnect, heat, cool, and quantify things. They like to know why certain things work the way they do and why others work differently. And because mathematics and science deal with quantifiable and material subjects, it is possible to frame much learning in such a way that students are able to develop cognitive skills in these subject areas as they receive instruction in L_2. Because much of the content of mathematics and science lends itself to physical representation, ESL and sheltered content teachers can use many manipulatives, demonstrations, and experiments to involve students not only in the discovery of new subject knowledge but also in the practice of newly acquired L_2 proficiencies. This type of integrated content and language instruction in math and science fits well with the linguistic premise that learners acquire a second language more quickly when they are interested in what they are learning and when they are allowed a sufficient level of manipulation of the language through group work and the use of visuals, realia, and manipulatives.

The use of hands-on and visual math and science pedagogy can result in both the acquisition of content area and the development of academic language use. For example, if teachers present algebra problems involving such terms as "twice as long as," "half as wide as," or "10 times as many as" in a visual and manipulative manner, the English language learner will learn not only how to solve the problems but also English terms that can subsequently be applied in more academically demanding paper-and-pencil assignments.

Metaphors can often be of value in giving concrete context to a lesson that might otherwise be too abstract. Metaphors provide a bridge between the familiar and the unfamiliar or the available and the unavailable. Students cannot directly feel the pumping action of a human heart, but with a bicycle pump students can feel the bursts of air and transfer that firsthand experience to the concept of the heart's rhythmic bursts of blood. As the lesson is refined, students can explore areas of similarity and dissimilarity between the pump and the heart. It is also impossible to bring a live baleen whale into the classroom (along with a large supply of sea water), but the feeding function of the baleen can be demonstrated using a coffee filter/baleen metaphor.

An additional argument for multiple modalities has to do with children's cognitive development. Natural competencies in mathematics and science generally do not go beyond the Piagetian developmental stages predicted for their age groups. General research in elementary science education, however, indicates that teachers and books frequently present lessons in abstract formats that are beyond the logical thinking stage of the students. This often results in failure to master targeted concepts even when language proficiency is not an issue (De Luca, 1976). For young children at the preoperational and concrete stages, for example, manipulation of objects enhances the logical thinking process. Macbeth (1974) found that the extent to which pupils manipulated materials was positively associated with the acquisition of elementary science skills. The problem of developmentally inappropriate science lessons becomes increasingly serious for ELLs who may be processing the concepts in their L_2 in addition to dealing with the developmentally

inappropriate instruction. Thus use of materials that students can touch, push, pull, smell, taste, cut up, heat, cool, weigh, measure, and so on takes on even greater importance in a classroom in which more than one language is represented. Such activities make the concepts cognitively accessible at the same time that they provide a linguistically appropriate environment. Children who are not fully proficient in English are going to be more likely to master a mathematics or science lesson presented in English if they are dealing only with a partial language barrier and not with a language barrier combined with a cognitive barrier.

Vocabulary Development

Teachers who use sheltered or content ESL in conjunction with math and science instruction develop a strong awareness of the need to identify and develop key vocabulary words. Much vocabulary development occurs naturally through the context of math and science activities, especially when the subjects are taught actively using visuals, realia, models, experiments, manipulatives, role-playing, and so on. However, it is important for teachers to have in mind and to introduce in a relevant context the major terms that students will need to understand a particular activity or concept. The Pre-Algebra Lexicon (PAL), published by the Center for Applied Linguistics (Hayden & Cuevas, 1990), is an example of a resource teachers can use to guide them in identification and development of vocabulary. This publication lists over 300 terms and phrases that are most commonly found in prealgebra courses and texts, and it includes ideas for instructional strategies that will enhance the ELL's acquisition of the terms in meaningful classroom contexts. PAL also provides techniques for the assessment of math vocabulary development as a natural part of daily instruction.

Modification of Language and Modeling

Although some commercial math and science ESL materials are available, often the materials that teachers use for science and math activities, especially at the elementary level, have not been specifically designed for ELLs. Therefore, teachers will want to modify the language involved so that it is comprehensible to students. As sentence structures and vocabulary are simplified, however, it is important to keep the conceptual content of the lesson intact. For example, language for carrying out an experiment on air pressure can be simplified, but it must be done in a way that maintains the concept that air occupies space and has weight.

Extensive modeling of modified language during science and math instruction provides students with comprehensible input. Fathman, Quinn, and Kessler (1992) have developed a three-stage approach for ESL science instruction that demonstrates the importance of modeling. The three stages are (1) teacher demonstration, (2) group investigation, and (3) independent investigation. In the first phase the teacher directs and demonstrates a science activity as he or she models the language the students will be using. The teacher demonstration gives students the opportunity to listen and observe before having to produce the language involved in the activity. During the second phase the students have natural opportunities to use the modeled language for communication in the group activities. A mix of

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VOCABULARY DEVELOPMENT IN MATH AND SCIENCE

Vocabulary development in math and science should include words that convey how the thinking processes in math and science occur. For example, the following note to students at the beginning of a content ESL workbook on earth science and physical science calls the students' attention to such vocabulary as *consult* and *hypotheses*.

With this book you will learn to follow the scientific thinking process. You will do the following things:

- *Consult with others:* Share ideas in cooperative groups.

- *Make hypotheses:* Guess possible answers to questions or problems.

- *Experiment*: Watch and take notes on what you see.

- *Read:* Learn new information and remember it.

- *Classify:* Put things or ideas into groups or categories.

- *Compare and contrast:* Discover how something is different from another or the same as another thing (Christison & Bassano, 1992, p. vii).

language proficiency levels within each group will enrich the language learning environment during this stage. In the final phase the students initiate independent activities in which they further develop the language. Teachers tailor the third phase to the individual proficiency level of each student. In all three phases the focus is on inquiry: Even the teacher demonstration is carried out in a way that fosters critical thinking and interaction. The following example illustrates how the three language stages can be used as students study electrical forces:

Concept: Electrical Energy Causes Motion
Teacher Demonstration.   Use an inflated balloon to pick up small pieces of paper.
Group Investigation.   Use an inflated balloon to cause another balloon to move.
Individual Investigation.   Use an inflated balloon to test what objects it will pick up.

In developing a lesson or unit using this approach, the teacher has to be thinking about not only the particular science concept but also the language functions needed to carry out the activity, designing the activities in such a way that they promote reading and writing skills in addition to listening and speaking. Here is what Arturo, an eighth-grade ESL student, wrote in his reflection on a three-prong lesson about how light waves are bent:

⊠ **The science help us comprehend the phenomenons of the Nature. For this reason the experiment was very interesting because working in groups helped us practice English. . . . Also I learned new vocabulary words for example: beam, divergent, coin, convergent, inclined surface, measure, path, refraction etc. I like the experiment because I learned the objective of the experiment "the refraction of the light" I would like to make more experiments (Fathman, Quinn, & Kessler, 1992, p. 1).**

Integration of Reading and Writing

We have already mentioned the integration of reading and writing activities in Fathman, Quinn, and Kessler's (1992) three-pronged design for science lessons. Because one of the purposes of content ESL is to develop children's academic L_2 proficiency, reading and writing across the curriculum is an important component of complete math and science ESL programs. The next example, although not from a content ESL class, applies well to ESL contexts. It illustrates the integration of language arts into the math curriculum in an American Indian context. To promote literacy at the same time as they taught math, resource teachers in a Crow American Indian community had students keep math journals recording what they had learned and their reactions to problems. Students also recorded math vocabulary definitions in their own words and brainstormed key words and phrases related to a target word. (For example, if the target word were *fraction,* the brainstormed key words and phrases might be "part of something, part of a whole, a piece, number, denominator.") Students also wrote their own story problems in groups and shared them. Students gained self-confidence in math, and throughout the year their math conversations became more focused and they used more math vocabulary. The students' writing also increased in amount and complexity (Davison & Pearce, 1992, pp. 150–152).

An example of a large-scale project that integrates reading and writing is "Cheche Konnen: An Investigation-Based Approach to Teaching Scientific Inquiry" (Warren, Rosebery, & Conant, 1990). The Cheche Konnen program integrates math and science with literacy development and computer skills, and an important component of the program is communicating to others the results of the students' science projects. *Cheche Konnen* means "search for knowledge" in Haitian and was originally targeted for Haitian immigrant students of high school age. The aim of the model is twofold: (1) "to help LEP students become mathematically and scientifically literate through collaborative learning activities" and (2) "the development of teacher resources to enable others to develop and implement an investigation-based approach in their classrooms" (Santos, 1992, pp. 251–252). The project has resulted in a set of activities, a handbook, a training plan, and videotape materials that can be used in a variety of language minority contexts. Many of the participants in Cheche Konnen have been illiterate in their mother tongue and in English, have had little or no school experience with science or math, have been considered academically at risk, and thus fit the profile of students who all too often wind up in the basic memorize-the-facts science class. However, with Cheche Konnen, such students successfully designed and carried out their own scientific investigations and reported the findings. Guided by their own research questions, the students in the Cheche Konnen program acted as scientists, formulating hypotheses, collecting and analyzing data, and then writing and sharing final reports with an audience. They gained an understanding of the scientific process at the same time that they developed literacy, math, and computer skills. The teachers also learned to guide rather than to direct, and they developed greater expectations of the students' potential. As a very important additional benefit, research projects that Cheche Konnen students shared with the larger student

Guidelines for Teaching

LEARNING STRATEGIES

Learning strategies are the activities that students engage in across subject areas as they "learn how to learn." For example, they may use a diagram to help them understand a relationship, or they may comprehend a new concept by connecting it to an experience they have had in their own life. The Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994) is a content ESL approach that makes extensive use of learning strategies as it addresses the academic and cognitive needs of English language learners and prepares them for content-area instruction in all-English classrooms. First introduced in Chapter 4, CALLA is an approach in which teachers explicitly teach learning strategies at the same time that they develop language and content knowledge. The learning strategies provide extra support for the negotiation of content-area instruction in the second language. By developing the habit of using learning strategies, the students have transferable skills that will stay with them as they progress to higher levels of academic instruction in math and science. Because of their accessibility through physical representations, math and science are the recommended gateway courses into CALLA (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994), with CALLA instruction in social studies and language arts coming next.

Chamot and O'Malley (1994) have identified three types of learning strategies:

1. Metacognitive Strategies
   Advance organization
   Organizational planning
   Selective attention
   Self-management
   Monitoring comprehension
   Monitoring production
   Self-evaluation
2. Cognitive Strategies
   Resourcing
   Grouping
   Note taking
   Elaboration of prior knowledge
   Summarizing
   Deduction/induction
   Imagery
   Auditory representation
   Making inferences
3. Social/Affective Strategies
   Questioning for clarification
   Cooperation
   Self-talk (pp. 60–64)

As part of the learning strategy approach, students and teachers in CALLA classrooms frequently talk about how they learn. Here is an example of how one student responded to the researcher's question about what strategies he was planning to use to solve a math problem: "Ask yourself what do you know. What do you need to find out? What is the progress (meant process)?" (Chamot, Dale, O'Malley, & Spanos, 1992, p. 23).

CALLA shows evidence of being valuable to ESL students in math classes. For example, researchers compared students in classes with high use of CALLA to students in classes with low use of CALLA. The results showed that, when given a story problem to solve, "Significantly more students in high-implementation classrooms were able to solve the problem correctly than were students in low-implementation classrooms" (Chamot, Dale, O'Malley, & Spanos, 1992, p. 1). The CALLA model has been incorporated into several commercially available content math and science ESL materials for middle and high school students, such as those by Chamot and O'Malley (1988); Christison and Bassano (1992); and Johnston and Johnston (1990).

body improved other students' perceptions of language minority students and resulted in more frequent interaction between the groups (Rivera, 1990).

Linguistically and Cognitively Rich Environments

Now that we have looked at the use of L_1 and content ESL to teach math and science to language minority students, we close this section on language use by looking at examples of linguistically and cognitively rich environments. Whether in a bilingual or an ESL context, effective language strategies have to go hand in hand with well-designed curricula that emphasize mathematical problem-solving abilities and scientific process skills in a rich context of social interaction.

It is extremely difficult through the written medium to effectively portray the dynamics of a math or science lesson that is alive with thinking skills and social interaction. Teachers may want to view a video such as *Communicative Math and Science Teaching* (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1990) to see and hear the nature of such instruction. *Communicative Math and Science Teaching* documents the characteristics of classroom interaction in exemplary math and science programs for language minority students, and the program also includes interviews with teachers and students as they reflect on their experiences.

Keeping in mind the importance of firsthand or video experience with math and science classroom interaction, we will attempt to provide a flavor here for linguistically and cognitively rich environments by briefly describing four models. The four models that we will examine are cooperative learning through *Finding Out/Descubrimiento,* realistic problem solving through the 3-D Project, the cognitive apprentice model, and cognitively guided math instruction.

Cooperative Learning: Finding Out/Descubrimiento

Specifically designed for diverse cultural, academic, and language backgrounds, the *Finding Out/Descubrimiento* (FO/D) (DeAvila, Duncan, & Navarrete, 1987) program offers over 100 math and science activities for grades two to five. Each activity has two phases. The first phase involves activities that introduce children to social aspects of fulfilling roles within small groups (i.e., asking for help or giving help). Phase two deals with the specific content activities. For example, fourth-grade students may work in groups to identify the ways in which magnetic forces work on a variety of actual objects. The role of the teacher is to ask questions, to foster student interaction, to suggest problem-solving strategies, to encourage cooperative behavior, to help students analyze problems without directly giving the solutions, and to make generalizations about concepts and principles. Communicating, observing, classifying, predicting, and interpreting are some of the key cognitive skills that children develop as they engage in FO/D activities. All instructions, activity cards, worksheets, and other materials are in Spanish and English, so that in Spanish/English bilingual settings children also develop their L_1 and L_2 through their interaction with each other in mixed language groups.

A Stanford research group evaluated FO/D pilot bilingual schools in San José, California, and concluded that:

- FO/D students showed significant improvement in problem-solving ability, reading, and English proficiency
- "Low achievers" gained as much in math and problem solving as high achievers
- FO/D students showed gains on the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) (De Avila, Duncan, & Navarrete, 1987, p. 19)

Realistic Problem Solving: The 3-D Project

The 3-D Project focuses on "(1) deeper and higher-order understandings of elementary mathematics, (2) realistic problem solving situations, and (3) diverse types of mathematical abilities" (Lesh, Lamon, Behr, & Lester, 1992, p. 408). Teachers working with the 3-D math curriculum use a set of problem prototypes that can be adapted to fit the interests of local students. 3-D Project teachers identify students whose math talents have not been recognized through traditional instruction and assessment, and they work to help them develop their math literacy through the use of realistic problems that do not have quick-answer, one-rule solutions. These researchers have found that "when students work on model-eliciting problems selected to fit their interests and experiences, and when the tasks emphasize a broad range of abilities, a majority of students routinely invent (or extend, or refine) mathematical ideas that are far more sophisticated than their teachers would have guessed could be taught" (Lesh et al., p. 416). The following example illustrates the process of using a 3-D activity in mathematics to solve real-life problems:

Students are to design a carnival game that will actually be played at a school fund-raiser. The game involves throwing discs onto a game board to win CDs. The students need to design their game so that some people win (for incentive to play), but they cannot have so many winners that the game will not make money. Using many different math skills, the game plan has to include information about the size of the game board and target, prices to charge for throws, chances of winning, and estimated profits.

The 3-D Project does not specifically target language minority students, but its design is congruent with a conceptually sound language development approach for language minorities that emphasizes students' experiences and involves group projects to foster communication, concept development, and problem-solving skills.

The Cognitive Apprentice Model

Building on sociocultural theory (see Chapter 5), Moll (1986, 1989) sees the bilingual classroom as a cultural microcosm in which knowledge can be effectively developed through a cognitive apprenticeship model. Such an approach addresses social and cultural contexts of learning while developing higher levels of cognition

(Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1989, p. 161). To do this in the bilingual context, both languages are used concurrently as needed to ensure that the instructional environment is meaningful to all students. In the cognitive apprentice model that was used in the bilingual classrooms Moll studied, the teacher's role was that of a craftsman who was sharing knowledge with the students—apprentices—as they carried out meaningful science and math activities together. To do this, teachers used modeling strategies and scaffolding strategies (building from what the students already know to new concepts). They also used evaluating strategies (such as talking about how a problem was solved, what worked, and what didn't) and peer collaborative strategies. Trained in ethnographic methodology, the teachers in Moll's study also conducted research in the effectiveness of the cognitive apprenticeship model for math and science. According to Thornburg and Karp (1992), bilingual teachers trained in the apprenticeship model "appear able to communicate both second language skills and higher order thinking within mathematics and science lessons" (p. 175). Moreover, "the model appears to facilitate their (the teachers') responsiveness to students' efforts to comprehend, apply, and reason through concepts and procedures using the second language" (pp. 175–176).

Cognitively Guided Instruction

In cognitively guided math instruction, teachers and learners are always talking about why they are doing what they are doing, and they come to expect that doing mathematics should make sense. With a traditional math curriculum, the idea that math should make sense often gets lost as children do repeated paper-and-pencil problems. For example, Powell and Frankenstein (1997, p. 193), referring to Pulchalska and Semadeni (1987), tell the story of a schoolchild who was given the following problem: "You have 10 red pencils in your left pocket and 10 blue pencils in your right pocket. How old are you?" The child answered that he was 20, just as many schoolchildren would. He knew that he was seven years old and he understood addition, but he *didn't* have an expectation that math should make sense. Rather, he was mechanically operating out of his classroom experience that told him that when you answer a math question in school, you use the numbers given to you in the story.

Tying the math reform movement with the needs of language minority children, Secada and Carey (1990) and Secada and De La Cruz (1996) provide excellent examples of the use of cognitively guided instruction in bilingual math classrooms. In Secada and De La Cruz (1996) we step into a fraction lesson in a second-grade bilingual classroom. The description demonstrates how a cognitively guided approach can show children that math should make sense to them. The students have plenty of opportunities to figure things out for themselves, with help as needed from the teacher. Through their work, they come to expect that giving a reason for what they did is a natural part of the learning process in mathematics. The following excerpt provides a glimpse of the interaction that one may find in cognitively guided math discussions.

Second graders have been playing a manipulative math game in which they use fractions to add up to 1. There has been much discussion among the children

as they figure out what combinations of fractions work to add up to 1. Now they are reporting their observations in a whole class discussion. Some children have argued that 1/3 + 1/2 + 1/4 equals 1.

⊠ **Teacher: ¿Quiénes piensan que estos suman a uno? (Who thinks that these add up to one?) [A group of children raise their hands.] ¿Y quiénes dicen que *no*? (And who says *no*?) [Some other children raise their hands.] ¿Y quién no sabe? (And who doesn't know?) Bueno, discútanlo entre ustedes mismos. (Well, discuss it among yourselves.)**

In a spirited conversation, some children bring out strips to show others how 1/3 + 1/4 + 1/2 is too big to equal 1. Other children write on paper. Listening to each group's reasoning, the teacher sends groups that achieve consensus to the other groups to help them resolve the problem. After a while, there is quiet.

Teacher: ¿Qué decidieron? (What did you decide?)

María: Es más que uno. (It is more than one.)

Teacher: ¿Cómo lo sabes? (How do you know that?)

Paraphrasing from Secada and De La Cruz, María then went to the overhead and showed with strips of paper that the fractions added up to more than one. She reexplained with the strips of paper again for some children who said they didn't understand. Then the teacher went on to ask "Who did it a different way?" Another student came to the chalkboard, and showed, using a written approach, how she also concluded that 1/3 + 1/4 + 1/2 could not equal one, by comparing it to 1/4 + 1/4 + 1/2, which she already knew equaled 1 (Secada & De La Cruz, 1996, p. 291).

Cultural Issues in Mathematics and Science

We cannot leave the topic of math and science instruction in bilingual and ESL settings without a consideration of cultural issues. We will look at research on cross-cultural cognition and developmental universals as they relate to math and science. Then we will explore the fields of **ethnoscience** and **ethnomathematics.** From there we move into activating student and community resources for culturally relevant math and science instruction. In doing so we will be building on the principles of multicultural education that we discussed in Chapter 5.

Cross-Cultural Research and Developmental Universalities

How do learners under various cultural and environmental conditions come to grips with knowledge about their worlds? Knowing "how people perceive the environment, how they classify it, how they think about it" (Cole & Scribner, 1974, p. 5) is very relevant to bilingual and ESL math and science instruction. In the areas of math and science, to what extent do culturally diverse students approach learning in different ways, and to what extent do they approach it in the same ways? As the reader will recall from our discussion about cultural influences on cognitive styles in Chapter 5, while evidence exists that there may be differences, the specific

nature, degree, and cause of the differences are elusive. In asking such a question, therefore, we do not intend to suggest a straitjacket cultural determinism position. We are not, for example, suggesting that "Adel is Egyptian. Therefore, Adel categorizes in the same way that all Egyptians categorize." However, cross-cultural research on math and science enables us to better understand the potential influences of culture in these areas.

Does the human brain, across cultures and languages, have one single "innate mathematical structure," comparable to the "universal grammar" proposed by Chomsky? According to Crump (1992, p. 27), "All the evidence suggests that there is but one universal grammar of number." Despite cultural differences in such things as counting systems and applications of math to everyday life, the above statement by Crump positively reaffirms from the mathematical point of view the principle that all humans share a common cognitive heritage. Children's mathematically based games from throughout the world reflect this reality. As Crump states, "Games foreshadow the acquisition of elementary mathematical skills in the intellectual development of the child," and "The intellectual basis of games is universal and logical, rather than particularistic and linguistic." One illustration is the Japanese game of "janken." (This game appears in different forms in many cultures—in English it is the "scissors, stone, paper" game.) Young children learn very easily to play "janken," but behind the game "the mathematical theory is both profound and difficult" (Crump, 1992, pp. 117–118). To use another example of universality of math thought patterns, Ginsburg found through his research in the Ivory Coast that all children, regardless of any formal preschool experience and regardless of tribal affiliations, have been given a "good mathematical head start'" (Ginsburg, 1978, p. 43). He found, for instance, that all the children in his sample could solve the majority of "more" problems. His results also indicated that "in judgments of *more,* African children use the same methods of solution as do American children" (Ginsburg, 1978, p. 37). In essence, before even entering a classroom, children throughout the world appear to possess an intuitive notion of "more." Thus when a teacher concludes that a kindergarten child does not demonstrate understanding of more, this assessment may be mistaken. The child may not understand the language of instruction, the context, or the format used for assessment, but he or she probably understands the concept.

Piaget's focus on the development of logicomathematical structures in children makes it particularly relevant to a discussion of cultural similarities and differences in mathematics and science learning.[3] One of the early implications of Piaget's work was that his four stages of logicomathematical thought structure would be universal across varied cultural contexts, and Piagetian scholars produced a variety of cross-cultural research evidence that seems to confirm this (Dasen, 1977). However, while early cross-cultural research into Piagetian stages suggested universality, reviews of later studies suggested that perhaps the characteristics and timing of the stages were not as universal as earlier thought (Lancy, 1983).

However, it is difficult to ascertain the origins of differences that have been noted. For example, differences in the development of formal operations among adolescents might be seen not as a product of Western versus non-Western cultural

patterns, but of the presence or lack of formal postelementary schooling, which places great emphasis on formal operations. The effect of culture and other social experiences such as formal schooling on Piaget's stages of intellectual development is therefore a complex and unresolved issue. Saxe and Posner (1983) suggest that Piagetian studies, because of the premises under which they operated, are inherently unable to "explicate the manner in which cultural factors contribute to the development process" (p. 300) in such areas as numerical thought.

The work of Vygotsky (1962) is useful in understanding possible cultural differences in approaches to math and science learning. Saxe and Posner (1983) have compared the Piagetian and Vygotskian approaches to the development of mathematical thinking from a cross-cultural perspective and point out that while the Piagetian approach focuses on logical operations, the Vygotskian approach focuses more on the cultural context of how problems are solved. Whereas from the Piagetian perspective children are seen to interact with the physical world directly, from the Vygotskian perspective cognition is a mediated activity in which children interact with representations of the world, including such culturally rooted systems as language and numeration. The basis of Vygotsky's approach is that there are two types of learning: (1) the learning of "spontaneous concepts," which the child engages in independently and which entails specific solutions to particular problems, and (2) the learning of "scientific concepts," which is carried out through interaction with formal and informal adult teachers. This learning entails generalized knowledge structures that can be applied in a variety of contexts and that comprise part of the group's cultural value system. The interaction between these two types of learning is the mechanism for the development of the intellect within a particular culture. The scientific concepts learned through interaction with mature members of the group gradually begin to direct children's approaches to their own spontaneous problem solving. Although they become more independent in their ability to solve problems, the style of cognitive functioning that they use is more or less a replica of that of their cultural group.

Researchers basing their work on Vygotsky hypothesize that culturally different groups will exhibit different approaches to the solution of mathematics problems. Looking at numeration systems in particular, Saxe and Posner (1983) point out that "in general, the research consistent with Vygotsky's approach has provided documentation concerning the way numerical skills are interwoven with particular numerational systems and culturally organized practices" (p. 306). For example, Hatano (1982), in a review of studies, found cultural influences in the mathematics achievement of Japanese students. Extensive abacus training provided calculation skills that transferred to pencil-and-paper computations. Also, number words are regular and reflect place value in the Japanese language. (For example, the Japanese equivalent for 11 is "10-1," 12 is "10-2," 21 is "2-10s-1," and so on.) Hatano argued that this cultural trait facilitated the comprehension of multiple-digit operations. In addition, the Japanese language also happens to provide a regular rhyming system for the memorization of multiplication facts.

Saxe and Posner (1983) concluded that because of the different emphases of the Piagetian and Vygotskian approaches, a combination of the two holds the

greatest promise for an understanding of the development of mathematical thought from a cross-cultural perspective. In some ways the dichotomy between the two is akin to the issue of nature versus nurture. As Lancy asks, "At what point does genetic evolution stop and cultural evolution take over in managing the development of cognition?" (in Saxe & Posner, 1983, p. 196). Saxe and Posner (1983) propose that the "formation of mathematical concepts is a developmental process simultaneously rooted in the constructive activities of the individual and in social life" (p. 315).

Just as cultural variables may alter expression of mathematical or scientific thought processes, some researchers suggest that the development of dual language skills may work interdependently with the development of mathematical and scientific ways of thought. Saxe (1983) cited studies that indicated that bilingual children have a greater awareness of the "arbitrary property of number words" (p. 23). Kessler and Quinn (1980) cited many studies from a variety of sociocultural contexts that indicated that bilinguals may have an advantage over monolinguals in some measures of cognitive flexibility, creativity, and divergent thinking. In their own research, they compared the ability of monolingual and bilingual sixth graders to formulate hypotheses for science problems. They found that the bilinguals scored significantly higher than the monolinguals in hypothesis quality. Basic to Piaget's theory of intellectual development is that the child's observation of discrepant events produces conflict within his or her existing thought system, which in turn results in intellectual development through assimilation and accommodation. (A discrepant event, for example, would be the observation that a crayon that sank in a tub of tap water floated in a tub of salt water.) Kessler and Quinn suggested that bilingual children, through their experience of learning two languages, have experienced more conceptual conflict than monolinguals, and that this conflict activates the equilibration processes of assimilation and accommodation for cognitive development. There is not, however, an extensive research database to support the existence of a positive relation between bilingualism and hypothesis-generating abilities, or between bilingualism and any other logicomathematical operations. The definite effects of bilingualism on Piagetian equilibration processes, as well as any resultant relation between such processes and mathematical and scientific development are still largely unresolved.

Related to the issues of cognitive universals and the influence of bilingualism is the hypothesis that language determines an individual's worldview, long associated with Sapir and Whorf. With respect to science and mathematics we still have to at least consider Whorf's (1956) statement that "we dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages" (p. 213). Is our interpretation of observed phenomena directly influenced by the lexicon and syntax of our mother tongue? It is true that the word or grammatical structure used in a language to describe a scientific or mathematical concept may not have an equivalent in another language. For example, there is no word for *line* in some American Indian languages (Lovett, 1980, p. 15). Does this mean that an American Indian child for whom English is a second language will have more trouble than an English-dominant American Indian child in learning to identify a line? Some research does in fact indicate that

"people more readily discriminate between things they have different names for" (Berelson & Steiner, 1964, p. 190). However, despite variation in the way languages categorize or describe scientific and mathematical concepts, languages do not form impermeable walls closing off cross-cultural transmission of scientific or mathematical content. A loan word will give a label to a concept that can be mastered in any language. Algebra was developed in an Arabic cultural context, and the English word *algebra* is of Arabic origin. However, there is no evidence that non-Arabs consistently have more difficulty than Arabs in mastering algebra. In this case we have to go back to the empirical universality of certain basic cognitive processes. Crucial to this discussion is the expandability of all languages. Because languages have always borrowed extensively from each other for vocabulary to express new objects, ideas, or processes, language by itself is not a boundary preventing the acquisition of nonnative concepts (see Ovando, *Language and Thought*, 2008).

Ethnoscience and Ethnomathematics

Most of us, regardless of our own cultural background, have been educated monoculturally in the fields of math and science. Textbooks and teachers generally presented the subjects as empirical, fact-based endeavors that were devoid of social or cultural content. However, there is a large and fascinating world that opens up to us and to our students when we develop a multicultural perspective on math and science. As reflections of logical processes and verified facts, mathematics and science have universal currency. But as instruments of cultural and social content they also carry with them all the richness, creativity, and variety associated with such systems. "Ethnomathematics" and "ethnoscience" enable us to see mathematical and scientific systems within their rich cultural contexts. Ethnoscience, as described by Kessler and Quinn (1987), refers to "theories and procedures for learning about the physical world that have evolved informally within cultures to explain and predict natural phenomena" (p. 61). Borba (1990) defines ethnomathematics as "mathematical knowledge expressed in the language code of a given sociocultural group." Ethnomathematics includes "the mathematical ideas of peoples, manifested in written or nonwritten, oral or nonoral forms, many of which have been either ignored or otherwise distorted by conventional histories of mathematics" (Powell & Frankenstein, 1997, p. 9). The infusion of ethnomathematical and ethnoscientific perspectives into math and science instruction is one of the ways in which we can affirm the diversity and develop the multicultural literacy of minority students, at the same time that we develop the multicultural literacy of majority students (see www.cs .uidaho.edu/~casey931/seminar/ethno.html for an exciting Web site related to ethnomathematics).

Such things as the historical origins of math terms used today, or the cultural significance of certain numbers or shapes, serve as reminders of the interrelationships between math, science, and culture. For example, the English measurement of *acre* is derived from an old calculation of the amount of land that could be

plowed in one day (Crump, 1992, p. 75). The measurement of 60 seconds into 1 minute and 60 minutes into 1 hour is a survivor from ancient Babylonian sexagesimal numerals (Crump, 1992, p. 36). Consider also the functional and symbolic meanings surrounding the number *three* in the Western tradition. Besides its counting function, the number three shapes Western stories, which generally have a predictable three-part format: beginning, middle, and end. Even Christian theology, with its affirmation of the Holy Trinity, is an example of a numerical concept associated with a cultural meaning. The number three, however, may not have the same symbolic, magical, or organizational importance in other cultures. Athapaskans, for instance, tend to divide stories into four rather than three logically integrated subparts. To take a different example, the geometric figure of the mandala, used throughout Southeast Asia, has cultural meaning coded into its defining geometric shape. The shape underlies important historical, political, and architectural patterns. The core (manda) of the figure is unitary, while the outer part of the figure, called the container (-la) is always a multiple of two. The mandala is not only the model for the temples at Angkor Wat (in Cambodia) and Borobudur (in Indonesia), but it is also the model for the political structure of a king who is dominant over a circle of subordinate princes (Crump, 1992, pp. 70, 71).

Many examples of the ethnoscientific perspective involve the comparison of systems for classification. For example, plants and animals have been traditionally classified by the Cree and Ojibwa people based on their function and use. In the formal Western scientific system, however, they are classified according to their structure. Both systems are valid and both involve an underlying cognitive process of classification. Powell and Frankenstein (1997, p. 197) retell an interesting account of a cross-cultural classification study conducted by Western experimenters with non-Western individuals from a rural, agrarian society. The researchers had 20 objects that, from their Eurocentric perspective, they expected to be sorted into four "logical" categories: food, clothing, tools, and cooking utensils. However, the people in the study based their sorting on the practical connections between pairs of objects. For example, they paired the knife with the orange because the knife cuts the orange. As they sorted, they occasionally commented that such was the way that a wise person would group the objects. Puzzled by the approach, a researcher finally asked how a *fool* would group the objects. This time individuals in the study produced the four categories that the Western researcher had considered to be the "correct" solution!

There are many examples of how our understanding of the scope of science and math development has been biased by the traditional curricular focus on Western mathematicians and scientists who recorded and published their findings. When we open math and science to a broader definition of knowledge, we find fascinating perspectives on the development of knowledge throughout the world. For example, Mendel did controlled studies and recorded his work with plant genetics. In the larger context, however, humans had been doing genetic research for thousands of years. For example, the ancestor of today's corn plants was a stubby little grass that had evolved naturally. Through generations of selection of seeds with desired traits, North and South American Indians developed much

larger and more useful domestic varieties for human consumption. In 1721, Cotton Mather learned from Onesimus, an African American slave, of the Banyoro tribe's method of inoculating against smallpox. He reported this method to Boylston, who later received honors in the Western scientific community for the "discovery" of the smallpox vaccine. The traditional knowledge on which he had built his discovery was ignored. Westerners learned of the treatment for malaria, quinine, from American Indians in Peru. For generations, many Hispanic parents have known of the use of *manzanilla* tea for children's fever, aches, and pains. *Manzanilla* contains acetylsalicylic acid, which we more commonly know as aspirin (Barba, 1995, p. 57). Ethnoscientific and ethnomathematical knowledge helps children to see that humans throughout the world and throughout history have been observing and making conclusions about the natural world. Science and math are not just the domain of people in lab coats who conduct formal experiments and publish their results.

Ethnoscience and ethnomathematics also provide rich opportunities for an interdisciplinary approach to math and science. For example, while doing a scientific study of the various structures and functions of spider webs, children can also learn about ways in which American Indians have traditionally used spider webs as protection against bad medicine. Archeology is particularly representative of the integration of culture with mathematics and science. Students learn "how people, separate from themselves in time, technology, and worldview, shaped and were shaped by the environment" (Tirrell, 1981, p. 1). At the same time they may learn about such things as measurement, coordinates, statistics, radioactivity, and the effect of climate on plant communities. For example, study of the solar equinoxes and solstices can be clearly related to the astronomical observations of the Maya, Inca, and Anasazi. The fact that their astronomical achievements now serve as a basis for a newly created field called archeostronomy serves as evidence of the significance of their accomplishments. In such an integrated unit of study all students gain information that reinforces astronomical concepts. At the same time the content affirms the background of Hispanic American or American Indian students who may be speculating about who their ancestors were and what they did. Teaching that applies mathematics and science concepts to cultural phenomena or that uses examples drawn from disparate cultural backgrounds to illustrate mathematics or science objectives is intellectually stimulating for both the teacher and the students.

Activation of Student and Community Resources

As valuable as ethnoscience and ethnomathematics are, they have to be implemented within the context of the local community. Cultural themes derived from the ethnoscientific or ethnomathematic perspective should be integrated in ways that are relevant and meaningful to all students, both majority and minority. For example, when teachers integrate an aspect of a particular group's cultural heritage into a lesson, they cannot assume that all the children from that group will find it affirming. If a teacher presents a unit on the Mayan numerical system in such

a way that it appears to be a curiosity "on behalf of" students of Mexican or Central American origin, the unit might actually engender negative attitudes. Instead, such a unit can be presented as an example of a numerical system that illustrates the concept of the use of various mathematical patterns to solve problems. Language minority children continually assess, consciously and unconsciously, the pros and cons of affiliation with their home culture, and if they have a strong sense of the marked status of their cultural background, they might not initially want to look at Mayan gods or Hopi motifs on the margins of their mathematics worksheets. Despite the importance of corn in Mexican culture, a Mexican American student living in Anchorage, Alaska, may have no more feeling for the development of a corn seed into a mature plant than a fourth-generation Swede living in Los Angeles has for the chemical processes involved in the preparation of *lutefisk*. (*Lutefisk* is a traditional Scandinavian dish of dried cod soaked in lye for several weeks before the final process of boiling.) With these warnings in mind, we conclude that if topics are presented in such a way that it is clear that they have a bearing on actual mathematics or science content, and if they are presented as lessons to be absorbed by all students regardless of linguistic background, they can have academically sound and culturally enlightening results. The infusion of multicultural content into the math or science curriculum, rather than being an added nuisance that "softens" the subject, can help students internalize new concepts.

We turn now to the more everyday aspects of culturally diverse children's lives that can be incorporated into math and science instruction. Because all children, regardless of cultural and environmental conditions, come to know aspects of the physical and mathematical world in their daily lives outside of the classroom, bilingual and ESL teachers who start by affirming and searching for these natural competencies are going to be better able to encourage the development of new math and science skills. Returning again to the concept of "more," a pretest that comes with a commercial math curriculum, with its culture-based format, may indicate that a child has not mastered the notion, when in fact he or she has. Basing instruction on the pretest results without delving any deeper would result in a waste of valuable instructional time and, worse, in the teacher's underestimation of the child's ability.

While young children's cognitive developmental stages may be fairly universal, the way in which they are manifested in math and science contexts may be somewhat specific to a given cultural matrix. Knowing this, we are more apt to question the nature of the mathematics and science lesson formats as they relate to the experience of the child, rather than questioning exclusively the child's capability. A case in point is Secada's work with Hispanic American bilingual first graders. He found that these children, in both Spanish and English, actually were able to come up with correct solutions for word problems that, based on usual assessment procedures, teachers did not expect them to be able to solve. Freed to use their own invented solutions, the children showed that they had a good mathematical understanding of many of the problems they supposedly were not ready to solve (Secada, 1991).

Work on differences between street mathematics and school mathematics by Nunes, Schliemann, and Carraher (1993) confirms that people are more successful

and creative in solving math problems when the problems are set in a familiar context. For example, the researchers found that unschooled street vendors in Brazil (many of them children) were able to solve math problems that were connected to everyday life experiences in the marketplace. For example, the street vendors were able to adjust the prices of goods according to how many the customer wanted to buy. However, the same vendors had difficulty solving similar problems when the problems were presented to them with school-like terminology and procedures.

Certain concepts may be almost self-evident to a child based on their application to home experiences, whereas others may require more reinforcement in school due to a lack of related exposure in the home or community. Ginsburg, in comparing two tribes in Africa, for example, found that one group promoted the development of the mathematical concepts of more and less through extensive commercial activities, whereas the other group, because of its lesser amount of commercial activity, was less likely to provide opportunities for children to practice the concept. In a formal school lesson on more and less, a child from the former ethnic group might appear to have more ability than a child from the second group, whereas in fact their innate ability levels could be the same but their experience unequal. In another study that reflects the role of cultural practices in the development of specific math abilities, the investigators found Kpelle tribesmen to be better than Yale undergraduates at estimating the number of objects in a pile (Gay & Cole, 1967). From the point of view of the Kpelle, the Yale student might be considered "culturally deprived" because of his poor estimation abilities; he would need remedial work in estimation if school math curricula were designed by the Kpelle.

Opportunities to apply home and community experiences to math and science instruction are innumerable. A student who has observed his or her parents slaughter goats or pigs has some important background information or questions to contribute to the classroom study of internal organs (as a part of a sixth-grade health curriculum, for example). A child who is familiar with herbal remedies has valuable information to share with the class when they are studying the properties of plants or the use of drugs in the treatment of illnesses. Beginning with the first chapter of this book, we have stressed the importance of developing an awareness of the community in which our students live and learn, and this knowledge can significantly enrich the math and science curricula and instructional processes. As such, the application of scientific or mathematical principles should not be limited to traditional cultural artifacts or to the students' culture as it existed in the country of origin. (Again, consider the culture change that a Mexican American in Anchorage, Alaska, experiences.) The study of energy can be related to the oil well just behind the student's backyard fence, or principles of physics can be applied to the antics of a low-rider car. A good example of the effective use of community knowledge in an integrated approach is that of the Innovative Approaches Research Project carried out in a Mexican American working-class community in the Southwest. During a sixth-grade bilingual classroom's unit on construction, parents and relatives involved in local construction were invited to share their knowledge. Students learned about such things as measurement of height, perimeter,

and area; the use of fractions for the mixture of mortar; the construction of arches; and calculation of time and money. Social topics naturally became integrated into the theme as they explored such things as cost versus quality and the history of local buildings (Moll, Vélez-Ibáñez, & Rivera, 1990, pp. 33–34).

A Theme–Based Approach: Science, Technology, and Society

In Chapter 3, we argued for the value of theme-based, interdisciplinary teaching approaches for language minority children. Throughout this chapter, we have seen in a variety of examples that interdisciplinary instruction can bring science and math to life for students. In discussing content ESL we pointed out the need to integrate reading and writing development with instruction in science and mathematics. When discussing the role of culture in math and science instruction, we saw how ethnoscience, ethnomathematics, and use of local community resources can afford opportunities to reach into history, geography, folklore, careers, and many other areas.

It might be argued by some that mathematics and science should be culture free, that because they contain an enormous amount of challenging information to be mastered there is no time or use for the integration of other subjects into such objective disciplines. However, many bilingual and ESL teachers will testify to the value of integrated instruction to promote meaningful learning for language minority students. Our minds are made to integrate separated concepts and knowledge into unified wholes. Although it is true that pinpointing and drawing out the connections among subjects may require creative approaches, the inherently interdependent infrastructure is always there. As the biologist Lewis Thomas (1975) put it, "The circuitry seems to be there, even if the current is not always on" (p. 15).

While we already have seen how different subject areas can be related to math and science, we have not yet directly considered thematic instruction, in which the focus of study is a single broad topic. In a theme-based approach, students learn math, science, language arts, and other subjects through the medium of a main topic. The example that we will use has to do with the incorporation of technology and social issues into the science curriculum. The following statement by the American Association for the Advancement of Science (1993) affirms the importance of technology as the application of science to human endeavors:

> Technology—like language, ritual, values, commerce, and the arts—is an intrinsic part of a cultural system and it both shapes and reflects the system's values. Anticipating the effects of technology is therefore as important as advancing its capabilities (p. 55).

Science-technology-society education (STS) (Barba, 1995; Wraga & Hlebowitsh, 1991; Yager, 1990) is an approach that links science education with technological and social issues. This approach to science education naturally incorporates some of the key dimensions of multicultural education as we discussed them in Chapter 5.

The dimensions that are most clearly reflected in STS are education for social justice and the use of critical pedagogy. Through STS education, children not only learn science, they learn how science, technology and society are interrelated.

The possibilities for STS themes seem endless: "acid rain, air quality, deforestation, drugs, erosion, euthanasia, food preservatives or additives, fossil fuels, genetic engineering, greenhouse effect, hazardous waste, hunger, land usage, mineral resources, nuclear power, nuclear warfare, overpopulation" and so on through the alphabet (Barba, 1995, p. 323). With these themes, students learn about scientific concepts alongside social issues. For example, in an illustration given by Barba (1995, p. 321) students do an STS unit on land usage. Using three different samples of soil from three different areas in their community, they use scientific processes to compare and contrast the qualities of the three soil samples. Based on their analysis of the samples from the three different locations, students then discuss which area of their community would probably be the best location for an imaginary new housing development. With such a theme-based approach, children develop the ability to deal knowledgeably with scientific, technological, and social issues. Through STS, they engage in reading, writing, sharing, critical thinking, and problem solving. They come to see the value and worth of science in the real world.

When combined with sound principles of first- and second-language acquisition, STS education can be of great value for language minority children. As we think back on the topics that we have covered in this chapter—achievement status, current standards and reform, opportunity to learn standards, language use, and cultural issues—we can see that STS education is a promising avenue for critical pedagogy that provides language minority students with more equitable opportunities to learn math and science.

The tension that often exists in all societies between tradition and technological innovation was brought home to one of the authors quite forcefully once through a play presented by a theater group of Greenlandic Eskimos. This theater group used the name *Tukak,* meaning harpoon in the Inuit language. The *tukak,* or harpoon, was their symbol of their search for innovation at the same time that they maintained an attachment to the past. Reflecting on the harpoon metaphor, many Alaskan Eskimos today are interested in nurturing their ethnic identities through whatever benefits science and technology may bring to their circumpolar region of the world. Snowmobiles, air transportation, modern medicine, motorboats, heating systems, and use of computer technology, for example, can potentially be used to strengthen their communities rather than destroying them.

The harpoon can also serve as a metaphor for the "opportunity to learn" standards for language minorities that we discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Math and science instruction that is culturally relevant and non-Eurocentric will anchor them in their cultural identities at the same time that cognitively and linguistically sound instruction will provide them with the math, science, and digital-age knowledge and skills to move forward into the twenty-first century.

Summary

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This chapter explores the current school reform movement, including the No Child Left Behind Act (2002) in the teaching of mathematics and science and its application to English language learners and their diverse needs. Using the rich resources that can emerge in student contexts with linguistic and cultural diversity, the chapter demonstrates through many examples the integration of cognitively challenging mathematics and science content with the development of students' knowledge base in first and second languages and cultures. The chapter includes examples for using school and community resources (funds of knowledge), computers, calculators, online resources, and a review of current standards in mathematics and science education for the teaching of multicultural science and mathematics programs. The chapter hinges on the premise that the disciplines of mathematics and science represent "cultural capital" that should be available to *all* students, including English language learners who may be poor and from non-standard English language backgrounds.

Go to the Online Learning Center at www.mhhe .com/ovando5e to access the Student Study Guide.

Key Terms

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Ethnomathematics, *260*

Ethnoscience, *260*

Learning strategies, *250*

Mathematical standards, *235*

Multiple modalities, *250*

Reflection Questions

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1. The prediction that language minority students will have fewer problems with mathematics than language arts because "math is a universal language" is not supported by either research or practice. Why is mathematics often a difficult content area for students who are acquiring English as well?

2. What is the role of the student's first language in the teaching and learning of mathematical and scientific skills? What are some of the instructional approaches that bilingual and ESL teachers can use to help English language learners acquire these skills? What are the advantages and disadvantages of some of these approaches?

3. Review the discussions about content ESL and sheltered English instruction in Chapters 2 and 4. Select a topic or concept in math or science. How would you shelter your instruction to make the topic meaningful and comprehensible to English language learners?

4. Why do the authors advocate a "multiple modalities" approach in the teaching of mathematics and science to English language learners? What do they mean by the term? Why is this approach more effective than other, more

traditional approaches to math and science instruction?

5. What do the authors mean by "ethnomathematics" and "ethnoscience"? How can educators infuse ethnomathematical and ethnoscientific perspectives in math and science instruction?

6. What material and human resources would you recommend to a math or science specialist new to your school district who asks you for advice on how to get language minority students excited about these content areas?

7. Jaime Escalante, the Bolivian-born mathematics educator, well known in the United States for his success at teaching calculus to marginalized Latino/a students at Garfield High School in East Los Angeles in the mid-1970s (see the film *Stand and Deliver*, 1988), believes that mathematics is the great equalizer. Bob Moses, president and founder of the Algebra Project, claims that mathematics is the next civil rights issue in our contemporary society (see the DVD titled *Two Million Minutes*). That said, do you agree or disagree with Escalante and Moses? What are the leading theories used to examine equity issues in mathematics education?

ENDNOTES

1. We have used the term *white* in the tables instead of *European American* (our preferred term throughout this book), and *Hispanic* rather than *Hispanic American* because these were the terms used for the categories in the NAEP study.

2. *Sciences for All Americans* (Rutherford & Ahlgren, 1990) explores the many connections of science to our daily lives. Rutherford and Ahlgren describe what scientific literacy entails and establish why all people need to be scientifically literate. Bilingual and ESL teachers who read this book can gain a greater appreciation for the teaching of science and will be better equipped to find their own connections between science instruction and other curricular areas. *Why Science?* (Trefil, 2008) also provides an imperative for scientific literature in our society.

3. Piaget (1929, 1954) originated a theory of intellectual development that is based on a series of four distinct predictable stages of thought, or logicomathematical thought structures. Children progress through these stages—sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational, and formal operational—by a process of equilibrium, in which they reconcile discrepancies between their current forms of understanding and new physical experiences that contradict those forms of understanding.

Social Studies

"A primary object … should be the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? And what duty more pressing … than … communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country."

—George Washington

From the *Other Side*

Oh my God. I wrote notes and to-do lists yesterday
Before we were struck.
Now nothing looks the same …
I've got to be still
And silent as the trees
To find the presence
To witness
The humanity
Implied in the halftone photograph
Of the man falling head first
From tower top to asphalt
Preferring this terrible dying
To the horror
Of allowing himself to be
Consumed in flames.

Merciless.

Someone's technology saved a visual record
Of one man's last living moment
And so I see
A life turned upside down
Someone frozen in free fall
Breathing the last of a gloriously beautiful day
Ripped Dear God by rage
So furiously hot
I must ask
What
Is behind this
What drove people to condemn and execute so many
So ruthlessly
Let me look into the faces of the perpetrators and let me
Listen, Dear God, let me learn
What those World Trade Towers
Mean, What the Pentagon means
From the other side.

When we stopped paying our dues at the U.N.
What did it look like from the other side?

When we refused to abide by the judgments of the World Court
What did it look like from the other side?
When we refused to be bound by the laws of the International Criminal Court
What did it look like from the other side?
When we refused to sign the Land Mine Treaty
What did it look like from the other side?
When we refused to sign the Kyoto Agreement
What did it look like from the other side?
When we walked out of the International Conference on Racism
What did it look like from the other side?
When we embargo and bomb Iraq daily—without a thought—
Without a moment's reflection on the flaming buildings,
The broken bodies, the human suffering that we're causing,
For the first time I can say I have a clue
What it feels like
From the other side.

> *—Lou Ann Merkle, Artist, Art Teacher, and SEED Seminar Leader in the Upper Dublin School District, 1994–1998 and the Crefeld School, 2001. Poem read at SEED Seminar Meeting on September 12, 2001, Plymouth, Pennsylvania.*

When you hear the term *social studies,* what comes to mind? Teaching about countries and capitals, lakes and rivers? Exotic cultures and unfamiliar customs? Presidents and legislation, wars and more wars? Terrorism, conflict resolution, foreign policies, and global interdependence? How does the opening poem above speak to conflict resolution in the global village? Should U.S. citizens care what the international community thinks about our foreign policy? What are the implications for our national agenda if we ignore the countervoices of other nations? In the United States, where the development of democratic citizens is an often-mentioned aim of social studies education, what should be the role of educators in promoting socialization to the alleged characteristics of the United States—strength, resiliency, and the capacity for reinvention? Should educators promote alternative countersocialization curricular processes and experiences that encourage students to develop moral courage and the political will to speak out against ideological and political issues and concerns that go against the grain of the ideals reflected in such documents as the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights?

Boring? Incomprehensible? Maybe not to you, but it could be for your students. The field of **social studies** poses a variety of challenges for language minority children. Often the instruction they receive is incomprehensible and the assessment is inappropriate. Social studies classes tend to be heavily dependent on the extensive use of literacy skills, and both reading and writing assignments frequently involve genre and sentence structures that are unfamiliar to English language learners (ELLs). In addition, social studies involves a heavy load of new vocabulary, much of it fairly abstract. To compound these challenges, many traditional social studies classes offer limited use of realia and other nontextbook

materials. Also, social studies curricula often assume a base of prior knowledge that language minority students may not have because of their sociocultural background or varied educational history (Short, 1994a). Finally, social studies instruction may to varying degrees be culturally biased. Certainly many ingredients combine to make the subject potentially boring and incomprehensible.

Yet social studies certainly doesn't have to be boring. When taught in a manner appropriate to language minority students, it provides a fascinating context for children to develop their own sociocultural identity, to reach out and learn about the world and their place in it, and to begin to exercise their roles as citizens in a democracy and as citizens of the world. At the same time, social studies provides a rich linguistic environment in which students constantly develop the listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills that contribute to their academic language proficiency and that will provide a sound basis for lifelong learning and active participation in society.

The students in the vignettes in the accompanying Guidelines for Teaching have had opportunities to become engaged in social studies in ways that will have a positive impact on their lives and on their abilities to function as knowledgeable citizens in a complex, interdependent world (see Banks, 2004; Ovando, Jensen, Tung, & Wiley, 2009). Throughout the chapter, we will be referring back to each of these vignettes as they illustrate particular aspects of social studies instruction for language minority students. As the vignettes reflect, we advocate a language-sensitive, active approach to social studies that is developed from a multicultural, global perspective. In presenting such an approach, we explore four areas: (1) a defining framework for social studies in multilingual contexts, (2) bilingual and ESL classroom settings for social studies, (3) instructional methods, and (4) models of theme-based social studies units for language minority students. The chapter ends with a plea to educators and policymakers to reclaim from NCLB the rightful position that social studies must have in PK–12 schooling for a democratic society.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

SOCIAL STUDIES IN ACTION

Social studies doesn't have to be boring! Consider the following examples of social studies in action in a variety of multilingual schools, elementary through high school, across the United States:

"¿Dónde agarraron los ladrillos?" ("Where did they get the bricks?") an inquisitive sixth grader asks a classmate during a social studies presentation in a bilingual classroom. The class has been working on a long-term simulation project in which students first develop a community from a group of people lost on an island, and then write a history

of the community's changes over time. The child who is asked about the bricks is a recent immigrant who is barely literate in his L_1 and has very little English. However, he is clearly an active member of this learning community as he explains the presence of bricks for home construction (Heras, 1993, p. 292).

At an elementary magnet school in New Jersey that has about 40 ELLs from 25 different countries, fourth graders are studying about their state as part of the district's social studies curriculum. Included within their studies is an

continued

exploration of the numerous ways in which New Jersey is linked to other parts of the world. This is just part of the entire school's commitment to global education across subject areas (Gidich, 1990).

In an urban middle school, students in a Spanish–English bilingual social studies class work in cooperative groups on dioramas that depict different points of view of Columbus's encounter with the "new" world. Students use both Spanish and English to convey their ideas to each other, and they use English and Spanish texts as references. Thus they are actively employing all of their linguistic resources for problem solving and higher-order thinking as they make decisions about how to portray their perspectives (Hornberger & Micheau, 1993).

In a middle school sheltered social studies class, ELLs are involved in a global, theme-based unit on conflicts in cultures. The unit incorporates writing in a variety of genres, including poetry. Two students reflect their understanding of Inca social classes in the following diamante poems:

Priests
respected, faithfull
praying, sacrificing, advising
loyally, religiously; poorly, faithfully
tilling, growing, working stealing: common, poor
Farmers

by Mindy

Farmers
humble, poor
enjoying; growing; hardworking
faithfully: noisely: selfishly: powerfully
stealing: imposing: counting
royal: amazed
Emperor

by Sofia
(Short, 1997)

Southeast Asian high school students develop their L_1 proficiency, their English proficiency, and their knowledge of history and culture as they produce a magazine to share with the larger community. They record interviews of immigrant community members in their L_1, transcribe the interviews in L_1, and then work with a peer tutor to translate the transcriptions into English. Articles in the magazine include "Across the Ocean: Pen Ouk's Sad Journey," "Hmong Marriage Rites," and "Farming in Laos" (Anderson, 1990).

Two Dade County, Florida, high schools with very diverse populations have implemented schoolwide global education programs. For example, at one of the schools, located in the heart of Miami's "Little Havana," global education cuts across the entire curriculum. The foreign language, social studies, and language arts departments draw on many topics and materials from the Caribbean and Central American countries represented by the student body. In economics classes students may learn about interdependence in trade and communication; in history classes they may compare nineteenth-century immigration with contemporary immigration patterns; and in home economics they may learn about cultural differences in courtship patterns or child-rearing practices. Students at the second high school also develop global literacy across all of the subject areas. Through their studies they become conscious of multiple ways of living; develop an awareness of the general state-of-the-planet; link current events with historical patterns; develop an awareness of cross-cultural commonalities and differences; understand the global interdependence of cultural, ecological, economic, political, and technological systems; and act locally through a variety of community service projects (Fuss Kirkwood, 1990a, 1990b).

High school students in a predominantly Puerto Rican–American community watch a student-made oral history video about a Puerto Rican who is recalling his experiences during the time of World War II. The students are amazed about the knowledge that this man with little formal education has about the war, sparking their interest in an event that otherwise might seem very distant to them (Olmedo, 1993).

Multiple Perspectives: A Framework for Social Studies

To address social studies issues for language minority students, we first need to establish a framework for the subject area. The issues that social studies educators are debating at the general level have a direct impact on the quality of social studies instruction for language minority children. To establish this framework, we will take a walk around social studies, so to speak, looking at the field from four different perspectives. We will consider first the National Council for the Social Studies's definition of social studies, accompanying ideals for powerful teaching, and the 10 thematically based curriculum standards. Then we will look at social studies from the points of view of the major types of approaches that have actually been used to teach social studies during this century. Our last two perspectives will be from the point of view of multicultural education and global education.

A Social Studies Definition, Guidelines for Powerful Teaching, and Thematically Based Curriculum Standards

We are all very familiar with social studies classes from our own school experiences as children and from our professional experience as educators. But because social studies is so much a part of our lives, we sometimes take it for granted. Exactly what is social studies? The answer depends on whom you ask, but we have chosen to base our discussion on the following 1993 definition of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS):

> Social studies is the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. Within the school program, social studies provides coordinated, systematic study drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology, as well as appropriate content from the humanities, mathematics, and the natural sciences. The primary purpose of the social studies is to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world (National Council for the Social Studies, 1993, p. 213).

To bring life to this definition in the classroom, the National Council for the Social Studies (1993) focused its accompanying position statement around the theme of "powerful" social studies teaching and learning. The authors of the position statement define powerful social studies as being "meaningful, integrative, value-based, challenging and active" (p. 214). Buttressing the above position statement are such themes as culture; time, continuity, and change; people, places, and environment; individual development and identity; individuals, groups, and institutions; power, authority, and governance; production, distribution, and consumption; science, technology, and society; global connections; and civic ideals and practices (see www.socialstudies.org/standards). Paraphrasing from the position statement, we will look at each of these features, briefly pointing out the implications

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTION

- *Meaningful.* Students learn to see networks of interconnecting themes, and they can use this understanding both inside and outside of the classroom, establishing relationships with their own experiences. Thus, meaningful instruction gives language minority students the opportunity to bring their own culturally diverse resources to the social studies classroom. Through real-life activities, students begin to see the big ideas that are embedded in the specific topics they are exploring. For example, two of the big ideas underlying a study of the westward movement of European Americans in North America are human migration and conflict over territory. These are obviously themes that can be applied universally to the real-life experiences of language minority children.

    In meaningful instruction, the emphasis is on depth of development of important ideas rather than superficial coverage of many disparate bits of knowledge. This is another aspect of meaningful instruction that is important for language minority students. Often, immigrants are playing "catch-up" with majority students; they have to absorb previous years' knowledge that native students have already covered, plus new grade-level concepts. Instruction that focuses on the big ideas rather than numerous facts enables such students to quickly develop schema for broad social studies concepts.

- *Integrative.* Tied in with the focus on big ideas, powerful social studies integrates across the curriculum and includes effective use of new technology. It also integrates values and possibilities for social action with knowledge acquisition. For ELLs, one of the most important ways in which social studies benefits from integration is through the incorporation of language development (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) into the social studies curriculum.

- *Value-based.* In a powerful social studies class, teachers and students consider controversial issues. There are opportunities to think critically and to learn to deal with ethical issues, social values, and policy implications. Students learn to respect multiple points of view, be sensitive to cultural diversity, and accept social responsibility. Such value-based social studies instruction provides language minority students with a supportive forum in which their distinctive voices can be heard and in which they can develop their sociocultural identity. The extensive verbal classroom interaction in value-based settings also encourages language development for language minority students.

- *Challenging.* Teachers have high expectations for students to be serious and thoughtful participants in individual and group efforts. Teachers model critical and creative thinking and establish an environment in which dialogue and debate can be conducted with civility. For language minority students, a challenging environment assures them that regardless of their level of proficiency in English, they can receive an age-appropriate curriculum rather than a watered-down curriculum.

- *Active.* Classrooms focus on a broad range of authentic activities that reflect the ways social events happen in the real world. For example, students develop models or plans, act out historical events, perform mock trials, conduct interviews, collect data, or become involved in community service or social action. Active social studies learning provides ELLs with the types of hands-on and experiential activities that help to make instruction linguistically comprehensible and personally meaningful.

for social studies instruction for language minority students. (See Guidelines for Teaching, on this page.)

Many readers will agree that the above five features of powerful social studies are highly desirable ones to attain, but the task force itself acknowledges that it is

talking about an ideal situation. In reality, many current school structures do not allow enough classroom time, preparation time, appropriate material, and enough flexibility in schedules and curricula for full attainment of the ideal. Moreover, NCSS has also developed a set of social studies curriculum standards for the K-12 curriculum to assist teachers and students in addressing pressing issues in our pluralistic and democratic society. Interdisciplinary in nature, the standards suggest a holistic framework for state and local social studies curriculum practices.

Notwithstanding the obstacles associated with the attainment of the ideals represented in the above standards (see earlier discussion in the chapter), we believe that bilingual and ESL educators do have the necessary skills and perspectives to implement the above ideals and curriculum standards in creative ways. The terms *meaningful, integrated, value-laden, challenging,* and *active* have a familiar ring to the ears of bilingual and ESL educators, as these terms parallel many of the principles of effective second-language instruction. We believe that bilingual and ESL teachers can have a valuable role to play in helping their schools to approach the ideals of the NCSS position statement on powerful social studies teaching and learning.

Transmission, Social Science, and Critical Thinking Approaches

Turning from the idealism of the NCSS's five features of powerful social studies instruction to the reality of social studies in the classroom, Barr, Barth, & Shermis (1977) identified three distinct social studies traditions that have been used in American classrooms during the twentieth century: social studies taught as citizenship transmission, social studies taught as social science, and social studies taught as critical (or reflective) thinking. These three traditions can still be seen in use today (Thornton, 1994; Banks 2004). They are all reflected in the NCSS definition of social studies, and in reality the three approaches overlap and are often mixed in the classroom. One of the approaches may be used at one moment, while a different approach may be underlying another activity. The three approaches are useful to keep in mind, however, as guideposts that will help us understand what we are accomplishing with social studies in our bilingual and ESL classrooms, and we will be seeing them again later in the chapter.

In the tradition of social studies as citizenship transmission, nurturing a good citizen tends to mean transmitting predetermined knowledge and values. Teachers transmit content through fairly structured procedures such as use of textbooks and lecturing, and there is a pattern of vertical pedagogical authority. In practice in the United States, the general theme of a transmission curriculum tends to be the rise of democracy, with a belief in "fairly continuous progress" and a focus on the most powerful political and economic systems. This approach has been criticized as being Eurocentric by educators who favor more diverse perspectives (Thornton, 1994, p. 238).

Proponents of the approach of teaching social studies as social science suggest that effective citizenship comes about through an understanding of the various fields of social science—history, geography, political science, economics, sociology, anthropology, and psychology, for example. In this approach, educators

teach a simplified version of the concepts and processes that scholars use in academic social science disciplines. The social science approach is more commonly found in secondary schools, where specific social science courses are taught, but it can also be found at the elementary level in certain types of activities. In the social science approach, students may learn to observe and analyze events and issues in ways similar to those that practicing social scientists would use. For example, they may do historical research, engage in a simulated archaeology dig, or make ethnographic observations from photographs of unidentified cultural settings. However, when it is taught with traditional textbook and recitation methods, the social science approach often is similar in teaching style to the transmission approach (Thornton, 1994, p. 22; Banks 2004).

Unlike social studies taught as citizenship transmission and social studies taught as social science, social studies taught as critical thinking bases citizenship preparation on the reasoning powers of the individual rather than on a particular set of values transmitted from the top down or a body of social science knowledge per se. This approach stresses reasoning skills as students interact with their teachers and with each other. Social studies educators have also called this approach a transformative approach, as opposed to the more passive transmission approach. This critical thinking/transformative approach resists using prepackaged materials. It can encompass many different kinds of classroom experiences and is therefore somewhat difficult to define. However, its general characteristics are "(a) connecting students' experiences and the curriculum; (b) providing at least some opportunity for students to construct meanings for themselves; (c) allowing for the possibility, even the likelihood, that different students will take away different understandings from a lesson; and (d) questioning students' taken-for-granted views of the world" (Thornton, 1994, p. 233). One of the common criticisms of this approach is that it may sacrifice good coverage of content, leaving children with harmful gaps in their knowledge. Hirsch (1987), for example, feels that children given a social studies diet rich in the critical thinking approach could be at a disadvantage in society because of not knowing "what every American needs to know."

Despite concerns about content coverage, we believe that bilingual and ESL teachers, as part of their commitment to powerful social studies teaching and learning, can take a leadership role in bringing more critical thinking approaches into the social studies classroom. Social studies as critical thinking fits the linguistic and cultural needs of language minority students very well. Looking back at the four characteristics of the approach listed in the previous paragraph, we can see that these characteristics clearly imply the establishment of a language-rich environment and that they also capitalize on the diverse sociocultural experiences of language minority students. In the process of living in a variety of geographical, social, cultural, educational, and linguistic environments, language minority students already have had direct experience with multiple perspectives, and they have also had experience with making sense out of new environments. A social studies approach that makes clear connections with students' experiences enables them to share and to learn from others, and it allows them to use their own knowledge about how individuals and groups face and solve social problems.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

TEN THEMATIC STRANDS IN SOCIAL STUDIES

- *Culture.* The study of culture is concerned with preparing the students to answer questions such as: What are the common characteristics of different cultures? How do belief systems, such as religion, or political ideals, influence other parts of the culture? How does the culture change to accommodate different ideas and beliefs? What does language tell us about culture? This theme typically appears in units and courses dealing with geography, history, sociology, and anthropology.

- *Time, continuity, and change.* Human beings seek to understand their historical roots and to locate themselves in time. This would allow us to develop a historical perspective and to answer questions such as: Who am I? What happened in the past? How am I connected to those in the past? How has the world changed and how might it change in the future? This theme typically appears in courses in history.

- *Peoples, places, and environments.* The study of people, places, and human-environment interactions assists students as they create their spatial views and geographic perspectives of the world beyond their personal location. Students need the knowledge, skills, and understanding to answer questions such as: Where are things located? Why are they located where they are? This theme typically appears in units and courses dealing with geography.

- *Individual development and identity.* Personal identity is shaped by one's own culture, by groups, and by institutional influences. Students would consider questions such as: How do people learn? Why do people behave as they do? What influences how people learn, perceive, and grow? How do people meet their basic needs in a variety of contexts? How do individuals develop from youth to adulthood? This theme typically appears in units and courses dealing with psychology and anthropology.

- *Individuals, groups, and institutions.* Institutions such as schools, churches, families, government agencies, and the courts play an integral role in people's lives. It is important that students learn how institutions are formed, what controls and influences them, how they influence individuals and culture, and how they are maintained or changed. Students may address questions such as: What is the role of institutions in this and other societies? How am I influenced by institutions? How do institutions change? What is my role in institutional change? In schools this theme typically appears in units and courses dealing with sociology, anthropology, psychology, political science, and history.

- *Power, authority, and governance.* Understanding the historical development of structures of power, authority, and governance and their evolving functions in contemporary U.S. society and other parts of the world is essential for developing civic competence. In exploring this theme, students confront questions such as: What is power? What forms does it take? Who holds it? How is it gained, used, and justified? What is legitimate authority? How are governments created, structured, maintained, and changed? How can individuals' rights be protected within the context of majority rule? This theme typically appears in units and courses dealing with government, politics, political science, history, law, and other social sciences.

- *Production, distribution, and consumption.* Because people have wants that often exceed the resources available to them, a variety of ways have evolved to answer such questions as: What is to be produced? How is production to be organized? How are goods and services to be distributed? What is the most effective allocation of the factors of production (land, labor, capital, and management)? This theme typically appears in units and courses dealing with economics concepts and issues.

continued

Guidelines for Teaching, *continued*

- *Science, technology, and society.* Modern life as we know it would be impossible without technology and the science that supports it. Technology, however, brings with it many questions: Is new technology always better than old? What can we learn from the past about how new technologies result in broader social change, some of which is unanticipated? How can we cope with the ever-increasing pace of change? How can we manage technology so that the greatest number of people benefit from it? How can we preserve our fundamental values and beliefs in the midst of technological change? This theme draws upon the natural and physical sciences, social sciences, and the humanities, and appears in a variety of social studies courses, including history, geography, economics, civics, and government.

- *Global connections.* The realities of global interdependence require understanding the increasingly important and diverse global connections among world societies and the frequent tension between national interests and global priorities. Students will need to be able to address international issues such as health care, the environment, human rights, economic competition and interdependence, age-old ethnic enmities, and political and military alliances. This theme typically appears in units or courses dealing with geography, culture, and economics, but may also draw on the natural sciences and the humanities.

- *Civic ideals and practices.* An understanding of civic ideals and practices of citizenship is critical to full participation in society and is a central purpose of the social studies. Students confront such questions as: What is civic participation and how can I be involved? How has the meaning of citizenship evolved? What is the balance between rights and responsibilities? What is the role of the citizen in the community and the nation, and as a member of the world community? How can I make a positive difference? This theme typically appears in units or courses dealing with history, political science, cultural anthropology, and fields such as global studies, law-related education, and the humanities (Parker & Jarolimek, 1997).

Despite the fact that the critical thinking/transformative approach tends to be emphasized in teacher preparation programs, the textbook-and-recitation transmission model is still the most widely used approach today (Thornton, 1994, p. 229). Therefore, bilingual and ESL educators who choose to become advocates of a more transformative approach will need to work actively to provide optimal social studies learning environments for the language minority students in their schools. These educators may also have a positive influence on the overall quality of social studies instruction in their schools as they collaborate with other teachers in the establishment of social studies programs that meet the needs of language minority students in a variety of classroom settings.

Multicultural Education

We now turn the corner and take a look at social studies from the perspective of **multicultural education.** Notwithstanding some observers' pessimism over the chances for reform in social studies, multicultural education is certainly one area in which some change has been achieved over the past several decades.

The damage that a monocultural perspective has had on generations of minority Americans is captured in the observation of the writer Adrienne Rich (1986): When you study about "our" society and you are not in the picture, it produces "a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing" (p. 199). Not as psychologically damaging, but just as deceiving is for European American children to look into the mirror of society and see only the reflection of themselves. The historian Ronald Takaki (1993, p. 2) points out that based on current demographic trends, by 2056 the majority of Americans will trace their descent from some group other than white Europeans. In addition, the proportion of Americans who are of mixed racial heritage will be much larger than it is today. The overall effect will be a change in the idea of what it means to be American. Through multicultural education, ESL and bilingual educators have the opportunity to be leaders in the movement to prepare children of all language, ethnic, and racial backgrounds for this reality. They can do this, for example, by providing opportunities for language minority students to serve as cross-cultural informants for all the students in the school as they all learn to view issues from multiple perspectives. Also, as bilingual and ESL teachers collaborate with other teachers, they may bring their multicultural experience to bear on course content and instructional strategies.

Multicultural education influences subject areas, pedagogy, and school structure, but its home base is in the social studies. However, because multicultural education has often been promoted as something new and innovative, it is easy to overlook its natural home as part of social studies, a subject that teachers have been teaching for years. What multicultural education really amounts to is an alternative, less ethnocentric lens with which to focus on an old subject: people and how they interact with one another and with nature. Multicultural education is a crucial focal point for bilingual and ESL educators as we implement social studies instruction that makes extensive use of the critical thinking approach, and that is meaningful, integrated, value-laden, challenging, and active.

We cannot begin to adequately cover the many dimensions of multicultural education within the limits of this book, but Chapter 5 provides a basis for understanding how a multicultural perspective affects the instructional process throughout the entire school day. Here we will focus only on how the multicultural perspective affects knowledge construction within the specific context of social studies instruction, and on how multicultural education is aligned with the critical thinking/transformative approach to social studies.

Banks and Banks (2004) describe the processes through which teachers can help students see that cultural perspectives influence how knowledge is constructed, and therefore, how it is presented in books. For example, United States history textbooks have traditionally referred to the European "discovery of America" and "the New World." If we are aware of the cultural influences on knowledge construction, then we notice that the terms *discovery* and *New World* tell us that the story is being told from the point of view of the Europeans. The terms also say something about the general attitudes of the Europeans toward the people who had been living here for tens of thousands of years before they arrived. For

the people who already lived here, America was neither discovered, nor was it a new world. Another example is the teaching of the westward movement of European American settlers in the United States. How would this be described by the Lakota Sioux? Perhaps as the invasion from the east?

Through a multicultural approach to social studies, students learn how a point of view affects how knowledge is constructed. Consequently, they develop the ability to see multiple perspectives. The middle school students in our introductory vignette who were making dioramas of different points of view of Columbus's arrival in the "new" world were learning to see social studies knowledge from multiple perspectives. *Thinking and Rethinking U.S. History* (Horne, 1988) is an example of a resource for both teachers and students who want to develop an awareness of multiple perspectives. The publication addresses six major social justice issues and their treatment in U.S. history textbooks through the Reconstruction: racism and people of color, colonialism, sexism, militarism, classism, and social change movements. One of the activities for both teachers and students is to take sample sentences from popular textbooks and write them from a different point of view. For example, "To live in the South was to live in daily fear of slave violence" (p. 343), when rewritten from an African American perspective, might become "To live in the South was to live in daily hope of successful revolts of African American people" (p. 344).

Banks and Banks (2004) note the need for continuing development of multiple perspectives in their statement that commercially available multicultural content today is "usually presented from mainstream perspective" (p. 232). For example, Sacajawea, who did not challenge European–American expansion, is likely to get more coverage in textbooks than Geronimo, who did challenge the invasion of his people's lands. Another example is the way in which material on non-European Americans is often fragmented and presented in special sections, rather than being integrated into the main text as a meaningful part of the real story. This add-on approach distorts reality, a reality in which the true story of American history is a story of "multiple acculturation." This **multiple acculturation** is a process through which "the common U.S. culture and society emerged from a complex synthesis and interaction of the diverse cultural elements that originated within the various cultural, racial, ethnic, and religious groups that make up U.S. society" (Banks & Banks, 2004). The fact is that majority U.S. sociocultural patterns are not purely composed of Anglo-Saxon Protestant elements; they are imbued with numerous elements from other cultural groups. *A Different Mirror* (Takaki, 1993) is a useful reference for teachers who want to improve their own knowledge of the multiple acculturation of the United States. This book tells the story of U.S. history from the multiple perspectives of Native Americans and people coming from England, Africa, Ireland, Mexico, Asia, and Russia.

Another important aspect of multicultural education that relates very directly to social studies instruction is its alignment with the critical thinking/transformative approach. The critical thinking emphasis on multiple perspectives, connections with students' lives, and reasoned decision making provides a framework in which multicultural education can come to life and be much more than the passive

transmission of information about minorities. Building from the transformative approach, Banks & Banks describe, for example, a framework for multicultural learning through social action. Using this framework, a social studies unit might start with a problem to be addressed through a decision-making process. Students would then conduct research to acquire relevant data. Then, through activities such as case studies or role-playing, students would explore the attitudes, beliefs, and feelings associated with the problem. Finally, students would make their own decisions about the issue and take a course of action after considering a variety of options and their consequences (Banks & Banks, 2004). Looking at multicultural education from this perspective, it becomes an integral aspect of any social studies program that aspires to promote effective citizenship and bring the nation closer to its democratic ideals.

Global Education

We complete our walk around social studies with a view from the perspective of **global education.** We have already gotten a glimpse into the nature of global education in the introductory vignettes to this chapter. We described the fourth graders who, as part of their study of their home state, were exploring the numerous ways in which New Jersey was connected to many other parts of the world. We also introduced the two southern Florida high schools where a global perspective pervaded the entire curriculum, as students learned about the interdependence of global systems and the relationship of local and global issues across a variety of subject areas.

As defined by the Center for Human Interdependence, global education involves learning about those problems and issues that cut across national boundaries, and about the interconnectedness of systems—ecological, cultural, economic, political, and technological. Global education involves perspective taking—seeing things through the eyes and minds of others—and it means the realization that while individuals and groups may view life differently, they also have common needs and wants (Tye, 1990a, p. 163).

Global education is fertile ground for the use of the five NCSS features of powerful social studies. It can also constitute a broad platform for both the social sciences approach and the critical thinking approach to social studies. It is also, of course, a very close partner to multicultural education. However, it is also the most controversial of the topics in this discussion of a social studies framework for bilingual and ESL educators. As Tye (1990a) explains it, global education "is a value-oriented movement in that it is part of a larger societal change that involves a new view of how the United States (or any nation) relates to the rest of the world" (p. 162). Proponents of global education tend to be advocates of cooperation instead of competition, interdependence instead of domination, and a human-centric rather than a state-centric social studies curriculum.

Some educators and others have criticized global education for, among other things, challenging the assumption that the American system is always the best and that therefore Americans have a mission to bring their own values to the rest of the

world. Global educators openly acknowledge the human-centric values that under-lie their endeavors, but they stress the importance of substance over "value-laden mush" in the implementation of global education programs. *Substance* means that a global education program should help learners collect and use verifiable informa-tion about the state of the planet, use analytical and evaluative skills, and partici-pate in open dialogues and debates. A global educator is aware of his or her own value orientation, but does not promote a "specific policy agenda nor unfairly dis-courage students from conducting critical analysis" (Lamy, 1990, pp. 52–55).

Teachers in a global education program use substantive knowledge about world geography, history, and current events to help students build their own awareness and develop their own conclusions. Consequently, a global educator needs to have the following traits: "open-mindedness, anticipation of complexity, resistance to stereotyping, inclination to empathize, and nonchauvinism." In addi-tion, a global educator also needs a "consciousness of one's own perspective" (Wilson, 1994, p. 55). Looking at this list, we see that effective bilingual and ESL teachers will already have many of the characteristics needed, and we encourage interested teachers to take advantage of opportunities to learn more about global education and to advocate for schoolwide global perspectives. Global education is one more avenue through which bilingual and ESL teachers can also capitalize on the rich sociocultural resources that language minority students and their commu-nities bring to the school setting. *Global Education: From Thought to Action* (Tye, 1990a) and *Global Education: School-Based Strategies* (Tye, 1990b) are both good resources for beginning to learn more about the concept of global education. The books provide numerous examples of the implementation of global education in a variety of school settings.

Having completed our tour around the multiple frameworks of social studies, we note that teachers of language minority children will face several opposing forces as they address social studies from these varying perspectives. There is the responsibility to "give students the tools that enable them to function effectively in [U.S.] society" (King, Fagan, Bratt, & Baer, 1987, p. 95), yet at the same time there is the responsibility to capitalize on students' diverse backgrounds and give them the tools to function effectively on the global stage. By helping immigrant students develop key concepts of American history—for example, the "spirit of independ-ence," the "sense of individualism," and the Bill of Rights—bilingual and ESL teach-ers are helping them acculturate to U.S. society and participate from a position of strength (King et al., 1987, pp. 95–96). By teaching from a more global perspec-tive, teachers are helping language minority students define their unique sociocul-tural identity and become knowledgeable participants in an increasingly interdependent world order. In theory these two responsibilities are complemen-tary, but in reality they can compete for time and administrative support.

The other opposing forces are the themes of unity and diversity. Although much progress has been made in multicultural education and, to a lesser extent, in global education, there are still strong voices against the value of diversity in the social studies curriculum. As we saw in the Foreword, Chapter 5, and we will see again in Chapter 10, there is a long history of debate in the United States over the

alleged danger that cultural diversity can lead to social and political disintegration. However, many others argue very convincingly that it is precisely through an honest understanding of our long history of diversity that our children will be better equipped to maintain the sociopolitical unity of the nation (Ovando & McClaren, 2000; Takaki, 1993).

There are no set paths as bilingual and ESL teachers negotiate between a U.S. focus and an international focus, or between a focus on unity and a focus on diversity. However, bilingual and ESL teachers who have as a framework the NCSS features of a powerful social studies program, who are able to include a strong dose of critical thinking in their repertoire of social studies approaches, and who infuse their work with a multicultural and a global perspective should be able to find a balance and to provide their students with sociocultural understanding and the knowledge, skills, and values needed for effective citizenship.

Classroom Settings for Bilingual and ESL Social Studies

We take quite a jump now, from the general development of a theoretical framework for social studies for language minority students to the specifics of classroom settings. However, these classroom settings set the stage for the next section of the chapter, "Methods for Social Studies Instruction," where we will begin to see more clearly again the importance of a guiding framework.

Differences in bilingual/ESL program models, scheduling patterns, grade levels, language proficiency levels, and heterogeneity of students will all influence the structural setting for social studies for language minority students. It is difficult to generalize about program structures. As we know from Chapter 1, there are probably about as many bilingual and ESL program designs as there are bilingual and ESL programs. It follows, then, that there are numerous configurations for incorporating social studies into the curriculum. Therefore, as we look first at elementary settings and then at middle school and high school settings, it is important to keep in mind that we will not be covering all of the possible designs for social studies instruction.

Elementary Social Studies Classroom Settings

In some elementary settings, students may be segregated by language proficiency for social studies, with the subject being taught in the students' L_1 or as part of a second-language development curriculum. However, whether in a bilingual or ESL setting, most elementary teachers more often than not find themselves teaching social studies as part of a self-contained classroom with children of mixed language backgrounds and mixed levels of language proficiency. Bilingual and ESL teachers have the dual responsibilities of developing both language and content during social studies instruction, and in doing so they are drawing on the important principle that language can very effectively be developed through content

such as social studies. A great deal of first- and second-language acquisition can occur naturally through children's strongly motivated involvement in social studies activities that are not focused solely on language. Compared to the typical secondary structure, the elementary classroom usually lends itself well to the use of interdisciplinary theme-based instruction, which can include a wide variety of activities—physical movement, visual stimuli, things to touch and make, field trips to community sites and museums, and music and art.

Given the range of literacy levels and language proficiencies in multilingual elementary classrooms, teachers need to capitalize on this diversity by creating an environment in which children can learn social concepts and skills from each other as well as from the teacher and instructional assistants. This can be done by using a variety of whole class, small group, and individual activities, with the teacher and instructional assistants working frequently as facilitators while children do research, carry out projects, prepare presentations, and discuss ideas.

The traditional curriculum that language minority children may encounter at the elementary level is the expanding environments sequence, in which children in the early grades learn about themselves and their families. Then, by third grade they study their community, and in fourth grade they learn about their state. In the final elementary grades they focus more on the nation as a whole, with an emphasis on geography and history. However, as part of the process of making new social studies standards, changes are occurring. For example, Florida and California have begun statewide efforts to introduce more history at a younger age. California's elementary social studies curriculum is anchored in the chronological study of history, with an emphasis on the use of such materials as narratives and biographies to tell the *story* of history. History told as stories enables children to see cause-and-effect relationships and to see the big ideas that unite disparate historical events (Thornton, 1994, pp. 231–232). Short (1994a) notes that these changes may in some ways be of value for language minority learners, as the context of "stories" is one that children from a variety of backgrounds can relate to. However, the chronological approach can cause problems in that children who were not in the United States in the early grades will have missed out on earlier historical periods. Or even if they were here, they may have missed out on the content because the instruction they received was not adapted to their language needs.

The ideal situation to meet language needs in the context of social studies instruction is usually a bilingual classroom environment. However, situations often arise in which ELLs are not in a bilingual setting. For example, at a school with an early-exit bilingual program, a fourth grader may no longer be in a bilingual classroom with L_1 instruction, but he or she may not have acquired enough academic proficiency in English yet to benefit fully from social studies instruction carried out entirely in English. In such cases a teacher trained in bilingual or ESL methods may need to collaborate with teachers in nonbilingual classrooms to design a social studies environment that is as comprehensible as possible for English language learners. Sometimes a bilingual or ESL teacher or instructional assistant may be assisting children with social studies content on a pull-out or an inclusion basis. (These terms are explained in Chapter 1) In some districts, recent immigrants at

the elementary level may attend classes for all or part of the day in a separate program for newcomers. Social studies is often a major part of the curriculum in which children learn basic concepts and vocabulary related to such topics as the family and the community, or maps and globes. Regardless of the elementary setting, basic principles of language and cognitive development apply to social studies: When the resources are available, L_1 should be used as a platform for elementary social studies instruction.

Middle School and High School Social Studies Classroom Settings

While the setting for social studies instruction may be fairly straightforward and uncomplicated at the elementary level, a look at middle school and high school social studies classes for language minority students reveals a complex array of organizational offerings. To begin to understand the range of programs that may be offered, we first need to look at the range of language minority students we find in secondary social studies classes. They represent quite an array of backgrounds (Faltis & Arias, 1993).

We could add further to the complexity of the range of needs by going into the issue of sociocultural differences between immigrants and indigenous language minority students who are coming into the secondary level from U.S. elementary schools. Or we could also consider the amount of time that language minority students have spent with native-English speakers versus the amount of time spent isolated from them in special ESL or bilingual classes, which could also affect their preparedness for grade-level social studies classes. Or we could also consider the broad range of literacy levels that language minority learners bring with them to social studies classes.

We add even more diversity to the mix when we turn to immigrant students who first enter U.S. schools at the middle school or secondary level:

1. *Students who have had a solid educational background in their country of origin.* These students will have a common underlying language proficiency in L_1 that will help them in acquiring academic English, and they will have an understanding of general social studies concepts such as forms of government and geographic regions of the world. However, they will have fairly limited background knowledge about U.S. history and geography. They would benefit from L_1 instruction in social studies while they are learning English, so that they have a better chance to begin to catch up with the district's curriculum in social studies.
2. *Students who have had little or no formal schooling in their country of origin.* These students have the most specialized needs. They will need intensive and integrated opportunities to develop literacy in their native language at the same time that they begin to build their social studies knowledge base in L_1 and begin to acquire English.

Classroom settings for social studies at the middle school and secondary levels depend on such factors as the number and size of language groups represented in

> ## Guidelines for Teaching
>
> ### LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS IN MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOLS
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> Some of the possible social studies backgrounds of students coming into middle schools from elementary programs in the United States include the following:
>
> 1. *Students who were in an elementary maintenance or a two-way bilingual program.* Depending on length of time in the elementary program these students may or may not have sufficient English language academic proficiency for regular social studies instruction in English. Either way they would benefit from opportunities to continue to develop their first-language skills through social studies instruction that incorporates L_1. Although we are focusing our discussion here on language minority students, it is important to note that students from English-speaking homes who have been in a two-way enrichment bilingual program would also benefit from the same opportunities to continue to learn social studies in a bilingual environment.
>
> 2. *Students who were in an elementary early-exit bilingual program.* They may not yet have reached nativelike proficiency in academic English, and they may also have a weak social studies background because of their very brief exposure to L_1 content-area instruction. They are likely to be unprepared for traditional, grade-level middle school social studies classes in which instruction is not modified to meet their needs.
>
> 3. *Students who have been in an ESL as opposed to a bilingual program in the elementary school.* Again, these students will often not yet have had the 5 to 10 years needed to develop academic English skills and would therefore benefit from social studies instruction adapted to their linguistic needs. Compounding the need for adapted instruction is the fact that without significant L_1 support during the elementary years, they will very likely be behind their English-proficient peers in social studies knowledge and skills.

the school, the mix of immigrant versus indigenous language minorities, the educational background of the students, the availability of trained bilingual and ESL teachers and instructional assistants, community attitudes toward the use of L_1 in the schools, and the history of past bilingual or ESL programs (Lucas, 1993). Based on the work of Faltis and Arias (1993); Hornberger and Micheau (1993); King, Fagan, Bratt, and Baer (1987); Short (1994b); and Valdez Pierce (1987), we can identify six general types of social studies classes for language minority students (this listing does not include submersion social studies, in which the English language learner receives no special services); see Guidelines for Teaching on p. 302.

All of the above types of classes can fit into the traditional high school structure. In this familiar format, social studies classes for language minority students are simply scheduled as special courses within the structure of a daily series of 45- or 55-minute class periods. However, this often may not be the best arrangement for language minority students, especially for beginning ELLs. Lucas (1993) notes that in her study of model secondary programs for language minority students, *none* of the exemplary programs used this traditional, highly segmented structure. Instead, language minority students might attend a school-within-a-school or an entirely separate school for a half-day or the whole day. These types of programs are often called newcomer programs or high-intensity language training (HILT) programs, and have already been mentioned in the context of elementary settings.

Such programs can have either a half-day or whole-day schedule, and social studies is an integral part of the curriculum. They are often targeted especially for students who enter school in the United States with few or no literacy skills in their native language. In these supportive settings, students learn basic literacy in L_1 and survival skills and begin to develop English-language skills with intensive academic content in L_1. Social studies is often one of the main contexts for L_1 learning, as it dovetails with school and community survival skills and helps students begin to make sense out of their new social and geographic environment.

Beyond the school-within-a-school approach, there are the highly promising cases in which the entire middle school or secondary school has been restructured in ways that will benefit the quality of social studies instruction. Because middle schools are transitional institutions between elementary and high school instruction, they tend to exhibit more Innovation than high schools in the design of social studies programs that can come closer to the NCSS ideals. Such instances of school reform offer highly creative opportunities for teaching social studies within a flexible, interdisciplinary framework. With this flexibility, for example, language arts and social studies instruction may be integrated into one block of time. Berman, Minicucci, McLaughlin, Nelson, and Woodworth (1996) describe an exemplary California middle school with a high proportion of language minority students in which such powerful social studies learning is occurring. To establish a greater sense of community in smaller groups, the school is divided into houses. The yearlong theme for one of the houses in the 1993–1994 school year was "I Have a Dream," based on Martin Luther King's speech. As part of the theme, ELLs in sheltered core classes—classes that combined language arts and social studies—interviewed immigrants in their community and wrote essays in which they reflected on their interviewees' dreams for their new lives in the United States.

While in theory there are many promising practices for middle school and secondary social studies education in linguistically diverse contexts, in reality there are still many, many English language learners who are not receiving the quality of social studies instruction that they need. Looking at secondary education in general, Faltis and Arias (1993) note, for example, that limited course offerings for ELLs in social studies and other key subjects often make it difficult for them to complete graduation requirements. Minicucci and Olsen (1992) found in their survey of 27 California secondary schools that almost half had few or no content-area courses designed to meet the needs of ELLs. Lucas concluded in her survey of secondary education for language minorities that overall the assessment was "gloomy." Many schools lacked bilingual and ESL-trained personnel, they did not have appropriate materials, they did not have a cohesive program, and consequently for most of the school day ELLs struggled to understand academic instruction, with few opportunities for "cognitively sophisticated thought and communication" (Lucas, 1993, p. 114). The needs are great not only for beginning and intermediate ELLs, but also for language minority students who have been exited from bilingual or ESL programs. Many of these students are still not entirely prepared for instruction that does not take into account their continuing needs for the development of academic

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GENERAL TYPES OF SOCIAL STUDIES CLASSES

1. *Grade-level social studies classes with an add-on support system for English language learners.* In these classes the grade-level teacher does not significantly alter instruction, but bilingual or ESL teachers or instructional assistants come into the class to assist or tutor English language learners.

2. *Content ESL classes.* Specially designed for English language learners, the primary purpose of such classes is to develop English language proficiency, but teachers use social studies content as a medium for instruction. A content ESL class may be devoted entirely to social studies, or it may also include science, math, or health as part of the curriculum. Such classes provide a meaningful context for language acquisition and simultaneously help to prepare students for grade-level instruction in social studies by building vocabulary, concepts, and learning strategies. Content ESL classes are generally taught by an ESL teacher who does not necessarily have specialized training in social studies education. The classes may be taught with input or collaboration from social studies teachers. In some cases the content ESL class is directly paired with a grade-level social studies class. ELLs attend the grade-level social studies class, but then they also attend a content ESL class in which the ESL teacher uses the vocabulary and concepts currently being studied in the grade-level class. This pairing of classes is referred to as the adjunct model.

3. *Sheltered social studies classes.* In content ESL the primary purpose is English-language development, but in sheltered classes the primary purpose is to provide social studies content similar to that of a grade-level classroom. However, the instructional approach in sheltered social studies classes is tailored to the linguistic needs of English language learners. Sheltered social studies classes use specially adapted social studies materials and methods to make instruction comprehensible. The primary training of sheltered instruction teachers is generally social studies, but ideally they also have had training in ESL techniques. These classes may also be taught in collaboration with an ESL specialist.

4. *Language-sensitive mixed social studies classes.* In this setting, English language learners are in heterogeneous classes with students who are proficient in English. Teachers in these classes have been trained to modify their language use and instructional style so that English language learners may participate as fully as possible. Ideally, ESL teachers and social studies teachers work closely together to plan and carry out instruction in such mixed classes.

5. *Social studies classes taught primarily or entirely in a language other than English.* These classes might be part of a maintenance or a two-way bilingual program that carries over from the elementary level. They might also be offered for non-English–speaking newcomers at the secondary level as part of an effort to prepare them for high school graduation. For example, U.S. history is a standard requirement for high school graduation. Recent immigrants who are literate in their L_1 can take this class in L_1 and thus be able to successfully master the content of the course. This social studies knowledge base then transfers to English as English proficiency develops.

6. *Bilingual social studies classes that combine L_1 instruction with sheltered social studies instruction in English.* Teachers in these classes use a mixture of both English and the students' native languages depending on the context. For example, a concept might be introduced in the native language and then follow-up activities would be conducted in English.

language proficiency in social studies contexts. We can conclude that without greater attention to this problem, we will be failing to provide a growing number of middle school and secondary language minority students with the social studies knowledge and appreciation that they need to be active, responsible citizens.

METHODS FOR SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTION

We have just ended our discussion of classroom settings on a rather pessimistic note. However, turning to the question of how to carry out day-to-day instruction in the social studies classroom, we can find cause for optimism. There are many exciting strategies that in a supportive setting can produce social studies teaching that is powerful, uses critical thinking, and is infused with a multicultural and global perspective. To guide our exploration of the possibilities, we will first consider the particular instructional challenges of social studies for language minority learners.

Challenges of Social Studies Instruction

Synthesizing from the work of Chamot and O'Malley (1994); King, Fagan, Bratt, and Baer (1987); and Short (1993, 1994a, 1994b), a number of factors can be identified that make social studies more context-reduced, cognitively challenging, and culturally alien than most other subject areas for language minority students.

1. *Limited background knowledge.* Immigrants may not have received any extensive social studies education in their home country. These students may be very unfamiliar with such underlying social studies concepts as a chronology of events, distances, and cultural variations. They may have little knowledge of map reading or of the history or geography of their home country—knowledge that would help them transfer concepts to their new setting. Even if immigrants have social studies instruction that can carry over, much of the content will have been very different and students will almost certainly not have the same schemata for U.S. history and government that U.S.-educated children have. Even children who have received a number of years of education in the United States (for example, a seventh grader who had entered the United States in the third grade speaking no English) may have significant gaps because of lack of understanding of elementary school social studies content presented in English without L_1 language support (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994; King, Fagan, Bratt, & Baer, 1987).

2. *Limited points of view in many social studies materials.* As discussed earlier, some progress has been made in the addition of multicultural and global content, but materials still tend to lack significant infusion of multiple points of view into the main text. For example, textbooks usually tell the story of the American Revolution from the point of view of the rebels; the perspectives of the loyalists, the Native Americans, or the slaves are often omitted (Short, 1994b). The Eurocentric view found in many social studies materials adds to the difficulty that ELLs may have in relating to social studies content.

3. *Unfamiliarity with the formats and the instructional styles used in U.S. social studies classes.* Students may need to learn about the format of U.S. textbooks and may also be unfamiliar with procedures for report writing, oral

presentations, classroom discussions, and so on (King, Fagan, Bratt, & Baer, 1987). For example, in written assignments students may not have had any prior experience with forming paragraphs, comparing and contrasting, or writing about cause and effect (Short, 1994a).

4. *High vocabulary density in social studies materials.* Social studies texts almost universally highlight key vocabulary as it is introduced, but for ELLs the number of unfamiliar terms and concepts usually goes far beyond what the text highlights. Furthermore, much of the vocabulary in social studies materials can be rather difficult to explain in a concrete manner. In just one short paragraph in a social studies book, for example, the ELL may come across the following terms that represent important concepts: *federalism, division, government, national, citizen, officials, derive, constitution, subjects,* and *supreme* (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994).

5. *A complex variety of genre and sentence structures in social studies materials.* Social studies texts generally use an expository style of writing with which ESL students are often unfamiliar, especially since ESL classes frequently focus heavily on narrative styles of writing. Also, the sentence structures in social studies materials are often very complicated, with embedded clauses and complicated verb structures such as "supposed to have spoken" and "need no longer fear." Referents can also be unclear for ELLs. For example, a sentence may begin with "It," referring to something in the previous sentence or paragraph (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994). A number of studies of social studies books have found that, even for students proficient in English, texts often are very incoherent, have confusing visual organization, and do not use illustrations and headings appropriately (Short, 1994b). Such books, which can cause the reader to not see the forest for all of the trees, have been referred to aptly as "inconsiderate texts" (Armbruster & Gudbrandsen, 1986).

6. *Heavy reliance on advanced literacy skills, with limited opportunities for hands-on activities.* As traditionally taught, social studies assumes a high degree of literacy. ELLs often have not yet developed enough academic language proficiency to be able to carry out typical reading and writing assignments in English without effective instructional support. The issue becomes even more challenging for students who are not fully literate in their L_1 and therefore do not have a broad array of skills to transfer to the L_2 instructional context. In addition, as alluded to above in the context of vocabulary, social studies contains many concepts that are not always easy to demonstrate in a hands-on way. Compared to math and science, there are limits to the amount of manipulatives and real objects that can be used (Short, 1994a).

As we go through the remainder of this chapter, we will be looking at ways to effectively address these challenges. In this section we will first consider use of L_1 and L_2, and then we will look at examples of specific instructional strategies. In the final section of the chapter, we will explore the rich possibilities of theme-based, integrated social studies instruction for meeting the needs of language minority learners.

Use of L_1 and L_2

Given the challenges of social studies for ELLs, the effective use of L_1 and L_2 is critical, and the key language use issues laid out in Chapter 4 apply directly to social studies instruction. ELLs will best be served by social studies instruction that includes the use of L_1 until academic language proficiency is achieved in the second language. As we have just noted, social studies involves many abstract concepts, and instruction is often carried out in an environment with limited context clues. When children are involved in such cognitively demanding learning, they "must be allowed to access their entire scope of linguistic resources in order to achieve full potential" (Milk, 1993, p. 102).

A social studies class may be taught entirely in L_1, or a bilingual approach may be used. To use both English and the L_1, an alternate approach or a concurrent approach can be taken. In the alternate approach, the language of instruction is clearly defined by alternating languages by subject area or theme, by time of day, by day of the week, or by week. Bilingual teacher educators have adopted the alternate approach as the preferred model. Research has shown that clear separation of the two languages leads to higher academic achievement in the long term (Christian, 1994; Crawford, 2004; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Lindholm, 1990; Lindholm Leary, 2001; Milk, 1986).

The concurrent approach (Jacobson, 1981) allows for the use of both languages during social studies instructional time. However, this approach can be misused if not implemented carefully. In the concurrent approach, the teacher's language choice should not be random; instead, choices should be based among other things on a scaffolding concept in which teachers use the language and the knowledge students already have as a platform for increased language proficiency and conceptual growth. The principal mistake that bilingual teachers make with the concurrent approach is the extensive use of a pattern of quick translation from one language to the other. Besides becoming rather boring, it can also hinder conceptual understanding of content (Milk, 1993, p. 102). The distinction between cognitively rich concurrent use and concurrent-as-translation is rather difficult to perceive without classroom observation of the two patterns. However, it is also a very important distinction, and bilingual social studies teachers will want to make sure that they have opportunities to observe and practice the nontranslation approach in actual classrooms. Consider the following hypothetical example of translation without concept development in a class of ELLs:

> TEACHER: Who can tell me what a constitution is?
> STUDENT: Es una constitución. (It's a constitution.)
> TEACHER: Good, that's right. Now let's look on page 51 . . .

In this example, the teacher might think that he was doing the right thing by checking for understanding before he went on with his point. However, by accepting a simple one-word translation rather than seeking a conceptual explanation, he would be failing to confirm or expand his students' understanding of the *concept* of a constitution. In a classroom where conceptual understanding rather than brief

translations are emphasized the teacher would have prompted students toward a more elaborate explanation of the concept of a written document that describes the basic design of a particular form of government. It is easy to get into the translation habit, because on the surface it does have the effect of moving the lesson along quickly. However, in the long run, as Faltis (1996) argues, both content-area knowledge and language development suffer. The nontranslation approach not only results in a more cohesive, in-depth understanding of concepts but also in a more language-rich environment in which complex, thought-provoking utterances are more frequent and inert one-word answers are less frequent. In a concurrent classroom in which teachers and students are weaned away from the translation habit, it is also possible to "push" the students to communicate in one language or the other for longer periods of time, which results in better development of both languages (Faltis, 1996). The effective use of the concurrent approach closely parallels Tharp and Gallimore's (1991) concept of "instructional conversations" (p. i). An instructional conversation is "a dialogue between teacher and learners in which the teacher listens carefully to grasp the students' communicative intent, and tailors the dialogue to meet the emerging understanding of the learners." Such conversations are used to work with children in the "zone of proximal development," and in bilingual social studies classrooms such concurrent instructional conversations serve to work within both the linguistic and content-area zones of proximal development.

Leaving bilingual settings, we turn now to language use within the ESL social studies context. Theoretically, the issue of language use in ESL social studies contexts is simply one of using proven content-area second-language acquisition techniques for the target language, English. In reality, however, the lines between bilingual and ESL programs are often blurred. There are so-called bilingual programs that use very little L_1, and there are ESL programs that make as much use of L_1 as they can given their circumstances. Lucas and Katz's (1994) survey of Special Alternative Instructional Programs (SAIPs) contains many examples of the use of L_1 in ESL contexts. Lucas and Katz studied nine exemplary SAIPs and found a "pervasive" variety of uses of students' L_1. At one site, for example, the teacher used Spanish to clarify a point with one student while the class was doing individual work. In this same setting, a Vietnamese student wrote in Vietnamese about three things learned in class the previous day. Students who were more proficient in English tutored less proficient English speakers in their L_1, or they explained instructions in L_1. These SAIPs also employed bilingual instructional assistants and made use of bilingual reference materials. A variety of the sites even offered some social studies courses in L_1—"History of Cambodia" in Khmer and "History of Spanish-Speaking People" in Spanish, for example. Lucas and Katz (1994) concluded that "the use of the native language is so compelling that it emerges even when policies and assumptions mitigate against it" (p. 558). These SAIPs, which included social studies instruction, were successful because they focused less on the issue of which language to use per se and more on academic development and instructional dynamics that fostered meaningful interaction.

Instructional Strategies

We will look in more detail at examples of strategies that illustrate 7 of the 12 principles that are listed in the accompanying Guidelines for Teaching. The principles that we will focus on are making connections with students' lives, using student knowledge about home countries, activating background knowledge, providing hands-on and performance-based activities, promoting critical thinking, paying attention to social studies language issues, and using graphic organizers. This is not to imply that the other five principles are less important. These principles (offering many different avenues for communication, using cooperative learning, modeling of assignments and learning processes, using multiple perspectives, and adjusting instruction to learning styles) are most likely already very familiar to readers because they are common to many second-language learning contexts and to good pedagogy in general. As we proceed to go through our focus strategies, please remember that the strategies we are not highlighting often cut across all of the others. For example, teachers may be using multiple perspectives as they activate students' background knowledge. Or they may be using modeling; cooperative learning; accommodation to learning styles; and a mixture of oral, written, and pictorial communication modes as they employ graphic organizers in their social studies classes.

Connections with Students' Lives, Home Countries, and Background Knowledge

In connecting with students' personal lives, home countries, and background knowledge, we can recognize a common theme in this book: the acknowledgment of students as highly important resources for their own learning. These connections are also closely related to the concept of identifying the learner's current schemata and expanding upon them. These schemata represent "networks of connected ideas" (Slavin, 1988b, p. 155). King et al. (1987, pp. 94–99) provide us with several examples of these kinds of connections that build schemata for social studies concepts. For instance, in a lesson on the movement of U.S. settlers into the western regions of North America, the teacher can compare and contrast this migration process with the patterns of settlement of recent immigrants to the United States. In preparing to study the Civil War, students can first develop the general concept that "differences can eventually lead to conflicts." The discussion could start with students' own problems with being different, and then expand to other situations in the United States or their home countries that illustrate social, political, and economic differences among groups of people. From here, students will be better prepared to understand some of the conflicts that led up to the Civil War. An example from Short (1997) demonstrates the development of a schema for understanding the concept of social classes. In one of the lessons from a unit on global conflicts that she and her colleagues developed (Short, Montone, Frekot, & Elfin, 1996) students learn about social classes within the Inca Empire. To activate their background knowledge, the teacher first guides the students in filling in a pyramid structure that illustrates the social hierarchy of their own school. With

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SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGIES

A good way to begin our survey of strategies is by referring to Short's list of guiding principles for successful social studies instruction. These principles integrate language development and cultural diversity into the process of social studies instruction. The list is based on a number of years of classroom research on social studies education for language minority students. As we look at these strategies, we can see that they touch in a variety of ways on the NCSS characteristics of meaningful, integrative, value-based, challenging, and active social studies instruction.

1. Offer opportunities to communicate about social studies—in oral, written, physical, or pictorial forms.

2. Make connections between the content being taught and students' real-life experiences.

3. Use the students as resources for information about their native countries.

4. Activate students' background knowledge.

5. Provide hands-on and performance-based activities.

6. Promote critical thinking and study skills development.

7. Pay attention to language issues and employ strategies that will help students learn the language of social studies.

8. Use graphic organizers to help students represent information and identify relationships.

9. Incorporate cooperative learning activities and seek peer tutors among classmates.

10. Be process oriented and provide modeling for students to make transitions to academic tasks.

11. Open discussion to different perspectives of history.

12. Adjust instruction for the different learning styles of the students (Short, 1993, p. 11).

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this background understanding in mind, the students are then able to better understand the concept of social classes as it applies to a pyramid depicting the Incan social structure.

Social studies will offer numerous situations in which the students' own experiences can be used as a bridge to new knowledge and understanding. However, there also may be some social studies topics or concepts for which the student really has limited background knowledge. In such cases, the teacher may be able to begin to construct the schema in class by having students role-play a situation. Duis (1996) gives an example in which the teacher gives students basic information about social and economic conditions after the Civil War and then the students have to develop a plan that addresses the questions "What are the most pressing problems?" and "What can the government do?" After going through the process of working on their own plans, the students have a schema—a network of ideas—that will help them understand their study of the actual reconstruction process after the Civil War.

Hands-On and Performance-Based Activities

While it may be true that social studies does not lend itself to actual materials that students can hold in their hands as much as math and science, the possibilities for

concrete experiences and performance-based activities are actually quite extensive and exciting. Students can illustrate time-line murals, design dioramas and models, and create objects to place in a time capsule depicting a particular historical period. They can handle a variety of information sources beyond their textbooks. For example, they can use a clipping from the school newsletter about the upcoming student council elections before they go on to study about elections in their textbook.

Another example of the kind of material that can bring life to a social studies topic is the National Public Radio audiotape "Class of 2000: The Prejudice Puzzle" (Bartis & Bowman, 1994). This is a recording of interviews with young people about their experiences with prejudice and how they have dealt with it. Students can also use magazine and newspaper articles. Literature, diaries, speeches, posters, paintings, cartoons, and music from various historical periods and cultures also provide more concrete contexts for social studies. Visits to museums and other types of field trips enable students to have additional concrete experiences in material-rich environments.

Maps and globes are also important materials for language minority students—the more the better, and the more varied the better, such as local maps and world maps, physical maps and political maps, facsimiles of ancient maps, and the latest technologically advanced satellite maps. In one of the global education high schools mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, a world map was on every desk in virtually every classroom in the school (Fuss Kirkwood, 1990a, 1991b). The first gift that ESL and bilingual teachers doing social studies may want to give to their students is a map of the city or area in which they live. This map can be treated as a resource to be used throughout the year for a wide variety of activities involving such areas as language development, geography, history, and the environment. Many types of maps can be used to teach about multiple perspectives. A topographical map of the students' state shows a very different perspective than a road map. More important to global understanding is the availability of a variety of world maps. For example, maps that place North America in the center and cut Asia in half reflect the perspective of the mapmakers. The relative size of continents on varying maps is also very revealing. For example, Europe appears much larger on the traditional Mercator Projection map than it does on the more accurate Peters Projection map.

Performance-based activities also lend a sense of reality to social studies classes. One possibility is for students to role-play historical events or governmental processes. They may also conduct mock trials. For example, in *Seeing the Whole through Social Studies,* Lindquist (1995) describes how the students in her elementary class put Herschel the Sea Lion on trial for murdering Sam Steelhead. The trial grew out of a local controversy over what to do about sea lions that were decimating the salmon population as the fish entered a lock system in the Seattle area. In addition to providing a wealth of ideas for hands-on and performance-based social studies activities, the author—an elementary teacher—used her experiences in her own classes to show how social studies topics can become unifying themes for a variety of curricular areas throughout the entire school year. In the case of the

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THE USE OF ELECTRONIC MEDIA, VIDEOS OR DVDS IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES CLASSROOM

Electronic media, videos or DVDS, while not precisely hands-on and performance-based activities, are another extremely important components of social studies programs that are designed to be comprehensible to language minority students through the use of multiple modalities. A growing number of different kinds of electronic media resources and Web sites are available for social studies. Few if any have been designed specifically for bilingual or ESL students, but many can be used successfully. (One of the authors of this chapter still remembers how her ESL students loved to play one of the early and classic interactive computer games, "Oregon Trail.") There are interactive simulations of social phenomena, such as building cities, and there are electronic databases, multimedia programs, laser disks, and electronic networks that enable direct and immediate connections with people in many different parts of the country and the world.

Videos, DVDs, and films can provide the learner with a powerful sense of "being there," and they also provide ELLs with visual referents for spoken and written information. They are instruments through which students can see other societies and themselves. Students can become involved in videotaping events or subjects, and the videotapes can be shown in class for instructional purposes. In this way the learner and teacher become not only knowledge consumers but also knowledge producers.

These are some things to consider when using videos:

1. *Does the video or DVD facilitate not only observation but also participation?* For example, the teacher can use prevideo or pre-DVD questions to make the viewing more active or offer a class follow-up activity. Two different videos or DVDs can be compared and contrasted, or a video or DVD can be compared with a written source on the same subject. Students can take notes on certain types of information that they are looking for during the video or DVD, or may keep a journal on a series of videos or DVDs that they will be seeing.

2. *What is the language load of the video or DVD?* How much verbiage surrounds the videotape or DVD and how much commentary is really necessary? Would it be better to show the videotape or DVD without the running comments and let the viewers bring their experiences to the visual imagery? When you do this and ask the children what they saw, you may be surprised at the range of responses you get. After the material has been discussed, you may want to show the video or DVD again with sound. Now the question is: What did you hear?

3. *What perspective does the video or DVD portray?* When dealing with social studies content, it is very possible that the video or DVD will intentionally or unintentionally reflect the biases of the people who produced it. In some cases this may make the video or DVD inappropriate to use; however, in other cases the class can analyze whose point of view is seen in the video or DVD and whose point of view is left out.

mock trial, for example, students learned about the trial system and the Marine Mammal Protection Act (social studies), but they also learned about the life cycle of the salmon and the natural predator-prey relationship (science). Language arts—reading and writing and listening and speaking—were included throughout the entire unit.

As we will be seeing later in the chapter, students may also actively "do" social studies by designing communities, conducting interviews, developing life histories, taking on community service projects, and so on. Community members can also contribute to the richness of meaningful and active social studies classes. They can, for example, be used as guest speakers, classroom volunteers who share some

type of expertise, colleagues in community service, subjects for interviews and data collection, or as an audience with whom students can interact as they make social studies presentations.

CRITICAL THINKING AND STUDY SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

It is very important to prepare language minority students for the type of cognitively demanding academic work that they will be sure to encounter as they progress through high school and into higher education—critical thinking and study skills development are key components in this process. An example of a curricular package for ESL students that explicitly promotes critical thinking is *Making Peace: A Reading/Writing/Thinking Text on Global Community* (Brooks & Fox, 1994). This book is a collection of readings and language development activities that will engage ESL students in critical thinking and writing on highly relevant multicultural and global issues. As we proceed through the remainder of this section on instructional strategies and the next section on theme-based social studies units, we will see that the issue of critical thinking emerges repeatedly as an integral aspect of many different social studies activities for language minority students.

Directed Reading Thinking Activity (DRTA) is an example of a specific classroom strategy that teachers can use in a wide range of contexts to help language minority students develop critical thinking skills and deal with abstract content in social studies courses. With DRTA, students use higher-order thinking skills as they process a text in the following manner: (1) Students brainstorm what they already know about the topic; (2) They predict what might be in the reading selection; (3) They read the text, confirming their predictions or making corrections and integrating the new information into their original knowledge base; and (4) They discuss what they learned from the text through follow-up questions and checks for comprehension (King et al., 1987).

Turning now to study skills, "Survey, Questions, Read, Recite, Record, Review" (SQ4R) is an example of a study skills routine that students can learn to use for outlining information from a text (King, Fagan, Bratt, & Baer, 1987). The point of the activity is not the outline per se, but the active use of the outline process to promote critical comprehension of key ideas. In the first step, "surveying," students skim the reading assignment to get an overall view of the topic headings, pictures, maps and graphs, and key vocabulary words. Then they formulate questions about the selection based on the headings and subheadings in the chapter. On a sheet of paper that has been divided vertically in half, they write down their questions on the left-hand side. (For example, if one of the subheadings was "Spain's Empire Grows," a student might write on his paper, "How did Spain's empire grow?") Then the students read with a purpose in mind, that of answering their questions. They answer their question to themselves orally and then record them on the right-hand side of their outline form. The final step is a review of the material they have outlined. This process can be valuable in providing students with the skills needed to work independently on social studies assignments and research projects.

Paying Attention to Social Studies

Language Issues

In the process of learning social studies content students develop a broad array of language skills, and in the process of learning new language skills they better prepare themselves for further understanding of social studies. Going back again to one of our introductory vignettes for an example, the students who wrote diamante poems based on their study of Incan social classes were developing vocabulary and writing skills in a new genre at the same time that they were developing the concept of social classes. In a previous section in this chapter we already discussed the language issue of the use of L_1 or L_2 for social studies. Here we want to focus more on issues of language development when students are learning social studies through their second language, as would happen in a content ESL class or a sheltered social studies class.

Of course, one of the most important language issues in such social studies classes is vocabulary development, and teachers need to use a very broad range of strategies to help students acquire new vocabulary in meaningful ways. Often visual representations can be used: Photographs of people demonstrating or picketing will help to convey the meaning of the word *protest,* for example. Sometimes vocabulary can be acted out physically. Another strategy is to use examples from the students' own experiences. For example, their familiarity with their school's student council can serve as a bridge to the meaning of *representative*. Semantic webs, which we will describe further in the section on graphic organizers, can help students associate the meaning of new words with related words that they already know (Short, 1994b).

Beyond the individual word level, social studies contexts offer many opportunities for students to develop sentence structures and skills with more extensive discourse patterns. For example, we can see this process happening at a beginning ELL level in which students use information about explorers to develop English sentence patterns for making comparisons. Students might have cards with a simplified summary of one explorer on each card. Then they make comparisons using a variety of modeled sentence patterns: "Columbus was a Spanish explorer, and so was Balboa," or "Columbus was a Spanish explorer and Balboa was too," or "Both Columbus and Balboa were Spanish explorers" (King, Fagan, Bratt, & Baer, 1987, p. 94). Another example involves learning how to paraphrase. Students listen to statements read to them and identify whether the statement was made by King George or Thomas Jefferson. Along with their choice, they have to give a reason for their answer. In the process of stating their reason, they are actually practicing paraphrasing (King, Fagan, Bratt, & Baer, 1987, pp. 112–113).

Language experience is a very effective way to blend oral language development, literacy development, and social studies learning. Originally developed as a method for beginning reading instruction, the language experience approach starts with a concrete experience that students share. During or after the activity, the students and teacher generate vocabulary and sentences about the experience. These words, sentences, or both are recorded on large flash cards, sentence strips,

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

THE USE OF GRAPHIC ORGANIZERS

Graphic organizers is an umbrella term for a variety of kinds of diagrams that learners can use to literally see relationships. The type of graphic organizer that learners use depends on the nature of the relationships being portrayed. Graphic organizers can be used to help in understanding a written text, to give focus to a group discussion, or to serve as a prewriting framework for a writing assignment. When used with a written text, they can be developed before, during, or after reading the selection. Used before reading, they help as advance guides. During the reading process they are a way to organize information. After completing the reading assignment, they can be used to summarize relationships. The following are some examples of graphic organizers and some of their possible uses:

- *Semantic webs and tree diagrams.* These are composed of central hubs with extending spokes or tree trunks with branches and subbranches. They can work to show relationships between main ideas and subordinate details.

- *Time lines.* Time lines can be used to summarize the chronological relationship of various events.

- *Flowcharts.* Flowcharts can serve to demonstrate cause-and-effect relationships.

- *Venn diagrams.* Venn diagrams are composed of intersecting circles. Each circle represents a distinct subject, with characteristics of the subject listed inside the circle. Characteristics within the intersecting areas are common to all of the subjects, while characteristics outside of the intersections are unique to each separate component. Learners can use Venn diagrams to show relationships of comparison and contrast.

- *Charts or tables.* With their rectangles of rows and columns, charts can show how a group of details relate to each other to form a category that is distinct from other categories on the chart (Echevarria & Graves, 2003; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2004; King et al., 1987; Short, 1997; Reiss, 2001).

or charts. The written materials are then used for follow-up literacy activities. When combined with social studies content they can also be used for follow-up social studies activities. For example, to develop vocabulary and concepts related to the electoral process, students carry out an election in the classroom. Step-by-step the teacher writes down in simplified language what is happening, introducing key vocabulary words such as nominate, campaign, and so on. With this language base students are then ready to apply the new concepts and vocabulary to the more abstract study of governmental electoral processes. Another type of concrete experience that lends itself to the language experience approach is role-playing. For example, to develop the concept of decision making through compromise, students could role-play various interest groups arguing for or against a law. As they act out the process, the teacher would write down key sentences and vocabulary. The language and concepts that emerged from the role-playing would then serve, for instance, as a platform for the study of compromises made during the Constitutional Convention (King, Fagan, Bratt, & Baer, 1987).

One of the challenges of social studies that we have already noted is the wide range of writing styles and organizational structures to be used in social studies activities. Language-sensitive teachers can help their students develop proficiency with these formats. A good example of such a strategy is provided by a fifth-grade

unit on explorers carried out in a mixed classroom of English-proficient students and ELLs. As the unit progressed the teacher led the students through guided practice in five different writing styles. Students began with the style most familiar to them, narrative writing, and then moved on to descriptive writing, persuasive writing, and finally the least familiar genre, expository writing. This process was connected to social studies by having the students role-play various explorers who needed to record their experiences in order to make reports to their rulers. In the first writing assignment the "explorers" told the story of their trip. In the second assignment they focused on a description of the new places they had seen. In the third they wrote to persuade others to join them or to persuade sponsors to provide more funding. In the final assignment they wrote reflective reports of the significance of their experiences. The teacher used modeling, thinking out loud, and joint text construction to prepare the students to complete their own writing assignments (Reppen, 1994/1995). This process again demonstrates the interconnectedness of language development and social studies understanding. The social studies information and concepts served as a natural context for the writing assignments, and the writing assignments helped the students have a deeper understanding of various facets of the European age of exploration.

Just as students encounter a variety of writing genres, they also encounter a wide variety of discourse structures in social studies readings. Coelho (1982) identified a variety of linguistic features of social studies discourse that can be explicitly taught to ELLs to improve their comprehension of social studies information. By developing an awareness of certain types of linguistic signals, ELLs can learn to recognize chronological markers and organizational structures such as cause–effect and compare–contrast. For example, ELLs can learn that the phrase "as a result" signals a cause–effect relationship. "In addition" and "furthermore" indicate enumeration—that a series of things are being listed (Short, 1997). Short (1994b) has identified six types of structures that are found in social studies texts: sequential (chronological), cause–effect, problem–solution, description, enumeration, and comparison–contrast. If teachers are aware of these structures in the materials they are using, they will be better prepared to help students learn for themselves how to make sense out of social studies content. Because one of the ultimate goals of a social studies program for language minority students is to enable them to participate fully in academically challenging social studies courses taught entirely in English, the development of their familiarity with these more advanced aspects of social studies discourse is extremely important.

As ELLs progress in their second-language proficiency within the context of social studies classes, it is important for teachers to remember that listening, speaking, reading, and writing do not always develop in this sequence for second-language learners. McKay and Wong (1996), for example, in their case study of four adolescent immigrant Chinese students, found their subjects to be "extremely complex social beings" (p. 603) who were each unique in the amount of relative effort that they invested in listening and speaking skills versus reading and writing skills. It is also important to remember that even though some students may not be able to effectively convey complex ideas in writing, this does not necessarily mean

that they lack understanding of concepts. Alternative assessment approaches such as political cartoons, illustrations, or semantic webs can also indicate higher-level cognitive understanding.

We will look at two of Short's (1997) examples of the use of graphic organizers in bilingual or ESL contexts. One example involves the use of charts. Students who are learning about social classes in the Inca Empire (previously mentioned in another example) divide into groups, and the teacher distributes reading selections so that each group has a different social class to read about. After their group work, in which group members help each other understand their texts, all the groups come together to share their information, which they then organize into a chart that depicts the various categories of people.

Another example involves students who are studying the Revolutionary War. They use a Venn diagram to compare and contrast the lives of Paul Revere and another important messenger, Sybil Ludington. After preparing the diagram, students are ready to write an essay about the two historical figures. One sample essay included in Short's article is clearly organized into three paragraphs, and the essay shows the student's use of language cues for enumeration and comparing and contrasting. In the first paragraph the student enumerates similarities between the two characters. In the second paragraph the student discusses the differences. Both paragraphs include the use of linguistic cues such as "furthermore," "in addition," "on the other hand," and "for example." The student concludes her essay with the following opinion about Revere and Ludington's accomplishments:

⊠ **Now that I have talked about these people. I'm going to choose one of them and that is Sybil Ludington as a hero because she is a girl, she was 16 year old, she was a brave girl who wanted to helpe her nation and she does things that men does that is why I think she is a hero. I think these two people did great thing to help their nation (Short, 1997).**

In her essay, this student is clearly developing both language proficiency and social studies concepts, and in the process she is using critical thinking skills as she chooses one character as her hero and defends this choice. She is developing a firm foundation for more advanced writing assignments in future social studies classes.

Bringing the Strategies Together: CALLA as an Example

Of course, all of the above language-sensitive strategies work together, and a large variety may be used at any one time. In the essays about Revere and Ludington, for example, students were using a graphic organizer, but they were also using what they had learned about words to show enumeration or comparison. To consider how all of these individual instructional strategies can be brought together cohesively within a unit of instruction, we will use the example of the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach, or CALLA (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994). The reader can refer back to Chapters 4 and 6 for a general description of the principles of CALLA instruction. In a social studies CALLA unit, the following preparatory steps might be involved: (1) Teachers assess the students' background

knowledge on the subject of the unit; (2) they then identify objectives that are appropriate in relation to the students' current knowledge bases; (3) they plan academic language objectives that will dovetail with the social studies objectives and include listening, speaking, reading, and writing activities as well as higher-order thinking skills; and (4) finally, in coordination with the social studies and language development component, they integrate use of learning strategies. In a sample CALLA unit on European colonies in North America (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994, pp. 270–271), some of the social studies, language, and learning strategy objectives (not a total listing) include these:

> *Social studies:* Learn about Spanish, English, French, and Dutch colonists in North America and their interaction with Native Americans; use map skills to locate colonies; use a time line to highlight major events happening at this time in North America and in other parts of the world.
>
> *Language:* Discuss prior knowledge; develop vocabulary related to colonization; write summaries of information; describe photographs of the living museum of colonial life at Plymouth; write and present a report on colonies in other parts of the world.
>
> *Learning strategies:* Elaborate on prior knowledge, use selective attention (e.g., scanning a reading selection), take notes, summarize, and work cooperatively.

Theme-Based, Integrated Social Studies Units

To further bring a sense of cohesiveness to the many effective strategies for social studies instruction for language minority children, we close the chapter with examples of theme-based social studies units that integrate language arts and other subjects. We will look at two middle school units with the themes of protest and cultural conflict. Then we will describe three additional theme-based units—two elementary and one secondary—that emphasize the "doing" of social studies. These units develop such themes as the influence of location on living patterns and changes in communities over time.

Middle School Units on Protest and Conflict

The first two themes are "Protest and the American Revolution" (Short, Mahrer, Elfin, Liten-Tejada, & Montone, 1994) and "Conflict in World Cultures" (Short, Montone, Frekot, & Elfin, 1996). Short and her colleagues have spent a number of years developing and field testing these two theme-based units for use with middle school language minority students. The units can be used in a broad range of types of classes: bilingual classes, content-area ESLs, sheltered social studies classes, or language-sensitive classes with a mix of ELLs and proficient English speakers.

We have already used some of the activities in these units as examples throughout the chapter, as these materials make extensive use of the successful principles that we listed at the beginning of the section on instructional

methods. In these units, teachers strive for depth of understanding rather than accumulation of large numbers of details, and the activities clearly reflect the NCSS features of powerful teaching and the use of critical thinking. They also clearly employ a multicultural and global perspective. Like the CALLA model, the lessons include three kinds of objectives: social studies objectives, language objectives, and (similar to CALLA's learning strategies) critical thinking and study skills.

The first unit, "Protest and the American Revolution," obviously takes as its theme the concept of protest, with the subthemes of symbolism and point of view. As they integrated a multicultural perspective into the unit, the authors found that they had to bridge many gaps in textbooks to help students see the American Revolution from the point of view of such groups as the loyalists, women, Native Americans, and African Americans. The authors chose protest as the main theme because it can be connected to students' lives through their experiences as adolescents and possibly through their families' experiences in their home countries. In addition to being linked through the theme of protest, the lessons are also integrated with writing instruction. The examples of comparative writing about Paul Revere and Sybil Ludington were from this unit. Another writing assignment is to take on the role of a colonist and compose letters to the editor protesting an event. Students use many diverse activities as they explore the theme of protest through their study of the American Revolution: flowcharts, Venn diagrams, tree diagrams, the writing process, vocabulary preview activities, art, authentic texts such as political cartoons and protest songs from the period, role playing, interviews, library research, and more (Short, et al., 1994). As a culminating project for the unit, students use their understanding about this historical period to publish a colonial newspaper.

The second thematic unit is "Conflicts in World Cultures." As indicated by the title, the unifying theme in this unit is conflict, with a subtheme of cultural influences on perception. Students become multicultural informants, as they use their own experiences with conflict in this country and in their families' countries of origin to bring meaning to the theme. Students explore the theme by studying five different examples of conflict: the conquest of the Inca Empire, the Protestant Reformation, the opening of Japan to U.S. trade, the defense of Ethiopian independence, and a series of culminating lessons on historical and personal conflicts and resolutions. Through the interdisciplinary, theme-based approach, students learn about different types of conflicts—political, cultural, economic, territorial, and religious—and they learn about possible types of resolutions—violence, resistance, negotiation, concession, and withdrawal. The unit is also integrated in its use of a variety of writing genres. For example, the students write haiku about the contact between Perry and the Japanese, and they write diamante poems about the Inca. (We used two examples of these poems at the beginning of the chapter.) Short (1997) notes that the variety of writing genres energizes the students and allows them to reflect in different ways on historical information, finding their own way to express ideas. As with the protest unit, a broad array of activities engages the learners. For example, in addition to the use of creative writing, they use graphic organizers and other reading scaffolds, and they gain experience with

both commercial textbooks and other types of materials. They also engage in discussion and debate, form and justify opinions, use persuasion, take on multiple perspectives, and practice negotiation skills. Throughout the unit they make artifacts to put into a time capsule: illustrations, crafts, maps, diaries, and essays, for example. As a culminating activity they open the time capsule, hopefully with family members and other guests present. They describe the contents, recall information, answer questions, and elaborate on their explanations when requested (Short et al., 1996).

"Doing" Social Studies: Three Examples

The next three theme-based units that we describe illustrate an emphasis on *doing* social studies (Freeman & Freeman, 1991, p. 66). By *doing* social studies, we mean the process in which students do the types of activities that social scientists might engage in: writing histories, conducting interviews, analyzing data, or recommending and planning courses of action, for example. As such, these units use the social science approach, combined with the critical thinking approach. We have already looked very briefly at examples of students doing social studies at the beginning of this chapter. There was the vignette of the class that published a magazine about Southeast Asian immigrants' lives and the vignette about the Puerto Rican oral history video. In both of these examples, the students who produced the magazine and those who made the oral history video were *doing* social science. We will now look more closely at the oral history model, and then conclude with examples of two units that explore community themes.

The Puerto Rican oral history example is from an article by Olmedo (1993), in which she describes the process of bilingual high school students doing social studies as they produce oral histories. First, the teacher identifies a particular social studies concept that becomes the theme for the oral history unit. Some examples of the many themes that might be explored are acculturation, migration, the impact of economic or technological changes on people's lives, or the causes and results of wars. Based on the theme, the teacher and students develop an interview guide with questions that address the theme. If not already prepared in the L_1 of the people to be interviewed, students can also become involved in the process of translating the interview guide, which has the additional benefit of giving practical value to their biliteracy. Then students practice using the interview guide on each other and also practice using a tape recorder or video camera. The next step is to invite a guest to be interviewed by the whole class, which provides more practice with the interview process. This class interview also serves as a model for the process of transcribing the interview and preparing a summary. Then a group of students select a person to interview and assign various tasks to group members, depending on their particular language and literacy skills. Finally, the students conduct the interview, transcribe the data, and prepare a class presentation.

After the class presentations, students use the oral histories as a springboard from which to develop a broader understanding of the theme or themes they are studying. For example, they may compare the themes found in their oral histories

with examples from social studies texts, or they may compare and contrast the oral history experiences with the experiences of characters in a historical novel or a biography. The material from the interviews can be connected to the distant past by a common theme. For example, in preparation for the study of the colonial period in North America, students could collect oral histories about the reasons their families came to the United States. Olmedo (1993) notes that oral history projects help students understand history as stories, and to see that "they and their communities are players on the historical stage" (p. 7). In addition, they serve to strengthen many different language skills and they involve community members as resources.

Our next model is a unit for elementary students with the general theme of the influence of location on community living patterns—in simple terms, "Where we live influences how we live." As described by Freeman and Freeman (1991), this unit applies the principles of whole-language instruction to social studies in a multilingual classroom, using firsthand experiences and authentic reading selections (magazine articles) rather than textbooks. In this unit, students do social studies as they make observations about environments and make plans for social action. Students first develop an awareness of some of the characteristics of their own community. Next, using a variety of photographs, students analyze the characteristics of distant communities that they have never experienced directly. As they analyze the pictures, they develop lists of characteristics of the physical location (e.g., hot, rainy, many tall buildings). They also draw conclusions about community needs for survival and comfortable living, and the advantages and disadvantages of each location. With a schema now developed for their theme, they are better prepared to move on to written materials. They work in groups to read articles about diverse communities from such magazines as *World* (a *National Geographic* publication for children), and they use charts to organize their information, making one column about characteristics and another column about what people do as a result of these characteristics. For example, one characteristic might be "tall buildings with flat roofs," and one of the things that people might do is "plant rooftop gardens." The next step is for children to return to look again at their local community, using such activities as field trips and guest speakers. Given their community's characteristics, they discuss advantages and disadvantages of its location. Focusing then on the disadvantages, they make and carry out a plan of action for improvement of some aspect of the quality of life. For example, they might write a letter to the editor of the local paper about a concern or an idea, or they might attend a city council meeting. All through the group process, children are actively "doing" social studies: observing, comparing, contrasting, identifying problems, and proposing solutions. In the process they are learning to value each other's contributions and they are coming to "see themselves as useful, contributing members of society as a whole" (Freeman & Freeman, 1991, p. 66).

Remember the question, *"¿Dónde agarraron los ladrillos?"* ("Where did they get the bricks?"). Our final example of doing social studies brings us back to the very first vignette at the beginning of the chapter. As mentioned there, the

student who answered the question about the bricks was a member of a sixth-grade bilingual classroom involved in an "Island Project." Students were in mixed groups with monolingual English, monolingual Spanish, and bilingual students in each group, and all group-generated texts (for examples, charts and public records) were done in Spanish and English. Over the course of 10 weeks, the students developed their imaginary island communities. Working from the point of view of social scientists, they had to consider such aspects as survival, economics, religion, government, families, education, recreation, science, tools, and technology. They made portraits of their communities during the first two weeks on the island, in the second year of existence and in the tenth year. Then students worked in pairs as historians to write about the development and changes that occurred in their communities. Throughout the course of the project there were many different ways to communicate—orally, pictorially, and with written text—so that "Access to knowledge was not constrained by reading test levels." The student-generated written texts that were used were more comprehensible to beginning readers than commercial texts would have been, because they were "talked into being [by the students]" (Heras, 1993, p. 292). The project was extremely rich in first-hand experience in social science processes and in classroom interactions that required extensive reasoning skills. Thus the unit effectively combined the social studies as social science approach with the critical-thinking transformative approach. Noting the highly interactive environment during final presentations, with students asking many interesting questions of each other, Heras (1993) noted that in this context "Students themselves are knowledgeable beings who can talk from evidence, challenge each other in socially and academically appropriate ways, and take up new positions" (p. 294). In other words, they are informed, effective citizens of a community; they are putting into practice the essential aim of social studies education.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, there are many promising examples of powerful social studies contexts for language minority students that can bring great energy to the classroom. Such success stories are the results of the hard work of dedicated educators. They come about through a challenging process of alignment of social studies and language objectives; design, trial, and redesign of activity-rich learning environments; countless hours of materials preparation and adaptation; and collaboration between social studies and bilingual/ ESL specialists (Short, 1997). There is so much to learn about the world, and in the process of doing social studies there will probably never be enough time and enough resources to explore all of the concepts that we want to explore or to meet all of the disparate curricular guidelines. However, as long as we work toward a social studies program that is active, engaged, integrated, value-laden, and challenging; as long as we work toward the *doing* of social studies and the pervasive use of critical thinking; and as long as we infuse a multicultural and global perspective into our work, we will be helping language minority students establish a strong social framework. They have a lifetime ahead of them in which to build on their knowledge as they grow up, work, raise families, and participate as citizens of their community, their state, their nation, and their world.

Social Studies and NCLB: A Conflicted Coexistence

No Child Left Behind, or NCLB, is George W. Bush's educational legacy as a two-term president. It will continue until at least 2014, long after Bush has exited the Oval Office. NCLB tackled the school achievement gap with all the ferocity that a 'compassionate conservative' could muster. Just as the bombing of the World Trade Centers unarguably signaled a new era for the United States—and arguably for the rest of the globe—NCLB's sweeping goals of full national proficiency in reading and math in a matter of 12 years also signifies a new era in education.

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—Zeus Leonardo, 2007, p. 241

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Though well-intentioned and with strong bipartisan support, the No Child Left Behind Law's focus on reading and mathematics standards has driven social studies, especially in the primary grades, to the intellectual margins of school life. This is unfortunate; for graduating students, "ready for success in college and careers" should include a strong foundation in the social studies along with competency in reading and mathematics. The conflicted coexistence between the social studies and NCLB arises from the fact that reading and math standards are tested in the "law's much-criticized school rating system, known as adequate yearly progress" (Dillon, 2010) while the social studies curriculum is not. To survive the scrutiny of the law, teachers and administrators squeeze time from the social studies in favor of math and reading—creating a zero-sum game: robbing Peter to pay Paul. Given the prospects that this trend will continue (see Dillon, 2007, *Obama to Propose New Reading and Math Standards*) at least until 2014, when NCLB would expire, " . . . we run the risk *of losing a generation of citizens schooled in the foundations of democracy and of producing high school graduates who are not broadly educated human beings"* (Pace, 2007, pp. 26–27). Should this happen, society must also be prepared to pay a huge debt in real and imagined terms for producing a generation of uninformed citizens unable to function effectively in our complex and globally linked society.

Throughout this chapter, we have argued that the social studies rightfully belong in the elementary, middle, and high school curricula as a potentially exciting, inviting, and engaging intellectual environment where English language learners, along with their teachers, examine the bedrock democratic principles and ideals of our society. As noted earlier, this trend has to change in order to sustain and enrich our democratic and intellectual way of life domestically and internationally and to meet existing and future state standards for "history-social science" (Pace 2007). To ensure that no social studies curriculum will be left behind in rich or poor schools, social scientists, researchers, teachers, college and university faculty, academic organizations (e.g., NCSS), and policymakers must unite their voices to promote the restoration, reform, and sustainability of the social studies curriculum into normative daily public school life.

Summary

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As with other content areas, this chapter argues that an effective social studies curriculum is necessarily grounded in the lived experiences of our English language learner students. Bilingual and ESL educators, however, must challenge and prepare students to go beyond their own racial, linguistic, cultural, and social class comfort zones before they venture into the often turbulent and uncharted waters of U.S. society. Notwithstanding, however, the dangers and opportunities associated with such processes, the chapter suggests that it is only through entering into dialogical encounters with "the other" that humans can make sense of each other's world. In this way of thinking, humans do not have the option to leave each other alone because "Cultures only flourish in contact with others; they perish in isolation" (Fuentes, 1992, p. 346). Focusing on the various frameworks for powerful and meaningful teaching, this chapter argues that, when taught in a manner appropriate to language minority students, social studies provides a fascinating context for students to develop their own sociocultural and linguistic identity, to reach out and learn about the world and their place in it, and to begin to exercise their role as citizens in a democracy and as citizens of the world. In so doing, researchers, practitioners, policymakers, academics, social scientists, and national organizations (e.g., NCSS) must unite to promote the restoration, reform, and sustainability of the social studies curriculum into normative daily public school life.

Go to the Online Learning Center at www.mhhe.com/Ovando5e to access the Student Study Guide.

Key Terms

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Directed reading thinking activity (DRTA), *302*

Global education, *286*

Multicultural education, *283*

Multiple acculturation, *285*

Social studies, *275*

Reflection Questions

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1. How would you apply the five features of "powerful" social studies teaching and learning promoted by the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) in your social studies classroom? What curricular activities would you include? How does each feature reflect effective social studies teaching?

2. How are the NCSS thematic standards related to the various social science disciplines?

3. What do the authors mean by social studies "as critical thinking"? Why do they maintain that this approach is superior to the more traditional conceptions of social studies taught as citizenship transmission or social science? How can bilingual and ESL teachers take a more critical approach in social studies classrooms?

4. How is Merkle's poem, *From the Other Side,* related to schooling in the global village? How

would you respond to the poet's questions: "What is behind this? What drove people to condemn and execute so many so ruthlessly?" What role can schools play in promoting peaceful conflict resolution? If so, where does one start?

5. How are social studies classes typically organized for English language learners in middle school or high school? In your opinion, what are the advantages and disadvantages of each of the six types of social studies classes listed in this chapter? Why might ESL and bilingual students benefit more from alternative formats (e.g., a school-within-a-school, newcomer, or high-intensity language training program) rather than a social studies class that fits within a traditionally segmented middle school or high school structure?

6. Why is social studies considered by many educators and researchers to be more "context-reduced, cognitively challenging, and alien" than most other subjects for English language learners? What are the implications of this for social studies instruction for these students?

7. What are some effective social studies instructional strategies that teachers can use with English language learners? How would you use these strategies in your own classroom?

8. Why is a global education perspective ideally suited for the social studies classroom? Why is global education sometimes considered to be among the most controversial approaches to the teaching of social studies? In your opinion, are there ways in which bilingual and ESL teachers can mitigate some of this controversy?

9. Why do you think NCLB has marginalized the social studies curriculum, especially in elementary classrooms?

Assessment

by Lorraine Valdez Pierce

Bill Martinez, a high school reading teacher, works hard to help his stu-dents pass state-mandated standardized tests each year, but many of his English language learning students are not doing well. For example, Marta speaks English fluently but is enrolled in the ESOL program due to her weak reading and writing skills. As an eighth grader, Marta has already taken a number of standardized tests but has yet to score at the norm. In fact, she usually scores around the 30th percentile. The state requires that students pass the standards-based tests in order to graduate from high school. Both Bill and his students worry about how they are going to accomplish this. Marta makes good grades in ESOL and math, but Bill knows that grades don't tell the whole story. He even uses multiple-choice and fill-in-the-blank formats to help prepare Marta for the standardized tests. He just isn't sure what else he can do to show Marta that she is making progress and to help her pass the state tests.

This chapter aims to clarify a range of issues regarding the assessment of English language learners. First, we begin with the political influences on assessment, including recent changes in federal education legislation and subsequent practices in standards-based statewide testing. Within this context, we review guidelines for appropriate test use with language minority students and principles for using tests with this population. In light of the reality of an increase in the use of standardized tests, we offer a section on helping students cope with them. Second, we examine basic issues in assessment, including assessment purpose, validity and threats to validity (types of bias), and reliability. Next, we introduce readers to the various types of assessments used in education today, from norm-referenced to performance-based assessments. We also look at school-based assessment procedures, including identification and placement of English language learners in language support pro-grams and school accountability systems. At the classroom level, we identify five fundamental assumptions and five operating principles for the fair and accurate assessment of English language learners. We also make recommendations for increasing the validity of assessments by linking assessment to instruction; exam-ples of how to do this in oral language, reading, writing, and the content areas are provided. Finally, we offer suggestions for practitioners who want to grow through professional development to learn more about assessing English language learners, including traditional and student-centered teaching and how each of these philo-sophical stances leads to different classroom assessment approaches.

Political Context for Assessment

Test-driven accountability is now the norm in public schools, a result of the No Child Left Behind Act, which is the culmination of 15 years of standards-based reform.

Jennings & Rentner, 2006

Everywhere we look in the field of education today, we are met by legislators, school board members, business leaders, and parents demanding accountability

for learning. Typically, these demands are made in light of local, state, or national standards in the content areas and have become increasingly evident with the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB 2001). Most teachers no longer think that politics is what goes on outside the classroom; they know from NCLB that the federal government now plays a primary role in determining how and what they teach. This is especially true of classroom assessment practices. Most teachers already in the classroom live with the daily pressure of helping their ESOL/bilingual students pass statewide, standards-based, and local tests to demonstrate mastery of basic skills in reading, writing, social studies, and mathematics. Many teachers use test formats that mimic those of standardized tests, such as multiple-choice, short answer, and sentence completion. In addition, professional education organizations such as the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM), and the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) have all set standards for what students need to know and be able to do at various grade levels, both in the content areas as well as in subject-specific language skill areas such as reading and writing development. Even the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) professional association for educators of ESOL students recently set forth new standards for students in grades PreK–12 (TESOL, 2006). Since public schools are funded with taxpayer dollars, politicians at all levels of government are eager to show voters that their tax dollars are being well spent. In this section, we look at the political context at national, state, and local levels of government and how this context affects classroom assessment practices.

National Level

At the national level, the December 2001 revision of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA, also known as the No Child Left Behind Act or NCLB) was signed into federal law by President George W. Bush. This law requires annual testing (by each state receiving federal funds for education) of all students in grades three through eight. Each state must establish its own standards for success. However, requiring schools to bring 100 percent of students up to proficiency levels in reading and math by 2014, as NCLB does, calls for a level of proficiency that some researchers say has never been achieved in any state or country before (Dillon, 2003).

Title I of the NCLB law, which supports programs for disadvantaged students, requires that ELLs take state standardized tests of reading and mathematics in English after they have been in the United States for three years. Title I does permit testing in the students' native languages during their first three years in U.S. public schools, but that option is not practical for most states.

A major challenge facing most states is that they are required to include ELLs in state measurement and accountability plans under Title I. ELLs are to meet the same content-area standards as the general education population as well as meet annual measurement objectives in English language arts, reading, math, and science. States need to disaggregate data by race, socioeconomic status, disability, and

English language proficiency to show what the federal government calls "adequate yearly progress" or AYP. If any subgroup in a school does not meet AYP, the school can be identified as one of those needing improvement.

Title III of NCLB applies to local bilingual education and ESL programs that aim to help ELLs attain English language proficiency. Title III requires states to establish English language proficiency standards linked to each state's grade-level content standards and to develop standards-based English language proficiency tests to measure the progress of ELLs. Assessments are required to address five domains of language: listening, speaking, reading, writing, and comprehension. In addition, states are asked to establish annual achievement objectives aimed at gauging learning gains of ELLs in both English language and content-area skills. The stated purpose of NCLB is to ensure that students with learning needs are caught at points where they can be redirected or remediated toward success. Proponents of the testing initiative agree that it is better to catch students before they fail so that they don't fall between the cracks and ultimately drop out of school. News polls show that most parents agree with the stated motive behind the annual testing. However, the fallacy of this argument is that annual testing may provide a partial diagnosis of student learning at best, and at worst, it provides no assurances for providing students with the type of instruction and materials they need to succeed in school. Calling for annual testing to improve student achievement might be comparable to requiring a patient to take his temperature once a year. One measure of health cannot cure anyone of a disease any more than a single annual test score or battery of test scores can increase student learning.

The 2001 Bush administration was not the first to propose national testing. In 1997, after repeated efforts, the Clinton administration put forth recommendations for voluntary national testing of students in grades four and eight. This was part of President Clinton's Goals 2000 educational plan. Prior to that, in 1991, President George H. Bush, proposed national testing as part of America 2000, a national school reform plan (Rothman, 1995). Federal legislation encouraged or required testing in the Educate America Act of 1994 (Goals 2000) and in Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. However, such proposals for national testing have met with resistance in Congress, most recently regarding the issue of how to provide funding to states to pay for testing programs. While NCLB originally had strong support from Congressional leaders in both parties, since 2001, bipartisan support of the law has dissolved over funding issues. At a time when the National Governors' Association said that states face "the most ominous state fiscal crisis since World War II," states were justifiably concerned about where they would get the funding to implement NCLB. In 2003, 31 states faced budget deficits (Center on Education Policy, 2004, p. 33). In 2006, over two-thirds of states had received insufficient funds to implement NCLB mandates (Center on Education Policy, 2007).

In February 2009, funding for states and schools became available but not through reauthorization of NCLB. Congress passed the $787 billion American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), an economic stimulus package. Of this money, approximately $48.6 billion was allotted for governors to help save jobs

and drive education reform in the form of the State Fiscal Stabilization Fund (U.S. Department of Education, July 2009). State governors were required to ensure that their states would take action and make progress in four core areas of education reform: (1) adopting internationally benchmarked standards and assessments; (2) recruiting, developing, and retaining effective teachers and principals; (3) building data systems that measure student success; and (4) turning around the lowest-performing schools. However, most of the money will probably be used to "plug holes" left by state cuts to education funding in K–12 and higher education, with only about 10 percent left for school reforms (McNeil, 2009).

Also from the ARRA funding, $4.35 billion was reserved for a competitive grants program called Race to the Top "to encourage and reward states . . . creating the conditions for education innovation and reform" (U.S. Department of Education, July 2009). The Race to the Top funds, the largest single federal investment ever in school reform, will go to states that address all four core areas of state reform outlined above through "comprehensive and coherent plans," according to the director of the program (Weiss, 2009). However, such ambitious, "bold new approaches for transforming state and local education systems" will most likely take much more money and a longer time frame than the federal government can provide. And although the program claims to support educational innovations and a redesign of the U.S. education system, proposed guidelines requiring use of student achievement data for evaluating teachers and principals, increasing charter schools, and promoting alternative routes to teacher licensure face opposition from teacher unions and smack of NCLB (Sawchuk, 2009).

Title I School Improvement Grants provide another $3.5 billion from ARRA and fiscal 2009 appropriations and are meant to be spent by the nation's 5,000 worst-performing schools over the next three years (McNeil, 2009). This is the largest amount of money ever to fund interventions in schools that have continually failed to meet the achievement goals of NCLB (Klein, 2009). Those schools in each state that rank in the bottom 5 percent for achievement will be eligible for the funds. However, unlike previous Title I funding, strict conditions have been proposed for the school improvement grants. School districts would have to adopt one of four programs prescribed by the federal government: (1) the Turn-Around Model, which would replace the principal and at least 50 percent of school staff; (2) school closure and sending students to high-achieving schools; (3) the Restart Model, where schools would be closed and reopened as a charter school or operated by an educational management organization; and (4) the Transformational Model, which calls for comprehensive programs for developing teacher and school leader effectiveness, comprehensive instructional reform strategies, extending learning and teacher planning time and creating community-oriented schools, and providing operating flexibility sustained support (McNeil, 2009). Many educators view this Title I program as too prescriptive and in conflict with collective bargaining agreements and laws. In addition, this program seems to provide yet another example of the "putting the cart before the horse" funding models for increasing student achievement that are neither research-based nor innovative.

Impact of No Child Left Behind Act

The impact of the No Child Left Behind Act can be gauged by the numerous reports and commentaries appearing regularly in newspapers such as *The New York Times, The Washington Post, Time Magazine, The Wall Street Journal, Education Week,* and professional journals such as *Phi Delta Kappan, Educational Leadership,* and others. The Internet search engine Google said it had 1.2 million items about NCLB in 2004 (Bracey, 2004). Media coverage has tended to be negative.

An example of an *Education Week* editorial from a Yale university professor states the following:

- NCLB is wreaking havoc because it fails to reflect what we know about standardized testing and how children learn.
- NCLB's standards for accountability are arbitrary and punitive; it penalizes schools with higher numbers of poor students and ELLs; it uses one yardstick for all students, even those with learning disabilities; it encourages cheating, including misrepresenting test results by excluding students with special needs; and it inadvertently encourages weaker students to drop out.
- NCLB assumes that what matters most is what students know rather than how they can use it.
- NCLB squeezes subjects not tested out of the curriculum.
- NCLB mandates politically based definitions of education science.
- NCLB views standardized testing as a panacea for closing the achievement gap and turns schools into test-prep programs.
- NCLB mandates testing that neither the federal nor the state governments can afford.
- NCLB promotes divisiveness between and among legislators, teachers, administrators, and teacher educators (Sternberg, 2004).

The impact of the NCLB Act can also be seen in the actions of a number of states in their efforts to avoid the loss of federal funding because of low test scores or to buy time for schools to meet the stringent standards. For example, some states have lowered passing scores (Texas, Michigan), others have redefined schools that need improvement (Colorado), and still others have proposed progress in unrealistic increments (Ohio) (Dillon, 2003). Some states and school districts have passed resolutions refusing federal Title I funds, limiting state funding on NCLB, or requesting more federal funding to avoid having to comply with NCLB requirements. These states include Connecticut, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Louisiana, Vermont, and others (Center on Education Policy, 2004).

Over 40 states requested that the United States Department of Education make changes to accountability plans they submitted in 2003 (Olson, 2004). Almost half the states (24) have taken some action protesting NCLB, ranging from formal requests for adequate funding, to petitions for waivers from the most burdensome requirements of the law (Mathis, 2004).

Parents of schoolchildren have also protested the high-stakes testing movement. Parents in Massachusetts asked their children to boycott classes on test days. In Virginia, parents formed a coalition called Parents Across Virginia United to Reform the Standards of Learning (PAVURSOL). As more and more parents of general education students speak out against these types of tests, state legislatures will begin to listen and modify their tests or testing policies. In Virginia, the State Board of Education listened to and allowed for alternatives to the state's Standards of Learning (SOL) Tests (although the alternatives seem to be aimed at high-achieving children). The state also lowered passing scores on the social studies test in response to a public outcry over the content of the test.

Legal actions have been another result of NCLB. In 2003, a number of lawsuits were filed or planned to be filed to challenge or cite NCLB, including advocacy groups in California, New York City, and Albany, New York; school districts in Nebraska; the Reading, Pennsylvania, school district; a teacher in Kansas; and the National Education Association.

Among professional organizations, the National Education Association (NEA) criticized NCLB in 2003 because of its overreliance on high-stakes testing, the likelihood of mislabeling some schools as failing, and its extensive requirements and limited funding (Center on Education Policy, 2004).

A comprehensive national examination of the effects of NCLB in its second year of implementation found that states were complying with the act but were seriously underfunded (Center on Education Policy, 2004). The study was based on a survey of 47 states and the District of Columbia, 274 school districts, in-depth case studies of a variety of school districts, and other data-gathering methods. The Center on Education Policy survey found that:

1. States and school systems are putting considerable time and energy toward meeting the requirements of the act.
2. States support NCLB's goals.
3. More school districts felt broader and deeper effects than in the first year of NCLB, and this has resulted in increased assistance for schools identified as needing improvement (in the form of professional development, extending school hours, providing after-school programs, and changing curricula).
4. Parents of children in schools needing improvement rarely choose another public school for their child—they choose tutoring services instead.
5. States and school districts are slowly moving toward updating teacher qualifications.
6. Some of the NCLB requirements are unrealistic (e.g., testing ELLs).
7. States and school districts face major funding pressures and a lack of capacity (staff expertise) to carry out the act.

Almost half the states surveyed reported that budget shortfalls had negatively affected their ability to implement NCLB. Eighteen states reported that the negative impact affected support of local school districts. Thirty-eight states reported lacking staff capacity for carrying out the requirements of NCLB. A study by the

Civil Rights Project of Harvard University found "... a striking lack of resources and knowledge to accomplish the extraordinary goals" (Sunderman & Orfield, 2006, p. 15). State administrators have done their best to implement testing and data collection requirements but have been unable to fund large-scale educational changes or provide assistance to low-performing schools.

In its second study of student achievement since NCLB was enacted in 2002, the Center on Education Policy collected and analyzed extensive test data in reading and mathematics through 2006-07 from all 50 states (Kober, Chudowsky, & Chudowsky, 2008). Comparisons between state test data and the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) results were made for at least 29 states. While the study showed gains on most state tests in the percentages of students scoring proficient in reading and math, it found smaller gains on NAEP tests. Achievement gap trends also showed a narrowing in states with sufficient data on state tests as well as on NAEP tests except for grade eight math. This study shows a clear discrepancy between state tests and NAEP, with NAEP test results showing less positive results than state tests. The researchers suggest that this discrepancy may be the result of, among many other factors, score inflation on state tests resulting from narrow types of test preparation that lead to higher test scores but not necessarily more learning in reading or math.

A different study on the assumption of NCLB that the pressure of high-stakes testing will increase student achievement found negative results. This study found that pressure created by annual state standardized testing "has had almost no important influence on student academic performance" (Nichols, Glass, & Berliner, 2005, p. 1). In addition, this study found no link between increased testing pressure and gains in NAEP reading scores for students in grades four or eight. In fact, greater test pressure was closely linked to increased retention and dropout rates and disproportionately negative effects on minority students, the very students the law is supposed to be helping.

Other studies have found that NCLB has not had a significant impact on improving reading and math achievement on NAEP scores (Lee, 2006; Ravitch, 2009). Neither has NCLB helped states significantly narrow the achievement gap, which persists despite all the testing. The law's sanctions are also seen as ineffective; school choice and tutoring have become almost meaningless because too few students sign up for either one of these options. One of the strongest statements against the law comes from a highly respected education researcher who served as assistant U.S. secretary of education from 1991 to 1993:

It is too late to tweak NCLB. Seven years after it was signed into law, it is clear that the program deserves to be buried.

Diane Ravitch, 2009

Despite criticism of NCLB, Congressional committees from both parties involved in drafting the act have not yet amended or replaced the law and are not expected to do so until perhaps 2011. President Obama has his hands full with a devastated economy, record unemployment, and volatile debates over health care reform since his election in November 2008; he has not yet proposed an overhaul of NCLB.

State Level

At the state level, almost all states have a mandated state testing program and all states and the District of Columbia have set academic standards. State standards are not necessarily clear enough or set for each grade level to provide a basis for establishing curricula or assessments (AFT, 2008). A separate study of state standards by the Fordham Institute rated state standards as being of mediocre quality, assigning an average grade of 'C-minus' (Finn, Julian, & Petrilli,2006). State high school exit exams are required or soon will be required for a high school diploma in 26 states, many of which have moved away from minimum-competency and comprehensive exams and toward end-of-course exams that assess mastery of the content in a specific high school course (Zabala, Minicci, McMurrer, & Briggs, 2008). By 2012, approximately 85 percent of the nation's high school students of color will be affected by these exit tests.

In an unprecedented move in June 2009, 46 states agreed to draft common academic standards in mathematics and English language arts (McNeil, 2009). The common core of standards must represent at least 85 percent of each state's standards and be adopted within three years. State legislatures and/or boards of education have put into place predominantly traditional, multiple-choice tests in the content areas, some administered every year and others required in specific grades in elementary and secondary schools. It is no surprise that teachers feel daily pressure to cover the content of these tests, often at the cost of more meaningful and substantive learning material.

Requiring language minority students and English language learners to pass a standardized test poses problematic issues. One problem with requiring students to pass a single state test or series of tests in order to graduate from high school and not considering grades or scores on other tests (such as SATs or ACTs), is that a single measure cannot accurately reflect student learning or ensure that students have mastered all the standards set for high school. A series of studies conducted by Linda McNeil and her colleagues at Rice University in Texas found that standardized tests actually shut teachers and students out of the education equation, undermined educational quality, and promoted discrimination against minority students by watering down the curriculum (McNeil, 2000).

Another problem with requiring English language learners to attain a minimum score on a standardized test is that every standardized test administered in English in U.S. public schools is ultimately a test of the English language. If students are not proficient in the language, they won't do well on the test, not necessarily because they don't know the subject matter of the test, but because they don't know enough English to comprehend the test questions and responses. To avoid inaccurate test results, students need to be assessed in English reading and writing to determine if they are ready to take standardized tests. Since standardized tests allow comparisons between language minority students and native English speakers across the country, language minority students need to have attained a level of literacy that allows them to show their understanding on a standardized test in English, including following oral and written test directions, reading text passages, and using vocabulary appropriate to the subject matter of the test (Thomas & Collier, 1998). Collier and Thomas suggest that students with no proficiency in English who are

enrolled in language support programs will take from two to four years to reach readiness to take norm-referenced tests. Their research has shown that students in ESL programs without access to native language instruction and who eventually move on to grade-level classes can reach the 50th NCE (normal curve equivalent) on standardized tests in English after 7 to 10 years of all-English schooling. Students in high-quality bilingual programs took less time to reach this benchmark, approximately 4 to 7 years (Collier & Thomas, 1998).

Other recommendations for using standardized tests have been proposed by the Committee on Appropriate Test Use of the National Research Council. This committee recommends that high-stakes decisions such as graduation from high school be made with *multiple* measures rather than relying on a single test score (Heubert & Hauser, 1999). Multiple measures ensure reliability of the information, similar to looking at single snapshots of a person or landscape from different angles or at different points in time. Multiple measures would provide a fuller picture of a student's academic strengths and weaknesses than any single measure can show.

Does potential misuse of statewide standardized testing mean English language learners should be excluded from the process? The answer to this question depends on the level of English language proficiency attained by each student at the time of the testing. Statewide testing for accountability, when conducted in accordance with the guidelines provided in this section, can help improve the educational status of English language learners. On the other hand, test scores that are used improperly must serve as a call to dialogue and action by concerned parents and educators (Heubert & Hauser, 1999).

Local Level

In addition to national and state mandates for testing, school systems find themselves scrambling to meet local interim or benchmark standards-based assessments. Whereas many schools ask teachers to meet each student's learning needs by "differentiating" instruction and placing them in special programs such as ESL or special education, not much differentiation is given at the assessment level. ESL and bilingual students are typically required to take state and local tests in English at some point in their school careers. Under NCLB, newcomers who have been in the country for one year or less are not required to undergo state testing. States are allowed to use accommodations with English language learners during the first three to five years students are beginning to learn the language, but these accommodations are those used for students with learning disabilities and have not been shown to be effective with ELLs. Accommodations are intended to reduce the English language demand of the test so that ELLs can show what they know on content area tests. A recent study of all 50 states and the District of Columbia has found that fewer than half were using "ELL-responsive" or appropriate accommodations for ELLs. These accommodations most typically included allowing extra time to complete tests, providing bilingual dictionaries, and reading test items aloud to students (Willner, Rivera, & Acosta, 2008).

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

APPROPRIATE TEST USE FOR LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS

FROM THE NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

Specific recommendations by the National Research Council (NRC) can provide guidance on appropriate test use for language minority students, as well as for majority students. In particular, the NRC proposes three criteria and four basic principles of appropriate test use (Heubert & Hauser, 1999). The three criteria for determining whether test use is appropriate are:

1. *Measurement validity.* Does the test accurately measure a student's knowledge in the content area being tested?

2. *Attribution of cause.* Does a student's performance on a test reflect knowledge and skill based on appropriate instruction or is it a result of language proficiency, learning disabilities, or ineffective instructional approaches and programs?

3. *Effectiveness of the treatment.* Do test scores lead to placement in programs that help improve learning?

These criteria are all critical when using tests with English language learners and language minority students.

The four basic principles of appropriate test use recommended by the National Research Council include the following:

1. Validity is based on *how* a test is used because tests are not inherently valid without regard to how the results are used.

2. Tests are not perfect, nor are they an exact measure of student learning. Therefore, no single test score can be considered a clear measure of a student's knowledge.

3. Educational decisions for high-stakes purposes (e.g., graduation from high school, grade promotion, program placement) should not be made solely on the basis of a single test score.

4. Test scores cannot justify a bad decision. When test scores are used to retain students in grade without providing special instructional support services that meet each learner's needs, even tests based on the highest standards will not produce increases in student learning.

A pernicious local policy that has the potential for doing more harm than good is the exclusion of ESL students' scores from total school averages. School administrators may be tempted to exclude the test scores of ESOL/bilingual students so that the total school averages at each grade level on various subtests are not reduced by factoring in the low scores of those students. While school principals may look upon this policy as one that fairly represents their school's achievement, the truth is that it actually presents a distorted picture of reality. If a segment of the school population is excluded from the test score history, then who is the testing benefiting? This type of exclusionary policy, if it does not provide for alternative assessments to be given to the ESL/bilingual students in place of the standardized tests, can have the negative effect of limiting accountability for the progress of these students.

Alternatives to Standardized Testing

NCLB became federal law in 2002, and since that time, educators and advocates for English language learners have bemoaned the fact that this subgroup of students is

WHY ARE ESL/BILINGUAL STUDENTS ASSESSED?

The five most common purposes for conducting educational assessment with ESL/bilingual students include the following: (1) Identify and place students in ESL, bilingual, special education, or regular classrooms; (2) determine students' readiness to exit or leave a special program; (3) monitor students' progress in special and regular classrooms; (4) accountability for meeting state and local standards; and (5) evaluate programs to determine the effectiveness of a specific instructional program. Each of these will be described in the following sections of this chapter.

required to take tests in reading and math in English, a language that they are still in the process of learning.

In March 2007, the Center on Education Policy convened experts from 25 organizations to discuss problematic issues and to propose solutions to challenges posed by standardized testing of ELLs. This roundtable was intended as preparation for the next reauthorization of NCLB. One of the key recommendations put forward was to use a weighted index to assign more weight to the English language proficiency assessment scores while ELLs are still learning English and less weight to the content-area scores. As students spend more time in schools and become more proficient in English, more weight would be given to the content- area scores. The weights would be assigned based on a student's score results from the previous year on both English language proficiency and content-area assessments (Center on Education Policy, 2007).

BASIC ASSESSMENT CONCEPTS

To be able to use tests appropriately with English language learners, educators need to first become familiar with some basic concepts in assessment. In this section, we describe the critical role of assessment purpose in helping to determine the validity of assessment inferences, define validity and reliability, describe types of bias, and discuss the role of standards, both developmental and absolute, in determining student progress.

Assessment Purpose

Assessment is the process of gathering data about what a student knows and what that student can do, for the purpose of making educational decisions. These decisions may reflect a variety of purposes. It is important to know one's assessment purpose in order to determine the best fit between that purpose and the type of test or measure to use. For example, in monitoring student progress in the classroom, both process and product data are needed. Teachers collect information not only on the processes of learning (e.g., use of reading or writing strategies) but also on the products, such as completed work samples or projects. By collecting both types of information,

teachers are in a better position to use particular instructional approaches or activities to help students improve. If, on the other hand, school administrators are interested in determining whether students have met state or local standards, they will primarily focus on the products or outcomes of student performance.

Validity

Assessment purpose, in addition to guiding the selection of the most appropriate measure to use, also determines the relative importance of the validity of that measure. The higher the stakes of the assessment purpose, the more important it is to verify the validity of the assessment tools and process. The **validity** of an assessment measure or tool refers to the accuracy of the inferences made about a student's knowledge or competence based on his/her performance on the assessment. At this point, it is essential to recognize that assessment tools can only measure a *representative sample* of student's knowledge and skills. The better a test represents a body of knowledge and skills, "the more valid will be any inference" about what a student has learned with regard to the content of the test (Popham, 2001, p. 30). So, it is the "score-based inferences" that educators make about a student that are valid or invalid, not the test itself. For example, inferences made about a score on a subtest claiming to measure reading skills but that consists of 50 vocabulary items outside of any reading context are not likely to be valid. This is because the subtest is testing knowledge of vocabulary terms rather than of reading comprehension or decoding skills. Several types of validity have been described in testing handbooks, but the most important types for classroom teachers to understand are *content validity* and *consequential validity.* **Content validity** is attained when there is a close match between the content of the assessment and that of the curriculum and instruction. When students are assessed on the material that they have been studying in the classroom, the assessment measure can be said to have content validity. **Consequential validity** refers to the way the assessment results are used to improve teaching and learning. When test or assessment results are used to redirect teaching and aid learning, the measure can be said to have consequential validity. In cases where state and local tests are used without giving teachers meaningful access to test results or information on how to support student learning through instructional activities, these tests can be said to lack consequential validity.

The validity of an assessment measure can be significantly threatened by the presence of systematic **bias.** Bias reduces the validity of an assessment. Types of bias in assessment tool or procedure include cultural bias, attitudinal bias, assessment bias, and test or norming bias.

Cultural bias refers to an item or process that requires knowledge of a particular culture's values and shared experiences but does not have as its purpose to measure knowledge of a culture. For example, if a test of reading requires knowledge of a particular holiday or personality in American culture with which a language minority student or immigrant child is unfamiliar, the test of reading becomes a test of cultural knowledge. In this case, cultural bias has changed the test from a test of reading to a test of culture and background knowledge. Here's

an example of cultural bias on a grade five state test of reading (sample items have been modified to avoid copyright and security infringement):

You can tell this story is historical fiction rather than a factual article because:

A.   Thomas Jefferson was a real person.

B.   Thomas Jefferson had slaves.

C.   Thomas Jefferson really did live in Monticello.

D.   No one really knows what the people said.

Without knowing the historical facts, the reader cannot determine the appropriate answer.

Tests of language, such as commercially available English language proficiency tests, are inherently biased toward the culture of the native English-speaking population by whom they were developed (American, Australian, British, or Canadian). This is because all language tests have inherent cultural qualities. Language tests reflect the experiences, beliefs, and artifacts of the particular culture they represent. Is it possible to construct a culture-free test? Probably not, because representing culture on language tests is unavoidable. To limit the effects of cultural bias on language tests, assessors can use more than one measure of language and use tasks that are as culturally neutral as possible (especially in assessment of oral language and reading).

Attitudinal bias refers to the assessor's attitude toward a language, dialect, or "accent," such as having a negative attitude toward students who speak English with a Spanish accent but having a positive attitude toward speakers of French or German (Hamayan & Damico, 1991). Having a bias toward one dialect or another can negatively affect assessment results, as when a teacher has lower expectations for students speaking the dialect or a teacher forms a permanent impression of students that clouds professional judgment of their work.

Assessment bias occurs when assessors do not take into consideration the potential effects on test scores of culturally diverse students being assessed. Cultural differences that may influence student responses or types of responses include child-rearing practices, previous school setting or lack of schooling, previous life experiences in a significantly different environment, the value or nonvalue of competition in each student's culture, cultural mores, and the sociocultural status of the student's ethnic group within the larger society (Hamayan & Damico, 1991). All too often, ESL and bilingual students will not share or exhibit these values. Teachers and assessors need to become familiar with the second-language acquisition process as well as the student's home culture to make appropriate interpretations of test scores. Here's an example of potential assessment bias:

1. Which map represents Virginia?

A.   1

B.   2

C.   3

D.   4

This question is accompanied by drawings of several state maps, each one numbered, all out of context with no recognizable landmarks and cities. How many of us would be able to identify a state to which we have just moved or which we have never seen on a map?

Here's another example; see if you can tell why it is an example of assessment bias.

This web shows important ideas in the story. Use it to answer the next question. Which of these would *best* fit in the square to show the subject of this web?

A. Many animals

B. Animal party

C. Animals as pets

D. Going to the zoo

Now, if the student has not had a pet or prior exposure to webbing and using graphic organizers, she will be at a loss to answer this question, even though she may be able to read and understand the text.

Test or **norming bias** refers to the use of standardized tests that have not been shown to have conceptual, linguistic, and metric equivalence for cultural or racial populations not represented in the normative data (Suzuki, Ponterotto, & Meller, 2001). This means that if students from particular language minority groups have not been a significant part of the norming data, the results of the standardized
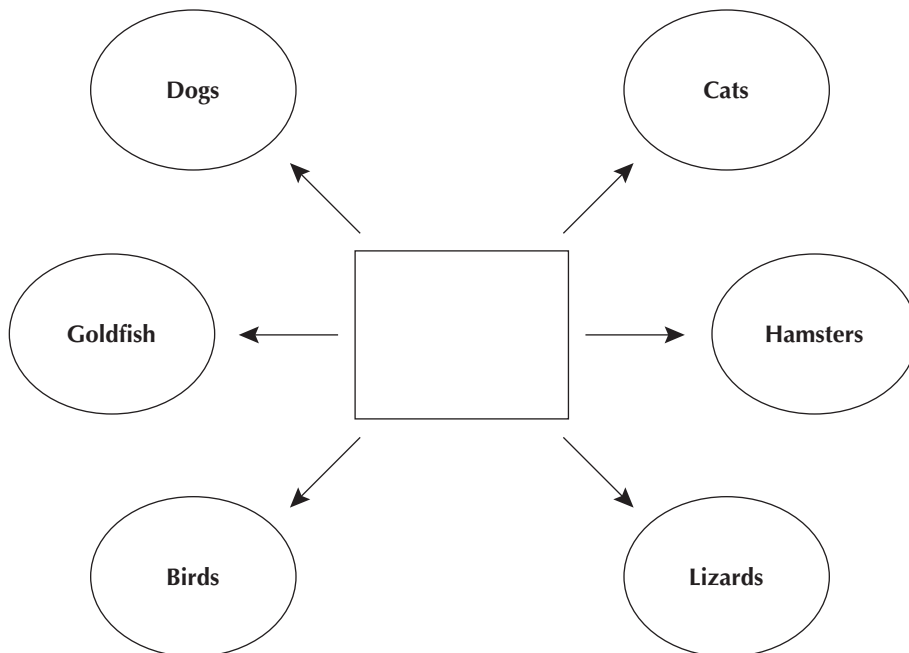
tests are not valid (accurate) for making decisions about these students (Garcia & Pearson, 1994). Even when tests claim to have included the test scores of language minority students, the ratio is typically so small as to make their inclusion meaningless (Hamayan & Damico, 1991).

State tests that are criterion-referenced are typically also norm-referenced, with passing or cut scores set arbitrarily or based on scores of the native English-speaking population. Assessors and teachers need to be aware of test bias on statewide tests, especially those that are required for high school graduation. Alternative means of assessment can be used for ESL and bilingual students who cannot get past the language demands of the standardized tests. We can find an example of test bias every time we see standardized test scores being used as gate-keepers with language minority and ESL/bilingual students. Test scores used to make decisions to retain students in grade, to place students in special education, or to deny students a high school diploma all reflect test bias if the student cannot read or write well enough in English to take the test.

Another type of bias is that which is introduced when psychological tests have been translated from the original English into the native language of the students. Translated tests cannot be assumed to be valid or reliable because even though words can be translated, the measurement will not be equivalent in the order of difficulty of the items. Many cultural concepts cannot be translated. In addition, using interpreters for testing students in English lacks a strong research base (Valdes & Figueroa, 1994).

One way to limit bias in language and content-area assessments used with ESL/bilingual students is to conduct dual-language testing. Testing is conducted in English and the student's native language to determine native-language literacy levels and knowledge of content-area matter. Clearly specified scoring criteria can also help reduce the presence of bias in scoring student work. Scoring guides and rubrics can help teachers focus on matching student performance to the established criteria rather than on comparing students to each other.

Guidelines for Teaching

TEST-TAKING ELEMENTS

A typical school system in the United States values the following elements for students taking a test:

- English language proficiency appropriate to students' grade-level, including shared cultural meanings between students and assessors.

- Analytical thinking skills.

- Acceptance of the value of competition with other students.

- Experience in taking timed, standardized tests.

- Knowledge of the way schools and classrooms work (Garcia & Pearson, 1994; Hamayan & Damico, 1991).

Reliability

Reliability of an assessment measure refers to the degree of consistency of the assessment or the extent to which students' test scores are free of measurement errors (Popham, 2008). If a test is not reliable, interpretation of its results cannot be valid.

As with validity, the higher the stakes for the assessment results, the more essential it is for a high level of reliability to be established in the assessment process and measures. For decisions concerning program placement or high school graduation, the level of reliability should be high. High levels of reliability can be established through the use of objective tests, multiple measures, multiple raters, and clearly specified scoring criteria. States typically use multiple raters to score student writing samples for measuring progress toward meeting state standards. Using multiple raters who agree on ratings for the same student establishes **inter-rater reliability.**

In lieu of using multiple raters, classroom teachers making weekly assessment decisions can establish reliability of their assessments by using multiple and varied measures. Clearly specified scoring criteria in the form of checklists or scoring rubrics can also help ensure that teachers are evaluating each student's work using the same standards, not having higher expectations for some students than for others.

In some cases, however, it is appropriate to set different standards for individual students, especially in the case of students with learning or emotional disabilities or where classrooms display a wide variety of English language proficiency and cognitive ability. The notion of using standards appropriate to each student's current level of ability is called using **developmental** or **relative standards.** Developmental standards are appropriate for making decisions about individual student progress. Teachers of language learning students can develop standards for individual students that vary with each individual's strengths and weaknesses. Rather than expecting *all* students to meet the same performance standard, teachers can set different standards for each student. For example, in a mixed-ability level ESL classroom, beginners would be expected to progress at a rate of learning and to master language features different from those to be mastered by high intermediate or advanced language learners.

Teachers can also set standards that all students are expected to meet called **absolute standards.** An example of an absolute standard in oral language assessment might be:

> Students will ask for and give directions for getting from one place to another with few errors in vocabulary, grammar, or pronunciation.

Absolute standards are appropriate for making decisions about groups or for comparing individual progress to that of the group.

TYPES OF ASSESSMENTS

A wide variety of measurement tools has been developed for a number of assessment purposes. The three most common types of assessments used in language proficiency and achievement testing are (1) norm-referenced, (2) criterion-referenced, and (3) performance-based assessments. Each type is described below.

Norm-referenced testing "relates one candidate's performance to that of other candidates"(Hughes, 2003, p. 20). It gives an *overall, general estimate* of ability in content areas but *does not directly show* what the candidate knows and can do in the language and/or content skills. Norm-referenced tests can show how well a student has learned specific concepts and skills when compared to other students in a large norming group. For example, a student who scores at the 75th percentile in reading has exceeded the reading score of 75 percent of the students in the comparison group. Norms may be established at national, state, and local levels. It is important to check test administration manuals to determine with which groups the test was normed. In most cases, students in bilingual/ESL programs will not be part of a norming group for norm-referenced tests designed for use with mainstream students. For tests in a student's native language, such as Spanish, it is important that the dialect of the test be the same as that of the students. For example, a student who speaks the Spanish of the southwestern United States will most likely not be familiar with the vocabulary or some of the syntax of the Spanish spoken in Spain or Puerto Rico. All languages have a variety of dialects, and not all students will speak or read the standard dialect.

Norm-referenced tests are typically in a *multiple-choice format* where students mark their answers on answer sheets by filling in the bubbles or small circular spaces with Number 2 pencils. However, they can also consist of constructed-response items, where students complete a statement or respond to a prompt. Multiple-choice tests are used because they are objective (only one answer is correct) and reliable. One problem posed by norm-referenced tests is that they often lack content validity when they do not reflect the instructional activities of the classroom. Another concern is that teachers need to know how well English language learners can use functional and academic language in real contexts, and this cannot be directly determined through pencil-and-paper, fill-in-the-bubble tests. Since norm-referenced, standardized tests are administered only once or twice a year in most school systems, teachers are left to their own devices to collect information on student progress with regard to curricular goals during the rest of the year. Examples of norm-referenced tests are the Stanford-9, Terra Nova, and the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) used in grades K–12 and the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) used with secondary students and adults.

Norm-referenced, standardized tests are useful for several purposes: to compare individual performance to that of the norming group, to identify relative areas of strength and weakness in learning, to monitor annual growth in skills such as reading and mathematics, and to evaluate program and school effectiveness. However, this type of test is not appropriate for monitoring the progress of students in language support programs such as ESL and bilingual education because these students do not yet have the English language skills to demonstrate their knowledge on these tests. They may be useful for tracking the academic progress of these students once they are out of language programs and in mainstream classes.

Criterion-referenced assessments describe a student's performance according to whether or not he or she is able to perform a set of tasks according to

established criteria (Hughes, 2003). Standards and performance criteria are used to provide direct information about what a student can do with language and content skills as well as to determine the extent to which an individual has met local or state standards and instructional objectives. Criterion-referenced assessments let students know exactly what they have to know and be able to do. When students know how they are to demonstrate their learning, they can set goals for improving their own learning.

Criterion-referenced assessments can take various formats, from multiple-choice to demonstrations. Assessment formats include constructed-response items, where students construct a response, create a product, or perform a demonstration. Constructed-response items also include portfolios and self-assessment logs. These formats allow for a broad range of responses rather than being limited to a single correct response, and because of this they require professional judgment in assigning a score.

Challenges in developing criterion-referenced assessments include (1) determining which objectives are worth assessing, (2) learning how to construct items or tasks for those objectives, (3) learning how to administer or format the items and determining the number of items to use, and (4) deciding what constitutes attainment of an objective by individuals as well as the entire class (Stiggins, 2008).

Some problems with criterion-referenced tests, especially when used in statewide testing, are (1) the pressure put on teachers to "teach to the test," (2) assessment of predominantly lower-order thinking skills, (3) arbitrarily set cut scores, and (4) the difficulty of using enough items that represent mastery of a single objective in order to obtain an acceptable level of reliability (Collier & Thomas, 1998).

The main difference between norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests lies in how they are used. Norm-referenced tests are used to compare the mastery of broad objectives by groups and individuals to that of a norming group of learners. With criterion-referenced assessment, on the other hand, the learner's performance is judged based on his/her mastery of specific skills and objectives.

In addition to norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests, **performance-based assessments** can be used to assess language proficiency and academic achievement. Performance-based assessments came of age in the 1990s and appear to be here to stay. For example, in university teacher preparation programs across the country, professors are being asked to use performance-based assessments to document outcomes for their teacher graduates. Progress reports submitting course syllabi are no longer enough (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 2002).

Performance-based assessments require students to demonstrate performance of specific skills or to create products that the teacher observes and assesses. These types of assessments require students to demonstrate their competence and to apply knowledge and skills rather than simply recall and regurgitate facts. Performance-based assessments have been developed as a response to the perceived limitations of traditional standardized tests. Educators working primarily with general education students have questioned whether standardized tests represent significant learning outcomes.

Innovative aspects of performance-based assessments include making assessment criteria explicit and formal and assessing learning processes as well as products. Performance-based assessments can be used to promote student learning by involving students in developing criteria for assessment and applying these criteria to their own work, as well as to the work of others.

Teachers of English language learners can use performance-based assessments to gauge student progress toward meeting specific instructional goals and objectives. Performance-based assessments can be used to assess language proficiency and content skills through oral reports, presentations, demonstrations, essays, and portfolios. Performance-based assessments can have any number of formats, including oral interviews and essays and can include both processes (multiple drafts of a writing sample) and products (projects or essays). In assigning grades to student work, teachers can use evaluative scales called **scoring rubrics** that clearly delineate to students the standards and criteria by which their work will be assessed. Examples of evaluative scales used in performance-based assessment include scoring rubrics or rating scales, teacher observation checklists, anecdotal records, and self-assessment checklists. A sample scoring rubric for oral language appears in Figure 8.1.

Performance-based assessments become **authentic assessments** when they are based on classroom instruction and reflect tasks similar to those called for in the real world (Wiggins, 1998). Key elements of authentic assessment are clear performance criteria; higher-order thinking skills; meaningful, challenging tasks; integration of language skills; assessment of both process and product; and information on the depth (rather than breadth) of a student's knowledge over a wide array of skills. A defining element of authentic assessment is student reflection and self-assessment through the direct involvement of students in monitoring their own performance and setting learning goals for future work (Wiggins, 1998).

Among the challenges in using performance-based assessments are (1) setting clear and fair criteria, (2) designing the tasks, (3) making professional judgments about student work, and (4) making the time to collaborate on the design of these assessments through professional development. Performance-based assessments do not typically produce one single, correct answer but promote a wide range of responses. Therefore, evaluation of student performances and products must be based on teacher judgment. This judgment is based on the criteria that have been specified for each task (Stiggins, 2008). While scoring is subjective, reliability can be increased through discussion and collaborative field testing of the assessment tools. However, in large school districts, professional development time for designing performance-based tasks and assessments competes with time needed for helping teachers assist students in meeting state standards on norm-referenced or criterion-referenced tests. Since the norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests are the primary tools used in statewide assessment, very little time, if any, is available for teachers to develop performance-based assessments.

With more importance being given to standardized, multiple-choice tests, educators have found it difficult to move away from the multiple-choice single-answer format. They want to prepare their students for the tests, so shouldn't they test this

Student Name _____   Date _____

Sample Scoring Rubric for Oral Language—Grades 6–12, Intermediate English Proficiency

Domain Rating	Comprehensibility	Comprehension	Fluency	Vocabulary	Grammar and Syntax
4	Speaks comprehensibly, with some pronunciation errors that do not interfere with meaning.	Shows total comprehension with appropriate responses.	Speaks at length and without hesitation.	Uses a variety of precise vocabulary	Makes grammar or syntax errors that do not interfere with meaning.
3	Speaks with some breaks in meaning due to pronunciation errors.	Shows consistent comprehension, asks for clarification or repetition.	Speaks with some hesitations or only briefly.	Uses repetitive vocabulary or has problems with word choice.	Makes some grammar or syntax errors that interfere with meaning.
2	Speaks with many breaks in meaning due to pronunciation errors.	Shows some comprehension, asks for repetition and/or makes inappropriate responses.	Speaks with many hesitations.	Uses high frequency vocabulary.	Makes numerous grammar or syntax errors that interfere with meaning.
1	Speaks and is incomprehensible most of the time due to pronunciation errors.	Shows little comprehension through many inappropriate responses or no response.	Speaks only a few words.	Uses limited or high frequency vocabulary.	Makes grammar and syntax errors that severely limit meaning.

Figure 8.1   *Sample Oral Scoring Rubric*

way in class? The answer is yes and no. Yes, teachers can provide students with test-taking skills that will help them show what they know on the standardized tests. No, curriculum shouldn't be narrowed to the lower-order thinking skills measured by single-answer, multiple-choice tests. This type of test may be useful for assessing basic skills, but it cannot possibly show the range of higher-order thinking skills and social interaction skills required in today's world, nor is the information generated by them useful for planning instruction to meet each student's learning needs. A good rule of thumb would be to use criterion-referenced and performance-based assessments to monitor learning in the classroom and to use norm-referenced tests, once English language learners acquire basic proficiency in English, to compare these students' performance to that of students in general education classes at the same school as well as to a national norming group (Collier & Thomas, 1998).

In the following sections, we will be concerned with the two types of testing that are most frequently used with bilingual and ESL students: English language proficiency testing and achievement testing. Both of these types of assessment are administered at the program or schoolwide level, with ESL/bilingual specialists and teachers administering both types. School-based assessment will be described below as assessment of language for the purpose of placing students in language-support programs, such as ESL and bilingual education. Classroom-based assessment will be discussed from the teacher's perspective, including some tips on how to move forward with criterion-referenced and performance-based assessments that are linked to instruction.

School–Based Assessment

At the school district or county level, English language learning students are assessed for a variety of reasons related to program placement and evaluation, including placement in language-based programs that meet their needs, moving out of those programs into the grade-level classroom, meeting state and local standards, and making progress in state and federally funded programs, such as Title I, Title VII (replaced in December 2001 by Title III), and special education programs. Each of these purposes will be described below.

Identification and Placement

The purpose of assessment for program placement is to identify those students who need special language services such as ESL or bilingual education. Federal law requires that students who cannot function in the regular grade-level, all-English classroom receive language instruction that helps them acquire English as rapidly as possible. However, the law does not prescribe the type of program in which the student should be enrolled. Three purposes of assessment in the identification and placement of English language learners include (1) screening and identification of students needing special language-based services, (2) program placement to determine the language ability and content knowledge of students in order to place

them at one of multiple levels of an ESL or bilingual education program, and (3) reclassification or program exit determination to decide when a student no longer needs the language-based program and is ready to move out of it and into the regular classroom.

To identify those students who need special language services, we need first to have a definition of the characteristics required for eligibility for these services. Title III of NCLB has had a positive impact in several ways on state assessment practices for identifying students who need language support programs such as ESOL or bilingual education. First, the law defines ELL (or limited-English-proficient students—LEP) using two categories: students' language background and their level of English language proficiency. The language background information typically comes from a Home Language Survey distributed to every student registering in a school. The English proficiency level is a result of an English language proficiency test. Prior to NCLB, many states did not have an operational definition of an ELL, and definitions of these students were not comparable across states.

Second, NCLB specified that ELLs were to be tested annually in listening, speaking, reading and writing English, and comprehension using valid and reliable tests. Third, NCLB required states to first develop English language proficiency standards for ELL students, and then to assess students' language development with tests based on the standards. Before NCLB, most states did not have English language proficiency standards, and they almost certainly did not use language proficiency tests based on these standards. Prior to NCLB, most states used commercially available off-the-shelf English language proficiency tests. In addition, before NCLB, English language proficiency tests were not required to measure academic English in the content areas. But NCLB legislation changed that by requiring states to measure English language proficiency based on at least three academic content-area standards (English/language arts; math, science, and technology; and social studies) and one nonacademic area related to the school environment, such as health (Abedi, 2007).

These English language proficiency assessment mandates are significant improvements over tests used prior to NCLB, because the new language proficiency tests, in conjunction with other measures, can help identify those students who need language support. Without appropriate identification procedures, students cannot gain access to instructional programs that meet their learning needs. Furthermore, without accurate use of effective assessment tools or the resulting data, students may be inappropriately referred to special education or reading programs that are not designed to meet their language acquisition needs (see Chapter 9, Bilingual Special Education).

Assessment of language proficiency in the native language is recommended to determine whether students have literacy skills. If they do, they have a reading/writing foundation upon which to base English language literacy instruction. Both placement in ESL or bilingual programs and program exit decisions will be most accurate when based upon multiple measures.

Program exit assessment has as its purpose the determination of whether a student has gained the language skills and content-area competencies needed to

benefit from instruction in regular, all-English, grade-level classrooms. As with assessment for program placement, multiple measures should be used for determining student readiness to exit a language support program. These measures may include classroom-based assessments, grades, interviews, teacher recommendations, language proficiency tests, and standardized tests. In addition, monitoring ELL students with the use of content-area achievement tests after reclassification/exit can help identify areas needing growth and support.

As a direct result of NCLB, the U.S. Department of Education provided funding for states to develop valid and reliable assessments of English language proficiency for ELLs. Many states joined one of four consortia, each developing English language proficiency assessments for a group of states. Those states that did not join one of the consortia developed their own tests or used commercial, off-the-shelf tests.   The four consortia include 5 states that are using the Comprehensive English Language Learning Assessment (CELLA); 11 states using the Mountain West Assessment; states that are members of the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO), which formed the State Collaborative on Assessment and Student Standards (SCASS); and the largest group, the World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment (WIDA) collaborative, which has grown from its original 3 states to its current 20 states and uses the ACCESS for ELLs test (Abedi, 2007).

Achievement Testing/Accountability Systems

In addition to identification and placement assessment, schools administer achievement tests and high-stakes tests (such as those required for high school graduation) to ensure that students in the general population attain expected educational goals or standards. English language learners need to be included in these accountability systems. When test scores are available for these students, we have a clearer picture of their academic needs in the content areas. Caution should be used in interpreting test results, however. Since the focus of accountability testing is on groups rather than individuals, using test results to make high-stakes decisions about individual ESL/bilingual students cannot be justified. In fact, Valdés and Figueroa (1994) make one of the strongest statements on this position:

> Standardized tests should not be used in any aspect of a decision-making process with bilingual populations. There is no way of minimizing the potential harm to this population resulting from seemingly "objective" and "scientific" psychometric tests. All such testing should be discontinued. (p. 203).

When students are not yet eligible to take the statewide tests, alternate measures such as criterion-referenced or performance-based assessments need to be used to monitor their progress toward meeting state standards.

Program Evaluation

When ELL students participate in specially funded programs, government agencies require that those programs be evaluated to determine their effectiveness in helping

students learn. To determine the effects of federal, state, or local instructional programs, objective measures such as standardized tests are typically used to determine student progress. These tests may be norm-referenced or criterion-referenced. Performance-based assessments such as writing samples can also be used for program evaluation. For program evaluation purposes, assessment measures are used to document student products or learning outcomes rather than learning processes.

CLASSROOM–BASED ASSESSMENT

Traditional and Student-Centered Teaching

Little has changed in classroom-based testing for at least the past 50 years (Bertrand, 1994). Traditional testing assumes that knowledge of facts is the priority assessment goal, and that these facts can be broken down into fragmented components. This approach has been questioned over the past decade, however, because it does not provide information on students' functional use of higher-order thinking skills (Bertrand, 1994; Glasser, 1990; Herman et al., 1992). Another assumption of traditional testing formats is that using professional judgment is unreliable, and that teachers cannot be trusted to use their own judgment in evaluating student work. A corollary assumption is that the only good test is an objective test (having only one correct answer).

In this century, two movements have emerged in schools that have a direct impact on the way teachers assess students' work. First, teachers' rights and obligations to judge and evaluate students' work have become less important than scores obtained on objective tests. Second, standardized tests have become tremendously important in making judgments about individual students, schools, programs, teachers, principals, and school superintendents. Both of these movements have come under scrutiny and attack in this decade (Bertrand, 1994; Herman et al., 1992).

To understand the battle between traditional testing proponents and supporters of more innovative approaches to assessment, we need to first examine what goes on in traditional and student-centered classrooms (Bertrand, 1994). Most teachers fall along a continuum ranging from traditional to student-centered teaching (see Figure 8.2).
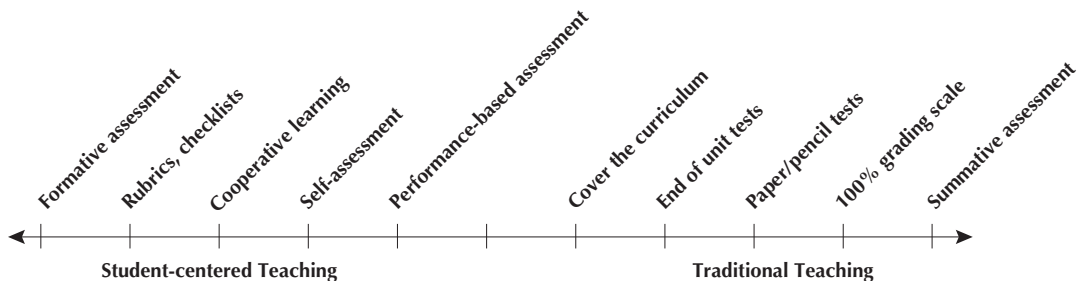
Figure 8.2   *Comparison of Student-Centered and Traditional Teaching*

Teachers on the "traditional" end of the continuum spend most of their time trying to "cover the curriculum" and follow a set of objectives in a minimal period of time, with little regard for meeting individual student needs and interests. These teachers also spend time correcting students' work and behavior, with the sole purpose of covering the instructional objectives and increasing test scores. Traditional teachers tend to spend little time on cooperative learning activities with students. Traditional teachers use tests as periodic checks, typically at the end of a learning unit or grading period. This type of testing falls under the category of **summative assessment**, where the purpose of assessment is for a grade or a score, for accountability. Giving the tests takes up valuable time, as does grading the tests. As standardized tests increase in importance, we will continue to see more of this kind of teaching and assessment.

Teachers tend to assess their own students the way they were assessed. This is because most teachers do not have access to practical assessment information in their teacher preparation programs. So, for example, for student essays, demonstrations, oral reports, and projects, teachers assign grades, usually based on the traditional 100-point scale that was used to assess their own schoolwork, with 90 and above being an A, 80–89 being a B, and so on. However, most teachers do not have a systematic way of quantifying or evaluating classroom-based activities and projects using constructed-response and performance-based assessments based on specific standards and criteria.

Teachers who lean more toward student-centered teaching tend to focus on student needs and interests as well as on learning processes rather than just the products of learning, such as test scores. Student-centered teachers assess student learning while concurrently leading instructional activities. These teachers have established collaborative classrooms where groups of students work together to meet learning objectives and standards. Using observation and criterion-based assessments, the student-centered teacher gathers assessment data while students are engaged in learning activities to identify learning needs needed for redirecting instruction and to provide valuable feedback to students that will help them improve their learning. These kinds of assessments are called **formative assessments**, are conducted regularly, and are not graded. With increasing importance being placed on the role of standardized tests, teachers who aim to meet the learning needs of individual students are finding themselves in a time crunch to prepare students to both pass the standardized tests and also make progress toward individual learning goals. What to do?

Not surprisingly, many teachers have responded to the mandate to help students pass standardized tests (summative assessments) as a call to teach to the test using traditional formats, covering as much of the required curriculum as they can. Therefore, emphasis on the use of **formative assessments** that focus on helping students learn from identified strengths and weaknesses continues to decrease in many classrooms. Teaching to the test leads to loss of validity in test scores, and this trend is at epidemic proportions in this country because of the "validity-eroding activities fostered by flawed high-stakes testing programs" (Popham, 2001, p. 30).

Does it have to be this way? Can teachers meet students' learning needs *and* help prepare them to pass the standardized tests? We can achieve both goals if we understand two things (1) basic skills can be taught and assessed in meaningful contexts that promote the acquisition of problem-solving and higher-order thinking skills, and (2) formative assessment can be used to promote student learning and achievement on standardized tests. Too good to be true? The research says no.

Research on formative assessment by Black and Wiliam (1998) showed that formative assessment that focused on giving students specific and timely feedback could promote student learning, especially among the lowest-achieving students. An essential part of formative assessment is guiding students to reflect on their own learning and set learning goals for themselves through self-assessment.

To teach basic skills in context, teachers can collaborate with colleagues to prepare a matrix of state and local standards, define learning outcomes, and outline instructional activities that will engage the learner in applying knowledge and skills while also providing feedback on those skills, including basic skills to be assessed on the standardized tests. See Figure 8.3 for an example of an ESL program's planning matrix for teaching and assessing oral language based on state standards.

Another way teachers can help prepare English language learners for standardized tests is to provide practice in test-taking skills. Practice tests are now available for many standardized tests, and teachers can use these to teach test-taking skills such as following oral and written directions, making inferences, and working within set time limits. However, without basic reading strategies such as identifying the main idea, summarizing, and making inferences, students will be unable to apply test-taking skills with a successful outcome. A section on coping with standardized tests through classroom instruction follows in the section on linking assessment and instruction.

Guidelines for Teaching

FIVE FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS

Classroom-based assessment of English language learners can be guided by five fundamental assumptions:

1. It must be based on what we know about how language learners learn, in particular how they acquire reading and writing processes.

2. It is integral to instruction, informs teaching, and improves learning.

3. It uses multiple sources of information on a regular and systematic basis.

4. It is culturally and developmentally appropriate.

5. It provides valid, reliable, and fair measures of learning (Harp, 1994; O'Malley & Pierce, 1996; McTighe & Ferrara, 1998).

Grade: 7

ESL Program Level: Beginners

Oral Language Assessment Planning Matrix for ESL Program Placement

State English Language Arts Standard	State English Language Proficiency Standard	Language Functions	Activity/Prompt	Criteria for Assessment
7.1 a–e The student will give and seek information in conversations, in group discussions, and oral presentations	1.1 2.1 2.2 3.1 3.2 3.3 4.1 4.2 4.3	Seeking information and informing Ordering	Interview Personal information Recall past experiences Hypothetical situation Retelling Picture books/video Cartoons/comics	
7.2 The student will identify the relationship between a speaker's verbal and nonverbal message	4.2 a–b 4.3 c	Justifying and persuading Inferring	Oral presentation Debate Defend a position	
7.3 The student will describe persuasive messages in nonprint media including television, radio, and video	NA	Informing Inferring Synthesizing Evaluating	Listen to nonprint media Defend a position	

Figure 8.3   *Sample ESL Matrix for Oral Language Assessment*

Assessment Assumptions and Principles

In this section, we provide five fundamental assumptions and five operating principles for using fair and accurate classroom-based assessment procedures with English language learners. We also provide guidelines for getting started with classroom-based assessment that is objective, fair, and useful for providing feedback to students for learning and to the teacher for redirecting instruction.

Five Fundamental Assumptions

How students learn languages

Classroom-based assessment of English language learners must begin with what we know about the second-language acquisition process, including how students acquire skills in reading, writing, and the content areas. For example, if we know that writing is a process of revising multiple drafts of work after getting feedback on them, why do we test this construct differently (product only) from what the research suggests? Acquiring literacy skills in a second language means tapping prior knowledge, actively using reading and writing strategies, knowing something about text structure or how texts are organized, relating the topic to students' interests, and having students work collaboratively on reading-related activities. Do our classroom assessment tools capture student learning on any or all of these processes?

Informing Teaching and Improving Learning

To inform teaching and improve learning, classroom assessment must be formative assessment conducted on a regular, systematic basis, not just at the end of a unit of study. Effective teachers use assessment to collect baseline data or information on students' background knowledge and experiences prior to launching into a new unit of study. Teachers assess students weekly or biweekly to keep tabs on how they are progressing with regard to learning objectives. Teachers who do not use formative assessments will not be able to judge student progress and must resort to either teaching without feedback, in a void, with no basis for judging the effectiveness of their teaching or following a scripted curriculum or specific teaching method.

Using Multiple Sources of Information

Classroom assessment also calls for collecting data from multiple sources to make a reliable judgment about student progress. The sources should be varied in format, a combination of assessments ranging from multiple-choice and fill-in-the-blank tests to performance assessments such as written essays, oral reports, self-assessments, reading logs, and portfolios. The use of multiple sources is especially important when working with English language learners and special needs learners because it provides individual snapshots of student learning under a variety of conditions and skill requirements.

Culturally and developmentally appropriate

Classroom-based assessment must also be culturally and developmentally appropriate to yield valid results. Culturally appropriate assessment begins with instruction. First, the language of the assessment should be the same as that of the instruction. For example, a student learning to read in Spanish would also be assessed in Spanish. In addition, students from traditional cultural backgrounds may not value competition with peers, and students from these cultures (including Latino students) may not respond to calls for individual achievement but instead may be more motivated to work as a team to help members attain a learning goal. Teachers can encourage group work while also showing students that individual competition in school is a highly valued American principle.

Developmentally appropriate assessment refers to using materials and tasks that have been designed for the age, interest levels, and language proficiency of the student. For example, in the state of Virginia, much controversy has revolved around standards for grade three social studies calling for detailed knowledge of Egyptian kings and queens and forms of government. Many educators believe this topic is not developmentally appropriate for third graders. A much more appropriate topic might be "My Community," where students learn about people and places in the community in which they live.

Validity

A final assumption about classroom-based assessment is that it has *content* and *consequential validity.* Students are assessed on the instructional principles and activities presented in class (content validity), and assessment results are used by the teacher to improve teaching and learning (consequential validity). Fairness is achieved when teachers assess students on the material and formats that have been presented in class. Assessments are unfair when teachers ask students to do something that has not been part of instruction, such as asking students to apply synthesis or evaluation skills when only knowledge and comprehension skills have been practiced in class. Assessment is also unfair when teachers show bias in their scoring or grading toward students whom they know to be "A" students or "F" students, based on previous performance. This phenomenon has been referred to as the "halo" and "pitchfork" effect by McTighe and Ferrara (1998). To avoid these effects, teachers can use blind scoring of student work. This entails covering up each student's name and assigning a numerical or letter code instead. When teachers score student work, the student's identity is unknown, thereby reducing the potential for bias. Another approach to eliminating bias in the evaluation of student work is to use criterion-referenced assessment. Using a rating scale or checklist based on the presence or absence of specific criteria, teachers can guide their scoring against the criteria rather than against preconceived notions of students' abilities.

Five Operating Principles

In addition to the five fundamental assumptions discussed above, classroom-based assessment must also be based on five operating principles. These include setting

clear criteria for performance, scaffolding instruction and assessment for English language learners, using models or benchmarks, involving the learner in the assessment process, and assigning grades in an objective manner.

Setting Clear Criteria

A basic operating principle of effective classroom-based assessment is the specification of clear performance criteria that are shared with the students (Stiggins, 2008). Many teachers *know* what they are looking for in student work and may think the *students know,* but in most cases, English language learners need help in understanding the teacher's expectations for performance in class. One way to do this is to propose assessment criteria and discuss these with the class. Another way is to ask students to generate criteria for evaluation of their work. With the teacher's guided questioning, such as: "What about organization of writing? Is that important?" the teacher can gently coax criteria from the students themselves. Still another way to help make criteria visible to the students is to show examples of student work at various levels of achievement. Finally, teachers can make criteria clear by documenting student progress and providing feedback on learning by assigning a score or grade using criteria listed on a checklist, rating scale, scoring rubric, or through oral and written feedback. See Figure 8.4 for an example of a rating scale for reading strategies.

Scaffolding

In addition to setting clear criteria, teachers can reduce the language demand of any instructional or assessment task through the use of **scaffolding.** Scaffolding refers to providing contextual supports for meaning through the use of simplified language, teacher modeling, visuals and graphics, cooperative learning, and hands-on experiences. Rather than water down the curriculum, teachers can provide access to higher-order thinking skills through scaffolded instruction and assessment. Scaffolding approaches are especially useful for content-based instruction or subject matter texts that are beyond the learner's current level of language proficiency. By reducing the language demand of content-based materials, teachers are more likely to see students' strengths in the content areas.

The three most useful types of scaffolding may be simplifying the language; asking for completion, not generation; and using visuals. Simplifying the language means using shorter sentences and paragraphs, giving less wordy directions, using the present tense, and avoiding idiomatic expressions. Asking for completion, not generation, can be achieved when teachers ask students to complete a task by selecting answers from a list or filling out a partially completed outline or paragraph. Using visuals includes presenting information and asking students to respond through the use of graphic organizers, tables and charts, graphs, and outlines. All of these scaffolding approaches can be used to assess what students can do with what they know without limiting assessment to evaluation of basic skills. As with the scaffolding used in buildings under construction, assessment scaffolding is temporary and can be removed when English language learners have the language skills to tackle assessments without it. See Figure 8.5 for an example of a scaffolded and an unscaffolded assessment of reading comprehension.

Student Name _____   **Date** _____

Rating Scale for Reading Strategies Grade 5, Intermediate English Proficiency

Reading Strategies	Unassisted	With Assistance	Not Yet
1. Relates reading to prior knowledge.			
2. Uses headings and pictures to make predictions.			
3. Rereads sentences.			
4. Identifies main idea.			
5. Summarizes main idea.			
6. Outlines main idea and supporting details.			
7. Guesses meaning of unknown words from context.			
8. Analyzes ideas.			

Figure 8.4   *Reading Strategies Rating Scale*

Using Exemplars

Another way to help students succeed in the classroom is to use **exemplars.** Exemplars, also called *anchor papers* or *works,* are models or examples of excellent work. If we want students to write a well-structured paragraph, then we need to show them many examples of what these look like. Then we should go through each example to show why it is a model paragraph, how it contains a topic sentence, sentences providing supporting details, and a concluding sentence (if this is what we are looking for). It would be helpful to put exemplars on the bulletin

UNSCAFFOLDED ASSESSMENT

Choose two main characters in the story. Write four sentences showing how the two characters are the same. Write four sentences for each character showing their differences.

SCAFFOLDED—Character Comparison Sheet

Character 1   Character 2

SAME

1. Both characters are _____ .
                                    (young, old)

2. They are also _____ .
                            (people, animals)

3. Both are _____ .
                    (neighbors, strangers)

4. They are also _____ .
                            (big, small)

DIFFERENT

Character 1		Character 2	
Nice	Mean	Nice	Mean
Friendly	Scary	Friendly	Scary
Clean	Dirty	Clean	Dirty
Fast	Slow	Fast	Slow
Rich	Poor	Rich	Poor

1. _____ is _____ , but _____ is _____ .

2. _____ is _____ , but _____ is _____ .

3. _____ is _____ , but _____ is _____ .

4. _____ is _____ , but _____ is _____ .

Figure 8.5 *Scaffolding Reading Assessments Grade 1 ESOL, Intermediate Proficiency*
Source: Teacher: Natalie Pike, Fairfax County Public Schools, VA, February 2004.

board for students to see what an "A" or a "Level 4" paper looks like. Annotating the paper to show its strengths and weaknesses may be the best way to show students what to aim for in their work.

Involving the Learner

An important operating principle of student-centered classrooms and formative assessment is getting the learner involved in the assessment process. We can do this by asking for students' input in the generation of criteria for assessment of their work, teaching them to provide feedback to a peer, and showing them how to evaluate their own work through **self-assessment.** To make any of these approaches work, the teacher will have to feel comfortable in a collaborative classroom, where cooperative learning activities are regularly used for language and concept development. In addition, the teacher will need to be able to share his/her role as sole evaluator with the students. That is, the teacher must be open enough to student feedback that he/she is willing to elicit criteria and even change the criteria for evaluation if the students make reasonable requests to that effect. Teachers can also instruct students in the process and language of providing constructive feedback to peers. Guiding questions or partially completed peer interview sheets can help model the language of feedback so that it is positive rather than negative and destructive. Peers can provide feedback on writing using a writing checklist, for example. Once students have practiced the peer feedback process of applying criteria to a peer's work, they will be ready for self-assessment or applying criteria to their own work.

Grading

The final operating principle for fair classroom-based assessment of English language learners involves teacher grading practices. Grading is a controversial topic, especially because it is idiosyncratic and varies from teacher to teacher. Subjectivity and unreliability of teacher grades were reasons why standardized tests were invented in the first place: Teachers couldn't be counted on to all grade the same way. Therefore, it would seem that major challenges to the grading process are attaining objectivity, validity, reliability, and fairness. These challenges are compounded when we consider grading the English language learning student. How do we account for English language proficiency? And what about grading on the curve?

Teachers can make grades less subjective and more reliable by tying grades to criterion-referenced assessments and to the progress made by each student toward individual learning goals. Grades can be based on criteria specified on assessment tools such as checklists, scoring rubrics, and rating scales. These tools must be developmentally appropriate and match the level of language proficiency of the learner. In addition, grades can be assigned not only for student completion of work but for the quality of the work based on criteria. Finally, grades accompanied by constructive feedback can guide learners in setting learning goals for the next assignment (Wiggins, 1998). By linking grades to criteria for performance, teachers can ensure that they assign grades in a fair and reliable manner.

Grading on the curve, or using norm-referenced assessment to set arbitrary parameters for grades, is not a recommended practice for either English language learners or general education students. For example, a teacher who determines that he will assign only three As and three Fs in his class and that everyone else will fall in between has set arbitrary limits that will not necessarily be fair or accurate. Statistical formulas for establishing norms on standardized tests do not apply to classroom grading practices and should not be used to assign grades to English language learners.

Linking Assessment to Instruction

In the preceding section, we provided guidelines for achieving valid, fair, and reliable classroom-based assessments of English language learners. In this section, we give examples of how to ensure the validity of classroom-based assessments by linking assessment to instructional activities. This sounds like common sense, but let's take a look at an example of what happens when this principle is ignored.

> Linda is a seventh-grade ESL teacher. She plans interactive, meaningful classroom activities for her students, such as reader's theater, literature discussion groups, and writers' workshop. Yet, when it comes to assessment, Linda relies on traditional multiple-choice and fill-in-the-blank tests that she makes herself or takes from end-of-unit tests in the textbooks. She assesses writing by assigning a grade of A, B, and so on to writing samples depending on whether or not her students completed the five steps of the writing process (planning, drafting, editing, revising, publishing). When asked about exploring other forms of assessment, Linda gives a guilty nod and says, "I don't have time for it. It takes time away from instruction, and besides, I already know how each student is doing. It's inside my head."

Linda's version of assessment *does* take time away from instruction, but that is because she takes a traditional approach to assessment even though she provides student-centered instructional activities. Unusual? Not really. Without information on how to base assessment on instruction, most teachers are left without any sort of guidance for assessing student work. Here we provide some ideas for linking assessment to instructional activities that teachers conduct on a routine basis. By coordinating assessment with instructional activities, teachers can increase the content validity of their assessments and save time.

Three ways to link assessment to instruction are (1) assess what you teach, (2) assess as you teach, and (3) look at every key instructional activity as an opportunity for assessment.

- *To assess what you teach,* be sure not to test or measure what has NOT been taught. For example, if you are assessing knowledge of historical facts, you do not want to count off for prior knowledge that is assumed or for spelling or pronunciation. If you are testing for oral language, you do not want to penalize students for not having eye contact if you have not taught that skill.

- *To assess as you teach,* record each student's skills and strategies in the same way as you have practiced them. If you have used graphic organizers to teach

story structure, use it to assess students' knowledge of it. In addition, assess students while you observe them engaged in a learning activity. For example, if students are working in literature discussion groups, keep a checklist of reading and cooperative learning strategies you have taught and practiced or take anecdotal records that provide information on each reader's thinking.

- *To look for key assessment opportunities,* you need only look at routine instructional activities for oral language, reading, or writing development or conceptual development in the content areas and determine which might be able to provide you with insights into each student's language and/or content-area progress. For example, if students are working on science projects, why not prepare a rubric that you share with students *before* the project is due, which will show students what you expect the project to show about their learning, whether it be reading, writing, or science knowledge? Or if students are watching a DVD on the Civil War, how about preparing a few questions on each 5–10 minute segment and asking them to turn in their answers to these so that you can determine levels of listening comprehension and content knowledge?

With a little forethought, we can make more links between instructional and assessment activities and improve our diagnostic power in the process.

Oral Language

To begin planning for assessment of oral language, teachers need to first consider instructional activities that they conduct on a daily basis for developing oral skills. These same activities can often be used for gathering assessment data. That is, teachers can collect information on how students are using oral language simultaneous to the instructional activities in which the students are engaged. We can do this by planning for assessment just as we plan our lessons and activities. How will we collect data that shows that students are making growth in oral language? What criteria will we use? Will we conduct individual, pair, or group activities? Will we use a checklist, scoring rubric, or anecdotal records to document student learning? How often will we collect assessments on oral language? Daily? Weekly? Monthly? It is most useful to make a plan, gather potential assessment tools, set a preliminary time line for using them, draft or revise assessment tools to use, then try them out. Only by trying out our assessment tools can we judge their effectiveness. A tool is effective if it is valid, fair, and reliable. The students will tell us what they think of the assessment task and tools, and if we listen to their feedback, we can use the information to improve each assessment tool.

Oral language can be assessed most directly by observing students in a variety of contexts. Student performance can be recorded (on DVD or on an assessment tool) while conducting one-on-one interviews or story retelling sessions, pair discussions, and small group interviews, role-plays, or demonstrations, among other activities. Teachers can also use picture stories, wordless books, or cartoon sequences for students to narrate. When planning for assessment, we need to set

criteria for performance that reflect our instructional objectives. Will we be assessing language functions, how students use language (such as describing, requesting information, comparing)? What aspects of language structure or grammar will be assessed? What about vocabulary and pronunciation? How important will these domains be? Will they receive equal weight of importance as overall communicative effect? Or is communicative effectiveness more important than mastery of grammar? Is assessing delivery skills such as making eye contact with the audience something that has been taught and modeled in class?

Once the instructional activity and performance criteria have been identified, teachers can begin to draft an assessment tool such as a checklist or rating scale for assessing student's use of oral language. It is usually best to review sample assessment tools that can be adapted and modified rather than to attempt starting from scratch. The latter is likely to be more time-consuming and frustrating than the former and may not produce the desired result. For an example of a scoring rubric for oral language, go back to Figure 8.1 on p. 345.

Reading/Writing

As with the assessment of oral language, assessment of reading and writing must begin with instructional activities that require students to use these skills. For English language learners, it is especially important that literacy instruction be based on second-language research as well as on what we know about what works for teaching reading and writing to native speakers of English. In second-language reading, for example, we now know that prior knowledge about the reading topic is the number one predictor of reading comprehension in the target language. This makes sense, but how often do we stop to tap the prior knowledge of our students on the reading topic? And how often do we assess students' use of prior knowledge in making sense of what they read?

Research conducted with native speakers of English for over two decades suggests that readers need plenty of time to read during class, direct instruction in reading strategies, opportunities for collaboration on reading-related activities, and discussions of personal responses to readings (Fielding & Pearson, 1994). These findings do not contradict research on second language reading. It makes sense, then, to include research-based elements in instructional activities and to conduct assessments of reading to determine how well students are making use of prior knowledge and reading strategies, how they are making sense of what they read through personal interpretations of the readings, and how they are able to communicate this understanding in reading logs or literature discussion circles. Teachers can use reading strategies checklists or rating scales, story or text retelling maps, cloze tests (where words are omitted systematically from a short reading passage to determine a reader's use of language structure and context clues), or reading logs, among other tools, to assess reading comprehension of English language learners. See Figure 8.4 on p. 356 for an example of a reading strategies rating scale.

From the research on teaching writing, we have learned that prior knowledge about the topic and how to plan for writing are essential to the success of the

writer (Hillocks, 1987). Additionally, writers need to know how to organize their writing and how to synthesize knowledge into a written text. The research suggests that it is important to assess writing for more than just aspects of vocabulary and grammar. Writing assessment needs to provide feedback to the learner and the teacher on how the writer is working through the processes of writing, from brainstorming a topic and its details to editing a final draft and providing peer feedback on writing to others. Activities for teaching writing may include writing paragraphs, summaries, and essays; keeping dialogue journals and learning logs; and any number of writing tasks in the content areas. See Figure 8.6 for an example of a teacher checklist for paragraph writing.

Once teachers determine those aspects of reading and writing that they are going to assess, they can identify assessment tools to adapt or modify and determine

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Student Name: _____   **Date:** _____

Paragraph Checklist

Grades 4–6, Intermediate English Proficiency

Purpose and Organization

_____ 1. Clear topic sentence.

_____ 2. Supporting details.

_____ 3. Examples.

_____ 4. Transitions link sentences.

_____ 5. Concluding sentence.

Grammar/Mechanics

_____ 6. Sentences begin with CAPITAL letter.

_____ 7. Sentences/questions end with period/question mark.

_____ 8. Paragraph indented.

_____ 9. Few grammar errors.

_____ 10. Spelling errors do not interfere with meaning.

Figure 8.6   *Teacher Checklist for Paragraph Writing*

how often they will assess literacy skills. As with reading and oral language, to be assessed fairly and validly, writing must be assessed using specified criteria that have been shared with students prior to the writing assignment. Students need to know the basis on which their writing will be assessed so that they can prepare for it. Analytic scoring rubrics assigning a separate score for each domain, such as organization, sentence structure, grammar, and mechanics, can be used by the teacher to diagnose students' strengths and weaknesses in writing. Students can use a writing checklist to monitor their ability to follow steps of the writing process. In addition, teachers can use writing samples to show students examples of good writing. Students will need to be given time and guidance to engage in self-assessment of their work. By assessing their own writing, English language learners can gain confidence in understanding the criteria by which their work will be evaluated. See Figure 8.7 for an example of an analytic scoring rubric for writing.

Teachers may want to guide students in keeping reading/writing assessment **portfolios**. Assessment portfolios are not mere collections of student work. Collections of student work are called *work folders.* Assessment portfolios, on the other hand, require the input of each student in selecting the portfolio entries and in writing a justification for each entry. These explanations of each entry in a portfolio provide a self-assessment for the learner, guiding her in setting short- and long-term learning goals. In addition, assessment portfolios provide performance criteria for judging the merit of each student's portfolio based on academic standards and instructional objectives.

Content Areas

Recent research suggests that language-based programs, to promote academic achievement, must go beyond the teaching of language skills such as phonics, pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. School programs need to teach and assess students' ability to process content-area knowledge and skills (Thomas & Collier, 2002). Therefore, in addition to assessing language skills, teachers of English language learners need to assess learning in the language of the content areas. English language learners need to be monitored for growth in both language proficiency and content knowledge.

Cummins's (1982, 1983) theoretical distinction between two types of language proficiency, communicative and academic language proficiency, serves as an important impetus for teaching and assessing both basic communicative and academic language skills. Communicative language proficiency is highly contextualized and places minimal cognitive demands on thinking in a second language, while academic language provides fewer contextual clues for meaning and is more cognitively demanding. Since academic language proficiency takes longer to acquire than communicative language proficiency, it is imperative that teachers provide access to content concepts as well as to language skills. Cummins's research, supported by that of Thomas and Collier (1997), provides direct support for teaching language through the content areas for English language learners in grades K–12.

Analytic Scoring Rubric for Writing, Grades 6-12, Beginning English Proficiency

Dimensions / Score Level	Composition			Grammar			Mechanics	
4	Uses simple and compound sentences.	Shows clear evidence of paragraph structure.	Uses descriptive vocabulary.	Shows some inconsistencies in control of adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, or verb tenses and agreement.	Has some run-on sentences or sentence fragments.	Has some errors, and these may interfere with meaning.	Shows some inconsistencies with punctuation and capitalization.	Uses mostly conventional spelling.
3	Uses simple and some compound sentences.	Shows some evidence of paragraph structure.	Uses high-frequency vocabulary with limited description.	Shows many inconsistencies in control of adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, or verb tenses and agreement.	Has some run-on sentences and sentence fragments.	Has some errors that interfere with meaning.	Shows many inconsistencies with punctuation and capitalization.	Uses a mix of conventional and transitional spelling.
2	Uses simple sentences.	Shows little evidence of paragraph structure.	Uses high-frequency and repetitive vocabulary with little description.	Shows limited use of adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, or verb tenses and agreement.	Has many sentence fragments.	Has many errors that interfere with meaning.	Shows limited use of punctuation and capitalization.	Uses mostly transitional spelling.
1	Uses incomplete or pattern sentences.	Shows no evidence of paragraph structure.	Uses limited vocabulary.	Shows almost no use of adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, or verbs.	Has almost all sentence fragments.	Has many errors that completely block meaning.	Shows almost no use of punctuation or capitalization.	Uses mostly incorrect spelling.

Figure 8.7 *Writing Scoring Rubric*

Assessing content-based language or the language of the content areas raises a number of issues. In particular, many of these students will be enrolled, at one time or another, in regular content-area classrooms with native speakers of English. How can English language learners be assessed for both language proficiency and content-area knowledge? Should language learners be assessed differently from native speakers? Should they be held to different standards? The answers to these questions depend on the instruction that is being provided to the English language learners. If these students are in regular classrooms, the assumption is that they can profit from instruction in English only or with language-based services outside of the regular classroom. These students should be assessed in English and held to the same standards as their proficient English-speaking peers. If English language learners are in ESL classrooms and have weak vocabulary or literacy skills, teachers can use developmental standards to determine student progress. It is in the students' best interests for ESL/bilingual and regular classroom teachers to collaborate on the instruction and assessment of their students. If students are enrolled in a bilingual or native language program, they should be assessed in the language of instruction. See Figure 8.8 for an example of a content-based language checklist in science for a unit on animal habitats.

When developing assessments in the content areas, teachers need to consider two kinds of knowledge: **declarative knowledge** and **procedural knowledge** (Gagne, Yekovich, & Yekovich, 1993; O'Malley & Pierce, 1996). Declarative knowledge can be defined as knowledge that can be declared or stated, such as historical, mathematical, or scientific facts. Procedural knowledge reflects what students can do with what they know. Declarative knowledge can be easily assessed through the use of multiple-choice, matching, and constructed-response formats. Procedural knowledge, on the other hand, calls for demonstration of applications of knowledge through oral or written reports or demonstrations. In science, mathematics, and social studies, students can be asked to demonstrate what they know by following specific processes such as problem solving or experimental investigations, writing reports and summaries, and making oral presentations. It is important that teachers assess thinking skills and the processes by which students solve problems. Assessing these activities requires the use of checklists, rating scales, and scoring rubrics that detail the types of processes learners must demonstrate.

To aid students in showing what they know on content-area assessments, teachers can add scaffolding to assessment tasks and tools. Teachers can provide scaffolding by using simplified language, visuals, demonstrations, graphic organizers, and cooperative learning activities to communicate the content of the lesson in mathematics, social studies, or science to the language learners (see Figures 8.5 and 8.9). By using these instructional supports to reduce the linguistic demand, teachers are in a better position to find out what students know and can do in the content areas. It is especially important to determine each student's prior knowledge and level of study in the content areas so that teachers can plan instruction that builds on students' strengths and helps fill learning gaps.

Scaffolding assessments in the content areas can be as simple as tapping prior knowledge through brainstorming and allowing a pictorial response to a task or as

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Animal Habitats Project Checklist   Grade 2, Beginning English Language Proficiency

Science Knowledge

_____ 1. Names animal.

_____ 2. Describes at least 3 details about animal (color, size, movement, food).

_____ 3. Relates at least 3 details about habitat (location, temperature, shelter).

_____ 4. Relates name of animal group (fish, mammals, reptiles).

Oral Report with Poster

_____ 5. Speaks comprehensibly.

_____ 6. Uses appropriate vocabulary.

_____ 7. Uses accurate poster.

Written Paragraph

_____ 8. Uses descriptive vocabulary.

_____ 9. Writes in simple and compound sentences.

_____ 10. Uses invented or transitional spelling and some appropriate punctuation and capitalization.

Figure 8.8   *Differentiated Checklist for Science*
Source: Adapted from material from Amanda Bryson, Elena Kitzantides, and Rachel Sachetti, ESOL and Foreign Language Teachers in Fairfax County Public Schools, VA, April 2004.

complicated as designing a partially completed outline of a book chapter for students to fill in. Teachers need to provide the type of scaffolding needed by language learners at various levels of language proficiency. For example, beginners in reading and writing will need much more simplified language than high intermediates, and high intermediates will be able to handle longer written texts than beginners. Although little research exists on scaffolding assessments with English language learners, research on the second-language learning process would indicate that using manipulatives, physical demonstrations, graphics and visuals, and providing choices in tasks and responses can help provide access to meaningful input in content-based language classrooms as well as in regular classrooms. For intermediates, scaffolding can be provided through the use of graphic organizers

such as tables, charts, and outlines, word banks for content-specific vocabulary, and manipulatives and games for presenting challenging conceptual knowledge. Evaluating student performance on scaffolded activities and tasks can give students the self-confidence that keeps them motivated to learn, while providing teachers with the information they need for diagnosing students' strengths and needs in the content areas. See Figure 8.9 for a listing of various scaffolding approaches appropriate for students at different levels of language proficiency.

As with assessment of language skills, teachers need to let students know the specific criteria by which their performance in the content areas will be assessed. These assessments need to be criterion-referenced and based on state and local standards for native speakers of English. Teachers need to aim for those standards so that English language learners do not fall behind in learning content knowledge that they will be held accountable for on annual standardized tests. Criteria for performance can be shared with students and discussed in class for clarity and fairness. Teachers can give students copies of the criteria in the form of scoring rubrics, rating scales, or self-assessment checklists.

An example from an ESL/social studies classroom shows how teachers can set criteria in content-area assessments. In one fifth-grade classroom, students are being held responsible for knowing the names of various European explorers to the Americas, the dates of exploration, and each explorer's accomplishments. The teacher asks students to prepare a poster and make an oral presentation on a single explorer. Student performance is judged on accuracy of the content, clarity of the language used for the presentation, and presentation of the poster. Students receive subscores for each category of performance. Assigning subscores, one for language use and another for content knowledge, is called **differentiated scoring.** When teachers assign subscores for language, content knowledge, and artwork using clearly specified criteria, they are conveying useful feedback to language learners on their strengths and weaknesses, and this helps the learners set learning goals and become independent learners. See Figure 8.8 for an example of differentiated scoring.

Coping with Standardized Tests

The reality of today's test-driven school climate means that teachers have to prepare English language learners to take and pass tests in reading, mathematics, and science on state-mandated, grade-level, standards-based tests. Three areas where teachers can begin to do this are (1) teaching reading strategies directly, (2) teaching key test-taking skills and skills for various testing formats, and (3) helping ELLs practice essential study skills.

To tackle any standardized test, English language learners need to be able to not only read the question, they also need to be able to understand exactly what the question is asking. Many times, test makers write questions to throw students off the right track to the answer; Calkins, Montgomery, and Santman (1998) call these question distractors "tricks and traps" that students can easily fall into. For example, many students will choose the answer that matches the same lines in the

Scaffolding Assessments by Language Proficiency Level

Proficiency Level / Scaffolding Approaches	Beginning	Intermediate	Advanced
1. Tap prior knowledge/personal experience (e.g., prereading, prewriting strategies).	✓	✓	✓
2. Read items aloud to student.	✓		
3. Use manipulatives.	✓	✓	✓
4. Allow an oral, pictorial, or physical response (e.g., gestures, illustrations).	✓	✓	
5. Add meaningful visuals, graphic organizers to task or question.	✓	✓	✓
6. Label parts or functions.	✓	✓	✓
7. Select from several options (e.g., word bank).	✓	✓	✓
8. Complete, given a list, examples, or sentence stem.	✓	✓	✓
9. Complete an outline, T-list, or semantic map.		✓	✓
10. Make a list of attributes.	✓	✓	✓
11. Provide vocabulary lists or glossary.	✓	✓	✓
12. Simplify language (reduce sentence length, use present tense only, enlarge font size).	✓	✓	✓
13. Simplify format (reduce number of items, remove distracting graphics, cut into smaller chunks or tasks).	✓	✓	
14. Use cooperative learning/collaborative tasks.	✓	✓	✓
15. Modeling by teacher.	✓	✓	
16. Show model performances.	✓	✓	✓
17. Use music, drama, role-play, puppets.	✓	✓	✓
18. Ask for evidence to support response.		✓	✓
19. Use native language.	✓		
20. Use taped directions	✓	✓	

Figure 8.9   *Scaffolding Assessments*

Source: Adapted from L. Valdez Pierce, *Assessing English Language Learners* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 2003).

reading passage. Teachers can show students that just because words from the reading passage are in one of the answer options, that answer is not necessarily the right one. The question must be read more carefully and put in the student's own words; teachers can practice this approach with the whole class and then with students as partners.

Reading strategies instruction can provide the foundation for teaching key test-taking skills and skills for various formats. For example, one key test-taking skill is to read the question first, then skim the reading passage or text for the answer. Some of the standardized reading test passages reviewed for this chapter and designed for third and fifth graders were between 300 and 500 words long!

Another test skill for students is to work on the questions that they know the answers to first, mark those that they are not sure about or don't know, and come back to these later. The teacher can show the students how to mark their space in the test booklet or on the answer sheet so that they don't lose their place. A third skill is confirming the answer in context; once the student has chosen the best answer, she needs to go back and put it in the context of the question to make sure that it makes sense. A fourth skill is to choose an answer by process of elimination, eliminating those choices known to be incorrect. If the student does not know the meaning of the remaining word or phrase, he should still choose that one, since he has eliminated the others. Finally, it is critically important to teach students to focus on *key* words in each question. A *key* word is one that will help focus the search for the answer. For example, what is the *key* word in each question below?

1. Which of the following is not true? (not)
2. In this story, weird means . . . (this)
3. A good title for this selection is . . . (title)
4. The main idea of this selection is . . . (main idea)
5. The central problem of this story is . . . (problem)
6. What does the author probably [or most likely] want you to learn from this story? (probably)
7. What is this passage mostly about? (mostly)
8. What event happened last in the story? (last)
9. How was the problem resolved? (resolved)
10. Which of these would best describe the characteristics of metamorphic rock? (best)

The above are question types that Calkins et al. (1998) have identified as being among the most common on standardized tests. Therefore, teachers would be well-advised to familiarize ELLs with as many of them as are appropriate for their level of comprehension.

In addition to teaching reading strategies and key test-taking skills, teachers can also teach students how to tackle particular test formats such as multiple-choice,

true-false, short answer, and essay questions (Rudner & Schafer, 2002). Strategies for multiple-choice items have already been described above and include:

- Reading the question first, then skimming the passage for the answer.
- Eliminate the obvious.
- Mark questions they don't know, come back to them later.
- Guess only if they are not penalized for incorrect answers (ask the teacher).
- If two answers look similar, choose one.
- If answer calls for sentence completion, eliminate those that do not form grammatical sentences.

For true-false test items, the following tips apply:

- If any part of a true-false statement is false, the entire answer is false.
- Words such as *always, never, every, none* often indicate a false answer.
- Words such as *many, most, some, often, usually* can indicate a true answer.

Short-answer or fill-in-the blank test items usually test knowledge of terminology and definitions. Students can prepare for this type of test format by:

- Using flashcards with important terms and phrases.
- Using a grammatically correct answer.

Finally, students taking an essay test need to:

- Figure out exactly what the question is asking *(compare, explain, justify)*.
- Make a short outline.
- Get to the point.

Test-taking skills are needed across all grade levels, as indicated in Figure 8.10. New immigrant students in secondary school will need to be introduced to filling in answer sheets, a skill that returning students will already have.

Three types of reading strategies teachers can use to help prepare students to take standardized tests are prereading, during-reading, and postreading strategies. Each type of strategy has its own purpose. Prereading strategies help students set a purpose for reading and tap prior knowledge to anticipate the meaning of text. During-reading strategies assist the reader in monitoring comprehension while reading, and postreading strategies help the reader organize, synthesize, and retain what has been read.

Helping students study for taking a test consists of several tasks: (1) modeling how to outline chapters and write summaries of them, (2) drafting a study checklist for students to follow, (3) showing students how to make their own review tools such as flash cards and tables, and (4) helping students review often and in study groups.

Test-Taking Skills

Test-Taking Skill / Grade Level	Read Question First	Confirm Answers in Context	Use Key Vocabulary	Fill-in Answer Sheets	Use Key Test-Taking Skills	Know Variety of Test Formats
Grades 3–5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grades 6–8	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grades 9–12	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Figure 8.10   *Test-Taking Skills*

An essential part of teaching intermediate proficiency students how to review for a test is to model how to outline a book or chapter and how to write a summary. Both of these tasks entail identifying main ideas and details. Once the teacher feels that students have a handle on distinguishing main ideas from details and ignoring extraneous details, she can use T-Lists or Cornell notes as graphic organizers for students to complete. Students can begin by filling out partially completed outlines, as in Figure 8.11.

Teachers can also help students prepare a study list with items that need to be reviewed or completed for the test, as in the following example from a social studies unit:

Things I Need to Know

Chapter 3 Test—U.S. Government

_____ 1. Three branches of government and function of each.
_____ 2. How a bill gets passed.
_____ 3. How a bill gets vetoed.
_____ 4. Explain checks and balances.
_____ 5. Key vocabulary list.

Many of us remember the tools we used to study or review for a test. Will we share these same approaches with our students? We can teach students how to use index cards to make flash cards with key vocabulary, algorithms, historical personalities or events, or literary terms. We can also show them how to practice with each other, working with a partner or a study group in class and after school. Conducting weekly review sessions in class helps impress upon students the need to revisit terms and concepts they thought they had already learned. Cooperative learning structures such as Jig Saw Reading, Roundtable, Team Test Taking, and Send-a-Problem (where one team writes test questions for another team) are

---

Sample T-List for

***Scholastic News* Article, "Fighting World Hunger"**

Main ideas	Details
1. U.N. World Food Program wants to end world hunger	A. 800 million hungry, 300 million kids B. Causes of hunger 　　1. Weather crisis 　　2. War 　　3. Extreme poverty
2. Provides monthly food rations	A. Feeding kids in school B. C.
3. School means opportunity	A. B.

Figure 8.11　*Sample T-List*

especially appropriate for helping students review content-area material for tests. Many teachers have also developed their own version of *Jeopardy,* a popular television program, to engage students in a competitive team game for review.

NEED FOR LONG-TERM PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In a two-year study of the impact of teaching on student learning, The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future discovered that student achievement can be directly affected by the professional preparation obtained by teachers and that many teachers are not getting the preparation they need to help their students succeed in school (Report of the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 1996). In this chapter, we have presented a number of assessment issues pertaining to English language learners. However, this brief overview will not be sufficient to prepare teachers to actually begin using valid and reliable assessments in their classrooms.

The National Commission proposed the need to "reinvent teacher preparation and professional development." Among the recommendations are mentoring

programs for beginning teachers and high-quality, long-term professional development opportunities. This is not how most schools work, throwing in beginning teachers to sink or swim and providing a parade of one-shot workshops from external consultants that teachers must attend each year for professional credit points. The irony pointed out by the Commission's report is that while we may hold instruction for students to high standards, such as through problem solving, inquiry learning, collaborative learning, and learning by doing, we seldom hold professional development for teachers to the same high standards. This observation needs to be taken quite seriously, especially when we see teachers being told what to teach and in what time frame to teach it, as if they had no professional judgment of their own. Professional development includes the need for:

> ". . . support for teachers' in-school study groups, peer coaching, and other problem-solving efforts as well as teacher-to-teacher networks, teacher academies, and school–university partnerships." (Report of the National Commission on Teaching & America's Future, p. 120).

Staff in-service days can be consolidated and used at the beginning or end of the year, allowing teachers to spend at least 10 days planning and working together on "how to use curriculum and assessments" that are related to helping students attain learning standards. We now have research indicating that the type of professional development suggested by the National Commission produces favorable results for student learning. In particular, school–university partnerships have great potential for helping teachers increase the effectiveness of their assessment practices.

An example of a 15-year school–university partnership in assessment reform can be found in Northern Virginia, between George Mason University and Fairfax County Public Schools. The Fairfax ESOL Program serves almost 20,000 students with over 850 teachers. The program has had an instructional leader in ESOL Program Director Teddi Predaris, who requested assistance with helping teachers use innovative forms of assessment for program placement. The ultimate goal has been to help change the way ESOL teachers teach and assess students in their own classrooms.

Fairfax County Schools are feeling the pressure of preparing ESOL students to meet stringent state standards and federal regulations in NCLB for school accountability. ESOL students must not only pass the multiple-choice tests, they must also prepare written essays for state tests. Students must also pass all state tests to qualify for a high school diploma.

Since 1992, Fairfax County Public Schools' ESOL Program has worked with me to align local assessments for identification and placement of ESOL students with state and local standards. Through this school–university partnership, teams of elementary and secondary teachers have come together, typically for at least five days during the school year and five more during the summer, to plan and develop assessment tools and procedures for program placement and classroom instruction. The number of teachers averaged about 25 each year, with almost half being elementary teachers, and the other half distributed between middle and high school teachers. At the end of the summer and after all rubrics, checklists, and teacher guides have been developed, teachers presented their work and assessment tools to

> ## Guidelines for Teaching
>
> ### GETTING STARTED
>
> We would like to provide a few tips for initiating improvements in your approach to instruction and assessment so that both you and your students can benefit from clear expectations for learning. Suggestions for getting started include: (1) Start with your own classroom; (2) start small; (3) form or join a teacher support group; and (4) plan for the long term.
>
> First, start with your own classroom. Examine routine instructional activities to see how you can turn them, with a little planning, into assessment opportunities.
>
> Second, start small. Tackle one language skill or content area first. Try out one assessment tool or format at a time. Use one group of students at a time. Reflect on your effectiveness and revise your tools. The revision of assessment tools and processes is recurring and can take a number of years to get just right.
>
> Third, form or join a teacher support group in your school or school system. Joining a support group can give you the impetus you need for moving forward with your resolutions to make changes in assessment and instruction.
>
> Finally, plan on a long-term strategy for improving your assessment approaches with English language learners, because it can take up to five years for an innovation to become a routine.

all teachers in the ESOL Program for training and feedback. All teachers were invited to try out the tools during the year and provide suggestions for improving them in the following year. This has been a recursive process, with all parties continuing to reap benefits from the process.

Over the past decade, I have worked with ESOL programs in Fairfax and Prince William counties, Virginia, to develop a Writing Assessment Guide for each ESOL program. Recently, we developed an *Oral Language Assessment Guide* for Fairfax County ESOL Teachers. Teacher guides have been developed jointly with the teacher assessment teams and include directions for incorporating instruction into assessment, using scoring rubrics, using writing or oral interview prompts, and directions for administering these assessments.

The scoring rubrics developed for program placement in Fairfax County have been based on the Virginia Standards of Learning for grade-level students as well as the state standards for English language proficiency. We have noticed that the scoring rubrics are driving instruction, since students must meet the criteria at each level to rise to the next.

We have spent countless hours running inter-rater reliability sessions for the writing rubric in Fairfax County, attaining a 90 percent or higher rater agreement, which is higher than necessary. Figure 8.12 is an excerpt from the standards-based Fairfax County ESOL Writing Rubric for students who are almost ready to exit the program and move into the regular classroom.

If you have an opportunity to participate in a multiyear school–university partnership or a teacher academy, you will most likely get the support you need for making improvements to the assessment of ESOL students in your school system.

ESOL Writing—Level 4   (out of 6)

Composition
- **Has a central idea with relevant details.**
- **Uses closely related sentences to build a *coherent paragraph*, with few, simple, or repetitive *transitions*. (Transitions are not required at the elementary level.)**
- Addresses the prompt with some extraneous information.
- May shift point of view.
- Writes single or multiple paragraphs.

Written Expression/Sentence Structure
- Uses varied vocabulary that is awkward.
- Uses compound and complex sentences that may be awkward or repetitive.
- May show evidence of *writer's voice*.

Mechanics/Usage
- Has errors that may interfere with meaning.
- Uses mostly *conventional* punctuation, capitalization, and spelling.
- Shows some control of adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, subject-verb agreement, and appropriate verb tenses.
- May have occasional run-on sentences and sentence fragments.

Figure 8.12   *Fairfax Co., VA, ESOL Writing Rubric*

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have described the national context for assessment and how it got that way, and how standardized testing at the state and national levels has become a controversial topic among students, teachers, and parents. We also presented some key issues in assessment and described various types of assessments used with English language learners. We differentiated between assessment purposes for school-based assessment and classroom- based assessment. We described traditional and student-centered classrooms and the potential of each to move toward valid, fair, and reliable assessment of language learners. We also provided guidelines for linking assessment to instruction to increase the validity of classroom-based assessments. We offered ways that teachers can help prepare students to take standardized tests by teaching reading strategies and test-taking skills. In addition, we discussed the need for teachers to demand and obtain professional development on assessment skills, not only for the benefit of their students but also for improving their own teaching. We also provided some tips for teachers who want to get started with making improvements to their assessment practices. Finally, we described a school–university partnership in assessment between this writer and a local ESOL program. We hope this chapter has been useful as an introduction to the topic of the assessment of English language learners and that you will explore many of these topics more in depth through university coursework, workshops sponsored by professional educational organizations, and professional readings in teacher journals and reference books.

OLC

Go to Online Learning Center at www.mhhe.com/ovando5e to access the Student Study Guide.

KEY TERMS

Absolute standards, *331*

Assessment bias, *328*

Attitudinal bias, *328*

Authentic assessments, *334*

Bias, *327*

Consequential validity, *327*

Content validity, *327*

Criterion-referenced assessment, *332*

Cultural bias, *327*

Declarative knowledge, *355*

Developmental or relative standards, *331*

Differentiated scoring, *357*

Exemplars, *346*

Formative assessment, *340*

Inter-rater reliability, *331*

Norming bias, *329*

Norm-referenced test, *332*

Performance-based assessment, *333*

Procedural knowledge, *355*

Reliability, *331*

Scaffolding, *345*

Scoring rubrics, *334*

Summative assessment, *340*

Test bias, *329*

Validity, *327*

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

1. Find out whether ESL/bilingual students are included in state-mandated testing in your school system and whether their test scores are included in school averages. What alternative assessments would you recommend for including these students in your statewide testing programs?

2. Examine a language proficiency test or achievement test for evidence of bias. What types of bias did you find?

3. Why are criterion-referenced tests more useful than norm-referenced tests for judging the academic progress of students in ESL/bilingual programs?

4. Conduct a self-assessment of your teaching style. Do you tend to be more traditional or student-centered? What steps can you take to ensure the content and consequential validity of your assessments?

5. When you assign a grade to a classroom-based assessment, is this a formative or summative assessment?

6. What scaffolding approaches do you use for assessment of language learners? How might you improve these?

7. What steps will you take to learn more about developing valid and reliable assessments for English language learners?

Bilingual Special Education

by Theresa A. Ochoa

Andrés

Andrés is a 6-year-old male at Orange Elementary School. He is, generally speaking, much like his first-grade peers. His classmates like him and he has a best friend. He sits with other children to eat in the cafeteria and dashes out to the playground after rushing through his lunch. However, although Ms. Toles, his teacher, describes him as a happy first grader, she is concerned about his academic progress. Unlike his peers, Andrés presents sustained and marked academic difficulties. He writes, according to his teacher, only the first letter of his name while the other children write their complete names independently. He can count to three but has difficulty with number correspondence. Coloring and writing are also difficult for him. He has trouble coloring within object lines and his strokes are noticeably more rudimentary compared to other children's work. His writing composition is also markedly different from that of his peers. Mrs. Toles is concerned that Andrés is not making the expected progress given the academic support provided to him throughout the year. She notes that he is falling behind all other students in her class. She is worried that his self-esteem may begin to diminish given his academic difficulties. A review of Andrés's school records indicates that he receives one-on-one tutoring half an hour each day from a special education reading specialist who knows Spanish. Their work together is an extension of last year but Andrés seems unable to recall the names and sounds of letters, which makes reading impossible at this point.

Mrs. González, Andrés's mother, is concerned about his academic progress. Like Ms. Toles, Mrs. González notices that Andrés does not know the alphabet despite the time she spends at home reading to Andrés in Spanish and rehearsing the alphabet. She also notes his difficulties with numbers when she helps him complete his homework. Communication between Ms. Toles and Mrs. González is limited due to language barriers. Mrs. González speaks only Spanish while Ms. Toles speaks only English. Translators are necessary when they have to convey important information to each other about Andrés. A conversation with Ms. González through a translator about helping Andrés with homework revealed that his family shares an apartment with two other families totaling 11 individuals. Mrs. González said that she completed sixth grade in Mexico while her husband, whose family could afford to keep him in school longer, stayed in school two years longer than she did. She stated that Mr. González is involved with Andrés's schooling and wants him to have more opportunities to go to school than he had as a child. Mr. González is the one who mostly helps Andrés with math at the table but his mother says that they have to do it while having dinner and watching television because that is the only time available. Sometimes, the older kids who live in the house also help Andrés with homework or translate the homework directions written in English. Overall, Andrés's parents are certain that Ms. Toles cares about Andrés and is doing her best to help him at school. However, they are worried that his academic troubles persist and he is not learning.

What are the concerns expressed about Andrés by his teacher and parents?

Is it certain limited English proficiency accounts for Andrés's academic difficulties?

Is it possible that Andrés might have a legitimate disability?

Both bilingual education and special education are interventions aimed at improving educational services to students whose needs have not been met by traditional methods of providing universal public education. Yet each has been criticized not only by those who want to preserve existing models of formal education and those who have negative attitudes towards the special populations they are designed to serve but also by those who are advocates for reform of traditional education practices and those who advocate for these distinctive populations. Furthermore, those who are the strongest supporters of bilingual education have been among the most vocal critics of special education. If this is so, how has this come about and how can we define a field called bilingual special education that meets the concerns of supporters and reformers of universal public education, and even more specifically, the criticisms of advocates for educational justice for linguistic minorities?

In Chapter 1, bilingual education is defined as an approach to teaching culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students English, encompassing a variety of program models each promoting different goals (e.g., one program model may endorse the simultaneous development of the student's first language and English while another may merely incorporate the student's first language to facilitate a quick transition to English), and **special education** is defined as instruction and related services specifically designed and provided to meet the unusual needs of exceptional students (Hallahan, Kauffman, & Pullen, 2009). **Bilingual special education** refers to the use of the home language along with English in an individually designed program of instruction provided to a student with exceptional educational needs for the purpose of maximizing his or her learning potential (Baca & de Valenzuela, 1998).

How is it that there can be such strong negative feelings about such services? Advocates for minority racial, cultural, and linguistic groups have historically attacked special education for inappropriately, and disproportionately, labeling, segregating, stigmatizing, and poorly educating their children. Amid attacks against special education, advocates for persons with disabilities sought to remedy the lack of appropriate public education and related services for their children. Extensive litigation, legislation, and research beginning in the 1960s building on the model of the earlier initiated civil rights movement, particularly efforts to end racial discrimination in schools, ultimately resulted in the accumulation of considerable research, court decisions, and laws to support the validity of many of these juxtaposed claims.

Among the most dramatic research findings was the disproportionately high rate of identification and placement of ethnic minority students in special education. For example, seminal work conducted by Mercer (1973) in California found that Mexican American students were tested using standardized IQ tests in English and were inappropriately overrepresented in programs for the mentally retarded. Similar studies in other states and for other minority groups clearly justified the criticisms against special education, including those within the field itself (e.g., Dunn, 1968)

and led in 1975 to a major federal law called the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (PL 94-142), which required extensive changes in referral, testing, and placement for special education services. The most relevant of these changes for bilingual special education was the requirement to use nonbiased assessments with language minority students when determining special education eligibility.

Thirty-four years later, considering the efforts to resolve the problem, one should expect the misplacement of culturally and linguistically diverse students to be corrected. Are linguistic minority students still misidentified and misplaced in special education? Are they still likely to be segregated from their English-speaking counterparts? Are they likely to be getting appropriate educational services?

This chapter is written to empower conscientious and devoted educators who continue to strive to meet the needs of linguistically diverse and exceptional students in their classrooms. In particular, it targets general and bilingual education teachers working with children with disabilities and English language limitations. The chapter begins with a statement to define the student population and its size, followed by a brief presentation of the history of special education services and its intersection with bilingual education. It continues with a description of what effective bilingual special education could be like and describes bilingual education programs across the United States developed to provide bilingual special education services to exceptional children. Statistics on the disproportional representation of English language learners (ELLs) in programs of exceptionality are presented and include the underidentification of students with disabilities for special education services. The last section, and perhaps the most important, is a description of the special education prereferral, assessment, and placement processes, including teaching recommendations, all important in the education of students with disabilities who have English language limitations, and their families.

Who Are the Students and How Many of Them Are There?

Undoubtedly, most educators reading this chapter are aware that the number of students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in public schools across the United States is growing. Most would also agree that diversity in the classroom is good. And furthermore, many if not all would not dispute that diversity can manifest itself in terms of having different levels of English language proficiency. Based on the work of Carrasquillo and Rodriguez (2002) this chapter will use the term *limited English proficient (LEP)* to make a distinction between culturally and linguistically diverse students who have an English language proficiency that allows them to benefit from mainstream classrooms and those students who have some English language limitations. *English language learner* is another term that is, in fact, used more often in current literature on multicultural education. In the spirit of the words of the poem below by Richard Hungerford, I will refer to students who have English language limitations simply as LEP, because as will be seen at the end of this section, another distinction related to cognitive differences will be necessary.

The size of the LEP student population varies. Conservative estimates provided by Macias (in Carrasquillo & Rodríguez, 2002) of the LEP student population in the United States puts it at 3.45 million. Baca and de Valenzuela (1998) suggest that the population of students with English language limitations is larger, indicating that 10 million of the school-age language minority students across the United States do not have English as their first language, with heavier concentrations in the Southwest and Northwest and with half of all speakers of languages other than English residing in California, Texas, and New York. Establishing the exact number of LEP students in the United States is difficult because, according to Carrasquillo and Rodríguez (2002), many of these students are educated in mainstream classrooms, therefore not identified as LEP, when in fact they do have English language limitations. Under the assumption that disabilities are distributed among language minority students the same way they are in the general population of students, Baca and de Valenzuela's figure of 9,985,000 from the 1990 census, in combination with the estimated disability rates of 12 percent provided by the U.S. Office of Special Education, means that 1,198,200 children ages 5–17 have both a disability and are linguistically diverse. That is to say, over 1 million students in the United States need bilingual special education services, making them students with both LEP and special education (SPED) needs. Thus, for purposes of this chapter, these students will be referred to as LEPSPED to denote that they have English language limitations and special education needs.

Given the stigma still associated with special education, however, and the fact that some students continue to be misplaced in special education—not because of disabilities but because of English language limitations—educators are justified in being hesitant to identify these students for special education. It is important for all general educators to exercise caution and exhaust the resources available to them before making a referral for special education assessment. Richard Hungerford's words (in Hallahan & Kauffman, 2003) are useful as educators grapple with the highly complex and controversial task of addressing the needs of students with disabilities while avoiding the mistakes made in the past.

Only the brave dare look upon the gray—
Upon the things which cannot be easily explained,
Upon the things which often engender mistakes,
Upon the things whose cause cannot be understood,
Upon the things we must accept and live with.
And therefore only the brave dare look upon difference
Without flinching.

Increases in the number of students from diverse language backgrounds and the **inclusion** movement, which promotes that students with disabilities be reintegrated in general education classrooms and taught alongside their peers without disabilities, will result in larger numbers of English language learners with disabilities coming into contact with general education teachers.

Foundations for Bilingual Special Education

Legislation

Legislation specific to bilingual special education does not exist. Linguistically diverse students with disabilities are, however, protected by both bilingual and special education legislation. As discussed in Chapter 2, in 1968 Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act (PL 90-247), which provided opportunities for school districts to obtain competitive funding to develop and implement programs to appropriately address the needs of CLD students (Baca & de Valenzuela, 1998). Tymitz (1983) suggests that bilingual education came about as a direct response to the needs of general educators who mistakenly viewed students with English language limitations as "mentally retarded," or as having diminished cognitive capacity. In her account, special educators noted English language learners to be much "more responsive to instruction than would be expected" (p. 360) of students with mental retardation.

Several policy mandates give individuals with disabilities the right to a public education and protect them against exclusion from public schools. Section 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act stipulates that a child must be furnished with an individualized education program (IEP) appropriate for his or her needs and entitles the individual to a due process hearing if educational appropriateness is in doubt (Baca & de Valenzuela, 1998). The 1974 Educational Amendments Act (PL 93-380) was the first time that special education legislation included a provision for LEP students by mandating nondiscriminatory testing. However, the 1975 Education for All Handicapped Children Act (PL 94-142), renamed in 1990 as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) and reauthorized in 2004 as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act, is the most comprehensive and significant legislation on behalf of individuals with disabilities. Although the name changed to include the term *improvement,* the IDEA acronym remains in use. The full IDEA document is available from the United States Office of Special Education URL at http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/osers/osep/index.html. As noted by Baca and de Valenzuela (1998) the IDEA legislation is the foundation for bilingual special education because it mandates nondiscriminatory testing and an individualized program of instruction (the IEP) for each student in the least restrictive environment.

Litigation

Litigation has played a major role in advancing the services available to LEP students with disabilities. The *Pennsylvania Association of Retarded Children v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (PARC)* and *Mills v. the Board of Education of the District of Columbia* established that no student can be excluded from or denied a public education based on disability. Prior to this, many students with disabilities were forced to stay at home without any formal education. *Lau v. Nichols* is without question the landmark case in the field of bilingual education. On behalf

of 1,800 Chinese students, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled that LEP students were entitled to a "meaningful education," which could include bilingual education or English as a second language (ESL) instruction. Chapter 2 provides additional discussion on the impact of the *Lau v. Nichols* decision on bilingual education programs for students with English language needs.

Three cases relate directly to the improper placement of LEP students in special education programs: The *Arreola v. Board of Education, Diana v. State Board of Education,* and *Covarrubias v. San Diego Unified School District.* Collectively, these cases "challenged the validity of using IQ tests to measure the mental ability of linguistically and culturally diverse students" (Baca, 1998). *Arreola* provides parents the right to a due process hearing before schools place children in classes for students with mental retardation. The *Diana* case ordered that children be tested in their primary language and mandated the use of nonverbal tests and the collection and use of extensive supporting data when assessing students for special education evaluation. Nonetheless, while the problem of overrepresentation of linguistic minority children has been at least partially addressed and resolved through nonbiased testing, a new problem of *underrepresentation* has developed (Baca & de Valenzuela, 1998).

The *José P. v. Amback* (1979) decision found that students with disabilities were being denied an appropriate public education because they were not being referred or evaluated in a timely fashion nor placed in special education programs. The *Dyrcia S. et al. v. Board of Education of the City of New York et al.* (1979) found that Puerto Rican and other Hispanic children with disabilities and English language limitations were being denied a public education because they were not being assessed or placed in bilingual special education programs (Baca & de Valenzuela, 1998, p. 94). The decision required the following:

1. Identification of children needing special education services with the inclusion of an outreach office with adequate bilingual resources.
2. Appropriate evaluation through the establishment of school-based support teams to evaluate children in their own environment with a bilingual nondiscriminatory evaluation process.
3. Appropriate programs in the least restrictive environment, including a comprehensive continuum of services with the provision of appropriate bilingual programs at each level of the continuum for children with limited English proficiency.
4. Due process and parental student rights, including a Spanish version of a parents' rights booklet, which explains all of the due process rights. Also included is the hiring of neighborhood workers to facilitate parental involvement in the evaluation and development of the individualized education program.

Thus, litigation includes a combination of cases dealing with inaccurate placement of students in special education and cases that attest to the fact that other students are being denied special education needs.

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND REFORM

IDEA 2004 Requirements in the Evaluation of Students for Special Education

The IDEA requires schools to identify and evaluate children who might have a disability. If the multidisciplinary team determines that a disability exists, specialized services based on the characteristics of each child are required under law. Part B, Section 614 of the IDEA (Evaluations, Eligibility, Individualized Education Programs, and Educational Placements) provides specific requirements in the eligibility for special education process.

In conducting the evaluation of students, the local educational agency shall:

A. Use a variety of assessment tools and strategies to gather relevant functional and developmental information, including information provided by the parent, that may assist in determining whether the child is a child with a disability and the content of the child's individualized education program, including information related to enabling the child to be involved in and progress in the general curriculum or, for preschool children, to participate in appropriate activities.
B. Not use any single procedure as the sole criterion for determining whether a child is a child with a disability or determining an appropriate educational program for the child.
C. Use technically sound instruments that may assess the relative contribution of cognitive and behavioral factors, in addition to physical or developmental factors.

In addition, each local educational agency shall ensure that:

A. Tests and other evaluation materials used to assess a child:
   i. Are selected and administered so as not to be discriminatory on a racial or cultural basis.
   ii. Are provided and administered in the language and form most likely to yield accurate information on what the child knows and can do academically, developmentally, and functionally, unless it is not feasible to so provide or administer.
B. Any standardized tests that are given to the child:
   i. Have been validated for the specific purpose for which they are used.
   ii. Are administered by trained and knowledgeable personnel.
   iii. Are administered in accordance with any instructions provided by the producer of such tests.
C. The child is assessed in all areas of suspected disability.
D. Assessment tools and strategies that provide relevant information that directly assists persons in determining the educational needs of the child are provided.

E. A special rule for eligibility determination states that in making a determination for special education eligibility, a child shall not be determined to be a child with a disability if the determinant factor is a lack of appropriate instruction in reading, including essential components of reading instruction, lack of instruction in math, or limited English proficiency.

F. When determining whether a child has a specific learning disability, a local educational agency shall not be required to take into consideration whether a child has a severe discrepancy between achievement and intellectual ability in oral expression, listening comprehension, written expression, basic reading skill, reading comprehension, mathematical calculation, or mathematical reasoning.

G. Finally, in determining whether a child has a specific learning disability, a local educational agency may use a process that determines if the child responds to scientific, research-based intervention as a part of the evaluation procedures.

The new evaluation procedures in section 614 of the IDEA 2004 aim to reduce the number of students mistakenly identified for special education services. Later in the chapter, I will describe how the IDEA's language on responsiveness to intervention may apply to LEP students.

No Child Left Behind and LEPSPED Students

Legislators signed the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act in 2001. NCLB mandated the same stardards of achievement for all students, including those with disabilities and English language deficits, and in this way aimed to close the achievement gap. Admittedly, the language and intent of the law is appealing and positive. Who could argue against a national policy that insists that educators have the same standards for all students and holds schools accountable for eliminating achievement gaps between all students? Similarly, who could oppose a law that purports to redress the plethora of educational and social inequalities that persist between different racial and socioeconomic groups in the United States? Notwithstanding good intentions, close to a decade has passed since NCLB was signed into law and many educators and policymakers now assert that NCLB has caused more harm than good to students with disabilities and limited English proficiency. NCLB focuses on high-stakes testing as the sole indicator of academic success and has sanctions against schools that consistently fail to reduce performance gaps of students in the areas of reading and math. High-stakes testing has not improved the performance of students who struggle in academics. For example, according to Viadero (2004), the state of Texas saw an increase of double the number of Hispanic students in special education placements in the first five years after the state instituted its high-stakes testing system. The state of Arizona also implements a high-stakes assessment system called the AIMS (Arizona Instrument for Measuring Standards) that according to Berliner (2004) has not improved the success of students with disabilities; instead, it discounts their progress and is likely to push them out of school when they fail the test.

Teachers of students with disabilities report that children respond negatively to the grueling long hours of testing. For example, Meek (2006) described one child in her class as developing physical symptoms during the test. With a short attention span and grueling hours of testing ahead of him, he gave up, requested to visit the restroom, and vomited before being sent home. His teacher recalls the longing gaze of envy from other students. She knew that despite avoiding taking the test on that day, he would be scheduled for makeup sessions the following week. Events such as the one described are common occurrences since NCLB. In sum, the impact of NCLB on students with disabilities is dismal. To say the least, NCLB fails to take into account the complexity and challenge of educating students with cognitive limitations as well as those with English language limitations; it places undue blame on their teachers who are striving to meet their educational and behavioral diversities.

In light of these educational standards, it is even more important to understand the plight of students and teachers of special needs bilingual students. With President Barack Obama in office, the reauthorization of NCLB, which was delayed by the Bush administration, will be his responsibility. As a way to begin reforming education, secretary of education Arne Duncan has started on a Listening and Learning Tour of the 50 states where he plans to listen to key stakeholders discuss NCLB. What Duncan does with this feedback remains to be seen. However, one hopes that the secretary of education listens to organizations like the Institute for Language and Education Policy. It has outlined a list of recommendations for the secretary of education, pointing out how the funding can be used to benefit English language learners. The Web site is www.elladvocates.org. In these recommendations Jim Crawford and others point out that NCLB's insistence on a one-size-fits-all approach to assessment using AYP as the measure to determine which schools are effective and which are not has done more harm than good.

Education reform is among Obama's priorities. Obama's education plan places emphasis on (1) improving the quality and effectiveness of teachers and failing schools, (2) increasing accountability as a way of improving teaching and learning, and (3) increasing the competeveness of U.S. schools in a global market. Obama's entire educational plan is available from the Department of Education Web site at http://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/education/. From a special education point of view it is heartening to see that President Obama has prioritized and increased funding for special education. The American Investment and Recovery Act has earmarked $5 billion for early learning programs and programs for children with special needs with a focus on early intervention. Nonetheless, it remains to be seen how his educational plan as a whole will impact the field of special education. As the educational plan is set into practice it will be important for the administration to take note of the fact that historically placing and keeping teachers in special education has been challenging. For example, the 2002 annual report on teacher quality indicated that school districts across the country would need to hire 2.2 million new teachers by the end of the decade to fulfill the mission of NCLB to place a highly qualified teacher in every classroom. However, attracting and retaining teachers of students with disabilities has been a challenge. Research

on teacher attrition in special education conducted by Brownell, Smith, McNellis, and Miller (1997) found that the majority of special education teachers who left the field did so because they were dissatisfied with their jobs. More specifically, they noted that feeling overwhelmed by the nature of their responsibilities was a main reason for leaving their teaching position. Indeed, teaching students with disabilities is not for the faint of heart. Measuring teacher quality solely by student outcomes may prove to be detrimental for special education teachers who teach children with cognitive impairments and limitations. It is similar to blaming a heart surgeon, who operates on a patient with heart irregularities, for the patient's heart disorder instead of noting that the operation was successful, that not only did it save the patient's life, it improved the patient's quality of life. Similarly, successful teachers of students with disabilities provide academic and behavioral supports for their students, but they do not cure the disorder nor can they help all of their students to make AYP on high-stakes assessments. As noted previously, legislation specific to bilingual special education students does not exist. Nonetheless, general education policies like NCLB and special education policies like the IDEA affect students with disabilities who also have English language limitations.

English Language Learners in Special Education

Educators who work with culturally and linguistically diverse students who are experiencing academic difficulties experience firsthand the complexity, rewards, and challenges of meeting the needs of LEP students who are also experiencing academic difficulties. Culturally and linguistically diverse students are at risk for school problems for reasons that are beyond the teacher's control. First, the great majority of these students are taught by teachers who have limitations in their understanding of their students' culture or language, increasing the likelihood that student behavior will be misinterpreted (McCray & Garcia, 2002). Most important, it is difficult to distinguish academic difficulties that are related to second-language acquisition from those that are related to cognitive disabilities (Ochoa, Gerber, Leafstedt, Hough, Kyle, Rogers-Adkinson, & Kumar, 2001). Also, a significant number of culturally and linguistically diverse students come from poor homes and have parents for whom the American education system is unfamiliar, although they have high hopes for the academic success of their children (Viadero, 2004).

Having noted some of the variables that put students at higher risk for experiencing academic difficulties, it is also important to remember that individuals are going to vary, making it inappropriate to conclude that any student who has any combination of the characteristics discussed here is going to be doomed for educational problems or failure. Nonetheless, research has shown that culturally and linguistically diverse students are disproportionately represented in special education.

Disproportional representation of students from minority ethnic and linguistic backgrounds in special education programs continues to be problematic in U.S.

public schools. Over the course of nearly 30 years, since it was noted that too many students from ethnic minority backgrounds were in special education, the term disproportion has to some extent become synonymous with overrepresentation. However, this is clearly not the case. Disproportionality, or disproportional representation, refers to the difference in actual occurrence rates among a given population compared to the expected occurrence rates given their representation in the general population (Reschly, 1991). Certainly, documenting the overrepresentation of CLD students in special education programs and their underrepresentation in programs for the gifted and talented has been the focus of both research and attacks against special education. However, albeit to a lesser extent, under-identification and placement in special education disability categories have also been noted as problematic.

This section provides a brief reaffirmation that overrepresentation of CLD students continues to be of major concern and stresses that underreferral and lack of placement of CLD students with disabilities deny those students the services guaranteed to them under special education law.

Overrepresentation in Special Education and Underrepresentation in Gifted and Talented Programs

Certainly, problems in the appropriate placement and education of culturally and linguistically diverse students existed prior to Dunn's seminal article in 1968 arguing that special education was unjustified for many and alleging that far too many students from minority groups were misplaced in special education programs. Research conducted by Mercer (1973) and Bryen (1974) noted that the placement of students in special education classes was discriminatory and educationally unsound because the tests used to evaluate students' intelligence were biased. Bryen (1974) concluded that placement of CLD students in special education programs is often due to their limited English proficiency. Based on early findings and allegations that CLD students were misplaced in special education, efforts to ameliorate the problem have focused, in large measure, on developing culturally sensitive and language appropriate tests and reducing the number of CLD students in special education.

Today as in the past, assertions persist that students from ethnic and linguistically diverse backgrounds are misplaced in special education (Artiles, Harry, Reschly, & Chinn, 2002; Artiles & Trent, 1994; Klingner & Artiles, 2003; Jitendra & Rohena-Diaz, 1996; Ortiz, 1994; Schiff-Myers, Djukic, Djukic, & McGovern-Lawler, 1993). While CLD students are overrepresented in special education categories of disability, few of them are in programs for the gifted and talented (Viadero, 2004). According to Rodríguez (1982) ". . . Educators have completely ignored the gifted child within the Mexican American population" (p. 27) and he also suggests that IQ tests are limited in their ability to identify minority students and identify only one out of three gifted minority students.

Underidentification and Referral of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students for Special Education Evaluation

Underidentification and referral of ELLs for special education services is not a new phenomenon (Omark & Erickson, 1983; Pacheco, 1983; and Tymitz, 1983). In fact, an increasing number of special education scholars have noted that underreferral of CLD students with disabilities is a concern (e.g., Baca & de Valenzuela, 1998; Carrasquillo, 1990; Hallahan & Kauffman, 2003; Robertson, Kushner, Starks, & Drescher, 1994). As noted previously, an estimated 1,198,200 children ages 5–17 are both linguistically diverse and have disabilities (Baca & de Valenzuela, 1998). Despite needs for specialized services, however, bilingual students experiencing academic problems are underreferred to and often not placed in special education programs (Artiles & Trent, 1994; Baca & de Valenzuela, 1998; Benavides, 1988; First & Carrera, 1988; Grossman, 1998; Horner, Maddux, & Green, 1986; National Commission on Migrant Education, 1992; Ortiz, 1994). Clearly, a significant number of special education advocates are concerned that CLD students with real disabilities that require special education services are not being identified and served as their needs require.

Historically, advocates of language minority students have been severely critical of special education principally because many students with English language limitations were misplaced in special education not because of disabilities, but because of their limitations in the English language. Although criticism against special education has to some extent abated (Arreaga-Mayer, Carta, & Tapia, 1994) attacks on special education as an effective and appropriate pedagogy abound (Baca & de Valenzuela, 1998; Starks, Bransford, & Baca, 1998; Tymitz, 1983). For many critics, special education is perceived as racially biased, instructionally ineffective, and psychologically and socially damaging to students. In the least favorable description, special education is viewed by critics as a dumping ground where ill-intended, general educators send students from low-status minority backgrounds that they cannot, or will not teach. Bryen (1974), for example, indicated that special education is a covert extension of ethnic discrimination and a way to exclude ethnically and linguistically diverse students from the mainstream student population. Similarly, McCarty & Carrera (1988) declare that special education is a place where students from ethnic and linguistic minorities are "deported" and segregated from their peers without disabilities. Whether these critics have modified their views of special education is unclear. A less critical description of bilingual special education suggests that it is no different from bilingual education. Cummins (1989), for example, begins his theoretical conceptualization of bilingual special education with a statement indicating that he makes "no a priori distinction between bilingual education or bilingual special education" (p. 11). From a special educator's point of view, the two are markedly different.

Notwithstanding criticism, bilingual special education is concerned with addressing the academic and behavioral needs of CLD students by responding to weaknesses within the student and modifying the student's environment to ensure that it nurtures existing strengths and is respectful of the student's culture and

language (Carrasquillo, 1990). Hallahan and Kauffman (2003) believe that bilingual special education must extend beyond the scope of multicultural education by ensuring that "ethnicity is not mistaken for educational exceptionality" (p. 98). Hence, the goal of bilingual special education is to provide an individualized program of instruction for a student with disabilities in the least restrictive environment that focuses on the cognitive development of the child in the child's first language at the same time it promotes the acquisition of English (Carrasquillo, 1990).

Understanding the Prereferral, Evaluation, and Placement Processes

There are classrooms across America where the majority of students are culturally and linguistically different from their teachers and where general educators are expected to teach students with behavioral and cognitive challenges whom they are unprepared to teach. Bilingual educators and special educators should commend these teachers for their efforts to embrace the diversity within their classrooms and their staunch efforts to teach all students as best they can. Moreover, in cases where general educators hesitate to refer students to special education, that hesitation is likely due to caution rather than neglect given the stigma still associated with special education and the fact that some culturally and linguistically diverse students are misplaced in special education classes on the basis of their English language needs. However, having emphasized the importance of exercising caution and exhausting available resources before making a referral for special education evaluation, it is equally important that educators understand that there are students with English language limitations who also have legitimate and real disabilities. There are discrete steps in the process of determining eligibility for special education placement.

Prereferral Process

On the surface, it appears that CLD students are capriciously and impulsively identified, referred, and placed in special education programs. Brown, Gable, Hendrickson, and Algozzine (1991) report that 5 percent of the school-aged population is referred annually for special education services; 92 percent of these students are tested for disabilities, and 73 percent of those tested are generally found to meet the eligibility criteria for special education placement. Multidisciplinary teams charged with the responsibility to determine special education eligibility will more readily disagree with accusations that making special education decisions is whimsical. In fact, the IDEA's 2004 reauthorization requires IEP teams to make certain that poor instruction and English language limitations are ruled out as causes for academic underachievement as part of the evaluation for special education process to determine if a child has a disability. Although the response to intervention (RTI) approach to special education eligibility was conceptualized for identifying students with specific learning disabilities (SLDs), advocates and researchers of ELLs see it as applicable to this population of students.

Response to Intervention (RTI) and English Language Learners

The **RTI** model is a multitiered decision-making process newly authorized by the IDEA as a method of determining if students experiencing academic difficulties have a specific learning disability (SLD). Brown and Doolittle (2008) have applied it to ELLs. The model is presented as a three-tiered pyramid. In the first tier, 100 percent of students in general education have an opportunity to benefit from appropriate academic and behavioral instruction, including appropriate research-based reading instruction (Haager, 2007; Linan-Thompson, Cirino, & Vaughn, 2007; Linan-Thompson, Vaughn, Prater, & Cirino, 2006). Given natural variation in a student's capacity to learn, the hypothetical model assumes that approximately 15 percent of ELLs will advance to tier 2. In tier 2, students who did not respond to instruction provided to all students in the general classroom will receive more intense small-group instruction. Small-group instruction is provided in the general education classroom. Once provided a double (or triple) dose of small-group instruction, the RTI model hypothesizes that approximately 2 percent of students will need additional, even more intense instruction than that provided in tier 2. The 2 percent of students who fail to respond to interventions in tiers 1 and 2 will advance to tier 3. The last tier represents children who may have a disability. In theory, RTI assumes that tiers 1 and 2 represent prereferral interventions provided by general education teachers to approximately 98 percent of students. The expectation is to encourage, if not obligate, general educators to expend instructional effort to a maximum extent before making a referral for special education evaluation. In effect, prereferral interventions (as discussed below) are expected to minimize the number of special education false positives: tier 1 and 2 interventions are expected to reduce the number of students inappropriately referred to and placed in special education by providing them with appropriate research-based academic and behavioral instruction (Brown & Doolittle, 2008; Haager, 2007; Linan-Thompson et al., 2007).

Despite the appeal of the RTI model, scholars in special education whose research includes ELL students suggest that while RTI has promising potential, it also has some shortcomings. Most important, to date consensus is lacking about how to determine response or which measures are most effective for discriminating responders from nonresponders at any of the three tiers (Linan-Thompson et al., 2007). Haager (2007) points out that the focus on professional development in sheltered English techniques are insufficient for starting ELLs off in beginning reading. She argues that to make sufficient gains in reading, students need teachers to use effective instruction techniques in general but also adjust instruction when individuals experience difficulties. Furthermore, instruction needs to include explicit instruction in phonemic awareness and decoding skills as well as interactive and engaging reading instruction focused on vocabulary and reading comprehension. While research on the effectiveness of reading instruction for ELLs is emerging, its application for ELLs with learning disabilities lacks firm research support. However, prereferral reading instruction, in particular, and more generally prereferral interventions in any other academic or behavioral concern remain the best way to reduce the number of ELL students whose academic difficulties

might be confused with disabilities. To be sure, prereferral interventions meet the preventive spirit of RTI.

Prereferral interventions are educational and behavioral strategies that general educators can use with students who are having behavioral or learning difficulties in the general classroom. The strategies are recommended by a prereferral team before the team refers these students for special education evaluation. While the individuals who make up the prereferral team vary, they typically include general and special educators. The goal of prereferral interventions is two-pronged: to reduce the number of special education referrals and to encourage general education teachers to assume responsibility for teaching students experiencing academic and/or behavioral problems rather than transferring that responsibility to special educators. In other words, prereferral interventions should empower general educators to work with students through collaborative problem solving within a nonhierarchical group of colleagues (Del'Homme, Kasari, Forness & Bagley, 1996; Flugum & Reschly, 1994; Graden, 1989; Nelson, Taylor, Dodd, & Reavis, 1991). Prereferral interventions would modify the general education curriculum for a student prior to referring that student for evaluation and possible placement in special education (Brown, Gable, Hendrickson, & Algozzine, 1991; Fuchs, Fuchs, Gilman, Reeder, Bahr, Fernstrom, & Roberts, 1990). Graden (1989) describes the process as *collaborative consultation* between special and general education. Research suggests that prereferral screening reduces bias and idiosyncratic opinions about students (Benavides, 1988). Response to intervention (RTI) is a multitiered process designed to help educators make appropriate special education eligibility decisions. Although it was conceptualized with students with specific learning disabilities in mind, RTI is deemed useful when determining whether or not CLD students and ELLs respond to general education instruction (see Brown & Doolittle, 2008; Haager, 2007; Linan-Thompson, Vaughn, Prater, & Cirino, 2006; Linan-Thompson, Cirino, & Vaughn, 2007). Brown and Doolittle (2008) offer a three-tiered problem-solving model of decision making. Tier 1 provides 100 percent of students high-quality instruction and behavioral supports in the general education classroom. Tier 2 provides more intensive academic and/or behavioral supports to students who do not respond to tier 1 interventions. It is estimated that 15 percent of the general student population would require more intensive intervention measures. Tier 2 interventions are provided in general education classrooms. Tier 3 is reserved for about 5 percent of the student population. These students have received interventions at the tier 1 and tier 2 levels but have failed to respond or make appropriate progress. Thus, teachers deem these students to need more intensive interventions beyond the general education classroom. Students who make it to tier 3 are referred for special education evaluation to determine if a disability exists and special individualized instruction is needed outside the general education classroom.

The following Guidelines for Teaching provides a prereferral checklist that all educators are encouraged to implement when working with a CLD student experiencing academic and/or behavioral difficulties.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

PREREFERRAL CHECKLIST

Obtain and review all the school's records of the child in question. Look for information that could help you understand the student's academic and behavioral problems. In particular, review the records to determine if the student:

- Has had a psychological evaluation.
- Qualified for special services in the past.
- Has ever been included in other programs (e.g., programs for disadvantaged children or speech and language therapy).
- Has scored far below average on standardized tests.
- Has been retained in a grade level.
- Indicates good progress in some areas and poor progress in others.
- Has any physical or medical problems.
- Is taking medication.

In addition, to viewing records, you should also:

- Talk to other educators who have worked with the student to determine if they share similar concerns and have found successful ways of responding to the student.
- Talk with the student's family and make a home visit if possible to assess and understand the student's home environment.

As you are implementing prereferral interventions:

- Document the strategies used in the general education classroom.
- Note those that have been successful and unsuccessful.

When applied to ethnic and linguistic minority groups, a prereferral intervention could prevent an erroneous referral and subsequent placement in a special education program when information about second-language acquisition and learning characteristics of a student with disabilities are considered.

Identification and Referral for Special Education Evaluation

As mentioned previously, tier 3 of the RTI model represents a formalized referral to special education to evaluate if a child who is experiencing academic difficulties is doing so because he or she has a disability. A **referral for special education** evaluation is a written statement, submitted by any of a number of individuals (e.g., school personnel, parents, or the student) to the school's multidisciplinary team of education professionals requesting an evaluation to determine if a student meets the criteria for a federally recognized special education category such as a learning disability, mental retardation, or an emotional or behavioral disorder. A referral for special education is the culmination of informal concerns about the progress of a specific child in a general education classroom. For students with mild disabilities, the general education teacher is typically the one to identify and refer a student for special education evaluation. Referral occurs only after all resources available to the teacher are exhausted and recommendations provided from the child study team are implemented to attend to the needs of a student experiencing academic and/or behavioral difficulties in the general education classroom. In essence, the referral to special education is a statement by the teacher documenting the interventions implemented to help the child succeed in the classroom, but acknowledging that she or he has not met nor

improved the outcomes for a specific student. Figure 9.1 provides an example of a referral form used in one school district.

According to special education law and best practice, parents must be notified in their primary language when their child is being referred for special education evaluation. Figures 9.2 and 9.3 are translations of the English version of the same special education referral form (Figure 9.1).

Referral Form—Special Education and Related Services

_____ School District

☐ Initial Referral   ☐ Reevaluation

Name of child (last, first, middle)	Date of birth	Grade	School
Name of parent or legal guardian		Address (street, city, state, zip code)	
Telephone (area/number) and E-mail	Person making referral/title	Date parent notified of intent to refer	

Method of notifying parent of intent to refer	Is an interpreter needed?
☐ Conference ☐ Phone call ☐ Written note	☐ Yes ☐ No

Parent's or adult student's primary language or other primary mode of communication if other than English (specify): _____

Child's primary language or other primary language mode of communication if other than English (specify): _____

Date (month/day/year) of receipt of referral by school district/Local Education Agency

(LEA) _____ (Note: This date begins the 90-day time line.)

State the reason for referral. Why do you believe this child has a disability (impairment and a need for special education)—such as academic or nonacademic performance and medical information; any special programs, services, interventions used to address this student's needs and the results of those interventions?

Figure 9.1   *Referral Form—Special Education and Related Services*

Forma de Referencia para Servicios de Educación Especial y Servicios Relacionados

_____ Distrito Escolar

☐ Referencia inicial   ☐ Reevaluación

Nombre del estudiante (Apellido, nombre)		Fecha de nacimiento	Grado	Escuela
Nombre del padre/madre o guardián legal		Domicilio (Calle, ciudad, estado, zona postal)		
Teléfono (área/número) y correo electrónico	La persona que dio la referencia	Fecha en la cual se mandó aviso del intento de dar referencia al estudiante		

Método del aviso a los padres del intento de referir	¿Se necesita un interprete?
☐ Conferencia ☐ Teléfono ☐ Escrito	☐ Sí ☐ No
¿Cúal es la lengua maternal de los padres o del estudiante sí es adulto? ¿O cúal es la forma principal de commuńicacion si no és ingles (especifíque)? _____ ¿Cúal es la lengua materna del estudiante o la forma principal de communicacíon si no es ińgles (especifique)? _____	

Fecha (mes, día, año) en la cual el distrito escolar o agencia de educación local recibió notificación de la referencia para servicios especiales _____ (Nota: A partir de esta fecha se empiezan a contar los 90 dias de la evaluación)

Explique la razón por la cual se refirió al estudiante. ¿Por qué piensa que el estudiante tiene una inhabilidad (tal cual requira educación especial)—como rendimiento académico o no académico e información médica; cualquier programa especial, servicios, o intervenciones usadas para remediar las necesidades del estudiante y los resultados de las intervenciones?

Figure 9.2   *Referral Form—Special and Related Services (Spanish)*

Referral Form—Special Education and Related Services (Chinese)

特殊教育及相關服務轉介申請單
學生所屬學區 ——————————

☐ 新個案   ☐ 復審個案

學生姓名	出生日期	年級	學校

父母或監護人姓名	住址

電話 (區域號碼/電話號碼) 及電子郵件信箱	轉介人姓名及職稱	知會父母或監護人日期

知會父母或監護人之途徑 ☐ 面談 ☐ 電話通知 ☐ 書面通知	時否需要解說員？ ☐ 是 ☐ 否

父母或已成年學生的主要語言或主要溝通模式若非英語 (請詳細說明)：

未成年學生的主要語言或或主要溝通模式若非英語 (請詳細說明)：

收件日期 ————————————(學區及地方教育單位收轉介申請表日期。
此日期即特殊教育法規"九十日期限"之首日。

請說明提出轉介原因. 請依據學生的學術記錄及非學術表現，健康情況，　特殊需要
及以往參與類似課程活動之記錄說明學生需要特殊教育或特殊服務之理由。

Figure 9.3   *Referral Form—Special and Related Services (Chinese)*

Special Education Placement

Not all referrals result in special education placements. As noted previously, 27 percent of all students referred for special education evaluation do not meet the criteria for special services. Discussion of the special education assessment process is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, in general, assessment is the process of collecting information about a student for the purpose of making educational decisions (Hallahan, Kauffman, & Pullen, 2009). Best assessment practice includes formal testing using standardized and nonstandardized measures,

interviews, and observations. Alternative educational assessments for CLD students include curriculum-based assessments. According to Rueda and Garcia (1994) curriculum-based assessments focus on the educational tasks the student is expected to do rather than on how he or she performs on limited, and often biased, standardized tests. Additionally, good assessments take into account not only student characteristics but also the instructional environment to determine its relationship to the student's academic and/or behavioral problems. In the best possible scenario, special education assessment (1) identifies the student's strengths and weaknesses, (2) determines which federally recognized disability best captures the student's disability or disabilities, and (3) informs about the educational program that will be needed to maximize the student's learning potential. Formal special education categories recognized by the federal government are provided in Figure 9.4 and include the prevalence rates for each category of exceptionality.

Each category in the figure consists of an operational definition and criteria that students have to meet in order to be assigned to it. Hallahan and Kauffman's textbook *Exceptional Learners: Introduction to Special Education,* 9th edition, is the recommended source for obtaining a detailed description of the definition and criteria for each federally recognized special education category. In keeping with the need to communicate the disability with parents who do not speak English, Figure 9.5 provides the list of federal categories of exceptionalities (to the right, are their Spanish and Korean equivalents).

Understanding Parental Involvement and Advocacy

Policymakers, educators, and researchers agree that involving parents in the education of their children is of paramount importance. Noting the importance of parental contributions, special education policy requires schools to involve parents of students with disabilities as equal partners in all steps of the decision-making process. But working with parents from culturally diverse backgrounds, particularly those who do not speak English, may pose a challenge since many individuals with these characteristics often find themselves as "disenfranchised" and "voiceless" (McCray & Garciá, 2002). Nonetheless, the benefits of enlisting their cooperation are countless and invaluable in understanding the difficulties and strengths of their children (Rogers-Adkinson, Ochoa, & Delgado, 2003). Ortíz (2001) recommends that teachers should learn about the unique characteristics of culturally diverse students and their families and take special care to understand the unique circumstances of parents from these diverse backgrounds that may limit their ability to participate in their children's education. For example, some undocumented parents who are in the United States lacking appropriate documentation limit their contact with schools for fear of deportation. Other parents may see involvement in their child's class as an inappropriate intrusion into the teacher's domain because in their culture, they regard the teacher as the expert and to intrude shows disrespect (Rogers-Adkinson, Ochoa, & Delgado, 2003).

To minimize misunderstanding, teachers may find it useful to first determine the family's level of enculturation to the United States, keeping in mind that

Federal Category	Prevalence in Total School-Age Population (percent)	Category as Percent of All Students with Disabilities	Primary Special Education Needs
Specific learning disability	3.90	49.9	Improving basis academic skills Improving social skills
Speech or language impairment	1.73	22.2	Reducing speech problems Improving language skills Improving academic skills
Mental retardation	0.96	12.3	Improving functional skills Improving social skills Improving academic skills
Serious emotional disturbance	0.69	8.9	Improving social skills Improving social relationships Improving academic skills
Multiple disabilities	0.17	2.2	Improving academic skills Improving mobility skills Improving functional skills
Hearing impairment	0.11	1.3	Improving language skills Improving academic skills
Other health impairments	0.10	1.3	Improving physical skills Improving functional skills
Orthopedic impairments	0.09	1.1	Improving physical skills Improving academic skills
Visual impairment	0.04	0.5	Developing reading skills Improving academic skills
Deaf—blindness	Less than 0.01	Less than 0.1	Improving mobility Developing communication
Autism	Less than 0.01	Less than 0.1	Improving social skills Developing communication
Traumatic brain injury	Less than 0.01	Less than 0.1	Improving physical skills Improving academic skills
Gifted and talented	3–5	-	Faster pacing in curriculum Broadening curriculum Maintaining positive social relationships

Figure 9.4   *Federal Special Education Categories by Prevalence Rates and Educational Needs*
         Source: Table adapted from Ysseldyke and Algozinne, *Special education: A practical approach for teach-ers,* 3rd ed., Boston Toronto: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Exceptionality/English	Exceptionality/Spanish	特殊教育類別/Chinese
1. Language and Speech Disorders 2. Specific Learning Disability 3. Mental Retardation 4. Emotional and Behavioral Disorders 5. Visual Impairments 6. Hearing Impairments 7. Other Health Impairments 8. Physical Disabilities 9. Autism 10. Multiple Handicaps 11. Gifted and Talented	1. Trastorno de lenguaje 2. Incapacidad específica 3. Retardo Mental 4. Desorden Emocional y de Conducta 5. Impedimento Visual 6. Impedimento Auditivo 7. Otro impedimento de Salud 8. Desorden Físico 9. Autismo 10. Incapacidades multiples 11. Superdotado y Talentoso	1. 語言障礙 2. 特定學習障礙 3. 智能障礙 4. 情緒及行為異常 (性格異常) 5. 視覺障礙 6. 聽覺障礙 7. 其他健康障礙 (指身體病弱) 8. 肢體傷殘 9. 自閉症 10. 多種障礙 11. 資賦優異

Figure 9.5   *Categories of Exceptionality in English, Spanish, and Chinese*

more recent immigrants are likely to identify more with their own cultures rather than U.S. culture. Make efforts to establish each family's level of enculturation and find a way to meaningfully involve parents of culturally diverse students, remembering that no two families are the same, even if they come from the same country and speak the same language. Once teachers establish a sound understanding of the family's background, they should provide explicit information about the prereferral process, the special education referral and placement processes, and the special education classification system if a child is eventually found to have a disability. Ensure that the explanations are in a language that is free of jargon to ensure that families are able to understand the information. Furthermore, as educators work with culturally diverse parents, it is critical to ensure that their opinions are valued and cultural customs respected. Understanding issues such as enculturation to U.S. culture, the family's interpretation of disability, as well as the family's reaction to learning English will be of paramount importance (Rogers-Adkinson, Ochoa, & Delgado, 2003).

One method of empowering parents to advocate for their children is to establish an equal relationship between parents and educators. A simple, yet highly effective way of communicating equality is to tell parents that while teachers might have expertise in education, the mother has information the teacher lacks by the mere fact that she interacts with her child at home for an extended period of time and under different circumstances. In an exchange such as this one, the teacher is, in fact, affirming the expertise of the parent. In my years of practice with families of students with disabilities from culturally different backgrounds, this strategy has proved to be one way of communicating to parents, most often mothers, that they are equal and critical members in the decision-making process and have unique information teachers lack. The Guidelines for Teaching on page 401 (Helping Parents from Culturally Diverse Cultures Advocate for their Children) offers practical suggestions as ways of promoting parental involvement. The suggestions are grounded in the author's experience working with parents of

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

HELPING PARENTS FROM CULTURALLY DIVERSE CULTURES ADVOCATE FOR THEIR CHILDREN

- *Neutralize the meeting place.* Meet parents in their home or a place of their choice.

- *Give them a meaningful task related to their child's education.* Bring an activity you are currently using in their child's class with their child and request their assistance in translating it from English to their home language.

- *Acknowledge a parenting strength.* Make a note of something positive their child does in class that is attributable to their parenting skills and ask them to expand on it. This may help parents see that what they do at home is important and transfers to your class.

- *Give parents a real opportunity to prioritize their child's educational goals.* Parental involvement in their child's educational plans is more likely if the goals identified are congruent with their opinions of what they think their child should learn to do. Often, parents are asked to follow objectives that have little or no relevance to the goals they have for their children.

- *Let them initiate contact with you.* Parents usually get calls from the school and rarely have opportunities to initiate contact with the school or teacher. As you work to develop this skill in parents unaccustomed to making the initial contact, ask them to call you in your office to report on their child's progress. For example, once you identify a goal for their child, tell them you need them to call you at the end of the week to give you an update on their child's behavior.

- *Monitor parental progress the same way you would manage their child's progress— with encouragement and patience.* It is easy to fall into the trap of "expecting" parents of culturally diverse students to change their behavior and adapt to another culture's expectation after telling them to do so. Behavior change takes time and copious patience on your part. Remember parents, like their children, are learning new skills that need to be reinforced.

students with disabilities from culturally diverse backgrounds who speak little or no English; they are consistent with the recommendations offered by others in extant literature on culturally diverse populations (e.g., Garciá, Pérez, & Ortíz, 2000; Rogers-Adkinson, Ochoa, & Delgado, 2003).

RETHINKING IDENTIFICATION AND REFERRALS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS FOR SPECIAL EDUCATION SERVICES

As McCray and Garcia (2002) and Viadero (2004) acknowledge, despite many years of concentrated efforts to redress the problem of disproportionality and understand the issues related to the education of students from diverse cultural backgrounds in U.S. public schools, the representation of these students in special education is a complex educational concern. The authors aptly note that distinguishing between academic difficulties caused by cognitive disabilities from those

related to second-language limitations is a formidable task. When students with limited English proficiency skills do poorly in school, it is often difficult to identify the cause. Are the problems these students experience related to limited English language proficiency or are they related to a handicapping condition?

Do We Really Want All CLD Students Out of Special Education?

To many, it appears that the need to decrease the number of students misidentified and placed in programs of special education exceeds the need to identify and serve linguistically diverse students with legitimate handicaps. Some educators view the reduction in the numbers of students in programs for students with disabilities as an improvement because they think that fewer ELLs are being misplaced in special education programs. However, a large number of students with disabilities are left to linger without special education services in general education classrooms because they do not speak English (Grossman, 1998).

How Do ELLs with Disabilities Benefit from Special Education?

Some English language learners require special education because they have disabilities. While placement in special education is not justified for a student without a disability, leaving a student with a legitimate disability in general education is not only inappropriate, it is a violation of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. As bilingual education grew and as administrators attempted to compensate for the high numbers of minority children enrolled in special education, bilingual education teachers began to notice an increased placement of children with handicaps in their classrooms. Thus not only were minority children often mistakenly labeled as handicapped and in need of special services, other students with disabilities were not correctly identified as eligible to receive the necessary services to help them attain their educational potential (Erickson & Walker, 1983). Ovando and Collier (in Baca & de Valenzuela, 1998) suggest that in some cases, bilingual education programs serve as an alternative placement for minority students with disabilities. In other cases, students' special needs are ignored and specialized services are inappropriately withheld from them (Hallahan & Kauffman, 2003). Roberson et al. (1994) suggest that perhaps efforts to reduce the number of culturally and linguistically diverse students in special education ironically have been all too successful and have discouraged educators from referring students to special education when academic difficulties are considered to be bilingual, not cognitive in nature. In other words, they suggest that referral is often postponed until the student learns English. Clearly, the postponement denies students with disabilities access to the "meaningful education" provision stipulated in IDEA. Baca and de Valenzuela (1998, p. 17) point out that while overidentification and too many placements remain a concern, there are some students, with legitimate and real disabilities, who remain unidentified for special education services. Grossman (1998), writing on ways to end discrimination in special education, notes that

some LEP students are underrepresented in special education and concludes that for these students, they "still do not yet get their fair share of the American educational pie" (p. 3). Put yet another way, he equates underrepresentation of LEPs with disabilities to denial of fair educational treatment.

Consistent with Grossman (1998), Baca and de Valenzuela (1998) stress that those students with disabilities kept in general education classrooms are deprived of the special education services they are entitled to and that their disabilities require. The 1992 Final Report of the National Commission on Migrant Education stressed that language minority students are more likely to be underrepresented in mild disability categories (e.g., learning disabilities, mild mental retardation) because mild disabilities are easily masked by limited English skills. Klingner and Artiles (2003) suggest that educators are unable to distinguish when learning problems are the result of disabilities or whether speech and language behaviors are characteristics of students who learn English as a second language. Thus, there is a demand to develop assessment instruments and procedures to ensure that students who do not speak English are neither misdiagnosed nor overlooked for special education services. What are the consequences for students with English language limitations and suspected disabilities when they are not referred for special education evaluation?

While educators need to continue to focus on reducing the number of students inappropriately placed in special education programs, they also need to guard against withholding the provision of special education services for students with disabilities who need them. If, in addition to being limited in English proficiency, students are also handicapped, they are very unlikely to receive any sort of instruction or assistance in their own language. A study conducted by Advocates of Children in New York found that only 16 percent of bilingual evaluations for special education qualification were carried out within the period required by law (First & Carrera, 1988). A Burmese mother of a child in New York City public schools described her frustrations trying to get services for her daughter and indicated that was a gap of three months (March to May) when the Committee on the Handicapped did not get in touch with me. When I called them, I was informed that I should try and locate an individual or agency to do the evaluation for my daughter Tu Tu. An education advocate for the Burmese family, helping them gain appropriate educational services for the student, continued the story and stated that "I believe that if we did not intervene, Tu Tu would still be at home . . . she has a lot of catching up to do."

Teaching Bilingual Special Education Students

There are a number of instructional methods for teaching bilingual special education students used in both bilingual and special education programs. As noted in Chapters 1 and 4, one effective method of providing instruction to English language learners is the sheltered approach. This is an approach to the teaching of English as a second language (ESL) that uses English as the medium for providing content-area instruction. 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," 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. 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 experiences" (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).

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

RECIPROCAL READING COMPREHENSION STRATEGY INSTRUCTION

Description of Step	What does each step accomplish?
Clarification of information not completely understood as text is read.	Seeking clarifications promotes both monitoring of comprehension difficulties and use of reprocessing strategies like selective searching for relevant content and rereading.
Prediction of what might occur in the text.	Making predictions activates prior knowledge and creates expectations, thereby increasing meaningfulness and memorization of text.
Generation of questions about text content.	Generating questions promotes integration of text.
Summarization of material covered.	Summarizing promotes analysis and selective encoding.

The reciprocal reading comprehension strategy instruction involves five sequential steps that begin with the teacher as leader in the reading and gradually, with appropriate scaffolding, turns the reading over to students.

1. Teacher reads.
2. Teacher reads—student helps.
3. Teacher and student read together.
4. Student reads—teacher helps.
5. Student reads.

One notable characteristic of students with learning disabilities is difficulty determining particular task demands within a learning situation. These students are described as inefficient learners compared to their counterparts without disabilities. Although students with disabilities do have strengths to draw upon in the learning process, compared to their peers without learning disabilities these students lack knowledge about when and how to apply strategies (Harris, 1993). These deficits in strategy use, according to Klingner and Vaughn (1996), prevent students with learning problems from using their abilities most advantageously. One challenge of particular note for these students is reading comprehension. The **reciprocal reading comprehension strategy instruction** method is a four-step method designed to improve comprehension in students who can decode but who experience difficulty understanding the meaning of what they have read. The four steps are (1) prediction, (2) question generating, (3) clarification, and (4) summarization. Reciprocal reading strategy instruction is a method of reading instruction designed to improve comprehension. Research conducted by Klingner and Vaughn (1996) and Lysynchuk, Pressley, and Vye (1990) has shown that the reading comprehension strategy instruction also works with English language learners. The table in the Guidelines for Teaching on page 404 provides a description of each reading comprehension strategy and how each step works to facilitate reading comprehension.

Dermody and Speaker (1995) found that the levels of interest, affect, participation, language fluency, and test scores of students with disabilities improved during reading tasks when using reciprocal strategy instruction.

Summary

Go to the Online Learning Center at www.mhhe.com/ ovando5e to access the Student Study Guide.

While some LEP students continue to be misplaced in special education programs, close to 2 million language minority students with legitimate disabilities are not receiving the special education services they need to reach their learning potential. It appears that educators are hesitant to identify and refer LEPs for special education evaluation because of uncertainties about the extent to which learning problems are related to cognitive disabilities and not to English language limitations. An increasing number of special educators, however, point out that decisions to withhold identification and referral to special education for such students is detrimental and denies them the opportunity to benefit from school. The chapter noted that referring a student for special education evaluation does not always result in special education placement. It encouraged teachers to refer LEP students who are experiencing sustained academic and/or behavioral problems in their classrooms for special education evaluation in order to maximize the learning potential of all students who are from different cultures and linguistic backgrounds. As RTI moves out of the hypothetical realm and its application with ELLs gains research support, perhaps general education teachers will develop more instructional assertiveness in making or withholding referrals to evaluate these students for special education evaluation.

Key Terms

Reflection Questions

1. Why is referring CLD students to special education controversial?
2. Why is it difficult to identify the nature of academic difficulties experienced by LEP students? Are the academic problems experienced by LEP students related to limited language proficiency? Or are they related to a handicapping condition?
3. How is the RTI model likely to impact general educators' instructional interactions with ELLs?
4. What are the consequences for students with English language limitations and suspected disabilities when they are not referred for special education evaluation?
5. What is the relationship between legislation and litigation in bilingual special education?
6. How do students with English language limitations and disabilities benefit from bilingual special education?

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

Whenever injustices have been remedied, wars halted, women and blacks and Native Americans given their due, it has been because "unimportant" people spoke up, organized, protested, and brought democracy alive.

Howard Zinn & Anthony Arnove (2009, p. 24)

To give people help, while denying them a significant part in the action, contributes nothing to the development of the individual. In the deepest sense it is not giving but taking—taking their dignity. Denial of the opportunity for participation is the denial of human dignity and democracy. It will not work (p. 123).

Saul Alinsky (1971), an outspoken community organizer whose ideas spawned a variety of grassroots organizations dedicated to solving local problems

"I want to point out that people who seem to have no power, whether working people, people of color, or women—once they organize and protest and create movements—have a voice no government can suppress."

Howard Zinn: Introduction

With the spirit of Zinn's, Arnove's, and Alinsky's quotes in mind, in this chapter we explore the many ways in which a partnership between a school and its surrounding community can provide a firm foundation for effective bilingual and ESL programs. By linking the life of the school with that of its corresponding mainstream and ethnic communities, parents and other community members can achieve a strong sense of ownership, justice, and respect in the education of their children.

Strong parent involvement is one factor that research has shown time and time again will have positive effects on academic achievement and school attitudes. Greenwald, Hedges, and Laine (1996) provide a general summary of the remarkably consistent results of this type of research. Given this reality, it is rather surprising that efforts to involve the community in the life of the school are so often given a backseat to other seemingly more pressing pedagogical concerns. Focusing specifically on language minority populations, Goldenberg (1993) concludes that for these groups as well, the research shows that the promotion of strong home–school partnerships enables all children, from preschool through high school, to be more successful (see also Zentella, 2005).

When educators make decisions about what languages to use in instruction, usually more is at stake than supposedly rational, research-based pedagogical and language-development issues. Spolsky (1977) suggested that the underlying motivation for the establishment of a bilingual program is usually not a purely linguistic one. Rather, social, economic, political, psychological, or cultural factors trigger the desire for something other than monolingual instruction. It follows that when a particular language education program is not locally initiated, community

reaction to it will not be based solely on linguistic factors, but more likely on socioeconomic, political, psychological, and cultural factors.

Lamenting the tendency of educational planners to focus on rather specific pedagogical issues, Kjolseth (1972) once stated that "most programs are patchwork affairs, each searching for some distinctive gimmick and focusing its rhetoric and design toward the individual pupil in isolation from his family, peers, neighborhood, and community" (pp. 109–10). This statement was written 38 years ago, and we would like to think that bilingual programs today have grown beyond "patchwork affairs" with "distinctive gimmicks." However, in many instances today educators still tend to focus too much on narrow pedagogical concerns, overlooking the important influence of our students' community context.

Illustrative of this phenomenon of neglect of community context is Valdés's (1996) experience studying 10 immigrant families in the Texas borderlands. She was participating in a three-year research project on the role of oral language in literacy development among young children. However, as she came to know the children, their families, and their schools, she concluded that there were other crucial aspects of the children's lives that she was not exploring that might have much more to do with the youngsters' success or failure in school. She noticed that the children's development of language skills frequently was unrelated to the teachers' perceptions about the children's general abilities. Instead these perceptions were influenced by the teachers' views about recent immigrant families, views that were significantly lacking in a realistic understanding of everyday life in the local community.

In this chapter we will refer often to the local community as a geographic and sociocultural entity surrounding a particular school, but we will also be referring to "the **bilingual community.**" The term *bilingual community* means to us more than just the parents, guardians, and extended families of language minority children attending a specific school. We extend the concept of bilingual community to include a complex coalition of families, bilingual/ESL educators, university researchers, neighbors, community organizations, and businesses that are connected in some way to the local schools. We take this broader view of the community because it is through the activation of a broad array of community resources, and through the cooperation of many different professional educators and laypersons, that we can develop the best programs for language minority students.

In his book *Improving Schools from Within,* Roland Barth reflects on his years as a teacher, a principal, and a university faculty member. He proposes that it is through the establishment of positive relationships among teachers, students, and parents at the local level that school reform can best be achieved. The relationships that he envisions foster a "community of learners" and a "community of leaders." This vision of such communities reflects the kind of real-life, locally sensitive learning environment that is so important for any culturally and linguistically diverse setting. Barth defines his "community of learners" as "a place where students and adults alike are engaged as active learners in matters of special importance to them and where everyone is thereby encouraging everyone else's learning." He defines a community of leaders as a place where "Students, teachers, parents and administrators share opportunities and responsibilities for making

decisions that affect all the occupants of the schoolhouse" (Barth, 1990, p. 9). Barth gives as one example of a community of learners the case of an all-English-speaking elementary school that would in the following year be receiving a large number of Cambodian students for the first time. Learning about Cambodia became the school's curriculum for the spring preceding the new students' arrival, with integration through virtually all of the subject areas. Everyone—parents, custodians, lunch workers, secretaries, and administrators—was involved in learning about who these students were, where they were from, and why they would be coming to the local school. The sense of community was real, the learning had a clear purpose, and in the fall the community felt that it was prepared to welcome the newcomers into the life of the school (Barth, 1990, p. 44).

In this chapter, we will look at ways in which we can move toward the establishment of a community of learners and a community of leaders within the bilingual or ESL context. Throughout the chapter we will survey a variety of approaches to school and community relationships. However, to initially give the reader a flavor for the many different ways in which parents and schools can work together to raise their children, we will begin with highlights from two well-established districtwide plans for community partnerships—one in McAllen, Texas, and the other in Arlington County, Virginia. After looking at these programs, the chapter is then divided into three sections: (1) the historical context of language minority communities, (2) developing a portrait of the community, and (3) pathways to community partnerships.

Examples of Community Programs

Community Programs in McAllen, Texas

Located on the Mexican border, the school district in McAllen serves a population that is approximately 87 percent Hispanic with a large number of migrant families. As described by Rioux and Berla (1993, pp. 296–298), the McAllen Parent Involvement Program, staffed by bilingual parent coordinators and bilingual paraprofessional community aides, included a large array of projects:

- An adopt-a-school program, through which local businesses, churches, or other organizations provided financial or volunteer assistance or both to their school.

- Parent/student community evening study centers, where students could receive assistance at the centers with school assignments, and parents simultaneously attended classes in such areas as ESL, parenting skills, basic literacy, and computer-assisted instruction.

- Parent education programs that provided courses on child development.

- An orientation program for fifth graders and their parents that prepared the families to make a smooth transition to enrollment in junior high school.

- A "Keys for a Better Life" course that helped parents build strong families through the keys of faith, enthusiasm, self-confidence, imagination, communication, determination, and love.

- A dropout prevention program that provided parents with information on ways to ensure that their children completed high school.
- Programs that provided families with home educational activities, such as materials to help children prepare for statewide competency tests.
- A radio talk show, *Discusiones Escolares,* in which the community could discuss school-related topics.
- Parent involvement in school governance through participation in such organizations as PTAs, Chapter I Parent Advisory Councils, and membership on school-based management committees.

In addition to these programs, Goldenberg (1993, p. 236) described how parents in the McAllen district could sign a contract in which they agreed to do the following: ensure that their children did their homework; talk with their children about what they learned each day, instill a sense of discipline; and provide at least three TV-free hours per week devoted to educational activities.

Community Programs in Arlington County, Virginia

The schools in Arlington County serve a number of different language minority groups, and their parent involvement programs have been designed to serve a highly diverse population. According to Violand-Sánchez, Sutton, and Ware (1991), the district plan for community partnerships at the time of their writing included:

- Multilingual intake centers for new language minority families, in which translation services were provided as parents went through the process of enrolling their children.
- Orientation for new parents in a variety of languages, with handbooks also translated into target languages.
- Interpreters for back-to-school nights and parent–teacher conferences.
- Multilingual family learning materials that parents and their children could use at home to reinforce school activities.
- Native-language parent groups that provided a means for disseminating information to parents. These groups also gave parents a sense of community and opportunities for involvement in school decision-making processes.
- Efforts to recruit language minority parents to participate in the district's citizen advisory councils.
- District support of staff involvement in family outreach activities.
- Organization of an annual multicultural conference, in which the community's diversity was celebrated.
- Development of a long-range plan to promote the continued involvement of language minority parents.

From looking just at these two districts, we can see that there are many different ways in which schools and communities can work together for the education of language minority children. And there are many different roles that community members can assume: volunteer, paid employee, teacher at home, audience, decision maker, and adult learner (Delgado-Gaitán, 1990). To these roles we would add that of curricular resource person. However, as we go through this chapter we will also see that the creation of a community of learners and a community of leaders is not a simple question of the implementation of a list of "good ideas" that educators come up with at planning meetings. A variety of powerful linguistic, cultural, economic, and sociopolitical forces influence the outcomes of efforts to create a community of learners. There will be disagreements. For example, what seems like a valid and effective program to one educational practitioner may seem like a hegemonic intrusion into the integrity of the home to another observer. We will discuss such dilemmas in the final section of the chapter, "Pathways to Partnerships," but to establish a context we will first consider the historical context of language minority communities in the United States.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE MINORITY COMMUNITIES

We will examine the history of language minority communities from several perspectives. First, we discuss changes in attitudes toward minority communities in the United States over the past 200 years, using Havighurst's stages of pluralism. Then we will focus in on the 1970s and 1980s—important years in the establishment of contemporary bilingual and ESL programs. We will examine court cases during this time that have significantly affected language minority communities, and then we will describe three cases of community-initiated bilingual programs during the 1970s.

Stages of Pluralism in the United States

Many educators and leaders in the United States have traditionally pinned high hopes on the schools to serve as efficacious instruments of national unity and democratic pluralism (Cremin, 1976; Dewey, 1916; Handlin, 1951; Kaestle, 1983; Tyack, 1974). Yet the process of unification has always tugged at the national fabric as ideals have had to confront reality. To keep the nation from falling apart, early political leaders designed and tried to implement a national agenda that would be capable of adjusting to the complex sociocultural and linguistic diversity that characterized the embryonic nation. As Hechinger (1978) argues:

> The facts of history are quite clear; they cannot be rewritten or revised. Those facts show clearly that the founding fathers viewed the United States as a country with a unified history, with unified traditions, and with a common language. For proof you need only to read Benjamin Franklin and his virtual phobia of foreign-language enclaves. The history of nation building is clear in any view of the

American past. The concept of the melting pot was very much part of the American tradition, and it was accepted virtually by all. The reason why the melting pot is in disrepute today, and rightly so, is not because the concept was not a good one but because it was used dishonestly. Some people were excluded from the unified country. The melting pot's main failure was that it did not include all persons from all groups at all times (p. 130).

What the early leaders in fact had in mind by a "country with a unified history, with unified traditions, and with a common language" was a United States ruled by institutions of English origin and by the English language. Therefore, early in the nation's history, the stage was set for tensions associated with the cultures and languages of non-English-speaking groups—both American Indian communities and new immigrant groups arriving in the United States in large numbers.

The educational sociologist Havighurst (1978) illustrates the sociocultural drama Hechinger described in the following chronology of 200 years of U.S. history. In looking at the status of ethnic communities in the United States, he identified four overlapping stages: defensive pluralism, the melting pot phase (see Benavides & Midobuche, 2008), laissez-faire pluralism, and constructive pluralism. During the 1800s, the general period of defensive pluralism, large numbers of immigrants formed ethnic enclaves in which they struggled to keep ethnic loyalties alive while still participating in the larger civic society. Toward the end of the century, however, the concept of the melting pot challenged the desirability of such defensive pluralism. The idea was that through the schools, the workplace, and public life in general, the great diversity of immigrants would meld into citizens who would share the same cultural patterns as the prototypical "American." However, as noted earlier in Hechinger's quote, the concept was not honest in the process of selecting *who* should be melted. (Spring [1997], in his historical analysis of the educational experiences of American Indians and Puerto Ricans, referred to schooling practices for these groups during this period as a process of *deculturalization* or an explicit attempt to strip away the native culture and replace it with the dominant culture.)

With a relative decrease in immigration after World War I and other social changes, the ideology of the melting pot gradually began to be less vigorously promoted. Social scientists began to affirm that it was acceptable for ethnic groups to socialize and enculturate their children in such a way that their own beliefs and values were nurtured while they concurrently participated in the civic, economic, and educational life of the larger society. However, the pluralism was laissez-faire in the sense that the government did not involve itself in issues of ethnic rights or equal opportunity. Such government involvement gradually emerged through the effects of the civil rights movement, and Havighurst identified the phase of constructive pluralism as beginning in the 1970s. Unlike laissez-faire pluralism, this is a phase in which the heterogeneous texture of American society has been actively promoted. For example, as a result of constructive pluralism, one now finds multicultural education, bilingual education, and ethnic studies in the public schools and teacher preparation institutions.

Despite the sociopolitical changes that Havighurst identified, a lingering legacy of the melting pot concept has remained throughout the twentieth century. Although highly explicit Americanization programs have disappeared, schools up to the present day have to varying degrees conveyed the implicit message of the desirability of assimilation. Havighurst published his chronology in 1978, and it would be interesting to know how he would characterize the current state of pluralism in the United States, given the fact that the 1990s have brought a variety of powerful and potentially destructive challenges to the stance of constructive pluralism. There is, for example, the English Only movement, whose xenophobic and potentially racist ramifications we discussed in Chapter 2. Another significant example, only one of a variety that we could cite, is California's Proposition 187, which was passed in 1994. Called the "Save Our State" initiative, Proposition 187 stated that "the people of California declare their intention to provide for cooperation between their agencies of state and local government with their federal government and to establish a system of required notification by and between such agencies to prevent illegal aliens in the United States from receiving benefits or public services in the state of California" (Suárez-Orozco, 1995, p. 17; Crawford, 2004, pp. 316, 319, 334). Though subsequently ruled unconstitutional in federal court, the potential effect of such a proposition on school–community relations was tremendous because the initiative required that school personnel report students whom they "reasonably suspected" to be undocumented. Not surprisingly, the day after the proposition passed, a coalition of immigrants' rights groups filed a lawsuit in federal court, and within one week there was a temporary restraining order against enforcement. Also, school boards in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento filed suit in state court and got an order blocking the ban on public school attendance for illegal immigrants. One teacher organized a drive for educators to sign a pledge refusing to enforce Proposition 187. Reflecting the pressure under which these educators made their voices heard, Governor Wilson warned the public that school and health care personnel who refused to enforce the initiative "ought to be fired" (Simpson, 1995, p. 17). Initiatives such as Proposition 187, coupled with immigration policies and procedures, have worked to create climates of fear and harassment in many language minority communities, and such climates negatively affect the conditions under which schooling for language minority students occurs. (See Chapter 2 for related discussions of other anti-bilingual and anti-immigrant measures, such as Proposition 227 in California, Proposition 203 in Arizona, and Question 2 in Massachusetts. See also the engaging film, *Fear and Learning at Hoover Elementary*, 1997, produced by Laura Angelica Simon, a fourth-grade teacher caught in the crosshairs of Proposition 187 in Los Angeles, California.)

Unfortunately, while backlash movements such as the one that resulted in Proposition 187 focus national attention on issues that strongly affect language minority communities throughout the United States, they do not do very much to solve the local social and economic problems that result from changes in the world economic order. As Suárez-Orozco argues, California's immigration "problem" of the 1990s is only a symptom of a worldwide crisis because it reflects the

contemporary economic realities of multinational corporations—realities such as the need for cheap foreign workers in the wealthy industrial countries and the policy of privatization of third world economies. For example, economic changes related to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) are estimated to potentially drive as many as 2 million to 3 million small-scale farmers in Mexico off of their land. It should not be any great surprise that many of these individuals would try desperately to earn a living in the United States. Thus, as the United States continues to struggle with its commitment to constructive pluralism, such phenomena as Proposition 187 and the English Only movement can be seen as a type of catharsis—they discharge anger over such issues as economic recession, crowded schools, and demographic changes, but they fail to solve the problem of how to build healthy, pluralistic communities in changing economic and political times (Suárez-Orozco, 1995, p. 18).

Many of the challenges to such pluralistic concepts as immigrants' rights and affirmative action stem from the nation's chronic fear that cultural diversity will lead to political disintegration and to changes in the traditional positions of power and status held disproportionately by European American males (see Crawford's *At War with Diversity*, 2000). However, despite all of the conflict in the 1990s over the alleged *tribalization* of the United States, some historians argue that late twentieth-century immigrants are actually assimilating faster today than they have in the past. For example, they are learning English faster and have a higher rate of marriages outside of ethnic groups (Jost, 1995, p. 114; see Demographic section in Chapter 1). It is unfortunate that this historical perspective is often lost in all the rhetoric in which critics argue that because of such policies as bilingual education and affirmative action, there are supposedly fewer incentives for immigrants to incorporate themselves into American society.

Court Cases as Reflections of Community Activism

As seen in Havighurst's four stages—defensive pluralism, the melting pot, laissez-faire pluralism, and constructive pluralism—the theme of ethnic diversity and how to deal with it starts early in American history and remains unresolved today. Even when free public schooling began to be made available to all children after the middle of the nineteenth century, such groups as African Americans and American Indians were excluded from participating in policy decisions affecting the schooling of their children (Tyack, 1981; McCarty, 2002; Spring 1996). These decisions in turn resulted in highly inequitable education practices. With such endemic inequity ultimately came challenges through the legal system. A variety of court cases from the 1970s to the present have involved ethnic communities and the issues of education, language, culture, and racial isolation. During this time, historically stigmatized ethnic communities have used the court system as an instrument of social reform with varying degrees of success. In Chapter 2 we surveyed the role of a series of major court cases in determining bilingual education policies for language minority students. We return now to look at these and other court cases again from the perspective of the role of language minority communities in the

development of bilingual education. All of these cases involve community efforts to redress injustices that affect the lives of minority children. First we will look at a court case from Alaska that clearly affected the general quality of community life, and then we will turn to *Lau v. Nichols* and subsequent court cases that focus specifically on bilingual education.

In *Tobeluk v. Lind* (1976) parents from bush communities of Alaska brought a civil class-action suit against the state on behalf of their children, arguing that it was discriminatory for these students to be required by law to leave their homes to attend school. At the time, it was necessary for rural students to leave their small, remote villages to attend distant boarding high schools. The practice brought with it great costs: significant disruption to family life, the erosion of a sense of community, and the loss of native languages and knowledge. In the settlement the governor of Alaska signed a consent decree stating that it was the right of every child to attend school in his or her local community, and that educational facilities had to be provided for local villages. This was a major victory for the integrity and development of language minority communities in rural Alaska, as well as for the establishment of native-language maintenance and revitalization programs in the schools.

In the pivotal case of *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) members of the Chinese American community in San Francisco organized on behalf of their children, whom they felt were not receiving an equitable education in the San Francisco school system. *Lau v. Nichols* remains today as the most significant victory for parents who want their children to receive comprehensible instruction while adapting to American linguistic, academic, and cultural norms. However, *Lau v. Nichols* and the ensuing Equal Educational Opportunities Act (see Chapter 2) did not specify how school districts' efforts to meet the needs of ELLs should be measured, and therefore the decision set the stage for a variety of future court cases in which community members sought better educational opportunities for their children (Jiménez, 1992).

In both *Ríos v. Read* (1977) and *Cintrón v. Brentwood Union Free School District Board of Education* (1978), community activists challenged the quality of already implemented bilingual education programs, pitting community expectations against school policy (Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1978). In both cases, the community won the decisions, with the courts determining that the mere existence of programs for ELLs was not in and of itself sufficient. The districts' programs had to meet certain standards of quality to be in compliance with families' civil rights.

In *Plyler v. Doe* (1981) community advocates for the rights of the children of illegal immigrants won a Supreme Court ruling that declared unconstitutional a Texas statute that had denied access to public schools to undocumented immigrants. As Justice Brennan wrote, the Texas law was clearly unconstitutional because it "imposes a lifetime hardship on a discrete class of children not accountable for their disabling status" (*Plyler v. Doe,* 1981, 219–220).

Castañeda v. Pickard (1981) was a class-action lawsuit of the Mexican American community against the Raymondville, Texas, school district. Quality was an issue here again as advocates for the community argued that the district did not have an

adequate bilingual program to overcome language barriers. As discussed in Chapter 2, the most significant result of this case was actually the three-part test devised by the court to determine whether or not a district met the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (EEOA) requirement of "appropriate action." With *Castañeda* there was now a yardstick with which to measure the quality of bilingual programs.

In *Keyes v. School District No. 1* (1983) a group of parents and educators in Denver argued that the rights of English language learners were being violated because of the district's weak bilingual and ESL programs. Influenced by the three-part test that emerged from the *Castañeda* decision, the court here ruled that the district had failed to meet standards of quality. The case was also significant because the district had argued that it had been acting in "good faith" in its efforts to provide programs for English language learners, and therefore, it was not guilty of violation of the students' civil rights. However, the court ruled that good intentions were not sufficient; results rather than intent should be the basis for determination of discrimination.

Communities, however, have not always won their cases. In *Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School District* (1989) the "intent" pendulum swung back in the other direction. In this case, the court accepted that the Berkeley school district had made good faith efforts to implement a program for language minority students, and therefore could not be found in violation of the law because of shortcomings in its program. In other words, the fact that bilingual and ESL services might not be adequate was considered acceptable if it was not the *intent* of the district to discriminate.

The sometimes conflicting conclusions found in court cases involving bilingual education reveal unresolved issues in the interplay between language minority communities and the schools that serve them. As Jiménez (1992) stated in her review of court cases affecting the use of bilingual instruction, "The ideological debate over whether and to what extent other languages should be used in instruction for children not yet proficient in English will likely be with us for years to come" (p. 25). Still, it is through such legal evolution that community members and educators who are strong advocates for language minority children can continue to work together as a community of leaders in the struggle to provide the best education possible for their children.

Despite periodic setbacks, the predisposition to use the legal system will continue to shape school policy slowly as communities of leaders push for quality language minority education. While some observers of the American experience sense that the country may be experiencing "compassion fatigue"—exhaustion from all the civil rights and human welfare campaigns of the 1950s, '60s, and '70s—ethnic groups have gained a momentum for potential power far greater than that available to them in the past. As Gamboa (1980, p. 236) pointed out, the initial development of language minority programs received its greatest impetus from the courts rather than from research. Today, we have much more research to back up the value of quality bilingual and ESL programs, but issues affecting the experience of language minority students will continue to be played out in the courts as bilingual communities continue to organize to advocate for their children.

Community-Initiated Bilingual Programs in the 1970s

As important as court cases have been in the establishment of language minority education programs, community organization for negotiation with school districts outside the courtroom has been another approach used successfully by communities throughout the country. We briefly discuss the history of three such cases here, all of them situating bilingual education programs within the larger context of the communities from which they grew. All of these cases, which developed in the 1970s, reflect the effort to establish a climate of constructive pluralism. At the time, many communities throughout the United States were struggling to simply establish the *right* to develop bilingual programs, and they were working with educators who by and large had very little training in bilingual and ESL concepts.

Guskin (1981) studied the implementation of bilingual education programs in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. These programs grew out of the civil rights movement of the '60s, becoming not only a means of instruction for English language learners, but also a symbol of recognition and respect for the Hispanic American community. Because Hispanic Americans in Milwaukee had little political power at the time, the community's strategy was a mixture of confrontation and cooperation. Crucial to the success of their movement were (1) a cadre of parent advocates who had been trained by community organizers; (2) a mainstream non-Hispanic administrator who was knowledgeable about bilingual education and served as a broker between the community and the school district; and (3) a few supportive school board members. However, once the programs were begun the battle was not over. Court-ordered school desegregation plans threatened to disperse Hispanic American students throughout the city in such a way that bilingual classrooms could not be organized. It was, according to Guskin, through community activism that the court agreed to consider the impact of desegregation on bilingual schools and to save them from being dismantled.

Activism for bilingual education brings with it challenges and mixed success for communities. However, it is also a source of community development, as seen in the following two instances, one involving bilingual education development in Wilmington, Delaware, and the second the evolution of bilingual education in Washington, D.C. Waserstein (1975) documented the development of bilingual education through community efforts in Wilmington, Delaware, and found that as an important spinoff the process served as a natural training ground for leadership within the ethnic community. The movement was started through the efforts of the bilingual community in the broadest sense—a mixture of minority and majority group laypersons and professionals. This core of interested people developed parent support through extensive personal contact and through already-established institutions such as the church, school, and local community center. Community meetings served as a forum for the development of community organization strategies and leadership skills. In this case, the community chose to negotiate with the school district rather than sue. At the beginning of the negotiations, school district negotiators perceived community members as outsiders, but toward the end they were seen as the local experts on bilingual education, and

their opinions carried considerable weight in deciding district bilingual policies. As a result of their efforts, the community not only achieved the implementation of bilingual programs but also gained valuable skills for organizing themselves over future local issues.

One of the authors of an earlier edition of this book (Collier, 1980), in her study of the development of bilingual education over nine years in Washington, D.C., found a similar pattern of community involvement. Here, too, efforts to implement bilingual programs began with the community in the large sense of the word—community leaders, priests, and local bureaucrats. As the movement evolved, however, it facilitated the establishment of a grassroots Hispanic American community identity, and it made the local community more visible as a political reality in the schools and the larger urban community. As the bilingual program developed, community members became more politically active and experienced in the strategies of bringing about change. The schools themselves enhanced the development of civic participation and leadership skills through the following initiatives: the use of school–community coordinators; the hiring of bilingual teachers and aides who lived in and participated actively in the community; and parent participation in community advisory councils and in Saturday workshops on language development and math. Collier found that bilingual school administrators played an important role in raising community consciousness, so that the community itself took on new characteristics in the process of working with school staff for the improvement of educational opportunities for their children.

Whether we look at community activism through the courts or community organizing efforts in the 1970s to establish bilingual programs, we see that community activism has always played an important role behind the headlines in bilingual education. Even though the big scenes in language minority education rights generally get played out in state capitals and in Washington, countless local leaders have paved the way for a better education for their community's children. And behind those community leaders are many other parents with issues and concerns, talents and ideas. Local communities constitute a tremendous resource for educators, and in to appreciate this resource it is necessary to know the community well—which brings us to our next topic, the development of community portraits.

Developing a Portrait of the Community

A wealth of linguistic, cultural, and socioeconomic detail can be found in every community—detail that *should* affect the planning and definitely *will* affect the outcome of language minority schooling efforts. Based on the analysis of a variety of studies of bilingual education programs, Jacobson (1979) suggested that the success of the effort "depends to a large extent upon the social, cultural, and attitudinal conditions prevailing in the immediate neighborhood of the school hosting such a program" (p. 483). And yet there is often a notable lack of knowledge about these important details of community life when programs are being planned, implemented, or evaluated. Guzmán (1978), for example, concluded in his study of

a bilingual program in Oregon that unexamined community attitudes negatively affected the outcome of the project. There was a value conflict in the community between supporters of pluralism and supporters of assimilation, and because planners did not directly address the issue in the design and implementation stages, it became a hidden factor in the ineffectiveness of the resulting program.

While reading this section on community portraits, it is important to keep in mind that we will be concluding the chapter with a discussion of pathways toward strong partnerships between families and schools. Although this section and the final one are separate for organizational reasons, the ability to build a strong partnership is intimately connected with the picture that educators have of the local community. Without an understanding of the community, school-initiated parent involvement programs may have unintended results. For example, taking a hard look at the possible problems with programs for parents in lower-income language minority communities, Valdés (1996) stated, "Parent involvement is an attempt to find small solutions to what are extremely complex problems. I am concerned that this 'new' movement—because it is not based on sound knowledge about the characteristics of the families with which it is concerned—will fail to take into account the impact of such programs on the families themselves" (p. 31). A parent involvement program may indeed be perceived as a David battling against the Goliath of an inequitable society that reproduces itself through the schools (see Noguera, 2003; Kozol 2005). However, parent programs become more powerful to the extent that they are firmly rooted in a sound knowledge of the communities in which they operate.

The goal of development of a community portrait is somewhat challenging. Bilingual and ESL programs just do not come equipped with full-time sociolinguists and ethnographers. Yet the accumulation of cultural, socioeconomic, and linguistic detail is the basis for a realistic understanding of the community, and without this realistic understanding, pedagogical innovations and parent partnerships may not thrive. While research literature on the patterns of similar communities can provide some orientation, administrators and teachers who want to develop a sound local knowledge base will have to rely largely on themselves and their ties with community members for the acquisition of a detailed community perspective. However, acquiring this perspective is not something that a single school employee has to do alone over a short period of time. It is a continuous process that teachers, administrators, university researchers, instructional assistants, interns, student teachers, and community members establish together over a long period of time. Doing community research in this context seldom means a formal research agenda with complicated data-gathering techniques. A lot of information and understanding can be gained over time through experience and interaction with the community, provided one is prepared to notice the relevant details and to build them into a sense of the structure of community life. It means finding frequent opportunities to interact with community members and organizations, being very observant about aspects of community life as we encounter them, listening to and learning from students as they share aspects of their lives, reflecting on the meaning of our observations and remembering that our perceptions are

colored by our own experiences, and sharing and comparing our observations with other members of the school community. Perhaps most important, it also means incorporating the community knowledge into the curriculum, into the ways in which teaching and learning take place, and into the ways we interact with families (see Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992).

To provide a framework for the numerous themes educators can consider when developing a profile of a particular community, we will first look at an example of one teacher's initial description of the community in which she taught. We will then organize our discussion of community portraits around the topics of (1) characteristics of ethnicity in the community, (2) the socioeconomic structure of the community, (3) language use in the community, (4) the use of funds of knowledge and community-based research, and (5) ethnographies as resources.

Community Observations: One Teacher's Perspective

An extremely important goal in the development of bilingual and ESL education is to prepare increased numbers of language minority individuals to become credentialed teachers. However, the fact remains that all too often the teachers who work in language minority programs are outsiders to the community in which they teach, often in several different ways—culturally, socioeconomically, and geographically. However, such teachers can make themselves more fully members of the school's community of learners and community of leaders by making efforts to get to know the local community on its own terms. Combined with the effort must be an ability to reflect on how their own sociocultural backgrounds affect their perceptions of the community. Kristina Lindborg, who was an outsider to the community in which she worked as a novice teacher in the 1970s, portrays her ongoing development as she took the first steps in coming to know her community. In this portrait, she happened to touch briefly on each of the community themes that we will be exploring: characteristics of ethnicity, socioeconomic structure, language use, funds of knowledge, and community-based research.

The Teacher's View and the Child's-Eye View

The area served by my school is the most economically depressed of the city. Less than a third of the adults have completed high school. The average annual family income is well below the national median, and nearly a third of the students receives Aid for Dependent Children. Nearly all of the students receive free or reduced-price breakfasts and lunches at school. According to the California Assessment Program Background Factor Summary, normed for all schools in California, the area's socioeconomic indicator is at the 1st percentile, the parent education index is at the 4th percentile, and the number of children on Aid for Dependent Children is at the 78th percentile.

The community lacks full development of many basic urban services. Until recently there were several unpaved streets, and most alleys are still unpaved. There are few health services available in the immediate community. There are only a few small neighborhood stores, and bus stops are as much as half a mile away from many

of the homes. Many of the small homes are well maintained and have pleasing gardens, but much of the housing is substandard, consisting of tiny one- to three-room rental units.

The community is at least 80 percent Hispanic and about 10 percent black. That, of course, adds up to at least 90 percent minority residents. It would be very safe to say that the dominant language in the community is Spanish. Many of the business establishments are named after places in Mexico; there is a Spanish-language theater; and billboards commonly appear in Spanish.

There is a strong network of family and church relationships. Most children have grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, or godparents who live close by. Many families frequently make return trips to visit family in rural Mexico. The local Catholic church serves many families and operates a K–6 parochial school in which many upwardly mobile families enroll their children. The Catholic Youth Organization also maintains a community center across the street from the school. This center provides many youth and senior citizen activities. Much social interaction occurs within the homes, in front of the homes, on the sidewalks, and in the streets.

Seen from the inside, however, the community is not homogeneous. There are devout Catholic Hispanics and devout Protestant Hispanics. There are Hispanics who get along well with blacks and those who have strong racial prejudices. There are rural Mexicans who still wear the kinds of hats and boots that they wore on the ranches in Mexico, and many residents slaughter goats, pigs, and chickens in their backyards. But there are also Chicanos who buy their children's clothes at Sears, take vacations in campers, and barely speak Spanish. There are parents who take their children to the library and there are parents who can't sign their own name. There are teenagers who keep the neighborhood walls decorated with graffiti, use drugs, and vandalize the school. And there are teenagers who belong to religious organizations or attend college.

Most parents in the community place great importance on the role of schooling for their children. They want them to do well. What they don't realize is the extent to which schools such as the one in their community have traditionally failed to keep students competitive with the national norms. Neither do most parents realize that schools such as theirs are often singled out by policymakers as problems that can be given assorted labels and attacked with money for special remedial programs. For example, of the 1,200 students at school this year, 91 percent are Hispanic and 5 percent are black, making it a minority, segregated school. This qualifies it for special court-ordered funding that is supposed to alleviate the adverse effects of racial isolation. Also, first graders score each year at the first percentile in the California Assessment Program's test of entry-level skills. This, along with the economic status of the community, entitles the school to federal Title I funding.

Despite the gap between the aspirations of parents for their children and the highly politicized and institutionalized intricacies of the public school system, bilingual education has enabled parents to become more closely involved in the elementary schooling process. Because the language barrier has been removed, they can talk to most of the teachers, participate in meetings, understand programs, and help children with their homework. Most of the educational aides at the school are members of the community. The Hispanic-dominated PTA and the school decision-making

committees have provided opportunities for Hispanic community leaders to emerge and to develop their leadership skills. Most parents are supportive of bilingual education, in varying degrees, although the program is not the result of a grassroots community movement. Some parents favor a maintenance bilingual program, and some favor a transitional bilingual program. A few are against bilingual education altogether. And many aren't quite sure what is happening but want to trust the school and out of respect sign just about anything they're asked to sign.

The "standard" English and "standard" Spanish that we use at school are imports from outside the community, and we the teachers are imports too. Nearly all the teachers, myself included, come into the barrio to teach and then retreat to our own enclaves by 4:30 every afternoon. Despite extensive use of Spanish and recognition of Mexican and Chicano cultural traditions, we still comprise an alien and often puzzling institution. The teachers at school vary in their degree of support for bilingual education, especially with respect to maintenance of the home language. Some teachers seem to be holding their noses as they warily implement the bare requirements, and this message must get through to the students. By second grade many LEP students have already figured out that English speakers seem to have more status among peers and more verbal interactions with teachers. By sixth grade former Spanish-dominant students frequently claim to know little or no Spanish. And in some instances former Spanish speakers really have lost their Spanish fluency.

In the eyes of the outside world, the community where I work seems to have developed into one large, negative stereotype. I remember the principal telling me about an incident involving a large mural at the school entrance that some local teenage boys were painting under the auspices of a local artist. Most of the boys involved wore the clothing of the cholo [which can be associated with gang membership]. The principal was proud of the mural project and wanted the area newspaper to cover it. However, he told me he was repeatedly unsuccessful in getting a reporter out until he finally called and hinted that the mural had something to do with gangs. That got the story printed.

Despite the many negative traits of the community from an outsider's point of view, from the child's point of view it is home, and the neighborhood houses, stores, playgrounds, gardens, parks, vacant lots, railroad tracks, repair shops, junkyards, and industries carry many emotional connotations. Although teachers may think in terms of the undesirable nature of the community, the children have found a great deal of joy and warmth there. Without romanticizing poverty, it is important to remember that an outsider's perception of the community is different from the insider's. This struck me clearly one day when a group of first graders in my class had completed a writing assignment. We were studying the local community as a social studies unit and had just returned from a long neighborhood walk. After some group discussion I modeled a mixture of sentences, both positive and negative, based on my comments and theirs. Biased by my own awareness of the less-than-optimal socioeconomic and environmental realities of the community, I expected a lot of sentences reflecting negative traits from the students. To my surprise, every child came up with a product that began along the lines of "(name of community) is pretty." I had also been surprised, when we first began the community unit, to see how quickly the

students learned to read and spell the rather long name of the community. Another incident that made me think about the community from the child's-eye view was the following conversation between a group of first graders and myself:

> Arturo: Teacher! Teacher! They cut a boy all up, on his face, last night. From here to here (pointing).
>
> Angela: They were cholos.
>
> Nakia: Cholos are bad.
>
> Me: Well, some cholos do some bad things. But some do good things too.
>
> Alejo: Teacher, some cholos live in my house. They're good.

Being "sensitive" to the community involves more than celebrating holidays read about in a book or trying an ethnic recipe. It involves beginning to see the community the way the parents and children do—as an ethnographer would.

We cannot discuss each issue extensively in this chapter, but we will look more closely at the first question regarding immigrant versus indigenous minority status. In looking at this issue, we also will be touching indirectly on a number of the other questions listed above. While in many if not most cases, both immigrants and families that have been here for several generations live within the same neighborhood, it is useful to consider their characteristics separately to better know the types of issues that may be encountered.

Immigrant Communities

Ethnic communities composed primarily of foreign-born parents represent a diverse configuration of backgrounds, talents, needs, and aspirations. The United States is a nation of immigrants who have uprooted their families and left homes, friends, relatives, customs, food, and language. To make such a dramatic move, family decision makers must have reflected carefully on the pros and cons of the geographic shift and concluded that the overall benefits outweighed any social, cultural, or emotional advantage of staying home. There are very strong economic, political, professional, ideological, religious, or educational forces that push immigrants from their home country and pull them toward another nation.

Some immigrants, despite numerous hardships, may feel a strong sense of optimism in their lives. Many immigrants, after all, perceive the United States as a place in which resourcefulness, intelligence, and perseverance are rewarded. But equally important to remember is the fact that along with the original voluntary immigrants may be involuntary ones—children, spouses, relatives, or other dependents who joined the migration without a strong say in the matter and who as a result may have mixed feelings about the move. Besides the matter of initial choice, there are other important factors that fundamentally affect the way immigrants feel about the host country, such as age, marital status, economic condition, educational experience, occupation, language barriers, health, size of family, extent of personal ties in the new country, and the political and economic situation of the home country. Immigrants' feelings also may be strongly affected by the way in

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GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

CHARACTERISTICS OF ETHNICITY IN THE COMMUNITY

Looking at the community "as an ethnographer would" we find a variety of factors that contribute to the characteristics of local ethnicity. The following questions give an idea of the types of issues that may be considered in coming to understand the ethnic composition of a community:

- How is ethnicity reflected in the immigrant or in the indigenous status of community members?
- What is the ethnic and mainstream mix within the neighborhood?
- What are the characteristics of the relationships among the various groups?
- How isolated from or integrated with the mainstream community are the language minority communities?
- To what degree does the community represent a stable or a mobile population?
- What are the reasons for the stability or mobility of community members?
- What is happening to community members in terms of maintenance of ethnicity and acculturation or assimilation?
- How have minority status, acculturation, or both, affected the relationships between younger and older generations?

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which they feel they are perceived by mainstream United States citizens. All too often, immigrants correctly discern that they are not entirely welcome by people whose own ancestors arrived here several generations before.

For immigrant families with children, the school becomes one of the first and most important places where the adjustment process begins. The outcome of this acculturation process through the schools is closely linked to the age and previous schooling experience of the child, as well as to the attitudes and philosophy of the parents. Generally, we can say that younger children may experience less difficulty learning everyday social English and may make a smoother cultural transition. But perhaps they will not do as well academically as older siblings if these siblings have had extensive formal schooling in the home country. A significant correlation seems to exist between the academic performance in the United States and the age and literacy skills of the learner before immigrating. (See Chapter 4 for research related to this topic.) Adolescent immigrants experience other problems, however. This is not surprising given that even under the best of circumstances teenagers often face challenging developmental stress.

Immigrant parents vary a great deal in how they wish to have their children acculturate to American society. Some parents, wanting to allow their children time to come to grips with the variety of new experiences, or concerned that their children will lose very important traditional values, are not in a hurry to push their children to become Americanized. Others, on the other hand, may want to encourage their children to quickly adopt American cultural patterns—for example, by dressing the part of middle-class Americans and anglicizing their children's names.

Some parents feel nostalgic about their ancestral lands, while others wish to forget their past. Some parents accept religious changes or marriage outside the ethnic boundaries, while others feel quite strongly about keeping their ethnic identity at least partially insulated from the dominant culture lifestyles. Some families wish to construct a division between their private ethnic lives and their public lives. For example, they may wish the school to focus on a monolingual, monocultural English curriculum while they take care of the native language and culture at home or in private weekend or after-school classes.

In addition to the mode and speed of cultural transmission found in ethnic communities, we have to consider the broad range of perceptions that ethnic parents may have of the school itself as an institution. We may start by noting that what foreign-born parents expect from the American experience for them and for their children is affected by the nature of their educational and socioeconomic experiences in their ancestral countries. In most cases, therefore, their notions about the American school experience may be highly speculative. They generally do not have firsthand experience with schooling in the United States, and they may have somewhat inaccurate perceptions from the information their children bring home. Their awareness of how schools function in the United States is often limited, and they may have insufficient knowledge about the social, cultural, and academic skills it takes to succeed in the new education system.

Guidelines for Teaching

FOUR STAGES OF ADJUSTMENT EXPERIENCED BY NEWCOMER PARENTS

In their work with immigrant families, Violand-Sánchez, Sutton, and Ware (1991, p. 5) have identified four stages of adjustment that newcomer parents may experience. Summarizing from their work, the four stages are these:

1. *Arrival survival.* During this stage, the parents' time for participation in school affairs may be limited as they establish a new household, find their way around the community, and seek employment. However, the interest level will be very high for such basic information as enrollment procedures, school schedules, and lunch routines. Provision of information in the native language is particularly important at this time.

2. *Culture shock.* This is an emotionally stressful time during which families may find their energies drained from having to cope day after day with the new sociocultural environment. During this stage they may be disillusioned with American ways. Support groups are helpful at this point, along with personal contacts from school personnel. It is important to keep lines of communication open during this difficult period, while limiting school demands on the parents' time.

3. *Coping.* Coming out of culture shock, families feel more confident that they can deal with the new system and establish a role for themselves within it. As they are now more familiar with the new cultural system, it is a good time to encourage more participation in school activities, making sure that the tasks or responsibilities are clearly defined so that the parents feel comfortable in their role. Families at this stage can also be enlisted to help other families in the previous two stages who need assistance in adjustment.

4. *Acculturation.* At this stage, if the school has been successful in establishing a sense of community, parents feel comfortable in their setting. In addition to basic participation in school activities, they should be provided with opportunities for leadership and also for more extensive mentoring of other parents.

A variety of attitudes toward school may limit the extent to which parents feel at ease playing active roles. Some community members may feel very grateful to have come to the United States, and therefore may feel that it is not appropriate for them to complain or to critique American educational institutions. To some immigrants these institutions may seem superior to what they had in their native countries. On the other hand, many parents may find United States schools to be too lax or undemanding compared to the schools in their home country. Because community involvement in educational decision making is not significant in many other countries, some parents may believe that the right thing is to place all the responsibility for educating their children on school personnel. Such parents might not consider it appropriate to go beyond seeing that their children's homework is completed, requiring that their children behave well in school, or attending an open house. Foreign-born parents are profoundly interested in the education of their children, but because of experiences rooted in the past they may tend to be tentative about taking too much ownership of the formal schooling process. This may mean that their children are sometimes left on their own to make sense out of American schools. Without a strong partnership between schools and parents, older students may have to make choices regarding graduation and vocational or academic programs independently—choices that will have an impact on career opportunities later in life (see Arzubiaga, Noguerón, & Sullivan, 2009).

Indigenous Minority Communities   *Ni chicha ni limonada* is a popular saying in Latin America that roughly translates to English as "neither fish nor fowl." In a vivid way such a saying captures the cultural dilemma surrounding many indigenous minorities in this country such as American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and other language minorities who have been here for more than one or two generations. As individuals in these groups define and redefine their identities, the choices that they make between sociocultural alternatives can sometimes offer many unresolved propositions.

There is a troubling tendency in the United States for European Americans to perceive indigenous minorities as being non-American, even if they have been here for generations. It is not uncommon, for example, for a European American to mentally place all Mexican Americans as "belonging" somewhere south of the Rio Grande. Ronald Takaki, a historian who is Japanese American, tells of a situation he has repeatedly encountered in various forms. In this particular instance, Takaki was in Virginia, in a taxi driven by a middle-aged European American:

"How long have you been in this country?" he [the taxi driver] asked. "All my life," I replied, wincing. "I was born in the United States." With a strong Southern drawl, he remarked: "I was wondering because your English is excellent!" Then, as I had many times before, I explained: "My grandfather came here from Japan in the 1880s. My family has been here, in America, for over a hundred years." He glanced at me in the mirror. Somehow I did not look "American" to him (Takaki, 1993, p. 1).

At the same time that indigenous minorities often feel unaccepted as full-fledged citizens of the United States, their status in their ancestral country can often be

problematic. Mexican Americans frequently tell of being ostracized by native Mexicans, particularly when their Spanish is faulty by Mexican standards. The somewhat derogatory term *pocho*—what a Mexican sometimes calls a Mexican American—reflects the potentially ethnocentric view of Mexican nationals toward Mexican Americans. It is sometimes difficult for them to view Mexican American culture as a long-term, rational adaptation to a specific linguistic and cultural context in the United States. This *ni chicha ni limonada* experience is not unique to Hispanic Americans. It is also reflected, for example, in the statement of a Japanese American regarding her trips to Japan: "I feel American when I'm in Japan, but when I'm in the United States I feel Japanese."

It is difficult to make generalizations about indigenous communities, as their experiences vary greatly depending on racial or ethnic background, region, and urban or rural status. A tiny bush community of Inuit living on the northern coast of Alaska—people who have never been "from" anywhere else in recorded history—have little in common with urban Puerto Ricans on the East Coast who have been in this country for two or three generations. However, one generalization that can be made is that the majority of indigenous language minority communities in the United States have experienced over the years various kinds of discrimination and tend to reflect a pattern of socioeconomic inequality.

On the surface the differences between indigenous minority communities and mainstream communities may in some cases be easy to overlook. Indigenous minority communities are composed of English speakers who have been educated in the United States and who are generally very familiar with popular culture. However, despite the superficial homogeneity, indigenous minority groups over generations tend to maintain cultural differences, such as the type of English used, the ways family members interact with each other, learning styles, and patterns of family structure. In looking at the conquered or colonized status of many indigenous minorities, the anthropologist John Ogbu (1992) argues that such groups tend to maintain such differences over time as a natural response in defense of their identity as they are subjected to unequal treatment by the dominant society.

While immigrant students often arrive at school with "a clean slate," so to speak, indigenous minorities often arrive with an all-too-familiar history of past generations' experiences in the classroom. They frequently come to the classroom surrounded by negative stereotypes about the support that their community will offer to the learning process. To begin, educators often see the language of their community as a strike against them. School personnel who are often very sympathetic to the language needs of non-English-speaking immigrants sometimes have a less than enlightened attitude toward the language patterns indigenous minorities bring to school. Rather than seeing the language resources that such children have, they see defects—the nonstandard version of English the children speak is not accepted as a naturally evolved expression of the uniqueness of the community. In addition, teachers may see the fact that the children may speak a limited or "incorrect" version of their ancestral language, or that they may mix English with the other language, as a defect. In terms of behavior patterns, teachers are readily prepared to expect that immigrant children may differ significantly from dominant

culture children, but teachers who have not had appropriate training and who do not have an unprejudiced familiarity with the local community often assume "normalcy" patterns for indigenous minorities that are in reality based on the teachers' own culture and experiences. When supposedly "American" indigenous language minorities do not conform to these "normalcy" patterns, an adversarial relationship develops between the teacher and the student (Delpit, 1995).

Another aspect of the indigenous community that is often cast in negative stereotypes is their attitude toward schooling. Because of the past inequalities in schooling, indigenous minorities as a group have tended to have high dropout rates and lower test scores. This becomes a cycle as teachers come to expect less from students from these groups. Educators often assume that the community puts little value on education. When parents or community members question school practices, some administrators or teachers may see this as confrontational militancy rather than as a reflection of a deep caring for the well-being of their children. One of the writers of this book once asked a high school principal to comment on his school's relations with ethnic groups in the community. The administrator pointed out first that a good principal is skillful in selecting community members to work with him and for him—persons who can help put out the frequent fires in school and community relations. Then he went on to point out that his main problems had been with indigenous minority parents who were frequently a thorn in his side. According to him, these parents tended to be more assertive, single-issue oriented, and ill-informed than immigrant parents. He described recent immigrant parents, on the other hand, as cooperative and easy to work with. This anecdote points out the critical issue of stereotyped perceptions. Intentionally or not, school personnel may tend to treat indigenous parents less positively than immigrant parents.

In the case of immigrant families, community members and school personnel often quickly erect bridges between the culture of the school and the immigrant community because of the urgent need for bilingual individuals to facilitate communication with non-English-speaking parents. Beyond simple removal of the language barrier, a positive side effect may be that these translators also serve as cultural brokers between the school and the home. In the case of indigenous minority families, translators are generally not needed, and consequently the school may lack cultural brokers who can work well with the community. One important solution to this problem is to increase the number of indigenous minority students who become educators; another aspect is to provide training for all educators, regardless of their backgrounds, that will enable them to approach the indigenous minority community as a resource rather than as a source of impediments to learning.

The Socioeconomic Structure of the Community

Socioeconomic characteristics of a community reflect such issues as wealth distribution, education, employment, and social mobility. Through a consideration of socioeconomic issues, educators become more aware of another important

dimension of community life. As we have stated in Chapter 1, language minority families—despite the stereotype of low-income levels—come from a very broad range of backgrounds. Among both immigrant and indigenous groups there are middle-income as well as lower-income families.

We will look at two examples of socioeconomic factors in the community that can affect the outcome of bilingual programs. First, we will look at the case of a Spanish/Quichua bilingual program in Ecuador, in which groups of differing SES had very different views of the region's bilingual program. Then we will consider Guthrie's **ethnography** (1985) of a Chinese American community in California.

In the case of the Otavalo Indians of highland Ecuador (Carpenter, 1983), the Ecuadorian government had implemented Spanish/Quichua bilingual programs with the stated goal of facilitating the sociocultural and economic integration of the Quichua-speaking minorities. However, planners based the program design on the erroneous assumption of homogeneity among the Otavalo Indians. In reality, there were two rather distinct socioeconomic classes among the Otavaleños, and their reactions to the bilingual program were quite different. This in turn affected the potential for success of the programs. Otavaleños derived their livelihood largely from subsistence agriculture and traditional weaving, for which there was a substantial tourist market. The weaving was sold principally in a famous regional artisan market that was held every Saturday. The more wealthy (relatively speaking) Otavaleños who marketed the Otavalo crafts were generally urban Protestants who were already bilingual in Spanish and Quichua and who alternated between traditional and modern dress depending on the situation. The poorer Otavalo Indians were generally rural, Catholic subsistence farmers and were more likely to be monolingual Quichua speakers who tended to wear traditional

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GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

SOCIOECONOMIC ISSUES TO ADDRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMUNITY PORTRAIT

- How is wealth distributed in the community?

- How is the local economy tied in to the national and international economy?

- Which community groups or members tend to have higher social status than others?

- Who are the leaders in the community and how are they perceived by other community members?

- To what extent is upward socioeconomic mobility a part of the community's definition of success?

- What are the perceived socioeconomic rewards for literacy and school achievement?

- What are the socioeconomic costs and benefits of membership in a particular ethnic group?

clothing. Carpenter reported that the wealthy, urban Otavalo Indians, concerned over their children's loss of Quichua, warmly accepted bilingual education as a means of maintaining their ethnic identity. The maintenance of this identity was crucial to their economic success as Otavalo Indians in the artisan market. On the other hand, the rural Otavaleños saw the transitional bilingual program—in which reading was first introduced in Quichuaan—as an attempt to keep them from attaining fluency in Spanish and thus to bar them from socioeconomic advancement. As one rural, antibilingual-education Quichua informant put it, "Almost nothing is written in Quichua, so why on earth would anyone want to learn to read and write that language? Anything to be read is in Spanish, and anything worth writing about will also be in that language" (Carpenter, 1983, p. 104). Carpenter concluded that for a bilingual education program to be successful, program designers could not assume homogeneity within any particular ethnic group and must be prepared to "incorporate the concerns of the target population in their design" (p. 106).

In Guthrie's ethnography of public bilingual education in a Chinese American community in California, she also found SES to be a factor in attitudes toward the program, but in different ways than was the case in Carpenter's study. In her study, the lower-income residents, who were generally the more recent immigrants, tended to be the most supportive of the use of Chinese in the public schools. Preoccupied as they were with day-to-day survival, they often did not have the resources to enroll their children in private Chinese-language classes or to provide such instruction at home. Furthermore, they saw a pragmatic need for Chinese-language skills if their

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING

LANGUAGE USE IN THE COMMUNITY

Among the types of questions that we can ask about language use in the community are these:

- Who speaks which languages, and when are the various languages spoken?

- Which languages do individuals read and write in the community? If they read and write in more than one language, which languages are used for which kinds of literacy events?

- What is the level of proficiency of community members in the various languages, including literacy levels?

- What language variation is present within each language? For example, is a particular dialect of the language or a nonstandard version of the language used?

- To what extent do community members use code-switching, and what are the patterns of its use?

- What prestige or stigma is attached to the various types of language present in the community?

- What value do community members place on speaking, reading, and writing the various languages present in the community?

- How is language use changing or remaining the same within the community?

children were to survive within the local ethnic economy. Middle-class and upper-class parents, on the other hand, saw beyond the local ethnic economy and appeared to be primarily concerned with their children's advancement within the dominant socioeconomic structure. They saw an emphasis on English and math as the means to that goal and therefore tended to be less supportive of the public school's bilingual program (Guthrie, 1985, pp. 224–225).

Language Use in the Community

To more fully understand the significance of the languages that teachers and children use in school, it is important to understand language use in the community. By language use we mean, essentially, who uses which language, with whom, and for what purposes. As Aguirre (1980) pointed out, it is perhaps ironic that "much implementation of bilingual education programs has occurred without comprehensive sociolinguistic analyses of the target student populations, and their respective school-community environments" (p. 47). For example, if educators are cognizant of the varieties of languages that community members use, as well as the level of proficiency in the various codes, they are better able to select linguistically appropriate materials or to anticipate language difficulties that may come up because of the materials that are available. Information on community language use may also be of value in the evaluation of programs. For example, as Cohen (1983) points out, if one of the goals of a program is native language maintenance, then long-term research on patterns of language use in the community can help to determine if that goal is being met. At a much deeper level, knowledge of language use in the community is also extremely important as a resource for curriculum and instruction. Virtually all learning in school is mediated through language, and therefore, as we saw in Chapter 5 when we examined ethnographic studies of language usage patterns, the ways in which children and adults use language can have an effect on the quality of the experience. By accepting community language patterns in the classroom, teachers are capitalizing on the skills that children and their parents bring to the learning environment. If we look more specifically at patterns of literacy in the community, an awareness of which languages people use for various reading and writing activities and for what purposes they use literacy in their daily lives is crucial to the cultural appropriateness of formal literacy instruction in school, especially at the beginning levels of reading and writing.

To get a feeling for language-use issues, we will look briefly at the concept of **diglossia** and changes in language use. Then we will look at the role of language goals in the school and community in effecting the outcome of bilingual programs.

Diglossia, a term coined by Ferguson (1959), refers to a situation in which two languages or varieties of languages are both used within the same community but in separate circumstances or contexts. The pattern of language use found among the Mississippi Band of the Choctaw Indians in the 1970s provides one example of a pattern of diglossia. Young people could use Choctaw well in informal conversations with family and friends, but for more formal uses they changed to English, because they did not have the skills they needed in Choctaw to carry

on more extended formal discourse. As we will see later in the chapter, the development of the Choctaw community's awareness of this pattern of diglossia resulted in the establishment of a bilingual program (York, 1979).

Fishman's sociolinguistic study (1980) of private ethnic language schools in New York suggested a relationship between the nature of diglossia in the community and the success of schools in producing **biliteracy.** In the French, Hebrew, Chinese, Armenian, and Greek communities he studied in New York, literacy in each language had a separate function in the community. There was a *reason* for learning to read and write in each language, and children were immersed in two "cultures of reading." Based on his research, Fishman suggested that language educators' concern over specific methods of literacy instruction for bilingual children may not be as crucial to promoting biliteracy as a consideration of the uses of reading and writing in the immediate and wider communities.

As community circumstances change, patterns of diglossia also change. Thus, the next language-use question that we consider is "How is language use changing or remaining the same in the community?" Over a period of time a community may maintain the use of a particular language in predictable contexts, or the community may experience a shift in language use such that one language is replaced by another language. For example, Portes and Schauffler (1996) found evidence in their survey of second-generation youth in Miami (which included Cuban, Haitian, and Nicaraguan youth as well as other groups) of a surprisingly rapid degree of language shift. Nearly 100 percent of the young people in the study reported speaking English well or very well, and 80 percent of the entire sample reported preferring to use English to their native language. The authors described the situation as a context of "overwhelming language assimilation" (Portes & Schauffler, 1996, p. 22).

Looking at a different region, however, Jaramillo (1995) found a different pattern of "reverse diglossia" in progress within the Spanish-speaking community of the Tucson area. In the Tucson of the 1940s, Mexican Americans tended to exhibit a diglossic language-use pattern of Spanish for intimate and familiar relations and English for more impersonal and formal relations, even when all speakers were fluent in Spanish (Barker, 1975). Today, however, Jaramillo found that "the previously differentiated functional allocation of Spanish for private domains and English for public domains has given way to what appears to be a far more open use of Spanish for public life" (Jaramillo, 1995, p. 81).

Many different factors affect language maintenance or language shift in the community. For example, some factors that may contribute to language maintenance are a large, homogeneous group of speakers; frequent returns to the country of origin; reinforcement through the frequent arrival of new immigrants, and the existence of a variety of modes of language use in the community (reading and writing as well as listening and speaking). Among the factors that may contribute to language loss are low social status of speakers of the language and the lack of necessity for the language in social advancement (Cohen, 1975; Gaarder, 1971; Weinreich, 1953).

In the specific case of Tucson's "reverse diglossia," Jaramillo identified a variety of macrosociolinguistic factors that could continue to contribute to the growth of

Spanish as a public language: proximity to Mexico; a continual influx of new speakers of the language; the size and geographic density of the Spanish-speaking population in the community's *barrios;* the general socioeconomic subordination and distance of the Spanish-speaking population from dominant society; the presence of ethnolinguistic pride as well as a small but visible Spanish-speaking elite; the market value of the language for employment (especially due to the international trade effects of NAFTA); and the presence of newspapers, radio, television, and religious services in Spanish.

Traditionally, schools have tended to replicate the patterns of social status, and thus language status, of the larger society. Therefore, we need to look more specifically at the potential influence of school language policies in language maintenance or language shift. For example, the decades of emphasis on English in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools certainly had a tremendously negative effect on the fate of many American Indian languages. On the other hand, when language shift has occurred or begins to occur in a particular community, the schools can also become involved in efforts to revitalize or maintain the language that is losing ground. As Holm and Holm (1995) note, reflecting on American Indian language revitalization movements, "Certainly schools alone cannot 'save' a language. But conversely, we know of no successful efforts to reverse language shift in the twentieth century that have ignored the school" (p. 165).

In considering the role of schools in language maintenance or shift, it is important to identify the language goals of community members and compare those to the school program's language goals. Regarding the value that community members place on the various languages present in their particular setting, Aguirre (1980) reported on a situation in a rural Colorado community in which the language goals of the teachers and parents were not congruent. Community members generally preferred their children to use Spanish among friends and family, but the teachers (although predominantly Mexican American) tended to prefer the use of English in the home. Thus, while the parents indicated a preference for a language maintenance bilingual program, the teachers indicated a preference for a transitional model. Aguirre attributed the conflicts that arose between the school and community regarding the program to these consistently differing attitudes, and he concluded that the lack of match had damaged the effectiveness of the community's bilingual program.

Funds of Knowledge and Community-Based Research

As we said when we began this section on community profiles, schools don't come equipped with full-time ethnographers and sociolinguists. However, there are many ways in which bilingual and ESL educators can begin to identify and use community resources. We will look more closely now at how school personnel, in cooperation with community members and outsiders such as university researchers, can improve their knowledge of the community by using funds of knowledge and community-based research.

Community knowledge is a valuable commodity in the classroom because the child does not arrive at school as a *tabula rasa*. In fact, by the time children enroll

in school they have had myriad and complex experiences—for example, learning to read a few things on their own; using a variety of mathematical concepts in everyday situations; learning to understand the cultural and social demands placed on them; adopting some values and bypassing others; and developing the ability to communicate their needs, interests, and ideas. Such learners come to school already equipped with a wide array of skills that enable them to negotiate life successfully within their community.

The child exists within the context of the community, and this community therefore is a vast resource for the development of the child. In fact, Moll (1992), like other researchers we have cited in this chapter, has suggested that too much research time and energy is spent on such pedagogical issues as how to measure language dominance, when to transfer from L_1 reading to English reading, and so on. He feels that this research emphasis reflects a dominant culture bias toward bilingual and ESL education as remedial education that will "fix" language "problems." In focusing on this type of classroom-oriented research, bilingual educators are missing the more important issue of using research to discover how communities can enhance instruction.

All too often, unfortunately, the public sees communities in which language minority children reside as barriers to learning. For example, English-dominant Americans often negatively stereotype communities with many recent immigrants as "ghettos" that impede the incorporation of the newcomers into American society. However, the historian Ueda (cited in Jost, 1995, p. 114) argues that ethnic neighborhoods in reality assist immigrants in the acculturation and socialization process. The mix of newcomers with immigrants who already have had some experience living in the United States, coupled with relatively easy access to bilingual individuals who can translate as needed, gives the newcomers a base from which to establish survival networks and to make sense out of all of the new cultural and social patterns. Rather than seeing such communities as "problems," they can be perceived as providers of resources that the local schools can also capitalize on to establish a community of learners.

Another cost of educators' ignorance of the community, according to Moll, is a distortion in our knowledge about children's cognitive abilities. Moll feels that by being largely unaware of the kinds of activities, responsibilities, and interactions that the child has in the community, teachers are consequently unaware of what the children are actually able to do intellectually in the everyday context of their neighborhood and family. Not knowing about these skills, teachers don't take advantage of them in the classroom, resulting in a watered-down curriculum.

Moll and González and their colleagues have developed the funds of knowledge perspective as a means of enabling educators to capitalize on the resources communities can provide for learning (González, 1995; González et al., 1995; Moll, 1992; Moll et al., 1992; Moll & González, 1997). Discussing the guiding principle of his funds of knowledge perspective, Moll states that "the students' community represents a resource of enormous importance for educational change and improvement. We have focused our [funds of knowledge] research on the sociocultural dynamics of the children's households, especially on how these households

function as part of a wider, changing economy, and how they obtain and distribute resources of all types through the creation of strategic social ties or networks." He goes on to say that "the essential function of the social networks is that they share or exchange what we have termed *funds of knowledge:* the essential cultural practices and bodies of knowledge and information that households use to survive, to get ahead, or to thrive" (Moll, 1992, p. 21).

Schools are often on the lookout for individuals in the community who have special artistic talents—musicians, artists, weavers, artisans, photographers, writers, dancers, storytellers, and so on. However, there are so many other—often more everyday—talents and skills that we overlook. For example, in a sample of 30 working-class Latino families in Tucson, Moll found such household funds of knowledge as ranching, farming, hunting, mining, building codes, appraising, renting, selling, budgets, child care, cooking, carpentry, roofing, masonry, vehicle repair, first aid, midwifery, herbal knowledge, catechism, and Bible studies.

The **funds of knowledge** approach combines the fields of anthropology, psychology, linguistics, and education, but Moll's ethnographic surveys are user-friendly to general educators. With adequate training in issues of cultural sensitivity, teachers are very capable of collecting a wealth of data on community knowledge and skills and personal and work histories. They can accomplish this through home visits and a variety of community activities. However, the data gathering is not data gathering for its own sake. It has to be paired in the classroom with active learning: the community funds of knowledge provide real-life contexts for classroom activities in which literacy and numeracy are tools for real communication and thinking. The effect of funds of knowledge on instruction is seen in Moll's account of one sixth-grade unit on construction, which was based on community funds of knowledge. (In Chapter 6, we very briefly referred to this unit as an example of activation of community knowledge for integrated math instruction.) Over 20 parents and other community members visited the class to share their knowledge and skills, and the unit culminated with the students' construction of a model community, which incorporated students' written and oral reports about the design and building process. The teacher involved in the project had never before engaged in this type of teaching, and her teaching style changed dramatically as the unit progressed. Through real-life locally relevant activities she tapped into the students' real communicative and problem-solving skills, bringing her classroom alive linguistically and intellectually (Moll, 1992).

Various groups of teachers and researchers in several different settings in the Southwest have used the funds of knowledge approach, and the community knowledge that the teachers gain becomes a part of their developing language-rich, intellectually challenging learning environments for their students. Recently Mercado has been developing a funds of knowledge approach in East Harlem (Mercado & Moll, 1997). The results of this work suggest that funds of knowledge, as an approach to improved educational opportunities, can work in large inner-city neighborhoods as well as in the smaller cities and towns where it was originally developed. Predating the expansion of the funds of knowledge approach, but clearly reflecting the potential of a similar framework, is the literacy work of Taylor

and Dorsey-Gaines (1988) with African American inner-city children. Looking beyond the stereotype of functional illiteracy in such low-income communities, the researchers used ethnographic approaches to learn firsthand how community members in reality used literacy. They then applied this knowledge to ways in which to approach literacy instruction in the schools that would build on the community uses of literacy, and thus make sense to young children.

The work of Pease-Alvarez and Vásquez (1994) provides another example of community-based research. Looking at language socialization, for example, they found that many of the language resources that children bring to school may be wasted in a classroom in which the predominant format is teacher-asks-a-question/ student-responds/teacher-evaluates. Doing research on language socialization in a predominantly Hispanic community, they found some community language-use patterns that were unique to the bilingual community, and some that were the same as those of mainstream middle-class parents. Among the unique traits was the style of the family histories and storytelling from Mexico. Also unique to the bilingual children was the process of young children learning through real-life experience how to be translators for parents—a process that makes language socialization a mutual endeavor between parents and children and that requires some degree of metalinguistic awareness. One of the patterns that Mexican American families tended to share with European American families was parents' perception of themselves as active participants in the child's language development (for example, by "talking" with a two-month-old baby). Another similarity was helping a small child recount an event that happened at preschool (for example, by asking for clarification and making requests for elaboration). Like the funds of knowledge researchers, Pease-Alvarez and Vásquez feel that community-based research should be an integral part of educators' ongoing design of their students' learning environment. Again, without having an elaborate research design, they believe that much can be accomplished by school personnel with home visits and other community contacts. Once rapport has been established with parents, teachers might explore such topics as information sources in the community (for example, how do people find out about community events), areas of parental expertise, family histories, language use practices, children's everyday life at home, parents' theories about how children learn, and parents' views on schooling (Pease-Alvarez & Vásquez, 1994, pp. 96–97).

Community-based research and use of community funds of knowledge in the design of curriculum and instruction are promising means toward the end of a community of learners. However, they do require an adequate level of cultural sensitivity on the part of practitioners. For example, teachers involved with funds of knowledge projects participate in study groups in which they explore theoretical issues of culture and community as well as methodological techniques for household visits. However, even with training in cross-cultural communication, blunders can occur when the outsider, the educator, attempts to gain knowledge from community members. This may be particularly true in communities in which the schools have a long history of failure to meet the needs of language minority children. Due to possible differences in education, language use, and social class,

misunderstandings can occur even when the educator and the community member are of the same ethnic background. Many families might well be apprehensive or offended when a person who they do not yet know well (and who they possibly see as an authority figure) begins to ask questions about such topics as family recreational activities, circumstances of arrival in the United States, and ideas about how to help their children learn. Thus, enthusiasm for community-based research must be tempered with a realistic appraisal of the cross-cultural skills of its practitioners and the degree of preliminary rapport that will need to be established. Notice that we say "preliminary" rapport, because once trust has been established, community-based research and funds of knowledge certainly hold the promise of close and extremely beneficial ties between the school and the community.

The following reflections by an elementary teacher at a predominantly Mexican American school in Tucson, Arizona, portray the way that use of funds of knowledge can improve learning environments for language minority children. The teacher first commented that she used to feel that parents were "more disruptive than an asset," and that they were "an added problem that would occasionally make dittos for me."

⊠ Now I've realized that they're far more valuable. I've had parents teach and interact with the students and assist in the classroom activities. Parents have taught classes in a variety of subjects, from making tortillas to the multiple uses of cacti. They have told stories to the class and shared their family histories. It's fascinating listening to students explain to adults how they discovered an answer to a problem, and then having the adult respond with how he or she approached it. Everyone is welcome in our classroom, but no one is allowed to just sit and observe (Fahr in Heckman, 1996, pp. 163–164).

Ethnographies as Resources

While educators must build their community portraits at the local level, published ethnographies can serve as valuable models of the kinds of insights that can be gained from community portraits. They can also provide us with lessons from their particular contexts that may be applicable to our local situations. We now refer to four such ethnographic accounts. Each book is written from a very different perspective and for different purposes, but they all serve to remind us powerfully of the importance of community understanding in developing a realistic view of the relationship between the home and the school.

A School Divided (Guthrie, 1985) is an ethnography of bilingual education in a Chinese American community in California. We have already referred to this work recently in our discussion of socioeconomic status as part of the portrait of a community. Guthrie portrays the Chinese American community in depth, and she also describes the local school's bilingual programs. Using these ethnographic accounts, she analyzes the interaction between the school and the community. She identifies positive outcomes of the bilingual program, but she also identifies significant areas of conflict, both within the school and between the school and the community. These conflicts have important implications for our understanding of

the effect of top-down versus bottom-up approaches to public programs of bilingual education. In the case of *A School Divided,* the top-down history of the bilingual program had, in Guthrie's opinion, a deleterious effect on the bilingual program.

Of Borders and Dreams (Carger, 1996) is a chronicle of the education of a learning-disabled Mexican American boy in Chicago, from the age of 10 through his decision to drop out of high school. In telling the story of this child's struggles at both Catholic and public schools, the author also draws a clear picture of the tenuous relations between the child's remarkably dedicated parents and the schools.

We refer to Delgado-Gaitán's research several times throughout this chapter because of her work in understanding the texture of local families' lives and its relationship to school learning. Her book, *Literacy for Empowerment* (1990), is an ethnographic study of approximately 20 Hispanic families in California. She began her research with the idea of looking for ways in which family practices affected children's literacy development. Her objective was to learn through observation and interviews about the ways in which Spanish-speaking parents helped their children learn to read and write. She was also studying how these parents socialized with each other as they adapted to the United States education system. The book provides insights into such specific topics as home literacy-related activities. But the study took an unexpected turn when Delgado-Gaitán became involved via her research in a process through which parents began to organize together to assume more active leadership roles as advocates for their children. This process resulted in the formation of COPLA, the parent group discussed in the last section of this chapter.

Valdés's ethnography, *Con Respeto: Bridging the Distances between Culturally Diverse Families and Schools* (1996), is a controversial and thought-provoking look at the lives of immigrant mothers from Mexico who are trying very hard to raise good children in their new environment in Texas. Although Valdés acknowledges the good intentions of educators in trying to provide opportunities to these kinds of families for parent involvement, she concludes that such efforts almost inherently tend to become cultural deficit programs because they are based on middle-class notions of involvement and success. She feels that efforts to bring school learning activities into the home may actually undermine the important types of socialization that such parents normally and effectively engage in.

Valdés has been criticized for her work because at times she seems to be arguing that parent involvement programs may be futile. However, she emphasizes that she is not advocating that all efforts to promote parent involvement be abandoned. Rather, she is asking that we be very realistic in assessing our objectives and in identifying our underlying philosophies. She argues for an awareness of how some types of parent education programs may adversely affect the already-established home environment. For example, she found *consejos,* the advice of adults to the younger generation, to be a valuable parenting method in the Mexican American homes she studied, and she suggested that the replacement of *consejos* with educator-designed home activities could be detrimental to the quality of family life. She also argued

for a greater acceptance of a diversity of definitions of success, because such underlying definitions affect the nature of parent involvement programs. For example, not all language minority families may define success as upward socioeconomic mobility if this comes at the cost of loss of cultural identity and family ties (see Yosso, 2005, *Whose culture has capital*?). As we turn to the next section, Pathways to Partnerships, we will see that the types of concerns Valdés voices do indeed have to be addressed as educators and parents work together to improve education for language minority children.

Pathways to Partnerships

In an effort to improve student achievement, educators in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s have increasingly talked about the importance of "parent involvement" (see Comer, 2005, *The rewards of parent participation*). Because the term is used so much in practice and in the literature, we have referred to *involvement* often throughout this chapter. However, the word is somewhat dangerous because it can imply a one-way relationship in which the school exists as a separate entity to which parents come to engage in activities that school personnel define and design. In interviews conducted with bilingual and ESL staff in a Massachusetts community, Ringawa (1980) found that many teachers perceived the primary functions of parent involvement to be improving such things as school attendance, discipline, and parent attitudes toward the teachers and school. To see these as principal reasons for parent involvement reflects a one-sided attitude in which teachers see parents and their children as objects that need to be changed to fit the school, rather than as individuals with interests, aspirations, expectations, resources, and skills that can contribute to the improvement of the school. As Ringawa put it, teachers seemed to be willing to work with parents within the confines of the school—on the teachers' terms—but they were somewhat reluctant to go out into the community and to see the home–school partnership from that perspective.

Empowerment is another term that educators use frequently when talking about parent participation in school affairs. The idea has been adapted from the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's *conscientizaçao* work with adult literacy programs. Through this conscientization process, Freire (1973) found that learners gained literacy through dialogues in which they became aware of the inequalities in their society as they were manifested at the local level. Valdés (1996), whose ethnography we referred to in the previous section, argues that while many well-intentioned individuals describe their parent programs as avenues toward empowerment, the accuracy of the term may be somewhat questionable. Such programs do provide valuable information on such topics as how schools function, how parents can advocate for their children, and what legal resources are available to them. However, they do not generally develop an awareness of issues such as racism, social inequality, and economic exploitation. Neither do they tend to address the fact that low achievement in school is an extremely complex result of many powerful social factors over which parents do not have very much control.

Valdés suggests that those who strive toward empowerment programs are idealistic believers in the myth that schools have the power "to right all social wrongs" (p. 195). She would argue that powerful macro forces of socioeconomic inequality make it impossible for schools to be fully equitable. From this point of view one does have to accept the fact that affluence matters. As long as the nation's wealthiest districts are spending as much as $18,000 per student per year while the poorest ones are spending $4,000, the playing field will not be level despite any amount of parent empowerment (Kozol, 1997; Kozol, 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2007).

Despite Valdés's pessimism, or realism (depending on how you view it), there is also the important fact that a broad range of educators and parents have repeatedly found much value in their efforts to strengthen home–school ties. We believe that despite the power of sociopolitical macro forces, teachers as advocates for and members of the bilingual community, as we have defined it broadly, do have the potential to work with parents to make improvements in schooling experiences. However, to avoid the one-way implications of the term *involvement* and the debatable meaning of *empowerment,* we have chosen to cast our discussion of program development in terms of *partnerships*. The term *partnership* does not make any potentially inflated claims about empowerment, but it does suggest a two-way relationship of cooperation toward a common goal.

In the best of all possible worlds, there should be an equitable partnership between the schools and the community. In reality, however, there is an imbalance of power between the school and the language minority community. This imbalance is built partially on the power that institutions of public education wield as part of the sociopolitical system, and partially on the division between the professional educators' jargon-coded pedagogical knowledge and the community layperson's pedagogical knowledge. Therefore, there are almost always bound to be tensions even as well-intentioned educators and community members work toward a community of learners and leaders. As such, when we talk about "pathways" to partnerships, we imply that there are various approaches depending on the context, and that the establishment of a community of learners and leaders is an ongoing process.

As transmitters of consensual values, schools traditionally tend to homogenize students cognitively and socioculturally. They transmit cultural objectives appropriate to the functioning of a large, anonymous, postmodern, technological, and digital age globally linked society. This process happens through school socialization and enculturation—a process by which children learn to respond to the demands placed on them by American society. Meanwhile, socialization and enculturation go on intensively in the home, and with quite a head start (see Ovando, 2008). At the interface between the home and the school in ethnically diverse settings, the ongoing perceptions that educators and families have about each other are often wired to conflicting socioeconomic, linguistic, and cultural frameworks. Therefore, educators and parents cannot always assume a common basis of understanding. Such perceptions, moreover, are often reflections of issues that contain shades of gray rather than black and white. To complicate matters, ethnic children—as culture makers—often have their own notions, apart from those of the school or parents, of what is and is not important in their lives (Handlin, 1951).

To explore pathways toward a common basis of understanding at the same time that we acknowledge the shades of gray, we will look at four areas: (1) the role of legislated parent participation, (2) issues to be addressed as partnerships develop, (3) programs and case studies that reflect in varying ways the ethos of communities of learners and communities of leaders, and (4) resources for the development of community–school partnerships.

Legislation for Parent Participation

Although court cases such as *Lau v. Nichols* have been pivotal in the establishment of bilingual and ESL programs throughout the nation, one of the costs of court-mandated services for language minority students has been the lack of grassroots community involvement in the establishment of many such programs. The unfortunate result is that a deficit framework for such programs has possibly been established from the start: "Help" is brought in from the outside to provide remedial services.

On the other hand, legislative mandates and court mandates do not preclude community involvement. Guidelines for formal community involvement are generally built into federal and state legislation for language minority education. Going back to the years of the Johnson administration, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) was designed with the specific goal of redressing social and economic inequality through improved educational opportunities. The concept of structured requirements for parent involvement began through such ESEA programs as Title I and Head Start, and some of the parent programs that we will be describing later have been funded through Title I. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968, an offspring of ESEA, also included provisions for parent involvement in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of Title VII programs. Six years later, the Bilingual Education Act of 1974 mandated such provisions for parent participation. The role of parent and community participation continued to expand under the 1994 Bilingual Education Act. For example, the act acknowledged that "Parent and community participation in bilingual education programs contributes to program effectiveness" (P.L. 103-382, Section 7102, cited in Crawford, 1999), and included a stipulation that applications for grants must have been "developed in consultation with an advisory council, the majority of whose members are parents and other representatives of the children and youth to be served in such programs" (P.L. 103-382, Section 7116, cited in Crawford, 1999, p. 277). Among the categories of programs that could be funded by the 1994 act were those that implemented "family education programs and parent outreach and training activities designed to assist to parents become active participants in the education of their children" (P.L. 103-382, Section 7112, cited in Crawford, 1999, p. 273). And the NCLB (2001) Act stipulates that States who want to receive federal funding must comply with a specific mandate to investigate appropriate practices for involving parents in the education of their children (González De-Hass, Willems, & Holbein, 2005, p. 99). State bilingual education programs today also generally specify mechanisms for community involvement in programs implemented at the local

level. As a result, bilingual programs throughout the nation generally include some type of parent advisory council. In some cases, such councils can serve as training grounds and springboards for greater parent participation in the politics of education. Some parents who work on advisory councils have become well known in the larger community's educational circle, and in some cases have become members of local school boards.

More often than not, however, parent advisory councils seem to have fallen short of their goals. For example, research findings for Title VII in 1981 indicated that "with few exceptions, Community Advisory Committees were not deeply involved in governance" (as reflected in decisions regarding program content, project budget, and project personnel), and that "most did not advise or otherwise contribute to decisions" (System Development Corporation, 1981). The researchers also found that the rare instances in which parents were involved in policy formulation were a reflection of the ideology of the project director, who clearly wanted an articulate, strong, and caring cadre of parents who would participate in meaningful ways. In most other cases parents played perfunctory roles such as signing forms or being supportive on social occasions when it was symbolically important to be seen with the bilingual/ESL project director and staff. The fact is that school personnel generally want parents to buttress the school's norms, exhibit a positive attitude toward the school, trust its teachers, help children with their homework, ensure that their children attend school regularly and punctually, instill a drive for academic achievement in their children, participate in school social functions, and attend parent conferences—but not be overly interested in school policy matters. Educators may well feel very satisfied if most parents come to school sparingly but faithfully on the appropriate symbolic occasions.

However, there are cases in which advisory councils do take on stronger roles. Shannon and Latimer's ethnographic account of parental empowerment through a Bilingual Parent Advisory Council (BPAC) demonstrates the importance of the presence of a strong advocate for parental empowerment within the school's staff. In this case a teacher who worked to organize the BPAC took on the role of advocate. She worked very hard to establish a climate in which parents and teachers could come to know each other better and in which parents felt confident to state their needs, opinions, and suggestions. These meetings had become an important forum in which parents knew that they had a role to play and in which they could be heard. Thus, when a new principal who was considered to be possibly racist or at least culturally insensitive by many parents of language minority students arrived at the school, the BPAC took on a change agent role to challenge the principal's policies (Shannon & Latimer, 1996).

Issues in the Development of Partnerships

The establishment of mutual partnerships between parents and schools can be a complex undertaking even when there is a strong match between the culture of

the school and the culture of the community. Thus, it can potentially become even more complex within the context of the language minority community. Consequently, we often hear educators talk about "barriers" to parent participation. However, we have intentionally chosen not to use the term *barriers* as we talk about the development of partnerships, because it brings to our mind a negative, conflictive "us versus them" mentality. In reality, of course, *barriers* can be an apt term for describing a situation in which there are chronic, unresolved conflicts between the school and the community, but we want to focus on the kinds of partnerships that we believe can develop under the right circumstances. Even within these two-way partnerships there will be conflicts, but they do not have to lead to the erection of barriers. Therefore, rather than organizing our discussion around a list of so-called barriers, we look at a series of questions that establish a less conflictive perspective.

As we go through these questions, two things are important to keep in mind: (1) The ability to adequately address these questions requires that school personnel maintain an ongoing portrait of their community; and (2) We are all seeing these questions through our personal sociocultural lenses or through the sociocultural lenses of our institution, the school system. There are, unfortunately, numerous ways in which well-intentioned educators can sabotage the construction of a partnership by unwittingly applying the assumptions of a majority institution to minority contexts. As we discuss the upcoming questions, we will see a variety of examples of how institutional bias can have a negative impact on home–school relationships. Celebration of diversity is a mantra within school walls today, and yet we are not always as willing to perceive and accept diversity when it comes to relationships with students' families.

As we look more closely now at the development of partnerships between families and schools, we will organize the questions into five general areas: language, survival and family structure, educational background and values, knowledge about education and beliefs about learning, power and status, and resources for the development of programs.

Language   *How does language affect communication between the home and the school?*

It seems rather obvious to state that communication with parents should be in a language they can understand, but in reality this is sometimes overlooked. Constantino, Cui, and Faltis (1995) describe a school in southern California that provided parent communications in Spanish, but the same support structure was not available in Chinese. After talking with Chinese families to understand better their perspective on the low level of Chinese parent involvement, school personnel took two actions. They began to translate forms, newsletters, signs, and other communications into Chinese, and teachers began to take in-service classes on Chinese language and culture. Subsequent to these interventions, more Chinese parents began to attend school functions, and Chinese parents took on a greater role as advocates for their children in school.

What are community members' attitudes toward the use of the home language in school?

Just because parents speak a language other than English does not automatically mean that they are in favor of bilingual education. For example, Watahomigie (1995) tells how many families reacted negatively when Hualapai/English bilingual education was begun in Peach Springs, Arizona, in the 1970s: "Parents and grandparents were upset because they had been brainwashed for over 100 years that the native language and culture were to be forgotten" (p. 190). Today Peach Springs has a high-technology, integrated bilingual program through the high school level and the school has very strong community support, but this was achieved through a conscious effort of local advocates to win over the skeptics.

Parents and other interested community members need a variety of opportunities to learn about bilingual education and second-language acquisition. One first step might be an assessment of parents' entry-level knowledge and opinions regarding bilingual education. To get such information would require an "informal, natural environment in which honest comments would emerge" (Cohen, 1983, p. 147). According to Cohen, if parents are to make a real difference in the planning, operation, and evaluation of their child's bilingual program, they need information that will enable them to do more than just endorse bilingual education as an abstraction. A survey of parents of bilingual program students in East Austin, for example, found that the majority were unfamiliar with the objectives of bilingual education (Santelices, 1981). Despite plans on paper to inform the community about bilingual education, it is unrealistic to assume that the community will automatically absorb such information without face-to-face interaction and closer ties between the school and the community, which would provide opportunities for firsthand observation and discussion through social networks that are meaningful to the parents.

How can educators bridge the gap between educators' jargon and everyday language?

A teacher and a parent may be speaking the same language, or may be supposedly communicating with each other via a translator, but if the teacher is using terms that are unfamiliar to the listener, it is obviously difficult for meaningful communication to occur. Written communication can also be translated into the home language and still be virtually incomprehensible. For example, a typical elementary report card assumes much previous knowledge about U.S. educational practices—knowledge that many newcomers to this country will not have.

In her ethnographic study of Puerto Rican families in the special education system, Harry (1992) found that miscommunication was a very important factor in the loss of trust between parents and the system. Terms such as *borderline range, decoding,* and *spatial memory tasks* can be translated into the home language and still be meaningless unless one has had some training in education. While Harry found such miscommunication rampant in the district in which she conducted her ethnographic research, she did find a "pocket of excellence" at one school. Along with other innovations, personnel at this school had made very deliberate efforts to build rapport and problem-solving capacities between school personnel and parents

by making sure that terms were understood. School personnel explicitly taught key education terminology to the families, and for other less salient terms the family liaison worker insisted that special education staff and teachers use plain English. This plain English could then be translated into plain Spanish when needed. This helped tremendously to turn meetings into dialogues in which parents and teachers could learn from each other about their children's achievements and needs.

Survival and Family Structure *How will the struggles of day-to-day survival affect the nature of the home–school partnership?*

As they work to feed, clothe, and house their families—often in a new and unfamiliar setting—some parents will simply not have enough time and energy to devote to extensive participation in school activities. Language minority parents who work long hours at extremely low wages for economic survival, often at more than one job, will have little time for additional school responsibilities, especially during school hours.

When social services are extremely segmented and transportation services are inadequate, families can also face many daily challenges in their efforts to secure needed housing, health care, social services, and adult education opportunities— challenges that also compete with time for school-related activities. Valdés found in the immigrant community that she studied that "surviving, using what was available in the system, and learning how to work within it required energy, hard work, and information. Some families were lucky and had excellent networks of experienced relatives ready to help them. Others did not. Even with help, however, the everyday lives of the adults and children in the study were not easy" (Valdés 1996, p. 114). Later in the chapter when we look at programs, we will see that some schools have addressed this issue by working together with the community for better coordination of social services.

These day-to-day survival challenges do not mean that a partnership cannot be established, but they do mean that the supposed quality of the family's school involvement cannot be judged by standards based on a middle-class lifestyle. In reality, though, the expectations that are built into many parent involvement plans are indeed based on such assumptions of relative socioeconomic stability.

How will differences in family structure affect the relationship?

A teacher who is looking at the world through cultural lenses that define the nuclear family as the norm may misjudge a family that does not fit this pattern. One of the authors still recalls the exasperation in an elementary teacher's voice as she complained to a colleague that her Filipino students' families were so "clannish." But does "clan" necessarily have to carry a negative connotation? Various extended family patterns that are characteristic of a variety of language minority groups generally have an important role in providing networks for survival as parents negotiate the American socioeconomic system. However, because of institutional or personal biases, teachers may attribute negative characteristics to such families, rather than capitalizing on the positive role that extended family members can have in raising children. For example, Robledo Montecel (1993) noted that for many Puerto Rican families, extended family members can be seen as legitimate

representatives for the parents in school activities, and the acceptance of their role will improve the partnership between the home and the school.

Educational Background and Attitudes toward the Value of Schooling   *To what degree do school expectations match the educational background of parents?*

The more that school personnel know about the educational background of their students' families, the more they will be able to anticipate the issues that they need to address, or the information and training that they may want develop with parents in order to make the current generation's educational experience meaningful to the parents. School–parent interfaces generally assume a basic degree of literacy on the part of the parents, along with a general understanding of how American school systems work. For example, understanding a report card or a letter to the parents about an upcoming career day requires both reading skills and some background knowledge of school subjects, teaching methods, and behavioral expectations. Therefore, when language minority parents have not had opportunities for extensive schooling, it becomes very difficult for them to negotiate their child's school system. Teachers who make the effort to learn something about the education system in the country of origin of immigrant parents will be better prepared to know what will make sense and what will not make sense to parents as their children go through the American system.

Besides basic literacy, there may be attitudes associated with lack of schooling that can affect the home–school relationship. Delgado-Gaitán (1990) found in a community study of Hispanic American parents that some—generally those with more education—had an active stance in their children's learning: They believed that their children could learn and took action when that was not happening. However, other parents felt powerless because of their own limited schooling experiences. These parents tended to blame their children's learning difficulties on their own low level of schooling, and they also tended to blame their children for lack of motivation. They had less faith than more educated parents did in their children's abilities to learn and in their abilities as parents to contribute to that learning. The children of the powerless parents in Delgado-Gaitán's study were more likely to be in the lower reading groups, thus creating a situation of "perpetuated inequity" (1990, pp. 138, 139). Unless educators and other parents find ways to help less educated parents step into the community of learners, such inequities can indeed be perpetuated.

The case of negative educational experiences is another example of the influence of parents' educational backgrounds. Many indigenous minorities have had very unpleasant experiences in their own schooling, often resulting in failure to complete high school. Illiteracy or a history of school failure can work in two ways for parents. It can make them have little trust in their own abilities to support their children's education, and it can make them mistrustful of the school in which their children's are enrolled.

What assumptions do educators have about the attitudes of parents toward schooling?

It is a common refrain among teachers and administrators in general that they really want parents to be involved, but that the parents just do not care. The refrain

is even more common among educators working in lower-income, ethnically diverse communities. However, ethnic parents, in turn, could argue that schools do a very effective job of making them feel unwanted. They often don't want to be involved where they sense or see that they are being treated as nonequals. The adage of parents' "lack of interest" may in reality be a reflection of educators' "lack of interest" in empowered parent participation. In other words, if community members sense that their participation really does not matter to the administration, they may feel that an active stance is not worth their time and effort.

Despite myths that marginalized social groups do not value education, individual members of ethnic communities generally do perceive formal schooling to be an important instrument for upward mobility (Carger, 1996). There is a stereotype that many minority parents are more apathetic than their nonminority counterparts. However, research indicates that low parent participation has more to do with low education levels and low income than with minority or ethnic group membership. In other words, controlling for education and income, Juan and Juana Fulano are no more likely than John or Jane Doe to have low involvement in their children's education (Goldenberg, 1993).

Lareau and Benson (1984), in a comparative study of two schools, explored the myth of parent apathy, and Lareau (2000) expanded on the theme in a subsequent book. They were studying the phenomenon from the point of view of socioeconomic class rather than ethnicity, but their study has important implications for language minority education. They found that the middle-class school they studied had established a much stronger partnership with the parents than had the working-class school. The difference, however, was not related to the amount of parental interest in the education of their children. It was related to sociocultural differences in family life and the ways in which the schools responded to these differences. Social network patterns and child socialization networks were some of the principal sociocultural factors that produced the different home–school relationships. Among families in the lower-class school, for example, kinship played a more important role in social networks than contact with fellow parents through the school network. The middle-class families, on the other hand, being more socially and geographically mobile, tended to be more isolated from their relatives, and consequently depended more on other parents in their neighborhood rather than on relatives for their social relationships. Through these frequent school-related contacts with neighborhood peers, middle-class parents had much more information about what actually happened in the classroom. They also had more information about funding, school policy, and staffing procedures. The lower-class children were more likely to be involved in informal, often family-related activities, while the middle-class children were more likely to be involved in such formal activities as Brownies, organized athletics, or piano lessons. These formal activities, in turn, strengthened the middle-class parental social network and won the approval of teachers, who judged the activities to be educational and enriching. Even though parents at both schools had a comparable level of interest in their children's education, the ultimate result of the social network patterns was that teachers tended to develop higher expectations for the

middle-class children because it *appeared* to them that the middle-class parents were more interested. Lareau and Benson concluded that teachers should be prepared to take some initiative in fostering a climate of mutual interdependence, and they must be willing to explore a variety of partnership alternatives based on varied sociocultural patterns.

In the case of language minority families, although their care may not be *perceived* by the school, parents generally *do* wonder: How well are my children doing in school? Are they being prepared for jobs or college? Are the teachers properly equipped to do their job? Is the curriculum prolearner? What is the bilingual or ESL program doing for my child? Are my children safe in school? Do teachers and administrators care? Because of the middle-class biases that have historically been built in to our educational system, however, it takes willingness, creativity, and a strong community knowledge base in order for school personnel to hear and to accept the questions that language minority parents ask.

Knowledge and Beliefs about Education   *How much knowledge do parents have about school culture and the role of parents in schools in the United States?*

Just about any school system that immigrant parents are coming from will have been significantly different from the system in which their children are now enrolled. Therefore, families will benefit greatly from frequent opportunities to ask questions and learn how the new system works. Without this knowledge, they may be unable to be strong advocates and supporters for their children as they find their way through the system. Delgado-Gaitán found that a broad range of Hispanic parents that she studied, both those who felt somewhat empowered and those who felt powerless, expressed much confusion over exactly what the school expected of them and indicated that they felt frustrated about how to help their children (Delgado-Gaitán, 1990, p. 109). In a case study of three Mexican-origin families in California, the same researcher (Delgado-Gaitán, 1987) found that the parents were very effective in teaching their children to work cooperatively, to respect adults, and to do well in school by obeying teachers. However, beyond having them "learn English" and "stay in school" the parents had very little knowledge about how to guide their children through the system. The parents, for example, needed opportunities to learn about available career and higher education paths so that they could provide clearer direction for their children. When we survey actual programs at the end of this chapter, we will see that several of these programs have addressed such issues through various types of opportunities for parents to learn about American school systems.

How much do parents know about the specific methods being used in their child's classroom, and how comfortable would they be reinforcing these methods at home?

Language minority parents on the whole are less likely than majority parents to be familiar with the types of learning activities that teachers expect their children to do in the classroom and at home. Consequently, opportunities for home

learning can be lost because of discrepancies between the approaches of parents and teachers. Goldenberg tells of two cases: In one case a literate Mexican mother was teaching her first-grade daughter the letters of the alphabet at home, thinking that she was helping her to learn to read. The daughter's teacher told the mother that this was not the way that she taught reading in her classroom, but she didn't provide the mother with alternative activities. As a result, the mother stopped working with her child. In the second case, a Salvadoran mother was helping her child with reading at home based on the methods that she was familiar with from her country. The father, who had some familiarity with United States schools, asked her to stop because *los métodos de la maestra son distintos* (the teacher's methods are different) (Goldenberg, 1993, p. 232). In both cases, Goldenberg reports, the children ended the year below grade level in reading, and he suggested that this might not have been so if there had been better communication between the home and the school.

Beliefs about how children learn can also have an effect on the nature of the partnerships between the home and school. For example, the degree of congruence between the *type* of homework assigned and parents' *beliefs* about learning may affect children's learning outcomes. In a study involving two language minority kindergarten groups, one group was using a basal text and phonics-oriented worksheets; the other group was using a whole-language approach. This latter group of children had simple storybooks to read at school and then to read again at home with their parents. Comparing the two groups, the class using storybooks did better overall than the readiness and phonics class in development of reading skills. However, looking at individual children, the extent to which parents actually used the storybooks at home was unrelated to the literacy development of the children in the whole-language group. In other words, children whose parents used the storybooks were no further along in reading than children whose parents hadn't used the assigned storybooks. However, use of the phonics worksheets at home was strongly related to higher literacy development for children in the phonics group. The Hispanic American parents in both groups tended to equate learning to read with decoding, which they believed was learned through repetitious drills. Therefore, according to Goldenberg, the storybook parents were unlikely to see the point of the whole-language approach of "pretend" reading and talking about the meaning of the texts. As Goldenberg concluded, "There was a congruence between the [phonics] worksheets and parents' beliefs about learning to read; this congruency led, we believe, to their more effective use in the home" (Goldenberg, 1993, p. 244).

What differences exist between parents and teachers in the perception of the home–school relationship?

Parents' perceptions of their role in their children's education may differ from school ideas about the role of parents. Perceptions may differ in many ways. For example, some parents may believe in a separation between home life and school life, entrusting the education of their children to the teachers and not feeling that it is their role to challenge the authority of the school. However, the absence of

challenges to the school's authority cannot necessarily be equated with trust in the school. In Harry's previously mentioned ethnographic study of 12 Puerto Rican families with learning-disabled children, the researcher concluded that while parents generally showed *deference* to school authorities, they did not necessarily *trust* them: "Inadequate provision of information regarding the meaning of various events, as well as the school district's reliance upon formalized, written communication, led to mistrust and withdrawal on the part of parents. A habitual deference to authority, however, tended to disguise parents' real opinions" (Harry, 1992, p. 471). The parents in this study were reluctant to openly challenge school personnel, despite the obvious blunders that school personnel sometimes made. (For example, in two instances children were promoted to the next grade "by accident" and then had to be sent back to their previous grade after they had been in their new classroom for several days.) Such experiences often resulted in withdrawal and resignation (Harry, 1992, p. 486).

Power and Status   *How will the inherent inequality of the educator/layperson relationship affect the quality of the partnership?*

Except in the case of community members who have degrees in education, educators have a repertoire of educational concepts and a specialized lexicon that are alien to community members, especially those coming from a very different educational system. Coupled with specialized training, educators often convey the feeling that they alone know what is best for the students. To add to the feeling of inequality when educators and parents are interacting, educators are acting as part of a fairly large and powerful institution—the school district—while parents are acting in most cases as a single family. The inequality is a given—it exists whether we like it or not—but unless we address it constructively, it can certainly impede the establishment of a partnership. Because of this inequality, many language minority parents are very uncertain of their role within the school, and they may have a fear of being judged negatively by school personnel because of their lack of education or their limited familiarity with the dominant cultural system. It is natural for people to feel ill at ease in unfamiliar territory, and schools often feel extremely unfamiliar to language minority parents.

Do programs for parents convey a message of cultural deficiency?

You may be groaning and thinking, "Oh, no, I can't believe the authors are bringing this up again! Cultural deficit frameworks are a thing of the past. We are much more enlightened today." However, we believe that cultural deficiency is an issue that will not go away entirely because it is a product of power and status disparity. A parent education program can easily come to represent a cultural deficit framework as educators work to promote certain parent behaviors. Specific kinds of parent behavior have been shown to have an effect on academic achievement, and consequently it might seem desirable to change more parents' behavior to fit that pattern. For example, among the home environment factors that Martínez (1981) found would predict higher achievement of students in bilingual education programs in

northern New Mexico were verbal interaction, time spent reading with the child, and parental aspirations for their children. According to Delgado-Gaitán (1993), "Family practices have been shown to be more important than parent education, race, marital status, or family size in affecting children's reading success" (p. 141).

Such findings suggest the desirability of intervention in parenting practices. However, there can be a tension between educators' desires to provide parents with what they consider to be the best possible tools for helping their children succeed and the danger that such efforts will in reality be designs to remedy supposed family deficiencies. Schools that convey to students and parents an attitude of sociocultural devaluation are also schools that are most likely failing to tap and develop the experiences, skills, and abilities of their community members. As valuable as parent education programs may be in many contexts, there is also a danger of their misuse. Cultural and social differences have a track record of being misconstrued as deficiencies, and it is very easy to put the burden on the parent to change to fit the school. In a well-intentioned attempt to strengthen the role of the parent as a partner, the degree of mutuality—inherent to the concept of partnership—instead may be diminished. Therefore, forays into parent education will most likely have positive effects on the partnership only if they are conceived and developed as mutual parent–professional dialogues.

As an example of such mutual dialogue, Flores and Hendricks (1984) reported on a series of discussions for Hispanic American parents in Fairbanks, Alaska, on child development and the role of the parent in academic development. As rapport grew, the sessions became opportunities to share mutual concerns, worries, successes, or problems. In many areas the parents concurred with the "professional" advice presented in a series of filmstrips. However, one professional prescription with which the parents tended to disagree was that young children should be encouraged to establish social relationships apart from their family's own network. In the workshop environment the parents felt free to disagree, and the objective of the discussion coordinators—who were bilingual teachers—was not necessarily to change anybody's mind. However, as a result both the teachers and the parents became aware of and more sensitive to this cultural difference.

Delgado-Gaitán provides another example of a parent-training program that did not operate out of a deficit framework. She examined a bilingual preschool parent training program, asking herself whether the bilingual teacher was promoting a deficit theory by teaching parents ways to interact with their preschoolers. She concluded that in this case, the parents were not getting a message of deficiency for three reasons: (1) the teacher used the family's natural home activities, enabling parents to become more aware of the educational potential in these activities; (2) the program included a parent advisory committee that was involved in actual decision-making activities; and (3) the students' culture was incorporated into the daily school curriculum. This made the experience a two-way street, in which the home life was incorporated into the school, and the school perspective was incorporated into home life (Delgado-Gaitán, 1990, p. 163).

To what degree are language minority community members a part of the school in instructional and administrative positions?

One way in which status inequality between the school and the community can begin to be lessened is through active efforts to employ community members in the school. As we will be seeing shortly when we survey some types of programs, positive school-community relationships can evolve from the presence of cultural brokers who work on a personal level to build natural bridges between the school and the community. It cannot be said enough that we all have our own socioculturally based worldview, and no matter how much an outsider may have studied about and interacted with members of a different cultural group, she or he will almost never have the same perspective that a community member has. Reflecting on the development of the Hualapai bilingual/bicultural program in Peach Springs, Arizona, Watahomigie (1995) reported that one of the factors in the success of the program had been the effort to "grow our own" Hualapai teaching staff. As the number of Hualapai certified teachers gradually increased over the years, the school truly became the *community's* school. With a community school that looked to parents and grandparents for support and knowledge, dramatic improvements occurred in the number of Peach Springs students who went on to graduate from high school (100 percent in some years) and the number of graduates who went on to some form of postsecondary education (pp. 190, 191).

However, membership in a particular ethnic group does not automatically mean that one will have a better understanding of the reality and needs of other members of that group. Given differences in the amount of education, socioeconomic background, place of birth, personal philosophy, and the like, as much variation often occurs within broad language minority groups as between such groups. Valdés, for example, found in her study of young immigrant children in a predominantly Mexican American community that "both Anglos and Hispanics varied in their response to the same children. We found sensitive teachers in both ethnic groups who believed these children could succeed. But we also found very mainstream-oriented teachers in both groups who had little patience with [the perceived shortcomings] of newly arrived Mexican children and their families" (Valdés, 1996, p. 148).

Family Literacy Programs and Other School–Community Partnerships

A broad range of programs throughout the United States with the goal of ultimately improving student learning reflects a variety of pathways toward partnerships. As we look at some of these programs, we can see how they address many of the issues we discussed in our preceding series of focusing questions. We will first examine family literacy programs, and then we will conclude by looking at other programs that may include family literacy components but also have other objectives. We will describe these programs in the present tense, but the reader needs to remember that such programs depend on a variety of funding sources, as well as on the support of school and community personnel. As funds come and go,

and as administrators, teachers, and community members come and go, the programs we describe here may no longer be in existence or may have been modified.

Family Literacy Programs

Family literacy projects expand the scope of literacy beyond the classroom doors and reach out into the community to provide parents, as well as children, with learning opportunities. The general components of family literacy projects are adult education, use of intergenerational educational activities, and classes on parenting or parent support groups. While the development of literacy habits, parenting skills, and the use of classroom-type activities at home may seem like laudable objectives, family literacy programs, not surprisingly, have been criticized as new manifestations of cultural deficit theories. For example, such programs may ignore literacy in the home language. They may not recognize the many types of informal but valuable learning experiences that occur within the natural home context, or they may ignore parents' vast knowledge about their own children. Building on their work with immigrant families and using Auerbach's (1989) sociocontextual approach to family literacy, Lee and Patel (1994) make several suggestions for family literacy programs in which families participate as individuals with resources rather than as defective parents who need remediation. Lee and Patel recommend the establishment of respect for the families' identities by using lessons that are culturally relevant; visiting families in their homes to build an understanding of their strengths; a focus on language learning as it occurs in the natural environment (for example through family games, mealtimes, bedtimes, recreation, and worship); helping parents to find culturally comfortable ways to advocate for their children; providing appropriate training for educators in empowering styles of adult education; and use of an integrated approach in which community agencies collaborate with schools and parents.

Project FLAME (Family Literacy: Aprendiendo, Mejorando, Educando) is a family literacy program from the Center for Literacy at the University of Illinois at Chicago. FLAME helps limited-English-speaking Hispanic parents develop their own literacy in order to increase the academic achievement of their children. Designed as a resource model rather than a deficit model, FLAME addresses the parents' personal goals. It also values the home language and encourages shared literacy experiences within the home social network. The program has two prongs: Parents as Teachers and Parents as Learners. In the Parents as Teachers component, parents attend meetings conducted in Spanish in which they learn ways to model literacy at home and how to employ parent–child interactions that build literacy. The Parents as Learners component consists of ESL lessons that are designed to complement the goals of the Parents as Teachers sessions. The program has achieved success as measured by children's increased scores on standardized tests and less need for special services. Just as important, it has resulted in increased parent participation in school governance and has served as a springboard from which parents can aspire to further education or improved job opportunities (Mulhern, Rodríguez-Brown, & Shanahan, 1994).

The Lao Family English Literacy Project in St. Paul, Minnesota, includes extended family members in the home–school connection. Serving immigrant

Hmong and Vietnamese families, the project focuses on cultural preservation, achievement of economic self-sufficiency, and academic achievement for children. The services include ESL classes for extended family members, a preschool and child care, development of native language literacy, and "parent-child time." The ESL classes focus on survival skills, parent involvement in school activities, homework assistance, and child development. The family literacy staff is from the local community and is bilingual and bicultural (McCollum & Russo, 1993).

Another program in St. Paul is the Family English School, which is sponsored by the Lao Family Community. The program is for Hmong and Latino parents and their preschoolers, and it is staffed by bilingual teachers, ESL teachers, early childhood teachers, and bilingual community volunteers who range from high school age to senior citizens. The program introduces parents and children to the U.S. school setting, but just as important, it establishes a context in which parents can voice their opinions and capitalize on their important role as their child's first teacher. School personnel work with parents and community agencies to develop a culturally relevant curriculum. For example, using the families' experiences, the school produced a story about a Hmong child's life in Laos, and they also made a video titled "Learning Happens Everywhere" that illustrates the role of parents as teachers in the local community's context (Patel & Kaplan, 1994).

In the Hmong Literacy Project in Fresno, California, parents work to preserve their past as well as to ensure a better future for their children. Beyond developing literacy in Hmong and English, this parent-designed program strives to record oral histories, develop skills that will enable parents to help their children academically, and strengthen intergenerational ties. Through the literacy component of this program, parents have produced a community newsletter. They also learn math skills and computer literacy, which enables them to better help their children with schoolwork. Through this program parents have developed their literacy and increased their ability to understand communications sent home by teachers. The program has also resulted in greater parent involvement at school, as measured by attendance at school events and parent–teacher conferences (Kang, Kuehn, & Herrell, 1996).

The Families Together Project at Hawthorne School in San Francisco is an example of a program that coordinates its work with other community agencies. The program is open to the community at large rather than just to parents of children at the school. In addition to native-language literacy, ESL, and parenting classes, the program offers translation services, legal services, and assistance with other social services. The results of a needs assessment survey determine class topics, and activities can range from learning how to fill out government forms to learning about American folk songs and board games. Through the family stories project, participants tell their life stories, which are then published in Spanish and English so that they can be used in future classes. Rioux and Berla (1993) note that as a result of the workshops in which parents learn about their rights and responsibilities within the school, parents are more confident in visiting the school and have become more involved in school activities.

Our final family literacy program is that of Seward Park High School in New York City. The program organizers begin with a questionnaire, available in Chinese,

Spanish, and English, through which they identify topics of interest to the parents. They then develop these topics into themes for the classes. Parents participate in ESL classes and also take a class called "Parent, Child, and School." The curriculum develops from everyday life situations and school-related situations, and it includes such relevant topics as family health and HIV/AIDS prevention. Parents also receive strong support and encouragement to attend school meetings and to speak with teachers and administrators about concerns regarding their children (Patel & Kaplan, 1994; Zentella, 2005).

School–Community Partnerships   We now look at a variety of other community programs that, although they may include a family literacy component, illustrate additional aspects of school–community partnerships.

At Eugene Field Elementary School in Albuquerque, New Mexico, the nerve center for home–school relations is the Parent Room. Parents and teachers together have opportunities to learn from each other as they explore such issues as the role of parents and the role of teachers in child development; clarifications of parents' goals for their children; the use of a problem-solving approach to child rearing and instruction; and parents' and teachers' respect for each other as equals who both contribute resources and who work together. With day care provided, parents can observe classes to help them learn about classroom teaching methods, attend workshops, check out materials from the family center, receive training to become substitute classroom aides, maintain communication with teachers, and participate in school governance. In addition to the activities centered around the Parent Room at the school, home visits are also an important aspect of the program (Navarette, 1996).

Hollibrook Elementary School in Houston, Texas, is located in a neighborhood characterized by poverty, violence, and gang activity. Like Eugene Field Elementary School, Hollibrook has a Parent Center where parents can hold meetings, work on projects, participate in ESL classes, and socialize. In addition, the school has bilingual social workers who work with neighborhood apartment building managers, police, and community agencies to develop an awareness of the whole child and to coordinate services. Teachers also do outreach at the apartment buildings where many of the students live. To further increase the bond between teachers and families, students stay with the same teacher for several years. Teacher volunteers and city parks employees offer an after-school program in which community members can work with tutors and participate in recreational activities (Berman, Minicucci, McLaughlin, Nelson, & Woodworth, 1995).

The *Instituto Familiar* at Carr Middle School in southern California puts into action Moll's "funds of knowledge" approach. In the initial process of establishing the institute, parents on the school's advisory board surveyed families to identify their interests and concerns. Then, parents worked together to choose topics for workshops and to organize the workshops to meet the needs of working parents' schedules. As a result of the institute's activities, parents have come to feel more comfortable in the school and more confident about their place and voice in the education of their children. They also have developed a better understanding of the role of education in shaping their children's futures, and through their activities

in the institute they have found a way to close "the cultural and linguistic gap that commonly exists, especially as adolescents become increasingly absorbed into the cultural norms and expectations of the dominant society" (Zúñiga & Westernoff, 1996, p. 216).

The Trinity-Arlington Teacher-Parent Training for School Success Program in Virginia provides services in Spanish, Vietnamese, Khmer, and Lao. The program has three components: teacher training in parent involvement techniques, parent training in tutoring strategies for home use, and curriculum development. Project participants developed the Vocationally Oriented Bilingual Curriculum that parents and students can use at home to learn together about procedures and resources for career planning. For example, it includes a lesson about the role of the school counselor. Parents and children discuss the lesson together and then make a list of three reasons why they might need to see a guidance counselor. Besides providing very practical information for students and their families, the program has resulted in discussions with siblings and extended family members as well as parents. Another reported result is that parents' contacts with the school increased as they became more knowledgeable about how the school system functions (Simich-Dudgeon, 1993).

Turning now to a program for indigenous language minorities, *Ciulistet* is a teacher study group for educators in southwestern Alaska. (*Ciulistet* means "leaders" in the Yup'ik language.) At the time of this writing, the group had been operating for 15 years with the participation of community elders, teachers, administrators, and university consultants. The meetings are conducted in Yup'ik, and the goal is to find ways to connect traditional holistic knowledge with school knowledge. For example, "The elders' storytelling through dance, storyknifing, and drumming are intimately related to Western forms of literacy, and elders' environmental knowledge is directly related to Western science and mathematics" (Lipka & Ilutsik, 1995, p. 201). Through *Ciulistet,* participants develop ways to make these connections in the classroom. Along with community-based curriculum development, *Ciulistet* participants hold community meetings throughout southwestern Alaska to open up a dialogue with the many parents who feel that the use of Yup'ik in the classroom only "gets in the way" of English. Through their work, they want the next generation of Yup'ik children to be able to see "that their language holds wisdom, and that their stories teach values, science, and literacy" (Lipka & Ilutsik, 1995, p. 201).

The final approach to school–community partnerships that we consider here is that of the community organization at Ochoa Elementary School in Tucson, Arizona. As part of a comprehensive and intensive process of teacher-designed reform at the school in this lower-income, predominantly Mexican American neighborhood, teachers radically altered their views of parent participation. They realized that they had traditionally been operating out of a deficit perspective. Influenced by the funds of knowledge approach, they instead began to identify and use many of the resources that parents and other family members could bring to the learning process. At the same time, the teachers recognized that the community's poverty did bring with it serious conditions that impacted the learning

environment and that could not realistically be ignored—for example, a preponderance of low-paying jobs, substandard housing, and inadequate health care access. As part of their reform efforts they hired a staff member to work on community organization. A group of parents and other neighborhood residents formed a community coalition that later expanded to collaborate with other community organizing agencies. In conjunction with the funds of knowledge approach to curriculum and instruction, the community organizing activities significantly changed the relationships among teachers, parents, and students. For example, they would all work together to investigate community issues. In the process of these investigations, students might be learning content area by taking on such roles as historians, mathematicians, and scientists. The principal investigator of the project described the new relationships among parents, students, and teachers: "As they seek and find solutions to local problems, they together advocate for changes in their community structures" (Heckman, 1996, p. 154). Of all of the programs that we have described here, this one perhaps comes closest to parent involvement that is empowering.

Case Studies of Change from the Inside Out

To conclude this chapter we look at three examples of community activism in which change comes predominantly "from the inside out," to use the phrase of the authors of one of the cases we will discuss (Begay, Dick, Estell, Estell, McCarty, & Sells, 1995). In these cases, we are not looking at program features as we have done so far. We are looking at the processes through which community members have become highly active. First we will look at the development of the Choctaw bilingual program in Mississippi, and then we will consider the history of the Rough Rock program in Arizona. Finally, we will look at the development of a Hispanic parent organization in a community in central California.

The Mississippi Choctaw Bilingual Program

The community participates in three important roles in the Mississippi Choctaw bilingual program: making decisions, providing resources, and developing parents' skills. As we described earlier in the chapter, the program grew out of the community's awareness of a need to develop their children's bilingual skills. As described by York (1979), the situation involved children who could use Choctaw informally with family and friends but were unable to carry on discourse in Choctaw in formal situations such as public meetings. Survey results indicated that most parents favored using both Choctaw and English in the school, and the community applied for and received a Title VII grant so that 12 Choctaw teachers could be certified; consequently, children's Choctaw as well as English skills could be developed in school. Parents participated in decision making for the program through the advisory board and in the development of instructional materials. As resource persons, community members demonstrated crafts, music, and dance; told stories; and organized special events and activities. As learners, the parents participated in a

variety of activities. For example, they enrolled in literacy programs and learned the school orthography for Choctaw. They learned about the school curriculum and had opportunities to clarify conflicting values and goals. Some community members participated in a writers' workshop so that they could create Choctaw literature based on their experiences (York, 1979).

The Choctaw bilingual program no longer receives Title VII support, and program design has changed over the years. However, with tribal funding and monies from the Indian Students Equalization Program, the Choctaw schools continue to thrive today and to be an integral part of the Choctaw community. The Mississippi Band of the Choctaw Indians now locally operates six schools that were once administered through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Parents conduct their activities out of the school system's central office, and this physical location reflects their status within the organization. Twenty percent of the parents volunteer in classrooms on a daily basis, and parents participate actively in every type of committee work—for example, textbook adoption, grant money allocations, and modification of programs to meet student needs (Dr. Ada Belton, Dr. Patricia Kwachka, and Ms. Mandy Hemphill, personal communication, February 11, 1997).

The Rough Rock English-Navajo Language Arts Program   In 1966 Rough Rock became known as the first American Indian school to be governed by a locally elected Navajo school board. Since then the community has been a leader and innovator in Navajo education. The Rough Rock English-Navajo Language Arts Program (RRENLAP) was initiated in the 1980s in an effort to strengthen what had previously been a very unstructured bilingual education program at the K through third-grade level. As the program has developed over the past 10 years, teachers, administrators, and university consultants have perceived a process of evolution from the inside out as they have changed "the relations of indigenous educators to the larger school power structure" (Begay et al., 1995, p. 121). The RRENLAP program has come to involve "community educators teaching according to community norms, utilizing local cultural and linguistic knowledge" (p. 122). This has not happened in complete isolation, however. Local educators have benefited enormously from collaboration with outsiders with whom they have built long-term mutual relationships. (RRENLAP was established in close collaboration with KEEP researchers from Hawaii. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the KEEP concept of culturally compatible classrooms.) However, RRENLAP participants conclude that "Those best equipped to mediate between an educational system of exogenous origin and the local language and culture, are local educators themselves" (p. 137). Looking at their experience with RRENLAP, Begay et al. state that for successful community schools to develop, three factors must be present: a school culture that values and rewards local knowledge, a stable staff that is committed to program goals and has opportunities for staff development, and democratic power relations so that teachers can have control over their own pedagogy (see McCarty, 2002).

El Comité de Padres Latinos (COPLA)   Our third illustration is an ethnographic account of the development of a parent advocacy group among Hispanic parents in Carpintería, California. Parents organized COPLA—Comité de Padres Latinos—as a way to provide support for one another in their interactions with the school. The organization has helped many Hispanic parents develop from isolation to activism. With the assistance of several advocates within the school system, COPLA has worked to establish time for teachers to interact more with parents, to help parents learn about the school system and about their rights and responsibilities, and to give parents an active role in decision making. Through COPLA, parents who have the social and **cultural capital** to be more active have trained less active parents in community and school leadership. COPLA has also fostered valuable dialogue between school personnel and parents. For example, in a discussion about teenagers' academic motivation, "the parents began to understand more fully the extent of teachers' workloads and pressures and the teachers and principal gained a new appreciation of the contributions and responsiveness of parents" (Delgado-Gaitán, 1993, p. 153).

The emergence of COPLA as an important community organization did not happen easily, however. The first step was development of an awareness among parents of their rights and of their need to learn more about how the school system worked. The school district's migrant education director, a bilingual preschool teacher, and an outside researcher—Delgado-Gaitán—played an advocacy role in helping to develop this awareness. With awareness, parents began to mobilize. At a meeting in which the researcher presented data about parent participation, one parent said, "Some of us have more knowledge about this topic and we need to organize into a group to help other families who do not have as much experience. That way we can help each other" (Delgado-Gaitán, 1990, p. 145). The immediate response of other parents was not enthusiastic, but a core of interested parents did form a leadership group that began to meet. They learned as they went along about how to conduct a meeting, how to listen to divergent points of view, and how to share responsibilities for getting things done. Despite many organizational challenges, they ultimately obtained formal district recognition, access to funds for parent training, and the part-time services of a district employee to help with organizational details. None of this came about easily, however. Twice, for example, the parents had to meet outside because through an oversight they had been locked out of their meeting room despite having made prior arrangements to use it.

Reflecting on the value of COPLA's work, one parent said, "I felt very isolated before, and now in this group these meetings have been very good for me." Another parent said, "One loses one's shyness. We can visit the schools more confidently" (Delgado-Gaitán, 1990, p. 156). Delgado-Gaitán identifies some of the results of COPLA's development as less social isolation among parents, a greater parental sense of expertise in child rearing, opportunities to work collectively with school personnel, improved communication between the home and the school, improved programs and services for Latino children, and academic gains for Latino children (Delgado-Gaitán, 1993, p. 153).

Summary

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Throughout this chapter we have referred to many different examples of approaches to school–community partnerships. It would be unrealistic to claim that any of the many programs we have surveyed are unmitigated success stories. A closer look at any of the examples, depending on the lenses of the viewer, could probably reveal flaws or shortcomings. What one observer sees as true community empowerment, another could see as school imperialism clothed in the fashionable rhetoric of empowerment. Looking underneath the labels, however, you will find extremely dedicated parents, teachers, and other community advocates who make things happen and who are committed to establishing partnerships that will improve education for language minority children. Such efforts require thoughtful planning, a sincerely open and supportive administration, informed and energetic staff, and collaborative parents and students. They also require the willingness of all concerned to work hard, experience joys and sorrow, and accept times of conflict along with partial answers to complex questions.

Language minority families and communities want the best for their children, and they pin great hopes on the schools to enable their children to succeed, however that may be defined. Families may not always have the time, energy, self-confidence, or institutional understanding to demonstrate that concern in ways that the school has traditionally recognized, but language minority parents, as any parents, do want the quality of the schools to measure up to their aspirations for their children. School matters to these parents, and they do notice when learning is not occurring; when their schools resemble maximum security prisons rather than gardens of the mind; when their children sit in overcrowded classrooms; when teachers lose the sense that their work can really make a difference in the lives of their students; when they as parents don't feel welcome in the schools; when they and their children are treated as sociocultural pariahs and problems rather than as full community members; when their children's education lacks enrichment on the grounds that such children need remedial work in reading, writing, and mathematics; when their children are told that to get a good education they will have to be driven across town to areas in which affluent families live; or when their schools pay lip service to linguistic and cultural issues but in reality practice benign neglect.

For partnerships to develop, the communication of expectations between parents and educators cannot be a one-way street. Educators, parents, and students all impact and change each other in predictable and unpredictable ways. If we want to have engaging and supportive working relationships with each other, we have to be in tune with each other's sometimes strident, sometimes soft, sometimes calm, sometimes anxious (and sometimes silent) voices. Language minority parents, like all parents, will participate in varying ways in mutual efforts that value their contributions, yield solid academic results, and encourage positive interpersonal and intercultural relationships—efforts that aspire toward a community of learners and a community of leaders.

Key Terms

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Bilingual community, *398*

Biliteracy, *422*

Cultural capital, *449*

Diglossia, *421*

Ethnography, *419*

Funds of knowledge, *425*

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

1. How do the authors define the term *bilingual community?* Why do they argue for a broader conception of this term, rather than a more traditional definition that includes only the parents, guardians, and extended families of language minority children attending a specific school?

2. Why do the authors argue that educators should develop a community portrait of the area served by their particular school? How would you write such a portrait? What characteristics would you include in your community portrait?

3. What are community *funds of knowledge?* How can educators incorporate a funds of knowledge perspective into the curriculum and instruction of their bilingual or ESL classrooms?

4. According to the authors, what makes a home–school–community partnership effective? What questions should educators ask themselves as they develop such a partnership?

5. In her book *Con Respeto* (1996) Guadalupe Valdés argues that, despite the good intentions of educators in trying to provide opportunities for parent involvement, such efforts are almost always reduced to cultural deficit programs because they are based on middle-class notions of involvement and success. Is she right? What is your take on her position?

Afterword

This new edition of *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms* continues the tradition of its previous editions with its comprehensive treatment of a growing and highly complex set of educational challenges for schools in the United States. It brings together in one volume the issues of critical importance in understanding development and learning. It does so by relating to constructing optimal conditions and environments (schools, classrooms, lessons) that educators can use to enhance educational success in a large population of students that arrive at our schools speaking a language other than English. Never lost in this treatment is that these students do not arrive like blank slates; instead, they bring with them linguistic, cultural, and educational assets that can be leveraged in achieving educational success.

In this context of challenges, schools and the educational professionals who inhabit them often spend their time classifying and separating/segregating students as if these students were invisible, and would become visible only after being classified as limited English proficient, poor (free lunch/Title I), low performing, immigrant, etc., etc. These educational circumstances generate a remarkably new and expanded set of challenges for teachers who choose to serve these school populations. A recent e-mail from an urban high school teacher says it best:

> Hi . . .
> Here's the report from the Western Front. Please pass it around.
>
> What I initially perceived to be innovative use of year-round scheduling seems to be more mechanization run amok. Although they apparently were able to split the kids into three separate tracks with different vacations with little or no problem, the track system has virtually NO academic benefit, at least the way it operates here. There are about 600 9th- and 10th-graders per track and about 200 11th- and 12th-graders per track. Look at the dropout rate (near 50 percent if not more). And the school just received a 3 year accreditation rather than a 7 year so things are pretty bad.

In short, this school and school district are nightmares.

Reading and writing levels are grotesque. I have only four students who are operating above grade level. That's out of 150 on the rolls.

Teacher support is nil. I still don't have a stapler or even file folders for portfolio writing assessment. The trash is emptied maybe once a week. The floors are filthier than some bars I've been in, and the bathrooms and stairwells stink. There is one computer lab for Math, four or five computers in the library and that's about it. The textbooks left for me to use were 1980 copyright 10th-grade lit books, and there were only enough for a classroom set. And, of course, all except one of the short stories was about teenage white (male) characters, and these kids Just Don't Relate to that. Plus, despite this being a major ESL school, no supplementary resources "enrichment" materials exist that I can find that contain black or brown or multinational short stories or poems.

I have 21 students with perfect attendance and no discipline problems. Half of them turn in work that is perhaps 4th- or 5th-grade level; the others don't turn in anything at all. I asked other teachers what to do about grades. Well, if they make it every day, pass them with a D even if they don't do anything.

I asked the Union Steward if all the schools in the district were as screwed up as this one. He said that he has taught only here but that he hears it is the same way, but the sad thing is that it doesn't have to be that way. Indeed. The English teachers here are cold, intelligent, and superb. But they all tell me to forget everything I know and just do the best you can with what tools you have and forget how it could be. The faculty has rich experience, but I have never seen so many good ideas from attendance to technology disappear into such a black hole.

These kids are sweet. What lives they have led. It's too bad this system here just processes them through *(García, 2001, pp. 21–24).*

This edition confronts theses realities and challenges. Its treatment of the most recent theories regarding language and learning combined with the historical-to-present analysis of schooling of culturally and linguistically diverse students in this country is unique. The authors challenge the reader to go beyond the usual educational practice routines that often are utilized to prepare teachers for this student population. In the nomenclature of recent formulations within the school reform movement, this text serves as a "coach" for an already committed audience that needs to move from where they are to where they should be, particularly in those schools and circumstances that are challenged by a diverse cultural and linguistic student body.

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GLOSSARY

Absolute standards Setting standards that all students must meet, regardless of language proficiency level or ability.

Academic language The "complex network of language, cognitive skills and knowledge required across all content areas for eventual successful academic performance at secondary and university levels of instruction" (Collier & Thomas, 1989, p. 27). Like the term *social language, academic language* was initially popularized by Cummins as "cognitive academic language proficiency" or "context-reduced, decontextualized" language. It represents a dimension of language proficiency that extends into increasingly cognitively demanding uses of language, with fewer contextual clues to meaning.

Accelerated learning A comprehensive approach to school change developed in 1986 at Stanford University that aims at creating school success for all students. By redesigning and integrating complex curricular, instructional, and organizational practices, accelerated learning strategies seek to narrow the achievement gap between mainstream and culturally and linguistically diverse students. The program assumes that remedial approaches fail to close these gaps because they don't build on the students' strengths and they don't tap into the resources of teachers, parents, and the community.

Acculturation A process whereby an individual or group incorporates one or more cultural traits of another group, resulting in a blend of cultural patterns. Cultural change and accommodation through acculturation do not necessarily mean loss of the original cultural identity.

Active learning An instructional approach to teaching and learning that understands education as a dynamic process. AL strategies engage students in activities involving the application of content area in "real-life" situations. AL classrooms foster a learning environment where students develop their own knowledge structures through dialogue, reading and writing, and reflecting and acting upon engaging material.

Adequate yearly progress (AYP) is a measure of year-to-year student achievement on statewide assessments, required by the federal No Child Left Behind Act. Under NCLB, each state must develop yearly accountability plans that report the percentages of students scoring at "proficiency" levels of achievement in reading and language arts, mathematics, and science. These plans must report the AYP for all students, including designated subgroup categories: economically disadvantaged students, racial and ethnic minorities, students with disabilities, and English language learners. Schools whose students fail to make AYP for two consecutive years will be designated as needing improvement and targeted for assistance. Repeated failures in subsequent years would result in increasingly severe penalties.

Alternative assessment Any type of assessment for finding out what students know or can do that is not a traditional multiple-choice or standardized test.

Assessment bias Bias that occurs when the cultural background of diverse students is not considered.

Assimilation A process in which an individual or group completely takes on the traits of another culture, leaving behind the ancestral culture.

Attitudinal bias Bias resulting from differences in attitudes toward a particular language or dialect.

Authentic assessment Assessments that are linked both to the instruction delivered in the classroom and to real-world activities.

Authorization/reauthorization This is the process by which Congress amends an existing law in an effort to change or improve it.

Benchmarks Models or examples of student work used to demonstrate various levels on a scoring rubric.

Bias Threatens the validity of an assessment by factors irrelevant to what the test intends to measure, such as by favoring one group (cultural, racial, language, or gender) over another, or ignoring variations in the language proficiency or cultural background of students being assessed, especially when compared to a norming group.

Biculturalism The capacity to negotiate effectively within two different cultural systems. Being bicultural does not necessarily mean, however, giving equal time to both cultures in terms of behavior.

Bilingual community Traditionally *bilingual community* has been defined in terms of parents, guardians, and extended families of minority children attending a specific school. We have, however, extended the concept to encompass bilingual educators, university researchers, neighbors, community organizations, and businesses that are connected in some way to the local schools. It is through the cooperation of many different community resources, including professional educators and laypersons, that the best programs for language minority children can be developed.

Bilingual Education Act Formerly Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson on January 2, 1968. Through this act, the federal government made its first attempt at addressing the educational needs of language minority students. (See James Crawford's *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory and Practice,* 1999, for a detailed explanation of its genesis and further developments.)

Bilingual special education Refers to the use of the home language along with English in an individually designed program of instruction provided to a student with disabilities for the purpose of maximizing his or her learning potential.

Biliteracy At its most basic level, biliteracy refers to a person's ability to read and write in two languages. The concept, however, has taken on a sociopolitical dimension, especially as reflected in the work of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, who links literacy with issues of social justice and empowerment.

Common underlying proficiency/interdependence of languages The theory, supported by research, that academic skills, literacy development, concept formation, subject knowledge, and learning strategies all transfer from the first to the second language as the vocabulary and communicative patterns are developed in L_2 to express that academic knowledge.

Consequential validity Validity obtained when assessment results are used to improve both learning and teaching by responding to student needs with criterion-referenced tests that are scored on mastery of specified criteria or content.

Content validity Validity resulting from a match between assessment purpose and classroom instruction.

Cooperative learning An instructional strategy that facilitates a social and linguistically interactive classroom environment. Cooperative learning structures draw from the individual knowledge and talents of learners to facilitate team building, communication building, content mastery, and other interactive skills. Because interaction is a major feature of cooperative learning, language minority students tend to benefit from increased contact and richer linguistic experiences.

Criterion-referenced assessments These are tests designed to determine how well students have learned specific material taught in a course or at a particular grade level. Many state tests are criterion-referenced assessments. (Please see definition of norm-referenced assessment.)

Critical pedagogy An ambitious and wide-ranging ideological project usually situated within educational contexts and linked to the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. Critical pedagogy represents a montage of ideas and approaches questioning how knowledge is individually constructed and legitimized institutionally. Critical pedagogy offers individuals a lens to examine how human beings—regardless of their status in life—construct knowledge and their lived experiences.

Critical thinking A process that stresses an attitude of suspended judgment, incorporates logical inquiry and problem solving, and leads to an evaluative decision or action. Students who exhibit sound critical thinking skills distinguish between fact and opinion; ask questions; make detailed observations; uncover assumptions; and make assertions based on sound logic and solid evidence. Critical thinking is an intellectually disciplined process of actively and skillfully conceptualizing, applying, analyzing, synthesizing, and/or evaluating information gathered from, or generated by, observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action.

Cultural bias Bias in favor of the cultural majority group and against minority groups.

Cultural deficit theory A theory that implies that academic underachievement among minority students is due to their socioculturally, economically, linguistically, and intellectually "impoverished" environments, that is,

due to innate pathologies located within the students themselves, their families, or their communities.

Cultural relativism An important social science concept that involves "Tolerance based on skepticism of universal, objective standards of value as well as the idea of progress" (Bidney, 1968).

Culture A deep, multilayered, somewhat cohesive interplay of language, values, beliefs, and behaviors that pervades every aspect of every person's life, and that is continuously undergoing modifications. Culture is *not* an isolated aspect of life that can be used mechanistically to explain phenomena in a multicultural classroom or that can be learned as a series of facts.

Declarative knowledge Knowledge of facts (names, dates, characteristics) typical of that measured on standardized tests.

Developmental or maintenance bilingual education An additive or enrichment model designed to preserve and enhance students' primary language skills while they are acquiring English. In general, students participating in this program come from language minority backgrounds, although some may already be fluent in English. There is less emphasis on exiting students into an all-English classroom and more emphasis on academic development in the home language. In the United States, this model is relatively uncommon.

Developmental or relative standards Standards based on each student's individual growth in language and content skills.

Differentiated scoring Assigning separate scores for language and content on content-area work samples.

Diglossia A term coined by Ferguson (1959). It refers to a relatively stable arrangement of two languages existing together in a society, namely primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standard) coexisting with a divergent and often grammatically more complex variety that serves as the vehicle of a respected body of written literature. *Diglossia* is used to describe a situation in which two languages or language varieties are used within the same community, but within separate circumstances or contexts.

Directed reading thinking activity (DRTA) DRTA is a classroom strategy that teachers can use in a wide range of contexts to help language minority students develop critical thinking skills and deal with abstract content in social studies courses. It involves brainstorming, predicting, reading and confirming, or making corrections about predictions.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act First authorized by Congress in 1965, the ESEA is the federal government's largest omnibus education legislation. This legislation provides public funding for numerous educational programs, including programs serving English language learners.

English as a second language (ESL) A system of instruction that enables students who are not proficient in English (English language learners) to acquire both interpersonal communication skills and academic proficiency in spoken and written English. ESL is an essential component of all bilingual education programs in the United States.

English language learner (ELL) A term favored over *limited English proficiency,* for it conveys that the student is in the process of learning English without having the connotation that the student is in some way defective until full English proficiency is attained. Like the term *LEP,* however, 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 L_1. The term is superficially less offensive, but it is also less precise. It conveys single-minded focus on learning English that tends to restrict discussion about the student's pedagogical needs.

Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974 Originally passed by Congress as an antibusing statute, the EEOA also prohibits states from denying equal educational opportunity to individuals on the basis of race, color, sex, or national origin. This legislation requires school districts to "take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in instructional programs."

ESL content (or sheltered) classes An instructional approach used to make academic instruction in English understandable to language minority students. Its aim is to help such students develop academic competence while also developing English proficiency. Students in these classes are "sheltered" in that they do not compete academically with native English speakers since the class includes only nonmajority-language students. In the regular classroom, English fluency is assumed. In contrast, in the sheltered English classroom, teachers use physical activities, visual aids, and the environment to teach important new words for concept development in mathematics, science, history, home economics, and other subjects.

Ethnocentrism The belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group.

Ethnography This naturalistic social science research involves firsthand exploratory investigation from the perspective of the group itself. In this type of investigation the researcher plays a dual role of participant and observer. The investigator tends to be guided more by intuition and knowledge of the context rather than by a priori hypothesis.

Ethnomathematics Refers to the study of mathematics that takes into consideration the culture in which mathematics arises. Mathematics is usually associated with the study of "universals." It is important to be aware, however, that often something we think of as universal is merely universal to those who share our cultural and historical perspectives. According to Power and Frankenstein (1997), ethnomathematics refers to the "mathematical ideas of peoples, manifested in written or nonwritten, oral or nonoral forms, many of which have been either ignored or otherwise distorted by conventional histories of mathematics."

Ethnoscience Kessler and Quinn (1987) define ethnoscience as composed of "theories and procedures for learning about the physical world that have evolved informally within cultures to explain and predict natural phenomena."

Exemplars Also called *anchor papers* or *works,* these are models or examples of excellent work, for instance, a well-structured paragraph that contains a topic sentence, sentences providing supporting details, and a concluding sentence.

Full inclusion Refers to an educational movement promoting the idea that students with disabilities be reintegrated in general education classrooms and taught alongside their peers without disabilities. The term is the most current trend among its predecessors, *mainstreaming* and *inclusion*.

Global education *Global education* is an educational approach that involves learning about the problems and issues that cut across national boundaries, and about the interconnectedness of systems—ecological, racial, cultural, economic, political, and technological. Global educators exhibit open-mindedness and the ability to find the threads that interconnect the myriad range of human affairs and their subsequent effects. The world, as a global community, is interdependent. The task of the global educator and students is to forge a dialogue through which cause–effect interconnections are uncovered, analyzed, and understood.

Globalization A complex process that seeks to internationalize politics, economy, education, finances, and commerce in the global village

Immersion An approach originally developed in Canada to help English-speaking children achieve proficiency in the French language. Bilingualism in two high-status languages was the intended outcome, with children becoming bilingual and bicultural without a loss of academic achievement.

Indigenous or heritage languages A term used to designate non-English languages spoken in the United States that are not spoken by the dominant culture. (See Krashen, Tse, & McQuillan, 1998, p. 3; see also www.cal.org/heritage/.)

Interrater reliability Level of agreement reached between raters scoring the same work sample or student performance.

***Lau* plans** Negotiated "consent agreements" between OCR and school districts found to be out of compliance with federal civil rights statutes.

***Lau* regulations** Formal and federally mandated regulations for implementing bilingual and ESL programs (proposed by the Carter administration in 1980 and later withdrawn by the Reagan administration in 1981).

***Lau* remedies** Guidelines developed after the *Lau v. Nichols* decision about the implementation of bilingual and ESL programs (concerning, for example, identification of students' language dominance, appropriate placement into programs, curriculum design, assessment, and analysis of achievement data).

Learning strategies Techniques, strategies, and activities that students use across subject areas to understand and retain information, to solve problems, and to "learn how to learn."

Learning styles Also known as cognitive styles, these refer to the notion—based on a body of conflictive research findings—suggesting that the students' learning or cognitive styles may be influenced by their cultural background.

Limited English proficient (LEP) A controversial term used to describe children with limited English language skills due to their mother tongue background. The term has recently been criticized for its negative connotations. It has been argued that it defines children in terms of what they "lack" rather than what they already possess, namely valuable skills in a language other than English. The term is favored over *limited English speaking* (LES), for it encompasses proficiencies in reading, writing, and listening (for a more detailed explanation, see James Crawford, 1999, p. 17).

Mantra of multicultural education A concept meaning to know, to care, and to act.

Marked languages and cultures This concept refers to the status assigned to particular languages, cultures, and social groups within a pluralistic society.

Mathematics standards As defined by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, math standards are "descriptions of what mathematics instruction should enable students to know and do—statements of what is valued for school mathematics education."

Melting pot Our best-known assimilationist metaphor that implies dissolving individuals into a boiling mixture, whether in the foundry or the kitchen, to be poured into molds of mass production. Although originally intended to equalize the sociocultural and racial playing field in the United States, the melting

pot metaphor has been criticized for being discriminatory in practice.

Multicultural education Multicultural education is an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process that forms the basis for teaching and learning based on democratic values and beliefs. It seeks to affirm cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies and an interdependent world. It incorporates the ideas of democratic challenges and opportunities for school achievement regardless of race, ethnic background, gender, or socioeconomic status.

Multiculturalism The dynamic and complex coexistence of multiple cultures in a society or country. In the United States the concept is often interpreted as a doctrine that challenges the hegemony of whites with respect to racial and ethnolinguistic minorities.

Multiple acculturation A term that suggests that the U.S. common culture is a product of the intersection of diverse cultural, racial, and ethnic elements within U.S. society.

Multiple intelligences The notion that students can manifest their cognitive strengths in a variety of ways beyond the traditional determination of intelligence-based IQ assessment.

Multiple modalities Refers to teaching strategies that allow teachers to frame much of their teaching in such a way that students are able to develop cognitive skills in the subject areas as they receive instruction in L_2. Through the use of multiple modalities in the mathematics classroom (i.e., manipulatives, demonstrations, experiments), math educators can involve their students not only in the discovery of new knowledge but also in the practice of newly acquired L_2.

National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) A nonprofit professional development and advocacy membership association working to ensure educational excellence and equity for language minority Americans. NABE is the only national organization exclusively concerned with the education of language minority students in American schools. It promotes educational excellence and equity through bilingual education. (For detailed information log on to www.nabe.org.)

National Defense Education Act of 1958 The Soviet Union's successful launching in late 1957 of Sputnik, the world's first space satellite, spurred Congress to pass the NDEA, legislation that provided federal expenditures for education in science, engineering, technology, and the study of foreign languages.

No Child Left Behind Act Signed into law on January 8, 2002, this law reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It significantly changed the federal requirements for schools and districts from previous reauthorizations of the ESEA, including greater "accountability for results" in the form of higher academic standards, required annual testing in grades three through eight, and increasingly severe sanctions for "failing schools."

Norming bias Bias resulting from establishing test norms with one cultural or linguistic group and using the test with a different group.

Norm-referenced test Determines how a student's test score compares to the scores of other students who took the test.

Passive learning A traditional approach to teaching based on the "banking model" of education. Within the passive learning model, students are expected to learn new information through absorption and by rote repetition of facts without an attempt to interact with the material, especially in terms of problem solving, critical thinking, and applications to new situations.

Performance-based assessment This is defined as a test or investigation that requires students to demonstrate mastery of content or skills by performing a task or creating a product, rather than on a more traditional criterion-referenced assessment instrument.

Prereferral interventions These are educational and behavioral strategies recommended to general educators by a prereferral team for teaching difficult-to-teach students in the general education classrooms before referring them for special education evaluation. While the individuals who make up the prereferral team vary, they typically include general and special educators.

Procedural knowledge Knowledge of processes, how to do something with reliability. This term refers to the degree of consistency with which an assessment provides information about a student.

Reauthorization A process by the United States Congress and other legislative bodies to review, renew, or extend legislation about to expire.

Reciprocal reading comprehension strategy instruction This is an intervention that teaches students skills in making *predictions* about the reading, asking *clarification questions, generating questions* about the reading, and *summarizing* what they have read, strategies shown to improve the reading comprehension of students with reading problems and English language limitations.

Referral for special education This is a written statement, submitted by any number of individuals (e.g., school personnel, parents, or the student), to the school's multidisciplinary team of educational professionals requesting an evaluation to determine if a student meets the criteria for a federally recognized

special education category such as a learning disability, mental retardation, emotional or behavioral disorder.

Reliability This refers to the degree of consistency of the assessment measure in producing the same result with the same student in different testing settings or at different points in time or when being evaluated by different teachers or raters. If a test is not reliable, it cannot be valid.

Scaffolding Reducing the linguistic demand of instructional and assessment materials so that students can show what they know.

Scoring rubrics These are guides that can help teachers focus on matching student performance to the established criteria rather than on comparing students to each other. They can also help teachers evaluate each student's work using the same standards, rather than having higher expectations for some students and lower expectations for others.

Semilingualism A controversial and mostly discredited idea that some language minority children do not know any language at all, or speak their native and target languages with only limited ability.

Silent period A natural stage of beginning L_2 acquisition observed in some young second-language learners, in which these learners mostly listen to the new language without producing it.

Social language First conceptualized by Jim Cummins as "basic interpersonal communicative skills" (BICS) or "context-embedded, conversational" or "contextualized" language, this is a dimension of language proficiency in which meaning is negotiated through a wide range of contextual clues. Given access to L_2 speakers and social settings that encourage natural interaction, L_2 speakers may acquire social language in two or three years.

Social studies Social studies is the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. Within the school program, social studies provides coordinated, systematic study drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology. It also draws appropriate content from the humanities, mathematics, and the natural sciences. The primary purpose of social studies is to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world. (See National Council for the Social Studies, 1993.)

Special education Instruction and related services specifically designed and provided to meet the unusual needs of exceptional students.

Stereotype "A conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified conception, opinion, or image." (From *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*.)

Structured English immersion A model typically promoted by English Only supporters, in which subject matter instruction is provided in English, along with direction in English grammar. This approach also allows for some instruction in the students' first language for clarification or explanation. Ideally, sheltered/structured English immersion teachers have specialized training in instructional strategies designed to meet the linguistic and cultural needs of English language learners.

Submersion Although included with definitions of various curriculum models, this is *not* actually a program model because it is not in compliance with federal legal standards (review the discussion on the Supreme Court's 1974 decision in *Lau v. Nichols*). Also known as "sink or swim," submersion is an approach to the education of English language learners characterized by no special assistance of any kind. Language minority students who are developing proficiency in English are placed in the same classes with language majority students and all receive instruction in English only. Teachers and students are expected to use English, not the home language. In the United States, this kind of education is illegal.

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) An international and professional education association. Its mission is to develop the expertise of its members and others involved in teaching English to speakers of other languages to help them foster effective communication in diverse settings while respecting individuals' language rights. In English-speaking countries, ESL teachers work with immigrants and refugees at all levels of the education system—in primary, secondary, and higher education. According to the TESOL organization, ESL should be part of a larger bilingual program that also involves instruction in the student's L_1 (for detailed information log on to www.tesol.org).

Teaching strategies for pluralistic classrooms This refers to the multiple ways that curriculum and instruction may be conceptualized and implemented in pluralistic classrooms to foster equity and academic excellence for all students. In the multicultural education literature these are referred to as content integration, equity pedagogy, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction and empowering school culture and social structure.

Test bias Exists when equally able groups perform differently on the same test.

Threshold hypothesis The theory that academic and cognitive difficulties will occur for L_2 learners if a certain academic and literacy *threshold* in their L_1 is not first achieved.

Title III This title, or the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act of the federal No Child Left Behind Act, replaced the ESEA's Title VII (the Bilingual Education Act). It replaced the system of federally administered, competitive grants for school programs with "formula grants" administered by the state education agencies. The pedagogical emphasis of the new title is on English acquisition and academic achievement in English, rather than the cultivation of bilingualism.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 This title serves as the basis for much civil rights litigation on behalf of language minority students and bans discrimination on the basis of "race, color or national origin" in any "program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act This title, or the Bilingual Education Act (P.L. 90-247), was passed by Congress in 1968 and reflected a consensus that the then prevalent "sink-or-swim" approach to teaching English was both an educational failure and a denial of equal opportunity for language minority students**.**

Transitional bilingual education A compensatory or remedial model designed to prepare linguistic minority students to enter mainstream (all English) classes. A portion of the overall instruction is in the child's first language. After a period of time, generally two or three years, students are "transitioned" into the mainstream curriculum. TBE is the most common bilingual education model in the United States.

Two-way, dual-language, or bilingual immersion education An additive or enrichment model that is designed to achieve bilingualism in both the minority and majority language. In general, it serves two linguistically diverse population groups: speakers of the minority language and speakers of the majority language. It is designed to cultivate the native language skills of both groups. These programs provide content-area instruction and language development in both languages. To achieve the full benefits of two-way bilingual education, students from the two language backgrounds are in each class, and they are integrated for most or all of their content instruction.

U.S. Office for Civil Rights (OCR) This is an agency of the U.S. Department of Education that monitors school district delivery of services to language minority students in order to determine whether those districts are in compliance with the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, the Equal Educational Opportunities Act, and other civil rights statutes.

Validity The degree to which a test measures what it is intended to measure or the accuracy of the interpretation of test scores.

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