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AN INVESTIGATION OF LEARNING
ENVIRONMENT AND STUDENT INTERACTIONS
IN TWO FORMS OF BILINGUAL PROGRAMS

By

Denford Musvosvi

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

AN INVESTIGATION OF LEARNING ENVIRONMENT AND STUDENT INTERACTIONS IN TWO FORMS OF BILINGUAL PROGRAMS

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Qualitative fieldwork methods were used in this study to investigate the purposes of two forms of bilingual programs (ESL). The two forms of bilingual programs were pull-out programs. The medium of instruction in both the pull-out programs and the regular program was English. The use of English as the medium of instruction in both regular and bilingual classes precipitated the initial research question, "If English is the only medium of instruction, what warrants the pulling out or separation of these bilingual students from the rest of the youngsters at their grade level during social studies, English, and reading classes?" Included in this investigation were factors that influenced teacher-student classroom interactions.

Conclusions drawn from this investigation suggest that students' cultural experiences, exposure, prior knowledge of the subject matter, and communicative competences influence the way they participated in classroom discussions, the way students defined words and social behaviors, and the way students selected favorite subjects and their performance in all subjects.

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For the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father and was manifested unto us; That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. And these things write we unto you, that your joy may be full. (I John 1: 2-4)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I: Introduction	1
Aspira v. Board of Education	4
Bilingual Programs in Michigan	6
Statement of the Problem	9
Operational Definition of Terms	12
Organization of the Study	14
Chapter II: Literature Review	15
Background Information on Bilingual Students	15
Goals of Bilingual Programs	27
Experience and Learning	29
Communicative Competences	39
Reading Instruction	44
Chapter III: Design of the Study	48
Research Questions	48
Michigan Policies on Bilingual Education	48
Bilingual Programs at the School District Level	51
Research Design	59
Procedures	60
Participant observation	60
Interviews	62
Information gathered through the questionnaire	63
Analysis of data	64
Summary	66
Chapter IV: Description of Findings	67
1. What Purposes Does the Bilingual Program Serve Which Uses English as the Only Medium of Instruction?	67
2. What Teaching Techniques Are Inherent in the Bilingual Classroom Activities?	74
3. How Do These Techniques Compare and Contrast to Those of the Regular Eighth Grade Social Studies Class?	81
4. How Did the Prior Knowledge of the Subject Matter and Students' Prior Experiences Influence the Way They Defined Words and Social Behavior, and the Way They Selected Favorite Subjects?	84
Students' Favorite Subjects	90
5. How Do Cultural Experiences and the Learning Climate in Each Classroom Influence Classroom Interactions?	96

Chapter V: Interpretation of Findings	104
Purposes	104
Purpose-Process	106
Experiences Influencing Students' Definitions of Words and Actions	110
Students' Selection of Favorite Subjects	111
Linkages or Threads That Connect the Data	112
Insights from Work Already Done in This Area	114
Chapter VI: Summary, Conclusions, Implications for Research and Practice, and Recommendations	117
Conclusions	118
Implications for Research and Practice	120
Recommendations	121
Appendices	
Appendix A: How My Thinking Has Changed Since February 1, 1984: An Intellectual Autobiography of the Research Process.....	123
Appendix B	128
Appendix C	130
Bibliography	134

LIST OF TABLES

Table I: Teacher-Student Ratio in All Classes Included in This Study	54
Table II: Statistics Representing Special Bilingual Students' Choices of Subjects	90
Table III: Statistics Representing Quasi-Bilingual Students' Choices of Subjects	91
Table IV: Statistics Representing Regular Students' Choices of Subjects	91

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: BIC Classroom Map	57
Figure 2: Classroom Activities	83
Figure 3: Spectrum Covered by Student Classroom Interaction	102
Figure 4: Elements That Influenced High Yield in Classroom Interaction	114

CHAPTER I

Introduction

The United States of America has always been and continues to be a land of heterogeneous people. This fact is shown through the attention the news media give to immigrants and the problems they face in this country. John Meyers, publisher of TIME magazine, wrote, "Since the turn of the decade, TIME has closely followed the newest waves of immigrants to America and the ways in which they are changing our nation. A 1981 cover story described the pervasive Hispanic influence in south Florida, and another in 1983 dealt with the mix of ethnic groups in Los Angeles. The subject, however, encompasses areas as diverse as education, culture, food, business, religion, indeed every aspect of our lives" (July 8, 1985, p. 3). From this observation, Meyers accordingly concludes that this wave of immigrants represents a change of historic dimensions.

Included among the aforementioned historic dimensions is education. Educational programs needed to be broad enough to accommodate the new immigrants. It is difficult enough to plan educational goals in simple and homogeneous societies let alone a heterogeneous society such as the United States of America. And yet, in an effort to promote democratic principles in this country, equal opportunity to education is guaranteed by law (Shulman & Sykes, 1983). In spite of this guarantee, it may be doubted whether the objectives of equal opportunity to education for all the American citizens are being realized (Shulman & Sykes, 1983). These objectives may not be fully realized partly because society is unwilling to change the status quo and partly because the needs of

the language minority students are not clearly defined. The notion of equal opportunity to education raises controversies among politicians and among educators.

Equal opportunity to education for all the citizens is not achieved by simply providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum (Navarro, 1984). Adler (1982) quotes Horace Mann as saying, "Education is the gateway to equality." Good as this notion may sound, Adler suggests that there is more to equality than merely giving people access to an education. According to Adler (1982), the innermost meaning of social equality is substantially the same quality of life for all. Navarro (1984), presenting the same argument, says that merely improving the English communication skills of the bilingual students does not result in the redistribution of opportunities for education, employment, and representation in political systems. There is, it seems, an ever present and ever pressing need to have consensus among decision makers on the approaches for addressing inequalities suffered by language minorities. The issues Adler and Navarro are raising affect the language minority groups in this country and in many other countries where the population is heterogeneous. Because of differences in language and culture, language minority groups often times do not have the same access to employment opportunities and to political involvement as monolingual English speakers.

The need to address inequalities suffered by language minorities is a pertinent one. Civil rights activists and proponents of equal

opportunity to education have consistently pointed to the inequalities that remain in the American educational system (Shulman & Sykes, 1983). Contemporary bilingual education programs are an example of one attempt to minimize these inequities. As the following court decisions suggest, bilingual programs in the United States resulted from serious efforts to improve the situation undertaken by minority and non-minority groups.

A brief history of the events that led to the organization of bilingual education programs in the United States provides a background for current activities. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 included, among other things, equal educational opportunity for all the American children. Based on this law, on May 25, 1970, the Office of Civil Rights sent a memorandum to school superintendents to the effect that each school district was required to rectify language deficiencies among bilingual students so as to open its instructional program to them. This extension of equal educational opportunity to language minority children was later affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Lau v. Nichols decision of 1974 (Navarro, 1984).

Perhaps the Supreme Court decision in the case of Lau v. Nichols was the most significant statement on the educational rights of the language minority students in the United States. It has remained a very strong pillar supporting the development of bilingual education programs. In that decision, the school district was required to take affirmative steps to rectify language minority students' language deficiency so that its instructional program would be open to them. This was indeed a landmark decision whose impact is still felt today in many bilingual programs, especially those that take compensatory

measures so as to provide bilingual students with English communication skills which they lack.

The enactment of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, the subsequent Bilingual Education Act of 1974, and the anti-discrimination provision of Title VI of 1984 have strongly determined the means and methods for implementing bilingual education. In addition, other federal and state legislative sources have provided funds for bilingual-bicultural education including programs such as the Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Bilingual Vocational Training); Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII (Desegregation Assistance, Bilingual Programs); Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Titles I, III and VII (Bilingual Education Basic Programs, and technical assistance in coordination); Higher Education Act, Title V (Teacher Training) and the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 (Padilla, 1979).

The decision by the federal government to take measures that protect language minority students as described here was prompted by Lau v. Nicholas (1974) decision as well as the Aspira v. Board of Education (1974) decision. Santiago (1978) highlights the impact of Aspira v. Board of Education (1974) on the decisions made by the federal government. Following is a summary of the case.

Aspira v. Board of Education

The following is a brief summary of that lawsuit:

"In 1974 the Board of Education of the city of New York (the Board), a school district with one of the largest concentrations of minority children in the United States, signed a landmark agreement with Aspira of New York (Aspira, a Puerto Rican community agency). The agreement, legally termed a consent decree was an outgrowth of a suit brought by Aspira and a class

of children of limited English-speaking ability: *Aspira of New York Inc. et al. vs. Board of the City of New York et al. (Aspira vs. Board of Education or Aspira)*.

The consent decree required that by 1975 the Board implement a bilingual education program for all the children whose English language deficiency prevents them from effectively participating in Spanish in every local school district in New York City. As a result of this agreement, many changes in policies affecting the education of children of the limited English proficiency in New York City schools occurred, particularly during the two years following the signing of the consent decree." (Santiago, 1978, p. 139)

Santiago's (1978) analysis of this case unfolded the complexity of institutions and forces that were involved in determining language-of-instruction policies and practices in the New York City public schools prior to the suit.

Resulting from the court decisions mentioned were decisions by the federal government to regulate bilingual education. The federal government regulates bilingual programs emanating from federal statutes by imposing standards upon which these programs should be run. For instance, they set the certification and licensing standards for all the bilingual programs which receive federal aid. Along with standards, they impose accountability procedures. Because the federal government provides matching grants and some services, they earmark the grants and the types of services which they provide. By so doing, they are indirectly regulating the program. Since the federal government provides matching grants and selected services to these programs, there are bound to be political implications in the nation, and financial implications at the state and district level. These activities are noted in Chapter III where recipients of bilingual education programs are strictly defined together with the exit conditions of those students.

While states play a major role in planning and implementing educational programs in the United States of America, the federal government is also involved in sponsoring and regulating certain educational programs. Most of these efforts by the federal government are focused on ensuring equal treatment for underserved populations. States are, to a certain extent, autonomous although in particular areas such as equality of treatment, they are subject to federal regulation. The influence of the federal government over the states' role to provide educational programs is portrayed in the following description of bilingual programs in Michigan.

This historical overview has been on bilingual programs in the nation. The following discussion is a brief historical background of bilingual education in Michigan where the present study was conducted.

Bilingual Programs in Michigan

Rather than relying on the courts to initiate bilingual education in Michigan, Spanish-speaking citizens utilized political action to change the education of their children in the state. Through their efforts, the Bilingual Education Act of 1974 (Act 294) was passed by the legislature mandating bilingual education in Michigan (Porter, 1977). The law ensures an equal educational opportunity for students whose first language is not English and where linguistic skills are different. The intent of the law is illustrated in the following:

"First, every effort needs to be expended to implement fully the current provisions of Act 294 to ensure that no child's success in public school is unduly inhibited because he or she is a child of limited English speaking ability.

Second, every effort needs to be expended to ensure that all children are provided opportunities to gain an understanding of their own cultures as well as the cultures of others" (Porter, 1977, p. 3).

Accordingly, this act suggests that in Michigan, bilingual education is an integral part of that states' educational program which can help to ensure that all children are prepared for meaningful, diverse lifestyles in the future. Porter's (1977) report suggests that Michigan's position on bilingual education has not changed much from the decision made in 1974.

State funds have provided a major impetus to the development of bilingual programs showing a relative increase from 1974 to 1980. During the 1976-77 school year, the state approved \$850,000 for the program and the amount increased in subsequent years. For the 1977-78 school year it rose to \$4,000,000 and for the 1979-80 school year, the state appropriated \$4,500,000. The economic crunch in the state affected the bilingual education budget in the intervening years. The 1983-84 and 1984-85 school years witnessed a recovery from that economic crunch and the budget appropriation for bilingual education was on the rise again. This is still the case to date.

For the state to allocate such a budget to bilingual programs suggests that there is an increasing need to organize and run bilingual programs in Michigan. In the 1985-86 school year, 71 constituent school districts and six intermediate school districts had 14,008 students of limited-English proficiency who were in bilingual programs and 18,561 students who were eligible. These figures show that some students who were eligible were excluded from the program by school districts because of the expiration of the

three year funding limit imposed by the state legislation and the inapplicability of the state legislation for language groups of fewer than 20 students in each school district. Because many ethnic groups who are eligible for bilingual programs are below 20 in number, the bilingual program in this study does not have more than one language of instruction, although tutors who can interpret for both students and parents serve in that program.

The language groups which are predominant among students eligible for bilingual education in Michigan are Arabic, Chaldean, Chinese, French, German, Korean, Filipino, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Laotian. Others who are in small minority groupings are referred to as "others" in the State Department of Education records (Runkel, 1981). The ethnic groups of students included in this study are discussed in Chapter III. Due to the multiplicity of language groups among students who are eligible for bilingual programs in the district where this study was conducted, English is used as the medium of instruction in their so-called bilingual programs. Their classes are actually structured under a plan similar to that of ESL (English as Second Language) programs. One hundred students who were in the special bilingual program represented the following ethnic groups: Vietnamese, Laotian, Korean, Chinese, African, Arabic, Polish, Thai, and Hispanic. Although this program could easily be defined as an ESL program, there were elements which seemed to receive emphasis. These were the historical backgrounds of the countries where the students came from and lessons accommodated students' cultural perspectives. These elements made this program different from other ESL programs. Though more about these

characteristics is going to be discussed in Chapter IV, it may be pointed out here that students' historical backgrounds are likely to influence both their performance and social behaviors in school. In fact, students' cultural or historical backgrounds are among the elements the present study is closely examining.

Statement of the Problem

Howe and Elderman (1985) paint a grim picture about the cultural minority students. According to these two authors, the cultural minority students are dropping out of school in large numbers. Perhaps the dropout figures shown in Howe and Elderman's (1985) studies are giving a strong message to educators. The message may be that the needs of the cultural and linguistic minority students need to be examined. This present study is, accordingly, an investigation of the educational experiences given to bilingual students.

Classroom experiences influence students' future attitudes and behaviors. The future of America and, indeed, the future of democracy, to a certain degree, lies in the classroom experiences. The future of any nation is, to an extent, determined by the quality of education given to all the children regardless of their race, religion, creed, national origin, and cultural and linguistic background. As Howe and Elderman (1985) suggest, the demands for equal educational opportunity is a desire to promote excellence in all our schools and our society.

The aforementioned authors further assert that if our children are at risk then the future of the nation is grim and indeed the nation is at risk. It must be remembered that the price of success

is less than the cost of failure. Failure to employ remedial measures to the problems of the language minority students may cost the nation more when they try to solve the ensuing problems and complexities of the minorities later on in society.

There are many bilingual educational programs that attempt to address the problems of language minority students. Some programs employ more than one language as a medium of instruction. English as a Second Language programs help language minority students to learn English communication skills. In spite of what these programs are attempting to do, language minority students' needs seem to remain inadequately addressed. This leads to the following description of the focus of the present study.

The successful conduct of these programs requires an inquiry into specific programs to identify key aspects and interpret what is happening. The program selected for this study was the Morgan Vocational Education Center (somewhere in Michigan), which has a Bilingual Instructional Center (BIC) for language minority students who have limited English communication skills and whose performance on the SAT test is below the 40th percentile margin. These students are bussed to the Center from their home schools where they spend about one-half of the school day. Morgan Vocational Education Center (all names used here are fictitious) is on the southern edge of the city. This Center is located in a low income area where the community is expected to benefit from vocational education programs which are geared to endow poor and unemployed members with job-related skills. People who need the aforementioned skills come to the Center from all over the city. Most of these people are drawn

from the adult population and school age students who may have dropped out of school for various reasons.

The language of instruction both at the Center and in the home schools is English. The initial problem in this study is woven around the question "If English is the only medium of instruction in the BIC, what warrants the pulling out or separation of these bilingual students from the rest of the youngsters at their grade level during social studies, English, and reading classes?" In an attempt to find an answer to this research question, data collection occurred in two phases, in 1984 and 1986. Data gathered from the first phase precipitated the following questions.

1. What purposes does the bilingual program serve which uses English as the only medium of instruction?
2. What teaching techniques are inherent in the bilingual classroom activities?
3. How do these techniques compare and contrast to those of the regular eighth grade social studies class?
4. How does the prior knowledge of the subject matter and students' prior experiences influence the way they defined words and social behavior, and the way they selected favorite subjects.
5. How do cultural experiences and the learning climate in each classroom influence classroom interactions?

These questions provided direction to the data collection for the study.

The English-only bilingual program does not seem to solely serve the purposes of teaching English to the students whose first language is other than English. If this was the only intent, this program could be defined as the ESL program. Its goals and purposes seem to stretch beyond those of the ESL programs.

Classroom interactions and climate in bilingual classes and in the regular eighth grade social studies class are a primary focus of this investigation. During these interactions, paralinguistic characteristics will be identified. What behaviors are appropriate in an interaction among many diverse cultures? How are compromises reached? How are social meanings shared by participants? Words and actions have social meanings. How are these meanings shared among different cultures? How do participants' prior knowledge and experiences influence meanings they attach to words and actions? How can participants strike a balance between their cultural perspectives and those of others in the process of attaching meanings to words and actions? Is it what we say or how we say something which appeals to our listeners? Can participants see meanings which are beyond dictionary definitions when they attach social meanings to words? How do cultural meanings compare and contrast with dictionary meanings?

In order for participants to interact successfully they need to know not only the manifest content to be discussed but also understand the routines that need to be used in that interaction (Boggs, 1985). Hymes (1962) describes this as "speech economy." In the present study, knowledge of the content to be discussed and participants' interactional styles receive considerable attention.

Operational Definition of Terms

The following terms are going to be used in this study according to the given definitions:

Acculturation - cultural modification of an individual or a group of people.

Bicultural - applies to a student whose home culture is different from the mainstream American culture.

Bilingual - refers to the student who speaks any language other than English as his/her first language.

English-only Bilingual Program - program gives instruction to bilingual students. Though this program is under the umbrella of bilingual education, it employs English as the only medium of instruction. To distinguish this program from the other bilingual programs and the regular program, this program is known as the English-only Bilingual Program.

ESL programs - as the term suggests (English as a Second Language) help speakers of other languages to learn English.

Experience - term employed to describe what students had learned through participation or observations prior to classroom learning situations. This includes prior knowledge of cultural interactional styles.

Home School - where the student is permanently enrolled and where the rest of the subjects are taught.

Language Experience Approach - approach employed in teaching reading. It recognizes the vital links which exist among the language arts skills such as reading, writing, speaking, and listening. This approach purports to teach reading through utilizing both the aforementioned language arts skills and the learner's background experiences.

Limited English proficiency - limited communication skills in English.

Pullout or Withdrawal Programs - bilingual students are pulled out of their regular classes and bussed to the Bilingual Instructional Center (BIC) where they spend a period of time each week. Then they are bussed back to their home schools.

Quasi-bilingual program - term employed to distinguish a building-level program from the special bilingual program where students were bussed from different schools to the Bilingual Instructional Center.

Socialization - to adapt or to fit into a certain social environment.

Triad Approach - triad approach suggests that when teaching meanings of words the perspective projected in the printed matter, the teacher's perspective, and the learner's perspective need to be taken into account.

Organization of the Study

This study is reported in six chapters. Chapter I deals with introduction, general statement which includes a brief history of events that led to the organization of bilingual programs in the United States, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, the significance of the study, initial research questions, operational definition of terms, and the organization of the study.

Chapter II reviews literature on bilingual education, the role of experience in learning, and the importance of the language experience approach in the teaching of reading.

Chapter III begins with a brief description of the two research sites selected for this study and a description of the bilingual program. Also included in this chapter are the research methods and procedures which were followed in this study and the description of the English-only special bilingual program.

Chapter IV includes descriptions of the findings. Quotes from interviews and narrative vignettes are reported in this chapter.

Chapter V provides interpretations of the findings reported in Chapter IV.

Chapter VI contains the summary, conclusions, implications for teaching and educational research, and recommendations for possible areas where further studies could be done.

An appendix section is also included where significant data not included in Chapter IV are reported. Also included in this section is the researcher's intellectual autobiography where the researcher reflects on the events that affected changes in the way he viewed the findings reported in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Literature of bilingual programs is organized according to student background information, goals of bilingual education, experience and learning, communicative competences of students and teachers, classroom reading instruction, and the language experience approach to the teaching of reading.

Background Information on Bilingual Students

Bilingual or language minority students are generally characterized as underachievers in the literature. There are proposed program models which suggest how instruction should be carried out in a bilingual classroom. Yet, many methods which are suggested for helping language minority students do not seem to achieve the intended goals and objectives (Santiago, 1978).

Sanchez's (1979) study found that Mexican children who were taught by a Mexican teacher yielded better results in mathematics tests and reading achievement tests than those Mexican children whose teachers were of a different ethnic group. This seems to suggest that language minority children, apart from the help they need in English communication skills, need teachers whom they can identify with. Sanchez (1979) hypothesized that there is a relationship between student achievement and specific ethnic profile characteristics of both the student and the teacher. She studied Mexican and Mexican-American students who were enrolled in 58 bilingual settings. Their grade levels ranged from kindergarten through sixth grade. She

set two structures in her study: (1) a competitive goal structure and (2) a cooperative goal structure. By competitive goal structure, she meant students perceive that they can obtain their goal if, and only if, the other students with whom they are linked have failed to achieve their goal. Competitive instruction is a process of striving to achieve one's goal in a way that blocks all others from achieving the same goal. Whereas in a cooperative structure the students perceive that they can obtain the goal if, and only if, the students they are linked with can obtain their goal.

The findings in her study indicated that Mexican and Mexican-American students responded more negatively to a cooperative teacher in the lower grades (K-2) and more positively in the upper grades (3-6). Mexican and Mexican American students responded positively to the competitive teacher in the earlier grades and responded negatively to the competitive teacher in the upper grades.

Sanchez (1979) further found that a bilingual setting with a Chicano teacher who is bilingual yielded positive results in reading and mathematics. According to Sanchez, these results seem to indicate that the use of a language other than English within the bilingual setting is not the only factor that had a positive influence on both the reading and mathematics scores. There were systematic differences in social motivations and learning styles that existed among different ethnic student populations. The social motivation styles such as the way students responded to cooperative teachers and competitive teachers mentioned above were among the

social differences noted among students included in Sanchez's study. It seems these influenced the results significantly.

Sanchez's (1979) study also suggests that students' cultural backgrounds should be taken into consideration when organizing and implementing educational programs. It can be inferred that teachers who understand the nature of changes which occur in students at certain stages of their growth and development and the nature of the students' cultural milieu may obtain better results than those teachers who do not. The implication of this research for language minority students who are generally viewed as underachievers is establishing a relationship between cultural background and experiences with the learning experiences or achievement.

Moreover, bilingualism introduces additional factors in the life of the individual and it is natural that, compared with a child who has only one language to master, the bilingual student may face a good many adjustment problems (Rao, 1974; Sanchez, 1979). These additional factors spring from the following causes:

1. the early cognitive stimulation (which may have taken place in different cultural patterns. When learning a new language, new patterns will have to be adopted).
2. bilingualism stands in the way of adjustment. It is difficult to adjust to a new culture when one views things from a different cultural and linguistic perspective.
3. bilingual children are often bicultural, too. They may have their own sets of values and goals. These sets of values and goals permeate their daily experiences. The teaching-learning process may either promote or hinder these experiences. If one group of students whose culture is different from that of the dominant group is failing to achieve highly, this might be an indication that the school program is not adequately utilizing their experiences.

4. his marginal status makes it difficult for him to identify himself either with his own mother-tongue group, from which many times his family is actually cut off, or with the second language group, where he is not at home yet. A change of adjustment may arise from this single cause. There may be the meshing of culture whereby a child won't accept his culture or the new culture where he is compelled to function in order to survive.
5. the bilingual child usually comes from a home where the elders frequently do not know the second language and have stereotypes about the second language group. In this case, if the child is in the process of identifying with the second language environment, there may be intra-family adjustment problems. "Many times he may be punished for bringing into the home peculiar ways of talking and peculiar phrases from outside. He is not sure where he is" (Rao, 1974, p. 31). Rao added, "... it is important that a child gets along with his peers, that his teachers accept him at a level common to other children, and that he be sure within himself that his status is equivalent to that of his classmates" (p. 31). If a child is culturally different what the teachers say is less important than what the teacher projects by his eyes and movements (Rao, 1974). "But the bilingual, because of either his own feelings or marginality or his poor language skills, finds himself in the outskirts of his peer group. His attempts to reach them may be met with rebuffs, insults, etc." (Rao, 1974, p. 31). In keeping with Maslow's hierarchy of needs, it should be noted that school learning is enhanced when students' psychological needs are met (Biehler, 1978).

The child's language difficulties may lead to reading difficulties and emotional difficulties. In many ways he may find himself inadequate and frustration ensues. Usually he feels isolated and inferior to others. It is well known that opinion of self is a fundamental factor to the growth and development of a child and yet how many of us realize that social development is profoundly influenced by language development (Rao, 1974)?

Rao (1974) claims that some studies done on the adjustment difficulties of bilingual children were not well planned because they placed undue importance on mental development and completely ignored the social and emotional development of the bilingual child. Rao's

observation is valid. Education ought to develop the total person rather than give a sort of lopsided development in communication skills only. There ought to be a harmonious development among the mental, physical, and moral powers of the child. In fact, language development may be faster if other things are equal.

Bicultural education not only helps the language minority children but also serves a number of educational functions to the culturally dominant groups. It can contribute to the development of a global perspective which all children need to have. This perspective offers untold advantages to both ethnolinguistic minorities and the culturally dominant groups. According to Martinez (1979), bilingual programs ought to be organized around the following goals:

1. to assimilate individuals or groups into the mainstream society;
2. to unify a multilingual society;
3. to enable people to communicate with the outside world;
4. to help people gain economic advantages as individuals and as a group;
5. to preserve ethnic or religious ties with their country of origin. Perhaps it may be appropriate here to point out that some Arabic communities in this country have special schools which start at 6:00 p.m. and end at 8:00 p.m. The purpose of these schools is to restore their Arabic culture and promote the Islam religion. This observation seems to suggest that people need an educational program that incorporates their cultural values and experiences;
6. to reconcile different or socially separate communities;
7. to spread and maintain the use of a colonial language. This goal may have negative connotations. European colonial powers taught their language to the people they colonized in many parts of the world. The intent was to spread and maintain their languages and their cultures;

8. to embellish or strengthen the education of the elite (e.g., United Nations International School in New York City);
9. to give equal status to languages of the unequal prominence in the society;
10. to deepen understanding of language and culture (e.g., the study of Greek and Latin among Europeans).

Gonzales (1978) conducted a study of Mexican-American students in bilingual education classrooms grades one and three. The purpose of this descriptive study was to discover which elements of the Mexican-American students' culture were given more reinforcement in the bilingual programs and which ones were not reinforced in organized lessons. The study divided these cultural elements into two categories: (1) surface culture elements (traditional songs in Spanish, Mexican crafts, culinary activities, Mexican dances, Chicano music, Mexican-American history, Mexican-American personalities, folk tales, proverbs, poetry, and word play in the Spanish language), and (2) deep cultural elements (family ties, folk myths, grooming and presence, subsistence, time concept, values, esthetics, ethics, precedence, rewards, privileges, ceremonies, courtship, marriage, health, medicine, gestures and kinetics, ownership, rights and duties, religion, sex roles, space and proxemics, and tabu).

The majority of the bilingual programs analyzed by Gonzales (1978) indicate that (1) traditional songs in Spanish, Mexican crafts, and culinary activities were the surface culture elements reinforced more often; (2) surface culture elements which received less attention or little reinforcement were Mexican dances, Chicano music, Mexican-American history and Mexican-American personalities, folk tales, proverbs, poetry, and word play in the Spanish language;

(3) the deep cultural elements which appeared to have less organized lessons were esthetics, ethics, precedence, rewards, and privileges; (4) those deep elements that received little or no attention and no reinforcement were ceremonies, courtship and marriage, health and medicine, gesture and kinetics, ownership, rights and duties, religion, sex roles, space and proxemics, and tabu.

A careful analysis of the elements which did not receive enough reinforcement indicate that there is a dearth of acculturation in the bilingual programs. It is no surprise that educational literature reviewed by Santiago (1978) was replete with records of underachievement on the part of the language minority students. Children come to school with a package of experiences. If these experiences are not utilized, the teaching-learning process will be relatively difficult.

In summarizing the results of that study on the cultural elements, Gonzales (1978) said that it remained evident that transmitting or reinforcing culture in bilingual education classrooms remains one of the most misinterpreted and inadequately achieved goals of bilingual education instruction. Gonzales touches the core of the issues that should be reviewed in bilingual-bicultural education. This question of experience is discussed in detail in Chapters IV and V.

Kwok's (1979) study is one of those that give us a glimpse of what is actually going on in some of the bilingual classrooms. While Kwok is interested in classroom activities, she seems to focus on the question "what does language orientation do to the racial and ethnic attitude among the Chinese American children in the primary grades?" Perhaps any information that helps answer this question may lead us

to identify some of the needs of bilingual students in this particular ethnic group. Kwok's study determined that there is a relationship between language orientation and racial/ethnic attitudes. It also demonstrated that Chinese-American students, regardless of language orientation, can classify students and distinguish very well when racial/ethnic criteria are used. The study found significant differences among the linguistic groups in the area of racial/ethnic similarity to mothers. Bilinguals were distinctive in this regard, as they were in acceptance of Caucasians, preference, self preference and overall racial/ethnic attitudes. Kwok reported that in most cases, bilinguals were found to exhibit less pronounced racial/ethnic attitudes. According to her, this may be indicative of loss of identity, with movement toward the Caucasian end of the scale. This study suggests that bilingualism is related to a more moderate racial/ethnic attitude.

Kwok (1979) suggests that the findings of her study provide very serious implications for the education of Chinese-Americans. According to Kwok (1979), early recognition and identification of racial/ethnic attitudes could help numerous children to overcome serious learning handicaps. If these racial/ethnic attitudes are identified, continued Kwok, it is hoped that appropriate educational programs would be organized in such a way that barriers that divide the children would be removed. When these barriers are removed, an atmosphere conducive to learning may be created in the classroom.

Apart from overcoming learning handicaps as suggested by Kwok (1979), children need to be taught about their culture. Howe and Elderman (1985) argue, "To keep people ignorant on the most precious

part of their heritage is to debilitate people. Students whose cultural and linguistic backgrounds are different from the dominant culture of the society do not yet have full access to quality education. As the public school population changes to include an increased percentage of students who speak a first language other than English, cultural discrimination undermines the education of more children in our public schools than before. Although the overall extent of the cultural bias in the schools is difficult to measure, there are a number of indicators that underline the seriousness of the problem" (p. 16). These two authors made the following observations:

1. Only about one-third of the estimated 2.7 million limited English-proficient students aged five to fourteen receive any form of special programming responsive to their linguistic needs.
2. In 1980, only 10 percent of the Hispanic children with limited proficiency were in bilingual programs.
3. Studies conducted in urban high schools have revealed dropout rates as high as 85% for Native Americans, and between 70-80% for Puerto Rican students.
4. Many textbooks remain culturally biased, both in their presentation of material and in their omission of material on the culture, history, or achievement of many of the national and cultural groups represented in our schools.
5. Nearly 25% of all the public school teachers in the United States had limited English proficiency children in their classes in 1980-81, but only 3.2% of these teachers said they had the academic preparation or language skills to instruct LEP students (Howe & Elderman, p. 16).

Many administrators and teachers neither understand nor appreciate cultures different from their own. Due to this lack of understanding and appreciation, it is claimed by many witnesses of multicultural education programs that it is often nothing more than

making masks and celebrating holidays. Conclusions drawn from these observations indicate that school systems are unable or unwilling to implement affirmative action policies that would diversify the teaching and administrative staff in such a way that is more representative of racial and cultural minorities served by the schools (Howe and Elderman, 1985). What these authors are suggesting is appropriate because children have to function in a multicultural world. Howe and Elderman (1985) seem to hit the nail on the head when they pointed out that the history of Native Americans, Africans, Asians, Chinese, and Filipinos is related in a few paragraphs in American social studies books. In fact, in American social studies textbooks, neighboring states are given more coverage than the whole continent of Africa which is composed of 51 different countries and much larger than the United States. European history is given a better treatment than that of Africa. No wonder some Afro-Americans are not aware of and some do not appreciate their rich African heritage. These and other issues precipitate a strong desire that bicultural education be given to minority children in all the American schools.

An analysis of Howe and Elderman's (1985) study raises the following questions:

1. What influences American social studies textbooks to give more detailed coverage to the neighborhood than they do to the history of the language minority student?
2. Are the American neighborhoods more diverse and filled with more cultural enrichment than the countries where the language minorities have come from?
3. Don't the cultures of the language minority students have values that may add enrichment to the education of all the American children?

According to these two authors, cultural minority students are dropping out of school in large numbers. What are the possible factors influencing this? Howe and Elderman (1985) report,

In Lansing, Michigan representatives of the state's Native American communities investigated why so many Indian children fail to complete their schooling. Their findings describe multiple forms of discrimination experienced by these children: some counselors have discouraged Indian children from either staying or returning to school after dropping out... some teachers are not sensitive enough in dealing with and understanding the Indian culture and values, and convey the message either knowingly or unknowingly, that Indian children do not belong in the classroom... some teachers simply ignore Indian children in the classroom and have little concern over their attendance and school work (pp. 17-18).

Bilingual education is more than the employment of two languages in the teaching-learning process. It is more than taking remedial measures to improve the child's communication skills in the second language. Usually bilingual children are also bicultural and belong to different ethnic groups. It is from this perspective of bilingual education that King (1980) highlights the importance of teaching ethnic awareness to all children but especially to those who belong to minority ethnic groups. King (1980) advocates that multi-ethnic approaches be included in minority studies. According to King, there is a need to closely examine the processes of perception of human differences and commonalities and how they influence the way we deal with people.

Too often, minority studies at the elementary school level have taken on superficial and spurious forms when including materials about the many ethnic groups in American life--Italian-Americans, Greek-Americans, Irish-Americans, Arab-Americans and so on. A common pitfall in this context is the listing of heroes or well-known personalities of the ethnic or minority group. This gives the children an idealistic and distorted view of the ethnic group and encourages stereotyping. Those people are all good athletes or outstanding politicians--whatever the model or hero chosen. Hero worship usually highlights the contributions of well-known men of the ethnic group, since our society

historically has left out the work and contributions of women of all ethnic or minority groups, as well as women of the dominant group (King, 1980, p. 6).

King views current ethnic education as being very superficial. What is currently being done in ethnic education programs, according to King (1980), is the inclusion of a Mexican dance step and making Japanese kites on the appropriate day. With this type of tokenism, King sees teachers deluding themselves into thinking that they have incorporated ethnic studies into the curriculum. This is a mere recognition of some quaint and colorful custom of a specific nationality. "This approach to ethnic education also tends to focus on the most profound differences between them and us--on the bizarre rather than everyday patterns and life of a group" (King, 1980, p. 6).

King not only levels these strong criticisms on ethnic educational programs but also suggests ways to improve these programs.

To begin teaching about ethnicity teachers must be equipped with a sense of their own ethnic and personal identity, self-awareness and positive acceptance of their group affiliation. Unique likes and dislikes must be recognized by the teachers before ethnic education can occur in the classroom. This means that the teacher must be aware of how he or she was socialized as a child and young adult, what values and customs were internalized and continue to be followed as the result of personal and group affiliation. Teachers need to accept and be comfortable with their ethnicity and then respond positively to individuals who belong to other ethnic groups. This is a lifelong process (King, 1980, p. 7).

Put another way, King (1980) seems to suggest that students' prior knowledge and experiences need to be included among the learning activities. This has not been the case in our schools and this put the melting pot concept in reverse.

Goals of Bilingual Programs

Until recently, the process of educating the young in the United States of America was thought of in terms of socializing them so that they adapt to the mainstream American culture which was basically Anglo-American culture. The ideas implicitly expressed in education were such that the goals of educators were to inculcate the young with the Anglo-American protestant beliefs, values, and life style. Today this melting pot syndrome is in reverse. Large minority groups express their sense of cultural uniqueness (Longstreet, 1980). People melted amorously into one thick soup through the melting pot concept. Yet, according to Longstreet, now there is an emotional cry, "Hey, stop the world. I want my heritage back!" (p. 15). This cry should hold significance for those who serve in bilingual education programs. The proponents of bilingual education appear to place more emphasis on its language aspects than they do with its cultural aspects. Longstreet (1980) claims that culture forms the lens with which a person views the world around him. Take away culture from people, their cultural heritage, their pride as a people is gone. People are prisoners of their culture and experiences. Longstreet suggests that the tie between one's language and one's culture is very strong. It is this tie or relationship which proponents of bilingual education are concerned about and because of this relationship bilingual education is a pertinent issue in the United States today.

One of the reasons why the melting pot syndrome is in reverse is that the melting pot wouldn't melt (Selakovich, 1978). Selakovich likened schools to factories where the major goal was to make goods

and sell them for a profit. The goal of the schools during the melting pot concept was to produce Americans. According to Selakovich (1978), schools succeeded in making the masses literate in English, but beyond that, it is difficult to make serious claims. Americanization was viewed as:

If...we can by any means purify these foreigners, enlighten their ignorance and bring them up to our level, we shall perform a work of true and perfect charity... With the old, not much can be done; but with the children, the great remedy is education. The rising generation must be taught as our own children are taught. (Selakovich, 1978, p. 18)

This view appears to be acceptable as long as there was a trickle of immigrants. But this was not the case as it turned out. In the last quarter of the 19th century, there was a flood of immigrants into the U.S. (Selakovich, 1978). In spite of serious efforts by educators to solve the problems of immigrants, school authorities were at times overwhelmed. "In the early years of the 20th century as immigrants poured into the United States by millions, the concern deepened to near panic" (Selakovich, 1978, p. 20). The majority of the immigrants at this point in time were no longer from Western Europe. They were from Eastern Europe and they did not speak English. These were unskilled workers. The great culture-conflict of the last century has been between the agrarian rural values versus industrial urban values, and the immigrants and their children were caught up in the center of the clash (Selakovich, 1978). This has been a continuous process from the beginning. Selakovich observed, "As one group inches up the ladder, other groups have come to take their place at the bottom. There have always been real obstacles to full acceptance, however, it is defined" (p. 23). The impact of this

problem has always been felt in the American schools. Selakovich (1978) continued,

In the light of this analysis, it would be expecting a great deal of the schools to make middle-class Americans out of the children of immigrants. The schools couldn't, even in general, change the economic and social system. The economic and social barriers and prejudice were, in a sense, functional for those trying to climb off the bottom rung of the socio-economic ladder (p. 23).

Navarro (1984) is very critical of these economic and social barriers in the United States. These problems, among others, set the melting pot syndrome in reverse. The immigrants and their children were not melting and are not melting now. Hence, there are moves to seek alternative ways of educating the bilingual-bicultural child, and search for these alternative ways continues.

Experience and Learning

In light of the preceding issues raised about bilingual education, the following section reviews how experience influences learning. It is hoped that the review may help shed light on approaches that may be used to improve the quality of the classroom instruction given to bilingual-bicultural students.

Vygotsky (1978) claims that the physical and social conditions surrounding the learner interact with the internal forces inside the learner and these influence behavior change. Accordingly, he asserts that due to this possible interaction of these external and internal forces in people, humans are active and vigorous participants in their own existence and at the end of each stage of development children acquire the means by which they can completely affect their world and themselves.

This seems to suggest that in learning there is a place for both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Perhaps employing the learner's background experiences or ideas the learner can relate to may be one of the ways this intrinsic motivation can be enhanced in the classroom. Leeper (1967) indicates that,

Whenever we think about teaching and learning, we go on forever adding things, more subjects, more homework, more teaching machines, more audio visual equipment, more languages, more math, more science, more physical education, more, more, always more. The list is practically endless. Yet the dropout with whom we are all concerned is not the product of the system which has failed to provide him with information... The trouble is, he never discovered what it all meant. Our failures are almost never failure of information. Rather they are human problems, breakdown of personal meaning. (p. 74)

Lack of cultural experiences on the part of the language minority students which preceding studies suggest seems to be one of the possible factors influencing underachievement and the rate of dropouts. It seems there is a big difference between knowing and behaving. Behavior requires more than knowledge. It requires motivation and personal experiences.

Vygotsky (1978) eloquently argues that the child's physical and social environments influence development. If school achievement and desire to stay in school are included in what we mean by development, then by the time children come to school some of that development will have been shaped by their environment. This development, as Vygotsky (1978) seems to suggest, does not occur in a vacuum. It occurs in a physical environment and in a cultural milieu. The learner, it seems, is a prisoner of his environment and culture which shape his early, present, and later experiences.

Leeper (1967) argues that students learn best when the material to be learned has personal meaning to them. He says that a person may be calm when someone's child is in trouble, but gets tense when it involves his own child. With this illustration, he asserts that emotional involvement comes with personal meaning of whatever is going on.

Viewing what Leeper (1967) and Vygotsky (1978) are saying, it appears learning takes place better when it accompanies the learner's experiences. Dewey (1938), who championed the idea of education and experience, suggests that the idea of continuity in learning is important. While advocating the inclusion of experience in learning, he says that experiences should have a capacity to foster growth and development of those experiences which come after them. According to Dewey (1938), if experiences have this capacity, it is only then that these experiences are qualitative and educative. He asserts that there are some experiences which fail to meet this criterion and according to him, they are miseducative. Is it possible that by merely excluding certain types of experiences which some students went through because of their cultural nurturance, some teachers may be allowing such experiences to be miseducative to those students?

Dewey (1938) and Vygotsky (1978) seem to be in agreement in the way they view the role of experience in learning. Vygotsky (1978) argues that in the early stages of development humans have been acquainted with counting fingers which serve as a bridge between the immediate qualitative mathematical operations and counting. Projecting the same argument further, he asserts that man does not trust his memory and is often unwilling to go by it. Man, therefore,

employs devices to assist his untrusted memory. Vygotsky (1978) suggests that people tie knots on their fingers which serve as reminders in their psychology of everyday life.

It seems appropriate to suggest at this point that some of the knots which a learner ties as reminders are locked up in the learner's culture. When these knots--these reminders--are not employed, learning becomes meaningless and this may be mirrored in underachievement or the rate of dropouts among certain ethnic groups.

Krasner and Ullman (1973) view experience in this perspective, "One attribute of living beings, including people, is that they are continuously being altered by experience" (p. 195). What provision is made in the school systems for the language minority children whose experiences might have altered them differently from the way the mainstream children were altered? What rationale is behind the utilization of students' prior knowledge and experiences in the teaching-learning situation?

There is plausible evidence in literature that students' prior knowledge and experiences influence the way they handle school learning. Cell (1984) illustrates how children's early experiences influence their behavior in later lives. He proposes that earlier experiences influence the way people make generalizations and the way they react to different situations in life. As Cell (1984) suggests, learning involves a change of behavior and this change of behavior is found on different levels namely, response learning, situation learning, transituational learning, and transcendent learning. Our prior knowledge and experiences influence these four levels of behavior change. Cell (1984) points out that many times we carry on

a stream of transactions with our world and when we are not engaged in this process, we are generally reflecting, dreaming, or wondering about that engagement.

One of the four levels of behavior change listed above is transcendent learning. This level needs to be discussed briefly because it forms the premise from which the present study purports to view classroom participation and the role of experience in learning.

Cell suggests that when available concepts are modified, relatively new concepts are created which provide new possibilities, new tools for interpreting individual situations.

Since concepts are tools for social transactions, the creation of new concepts is brought to a successful completion only when it becomes part of the transactions of one or more groups. Transactions are effective only when those involved interpret the situation in fairly similar ways. Visiting a culture that we know little about may present difficulties, because we do not understand how others see a situation. (Cell, 1984, p. 53)

If our life experiences are not organized in such a way that we see sense in the flow of those experiences, it is difficult for us to make sense of what is going on in our world. Cell (1984) suggests

when we select a learning situation, there are two factors for us to consider. First, in what ways the situation encourages and supports functional learning and in what ways will the opposite be true? Second, what opportunities for learning and what limitations to learning does the situation present? (p. 57)

It seems these questions become even more crucial in learning situations which involve multicultural and bilingual students. These questions become more crucial in such settings because we learn the behaviors that our environment rewards, and by primary thinking, we learn to look at ourselves and our environment in a certain way (Cell, 1984). It is important to note the importance of primary

thinking which Cell (1984) is suggesting because learning experiences in the classroom are to a large extent influenced by our primary thinking. Progress takes place and students may start to think in many different ways, but primary thinking which is shaped by our environment needs to be viewed as the starting point. True, we keep on adding to our repertoire of experiences and yet, as Cell (1984) suggests, when facing new situations we seem to draw from those which have gone on before. This is why people are able to generalize and interpret situations. According to Cell (1984) we are able to map our experiences, and our ability to understand and interpret new information is limited to what can be charted on our map. This leaves this present study with a need to investigate possible experiences which were charted on the maps of bilingual students.

Gallagher and Reid (1981) view social experience gained by interaction with people in social relationships, through education, language, and culture, as one of the important factors that influences development. According to these authors, rates of progress in development among children vary from culture to culture, which suggests that acculturation can accelerate or retard a child's development. Although they promote this notion, they admit that culture alone cannot explain everything. Other things such as maturation and the physical environment also play a part in the growth and development of a child. This view seems to be in keeping with Vygotsky's (1978) idea of seeing what a child is able to do on his own as well as with assistance from society. These views seem to suggest that society has a certain amount of influence on classroom learning. Dewey (1938) seems to support the idea of learning

experiences which are transcendent. Viewing the threads that run through what the above authors are saying, it seems appropriate to suggest that prior knowledge and experiences need to be employed so as to promote further growth and development of classroom learning experiences.

Gallagher and Reid (1981) suggest, ". . .If growth in knowledge was to occur, the growth had to be regulated by reorganizations, or reconstructions of past understanding, or present means of organizing thinking are not eliminated by new knowledge" (p. 16). Gallagher and Reid (1981) argue that these reorganizations or reconstructions of past understanding are not imposed from outside or given. They are self regulated. This argument is valid as long as the theory of developmental stages championed by Piaget (1971) is universally accepted. Problems arise when we want to find out what a child is able to do with assistance from the social as well as the physical environment (Vygotsky, 1978).

Dewey (1922) claims that people's habits or certain patterns in their behavior can be changed by modifying conditions surrounding that habit or those patterns of behavior. According to Dewey (1922), personal traits are functions of social situations. He asserts,

A genuine appreciation of the beauty of flowers is not generated with a self-enclosed consciousness. It reflects a world in which beautiful flowers have already grown and been enjoyed. Every ideal is preceded by an actuality, but the ideal is more than a repetition in inner image of the actual. It projects in securer and wider and fuller form some good which has been previously experienced in a precarious, accidental, fleeting way. (p. 22-23)

Dewey (1922) is suggesting that society is responsible, to a certain degree, for the behavior of any member of that society. How

much responsibility does society claim for the dropout rates and underachievement observed among the bilingual and bicultural students? How much responsibility do the school systems claim from the problems minority groups face in their educational careers? What happens in school, to a certain degree, is influenced by present school experiences feeding upon those experiences that have gone before them. This means some preschool experiences influence school experiences and academic achievements as well as students' involvement in classroom discussions.

Looking into what Piaget (1971) and Vygotsky (1978) are saying, it seems reasonable to suggest that mere maturation alone does not promote learning, nor does environmental intervention alone. It is the cumulative effects of both maturation and nurture which need to be taken into account when the factors that influence learning need to be analyzed. A main question, then, is how do cultural experiences of nurturance influence the way students handle different classroom situations? This question is raised from the assumption that the history of the learner is at the core of school learning (Bloom, 1976). Each learner comes to school with a history which has prepared him differently from other learners (Bloom, 1976). Bloom (1976) argues that if each learner enters school as a "tabula rosa" or with similar relevant histories, it is assumed that differences in school achievement would disappear. All things being equal, this assumption would hold true. What seems to be at issue, according to Bloom (1976), is how these histories can be understood and taken into consideration in relation to the learning which is intended to take place. Knowledge of answers to this question may help reduce

individual differences (Bloom, 1976). If learners have different histories, as Bloom (1976) suggests, it seems reasonable to expect more differences between the way bilingual students and regular students respond to different learning situations. Bloom (1976) asserts, "Where conditions for learning in the home and school approach some ideal, we believe that individual differences in learning should approach a vanishing point" (p. 16). Yet as records suggest, this vanishing point is not arrived at (Howe & Elderman, 1985). Some of the literature already reviewed about the achievement of bilingual students shows increasing reports of underachievement and increasing numbers of dropouts among the bilingual students. This condition suggests that disparity existed between the characteristics the bilingual students brought with them to school and those regular American students brought to school with them. If this disparity did not exist, then records of achievement should be more uniform among the regular and bilingual students. Lack of uniformity in achievement (Howe and Elderman, 1985) suggests that factors which influence this disparity among the characteristics students bring with them to school need to be investigated further.

Socio-cultural differences between students and teachers and between students and their peers influence the teaching-learning process. Such differences at times are crucial to how educational institutions open or close gates to students who are trying to decide on life careers (Erickson, 1975). Students may have gates closed before them because they are negatively evaluated. People have different cultural norms which they employ for interpreting behavior or for attaching meanings to words. When this happens conflicts

usually arise. The problem of conflicts that arise when the norms of interpreting social meanings are drawn from different groups of students and teachers in one educational setting has been documented in educational research (Mehan, 1974, 1978; Erickson & Shultz, 1977; Dorr-Bremme, 1976; Philips, 1972; Cazden, 1977; Hymes, 1972). According to Trueba (1981), such differences in interpretations of social meanings which are placed on words and actions can easily lead to negative evaluation of student participation. The same negative evaluation can even lead to differential treatment of students' similar answers, and sometimes can lead to students' exclusion from participation (Trueba, 1981).

In lieu of the preceding research studies, particularly in Erickson's (1975) and Trueba's (1981) findings, there is growing concern that a student's use of language in the classroom and in other school contexts may adversely affect his relationship with persons who make key decisions about life chances. This suggests that culture plays one of the major roles in learning since it, to a certain extent, shapes a person's communication styles.

Barker (1982) asserts that

Culture dictates moral values, ethical considerations, and educational values which affect perception of the communication setting. In the classroom the subculture of the immediate neighborhood in which the school is located will probably have more influence on the students and teachers than the greater cultural concepts held by the nation as a whole. Conflicting subcultures may produce dissonance within communication settings, and such dissonance must be reduced before communication may be completely successful. In a heterogeneous classroom, the teacher's communication job is more difficult than in a homogeneous community. Though it is occasionally possible to change culture through education, it is usually better to try to understand what values are operating in the classroom and adapt to them initially. (p. 13)

Communication or classroom interaction plays a major role in school learning. Yet, the role of communication stretches beyond the walls of classrooms. Communication influences personal consideration and how others perceive that person. How one is perceived by others affects one's social and emotional development. In return, social and emotional development influences school learning. This suggests the existence of and interplay between social and emotional development and school learning.

Communicative Competences

Teachers, through their efforts to facilitate learning, communicate to students what they are supposed to learn. Viewing the classroom communication process, Erickson (1986) stresses the importance of seeking to understand the ways in which teachers and students in their actions together constitute environments for one another (Erickson, 1986, p. 128). These environments are made possible as Erickson claims,

. . .through culture humans share learned systems for defining meanings, and in given situations of practical actions humans often seem to have created similar meanings of interpretations. But these surface similarities mask an underlying diversity; in a given situation of action one cannot assume that behaviors of two individuals, physical acts with similar forms, have the same meanings to the two individuals. (Erickson, 1986, p. 126)

There needs to be a constant sharing of meanings.

Weber (1978) defines social action as "A social relationship may be said to exist when several people reciprocally adjust their behavior to each other with respect to the meaning which they give to it, and when this reciprocal adjustment determines the form which it

takes" (p. 30). This is, perhaps, what Erickson means by ". . .constituting environments for one another" (1986). Meaning in this sense, as Erickson views it, is oriented to the action of others in the scene. He further suggests "Classrooms, like all settings in formal organizations, are places in which formal and informal systems continually intertwine" (Erickson, 1986, p. 126).

It is important for people communicating to go beyond meanings of words and understand the social context of what each person is saying (Saville-Troike, 1986). Saville-Troike (1986) gives the following illustration: English speakers know the meaning of "Do you have any cigarettes?" (p. 14). This is recognized as a request rather than an information question. So the person who answers "Yes, thanks," without offering one is either joking or rude. In interactions that involve many multicultural and multilingual participants, such social expectations as the example given above need to be known and clarified.

Although Saville-Troike (1986) suggests that English speakers understand the intent of the question "Do you have a cigarette?", it may be argued that English speakers who smoke may be more familiar with the usage of such a question as a request rather than an information question. Those who do not smoke or do not stay with smokers might be less familiar with that usage.

Patterns of communication among different social and cultural groups differ significantly. Some are influenced by particular roles and groups within society such as sex, age, social status, and occupation (Saville-Troike, 1986). These differences mentioned above are augmented by cultural differences and by the range of experiential backgrounds among the participants.

Saville-Troike (1986) also suggests that language serves many communication functions. Chief among these are (1) a language creates/reinforces boundaries, unifying its speakers as members of a single speech community and excluding outsiders from intragroup communication, and (2) many languages are also made to serve a social identification function within a society by providing linguistic indicators, which may be used to reinforce social stratifications. In keeping with this view, linguistic features are often employed by people, consciously or unconsciously, to identify themselves and others and thus serve to maintain various categories and divisions (p. 15). Saville-Troike (1986) indicates "At the level of individuals and groups interacting with one another, the functions of communication are directly related to the participants' purposes and needs" (pp. 15-16).

When two people are speaking to each other, ". . .their relative status is conveyed by their choice of pronominal forms in one language; in another by the distance they stand apart, or their body position while speaking; and between bilinguals even choice of which language to use in addressing one another" (p. 17).

In a multicultural and multilingual setting, it is not easy for one to tell whether participants are employing macrolinguistic patterns of communication or microlinguistic patterns, or when to shift from one set of communication styles to another. The very nature of classroom teaching-learning situations forces the participants to adapt special communication styles. Such special communication styles may be discriminatory as they tend to ignore minority groups' communication styles.

Saville-Troike (1986) suggests

Communicative competence extends to both knowledge and expectation of who may or may not speak in certain settings, when to speak and when to remain silent, whom one may speak to, how one may talk to persons of different statuses and roles, what appropriate nonverbal behavior are in various context, what the routine for turn-taking is in conversation, how to ask for and be given information, how to request, how to offer or decline assistance or cooperation, how to give commands, how to enforce discipline, and the like--in short, everything involving the use of language and other communicative dimensions in particular social settings. Clear cross-cultural differences can and do produce conflict or inhibit communication. . . . (p. 23)

Erickson (1981) views the timing and context of everyday discourses as having implications on social meanings which participants attach to words and behaviors. Meanings are drawn from paralinguistic cues and from nonverbal communicative actions. If these are not understood perhaps due to social or cultural differences moments of stumbling occur (Erickson, 1981). Class participation requires knowledge of the subject matter as well as knowledge of cultural modes of communication. Without this knowledge and without related life experiences, classroom learning becomes difficult and complex.

Erickson (1982) asks:

1. How do we know when someone is angry, humorous, or ironic?
2. How do we know when something new and important is beginning to happen in an event?
3. How do people recognize and react to breaches in the social order of interactions? How are positive and negative sanctions done, behaviorally, and what gets sanctioned?
4. How do the same people move within interaction from one set of role and status relationships to another with and across events from superordination to a relationship of great equality, from informality to

formality, from conduct according to bureaucratic rules and protocols to a more pragmatic, less sacral mode of relationship in which standard operating procedure can be suspended?

5. What is the range of communicative knowledge and skill that an individual needs in order to be able to interact effectively and appropriately with and across a variety of social occasions? What is an individual's interactional repertoire?

These questions help unravel the complexities that exist in multicultural and multilingual classrooms. Communicative competence may determine to a certain extent how students participate in the classroom learning activities.

Success and failure in school, in some cases, may be influenced by congruence of or incongruence between ways of speaking learned at home and those required at school. This is a match-mismatch phenomenon (Boggs, 1985). Where there is congruence, children are expected to interact as the teacher expects them to and this results in the class spending their time productively learning. Conversely, when a mismatch exists, children may fail to participate and this reduces productive learning (Boggs, 1985). Philips (1972) was among the earliest researchers to arrive at conclusions that deal with this match-mismatch phenomenon in her study done among the Warm Springs Indian children. Cazden and Hymes (1972) observed that when children employ interaction patterns learned at home in their class discussions, they talk and work effectively. In the Kamehameha Education Program, Boggs (1985) reports that children showed success in learning when interaction styles similar to those used at home were employed in school. In Hawaii, similar results were reported when instructional methods included the Hawaiian "talk-story." Among

the Hawaiian children, Pidgin English and "talk-story" express strongly held egalitarian values and serve as a means for promoting solidarity (Boggs, 1985). Including these values in the instructional methods and the successful results which accrued is an indication that cultural experiences and learning compliment each other. Reading lessons which utilized interaction styles known to the learners yielded positive results as indicated in the studies cited above. In lieu of the findings in studies cited above, the following section deals with how reading lessons may be taught in bilingual classes. Approaches to reading instruction suggested here address reading instruction from a cultural, linguistic, and experiential perspective.

Reading Instruction

Reading viewed from sociolinguistic and ethnographic perspectives is a process that involves both academic tasks and social and interpersonal contexts. These two perspectives imply that what constitutes the academic task is determined by how it is delivered during the social and communicative interactions (Bloome and Green, 1985). This perspective proposes that the academic tasks are products of the social, interpersonal context of reading instruction (Bloome & Green, 1984). This perspective is proposed because it is known that, ". . .two teachers may have the same materials, similar groups of students, similar training, and the same stated task (reading and discussing a story) and not produce the same academic task. Differences in delivered tasks result from the ways in which the teachers distribute turns, the types of questions asked, the

point at which questions are asked, and the types of information to be discussed, the ways in which students respond and so forth" (Hedley & Baratta, 1985, p. 168).

According to the two authors mentioned above, this element goes beyond disparities found in teachers' tasks and products. The same element influences the way students are evaluated on their academic tasks. Social interpersonal characteristics influence the teaching-learning process. There is such a thing as the match or mismatch between teacher and student's interactional style which influence teacher perceptions of students (Colling, 1981; DeStefano, Pepinsky & Sanders, 1982). It remains to be seen whether the high percentages of dropouts among bilingual students reported by Howe and Elderman (1985) has something to do with this teacher-student mismatch rather than other reasons which are usually ascribed to it. Erickson (1975) also discusses the extent to which college counselors judge students on the basis of nominally objective criteria such as grades, aptitude scores, and available college job slots, heavily influenced by such things as race, ethnicity, appearance, or communication styles. If such factors influence college counselors' decisions, there is a strong suggestion that such factors may also influence what goes on in elementary and secondary schools.

Communicative competence is known to influence the way students are evaluated. The following discussion deals with this in more detail.

Other possible factors that may be influencing classroom complexities, i.e., underachievement and increasing numbers of dropouts among bilingual students, could be enshrined in the approaches to teaching of reading.

Proponents of the language experience approach to the teaching of reading seem to address the preceding question adequately. Spache and Spache (1986) contend that language experience, more than any other approach, conceives learning to read as part of the process of language development. To paraphrase these two authors, it may be appropriate to suggest that learning is part of the person's development, and this development is influenced by the person's cultural setting. Spache and Spache (1986) continue to suggest that the language experience approach to the teaching of reading recognizes the close relationship among reading, speaking, writing, and listening. It alone, according to these two authors, recognizes that progress in reading is determined by the extent of the child's experiences in all these language media, prior to and during his early school years. The word "prior" in the preceding statement seems to be the key to this discussion and those discussions which come in Chapters IV and V. This seems to suggest that prior experiences to those that took place in school need to be taken into account during the teaching-learning process. Moreover, Spache and Spache (1986) contend a child is not expected to deal with ideas that are much farther advanced than those he can speak. These authors climax their argument by viewing the psychological advantages that are yielded through this approach. They say this approach has self actualizing effects which the learner needs. According to Van Allen (1963), the child feels:

1. What I can think, I can talk about.
2. What I can say, I can write about.
3. What I can write, I can read.

4. I can read what I write and what other people write for me.

This approach was employed successfully in New Zealand and where the Maoris children were both bilingual and bicultural (Karlin, 1978). Hittleman (1978), McKim (1956), and Veatch (1978) recommend this approach on the grounds that it utilizes the learner's prior knowledge and experiences.

In the light of the problems which seem to surround the language minority children and the suggestions that experiences have a role in learning, the present study investigated how students' prior knowledge and experiences influenced their class discussions and the way they defined words in class. It also investigated how cultural modes of communication influenced classroom interactions.

The following chapter give a description of the settings, the goals of the bilingual programs, and a brief description of how the researcher went about analyzing his data.

CHAPTER III

Design of the Study

Using qualitative fieldwork methods, this study was of a single district's programs operating within the context of bilingual education policies at the state and district level. Within the district, two types of bilingual programs were conducted. A description of their contextual factors is included to provide a picture of the programs being studied. The major problems studied are derived from these programmatic conditions and the provisions of two different bilingual programs. In this chapter, the research questions, the overall bilingual policies and programs, and the design followed for the study are stated.

Research Questions

The present study seeks to address these questions.

1. What purposes does the bilingual program serve which uses English as the only medium of instruction?
2. What teaching techniques are inherent in the bilingual classroom activities?
3. How do these techniques compare and contrast to those of the regular eighth grade social studies class?
4. How does the prior knowledge of the subject matter and students' prior experiences influence the way they defined words and social behavior, and the way they selected favorite subjects.
5. How do cultural experiences and the learning climate in each classroom influence classroom interactions?

Michigan Policies on Bilingual Education

The Michigan Department of Education's policies are such that approval for permits to run bilingual programs is not granted if

there is no qualified staff available for employment. Included in these policies is the ruling that a district may not retain staff on special permit and lay off endorsed bilingual teachers within a language classification.

Eligible students for bilingual instruction are identified through the following methods:

1. The school district sends a home language survey form that is approved by the department to the home of every student enrolled in the district. If this form is not returned within a reasonable period of time, the home is contacted either by telephone or a visit so that the necessary information is obtained.
2. Teachers, administrators, community groups, advisory committees, other students, parents, and other appropriate parties may be used to solicit referrals for bilingual program placement. The home language survey information is obtained for all students referred to for bilingual placement.
3. For students whose survey forms were not returned, follow-up surveys are conducted in the manner described above and appropriate information is compiled and analyzed before any student is declared eligible for bilingual instruction.

A review of bilingual policies in the Michigan Department of Education indicates that a potentially eligible student for bilingual instruction funded under Section 41 is considered eligible if that student meets one or more of the following:

1. (a) A student is monolingual in a language other than English;
(b) A potentially eligible student is enrolled in grades 3 - 12 and scores at or below the 40th percentile on a test of oral English language proficiency or an English reading test or subtests, as approved by the Department of education.
2. A potentially eligible student found to be ineligible in previous years because of test results shall be considered eligible if in later years the student scores at or below the 40th percentile on a test of oral English language proficiency or an English reading test or subtests as approved by the Department of Education in Michigan.
3. A school shall not determine eligibility of a student to receive bilingual instruction on the basis of test scores that are more than six months old.
4. Tests that determine the eligibility of a student shall be within one test level of the level designed for the grade in which the potentially eligible student is enrolled.
5. In cases where either the bilingual teacher, the student's parent(s), or guardian(s), or the student is in doubt whether the test scores were accurate, the student shall be retested with the same instrument or a different instrument which measures the same skill. The retest score is then substituted for the original score in the student's records. Eligibility of that student is then determined using the new score.

In Michigan, students served by bilingual instruction programs come from the following language backgrounds: Arabic, Chaldean, Chinese, French, German, Korean, Filipino, Spanish, Vietnamese, and other minority languages not mentioned in the document from the Department of Education because speakers of such languages may be very few.

Bilingual Programs at the School District Level

Two sites were selected for this study. One was a vocational education center where the Bilingual Instructional Center (BIC) for all the schools in the district was located. The second site was a junior high school.

This vocational education center was located in the southern edge of the city. The center served mostly adults who came to learn job-related skills and those adults on welfare who were required by law to go to school to learn how to read and write English. A large number of the adults who were enrolled in the programs offered at this vocational educational center were immigrants coming to learn English.

Unlike most of the programs at this vocational education center, the BIC catered to school-age students. Junior high and senior high school students were pulled out of their home schools and bussed to the BIC where they learned English and Social Studies. Those who needed to learn how to read took lessons in reading as well as the

other two subjects mentioned above. School-age students had separate classrooms from the adults because they were in a different program.

Since bilingual programs are mandated by the state's Department of Education, the eligibility status of students for these programs is determined by similar standards as those stipulated by the Department of Education.

In an interview, the coordinator of the special bilingual program said that parents of those students were asked to give permission in writing that their children be enrolled in the special bilingual program. He further pointed out that they were free to withdraw their children from the program at any time. He also pointed out that the program was mainly concerned with teaching basic English communication skills to those students.

According to the handbook (which shall remain anonymous for the purpose of confidentiality promised to this school district), the purpose of the special bilingual program was to assist students from language backgrounds other than English to be competitive and to achieve equally in school with those students from monolingual backgrounds (English-speaking students).

Clearly stated in this document is the idea that the program incorporates within its area of responsibility the ESEA Title I Migrant Education Project and ESEA, Title VII Bilingual Instructional Center (BIC). The document indicates that 95% of the students who are eligible for migrant education services are also eligible for the Title VII-funded BIC project and for the bilingual program.

As stated in that handbook, the special bilingual program is a state-mandate under compliance with the Office for Civil Rights.

Under such a plan, bilingual instruction must be provided for the students from a language background other than English who are underachieving until they become competent enough to be competitive and benefit from regular classroom educational instruction. Entailed in this plan is the idea of testing the students before they are admitted into the program and testing them regularly at different check points so as to allow those who have gained minimal competencies required to exit from the program. A total of 100 students were enrolled in the special bilingual program where students were pulled out of their regular classrooms during social studies, English, and reading classes. They were then bussed to the BIC where they received special instruction in these classes. All instruction was in English except in very few cases where teacher's aides interpreted for some of the students. This was only done when students failed to understand explanations given in English. The program is under the umbrella of bilingual education because it serves the needs of bilingual and bicultural students. Instruction is not given in two languages.

The goals and objectives of this special bilingual program are centered around:

1. Increasing students' reading, math, and language skills.
2. Meeting the special educational needs of students whose parents are, or have been within five years, migratory workers.
3. Providing a program of bilingual instruction for historically underachieving populations (Arabic, Hmong, Lao, Spanish) and providing inservice training to the bilingual staff and parents associated with the project.

Some of these goals and objectives also apply for the quasi-bilingual program which was included in this study.

Table 1 shows the teacher-student ratio in each class selected from the two bilingual programs and regular program for this study.

Table 1

Teacher-Student Ratio in All Classes Included in This Study

Regular 8th grade social studies class	1:30
Spanish quasi-bilingual 8th grade social studies class (Mexican-American)	1:15
Special bilingual class, reading, 1st hour	1:17
Special bilingual class, world history, 2nd hour	1:9
Special bilingual class, beginning reading, 3rd hour	1:16
Special bilingual class, U.S. history, 5th hour	1:17
Special bilingual class, government, 6th hour	1:6

As indicated in this table, all bilingual classes had fewer students than the regular class. This allowed the bilingual teachers to spend more time with each student than regular teachers do.

The following is a description of the five bilingual classes observed at the Bilingual Instructional Center (BIC).

The first hour in the morning was a reading class. Grade levels represented ranged from the sixth to the eighth. All 17 students assigned to this class wrote an English proficiency test which was used to determine if they needed the class. Most of the students come from Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. Two were Arabic and one was Korean.

World history was taught during the second hour. All nine students in this class were in the 8th grade. Those students represented the following ethnic groups: Korean, Hmong, Laotian, Hispanic, Chinese, and Arabic.

During the third hour, reading was taught to the beginning readers. The 16 students came from the ethnic groups mentioned above. One African student added to those groups already mentioned. Their grade levels ranged from the 6th to the 9th.

Lunch break came during the fourth hour. During this time the special bilingual class teacher, known as Carol from now on, went to the cafeteria with two Vietnamese ladies. One of these ladies was a secretary in the BIC office and the other was a teacher's aide. The teacher's aide who worked with Carol preferred to have his lunch alone in the classroom or elsewhere. The researcher was asked to join this group and he did so gladly. Occasionally the BIC coordinator joined the group during lunch. This was one of the times when the teacher and the coordinator of this program discussed some important matters, such as taking students to the state capitol and to the zoo in Detroit.

U.S. history was taught during the fifth hour to the beginning reading group. There were 17 students in this class. Their ethnic groups were Kampuchian, Korean, Polish, Hmong, Vietnamese, Japanese, and Hispanic.

The sixth hour was designated for government and had only six students. These were mature students in their early and mid-twenties. Through informal interaction with these students between class sessions, the researcher got the following information

from them. The oldest was 24 years old. She worked and also attended school. According to her, she was the head of her family, supporting her 20 year-old brother, who was in this government class with her, and her mother. She was the breadwinner of the family. The students in this class were more vocal than those in the earlier classes. They came from Ecuador, Vietnam, and Kampuchia. The student from Ecuador was not a refugee. She was here for one year as an exchange student. She came to the United States to learn English. This group of students came into Carol's classroom during the last hour of the school day. She was more flexible with them. She took them to the state capitol one day and to a Chinese restaurant another day. The researcher went with them on these two occasions and had a chance to get acquainted with all of them. Three of these students worked on part time jobs. The researcher rode with the 24-year-old young lady and her brother. This was the time when she talked about herself and her family. The map in Figure I shows the seating positions of students who were more actively involved in the class interactions which will be discussed in Chapters IV and V of this study.

Students in the regular and quasi classes did not use the same seating arrangements all the time and so there are no maps for those classes.

Narratives discussed in this study include students' cultural experiences. Since most of the students who came to the BIC were Vietnamese and Laotians, it is appropriate to discuss their cultural and religious backgrounds. This will help shed some light on the way some of these students viewed the world. This information was

BIC Classroom Map

Chalkboard and Map

Teacher's Table

phone

dictionaries

door

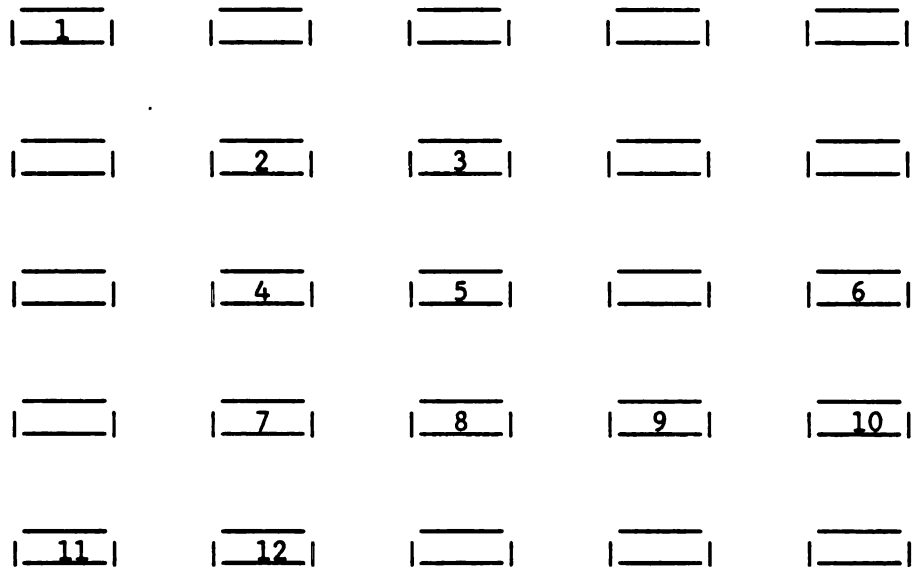


Figure 1

not drawn to scale

gathered from Vietnamese and Laotians who worked with this researcher at Michigan State University. There were no interviews with these adults; however, many informal conversations were held with them. Most of these people were or had been Buddhists before they came to the United States.

Buddhists are required to respect their religion. They believe in the spirit. According to their religion, they are not supposed to

1. steal
2. scorn
3. kill
4. lie, and
5. take someone's wife.

They are allowed to drink, but not to excess.

In Laos and Thailand, monks are not allowed to drink or sleep in people's houses. Their food is to be clean. They are to have meals twice a day, in the morning and in the afternoon. They must eat beef in the afternoon or during lunch. Monks should stay away from women.

Boys and young men are expected to obey certain rules. They are supposed to go to the temple when they are not busy. If they are busy, they should think about their religion during those busy schedules.

When one becomes a man, he is not supposed to shake hands with people. In their culture, they are not supposed to clap hands in approval of what someone is saying. Boys and young men are not supposed to stay close to girls and women. They even maintain a distance from their mothers and sisters. Interestingly, young men maintain a distance from their girl friends, as well. Men and women

do not hold hands, even husbands and wives. One young man said, "If I date an American girl, I will feel shy or uncomfortable to hold her hand. We shake hands to say goodbye but here in America, they don't."

It is required in their culture to respect their elders. This should be shown in their manner of greeting and in general politeness as they interact with them. One young man commented, "If you are quiet and don't talk much it is good." As is expected in that culture, older people talk much more while the younger people talk less. Young people must leave the presence of adults when guests come home. Youngsters are supposed to obey and respect their parents. The opinions of their parents are important and must be valued at all times. Men are required to support their brothers' families if they need help.

In Vietnam and Laos they have no nursing homes. Old people stay with their sons and daughters. One young man said, "We live together. When parents die, children share their property."

This is a brief religious and cultural background of many of the students who were included in this study.

Research Design

This study employed qualitative research methods. The following steps were taken to gather and analyze data:

1. Choosing the research sites

- (a) There was only one bilingual instructional center in the district and so there were no other alternatives from which to choose.

(b) One junior high school was selected. This school housed the regular eighth grade social studies class and the quasi-bilingual eighth grade social studies class.

2. Data collection process

(a) Participant observation

(i) note taking

(ii) interviews (some of which were taped)

(iii) surveys

3. Data analysis

(a) triangulation of all the data.

Details of what was done in the research design will be given in the following section.

Procedures

The researcher secured written permission from the school district, the principals of the two schools, the three teachers who participated in this study, students, and their parents. All the participants were informed that they were free to discontinue their participation in the study at any time, if they chose to.

These written agreements were then taken to Michigan State University where permission was secured from the office which gives clearance to any research studies that use human subjects. The following methods were used for gathering data:

Participant observation. Participant observational research is used in the social sciences as a research method (Erickson, 1986). This method entails intensive, long participation in a field setting.

During the observations made at research sites events were carefully recorded. These field notes were supplemented by information gathered from school records and where possible program handbooks were used.

Audiotaping was done in three class sessions and in the interviews conducted away from the BIC. No taping was done at the BIC because the special bilingual teacher did not allow any taping because she felt it was sensitive especially to her students who were mostly refugees. According to her, they would feel uncomfortable if their school activities were taped.

In the home school where the regular eighth grade social studies class and the quasi-bilingual eighth grade social studies class were observed, the teachers concerned suggested that the amount of taping during class sessions should be minimized as much as was possible. Thus, three class sessions and some interviews were taped.

Reports of findings in this study include many detailed descriptions of what happened in classroom settings and most of these reports will be in the form of narrative vignettes. It has been stated earlier that field notes were heavily relied upon and so most of the narratives in this study were drawn from that source. Data gathered from interviews, achievement records, and samples of students' written work has been included whenever and wherever necessary.

The classes selected for this study were social studies and reading. The regular 8th grade class and the quasi 8th grade class had no reading classes. Hence, all the reading activities observed were in the special bilingual program. Reading activities were

included in this study because there were similarities in the way Carol, the special bilingual teacher, conducted the reading lessons and social studies lessons. These similarities were noted when new words were defined by either the teacher or the students in reading classes as well as in social studies classes.

In the regular 8th grade social studies class, a total of eight observations were made. The same number of observations were made in the quasi 8th grade social studies class.

A total of 47 observations were made at the BIC. During the initial data collecting process in 1984, eight observations were made in the special bilingual 8th grade class and eight in the regular 8th grade social studies class. Since each observation lasted an hour, this means that the researcher spent a total of 79 hours gathering data for this study.

Interviews. Interviews were held with two bilingual teachers who taught in different bilingual programs (already defined in this study), the coordinator of the special bilingual program, an assistant principal in one home school (who was also bilingual), one Vietnamese bilingual education specialist who represented the adults in that ethnic group, two counselors who worked with both regular and bilingual students in this study, five bilingual students, and five parents. Each of the above was interviewed separately. The assistant principal referred to above worked closely with Mexican-American students and other minority students who were in that school. Her functions included other duties assigned to any assistant principal. This information was gathered from her in an interview.

The interviewees were selected on the basis of the questions which were beginning to emerge from the classroom observations. Since this study primarily investigated factors which influenced the pulling out of bilingual students from their regular classes, all the participants interviewed were drawn from the bilingual population. The researcher secured written permission to interview all these participants.

What made these interviews important? Erickson (1986), Erickson, Florio, and Buschman (1980), and Gordon (1980) believe that it is important to find out from the participants what their actions mean to them. It is crucial in interpretive research to discover if the researcher is sharing the same meanings of what he/she is describing, with the actors or participants. The aforementioned interviews served this function in this study. These interviews helped to clarify and give supplementary information on patterns which were beginning to emerge in the present study. It was not feasible to interview every bilingual student due to time factors and other constraints that became inevitable when dealing with human subjects. To supplement this interview, a questionnaire was used.

Information gathered through the questionnaire. It was noted while this study was in progress that special bilingual students asked for help in mathematics whenever they were given a chance to ask for help in subjects other than those they learned at the BIC. In order to make sense of this phenomenon, the researcher sent a questionnaire to students in the regular class and in the two bilingual programs. This was a short questionnaire where each student wrote his/her name, his/her most favorite subject, and the

languages they was interested in learning. This information was compared to achievement records so as to find out if students performed best in subjects they viewed as their most favorite. Patterns which emerged from this information are discussed in Chapters IV and V.

Analysis of data. During the interpretation or analysis of data, the following questions and statements were taken into account:

- (a) What did the participants mean when they said what they said? Was the researcher sharing the same meanings with the participants?
- (b) All the available data were considered before any conclusive interpretations were made. This was done so as to avoid inaccurate conclusions or interpretations.
- (c) This process involved the study of the context, the time and the place, when or where certain statements were said or certain things happened, especially those that appeared out of context or out of harmony with what was going on in that particular event(s).
- (d) What was meant by what was said was very important in the interpretation process. What was said in one situation was validated against what was said in other situations. To allow the interpretations of data to meet the preceding criteria, Chapter IV gives a very extensive report of many classroom narratives.

There were two separate periods during which data were collected for this study. The first, which was the initial data collection process, was during the month of February, 1984. The second, in which the bulk of the data were gathered, started at the beginning of April and ended at the beginning of June, 1986.

In 1984 the researcher visited the two sites selected for this study on Tuesdays and Thursdays. One hour on each of these days was spent in the special bilingual eighth grade social studies class and one hour in the regular eighth grade social studies class.

In 1986 the researcher visited the junior high school where the regular 8th grade social studies class and the quasi-bilingual 8th grade social studies class were housed on Mondays. He spent an hour in each of those classes. On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursdays, he spent a total of 6 hours each day at the Bilingual Instructional Center (BIC). A total of 20 hours each week was spent gathering data for this study.

In the process of analyzing data information collected from the observations, quotes from the participants, samples of students' assignments, and quotes from interviewees who included five parents, were taken into consideration. Information was gathered from various sources so that it could be cross-validated (triangulation). These sources were classroom observations, achievement records made available to the researcher by the special bilingual program coordinator, quotes from interviews and dialogues between participants.

To discover the goals of the bilingual program, the researcher reviewed the bilingual handbook which was made available to him by the program coordinator. The quasi-bilingual program which was included in this study drew some of its goals from the same handbook, although students in that building-level program did not have limited communication skills in English as did special bilingual students.

The quasi-bilingual 8th grade social studies class and the regular 8th grade social studies class were used as the basis for comparing and contrasting the activities of the special bilingual classes.

Summary

This chapter has briefly restated the research questions, described bilingual education policies in Michigan, described the settings where this study was conducted, discussed the procedures that were used for gathering data, and discussed the steps taken to analyze the data.

The next chapter deals with the description of findings.

CHAPTER IV

Description of Findings

Information gathered from interviews, written reports, observations, and questionnaires are used to answer the research questions which were developed as a guide to the study. These questions, which follow, guided the data collection, interviews, and analysis provide the organization for this chapter.

1. What purposes does the bilingual program serve which uses English as the only medium of instruction?
2. What teaching techniques are inherent in the bilingual classroom activities?
3. How do these techniques compare and contrast to those of the regular eighth grade social studies class?
4. How did the prior knowledge of the subject matter and students' prior experiences influence the way they defined words and social behavior, and the way they selected favorite subjects.
5. How do cultural experiences and the learning climate in each classroom influence classroom interactions?

1. What Purposes Does the Bilingual Program Serve Which Uses English as the Only Medium of Instruction?

The school district in which this study was conducted had two forms of bilingual programs. All bilingual students were pulled out of their regular classes during social studies classes. Some had separate social studies classes in their own school buildings. This is what is known as the quasi-bilingual program in this study. Another group of bilingual students was bused to the Bilingual Instructional Center (BIC) to learn English, reading, and social

studies. This is described as the special bilingual program in this study.

An attempt to address the preceding question begins with the remarks of the quasi-bilingual teacher who said in an interview, "These students no longer have limitations in English communication skills and yet they like the idea of being among their own ethnic group. In the regular classes many times they don't say anything at all. They feel uncomfortable to speak." (4-21-86) Mr. A was talking about his 15 students who were all Mexican Americans. Mr. A was also Mexican American. He taught classes in the regular program as well as this quasi-bilingual class which he was describing in the interview.

Mr. A said that when his quasi-bilingual students were compared to the regular American students, they appeared to be reluctant to take part in classroom discussions. "I teach some of these students in some of my regular classes," he said, "and they do not participate in discussions at all. Look at them now. You can see it yourself that they are free to discuss some things with me. I try to make it clear to them that when they need help they can count on me."

(4-21-86)

Two counselors who worked at the same school were also interviewed. The counselors worked with regular students, quasi-bilingual students, and special bilingual students. When they were asked to state the purposes of these two forms of bilingual programs, they pointed out that these bilingual programs serve as transition between

students' home culture and the regular school program. One counselor said, "These students (bilinguals) have split schedules here at G-- school. They spend half of their time here and half at the Bilingual Instructional Center (BIC). They do come and try to find out exactly where they fit. When we give them school district tests it is done here in our school building for the students in our school. We have a few of them (bilinguals) who do very well in SAT tests. Language is their problem when they are tested. I think they do very well in the bilingual program. . . . We have had students who had very little English but generally once they're here a whole year they seem to do better. These students do not seem to fit into the regular program because of the language problem. I think they lack English communication skills. As I said, when they come here they speak just their native tongue. . . ." At this point, the second counselor interjected, "Bilingual students are generally quiet during class sessions." Asked whether bilingual students were accepted by their peers, he answered, "I think they are accepted by others but one problem is that they have a tendency to want to be with their own bilingual peers. They seem to communicate well with counselors but they are generally quiet in classes. They do not participate in class discussions." (5-28-86)

These two counselors further pointed out bilingual students communicated well with them because they (the counselors) tried to reach out to them. The counselors then suggested that bilingual programs are structured in such a way that they help students to pick up English communication skills which they lack as newcomers to the United States.

At the BIC, Carol, the special bilingual teacher, and the coordinator of the program, and one adult Vietnamese who is a specialist in bilingual education were interviewed. Their views about the purposes of the English-only bilingual program will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Carol said that she taught her students English as well as the subject matter. According to her, one of her responsibilities was to help her students adjust to the American culture and educational system in a way that does not make them feel that their cultures were less important. Among all these responsibilities, she pointed out that the teaching of English was given top priority in all her classes. She said, "I want my students to learn to speak, read and write English. If my students fail to grasp meanings of words and concepts, I make them act or dramatize the idea portrayed in those words or concepts. This helps them visualize the idea. We do more in this program so that our students experience the new words and concepts we are trying to teach them." (5-19-86)

Typical examples of what Carol said are depicted in the following vignettes which were lifted from some of her class sessions:

Carol was teaching a reading lesson. Students were asked to pronounce all the new words, to define them, and to use them in sentences. After that, the oral reading lesson proceeded. "If you can't pronounce a word, put up your hand. I will help you," said Carol.

As they read from the textbook, Carol asked questions to see if they understood what they were reading. One student confused the word "along" with "alone" as she was trying to answer Carol's question. Carol said, "Alone means by yourself. Along means with somebody else." As the lesson developed another student was confused with the two meanings

of the word "kind." Carol said, "Kind means many different kinds or something like, be kind to me. It means be nice to me. Is that all right, honey?" When Carol asked this question, a girl from Korea we shall name A-1 according to her seating position asked, "Why do you call her honey? Do you mean that thing which is sweet made by bees?" Carol smiled and said, "It means a nice person." (4-28-86)

Carol's reading lessons as well as social studies lessons were conducted in a similar way to what is demonstrated in the preceding vignette. Many times when this study was in progress, Carol asked her students, "If you come across a word you don't understand, what do you do?" Usually her students would answer in chorus, "Use a dictionary."

One day after a class session which took place in more or less the same way as the one described above, a girl from Korea, who is referred to as A-1 in this study, said, "I like all my classes. I like mathematics and science. I like this class, too (That class was a world history class). I learn more English here." This researcher had asked that girl what classes she liked best in school. (4-29-86)

Another time, Carol made comments to her class about what they were going to read. She paused and said, "I seem to have an idea that you are doing a lot better. Your English has improved, keep on trying." (5-6-86)

There was strong evidence in both what Carol and her students said that the learning of English communication skills was given top priority in the special bilingual program. More evidence of this is given in the following discussion.

All of the 23 special bilingual students who responded to questionnaires pointed out that they were in this program because they learned more English in that program than they did in their home

schools. When asked to give reasons why they were coming to school, their random responses suggested the following:

1. To learn to survive in the American society.
2. To prepare themselves for the job market. They pointed out that in spite of the fact that they wanted to adjust to the American culture, they still wanted to maintain their extended family ties, their religion, and the respect for older or elderly people.

Given a chance, these students proposed to teach the Americans the following:

1. To help their parents when they are old (giving them money or other kinds of help).
2. Not to divorce easily.

Records indicate that approximately 90% of all the students who enrolled at the BIC proceeded to college for either an associates degree or a four-year college degree. Carol, the special bilingual teacher and the coordinator of that program claimed that this happened because they gave the students adequate help in English and emphasized the importance of higher education in the special bilingual program.

More of how bilingual students viewed their learning activities will be discussed in the section on students' favorite subjects.

Apart from giving the teaching of English top priority in her lessons, Carol also tried to make her lessons relate to students different cultural backgrounds. At one time she was talking about the word celebration. She asked, "Do you celebrate Christmas in Vietnam? What date is your independence day in Korea?" At another time during a drawing and writing assignment, Carol said, "This is your family tree which represents your family and your culture. So

choose your own colors." In all 47 observations made in Carol's special bilingual classes, she took her students' cultural perspectives into account.

It was not only Carol who saw the importance of including students' cultural experiences in classroom discussion. Others who were interviewed for this study held similar views.

An assistant principal at the school where Mr. A, the quasi-bilingual teacher taught, said in an attempt to express the importance of cultural viewpoints of different students. "I do not deal with the Indo-Chinese who are in our school because I do not know their cultural background. . . . I interact with Mexican-American students a lot more easily because I am Mexican-American myself and I understand their culture." She pointed out that there were times when she would speak to Mexican-American students in Spanish. Those students would understand the message more clearly because they knew the language and the paralinguistic characteristics which go with this language and their culture. She saw the use of the child's communicative competence as important, ". . . It means more to the child," she concluded. (3-7-84)

The coordinator of the special bilingual program and the Vietnamese adult who is a specialist in bilingual education said that they teach English communication skills in their program and their approach to the subject matter takes students' cultural backgrounds into account. Parents who were interviewed separately for this study expressed their views as follows:

Parent 1 commented: "This bilingual program is a transitional or an interim ESL solution to the second language problem. Some programs are sympathetic to the bilingual program or need but have no help to offer."
(5-30-86)

Parent 2 said, "There are not many multicultural instances in the curriculum. . . . Our children ought to have exposure to cultures other than what they see on the TV. They need a program which includes their cultural perspectives." (5-30-86)

Parent 3 said, "High school education has a lot of European elements but no elements of the Asian, or other cultures. We like this special bilingual program because it at least recognizes our Asian culture and our children talk about it in class." (6-10-86)

Parent 4 said, "This program is helping the child to be proud and accept his ethnicity. In the black week emphasis, they talk about King and other blacks. They do not stretch enough to their African heritage. Nothing is said about other ethnic groups in this country." (6-17-86)

Parent 5 said that he liked the special bilingual program because his child is learning a lot of English and other cultures represented in that program. He paused and said, "All my fingers help my hand. All my people help my land. My children meet many people from other parts of the world. We can all be part of this satellite ball in the United States of America. Such values are not common in the public school. They used to ask me in school, 'Did you have a toast or an egg for breakfast?' I did not raise my hand because I had soup and fish. I felt stupid. I am glad my child is made to feel we can be part of this satellite ball in America. That is what I think the special bilingual program is teaching my child." (6-13-86)

In summarizing the purposes of the English-only bilingual program it is important to note that it was viewed by the participants as helping the bilingual child to

1. learn English communication skills,
2. view the subject matter from his cultural perspective,
3. accept and respect his culture and those of others.

2. What Teaching Techniques Are Inherent in the Bilingual Classroom Activities?

In the last section, it was suggested that Carol, the special bilingual teacher, saw the teaching of English as her top priority

among her other teaching responsibilities. She emphasized the pronunciation of new words, their definitions, and the way they were used in sentences. Dictionaries were used in all her class sessions.

It was stated that Carol's approach to the subject matter allowed students to view it from their own cultural perspectives. A typical social studies or reading lesson in Carol's classroom had the following components:

1. Pronunciation of new words.
2. Definitions of new words with the help of dictionaries.
3. Using those words in sentences.
4. Oral reading.
5. Discussion of what was read--this included comprehension questions.
6. A writing exercise, a quiz, a test, or an examination.
7. Assignments for the next class.

The following vignette lifted from Carol's history class will help explain these steps as they have been outlined above. Those seven components did not necessarily come in the order listed above.

Carol walked into the classroom and socialized with her students in what looked like an informal discussion. After about five minutes, Carol stood up and asked students to turn in their written vocabulary assignment. They went on to pronounce the words which were at this time listed on the chalkboard.

"What is the meaning of coral reef?" asked Carol. Her students did not know the meaning of that term. Carol said, "Look it up in your dictionaries, maybe you will understand it. I will give you a chance to look it up in your language, maybe you will understand it better. You know how to read Hmong and Thai. If you understand it, it is all right."

They used dictionaries but still they could not understand the meaning of "coral reef." At this point, Carol tried to define it for them. Still they did not understand what

coral reefs were. After an illustration was used of how coral is formed, students began to grasp its meaning.

They proceeded to define ridges, outbreak, Aborigines, ashes, corals, shell fish, boomerang, yams and fibres. Students were asked to use the words in sentences. When this was done, Carol asked students to read aloud portions of the story. One student at a time read aloud while others listened.

They located Australia on the map and discussed portions of what they were reading about. After a short writing assignment, the world history lesson was over. (5-8-86)

Carol's approaches to the subject can best be portrayed in the following comments she made to this researcher in an interview:

"If these students are expected to function adequately in this country, they must be taught English. I teach English in history and reading classes. What I teach is centered around the learning of English. I teach some other things, too. I teach them how to be polite to one another in ways which are appropriate in an American society. I teach them grooming and many other things pertaining to cultural traits which are regarded as appropriate in America. I connect these things with what they already know in their own cultures. I teach them how to dress themselves appropriately for different occasions. Most of these students are not living with their own parents and because of this they need a teacher who has a motherly, caring spirit. They sometimes pick up language that is not appropriate from the streets. I have got to teach them to speak using language which is appropriate." (4-29-86)

Carol organized her subject matter or content around the above goals. To help demonstrate that what happened in the preceding vignette was not an isolated incident, the following vignette is included.

This was a reading lesson. Carol greeted her students and some greeted her first. This was an informal way in which her classes started, nearly always. This lasted for less than five minutes.

Pretty soon the reading activities commenced. Students were asked to pronounce new words after the teacher. These words were "landing, shoots, tenant, mirage, felt, geraniums, pumpernickel, nourishment, chandelier, imitation, keen, hazard, flushed, incredible." Students were asked to define these words with the help of dictionaries and encyclopedias. After this they used all the words in sentences.

After an oral reading exercise, Carol asked her students to read from the text silently, paying special attention to the listed vocabulary words on which they were going to be tested on the following day. She asked them to get help from her, the teacher's aide, or this researcher.

When this was done, they were asked to continue a writing assignment which they had been working on for several days. They had a trip to a zoo in Detroit and their writing assignment was about this trip. One young man came to this researcher's desk and asked, "How do you spell fat__?" His pronunciation was not quite clear. This researcher asked him to use that word in a sentence. "A snake bite is fatal." From the sentence, this researcher got the word and then spelled it "f-a-t-a-l." Soon that reading lesson came to an end. (5-27-86).

In this vignette, students pronounced new words after their teacher. They defined those words and used them in sentences. There was an oral reading exercise and a writing exercise. This pattern of lesson development existed in all Carol's 47 lessons which were observed for this study. More than this, Carol approached the content of learning in ways that utilized the students' cultural experiences and exposure.

Some episodes which were observed in Carol's classroom activities suggest that cultural experiences and exposure were needed to help students define words and social behaviors. A typical example of these episodes is shown in the following vignette.

Carol asked her student to work on a creative writing exercise after she pronounced words and defined them with her students.

One student pronounced the word "slave" as "sleeve." Carol pronounced that word with him slowly. That student then went back to his seat and started working on the assignment.

Another student repeatedly asked, "What must I do?" Carol explained but he could not understand. The word which was problematic in this episode was "creative." She asked him to use a Vietnamese dictionary. He could not find the word. Carol went to his seat and tried to help. The word was not in the Vietnamese dictionary. Carol then said, "to

pretend, to imagine, like the story of Cinderella. To make up a story." After this explanation, the student started working on his creative writing assignment. (5-20-86)

Here, while Carol was in the process of presenting her lessons in ways that allowed students to learn more English vocabulary words, she also allowed students to see meanings of words and social behaviors from their experiential, cultural, and linguistic perspectives.

In spite of Carol's efforts to deal with the subject matter in the manner already described in this episode, it remained unclear whether the idea inherent in the word "creative" is expressed in the Vietnamese language. Failure to find this word in the Vietnamese dictionaries was problematic in Carol's attempt to approach the content from her students' perspectives.

In another episode which is already narrated in this study, students could not understand the meaning of "coral reefs" though some of them could read and speak Vietnamese and Lao in which some dictionaries were written. The word "coral reef" was defined in those two languages.

Language in those two episodes was not only portraying ideas but was also portraying the culture and experiences of the people who spoke that language. It is important to view the findings in this study from both a linguistic and a cultural perspective.

What has been discussed so far was the way Carol presented her lesson. Nothing has been said about her communicative competences. This will be discussed in the next few paragraphs.

Carol smiled at times during her lessons; she encouraged her students to respond to her questions. "I know you can answer this

question," she said to a student who was reluctant to answer her question. At times, she would say, "Come on, try," in encouragement to her students to take part in classroom discussions.

One day a student asked Carol, "Am I gay?" Instead of saying yes or no, Carol asked, "What do you mean by gay?" After her student defined that word, Carol proceeded to tell him that he was not gay. Details of this episode will be narrated later in this study. Yet it may be appropriate to note that here Carol was trying to find if she was sharing the same meaning of the word "gay" with her student.

At times Carol walked close to students who were giving answers to her questions. Occasionally, she touched some slightly. These appeared to be warm gestures on Carol's part and yet one day when an Asian young man asked Carol to help him solve a mathematical program, this gesture did not serve the intended purpose. Carol walked close to the young man and touched him on the shoulder. The young man looked at Carol and said, "Don't touch me."

In Chapter III it was pointed out that Buddhist young men are not allowed to be near women. This particular young man was not only near a woman but she also touched him. This episode will be viewed in more detail in the analysis of data in Chapter V.

Mr. A, the quasi-bilingual teacher, employed techniques which were different from Carol's techniques. A typical history class taught by him would include the following elements:

1. Vocabulary words which were always part of a short writing assignment.
2. Introduction of the topic.

3. The teacher's lecture.
4. Silent reading done to answer certain questions assigned to students.
5. Test, quizzes, and examinations.

A typical example of Mr. A's approach to the subject matter is portrayed in the following vignette.

When all of his students were settled in the classroom, Mr. A had roll call. Mr. A then said, "Read Chapter 6 in five to ten minutes." This chapter was only two pages long.

After this silent reading assignment, Mr. A. passed out a writing exercise to the students. On this exercise there were vocabulary words which students were asked to define. They were also asked to give answers to questions which were listed on the same assignment.

After this writing assignment, students were allowed to leave the classroom to attend other classes which followed this one. (4-14-86)

In the last section, it was suggested that Mr. A wanted his students to view social studies from the viewpoint of Mexican-Americans. The following examples drawn from three of his lessons will help confirm this suggestion. One day when the topic was World War I, he told his students the position that was taken by Mexico during that war. Another time when the topic was World War II, he again mentioned the position that was taken by Mexico. The last example is drawn from his lesson about the European colonial powers in Africa. He illustrated the African struggle for independence with Mexican-Americans fighting for equal rights in the United States.

It is important to note the following:

1. Carol's approach to the subject matter had the learning of new English words as the primary focus.
2. Carol included paralinguistic characteristics as she communicated with her students.
3. Mr. A, whose approach differed from Carol's, attempted to help his Mexican-American students see what they learned from their historical and cultural point of view.

3. How Do These Techniques Compare and Contrast to Those of the Regular Eighth Grade Social Studies Class?

Eighth grade social studies classes in all three programs used the same textbook. In the regular class, the quasi-bilingual class and the special bilingual class, they covered the lesson on "The Industrial Revolution." The subject matter was the same.

Mr. Dixon, the regular classroom teacher, approached the subject matter in a typical lesson as follows:

1. Introduction of the topic.
2. A lecture interspersed with either comprehension questions or attention-getter types of questions.
3. Silent reading with specific questions to answer.
4. Writing exercises, quizzes, tests or examinations.

Mr. Dixon, unlike the other two teachers, used American situations to illustrate the topic he was trying to teach. Two examples of this which were drawn from different lessons are discussed in the following paragraphs.

One day Mr. Dixon was teaching a lesson about "The Industrial Revolution." His lessons followed the steps which are outlined above. During the course of his lecture, Mr. Dixon said, "People who made things by hand were mad

when machines were invented." "Why?" asked some of his students. "Because machines were taking away jobs from them," explained Mr. Dixon. Some of his students did not make sense out of this and so the teacher illustrated, "The Japanese make cars and sell them to American citizens and we get mad because they are taking away jobs from us." Students understood the point he was trying to make after this illustration. (5-8-86)

Another day Mr. Dixon was teaching the Italian history. He named a political group which was known as "The Red Shirts." Some of his students echoed, "Red Shirts! Red Shirts!" This must have suggested to Mr. Dixon that they did not quite understand what this group's name was all about. He again illustrated, "During slavery we had underground railroads. This is just a name because we did not have railroads under ground." Once again this illustration seemed to suffice. (5-7-86)

Here, Mr. Dixon employed illustrations that regular Americans can understand. This approach was different from Carol's and Mr. A's. These two looked at illustrations or asked students to provide some illustration which were drawn from their own cultures.

A typical class session in Mr. Dixon's classroom is illustrated in the following vignette.

Mr. Dixon dictated the following questions to his class:

1. What was the young Italian society?
2. Who started it?
3. Why was the Pope against Italian unity?
4. Who were the Red Shirts?
5. What contributions did Mazzini make?
6. Who was Mazzini's opponent?

When this was done, students were asked to read from the text silently and write down answers to the preceding questions.

Mr. Dixon then went on to discuss the lesson with his students who he asked to give answers to the above questions. They referred to a map which was hung on the wall when they were discussing the territory which was designated to the Pope in Italy. This ended Mr. Dixon's history class. (4-21-86)

The following figures taxonomize the classroom activities in each of the three programs so as to compare and contrast what was going on in each of the programs. This figure shows the teaching techniques which were employed in each of the three programs most of the time when this study was in progress. As the three sections suggest, there were similarities and differences in the way the three teachers approached the subject matter.

Figure 2
Classroom Activities

Special Bilingual Classes	
<u>Classroom Participation</u>	
A. Pronouncing new words aloud _____	E. Writing assignments
B. Using new words in sentences _____	F. Asking questions or asking for help with difficult
C. Reading aloud in random order _____	learning material
D. Oral answers	
The Quasi-Bilingual Class	
<u>Classroom Participation</u>	
A. Vocabulary words as written assignment _____	C. Answer the teacher's questions with oral
B. Silent reading with specific questions to answer _____	answers
D. Writing assignments	
Regular Eighth Grade Class	
<u>Classroom Participation</u>	
A. Giving oral answers to questions _____	C. Asking the teacher questions
B. Silent reading with specific questions to answer _____	D. Writing assignments

As these figures show, the special bilingual classes had two more components than the other two classes. Basically, this is how the three programs compared and contrasted.

4. How Did the Prior Knowledge of the Subject Matter and Students' Prior Experiences Influence the Way They Defined Words and Social Behavior, and the Way They Selected Favorite Subjects?

To address this question adequately, data that deal with it are divided into two section, namely (1) role of experience in definition of words and (2) students' favorite subject.

In the special bilingual classes where the primary goal is to furnish students with adequate English communication skills so that they become competitive among their American peers, the mastery of new English words received a special treatment. Students pronounced new words after Carol. Working together with her they defined all the new words in their lessons and used them in sentences. This pattern was observed in all of Carol's classes at the BIC. Reading also received emphasis in nearly all of Carol's classes. Even social studies classes included some reading activities. Words were also defined and used in sentences.

In the quasi-bilingual class new words were defined too, but this was incorporated in the written exercises. Words were rarely defined in the regular eighth grade social studies class. Certain patterns emerged when words were defined in the special bilingual classes and similar patterns were noted when new words were used in the regular eighth grade social studies class although the amount of data connected with meanings of words was minimal in that regular class.

The following words and their definitions illustrate how students, both in the regular program and special bilingual program, defined words in class discussions. These definitions were drawn from the Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.

- Gay
1. happily excited
 2. keenly alive and exuberant
 3. brilliant in color
 4. bright, lively
 5. given to social pleasure, licentious
 6. having or inducing high spirit
 7. turn from a sober to a more timely tradition
 8. homosexual

When our society describes someone as gay, they are referring to definition number 8 which means homosexual. This definition which appears to have been drawn from day-to-day observations made in society was selected by two students in a class interaction.

- Grain
1. cereal grain
 2. small hard particle or crystal
 3. truth of what is being said
 4. appearance of outer skin or hair
 5. the wood fibers in a piece of furniture

A student from one of the rice-producing countries of the world (Korea) selected cereal as an appropriate definition of the word grain when she said, "Grain means food" although her teacher had used a grain of wood on her table to illustrate that word.

- Acting
1. holding a temporary rank or position
 2. the art or practice of representing a character on the stage

When students were required to define this word, the teacher was a substitute, someone holding a temporary position. A student said, "Acting means taking someone's job, like a sub does." That present experience with a substitute teacher in his classroom seemed to have influenced the student to select that definition. When this

definition was rejected, another boy selected the second definition when he said, "Like a TV star." This episode will be discussed fully in a later section.

- Decoration 1. act or process of decorating
 2. ornament
 3. badge of honor or military award

Out of the three possible meanings, a Vietnamese boy chose definition number 3. This boy came to the United States from a fighting situation. He might have seen soldiers decorated in medals. He defined the word decoration as "decoration--like soldiers." Interestingly, his teacher, Carol, chose to define the same word as follows: "Like a Christmas decoration." The teacher's illustration is not given in the Webster's Collegiate Dictionary where all these definitions have been drawn from. It seems Carol and her students in certain situations defined words according to the way they had interacted with these words before.

The last word in this illustration was drawn from the regular classroom for the sake of comparison.

- Cabinet 1. small room
 2. a case or cupboard
 3. room providing seclusion
 4. a small exhibition room in a museum
 5. a body of advisors of a head of state

This particular student selected the meaning which meant a case or cupboard because she had a cupboard (cabinet) which she used in her school building. The intended meaning here was number five because the lesson was on the British government.

None of these words were drawn from the quasi-bilingual class because their vocabulary words were part of the daily writing assignments. The researcher did not have access to these and so no

patterns were noticed in the quasi-bilingual class as far as definition of words was concerned.

The following vignette will illustrate how students attached meanings to words in the special bilingual classes in a more detailed way than what has been done in the preceding list of words.

Her students walked in and greeted her. Some sat in their seats while others lingered around the table talking to her. She told them to sit down and gave an assignment which she called "A Family Tree." While they were coloring the pictures in this assignment, one student chose bright colors for coloring both men and women in his pictures. On noticing these pictures, another boy sitting next to him said, "You are gay." "Why?" asked the other. "Because you have bright pictures. Men are not supposed to choose bright colored clothes." Confused, this student took his assignment to Carol, the bilingual teacher. "Look at my pictures. Are they not beautiful?" he asked. "Very good. They are pretty. I like them," Carol said, not knowing what had transpired between the two boys before the picture had been brought to her. The boy stood there transfixed for a moment. He was silent, perhaps searching for the truth about his pictures. Then he asked, "Am I gay?" "Why?" Carol asked, full of surprise. "That boy said I am gay because my pictures have men in bright clothes," the boy answered. "What is the meaning of the word 'gay'?" asked Carol. "A man liking another man." At this point, Carol said, "No, it doesn't matter. You are not gay. Your pictures are bright because they reflect your culture." This ended the problem. (2-8-84)

Carol knew the possible meanings of the word "gay." Perhaps she was not sure which meaning her two students had in mind when one called the other gay. It was appropriate for her to ask, "What is the meaning of the word 'gay'?" This was an attempt to find out if she was sharing the same meaning with those two students. This attempt must have been prompted by the fact that Carol realized that people define words from different perspectives.

It seems that if students' perspectives are to be broadened, there is a need to employ the triad approach to the teaching of new words, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter V.

The following vignette shows the reserve of that approach.

On this particular day, Carol, the special bilingual teacher, was absent and in her place was a male substitute teacher. This man wrote the vocabulary words on the chalkboard pretty much in the same way as Carol did in all her classes. The words were "physical, include, common, anthropology, race, acting." He went over the meanings of these words with the students. In fact, he asked the students to define the words and he helped out if they needed that help.

After this short exercise, they started reading a story in which those words were used. One student while reading the story stumbled over the word "culture." The teacher helped him to pronounce the word correctly. "Do you have a culture different than me?" asked the teacher. The boy who was reading said, "Yes--skin." "No, traits," the teacher commented. "The way you eat," another student suggested. One boy said, "Different people from different countries." Another said, "Chinese are different from Indonesians." At this point, students appeared to know or to give the right answer. Three students spoke, one after another, "customs," "traits," and "different values." "What else?" One boy who had not spoken before said, "No one is born with a culture. Culture is learned." This was a thoughtful answer from the researcher's perspective.

Again the class went on reading, one by one. "What is the meaning of the word acting?" the teacher asked, not knowing the type of answer that was going to be given. The same student who gave a thoughtful answer said, "Acting is taking someone's duties for a while, like a sub." "I don't like that answer," the teacher said, looking somewhat uncomfortable. He was a substitute teacher himself. Perhaps he was offended by this definition. Whatever the case may be, he did not like that response. The last student to respond to that question said, "Like a TV star." The teacher said "Good" and so ended the lesson. (2-9-84)

Human behavior is undulatory and unpredictable. Here this teacher's behavior was somewhat inconsistent with the goals of the bilingual program. The program encourages creativity on the part of the students and yet this teacher seemed to stifle it. This substitute teacher did not employ the triad approach which allowed creativity to the teaching of new words as Carol, the special bilingual teacher, did.

The student who was asked to define the same word after the teacher had rejected "Acting means taking someone's job, like a sub does" said, "Like a TV star." The teacher said, "Good." In spite of the inconsistency observed in this episode, students seemed to define words according to the way they had interacted with those words in their day-to-day experiences.

Observations made in the regular 8th grade social studies classes give evidence that the same pattern existed in that class. In a history class one girl saw the word cabinet as referring to a piece of furniture. That particular girl used a cabinet in that school building. The fact that her teacher was teaching about the British government did not make the new meaning of the word cabinet dawn on her. The girl's prior knowledge and experience did not seem to influence her to see the teacher's intended meaning for the word "cabinet" as she said, "I have a cabinet downstairs." These pieces of evidence suggest that prior knowledge and both cultural experiences and experiences that are attained through exposure influenced the definitions of words selected by students observed in this study. Cultural experiences as well as exposure influenced the way students defined words and the way they viewed social behaviors.

While this study was in progress, it was noted that special bilingual students were allowed to bring questions and problems they had in other subjects. Most of the times Carol's students brought mathematics problems to her. Mathematics was taught in the home schools. This researcher wondered what were the possible factors influencing those students to bring mathematics problems to Carol who was not a mathematics teacher. The researcher decided to find out

the most favorite subjects for students in the three programs and the languages they were interested in learning. The following section discusses related findings.

Students' favorite subjects. A questionnaire was sent to selected students in all three programs included in this study. The purpose of this questionnaire was to determine if students were influenced by prior knowledge and experiences to select favorite subjects. The findings yielded the following results.

Different patterns were observed in the way students in the three programs selected their favorite subjects in school. How did experience influence the way students selected these favorite subjects? Data gleaned from a survey that the researcher administered revealed the following patterns in the students' choices of favorite subjects. Each educational program produced different patterns.

Table II indicates which subjects the special bilingual students regarded as favorite and the languages they wanted to learn. Surprisingly, none of the special bilingual students selected English and reading as favorite subjects although they spent most of their time at the BIC learning English and how to read that language.

Table II
Statistics Representing Special Bilingual Students'
Choices of Subjects

Subject	Number of Students	Percentage
Mathematics	12	52.2
Drafting	1	4.4
Science	1	4.4
Typing	2	8.8
Social Studies	1	4.4
Music	1	4.4
Did not understand question	5	21.7
Total number of students	23	100.0%

Achievement records which were made available to this researcher at the BIC indicated that special bilingual students generally performed best in mathematics.

Table III indicates the responses of the quasi-bilingual class on the same questionnaire.

Table III
Statistics Representing Quasi-Bilingual Students'
Choices of Subjects

Subject	Number of students	Percentage
Mathematics	4	26.6
Art	2	13.3
Gym	3	20.0
English	4	26.6
Did not understand question	2	13.3
Total number of students	15	100.0%

Though the quasi-bilingual students indicated that mathematics was their favorite subject at a higher percentage than regular students, their percentage in terms of this choice was significantly lower than that of the special bilingual students.

Table IV indicates responses of the regular class.

Table IV
Statistics Representing Regular Students'
Choices of Subjects

Subject	Number of students	Percentage
Mathematics	6	20.0
Gym	1	3.3
English	5	16.6
Spanish	1	3.3
Science	2	6.6
History	3	9.9
Art	1	3.3
Drama	2	6.6
Did not respond	9	30.0
Total number of students	30	100.0%

Twenty-three students in the special bilingual class responded to a questionnaire. Fifteen Spanish students in the quasi-bilingual program were asked to respond to the same questionnaire and only thirteen responded. Thirty students in the 8th grade regular social studies class were asked to respond to the same questionnaire and twenty-one did.

The responses indicated that 52.2% of the special bilingual students who were asked to respond selected mathematics as their most favorite subject. 52.2% is a conservative projection of the choices made in that class because five students who did not respond to the questionnaire represent 21.7% of the students included in that survey. Judging from the academic achievement records, it is highly probable that if they had responded, special bilingual students could have been more than 52.5% in favor of mathematics. In the Spanish bilingual class, their most favorite subject was mathematics, with 26.6% selecting that subject. In the regular 8th grade social studies class, 20% selected mathematics as their most favorite subject. These data suggest that among the students who were in the study, more bilingual students saw mathematics as their most favorite subject than the regular students did. District-wide records indicated that bilingual students ranked higher in mathematics achievement than their peers and than in other subjects.

Among the 23 special bilingual students who responded, only one student (4.4%) elected a liberal arts subject as favorite. Among the Spanish students, four (26.6%) chose liberal arts subjects as the most favorite. In the regular class, nine (30%) chose liberal arts subjects as the most favorite.

An interview with two counselors at one of the home schools indicated that bilingual students performed better in mathematics than they did in other subjects. As he was responding to an interview question, the coordinator of the special bilingual program also said that these students perform better in mathematics. The achievement records which this coordinator made available to the researcher indicated higher achievement in mathematics than in other subjects for the special bilingual students.

What are the possible explanations to the way these students selected their most favorite subjects and the differences in their performances across all the school subjects? Obviously, aptitude would not be a valid answer because aptitude does not favor one ethnic group. The researcher was left with one alternate explanation which seems to make sense. A close analysis of all the data described in this study seems to allude to one theme and that is experience. Because of one's culture, one's exposure, or one's background experiences, one is bound to find some things easier to do than others. Liberal arts subjects require more communication skills than mathematics. In mathematics, the processes that are used in calculating answers are not as much culturally bound as the processes involved in communicating. In the reading activities already described, words were defined according to three different perspectives. At times, attempts to define words left students with limited exposure at a point where meanings of certain words were confusing. These students employed the meaning which was closest to their background experiences. Calculations in mathematics are more consistent. $2 + 2 = 4$ (to base 10) regardless of what culture one

comes from. The word "gay" does not mean the same thing everywhere where English is spoken and every time it is used, even in one society. In the replay of experiences portrayed in these narratives, the phenomena that were prevalent seemed to arise from the diversity of experiences among those who were participating in classroom activities. This was more evident when words were defined. This happened because there was a tendency among the participants to define words according to their own previous experience with those words. In another classroom situation, one student was asked to define the word "believe" and he said, "I believe in Buddha." The same student was asked to define the word "bless" and he said, "I am blessed by Buddha." It is likely, therefore, for a language minority student with a foreign culture to perform better in school subjects that have fewer biases and require limited interpretation than those that have more varied interpretations. Liberal arts subjects seem to have cultural biases and hence most of the bilingual students avoided them, as they selected favorite subjects.

While the researcher is persuaded to subscribe to the view discussed above, he wants to point out that there are elements that disconfirm the idea that mathematics has limited biases. The following vignette reveals some of those elements:

While the researcher was informally talking with Carol, the special bilingual teacher, and her teacher's aide they got involved in a discussion about how to calculate the following problem: 1265 divided by 25. Carol did it as follows:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 25 \overline{) 1265} \\
 \underline{1250} \\
 150 \\
 \underline{150} \\
 0
 \end{array}$$

The teacher's aide did it as follows:

$$\begin{array}{r|l}
 1265 & 25 \\
 0150 & 50.6 \\
 00 & \\
 \hline
 & - 50.6
 \end{array}$$

An adult showed another method from Japan:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 1265 \quad /25 \\
 \underline{1250} \quad 50.6 \\
 15.0 \\
 \underline{15.0} \\
 0
 \end{array}$$

Carol did not quite master this method from Laos even though the aide tried again and again to explain it. The researcher asked the aide to teach him but the researcher did not understand it either. There is a difference in the way they calculated problems of this nature in Laos but there is no bias or difference in the answer. (5-22-86)

At this point, the researcher made the following assertion.

There seems to be a limited amount of cultural bias in subjects such as mathematics. Whatever bias exists, it is in the interpretation and process rather than the answer which is the final product.

To summarize this section, it is appropriate to point out the following:

1. cultural experiences and exposure had an influence on how students performed in different subjects taught in school;
2. students defined words according to their cultural experiences; and
3. how students selected favorite subjects and how they performed in those subjects was influenced by their cultural experiences and exposure as well.

5. How Do Cultural Experiences and the Learning Climate in Each Classroom Influence Classroom Interactions?

In the three programs that were included in this study, a certain pattern was observed among students. This pattern is related to teacher-student interactions. Students talked more in some situations than in others. Students were more willing to take part in classroom discussions than they did in others. Sometimes, the same students who were actively involved in some class discussions were reluctant to take part in others.

There were times when students answered questions with questions or they said things which appeared to be unrelated to what was being discussed. Most of the examples narrated here will be drawn from Carol's special bilingual classes where this researcher spent more time than in classes that represent the other two programs and where more cultural differences were influencing teacher-student interactions more than in the other two educational programs.

One day in Carol's reading class a young man was asked to read aloud. He was reading about a girl. When this young man came to the end of the paragraph, Carol said, "Describe her," meaning the character the young man was reading about. The young man answered, "Describe her?" and Carol replied, "Yes." The young man said, "I just read it." "I know but just describe her so that I can see if you have understood the story." At this point, the young man proceeded to describe that character.

Another time, students were reading as usual in Carol's world history class. Carol said to a young man who had just finished reading a portion of the text they were discussing, "What is a yak?"

The young man answered, "Yak?" in a tone which suggested he was asking a question.

On the same day another young man was asked a question and he said, "I can't remember." Carol was not content with this so she urged him, "I know you know the answer. Come on, speak." The young man then gave the correct answer. It seemed uncertain why he would not give that answer when he was asked to do so at first. It is unclear why he answered the same questions after being urged to speak.

Another narrative already discussed dealt with the definition of the term "coral reefs." Carol asked students to use both English dictionaries and some dictionaries which were written in the native languages of some of her students. Surprisingly, all her students in that class could not grasp the meaning of "coral reefs," even after some had read the definition in their language.

One other time, Carol asked an Asian young man to locate China on a world map which had the United States at the center. This arrangement split Euro-Asia into two sections. Details about this map and other maps are in the appendices of this study (Appendix B). The young man walked to the map with a pointer. He looked at the map for a while and then asked, "What's wrong with that map?" Perhaps there was nothing wrong with that map and yet a map like that might have not been within his realms of experiences and exposure.

One young lady in the regular class was sitting listening to a lecture on the British government. As the lesson proceeded, her teacher said the British Prime Minister has a cabinet. The young lady said, "I have a cabinet downstairs." What she had downstairs

was a piece of furniture. There was a miscommunication between this young lady and her teacher.

It has already been mentioned that Carol touched one young man's shoulder and he said, "Don't touch me." This was another miscommunication between the teacher and her student. Touching is a meaningful gesture but its intended purpose was misconstrued by both the teacher and her student. It was acceptable from her cultural perspective for Carol to touch the young man but not from the young man's perspective. When Carol touched this young man, their two cultural perspectives were in competition with each other.

The idea that different cultural modes of communication influence classroom interaction was confirmed by participants who were interviewed. The assistant principal who was quoted as saying earlier, "I do not interact with these Indo-Chinese very much because I don't know what is going on in their culture," seemed to confirm the hunch that cultural modes of communication were an important factor that influenced her interaction with students.

One Mexican-American parent who was included among the five parents interviewed for this study said, "Everything I say in Spanish has a connotation." This statement leaves gaps in our analysis. What did she mean by this? Did she mean that some of the things she says in English have no connotation? This can be doubted seriously. Every statement in any language has a connotation and yet may not have the same connotation to speakers of other languages. Viewing her statement in this context it appears that what she was saying meant things she said in Spanish had more connotation to her and speakers of that language than to speakers of other languages.

Knowledge of the subject matter and of the cultural interactional styles certainly influenced the level of student participation in classroom discussions. Once again, a vignette is going to be lifted from one of Carol's world history classes to illustrate this view. What is depicted in that narrative was typical of all the lessons in which the subject matter was familiar to students.

On this particular day during the second hour of the day, the teacher was getting ready to start a world history lesson. During the informal time before the lesson began, these students seemed a little more hyper than they were during the first hour. One student wanted to use a dictionary which was being used by another student. He said, "Give me that dictionary." The teacher told him to be polite. Another boy commented, "I will be polite."

As the teacher approached a Vietnamese girl who tied her dress with a belt which did not quite match the dress, the teacher talked to her about color coordination. The girl said she would try to match her colors.

Pretty soon the world history lesson began with Carol dictating the following spelling words, "seat, east, ploughing, flashing, crust, waterlog, evaporation, mechanization, thrashing." At the end of this writing exercise they turned in their work. Many of them got the spelling words right. After grading the work, Carol said, "Let's all clap our hands for getting all these A's. These are hard words." After these remarks she asked them to read page 81 of their history textbook. One student pronounced the word "sheep" as "seep." The teacher helped with the pronunciation and asked him to repeat it after her slowly.

They were reading about the nomadic people of Mongolia which is in Asia. It must be remembered that most of the students in this special bilingual program were Asians. The teacher interjected while a boy was reading, "Nomadic people are people who have no fixed home. What's a fixed home?" A girl who sat near the teacher's table answered, "No permanent home." They discussed the conditions which are necessary for farming and after that they located Mongolia and the Gobi Desert on the map. "What does the word bless mean?" Carol asked. A Vietnamese boy answered, "I am blessed by Buddha." He continued, "I believe in Buddha."

The next section of the textbook chapter dealt with water buffalos. After reading this, Carol told them that they were familiar with water buffaloes and they were asked to talk about them. They were actively engaged in that dis

cussion. They talked about how a buffalo produces twice as much milk as a cow. One Vietnamese girl said when they kill a buffalo they invite the whole village to come and share the meat with them. In December they kill a pig and share the meat with their friends. The discussion ranged from talking about how buffalo meat is seasoned and dried to how they cook different types of food. Carol asked questions and no one repeated the questions before answering them. Even those who said, "I don't know" in the reading class did not say that. They talked more freely during this discussion. (4-29-86)

There was a change of tempo in this lesson. Students were not as involved in other lessons as they were in this one. The change of tempo which is evidenced in the preceding vignette seems to suggest that there was a missing link in the classroom activities at the home schools. This link did not seem to exist in the activities reported by the counselors at one of the home schools. It appears that even some of the activities at the BIC where special bilingual students showed a certain amount of reluctance in class participation did not have this link. According to these observations, the missing link did not exist in some classroom situations but existed in others. Even in this situation two Arabic students who were in this class did not take part in the discussion on Mongolia. One of them tried to play his Lebanese music on a tape and Carol told him to stop.

The preceding vignette demonstrated how this pattern which was noted among bilinguals changed in certain situations. This shift in the same pattern was also noticed among quasi-bilingual students who were also described as passive recipients.

This researcher had a chance to watch the classroom interaction during the time when the school district sent two sex education specialists to G School which was included in this study. The class interactions on sex education were taped both in the quasi-bilingual

class and regular class. In the regular class, students asked many questions and gave answers to questions asked by one of the specialists. On the contrary, the specialist who worked with the quasi-bilingual class probed them more and more until he gained a response. Some of them seemed to be shy to talk about sex. The specialist asked, "What is going to happen if you get pregnant?" There was silence for a while. He then pointed to one girl to answer the question. She said, "My father would kill me." She answered that question after the specialist put her on the spot. No one raised their hand to answer that question and he chose her.

It was easy to conclude on face value that Mexican-American students in that class were passive and did not like asking questions. Days after this while this study was still in progress, the quasi-bilingual teacher brought a boy from another class to role play Henry Stanley, a historical character who went to search for David Livingston in Africa. When they were told to ask questions, students asked questions such as:

Why did you take a lot of Africans in an expedition where many of them died?

Why did you colonial people remain in Africa trying to teach Africans even some things they did not want to learn?

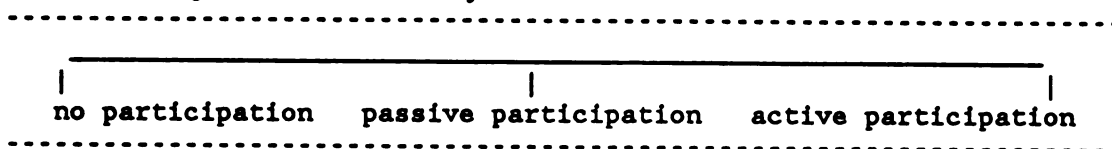
Did you care about the African people?

Did you regard them as people?

Once again there was a shift in the pattern which was observed earlier among the same group of students. Mexican-American students were reluctant in talking and asking questions about sex and yet they were active in asking questions that pertained to justice among the then oppressed people of Africa. But this was not the end of the

whole issue. These students' behaviors were paradoxical, it may be suggested. On close examination, other types of questions may be raised. The boy who was role-playing Henry Stanley was about the same age as those Mexican-American students in the quasi-bilingual class, whereas the sex education specialist was an adult male. Could it be possible that students in some cultures find it easier to dialogue with their peers than with adults? Could it be possible that they knew this boy who role-played Stanley since they were attending the same school? These questions suggest possible factors which might have influenced that behavior change among quasi-bilingual students. Observations made in both sets of bilingual students yielded findings which covered a wide range on the spectrum. Figure 3 illustrates this.

Figure 3
Spectrum Covered by Student Classroom Interaction



Surprisingly, these two sets of exhibited behaviors revolved from one end of the spectrum to the other. It must be understood that the researcher is not claiming that all the students in the regular class included in this study talked every time. There were some who did not participate in the regular class, too. It is the degree of unwillingness to talk about certain things which raised concerns in the mind of the researcher, particularly those times when students refused to answer questions which after being probed or persuaded to answer they answered correctly. These are the situations which suggest that there was a missing link either in the learning materials or the approaches which were employed by teachers.

To summarize this section, it must be pointed out that

1. When students did not know the subject matter, the level of teacher-student interaction was low. Students were reluctant to discuss unfamiliar subject matter.
2. When students did not know the intent of their teacher's questions or request, it stifled student-teacher interaction. For example, the student who was asked to describe what he had just read asked, "Describe her?" When the teacher confirmed that she wanted him to describe her, he said, "I have just read it." There were moments of fumbling and uncertainty on the part of the student.
3. Reading or discussing topics that related to students' cultural experiences increased their level of participation and reduced the moments of fumbling and uncertainty.

CHAPTER V

Interpretation of Findings

This chapter provides an analysis of the findings discussed in Chapter IV. In some instances, the data will be quantified or the intensity of some isolated events will be taken into account. In addition, the five different sections in Chapter IV are linked together in a form that unravels the existing patterns in all those sections.

Purposes

To discover the purposes of the English-only bilingual programs, it is appropriate to examine elements which received top priority in the two forms of bilingual programs. Carol, the special bilingual teacher, is quoted as saying, "I want my students to learn to speak, read and write English." This element permeated all of Carol's lessons which were observed when this study was in progress.

In all 47 observations at the BIC, new words were pronounced, defined and used in sentences. Carol taught reading and social studies and these elements were included in all the reading and social studies classes. This suggests that the teaching of the English language was one of the major purposes of these bilingual programs.

Five students who were interviewed individually claimed that they learned English more in the bilingual classes than they did in their regular classes. Five parents who were interviewed suggested that school programs needed to include their cultural backgrounds in the

teaching-learning materials. Two teachers who taught bilingual classes saw the importance of this component in their lessons. Thirty-eight bilingual students were asked to respond to a questionnaire and they all suggested that their schools should teach English, their languages and their cultures.

Although there is doubt that the lessons observed when this study was in progress taught bilingual students' culture, it should be noted that attempts were made to allow students to view what they were learning from their cultural perspectives. Examples of such attempts are depicted in the following citations:

1. Carol said, "It is your family tree and it represents your culture. Choose your own colors."
2. Mr. A said, "I talked about Mexico because these students are Mexican-Americans. If I had blacks in this class, I could have included the role played by blacks in that war."
3. Carol asked a student, "What do you mean by gay?"

Students were allowed to view their learning materials from their own perspectives, from their teacher's perspective, and from the perspective which was projected in the learning materials. These three perspectives formed an important triad in the lessons that were observed in the two forms of bilingual programs.

All things considered, it seems appropriate to suggest that the English-only bilingual programs served interim purposes of furnishing the bilingual students who lacked English communication skills with those skills. These programs also allowed the learning process to include the students' cultural viewpoints.

Purpose-Process

In the preceding section the purposes of the English-only bilingual programs have been articulated. This section examines the process that was employed to achieve these purposes. Teaching techniques employed by both Carol and Mr. A are described as the processes in this discussion.

In all of Carol's lessons, students were asked to pronounce, define and use vocabulary words in sentences. She encouraged her students to use dictionaries whenever and wherever possible. She also provided practical experiences to her students so as to broaden their exposure. She took them to the state capital, to a zoo and to a Chinese restaurant. She allowed students to incorporate their cultural experiences in the process of defining words and in the sentences which were constructed from those words.

Carol also defined words according to her cultural or experiential perspectives. For example, she said, "Like a Christmas decoration," and "Look at the grain of wood," pointing to the top of her table. Dictionary definitions, students' own perspectives of the meanings of those words, and the teacher's perspective became an important triad in the learning process.

Mr. A had his students define new words as part of their writing assignment. It is not known what perspectives were employed in those writing assignments. Notwithstanding this, his approach to the subject matter included his students' cultural perspectives.

Likewise, Mr. Dixon, who taught a regular American class, employed American illustrations which allowed his students to see things from the American point of view. This suggested that the

triad approach to the teaching of new concepts existed in the three educational programs depending on the cultural backgrounds of the students who represented those classes. A mismatch was quite possible in the regular class as well as the special bilingual classes which had more than one ethnic group. The quasi-bilingual class was unlikely to have a mismatch because there was one ethnic group represented in that class and the teacher belonged to the same ethnic group. They shared the same language and cultural background which allowed them to employ similar paralinguistic characteristics and other communicative competences.

One Asian young man who said, "Don't touch me," to his teacher must have been influenced by his cultural ways of interactions which were different from Carol's. Raised under the Buddhist religion which requires boys and young men not to stay close to a girl or woman, this young man must have been perturbed to see Carol, his teacher, touching his shoulder. If she had touched his head, it probably would have been worse because this is considered a taboo in that culture. Carol said to another youngster who had just finished reading a passage, "Describe her." Then came the response, "Describe her?" When Carol said, "Yes," another response came, "I just read it." This must have been a communication problem. Perhaps the young man thought that if he read the passage within the hearing of his teacher and the whole class who were also following in the book, why would his teacher request him to "describe her?" Hence, the comment, "I just read it."

What goes on in interactions that take place at home or other places outside school? When people ask questions they are seeking

information and not testing what the other person knows. School is one of those few, and perhaps strange, places where people ask others what they already know so as to test them.

One needs to understand school culture and its communicative competences before one is expected to interact in modes that are in harmony with school culture. Before one acquires communicative skills that are employed in classroom settings, one will be having moments of fumbling and uncertainty. A typical example of this situation is a student who knew the answer but did not know how to interact. When Carol told him that she wanted to see if he comprehended what he read, that student went on to answer the question.

How do we know without further investigations whether students fail to give appropriate answers because of lack of knowledge or because of failure to understand the communicative competences involved in questions and answering situations in our classrooms? How do we know if some students dislike some of their teachers' paralinguistic characteristics and as a result they refuse to answer questions in class or say things which are regarded as out of subject? If a student says "Don't touch me" because he feels uncomfortable, is he on task or off task? This makes a classroom a unique and a complex place where teachers make decisions inside decisions and where students make decisions inside decisions.

Moments of fumbling and uncertainty occurred when students did not know the subject matter or some concepts in what was being discussed in the observations that were made in this study. For example, Carol said, "What is a yak?" The response from the student

was "Yak?" He answered a question with a question. Carol said, "Yes, yak." This particular student did not give any further response which might have implied he did not know what a yak is. This shows a big difference between the way these youngsters responded to questions. One knew the answer but did not understand the intent of the question which became a communication problem rather than a comprehension problem. There is also a possibility that responses like that may be used as a launching pad. Some people repeat a question first and then give an answer.

The latter case does not fall into any of the two categories described above. The student's problem was not a communication problem nor a comprehension problem. He just did not know what a yak was. This was an information problem. He had not been exposed to yaks before. There was no prior knowledge nor experiences which exposed him to yaks. If he indeed knew what yaks were then perhaps the English word yak could have been problematic which still leads to the problem of exposure, exposure either to the word or to what that word symbolizes.

Answering questions with questions among some of Carol's students stemmed from three possible premises:

1. It could have been used as a launching pad to answer the teacher's question. People repeat questions sometimes to allow themselves enough time to think through their answers or to gain further assurance that they have understood the question. In such cases, answering a question with a question becomes a launching pad from which the answering process begins.
2. It could have been that the student did not quite understand the intent of the question which means that there was a mismatch between the communicative competences and paralinguistic characteristics of the teacher and those of the students. It is known that mismatches between a teacher and students have a negative influence on classroom interactions.

3. It could be that the student had no prior knowledge of and experience with the content on which he was asked questions.

Experiences Influencing Students' Definition of Words and Actions

How did students define words in the observations already narrated in Chapter IV? Students in the two forms of bilingual programs had vocabulary words to define in all of their bilingual classes. In the special bilingual classes the new words were not supposed to be more than twelve in each class session. Forty-seven observations were made in the special bilingual classes; thus during these observations, a possible total of 564 new words were defined by Carol and her students. Out of this fairly large list, four words were selected. One word was drawn from the regular class which gives a possible total of 565 words. Including this one, five words were selected randomly from lessons in which they were presented.

It is interesting to note that in all the five situations where these words were defined, students relied more on their cultural experiences or exposure to define words than on dictionary definitions. Experience in this case was used by students as a scaffolding on which vocabulary words were defined. To draw from a illustration already given, a girl said, "I have a cabinet downstairs" when her teacher was talking about the British Prime Minister's cabinet of ministers. Her experience with a piece of furniture downstairs led her to select that meaning from two possible meanings of that word.

There were instances when students rejected the teacher's definitions and substituted their own. For example, A-1 said, "Grain

means food" as she refused to accept her teacher's definition of that word. Teachers in some situations acted in the same way. The substitute teacher rejected a student's definition that "Acting means taking someone's job like a sub does." Here, the substitute's behavior seemed to reveal that he was sensitive to that definition. How do people from many different cultural and linguistic backgrounds know what things are sensitive and which are not? Such issues in this study influenced classroom interactions, the way people defined words and social actions. Such situations influenced their attitudes, too.

It was stated earlier that the definition of "coral reefs" was problematic even though some students read that definition from their languages. These students lacked exposure to situations where coral reefs existed. In another situation, narrated in Chapter IV, the word "creative" did not exist in the Vietnamese dictionaries which were in the classroom. This created a limitation in those students' learning experiences. Learning in that situation was not a progression from the known to the unknown or from familiar experiences to novel experiences. This exposure could have been used as a scaffolding where the definition of "coral reefs" or "creative" was going to be launched.

Students' Selection of Favorite Subjects

Patterns which existed when students were selecting definitions of words also existed when students were asked to name their favorite subjects. Different ethnic and linguistic groups made significant differences in the way they selected and actually performed in

different subjects. 52.2% of the special bilingual students, the bulk of whom were Vietnamese, chose mathematics as their favorite. In the quasi-bilingual class, composed of Mexican-Americans, 26.6% chose mathematics as a favorite subject. The regular American class which had several ethnic groups had 20% choose mathematics as a favorite subject.

It was even more interesting when achievement records were reviewed. Students' achievement scores were nearly corresponding with the choices of favorite subject they made. For instance, 50% of the Vietnamese whose records were reviewed performed above average in mathematics. Students whose records were reviewed from the other two programs were lower than that of the special bilingual classes.

This superiority in mathematics among most of the Vietnamese students suggests earlier exposure to that subject. This argument is supported by the fact that their performance in English was not as high. In fact, as was narrated in Chapter IV, the English language is their most serious problem in school. Once again, the scaffolding which is experience and exposure must have been missing or minimal in the formative years of these youngsters. The same argument holds as far as students' classroom interactions were concerned. When students knew their teachers' communicative competences and the intent of their teachers' questions, the result was high yield in student-teacher interaction and teacher-student interaction.

Linkages or Threads That Connect the Data

What grand story do the pieces gathered in these data tell? How do these pieces hang together? Before these questions can be

addressed adequately, it is appropriate to review the main findings of this study:

1. The purpose of the two forms of bilingual programs which employed English as the only medium of instruction was to furnish bilingual students who had limitations in English communication skills with those skills and/or to help bilingual students view the subject matter from their cultural and experiential perspective.
 - (a) To teach English to special bilingual students by having them pronounce and use words in sentences. Students were encouraged to use dictionaries.
 - (b) In the process of learning English, students were encouraged to include in their discussions situations drawn from their cultures.
2. The quasi-bilingual students view the content in their lessons from the Mexican-American historical perspective. This was the process that was employed to achieve the already stated purposes of the English-only bilingual program.
3. The processes or techniques employed in the regular class were not geared to teaching students English communication skills but to teach the content. Students were, however, allowed to see things from both their cultural and experiential perspectives.

4. Students' cultural experiences and exposure when employed as a scaffolding upon which the new learning experiences were launched helped to increase the level of student-teacher interactions. Knowledge of the subject matter and of communicative competences also increased student-teacher interactions.

5. Teachers' interactional styles and their knowledge of the students' communicative competences seemed to enhance teacher-student interactions. It seems apart from what was taught in these bilingual classes; what was caught in the process also influenced classroom interactions.

The following figure charts these findings.

Figure 4
Elements That Influenced High Yield
in Classroom Interaction

Purposes of the program well articulated	A l l		i m	Students' prior knowledge and experiences
Teaching techniques or processes	h e		p o	Knowledge of the communicative competences
Students' knowledge of the content	l p		v e	

Classroom interaction or teacher-student interaction

Insights from Work Already Done in This Area

Literature that has been reviewed in this area seems to agree that there are complexities in bilingual education. Though the line of focus differs from one study to another, linkages exist among the

issues which are raised. Following are the issues which have been reviewed in Chapter II of this study. An attempt is made to let them shed light on the present study and vice versa.

Howe and Elderman's (1985) study suggested that language minority students are dropping out of school at rates that are proportionately higher than those of the majority students. From their findings they concluded that because of the high drop-out rate among the bilingual students the nation is at risk. These two authors claim that it is difficult to measure the cultural biases that exist in school although their study underlines the seriousness of the problems that arise due to the cultural biases existing in school.

Bilingual students face a great many adjustment and language problems (Rao, 1974; Sanchez, 1979) which may lead to reading and other learning problems (Sanchez, 1979, p. 2). Sanchez found that when students are taught by teachers who belong to their ethnic group(s) academic achievement scores increase. Apparently, teachers from the same ethnic background of the students extenuate cultural differences.

Erickson (1981), in his findings, suggests that constituting environments for one another and sharing the same social meanings among participants is crucial in the teaching-learning process. In order to draw similar social meanings to situations, words, or behavior, participants need to understand both the culture and the social context of what is going on (Erickson, 1981; Saville-Troike, 1986).

Some interactions in the present study were described as problematic. Participants in those interactions did not have proper

contexts in which some words were said or in which some social action took place. These issues and their implications will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

Summary, Conclusions, Implications for Research and Practice, and Recommendations

This study investigated factors that influenced school district authorities to decide that bilingual students who need to learn English communication skills should be withdrawn from their regular classes and sent to bilingual classes even though the language of instruction was English in those pullout programs. It was necessary to compare the activities of bilingual students in the reading and social studies classes to those of the regular 8th grade social studies class to determine whether there were differences in what was going on in the three programs. This school district had two types of bilingual programs: the special bilingual program and the school-building level bilingual program (quasi-bilingual program).

Two sites were selected for this study. One school housed the regular 8th grade social studies class and the quasi-bilingual 8th grade social studies class which were included in this study. The second school was a vocational education center and the Bilingual Instruction Center (BIC) was housed in this school building. Here the special bilingual students learned English and social studies. Some students who were diagnosed as lacking in reading competence skills included reading among those classes they took at the BIC.

The primary method used for gathering data was participant observation. This method entailed a great deal of note taking. All the interviews except those done at the BIC were audiotaped.

A total of 79 classroom observations were made when this study was in progress. Five parents, five students, two teachers, two

counselors, one assistant principal, the coordinator of the special bilingual program, and one Vietnamese bilingual education specialist were interviewed.

The state bilingual education requirements and school district bilingual education requirements were reviewed for this study. A questionnaire was completed by 30 regular students, 23 special bilingual students, and 15 quasi-bilingual students. After data were gathered from these sources, ethnographic research methodologies were employed to analyze and interpret the findings. Conclusions were then drawn from these findings.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn from the findings of this study. The purposes of the English-only bilingual programs where students were pulled out of their regular classes for reading, English, and social studies were to (a) furnish these students with English communication skills which they lacked, serving as an interim link between the students' home culture and the school programs and (b) help students to view the content they were learning from their cultural and experiential perspectives. Viewed from this perspective, students' cultural experiences and exposure became a scaffolding upon which new learning experiences were launched.

Techniques that were used in the special bilingual classes allowed students to pronounce and use vocabulary words in sentences before they encountered those words in the content or subject matter which they were learning. This leads to the following conclusion.

Approaches that were used in the three programs were different from each other. In the special bilingual classes the teaching of English received top priority. Students pronounced new English words and used them in sentences before they started discussing the subject matter. Oral reading was included in all of the 47 class sessions that were observed in the special bilingual program. The quasi-bilingual class placed emphasis on helping students to view the subject from their cultural viewpoint. The regular class focused more on the subject matter than on the processes that were observed in the two forms of bilingual programs.

Prior knowledge of the content to be discussed and students' experiences and exposure had an influence on teacher-student and student-teacher interaction. Teacher-student interaction was initiated by the teacher and student-teacher interaction was initiated by the student.

Experiences and exposure were employed as a scaffolding upon which students built definitions of new words. They also influenced students' choices of favorite subject and performance in all school subjects.

The subject content taught in the classroom and the learning environment influenced classroom interactions.

During the classroom interactions both the teachers and students communicative competences influenced the degree to which bilingual students participated in classroom discussions. A mismatch between a teacher and a student in the area of communicative competences influenced lack of participation on the part of the student. When questions or requests to take part in discussing the content were

given, some students did not understand the intent of the questions or requests due to this mismatch problem. When the intent of the questions was not understood, there was a moment of fumbling and uncertainty among students who were asked to give answers to those questions. Students sometimes spoke in question-like tones to ask their teacher to clarify the intent of her questions or they repeated her questions. Repeating the teacher's questions served three functions among special bilingual students. First, it indicated that students did not understand their teacher's intention in asking them the question. Second, it was employed as a launching pad or a place where students' answers began. Third, it was used by some students as an indicator that they did not know some answers to the teacher's questions.

Implications for Research and Practice

It has been suggested that students' cultural perspectives influenced classroom interactions, the way students defined words, how they selected favorite subjects and their performance in those subjects. It appears that there was a need on the part of the teachers to find epistemological connections between the content they taught and the aforementioned factors which influenced classroom interactions. These factors were extending beyond the four walls of classrooms. Students' cultural backgrounds and communicative competences were at times in competition with those of their teachers or with the content of learning.

Where there seemed to be greater success in classroom interactions and in attaching meanings to vocabulary words or social

behaviors, learning activities were viewed from three perspectives: the students', the teacher's and the perspectives portrayed in the written materials.

This cultural and experiential component in the teaching-learning process influenced students' definitions of words more than did dictionaries and other materials which were used for that purpose. This condition leads to the next suggestion.

A triad approach to the teaching of new words and concepts included the students' perspectives, the teacher's and that which was projected in the content of learning. This approach appeared to have had a high yield in student participation in classroom discussions. However, more follow up work could have provided more evidence to this if bilingual students' classroom behavior was observed in their home schools as well. Because such follow up work was not feasible when this study was in progress, it has weakened the evidence which supports the initial purposes of these English-only forms of bilingual programs.

Recommendations

From this study, the following recommendations can be drawn.

The triad approach to the learning of new words and concepts seemed to have had a high yield in student participation in classroom discussions. Reading activities could have yielded more beneficial results in the special bilingual classes if the language experience approach to the teaching of reading was employed. This approach allows students to dictate experience stories to their teachers and these experience stories then become the initial reading materials

for the students. Students will be motivated to read their own stories. The stories will not be threatening since they will be written in the students' own vocabulary. It seems there was a need to intertwine the triad approach to the teaching of new words and concepts with language experience approach especially in the reading activities which were observed in the special bilingual reading lessons.

More comparisons between the bilingual students' classroom interactions in the home schools and their bilingual classes need to be done. This will help to define the purposes of the English-only focus of bilingual programs.

Experimental studies on the language experience approach to the teaching of reading may provide more information needed to support the suggested triad approach to the teaching of new words and concepts.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

How My Thinking Has Changed Since February 1, 1984 An Intellectual Autobiography of the Research Process

With reference to my fieldwork experience since the beginning of this research study, I can safely say human experiences and behaviors are undulatory and very unpredictable. I went to the Bilingual Instruction Center with a bias. I questioned the wisdom of running a special bilingual program if the medium of instruction was English. When I went to the bilingual center, I intended to prove my bias that there was no need to run such a program. I contended that both the regular program and the bilingual program were basically doing the same thing.

Surprisingly, when the observations started, I discovered that although the two programs were teaching the same concepts, the approaches used in the two programs were substantially different. There were different approaches to the subject matter and yet it was not easy to direct my focus onto one particular feature of the events that were taking place in those classrooms. At one point, I decided to study how differences in culture among these students influenced the way they were learning. I took notes of all the things that were happening. In most of the events, it was difficult to determine whether certain behaviors were influenced by the participant's culture or the amount and kind of exposure that participant has had. As I continued to review the strings that ran through my notes, certain patterns began to emerge. I began to notice that students

responded to the teacher's questions in a somewhat different way in the special bilingual class. They seemed to exhibit a certain amount of reluctance when making class contributions. But this was by no means always happening this way. This put me in a position where I started to doubt my beliefs and believe my doubts. I made hunches; I made assertions which I later disbelieved and modified. At one time, the students were asked to read a story about a dog. The teacher defined a word for them. One student spoke to another student in their own language, perhaps one of the Vietnamese languages. I concluded he was defining that word in his language. After class I was not satisfied with my conclusion, so I asked the boy what he was telling his friend. He was asking whether his friend had a dog at home or not. This event and many other events led me to question things, even those that seemed obvious to me. For days I went on watching and questioning what was happening.

During the initial data gathering process, I asked a white male teacher, "How do these students from different ethnic groups relate to you?" He had white students, black students, Hispanic students, and one Native American student in his social studies class. He told me he did not look for those things in his class. He looked at his students as students and not as different racial groups. He sent me to a teacher next door whom he said looked for those things I was asking for. I am black. When I got to the classroom next door, I discovered this teacher was black. It was then that I clearly understood what that teacher was saying. To him, my question appeared to find out if he was a racist or not. This was a sensitive question to ask. That may be the reason why he sent me to a black

teacher who surprisingly asked me, "Why did he send you to me? I don't know anything about that!" I never got my answer to the question. I was not looking for racism. I was looking for differences in the ways students from different ethnic groups behaved.

In the process of time, I thought I had learned from these situations. "No more sensitive questions now!" I told myself. In spite of this awareness, I still had more lessons to learn and more mysteries to solve.

When X, a student labelled on one of the seating positions in Chapter III, said that Americans think people who do not know how to speak English are stupid, I asked what his teacher thought about that. She said, "You are stretching it too far. He was not serious. He talks too much, you know. . . and girls tease him." Here, the teacher appeared to be defensive about the attitudes of Americans in general. This was again a sensitive issue. I did not raise this issue, a student did. What I was trying to do was to seek explanations for a statement which I felt was powerful. What I learned from this episode was to turn elsewhere for answers and explanations to this pending question. I instead turned to my interviewees for answers to this question.

When I asked the interviewees what they thought about this question, four out of five held the same view: they thought Americans looked at them as though they were stupid if they did not know how to speak English. The fifth interviewee suggested that Americans skip whatever part of the conversation they think their non-American friends failed to understand. These differing views led

me to modify my assertion and I decided to look at the issue as a two-way problem in which the non-American trying to communicate with them gets the impression that he/she is being treated as stupid.

Such issues as the above kept altering my thinking. As my thinking kept changing, I did not accept what I heard on face value. I questioned and questioned to look for deep rooted answers which lay beneath what people were saying. I started to treat familiar things as though they were strange and strange things as though they were familiar. When I did so, this gave me more opportunities to ask questions. Through these questions, I got a variety of answers, sometimes contradictory answers. These answers unfolded a lot of information to me. These answers, to a large measure, shaped my thinking.

In an interview with the teacher who taught in the quasi-bilingual program, we discussed the problems he saw in that program. He pointed out that he did not see major problems in the building-level bilingual program but he thought the BIC was losing students who had sufficiently mastered English skills. He said they should reevaluate their goals so that they do not lose their students. Yet, inherent in the goals that are articulated in the special bilingual program is the idea that as soon as those students mastered sufficient English communication skills they should be sent back to the regular programs. The quasi-bilingual level program was operating on different goals from those articulated at the BIC. The quasi-bilingual program aimed at keeping their students, whereas the special bilingual program served interim purposes of endowing the students with English communication skills and also helped students

adapt to the American culture while in the process of viewing the content of learning from their own cultural perspectives. Three perspectives were employed in the teaching-learning process. This triad approach to learning was more pronounced in the special bilingual classes than in the other two programs.

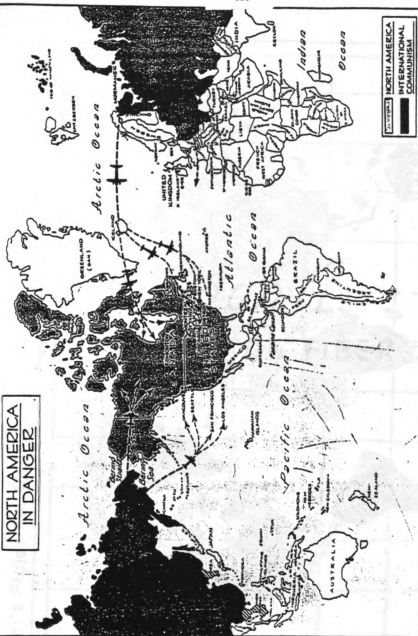
These discussions and the information I got from the participants modified my thinking. When I encountered these different views, I asked more questions, I listened more, and I watched more closely to see silent but salient information which was enshrined in the behaviors of the informants.

This is how my thinking has changed since the time this study was in progress. Now I have new tools through which I view the world. Yes, my thinking has changed since February 1, 1984.

APPENDIX B

The following maps illustrate how students may be confused if they have not been exposed to maps drawn from different projections.

NORTH AMERICA IN DANGER



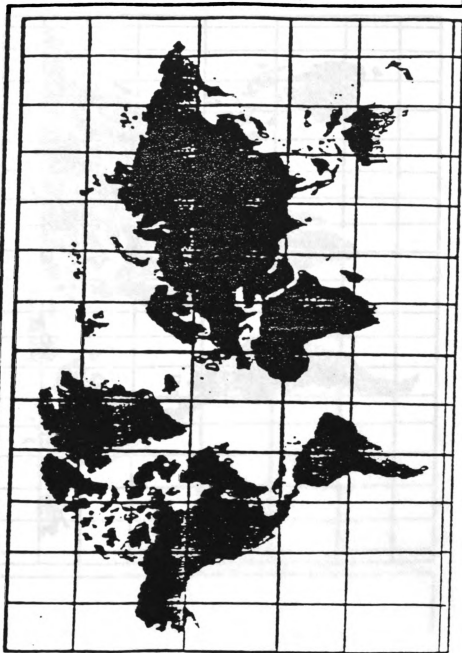
NORTH AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNISM

MAP 24: Isolationism no longer has its place in this era of atomic bombing, rockets, and jet propulsion. What was supposed to be the "backstop" of Canada and Europe were lost to Communism. Africa and Asia were half-Asianized. The Soviet Americans found themselves being a wholly totalitarian world. The Soviet program is to isolate North America. The Communists want this, not in order that Americans may go on living their own lives in peaceful isolation, but in order that they may destroy them at leisure. We can think of nothing that would make war, and defeat, more certain for the United States than for the Arabs. The Soviet whole Soviet Communism takes over country after country and completes the encirclement which has been planned in order to isolate Americans, to weaken them, and eventually destroy them.

of men. Instead of having control of the Communists world conqueror and efforts of the is of man.

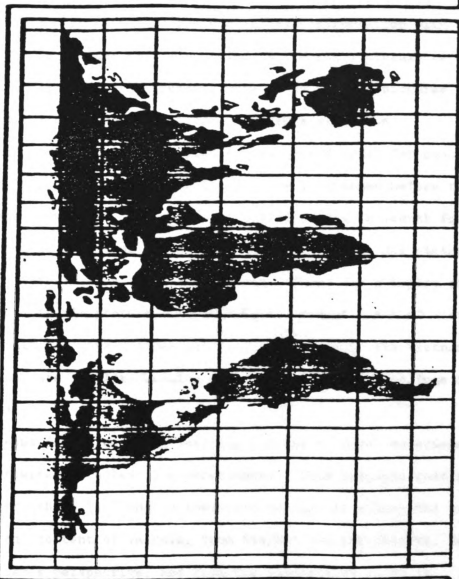


MAP B

Mercator's Projection 1569

Peters' Projection 1977

MAP C

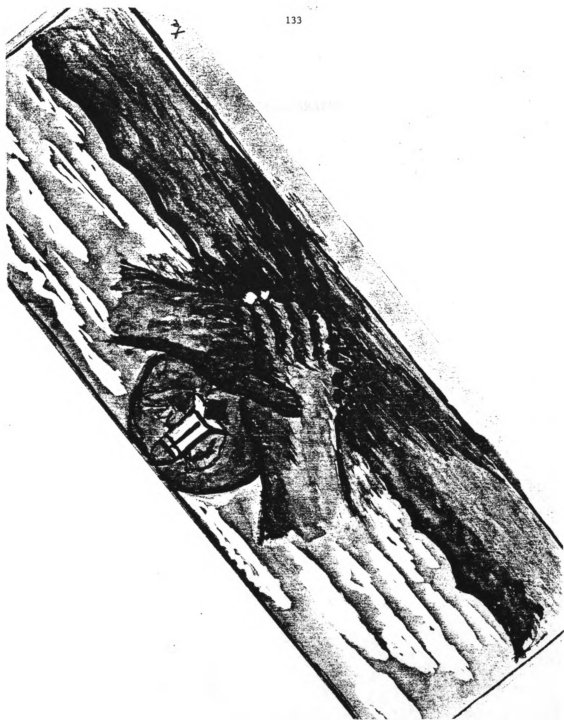


APPENDIX C

X, who is discussed in Appendix A, drew a picture (a photocopy of which is shown in this appendix). The day following the U.S. raid on Libya, X's teacher discussed the U.S.-Libya confrontation with her class. Two days after this discussion, X brought a picture to class. In his art class, students were asked to draw pictures which reflected their feelings about the U.S.-Libya situation.

Others in their pictures opted for war but X opted for peace. Two hands clasped together symbolized peace in Vietnam before the communists took over. X came to the United States in search for peace. Now he is opting for peace in his art class. His picture reflects Vietnamese cultural experiences. There was a replay of experiences in his picture. Peace efforts brought X out of Vietnam but they did not take Vietnam out of the young man. His Vietnamese experiences are still reflecting on his attitudes and feelings in his art class.

It seems in the teaching-learning process cultural experiences are intertwined with learning experiences. This suggests that a triad approach to learning is important because it allows the student to view the content of learning from his/her own perspective, from the teacher's perspective, and from the perspective which is projected in the printed materials. This suggested approach has certain elements which are common to the language experience approach to reading.



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