Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL

Journal

Celebrating Ten Years

Volume 10   1992

Contents

ARTICLES

Information for contributors to the *MinneTESOL Journal*

- **Editorial policy**

  The *MinneTESOL* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the State of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome, as are short descriptions of work in progress on any aspect of theory or practice in our profession. Reports of work in the areas of curriculum and materials development, methodology, teaching, testing, teacher preparation and administration are encouraged, as are reports of research projects that focus on topics of special interest. Descriptions should summarize key concepts and results in a manner to make the information accessible to our readership. We also invite commentary on current trends and practices in the TESOL profession, and we encourage responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published in the *Journal*.

- **Manuscripts**

  Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*. They should include a brief (e.g., 100-word) abstract.

  Submit six copies of each manuscript, along with six copies of an absract of not more than 200 words. **Submission of a computer diskette (labeled with system and software used, is STRONGLY encouraged.**

  Contributions to Volume 11 should be submitted to the editors:

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- **Advertising**

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Introduction

I n celebration of the tenth anniversary of the *Journal*, Adele Hansen and
I are pleased to offer you our most comprehensive volume yet. We believe
that it provides an array of articles that represent the exciting work that is
taking place across the state as well as in other areas of the country. The
articles provide a broad range of issues from policy to pedagogy to research
and assessment. Our hope is that you will find the contributions to this
volume of the *Journal* as thought-provoking and stimulating as we do.

The first section contains articles of interest to ESL teachers, adminis-
trators, and researchers. We begin with two articles that deal with issues of
educational policy and language planning. In "Who's Missing from this
Picture? National Educational Reform Efforts and Language Minority
Students," Constance Walker and Pamela McCollum provide a thorough
and perceptive analysis of the *America 2000* plan as it relates to language
minority students. Although *America 2000* was put forth by the Bush
administration, the issues it addresses provide the backbone of many reform
efforts taking place across the nation. Walker's and McCollum's critique of
the plan is particularly valuable in that it serves as a model for us to critically
examine current and future reform efforts and policy issues—at local, state,
and national levels—with respect to how they affect the students we serve.

Another policy issue is addressed in the article by Ann Sax Mabbott and
Judith Strohl—that of language planning. In "Pull-In Programs—A New
Trend in ESL Education?" Mabbott and Strohl provide an overview of the
most common kinds of models for ESL instruction, highlighting both the
advantages and disadvantages of each. Their examination is an important
one, particularly in light of the fact that a number of districts in our state are
in the process of reevaluating the models of instruction they follow.

The next four articles illustrate a variety of pedagogical techniques and
methodologies. We begin with "Our Town—Drama as Curriculum," by
Molly McGowan-Rink. In this piece, McGowan-Rink describes an excit-
ing three-week curricular unit based on Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*,
which she developed and implemented in an ESL American History class
during one of her student teaching experiences. She suggests that drama in

the ESL classroom is an excellent way of developing not only students' language skills, but their cultural understandings as well. Her ideas are relevant to all classroom teachers, as they can be adapted for any level.

A methodology for incorporating literature in the ESL classroom is presented by Jeff Partridge in "A Literature Course for the ESL Classroom." Partridge provides a sound rationale for using literature with ESL students and describes in detail the guidelines for his methodology. Although geared toward university-level ESL students, this methodology can be adapted for both secondary and elementary students.

The third article that focuses on pedagogical issues is presented by Donald Hones and has as its title "Children of Abya-Yala: EFL Students Consider the Quincentennial of Columbus' Arrival." In this piece, Hones describes how he involved his EFL students in Quito, Ecuador in a critical exploration of the issues surrounding the Quincentennial, particularly in relation to its impact on the indigenous communities of Latin America. Hones article provides an excellent model for participatory education, a model that all educators can learn from.

"Developing Oral Communication Skills Through Cassette Journals," the fourth methodological article, is presented by Jane Petring. In this piece, Petring describes the adaptation of dialogue journal writing to an aural/oral medium—dialoguing via cassette recordings. She explains how she incorporated the methodology in her elementary ESL class and provides guidelines that can be used with learners at any age level.

The final three articles in this section focus on research issues that have important pedagogical implications. Patrick Dunham, in "Using Compliments in the ESL Classroom: An Analysis of Culture and Gender," describes an informal study done with high school Southeast Asian students. These students were taught to use compliments to initiate conversations at work sites and were overwhelmingly positive about the experience. Dunham describes ways in which teachers can help ESL students to use compliments as conversation starters, suggesting that such a technique helps students to gain cultural understanding and build ties of solidarity in the English language community.

Also focusing on culture issues as they relate to communication, James
Robinson and Alex Fisher draw connections between ESL teaching and
anthropological research on the cultural translation of *kibun* (mood or
feelings) in East Asia with "mood" in the U.S. In "The Importance of a
Good *Kibun* in the ESL Classroom," they define *kibun* and describe how a
cultural translation between *kibun* and mood can help teachers to improve
cross-cultural communication in the classroom.

We finish this section with an article by Andrew Cohen entitled "Test-
Taking Strategies on ESL Language Tests." Cohen provides a review of the
literature and describes the research related to strategies students employ in
the taking of second language tests of reading and writing skills. He finishes
his piece with a number suggested test-taking strategies, which both
teachers and students may find valuable.

The next section, "Work in Progress," is offered to our readers for the
second year in a row. In this volume, we have the opportunity to share
progress reports on the work being done by two Ph.D. students at the
University of Minnesota. In "Teachers' Reformulations of ESL Students'
Responses," Jim Dobson describes the work he is doing on reformulations—
that is, teacher repetition and/or transformation of student responses. He
suggests that reformulation practices indicate social information regarding
teacher/student relationships in the classroom and that teachers need to be
aware of how different types of reformulations of students' responses may
inhibit or encourage students' language learning.

The next work-in-progress piece, "Acculturation, Ethnicity, and Sec-
ond Language Acquisition: A Study of Hmong Students at the Post-
Secondary Level," is presented by Susan Bosher. In this article, Bosher
discusses the study she is doing with the Hmong population at the post-
secondary level, which explores the extent to which acculturation can be
considered a predictor of self-esteem, second language proficiency, and
academic success.

Also appearing in the *Journal* for the second year in a row is the next
section entitled "Student Work." We are especially privileged this year to
bring you the first-place essays from the writing contest (sponsored by
MinneTESOL), which formed part of the events scheduled to celebrate

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ESL/Bilingual Awareness Week (October 17–24, 1992). We are also happy to bring you students' poetry and encourage ESL teachers to continue to help us publish students' work in upcoming volumes.

The last section of this volume contains two book reviews. Carol Hohenstein Abdelaal reviews *What's in a Word? Reading and Vocabulary Building* by Samuela Eckstut and Karen Sorensen. In addition, Esther Wanning's *Culture Shock U.S.A.* is reviewed by Deniz Gökçora.

Once again, Adele and I were disappointed not to have responses to articles from Volume 9 to include in "The Forum" this year. We invite readers to submit responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published in this year's volume so that we can include them in "The Forum" next year. We also strongly encourage readers to volunteer to act as members on our Editorial Advisory Board. Please contact either of us should you be interested in joining us or should you wish to have further information. We look forward to hearing from you.

Diane J. Tedick

Who's Missing From This Picture? National Educational Reform Efforts and Language Minority Students

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Not since A Nation at Risk appeared in 1983 (National Commission on Excellence in Education) has there been the attention paid to educational reform that has met President Bush's America 2000 plan. Ambitious in its scope, America 2000 has set forth major proposals for educational change that begin with large "goals" that are to guide the movement for change. America 2000 has been put forth to meet the needs of the nation's children. What does the document tell us about the government's knowledge of our students? The purpose of this paper is to examine the intent and themes of this latest reform movement and what those themes tell us about the learners such reforms are designed to impact. Most importantly, the fate of the nation's 3.6 million limited English proficient (LEP) students is explored in the light of the direction of the America 2000 reforms. What do these efforts mean for the growing population of our nation's students who come to school with a potential for developing bilingualism? Are their needs represented in the movement to toughen and strengthen standards for both instruction and assessment?

WHAT IS AMERICA 2000?

Although the genesis of the efforts are not clear, corporate consultants, White House policy-makers, six governors, and administrative staff

members were enlisted to develop the plan for this major reform effort. The glossary of key terms in the document defines *America 2000* as follows:

> An action plan to move America toward the six national educa-
> tion goals through a populist crusade, by assuring accountability
> in today's schools, unleashing America's genius to jump-start a
> new generation of American schools, transforming a "Nation at
> Risk" into a "Nation of Students," and nurturing the family and
> community values essential to personal responsibility, strong
> schools and sound education for all children.
>
> *(America 2000*, p. 4)

Six goals form the backbone of this national standards movement designed to restructure education and return excellence to public educa-tion:

1. All children in America will start school ready to learn.

2. The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.

3. American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competence in challenging subject mat-ter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geog-raphy; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive em-ployment in our modern economy.

4. U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathemat-ics achievement.

5. Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

6. Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

At first glance it is clear that the goals are broad, sweeping, and sure to find great agreement among the American public. The mood of the document is upbeat, dealing in platitudes and slogans intended to give a new feel to yet another call for educational reform. One such phrase, "535+ by 1996" has the ring of a campaign slogan and calls for corporate funding toward

the establishment of 535 New American Schools to be set up in *America 2000* Communities, including Puerto Rico, the U.S. territories, and the District of Columbia by 1996. Each model school program is to be directed from the governor's office in each state. The political nature of the document comes into clearer focus when one realizes the number 535 was not chosen from a hat, but rather represents the number of U.S. Congressional Districts: the plus refers to Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. Territories.

The "New World Standards," which are being developed by the National Educational Goals Panel, will be assessed by national examinations called the American Achievement Tests at the fourth, eighth, and twelfth grades in each of five core subjects. These data will be available for public scrutiny and will allow parents to assess which schools are best accomplishing the New World Standards thus enabling parents to choose the school they wish their children to attend. It is proposed that school choice will create a so-called market economy, promote competition among the schools, and stimulate excellence in public education.

Elements of *America 2000* that will achieve school restructuring are the six national education goals, the New World Standards, American Achievement Tests, a public reporting system called Report Cards, and the exercise of free choice in determining where one's children will go to school. The policy proposes virtually *no* new expenditures by the Federal government for education.

Some positive points can be gleaned from an examination of *America 2000* and the resulting additional documents. Given soon tos be former President's Bush's claim that he is the "Education President," it is indeed encouraging to find the administration (beyond the Department of Education) actually thinking and talking about education. There are several statements made that educators can find encouraging in that they reflect perspectives long held by teachers, administrators, and researchers, but not often recognized or validated by policy-makers, particularly at the federal level. The documents do offer the belief that activities at school levels do make a difference in student achievement. They stress the importance of a link between schools and communities, and the necessity of parent involvement in the educational process. Literacy and life-long learning appear as recurring issues in the push for a more educated populace.

The lofty nature of the goals and the absence of a recognition of the complexity inherent in the process of addressing them are drawbacks of

America 2000. For example, while Goal One stresses the importance of school readiness, it fails to make the important link between other basic needs (nutrition, pre-natal care) and school readiness. One is struck by the surface level of the discussions of student achievement, and the underlying themes that render these discussions simplified and somewhat naïve.

America 2000 seems to address a single audience—those who believe that education needs a jolt that can only come from the concerted efforts of business and government. It describes our nation's students with a very limited perspective. Minority students go almost unmentioned, and the great diversity in language, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds of our school-age learners is ignored. More telling about these latest reform efforts are the voices that were and were not included in their development, as well as the themes that emerge from the language and structure of the document.

WHOSE VOICES HAVE BEEN HEARD?

It is enlightening to examine the original and supporting documents of *America 2000* for clues as to which voices are valued and which might likely be heard in the national debate for better schools. Teachers and principals who work in schools and who will be entrusted with the difficult task of making any reform effort work (with diminishing resources) were absent in the development of these efforts. However, the corporate influence in this process is apparent on several levels. Often, the composition of groups reveals over representation of corporate executives affiliated with Fortune 500 companies. The Board of Directors for the New American Schools Development Corporation (a purportedly private enterprise) consists exclusively of corporate CEOs and is primarily made up of white males, with very limited representation from the African American and Hispanic communities in the country.

To date, the National Education Goals Panel, which is charged with implementing the goals set out in *America 2000*, has published three interim reports on its progress. Six resource groups, composed of 8 to 10 members of business, academe, and the public schools, were set up to decide how to best implement each goal. These groups are responsible for determining what types of data will be compiled for each goal such that the public can determine which schools are most effective. Resource groups were directed to use established data bases such as the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) data and data gathering

programs already in place through the Council of Chief State School Officers to reduce the cost and the amount of time involved in collecting additional data. In examining the panel's reports, one is again struck by the same inattention to the concerns of language minority students that appeared in the administration's original call for school restructuring in the document *America 2000*. Practitioners and researchers with special knowledge of the issues of language minority schooling were included as members of only two of the six resource groups to help articulate strategies for implementing the New World Standards. Interestingly, the two goals for which their expertise was sought were those having to do with dropouts and drugs. One is given the impression that specialists in language minority student issues are not to be found or needed in areas such as school readiness, adult literacy, or student achievement. It is also telling that the resource groups on drop-outs and drug abuse are the only two to raise issues relative to language minority students. Not only are the needs of language minority students missing from other areas of education where they are indeed crucial, but their mention in these two stigmatized areas reinforces the belief that the important issues facing these students are drug-taking and school-leaving.

Within the last few years, highly publicized reform efforts have been proposed for America's system of public schooling. Such reforms have offered the promise of increased student achievement through school choice, better preparation of teachers, and attention to rigorous national testing standards. It goes without saying that with each of these ideas there are very controversial options, options that in fact have become politicized. Within such a climate, the experience of teachers, parents, and researchers is often ignored, and proposals are made which seem to meet a larger social agenda. Such proposals often fail to consider the extreme complexity of school change. What is most frustrating is that political/educational reform efforts often suffer from a lack of contact with reality that may well be due to a lack of consultation with practitioners. Consultation and collaboration with those individuals closest to teaching and learning (students, parents, teachers, administrators, teacher educators, researchers), would result in more authentic portrayals of both the problems of and the possibilities for change. A lack of respect for consultation with educators is evident in *America 2000*. Educators were not involved in the development of the plan, or the process of conceptualizing the goals for implementation. "Had it been a strategy for reforming, say, law, medicine, science, or business, it is a very safe bet that lawyers,

doctors, scientists, and business people would have dominated the process" (Kaplan, 1991, p. 11).

What themes emerge from the reform efforts and what do they tell us about how we envision school change? In further standardizing the process of schooling, what will be some likely outcomes, particularly for language minority students?

A "CRUSADE," "BOLD GOALS," AND "A CALL TO ARMS"

Demands for school reform seem to be part of our social and political fabric. Indeed many educators have developed a form of cynicism with which to arm themselves against the next wave of efforts to solve large-scale social problems by restructuring schools. Reform efforts in the 1980's focused on students, their families and educators, and "involved simplistic increases in accountability aimed at making teachers and students work harder (test more, assign more homework, require more courses, etc.)" (McCaslin & Good, 1992, p. 6). In a similar vein, *America 2000* calls for bold, new action and cries for accountability and results.

Competition and the competitive edge in a global economy offer a rationale for national standards for rigorous testing and a set of national examinations. Being "Number One" is not only considered the key to economic competitiveness, but is seen as the secret to restoring lost faith in education. Indeed, this phrase appears in one of the original goals (related to mathematics and science achievement) and is represented throughout the document by references to competition. The competitive nature of American culture appears in the thinking of those who devised the goals, through the major theme of national economic superiority, couched in a condemnation of today's schools. The emphasis on national productivity goals seen from an economic perspective is reflected in terms such as "accountability packages" and "jump start." The strident use of racing metaphors—"Our country is idling its engines" and "American students are at or near the back of the pack" (*America 2000*, p. 9)—reinforces the clear message that, left in the hands of educators, our schools have become instruments of under achievement and lack of purpose.

The "back to basics" message, the involvement of the business sector, and a strident tone that denies the complexity, immensity, and seriousness of the problems that face teachers and students underlie *America 2000*. Some critics argue that it speaks of children as "devices," tools for serving our competitive economic goals, and as such gives the message that we no

longer value education for human development and personal growth, but have far more utilitarian objectives in mind.

Further examination of the language of the document reveals more than the fact that it was not written by individuals familiar with education. As part of the New American Schools initiative, the President wants business-backed research and development teams to "reinvent the American school." While acknowledging in passing that some important instructional innovations and school restructuring efforts have "pointed the way," there is language that seeks to redo, rebuild, redesign. Having failed to involve educators in the initial efforts to examine schools in America, such language is not likely to encourage them to participate in this change.

Under extraordinarily difficult conditions, particularly over the past decade, educators have struggled to do more with less. Then, along comes America 2000. The very act of establishing this reform effort based on national goals and a national testing agenda speaks volumes about the expectation that educational problems can be solved from the top down. The development of the plan argues that the mere involvement of federal and state officers in the development of these high standards will ensure comparably high achievement among the nation's school-age students. Yet history is likely to prove otherwise. "The setting of national goals and the establishment of a national education policy not only reinforce but also expand our system of endless and arbitrary standardized achievement testing that already begins even before kindergarten" (Clinchy, 1991, p. 213).

Model schools, the exploration of national standards for curriculum, national assessment strategies, and parental choice for schools are widely debated aspects of the new education agenda. Most interesting is that, regardless of the kind of change one would argue is necessary for the improvement of public schooling, America 2000 goals are supposed to be achieved without any federal money. (It is hoped that $200 million in corporate donations will fund the 535+ schools.) How can one "disregard all past practices" when financial constraints will be the most defining characteristic of the charge to change education? The lack of recognition of the maldistribution of revenues for schooling is a glaring negative in the America 2000 reports. Differences among states, school districts, and even schools in the availability of financial and physical resources is a crucial determinant of resultant student achievement. Kentucky and Texas have had their school finance systems declared unconstitutional by their state judiciary, and 23 states have similar cases pending. As documented by

Kozol (1991), those schools, districts, and states serving large numbers of poor, immigrant, and non-white students have fewer resources than do those serving white and middle-class communities. Why were such disparities and their implications for student learning ignored? The belief that funding has little influence on the quality of schools can be dismissed along with another old "axiom" that class size is not related to student achievement. While some change can occur through leadership, communication, and commitment, most change requires dialog, time, smaller class sizes, and flexibility in curriculum and staffing—all of which require money. The administration's efforts to push for large-scale change in schooling without recognition of the tremendous financial burden that states and cities face is inexcusable.

The end results of continued "massive" reform efforts might likely be to erode confidence in America's public schools. In highlighting the very real need that schools have, national reform policies more often than not paint our educational system with one very large brush. The common public perception of the viability of public education is increasingly negative. "We suspect that as the President and others berate educators for the failure of schools, the public will become less willing to support education with public dollars. Simplistic reasoning is also likely to pervade demands for erroneous, simple accountability measures that not only fail to measure what they purport to measure, but also increasingly force schools to offer a narrow, outdated curriculum" (McCaslin & Good, 1992, p. 7).

"HUNGRY, UNWASHED, AND FRIGHTENED:"* A CHANGING AMERICAN SCHOOL POPULATION

Increased birthrates among Americans of Asian, Black, and Hispanic background together with immigration from Asian and Central and South American countries support high minority population trends for American cities, and raise several national dilemmas for public and social policy. Given the plethora of references to this social change in the general press and its inevitable effects on American society, one is struck by the virtual absence of the mention of minorities or minority issues in the Bush administration's policy for school restructuring. *America 2000* contains no mention of cultural diversity. While the document claims a federal responsibility for "assuring equal opportunity," no mention is made of the tremendous challenges schools face as they seek to serve the diverse populations of America's schools. The six major goals and the

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*America 2000, 1991

objectives of the resource groups for gathering information and creating change should have been addressed with attention to diversity. A failure to recognize that fact must bring the entire effort into question. To talk about reforming national standards, devising and developing new curricula and tests to meet those standards, but not to explore the effect of such "standards" on the lives of many of our non-white students is to give evidence of not having consulted teachers, parents, and communities before speaking about major school reform. For diversity, both its joys and challenges, would be one of the primary issues raised in such discussions. Diversity—in learning styles, socioeconomic background, language, ethnicity, gender, preparation for schooling—is at the heart of educators' concerns with respect to curriculum, testing, teacher preparation, and the viability of schools (*Here They Come, Ready or Not*, 1986). The lack of focus on the challenges that diverse school populations pose for teachers stands out as a serious flaw in the reform documents. "The entire proposal lacks a sense of reality about the situation of children and youth in America. Their growing diversity is ignored, their growing poverty is not even mentioned, and muddled thinking about their motivation suggests that forcing them to fail tests will awaken their desire to learn" (Howe, 1991, p.203). Indeed, Professor Jóse Cárdenas, a member of a resource team, voiced frustration with the agenda as it concerns minority students: "The initiatives fail to address the most severe problems of the educational system: the perception of atypical students as being deficient, the inability to distinguish between lack of experiences and lack of capability, low levels of expectancy and incompatible materials and methodology" (Cárdenas, 1991, p. 29).

The number of students who bring other language skills to school continues to increase in the American public school population. Ten percent of the total public school population enrolling in the fall of 1988 was Hispanic—4.3 million students. One in ten U.S. 8th graders is Hispanic (National Council of La Raza, 1990). More than one third of San Francisco Unified School District's student population has a primary language other than English (NCAS, 1988). In addition to the many American-born students with home languages other than English, the immigrant population has expanded since the 1960's. Current migration trends, dominated by Asian, Caribbean, and Hispanic peoples, contribute to a diverse school population. How will these students fare in the proposed standardization of assessment efforts?

"A NATIONWIDE SYSTEM OF HIGH QUALITY NATIONAL EXAMS" AND LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS

The pervasive focus of *America 2000* is on testing. According to the text, documentation of the "problems" with schools will require massive efforts at data-gathering. The lack of available data on all facets of student life in America caused the document's creators to demand national collection of data related to all six goals. From early childhood through adult learning, developers were amazed at the paucity of numbers that describe our nation's inhabitants where achievement is concerned. So first on the list is to *gather better data.* The traditional independence of states in measuring student learning will clearly be sacrificed to the need for national accountability. How well are our students doing in comparison with other nations? *More tests, better tests, comparability of test scores* will become the hallmarks of the assessment phase in order to answer that question. Testing drives the efforts of President Bush's educational reform efforts, in the belief that more and better data can ultimately give us what we need to improve student learning.

How will more tests help students become more effective learners? Some researchers argue that the roots of testing lie in the efforts to gauge the success of schools rather than efforts to monitor the performance of individual students (Resnick & Resnick, 1985)—it is this distinction that best explains the dilemma we find ourselves in as we explore the national mania for testing. It has been demonstrated that high-stakes testing reduces effective learning opportunities for children, crowds out those meaningful lessons that produce interaction, activity, and synthesis, and degrades and deskills teachers (Smith, 1991). Smith has concluded that mandated testing programs reduce the time available for classroom instruction by as much as 100 hours per year. Focusing on practicing for tests, test-taking, and factual memorization rather than problem-solving renders the school curriculum one in which students are prepared for jobs that no longer exist and continue unprepared for the complex, interdependent global economy in which they will labor. "We should spend less time ranking children and more time helping them to identify their natural competencies and gifts and cultivate those. There are hundreds and hundreds of ways to succeed and many, many different abilities that will help you get there" (Gardner, 1986).

The development of higher standards, and new assessments of educational achievement in which students, teachers, schools, districts, and states can be more carefully compared will bring forth no new information: students who have not done well in the past will likely do no better

or worse on such new measures. Such renewed efforts to test and compare will tell us what we already know—that students who are immigrants, migrants, limited in their English skills, or who come from poverty backgrounds will fail to achieve at a level comparable to middle-class English-speaking students from homogeneous communities.

Jeannie Oakes, an educator and researcher with special interest in the nature of tracking, believes that national examination systems and increased emphasis on standardized assessment will likely produce negative consequences for students, particular low-income, African-American, and Latino students (Oakes, 1988, 1991). She argues that low test results (certain to be evident, as in the past, with newer improved versions of tests) close down, rather than open up, opportunities for disadvantaged and minority students. The inferiority of courses, programs, and opportunities available to minority students in inner-city schools results in little rigorous academic content, low expectations, and little exposure to critical thinking and problem solving. Her work documenting the extreme differences in content offered and strategies utilized by teachers in low track vs. high track classrooms in the U.S. is a stinging indictment of the "equal educational opportunity" we so highly tout. "The uneven distribution of schooling resources and opportunities—partly on the basis of test scores—tells a disturbing story of how access to the knowledge and skills required to perform well on newly-proposed national tests intersects with students' race, social class, and community" (Oakes, 1991, p. 18).

Other educators also condemn test-driven instruction (Madaus, 1988; Shepard, 1991), pointing out that low-achieving students are consigned to drill and practice activities for even longer periods than their higher-achieving peers. Teaching isolated pieces of tasks, and teaching to the test reinforce outdated perspectives of learning that emphasize behavioristic and mechanistic aspects of cognitive development. More recent knowledge about learning shows us that related, contextual frameworks provide the best opportunities for children to master a range of skills, from the very basic to more complex cognitive operations. When extended periods of time are spent on the "building blocks," whether the focus is English as a second language or mathematics, the absence of context and meaning renders lessons dull and boring. For children who bring other languages and cultural identities to the classroom, traditional fundamental instruction has not always proven successful. For many limited English proficient students, the "basics" become the whole curriculum. Failing to master the basics, they never to get to explore the context-based "interesting stuff" that makes school learning motivating.

Where limited English proficient students are concerned, the problems of achievement are confounded by a multitude of practices and standards for assessment of both English language skill and academic achievement (Council of Chief State School Officers, 1991). While states control some aspects of funding for limited English proficient populations through bilingual education or English as a second language program funds, the methods by which students are assessed and monitored for achievement are generally left to individual school districts. Thus a student identified as LEP in one state or district might not be so identified in another state. While a public cry for increased national standards has been heard, policy guidelines and exit criteria from special programs for LEP students have been loosened, contributing to these students having less exposure to either bilingual and/or English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction. Entry and exit criteria that determine if other language background students need bilingual or ESL instruction are varied and complex. We argue that a dual set of standards is in operation—one that determines what is acceptable achievement for language minority children, and one that applies to the achievement of native-English-speaking children. At one level, these dual criteria serve to sort children within and among programs in a school. At another level, the transitional nature of bilingual and ESL programs and the practice of exiting students based on oral language proficiency and low scores on standardized achievement tests are compounded by a lack of emphasis on native language literacy development. Together with institutionalized lower expectations for achievement, this creates a permanent underclass within the school population (McCollum & Walker, 1990). It is clear that the standards for LEP students in terms of achievement are not necessarily comparable to those required of native English speakers. Fewer than 10 states have a mechanism whereby the academic status of LEP students can be monitored after they are placed in English-only classrooms. There is often inadequate and unreliable information about drop-out rates, retention rates, and referrals for special education among the LEP population in America's schools (Council of Chief State School Officers, 1992). While there may be inadequate data at the district, state, and national level on the status of the LEP student population, the problems confronted by LEP students are certainly familiar to practitioners. Under achievement, failure to complete school, or graduation without adequate academic preparation to function in post-secondary settings are common outcomes observed by those in the field (Bosher, 1992; Collier, 1989).

"NEW WORLD STANDARDS" FOR WHOM?

It is our contention that in some cases, reform practices designed with only mainstream students in mind may conflict with or erode the best practices needed for bilingual students. The work of Readiness Resource Group (Goal #1) provides an example of how policy that is articulated only for mainstream students presents a variety of problems when it is applied to language minority groups. When cross-cultural issues are raised, what may seem to be rational approaches to complex educational issues become questionable. For example, in order to assess school readiness, one has to decide which indices characterize school readiness and what kind (and whose) norms will be used for assessment. If mainstream, middle class norms are the criteria to be used, how will pre-schoolers of other cultural and linguistic backgrounds fare? Is it reasonable to expect five year old language minority students who do not speak English and who have had little or no exposure to native English speaking children to have learned preschool curriculum and mainstream patterns of school behavior prior to entering school? Will not having such knowledge put such students at a disadvantage before they even enter school?

The Readiness Resource Group stresses the importance of children having well developed language prior to entering school and the known link between language development, cognition and learning. They state that students who have language facility upon school entrance are empowered. What is ignored however, is that hundreds of thousands of students enter school each year with well developed language skills in languages other than English that are not recognized or used as the basis for learning by the school. Tied to those native language skills are cognitive development in the first language, as well as knowledge and expectations about how language is used in social groups to accomplish a wide range of goals. Students learning English as a second language have a sophisticated level of communicative competence in their native language that is not assessed or considered as knowledge that qualifies them to ready to learn. Instead, they are judged from a deficit perspective and are labeled limited English proficient. The rush is then on to immerse them in English and phase out their native language.

Readiness and preparation for school are recurring themes in the world of educational reform. Reports continue to stress the importance of proper early education as a means for preventing school failure. The logic that the earlier one begins to learn something (e.g., gymnastics, swimming, tennis, etc.), the higher the possible ultimate level of mastery, does

not apply to second language learning for language minority students. Extensive research over the last twenty years has shown that bilingual students who develop their native language literacy skills *before* beginning second language literacy, ultimately attain higher levels of achievement in the second language (Cummins, 1979; 1984; Collier, 1989) *and* other academic subjects (Skutnab-Kangas, 1984). Those students who are most successful in the development of English language skill and academic achievement are those students who arrive in the U.S. (or begin school) already grounded in first language literacy and cognitive skills, able to then transfer those skills to the new language. Thus, while it appears to be counter-intuitive to delay English literacy instruction until the child is well grounded in his/her native language, so doing will produce greater returns in English language skills in the long run. In an attempt to standardize the criteria for school entrance, some very real issues of language skill and proficiency needed for ultimate academic achievement may be missed where language minority students are concerned.

Educational policy has always operated under the premise that the sooner immigrants stop speaking their native language and use English exclusively, the greater the chances for their success. While we agree that English is a necessary ingredient in the formula for success in America, educational policy persons must become familiar with best practices for second language learners and tailor programs for them accordingly. A recent study by Fillmore (1990) shows that "earlier is not always better" when it comes to English instruction for language minority students.

In Fillmore's national study, parents of 1,100 immigrant and American Indian families with children in preschool programs participated in interviews regarding the extent to which their children's early exposure to English affected the use of their native language in the home. The study revealed that the early introduction of English in preschool programs contributed to loss of the children's native language, had consequences for their level of English mastery, and led to severing of familial ties in families where parents did not speak English. Students who shifted to English and lost their first language were unable to understand their parents and were prevented from gaining knowledge about the larger world from their family. As a consequence there was a trend for students to associate more closely with peers, with some becoming members of street gangs. A second group of 311 families who had children in preschools where Spanish was the medium of instruction or classes were bilingual was included in the study for comparative purposes. Families with children in this group reported significantly less family disruption and better intergenerational

communication than the group who had children in English-only pre-schools. Wong Fillmore concludes that, "Schools should be working to strengthen family ties and the parents' ability to socialize their children. They can do this by legitimating the home environment, especially the home language, rather than treating it as an impediment to the child's intellectual development" (Saidel, 1991, p. 6).

With the Readiness Resource Group's inattention to the education of language minorities, and their emphasis on language development as a key indicator for readiness, they stand an excellent chance of articulating policy that is potentially damaging to students with non-English language backgrounds. Another oversight by the Readiness Resource Group calls their work for mainstream and language minority students alike into question. Recent research by Graue (1992) examined the concept of school readiness in three communities that varied by socioeconomic status, educational background, and ethnicity. She found that the concept of readiness differed in all three schools and was socially constructed by the parents, teachers and administrators in each locale. While upper middle class parents were reticent to send their children to kindergarten unless they knew their letters and numbers and demonstrated the ability to concentrate, ethnic minority parents felt that age was the primary indicator of school readiness. In addition, upper-middle-class parents often felt that it was better to "red shirt" children (withhold them for 1 year), who in many cases had already attended one or more years of preschool, rather than risk their not performing well in kindergarten. Graue's work demonstrates that what constitutes readiness varies and calls into question the issues of articulating "national" standards of school readiness. It also highlights the widening disparity between middle class six- and seven-year-olds who come to kindergarten already reading, and normal five-year-old language minority students who come to school eager to learn but who may not speak English or have attended preschool.

Both researchers and a number of influential national professional organizations support alternatives to readiness testing. Shepard (1990) cautions that the "unconsidered policy consequences include: assignment of children to ineffective special programs like transition rooms, the re-institution of tracking, exaggerated age and ability differences, further escalation of (kindergarten) curriculum, and teaching to the test" (p. 1). She argues that a more productive alternative to readiness testing is the use of developmentally graded curricula that would take the wide range of developmental levels of young children into consideration. Kagan (1990) takes the position that schools should be ready for the child and stresses

the need for individualization—individualizing access for special popula-
tions (disabled, students at risk of failure, students limited in English
proficiency) and true individualization of instruction "to accommodate
all of the following: multi-age grouping, early childhood units, experi-
enced-based approaches to language learning, project approaches, inte-
grated activities, meaningful parent involvement, and developmentally
appropriate practices" (Kagan, 1990, p. 277). Given the support for this
perspective, it is clear that attempts to standardize and narrow the
operational definitions of "readiness" so as to meet fixed standards of
academic preparation will meet head-on the realities of our varied
national population.

We have discussed the invisibility of language minority students in
current educational reform efforts and the harm that can occur when
policy is articulated and implemented without consideration for their
unique needs. It is difficult to imagine the expectations that school
reformers have for our nation's non-traditional students. Students with
other language skills, from low-income families, or those who are most
alienated from the ethos of our school culture were not the students for
whom the *America 2000* efforts were expended. Why were minorities
ignored in the New World Standards of *America 2000* when they will
compose the largest segment of the public school population in less than
a decade?

The *America 2000* plan fails to consider the very real range of cultural,
linguistic, and social differences in our school-age populations, and most
blatantly fails to consider the needs of students already inadequately
served by federal educational policies and funding. It reflects instead the
continued tendency to respond to American societal dissatisfaction with
schools by imposing both federal influence and corporate models onto the
educational process, and attempts to effect reform by even tighter controls
on curriculum and testing.

Large scale reform efforts that lump all groups together whether by
intent or by default will likely have deleterious effects on those students
with other linguistic, cultural, or ability characteristics. Where language
minority students are concerned, the lack of attention paid to their unique
needs for instruction and assessment are the material of legend. School
programs that have served English speaking students have not always been
the answer for language minority students—the national dropout rates for
Hispanic students and the under achievement of immigrant students
attest to this fact (National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988).

Teachers have long known that what works for one student is not always the best strategy for another. Our policy-makers must learn the same lesson on a national scale when considering the body of students that make up our school-age population.

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Editors' Note:
We believe that Walker's and McCollum's critical analysis of *America 2000* is timely even though the Reagan/Bush era has come to an end. We must be reminded that the issues addressed in the *America 2000* plan are those addressed in many reform efforts. The critique of the plan presented on these pages is particularly valuable in that it serves as a model for us to critically examine current and future reform efforts and policy issues—at local, state, and national levels—with respect to how they affect the students we serve.

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Pull-In Programs—A New Trend in ESL Education?

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The most common models for ESL education in Minnesota
have been the *pull-out* model and the *self-contained class* model
(Minnesota Department of Education, 1991). Self-contained
classes can be set up for children with very limited English at
the elementary level; they can be bilingual classes which help
students maintain their first language and facilitate content
area instruction, or they can be content-based classes at the
high school level. Recently, a third model, *pull-in*, or the
collaborative inclusion model, has been emerging as a new trend
in ESL education at both the elementary and secondary levels.
This article will describe the differences among the models,
and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each.

PULL-OUT

According to the State of Minnesota's 1991 LEP (limited English
proficiency) survey, about 56% of LEP students in the state are taught
within some form of pull-out program. The Minnesota Department of
Education (1991) defines a pull-out LEP program as one in which
"students leave their mainstream classroom to spend a period of time each
day with the ESL or Bilingual Education teacher in small groups or as
individuals" (p. 41). It goes on to say that instruction is "focused on
English language development and content area support in English and/

or the home language. The amount of time for which students are pulled out depends upon their linguistic and educational needs. For some students, thirty minutes per day may be adequate. Other students may spend two hours or more each day with the ESL or bilingual education teacher" (p. 41). The policy statement indicates how the model should operate ideally. However, anecdotal evidence indicates that the amount of time that LEP students actually spend with ESL or bilingual teachers often has more to do with school and teacher resources than the language needs of the students. There are cases in districts with sparse ESL populations, for example, where students get as little as 45 minutes of instruction per week because the ESL teacher simply has no more time available.

The Minnesota Department of Education LEP Handbook (1991) also mentions benefits of the pull-out program. Among the advantages listed in the document are that teachers can provide concentrated instruction according to student needs and that the model provides an environment away from the native English-speaking children, where ESL students can feel comfortable taking risks with their new language and asking questions. In addition, the separate classroom model provides a place where oral language activities and games can be carried out without causing disruption to other classes. The pull-out situation is one where the LEP students' needs come first and are not subsumed by the needs of the larger group.

Few ESL educators would disagree with the advantages of the pull-out program as described in the LEP handbook. Many, however, have experienced problems with the model that the handbook does not address. The initial problem each academic year for ESL teachers is that of scheduling. Trying to coordinate the mainstream schedules with the ESL schedule so that students do not miss crucial mainstream lessons can be extremely difficult. It is also important that students do not miss specialty subjects such as physical education, art, and music, for those are subjects in which they can participate more equally with their limited English.

A corollary of the scheduling problem is that ESL instructors in pull-out programs often do not have time to coordinate their lessons with those of the mainstream teacher. There is little encouragement or tangible incentives (such as release time) from the administration for teachers to plan together, and when ESL teachers deal with more than three or four mainstream classrooms (which is usually the case), planning may be very difficult to accomplish in spite of the teachers' best intentions to do so. As

a result, LEP children may be subjected to a fragmented curriculum. ESL lessons sometimes have little direct bearing on what the mainstream class is doing, and mainstream teachers usually do not reinforce ESL lessons. ESL teachers do not always know what their students need to know to participate as much as possible in the mainstream, and mainstream teachers do not always take the LEP students into account when planning curriculum for the class (Flynn, 1992). Students can miss crucial lessons when they are pulled out for ESL or benefit little from the lessons they do attend because their English and life experiences are too limited for them to understand what is going on. Since a lack of context in instruction is frequently the central reason language minority students fail to achieve high levels of academic competence in their second language (Cummins, 1984), a lack of communication and coordination between the main-stream and ESL teachers can have serious consequences.

SELF-CONTAINED CLASSES

The self-contained class model, in contrast to the pull-out model, addresses the problem of fragmentation in the curriculum as well as the problem of scheduling. In this model, the ESL teacher (or bilingual teacher) provides most of the instruction for the LEP students. In addition to teaching English, the ESL teacher also provides instruction in content areas at a level commensurate with the linguistic and conceptual abilities of the students (Minnesota Department of Education Handbook, LEP, 1991). Another advantage of the self-contained model for LEP students is that it provides continuous instruction from one sympathetic teacher in an environment where students are not marginalized. In addition, the students are more likely to feel that they are truly active participants in their class than they would in a mainstream class, where they often do not understand what is transpiring (Toth, 1991).

Theoretically, ESL students in such a program are mainstreamed for subjects such as physical education, art, music, recess, lunch, and school events. Anecdotal evidence indicates, however, that this integration does not occur in reality, and that students in such programs are often isolated much more than they should be. This isolation, of course, is the major drawback of the model, since children will naturally learn English conver-sational skills faster when they have lots of communicative contact with their native English-speaking peers than when they are isolated (e.g., Tarone, 1982). For this reason, the self-contained class model is usually reserved for newly arrived students who have very little facility in English (Minnesota Department of Education Handbook, LEP, 1991).

PULL-IN

In recent years, a new model of ESL education, *pull-in*, also known as the *collaborative inclusion* model, has been introduced in some schools. There is no blue print as such for the pull-in model, and each school that has adopted the model has its own design. The model is called *pull-in* because instead of pulling the children out of their mainstream classroom, the ESL teacher is "pulled into" the classroom and team teaches with the mainstream teacher. As the alternative name *collaborative inclusion* indicates, the model demands that ESL and mainstream teachers collaboratively plan and carry out a coordinated, non-fragmented curriculum for each LEP student in the class. The name also reveals the underlying philosophical assumption that all children, regardless of their special needs, should be included in the mainstream classroom and not treated as though they do not belong. Since many mainstream teachers presently make no changes in the way they teach to accommodate the presence of LEP students (Flynn, 1992), promoting cooperation among teachers and the idea of inclusion of all students is important.

With the pull-in model, the ESL teacher works with the LEP student and other students in the class to promote teacher-mediated interaction between the LEP student and his/her peers. In this role, the ESL teacher becomes a facilitator of communication between the ESL students and the mainstream peers as well as between the ESL students and their mainstream teacher. The ESL teacher is available to help control the difficulty and amount of the material being presented to the class, fill in the knowledge gaps for students, adjust tests, and modify assignments when necessary.

One advantage for LEP students under this model is that they have a greater opportunity to interact with native English-speaking peers with the pull-in than with other ESL education systems. As noted above, such interaction provides for a faster acquisition of conversational English (e.g., Tarone, 1982). Also very important is that the model can facilitate the acquisition of academic skills by providing LEP students with a more understandable and relevant context for their mainstream curriculum. On the basis of her research on the academic achievement of LEP students, Saville-Troike (1984) concludes that vocabulary taught to LEP students should be closely related to the students' learning needs in their subject matter classes. If this is done, the students are more likely to perform well academically. To implement such instruction, it is absolutely necessary that ESL teachers and mainstream teachers consult one another while writing their curricula.

Several ESL educators have called for an "integrated setting" for LEP students (Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Handscombe 1989; Rigg & Enright 1986), where students are included into the mainstream as much as possible, but none of these sources speaks of integration in terms of the delivery of instruction in the mainstream class by ESL teachers. As a matter of fact, literature on the subject is rather scarce. The impetus for a pull-in program in LEP education in Minneapolis actually comes from a move in special education (Weimer, personal communication, September, 1992). In the mid-1980's, special education specialist Madeleine Will (1986) led a debate urging the merger of special and regular education because their separation has led to inefficiency and fragmentation of curriculum. Agreement with this analysis has led administrators in Minneapolis to urge the implementation of pull-in programs for special education, Chapter I, and ESL instruction. However, LEP students are very different from special education students in that most do not suffer from any type of learning problem. Because of this difference, it is necessary to take a careful look at the application of a special education model onto ESL instruction.

Hale Elementary School in Minneapolis (serving students in grades K-3) probably has the most developed *pull-in*, or *collaborative inclusion* model, as they now call it, program in the state. About one fourth of the approximately 800 students at Hale are Hmong; therefore, there is a large demand for ESL services in the school. The pull-in model at Hale incorporates not only LEP services, but also all the other special support services (Chapter I, special education, and gifted and talented). The support service professionals work with the children in the regular classroom with a team-teaching approach rather than having the children leave their classroom to report to a special room for a block of time each day (see Hanson & Yarlott, 1992 for a detailed description of the Hale model).

Central to the Hale model is the concept of "aligned curriculum." A team of teachers from the school wrote a combined ESL/mainstream reading and language arts curriculum, which is used with both native English-speaking and LEP children (who are mostly Hmong). It also integrates Hmong culture into multi-cultural activities. To plan individual lessons, support staff and regular teachers meet jointly on a bi-weekly or monthly basis to plan lessons for the upcoming weeks.

At Hale, the pull-in model operates primarily during the reading/language arts instruction time block. Within each class, students are

divided into reading groups of approximately eight students each, which are determined by scores on a variety of instruments measuring reading proficiency. For the reading block time, some LEP students will go to a mainstream classroom different than their own to join their ESL teacher. Likewise, some special education students from that class will join their special education teacher in a different mainstream classroom. This movement of students allows each ESL and special education teacher to spend more time (1 hour and 30 minutes to 2 hours) in one particular mainstream class than would be possible if s/he had to visit every classroom. Typically, specialty teachers work in three classes a day.

The ESL and other special education teachers enter the classroom at the beginning of the reading period. The reading period generally starts with a whole-class activity, taught by one or more of the teachers in the class. This time period is used for discussion, peer group learning, language experiences, higher order thinking, and exploration. The whole-class activity culminates in some kind of assignment, which is often done with a station approach. The station approach is used for the direct teaching of specific skills, including lessons from the basal reader. When the ESL reading groups are not working with the mainstream teacher, they get instruction from the ESL teacher. This instruction can consist of a preparation for the basal reader lesson, such as an explanation of vocabulary, or work on specific issues that ESL students need. Often, time with the ESL teacher is spent preparing students for themes that will be discussed by the whole class and filling in cultural gaps so that the ESL students can better participate in the whole class discussion. As the LEP students' English improves, they are mainstreamed into the mainstream reading groups, but since the ESL teacher is still present in the class, s/he can keep an eye on their mainstream performance and intervene as necessary. After working with one or two reading groups, the ESL teacher goes to a different classroom and follows the same pattern.

More than with other models, the pull-in model changes the nature of instruction for more than just LEP students in the school. Even children who do not receive any support services are affected in that they participate in instruction implemented by additional sources. Students are further affected in that students who might otherwise not be in the classroom (i.e., those who might ordinarily be "pulled out") remain in the classroom. When these "exceptional children" remain in the mainstream, there are presumably more chances for all students to benefit culturally, socially, and intellectually from the diversity of the classroom composition (Toth, 1991).

Although Hale seems to have the most developed pull-in program, it is not the only school in the Twin Cities that is experimenting with a pull-in program. Many of the Minneapolis schools, at both the elementary and secondary level, are starting to incorporate some pull-in programs into their curriculum. The form these programs take can differ significantly from the Hale model, and may include examples of pull-in programs during content area instruction as well as reading/ language arts instruction.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE PULL-IN MODEL

The decision to adopt a collaborative model requires a great deal of adjustment on the part of everyone involved. The ESL teacher who is used to an autonomous teaching situation in which s/he has control over curriculum, methods, and materials may miss this independence when operating as a partner in the classroom. Developing a team relationship with another teacher is a process which occurs slowly and unevenly. Great care must be taken to insure that the teachers are equal partners in the process. Working with mainstream and LEP students together presents additional challenges to the ESL teacher.

At the secondary level, the logistical problems of setting up a pull-in program may be more difficult because the number of students and cooperating teachers involved tends to be larger than in the elementary school. An elementary teacher who works with 30 students is likely to have more time to think about an individual student with special needs than a secondary teacher who is responsible for 100-150 students. Also, the LEP teacher will have to choose in which subject to focus his/her efforts. Should it be the history class, the math class, or the health class? Each area presents its own difficulties and each is vitally important for different reasons. As with any model, one would need to carefully evaluate when, where, and for whom the pull-in model is appropriate.

Teachers who have experience with pull-in programs have compiled a list of advantages to the new model.

1. It increases peer teaching. The model facilitates interaction between LEP students and mainstream peers, which is fundamental to learning a second language.

2. The model enables the teachers to work together to write an appropriate, coordinated curriculum for the student in the form of an individualized learning plan (ILP, an individual plan written for each student) or the aligned curriculum.

3. The model recognizes that previous cultural, linguistic, and literary experiences are crucial for developing literacy and for learning content in the mainstream classroom. This model allows the ESL teacher to fill in knowledge gaps during main-stream instruction and thus promote academic achievement among LEP students.

4. The model allows students to learn content while they are learning English, so they are not as likely to miss out on areas of instruction.

5. The model helps to eliminate non-aligned services to ESL students.

Teachers who have experience with the pull-in program also offer some cautions.

1. Ideally, participation in such a program should be voluntary for both the mainstream and ESL teachers, and it should never be used as an excuse to cut back on teaching staff.

2. Both the mainstream teacher and the ESL teacher need to be able to work as a team. The ESL teacher must be a full partner in the process, and not an aide to the mainstream teacher.

3. The mainstream teacher(s) and ESL teacher need time to plan together and to write an individualized learning plan (ILP) for each student or an aligned curriculum for all students (as in the Hale model). The ILP or aligned curriculum should be reviewed and modified periodically.

4. The program works well with whole language, experiential learning ,and group learning where students do project-centered thematic units. It does not work as well in a program where students do a lot of independent, discrete item work on worksheets and in workbooks.

5. Reading is usually not taught after the 6th grade. If an LEP student does not have a strong reading background, s/he will need additional direct reading and writing instruction. This may be done through content areas (e.g., writing across the curriculum).

6. Pull-out classes should not be eliminated completely. Both newcomers and more proficient LEP students need some time

away from the mainstream students to discuss language, social, and cultural issues. Sometimes students need a safe place away from the mainstream to practice oral language skills and take risks. They need a place where their needs are not subordinate to the needs of the larger group.

7.   One should not forget the benefits of bilingual education. There is much evidence that LEP students will be more successful academically with a bilingual education model than with one where all instruction is in English (Cummins, 1984). Saville-Troike (1984) found in her study that children who had opportunities to discuss concepts in their L1 with either other adults or children achieved higher scores on content area tests in English. In school districts where bilingual education is possible, it should be given priority.

The strongest argument for the pull-in model is that, when properly implemented, it does the most to integrate LEP students into the mainstream while still giving them the support they need. It may be the most efficient way to provide both English instruction and support for content area instruction. Whether a pull-in model can work in a particular school depends on the teaching situation, including factors such as numerical and linguistic distribution of students, the students' linguistic abilities, and the teaching resources that are available. If a school has relatively few LEP students scattered through many different classes, it is unlikely that an ESL teacher would have enough time to meet, plan and work with all the involved mainstream teachers. If, on the other hand, it is possible to cluster ESL students into a smaller number of classes, the cognitive and social benefits of the pull-in model may make it the ideal way to teach LEP students. No matter which model is found to be most efficient for a particular school, it is important that the administration provide time for the ESL and mainstream teachers to communicate with one another to plan for the academic progress of the LEP students, for it is this communication, more than any particular model, that is the critical requisite for promoting student growth.

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Our Town: Drama as Curriculum

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Our Town: Drama as Curriculum is a description of a three-week curriculum unit developed and implemented for an American History ESL class. The article explains the use of Thornton Wilder's classic American drama, *Our Town*, as the foundation of the unit. It includes a description of the learners, objectives, procedures, assessment methods, rationales, and reflections on the process. The use of a videotaped version of the play, class discussions, cooperative learning groups, take-home vocabulary tests, scene rehearsals and performances, are elaborated upon in order to provide the reader with some (perhaps) new insights regarding the many uses of drama in the ESL classroom.

INTRODUCTION

A drama unit was created and implemented as part of a student teaching experience at a secondary school in Minnesota. It was designed to cover a three week period in an ESL American History class, which met daily, five times per week, for fifty minutes. The essential aims of the unit were to develop the students' language skills and to increase their cultural knowledge through the use of drama. The drama selected for the foundation of the unit was *Our Town* by Thornton Wilder. The students viewed the videotaped version of the play, and discussed the cultural, social, and linguistic aspects. They also rehearsed scenes and performed them before an audience as the culminating activity. The following article first describes the learners, their prior knowledge, and the objectives driving the unit. Explained next are the procedures, their content, and their rationale. Also described are the evaluation procedures, reflections upon the unit, and an outline of the materials.

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The fourteen students (nine women, and five men) ranged in age from 16 to 20 years old. Most of the students were Vietnamese, Cambodian, or Thai, but there were also a few students from Japan and the Ukraine. Some of the students had been in the United States for two years and some for as little as three months. Their levels of language development ranged from beginning to intermediate. Some of the students had well developed listening and oral comprehension skills, and others had good reading and writing skills. Some of them had learned English from teachers in refugee camps, or in schools in their home countries. Two of the students were exchange students, but the rest of the students were immigrants to the U.S. On the whole, I found this class to be lively, engaged, and eager to participate.

Before beginning the implementation of the unit itself, I found it necessary to make some well-founded assumptions concerning what this particular group of students knew, had experienced, or been exposed to, prior to my short acquaintance with them. Through observation and inquiry I discovered or surmised the following:

1. All of the students had seen a videotape.

2. All of the students had seen a play in a live-theatre setting.

3. All of the students could understand oral English of a simple nature, when given in a lifelike context.

4. They had all engaged in make-believe.

5. They could all write basic sentences in English.

6. The students could all use a dictionary.

7. They had a deep understanding of their own cultures which they could draw upon and share with other class members.

8. They could memorize words and sentences.

WHAT DID I HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH?

After assessing the students' prior knowledge I developed the linguistic, cultural, social, and cognitive objectives that I thought would be the most important for their development, given the nature of the unit. The following is a statement of the objectives used to guide the procedures and evaluation of the unit.

Concerning the language aspects of the unit, I created objectives that stated that the students would:

1. Learn new vocabulary taken from the play, *Our Town*, such as "funeral," "bride," "groom," "wedding," and "superstition."

2. Be able to read their scenes, memorize their lines, and speak their parts in a performance setting.

3. Utilize their best English pronunciation, diction, volume, and vocal expressiveness while they are performing their roles.

4. Be able to discuss and write down their memories of the play's acts, as a group.

5. Listen to the videotape and improve their ability to understand a slightly different American dialect.

6. Improve their listening and comprehension skills through viewing the videotape and having discussions with other class members.

Concerning the cultural aspects of the unit I developed the following objectives. Students would:

1. Be able to discuss the play's depiction of American culture, and be able to compare it with their first culture.

2. Be able to discuss similarities and differences between American culture in 1901 and now, and their first culture.

3. Be able to behave appropriately as an audience member (i.e., listening quietly and attentively, clapping at the end of a performance).

4. Be able to behave appropriately as an actor (i.e., speaking and moving when and how one is supposed to in the scene).

The development of better social skills was also a major focus of the unit and due to this emphasis I designed objectives that stated that students would:

1. Be able to work in heterogeneous groups of 4–5 people, for the purposes of discussing the play.

2. Be able to work with a partner on a scene from the play.

The development of greater and more creative cognitive functioning was also an extremely important part of the unit, hence the creation of the objectives below:

1. The students will "step into" an American context, culture, and character.

2. The students will be able to understand the universal aspects of human experience.

3. The students' intellect, creativity, imagination, and courage will (hopefully) be enhanced or developed, through the processes of observation, questioning, discussing, rehearsing, and performing scenes from *Our Town*.

4. The students' ability to better "think on their feet," through the experience of performing before an audience, will be improved.

5. The students will develop greater empathy and understanding of those who are culturally different from themselves. The objectives above were chosen because I wanted to develop the students' listening, speaking, reading and writing skills, in an American lifelike drama context.

WHY DRAMA AND WHY *OUR TOWN*?

In recognizing the many benefits of drama as a learning tool from having had experience in the theater myself, I was intrigued by the prospect of using drama in an ESL classroom. Drama has been used successfully in educational settings for hundreds if not thousands of years (McGowan-Rink, 1991). Much more recently, the benefits of drama have been discovered in second language classrooms. With reference to foreign language settings, Miller (1986), Davis (1985), Maley and Duff (1982), and Smith (1984), among others, both outline methodologies and summarize the benefits of incorporating drama into the language classroom. Smith provides a particularly pointed rationale for the inclusion of drama into the foreign language curriculum by describing interesting similarities between the theater arts and language learning. According to Smith (cited in McGowan-Rink, 1991), both of these settings involve (1) searches for the best way to communicate, (2) risk to one's ego and self-esteem, (3) the development of empathy, (4) work with a close group of people, and (5) the use of games, role-playing, ear training, and warm-ups for the voice and body.

Those who advocate the use of drama in ESL settings provide reasons similar to those offered by foreign language educators. Radin (1985) explains that her drama techniques were useful for stimulating the "motivation, self-confidence, and self-esteem" of her ESL students (p. 4). Grout (1982), who describes the use of socio-dramas, states that his suggested activities provide tools for "stimulating and developing the skill of speaking" (p. xi). McRae's (1985) book provides a complete "how-to"

guide for incorporating drama in the ESL classroom. He argues that drama scenes develop linguistic awareness of "appropriateness and register in English" (p. 7). Finally, he sums up the benefits of drama as follows: "The dramatic presentation awakens responses and ideas that mere reading about a theme cannot reach; the activity of acting out makes students readier and more able to express themselves in their own words; the whole should be a major contribution to student learning" (p. 8-9, cited in McGowan-Rink, 1991, p. 6).

I chose to do a drama unit because I wanted the students to enter into an American context as an American. I wanted them to actually go from an outside intellectual understanding of American culture, to fully standing inside of an American character in an American setting, while at the same time developing cognitive, linguistic, social, and cultural knowledge. I also wanted to expose them to appropriate audience behaviors for live performances, increase their poise, and stimulate their creative and empathetic powers.

Acting, as a creative outlet, is uniquely formulated for increasing risk-taking, and empathy. It requires both courage and the ability to understand human nature. Learning about a play's setting and culture, moving, speaking, and feeling, within a new character and context, for the purposes of communicating with others, is what the acting process is largely concerned with. This process has certain parallels with the tasks facing a second language learner in a new culture. ESL students must understand, learn about, and adapt to certain aspects of a new culture. In some ways they must develop a somewhat different way of "being" in the world. The actor and ESL student can never erase themselves (nor should they want to!), yet, they can call upon other, perhaps previously unknown or unexpressed aspects, to form another "vision" of themselves, to be used in specific contexts. Simply put, I developed this unit with the ambitious hope in mind, that within a three week period, the students could gain the experience of standing inside an American character, in an American context.

In order to reach the goal of standing inside a culture, language, and character, one must first observe, discuss, and think about the culture in question and its relationship to one's own culture, language, and self. (It is also important that one must be able to identify with the characters in question, and I chose Our Town because of the accessibility of the teenage leads, which worked very well with these high school students.) I couldn't cover all of these aspects thoroughly in a three week unit, but I did attempt to study the linguistic and cultural aspects of Our Town's depiction of

American culture, by encouraging the students to compare it with their own first cultures. It was also my hope that the students would internalize longer English sentences, intonations, rhythms, and pronunciation through memorizing and rehearsing their parts.

Finally, I wanted the students to be exposed to a quintessentially American literary and theatrical experience that is widely known (and loved) by many Americans, and indeed, by people the world over. When they read or saw the play, the Austrian and Yugoslavian people I spoke with hotly defended it against my assertions that it was saccharine and dated. They convinced me that it possessed universal appeal. Indeed, the play, *Our Town*, is both extremely specific and universal in its resonances. Its major themes of "Daily Life," "Love and Marriage," and "Death," (and corresponding acts), deal with universal human experiences, yet, the specific setting of the play (Grover's Corners, 1901–14) also lends the play to discussions of American culture, past and present, as well as to cultural comparisons. The play's combination of the micro and macrocosmic views of humanity promoted interesting "perspective taking" and comparisons of cultures and beliefs. The discussion of various cultures (not only American culture), languages, histories, and beliefs are vital and necessary in this ESL American History class, and for this, and the other previously mentioned reason(s), I chose the play *Our Town*.

THE UNIT

What follows is a description of the various activities (and their rationales) that were implemented in the unit. The order of the activities below is chronologically based and could be thought of in terms of "initiatory," "developmental," and "culminating" activities. The Appendix provides a list of the materials needed for implementing the unit.

Initiatory Activities

At the beginning of the unit I introduced myself to the class and explained the overall parameters of the unit. I also explained the title of each act ("Daily Life," "Love and Marriage" and what I called "Death"), the different staging used in the play (pantomime), and the triple-casting. It was important to explain the theatrical conventions being used in order for the students to be able to absorb the contextual and contextualized information. The stressing of the play's acts was also crucial for providing a schema into which the students could place their impressions of the play, and organize the new information they were absorbing. The titles of the acts also underscored very nicely the major themes and events to be found

in the play, and the class utilized them very easily. (They also provided common reference points during discussions about the play.)

Next, I showed portions of the videotaped play to the students, in chronological order. It was vital for them to view the videotaped version of the play before attempting to accomplish the activities and work on their scenes. In addition to all of the contextualized information, I knew that these inexperienced actors would be greatly benefitted by a scene "model." While viewing the videotape, it was critical to pause the video and discuss new vocabulary words, important concepts, cultural differences and similarities, character's personalities, emotions, and relationships, and the students' reactions to the occurrences in the play. All of these topics were discussed within the context of the students' shared experience of viewing the video together.

Each day that the class viewed a new portion of the video, I took care to review what had come before by questioning the students about what they remembered. I also highlighted the connection between the titles of the acts and the play's action (i.e., "Daily Life," "Love and Marriage," and "Death"). I introduced new or key vocabulary words before viewing new portions of the video and gave the students specific words, phrases, or bits of information to look for when watching the video. The introduction of items to look and listen for helped to focus the attention of the students, and it assisted in developing further their participation in the video and their existing play schema. I wrote down on the black board the new words and concepts that students questioned (in addition to those I had anticipated) and explained them carefully within the play's context.

It is important to note that the cultural themes and topics were not completely chosen by me, for the most part. More often than not, the students would ask questions, or want to know more about a particular concept, and then the discussion would take on a life of its own, with students sharing their knowledge of their own cultures, or their opinions concerning the topic in question. In general, the topics revolved around the major themes as expressed in the play, and were explored because of the interest displayed by the students. The cultural themes explored and compared were the following:

1. The depiction of rural life in America, in 1901.

2. Women's changing roles in American society.

3. The role of a "corner stone."

4. How people meet and fall in love.

5. Wedding ceremonies and superstitions.

6. The conflicting emotions surrounding a wedding.

7. Who decides who can marry whom.

8. Who is told about sex by whom.

9. Conceptions about life after death.

10. The role that ancestors play in different religions.

11. Different funeral practices and death related beliefs.

12. The idea that life is a tremendous gift that is rarely recognized.

13. The idea that there are links between the individual, and the universe or "mind of God," as expressed in the play.

The viewing and initial discussion of the videotape, including the above topics, occupied the first seven days of this 15 day unit.

Developmental Activities

After viewing and discussing the video, I grouped the class into heterogeneous groups of four or five people, by having the students count off in "threes." The students then discussed and wrote down what they remembered about each act, and with the more advanced students, what they thought was important. These group discussions of the three acts took up two days in the unit. I purposefully left the assignment rather general and vague in order to promote discussion, and to accommodate the varying levels of the students. The students went through each act and recorded their discussion, handing in the finished lists. I read the group work lists and then these were discussed as a class. I clarified basic misunderstandings concerning plot, characters, and vocabulary as expressed in the group lists. These group discussions of the three acts took up two days in the unit.

I had the students choose what they thought was the relevant content in each of the acts, for a group work assignment, because I wanted to empower the students to give them an opportunity to develop their social skills, and to improve their comprehension and higher cognitive processing of the play. Of course their writing, speaking, and listening skills were also developed through the use of this activity.

Following the discussion of the play, I assigned a take-home test concerning the vocabulary covered. I also explained the test, how they should work on it, and its due date. Students were told that they could help each other, seek tutoring, or use a dictionary. The content of the test

consisted of the following: highboy, troubles, universe, hired girl, organist, bride groom superstition, nervous breakdown, green half-grown kid, elections, nimcompoop, cemetery, graves, coffin, funeral, undertaker, mortuary, ancestors, blind, realize, ignorance, human beings, eternal, and suicide. The extra-credit question I added was "Why is the play called *Our Town?*"

The test was developed in order to incorporate more individual writing opportunities into the unit and to emphasize and review the vocabulary, phrases, and cultural knowledge garnered from viewing the videotape. I chose vocabulary words on the basis of their importance in the story, the students' interest in the words or concepts, and their relative lack of previous knowledge concerning the words. I hoped that the students would work on it in their own groups outside of class, and they did. This state of affairs also turned the "test" into a cooperative learning activity, which furthered their social skills, and their ability to ask for help. I also wanted the students to think about the extra-credit question, and to discuss it among themselves. This kind of discussion promoted problem-solving skills, creativity, and higher cognitive processing.

Culminating Activities

Finally, the students were ready to receive their assigned scenes and partners. I made these scene and partner assignments based upon students' language abilities, gender, and my judgment concerning who they would work well with, and what role they would feel the most comfortable playing. (The scenes were copied by me ahead of time, edited, and then passed out to the students.) The particular scenes that were taken from the play that the students performed were chosen for several reasons. The scenes had to be two-person scenes, short in length, with a certain number of male and female roles, and they had to promote a high-level of interest and engagement in the students. In general, the scenes in the play in which the youthful leads appeared, courted, and were then married, held the most interest for the students. I chose five scenes with Emily and George "hints on homework,"..."proposal," and one with Emily and Mrs. Webb, "Am I pretty?"

I explained what I was looking for when the students worked/rehearsed together, such as whether or not they stayed on task, helped and supported each other, came to class prepared, and how well they shared the responsibility for their work. I also explained the process by which they should work on their scenes. I did this because I knew that most of the students had had no experience working in a theatrical context, and that

they wouldn't know how to use the rehearsal time unless they were instructed in exactly how to proceed. I chose the steps/questions because they seemed the most essential for beginners to know and follow. I wrote four or five of these instructions on the board per day (four days total). I phrased these ideas as questions in the order given below. I went over these with the students giving examples from the play and from their own specific scenes. I acted out what I did and did not want and drew diagrams when necessary or appropriate I checked that they had done the previous day's steps through a show of hands and reviewed when necessary.

The rehearsal steps that I stressed were the following:

a. Read through your scene with your partner, before and after doing each one of these steps.

b. Underline your character's lines, so that it makes it easier for you to read and memorize them.

c. Make sure that you understand all of the words in your scene— what they mean and how to say them. (Ask your partner and then you can ask me.)

d. Make sure that you look at and listen to your partner (i.e., "connect").

e. Make sure you know why your character says something.

f. Make sure you know what your character is thinking. (What she/he says and what she/he thinks doesn't always go together. Act out an example of this by saying "I love you" as if you loathed someone.)

g. Talk with your partner about your "set" and where all of the furniture, houses, streets, and imaginary people are located. (Draw a diagram of a "set," which is a "bird's eye view" of the scene's physical layout.)

h. Talk with your partner and decide how, when, and where you will move, which is called "blocking."

i. Decide what small movements you are doing in the scene and when (i.e., stringing beans, throwing a ball, picking flowers, etc.). This is called "stage business."

j. Make sure you know what your character wants from the other character in the scene.(i.e., George wants Emily to tell him that she loves him, Emily wants her mother to tell her that she's pretty, etc.).

Concurrent with the above rehearsal process, I also explicitly explained what I was looking for in the performances (on an almost daily basis), and gave examples. The following points were the areas that I wished to evaluate: volume and pronunciation, student's knowledge of his/her lines and the scene, the character's "believability," the connection with the partner (how well he/she looks at, listens to, and reacts to the partner); the effort put into the scene, the creativity demonstrated, the physical movement and emotional expression, poise, and the overall impression given by the performance.

After laying a great deal of the above "groundwork" concerning my expectations and the procedures for the rehearsal process, I set the students to work on their scenes. I divided them up into different areas of the classroom and available outside areas. I went around to the different pairs of students answering questions, asking them the rehearsal procedure questions covered on the board that day, and made sure that they understood what to do, how to do it, why they were doing it, and that they were, in fact, doing what they were supposed to be doing. This was accomplished by watching their scenes and then questioning, encouraging, coaching, monitoring, and demonstrating. Four days of in-class rehearsal time was allotted to the students.

On the last day of the 15 day unit (one day was taken from this unit and spent planning the students' schedules), the students acted their scenes before their classmates, and a small, but appreciative audience of "in-house" ESL cooperating teachers, who were supervising me. (The sense of having a "fresh" audience is crucial for a good performance.) To prepare them for the performance day I explained to the students what they should do in terms of appropriate audience behaviors, and announced the order of their scene performances.

On the day of the performances, I watched the scenes and evaluated their work using an evaluation sheet that included the ten areas stressed in class as being the criteria for their performance grade. Each area was potentially worth 10 points (with a bonus question worth 5 points), and following each performance I quickly assigned a numerical value to each of the areas.

Evaluation

At the conclusion of the performances, the class discussed the stagings in terms of what they liked, believed, enjoyed watching, etc. I led this discussion and also queried them in terms of what they had learned, what

they had enjoyed the most, and whether or not they would be interested in doing something like this again at a later date.

I also handed out an evaluation sheet for them to fill out concerning what they did and did not like about the unit. The evaluation sheet was given to the students because I wanted to know, quite frankly, what they thought about the *Our Town* play unit, acting out the scenes, watching the video, the take-home test, etc. I phrased the questions in a simple, yet open-ended way in order to allow the students to write whatever they might have wished to express. I also wanted the students to reflect upon their experiences, what they had learned, and to give them the opportunity to write down their thoughts. It was also my hope that they would feel somewhat empowered by the fact that a teacher was asking them what they thought. After congratulating them on their performances, I attempted to create some sense of closure for the unit and the discussion by bidding farewell and expressing my gratitude for all of their efforts.

A final and cumulative evaluation of the students' work was the next step in this unit's process. The students' final grade was an averaging of four major grades that included their attendance and class participation, the take-home test, their performances, and their partner and group work.

I kept track of their attendance and class participation on a daily basis, giving them letter grades for each day that they attended class. Student engagement and participation in the classroom was one quarter of their grade, and I made sure that they knew this, because I thought that it might be a new concept to some of the students. I also took into account the number of "tardies" that the students had as a part of this section. Two or more unexcused "tardies" negatively affected this portion of their grade. This portion of the grade was intended to evaluate the students' progress in terms of oral development, social skills, and cultural knowledge.

The take-home test was one quarter of their grade and it was graded on a flexible curve, to allow for the widely ranging language levels. Extra credit was offered for them to raise their grade, risk free. This portion of the student evaluation was intended to develop/rate the students' learning of vocabulary, writing, cultural understanding, and comprehension of the play's major themes.

The performances were graded on a straight point system, with 90–100 points being an "A," etc. The performances aimed at assessing their oral language development, cognitive ability to understand and step into an American character in an American context (I was liberal in this area); their ability to communicate to an audience on a number of different

levels; their ability to memorize and internalize new words and sentences in a lifelike manner and context; and the ability to empathize with others from a different culture. More concretely, there were ten questions posed concerning the scene and the ideas we had worked on in class; each question was worth 10 points with an extra-credit question being worth an additional 5 points.

The students' pair and group work in their scene rehearsals and group discussions of the play's acts, was graded on the basis of my observations of their behavior during class. I paid a great deal of attention to this aspect of their assessment, and though it was a totally subjective on my part, I feel that by and large, my decisions were fair. I kept a journal of observations for this unit, and I wrote in it on a daily basis concerning my impressions of the students' cooperative learning group work. I took into consideration the students' behavior in their groups when determining their class participation grades. I decided to incorporate group work grades into the unit in order to hold students accountable for their actions and behaviors in more self-directed activities. This section of their grade was a strong reflection of their growth in the area of social skills.

WAS IT WORTH IT?

Following the unit, a process of reflection revealed the relative merits of the unit, as well as some methods by which to improve it. One of the major merits of the unit was that for the most part, the lessons worked quite successfully. The viewing of the video was very fruitful in terms of engaging the students, and it provided a great deal of linguistic, cultural, and theatrical/play knowledge for working on the scenes and understanding/exploring different cultures. Pausing, rewinding, and reviewing the video to discuss questions and themes as they came up was very helpful. Introducing vocabulary and concepts in a more visual and concrete, contextualized setting also worked well. Happily, the students enjoyed this kind of activity, and it was not threatening to them. As a matter of fact, the whole process of working through the video as a class, and encouraging their expert input, and questions contributed greatly to bringing a number of the female students (especially) out of their silence. I also encouraged this by picking up on their whispered comments to each other, praising them, and then exhorting the class to listen to their insights. The discussion of the video really "opened them up."

The group work assignment worked very well. The students liked working together discussing and arguing their ideas concerning the play.

It improved their listening and comprehension, as well as their speaking, writing, cognitive, and social skills. For example, one Japanese student was grouped with all Vietnamese students, and when several of the Vietnamese students realized his lack of comprehension, they then took more care to use English so as not to exclude him. These students generally are immune to exhortations by me to use English so as not to exclude others, but showed more sensitivity during this activity.

The choice of scenes and partners worked nicely for the most part. The matching of language levels and characters with students' personalities was quite successful. I was also pleasantly surprised that most of them memorized their lines. I knew they were capable of it, but I feared that they might tell themselves that they couldn't accomplish it, or that I was expecting too much. It was satisfying to see the students bring that kind of commitment to their work, and that the memorization of their parts freed them emotionally and physically, gave them greater confidence, and contributed to a deeper understanding of the language, the characters, and the situation.

The outlining of the rehearsal process and the steps involved worked very well, because I refrained from overwhelming them immediately with a great many directions, but instead introduced ideas gradually. Explaining things simply, concretely, and with examples from the play contributed to their comfort level and comprehension.

The performances were a very enjoyable experience for the most part, both for me and the students. The students were naturally nervous, and yet, I thought that they did some remarkable work. It was important, I found, to be positive and supportive, and this approach struck the right note, even when things didn't go smoothly in a few of the scenes. Being encouraging, and allowing them to begin again when necessary, sent a calming message.

Concerning the discussion of their scenes following the performances, the students seemed reluctant initially to make any comments, but with a little prodding, modeling, and direct questioning, they began to give feedback to each other that was constructive and perceptive. I thought it was important for them to praise and to recognize each others' work, and the students' really liked to hear the praise.

Overall, the evaluation sheets that I received from the students were interesting, helpful, and generally very supportive of the unit. The framing of the questions helped the students to structure their responses, and I felt that they offered some excellent insights.

Having discussed the successful aspects of the unit, it is appropriate to consider the means by which the unit could be improved. The addition of one week to the unit would eliminate the "rushed" feeling I felt throughout the entire three weeks. I am also sure that the students would have appreciated having a few more days to rehearse their scenes.

An additional method by which the unit could be improved would be by videotaping the students' performances and then showing them to the class. It would be a great learning activity for the students to see themselves and their work. It would also be that much more motivating (and empowering) for the students to know that their work would be recorded for posterity, and that they would be their own judges. Such an activity would place them in the evaluator's seat, which by itself, would be an excellent and enlightening opportunity for growth.

Finally, I would have the students reflect upon and evaluate their own work in the unit, as well as their scene partner's effort. The scene partner evaluation would help to insure that the students do not neglect their responsibilities to their partner and the scene. The more self-evaluating (and partner-evaluating) the students would do, the more they would sense the need to know themselves, and to take responsibility for their learning and behavior. I think that this kind of reflection would also develop an "internal quality control device," which could help to guide them in their adult lives. In short, I think that this kind of self-evaluation could help to develop meta-cognitive learning and successful life strategies.

I have found drama to be very effective in the ESL classroom for integrating a myriad of linguistic, cultural, social, and cognitive aims. The students are engaged by good literature and especially by the challenges presented by the dramatic arts, which require so much personal commitment, maturity, and courage. Good dramas also deal with essential issues that are universal to most, if not all, cultures. They provide ample ground for discussion, debate, and connective links between one's first culture and self, and the second culture and self. Drama can allow a student to experiment with a new identity and language in a controlled, predictable, and contextualized setting, which is paradoxically perceived as safe and unsafe. The safety of the setting allows the students to take risks with the language and their traditional way of "being" in the world, and the risk of the performance provides them with the impetus to do their very best work. A student's best is what dedicated teachers always expect, and the implementation of drama as curriculum in the ESL classroom I have found to be a very exciting and enjoyable means of eliciting excellence.

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APPENDIX

Materials

    A. Videotapes:

        Wilder, Thornton. *Our Town*, video-recording. New York: Mastervision, Inc. Mastervision Arts Series, VHS, 120 minutes, one-half inch. (I checked out this video from the Minneapolis Public Library.)

    B. Plays:

        Wilder, Thornton. *Our Town*. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

    C. Audio-visual Equipment:

        1. VCR

        2. Television

    D. Copies:

        1. Scenes

        2. Take-home Tests

        3. Performance Evaluation Sheets

        4. Drama Unit Evaluation Sheets

    E. Furniture:

        1. Two plain chairs

        2 Two classroom desks

A Literature Course for the ESL Classroom

JEFF PARTRIDGE
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Literature provides a powerful stimulus for discovery and language acquisition in the ESL classroom. Although literature is not widely used in ESL programs today, the fact remains that there are numerous benefits that a literature course can offer ESL students. After an overview of these benefits, this paper presents a literature course methodology that has been implemented successfully. The goal of this paper is to provide teachers with a purpose and a method in teaching literature to ESL students.

L iterature, which was once an important part of language study (Widdowson, 1982), is often given a minor role or is neglected altogether in the curricula of today's ESL programs (Gajdusek, 1988; Spack, 1985). And while many educators have begun to see the "academic, intellectual, cultural, and linguistic benefits of the study of literature" (Spack, 1985, p. 703), a great number of ESL teachers and administrators are reluctant to take up the task. Spack (1985) implies that ESL teachers, many of whom are not trained in literature, may feel threatened by the subject of literature. In addition, Spack maintains that ESL teachers who teach engineering and science students may feel that literature is not appropriate for their students. Gajdusek (1988) suggests that many ESL teachers feel literature is too difficult for ESL students. Another barrier to the adoption of literature into ESL curricula may be that teachers and administrators (and students!) believe literature to be impractical and unrelated to the day-to-day skills that an international visitor or immigrant requires.

As many educators and researchers have attested, however, there are numerous benefits to teaching literature to ESL students, even in cases

where students' fields are not related to the humanities. Contrary to many presuppositions, literature is not too difficult for ESL students; in fact, Povey (1967) claims that we have "exaggerated the significance of the element of linguistic difficulty in ESL reading by assuming that reading requires...total comprehension" (p. 43). Literature, therefore, can act as an effective stimulus and motivator, stretching students beyond their perceived limits. After providing an overview of the benefits of teaching literature to ESL students, this article presents a successful classroom methodology for implementing literature, which does not demand that the teacher be a literary scholar.

THE BENEFITS OF LITERATURE

By interacting with literature, students exercise their learning and thinking ability in English, perhaps more so than in a vocabulary class or a reading class that utilizes nonfiction prose or specialized ESL material (Spack, 1985). Povey (1967) states that "literature will increase all language skills because literature will extend linguistic knowledge by giving evidence of extensive and subtle vocabulary usage, and complex and exact syntax" (pp. 41–42).

Furthermore, the study of literature is a highly interactive, communicative process that involves the imagination, experience, and critical thinking ability of the reader. According to Gajdusek (1988), "it is more emphatically true of literature than of other written texts that the primary purpose is not just to convey information, but to involve the reader in direct experience" (p. 229). Thus, the effect of literature upon a student is interactive. Students develop an interactive relationship with the language they are learning (Gajdusek, 1988), a relationship that involves personal experience and previously acquired knowledge, i.e., schemata (Gajdusek, 1988), and critical thinking skills (Oster, 1985; Spack, 1985; Widdowson, 1983). The students must not only comprehend the immediate meaning of the language, but they must also analyze their own feelings and experience, and wrestle with the author's purpose in using the words he or she has so carefully chosen. Literature requires students to "look beneath the surface of words to determine from a variety of complex clues the insights the author wishes to share" (Spack, 1985, p. 710). Literature presents a kind of puzzle—a challenging puzzle for native and non-native speakers alike—and by solving such a puzzle in the classroom, the students make great strides in their acquisition of the English language.

Numerous researchers have documented the cultural value of studying literature in the ESL classroom (e.g., Adeyanju, 1978; Gajdusek, 1988; Harris & Harris, 1967a, 1967b; Marckwardt, 1978; McGroarty & Galvan, 1985; McLeod, 1976; Povey, 1967; Scott, 1965; Spack, 1985). If literature is chosen from the target culture, ESL students have the opportunity to learn about the customs, beliefs, thought-patterns, and attitudes of the target culture. Further, because most literature involves questions regarding the human condition, literature can open avenues of cross-cultural communication and understanding (Marckwardt, 1978) and provide familiar ground for students who may find everything around them—even reading material in ESL classes—foreign (Povey, 1967).

Finally, literature is valuable in the acquisition of a second language because it is interesting and enjoyable. Students will make great progress in their language ability because they become emotionally and intellectually engaged in the reading material (Krashen, 1984; Spack, 1985). A literature class is to learning what a game of soccer is to exercise. When we play a sport like soccer, we push our bodies beyond what we perceive to be their normal limit because we are having fun and are concentrating on the competition. If we were to sit on a stationary bicycle, we may get a decent workout, but we would not likely push ourselves beyond our perceived limit simply because the task does not take our mind off the exercise itself.

THE JOURNAL METHOD

Students need a place to figure out the puzzle that each piece of literature presents. The classroom is a good place for this, but to rely solely on instruction, lectures, and discussion limits the amount of growth each student can achieve. Spack (1985) asserts that when the teacher provides too much information, he or she jeopardizes the student's enjoyment of reading a great piece of literature. Moreover, such methods as lecturing can actually reduce the amount of interaction that the student enjoys with the text. This approach will not fully exercise the student's critical thinking skills and developing language skills.

One outstanding place in which students can interact with literature in conjunction with the classroom is in a journal. The journal challenges students to write out their thoughts on paper, and this increases their understanding of the piece of literature and the language. Writing about literature causes them to interact with the suggestions and meanings contained within the text. Many researchers have attested to the effec-

tiveness of writing about literature in order to better understand the text and to improve language ability (see e.g., Gajdusek, 1988; Petrosky, 1982; Rubinstein, 1967; Spack, 1985).

The journal does not replace classroom work but increases its effectiveness. If the students have already wrestled with some of the story's ideas before class begins, they will be in a much stronger position to discuss the story, and their understanding of class lecture, discussion, or group work will be enhanced. The journal also provides a place for the students to take notes, record new vocabulary, and write out important ideas, phrases, and sentences. Finally, the journal allows the instructor a glimpse into each student's thought processes. For these reasons, the literature journal is presented in this paper as the core of the ESL literature class.

In the three classes (approximately 15 students in each) where this methodology was used, the journal idea was enthusiastically received by about ninety percent of the students. In four subsequent classes taught by two different teachers, this methodology was implemented and received favorably. The teachers who used this methodology discovered that the journals became a symbol of accomplishment and a source of pride for their students. Although they were asked to write one or two pages for each entry, many of them wrote three or four. One student even copied the stories by hand into her journal so that she could learn them better.

Text

The text for this class will depend on the English skills of the students and the preferences of the instructor. An anthology of short stories is recommended because it exposes students to a variety of authors and styles in a short period of time. According to Spack (1985), "it is easier for students to read when they have less to read and easier for them to write when the work is short enough for them to absorb and study closely" (p. 710). (However, it is possible to use novels, novellas or poetry.) For literary anthologies created for ESL students see , for example, McKay and Petitt (1984), Mullen (1984a), and Povey (1984).

Materials

Folders

Encourage the students to keep their journals in a folder or in a three-ring binder. They will need to turn in the completed papers, while continuing to write new entries in their journals. (See Appendix for a sample syllabus.)

Dictionaries

Students should bring a dictionary to every class. If they are advanced, they should use English/English dictionaries. Even beginning students should get into the habit of using English/English dictionaries in conjunction with their native language/English ones.

Steps

Pre-reading work

Although providing too much information before reading can taint the experience of reading a great piece of literature (Spack, 1985), it is still necessary to provide some information. Rather than beginning with a lecture, it is recommended to involve the students in vocabulary work and write-before-you-read work (Spack, 1985).

Vocabulary. Gajdusek (1988) specifies three types of vocabulary: (a) words that students should understand from context; (b) words that "contain vital clues to the cultural and emotional context of the story"; and (c) words that "proficient readers merely categorize" (p. 235). It is the middle category ("b") that teachers should be concerned with at this point. Teachers can choose several important words or phrases and prepare some vocabulary exercises. Also, cultural words can be discussed in the context of other cultures (this too can be done in the journal). It is important to remember that the purpose of this work is to prepare the students to read the story (Gajdusek, 1988).

Write-before-you-read. Spack (1985) has discovered that involving students in the ideas of a story through the process of writing before they actually read the story greatly improves their reading comprehension. In such exercises students use their own background to explore an idea or event from the story they will read (Spack, 1985). This causes the students to activate their emotions and experience before they read about how an author confronted such ideas, issues, or questions. It is recommended that the teacher give the students a question or statement to respond to rather than simply asking them to write.

First and Second Readings

Teachers should have the students read the story through the first time without looking up too many words. Then, they should go through the story again, this time choosing and looking up what they deem to be important new words.

Vocabulary. One portion of the journal is devoted to "important" new

words. Teachers can tell the students that they must learn to distinguish between words that are essential and words that are less important (category "c" from Gajdusek's model above). They do not need to understand every word in order to understand the overall meaning. This is one of the hardest facts to communicate, especially to those students whose educational background has encouraged meticulous, painstaking analysis. Yet by reviewing the most important words with the students after this exercise and checking their vocabulary words when reading their journals, teachers can help students to improve in this area.

After the students have compiled a list of important vocabulary words, they should be insructed to to put an asterisk next to the words they wish to learn. If time permits, students can do an exercise with the vocabulary they have chosen. For example, they could write a story, a poem, or a letter in which they use some of these words.

First Entry

This writing exercise should involve the students' initial reaction to the story. They do not need to address the meaning of the story at this point. This entry can be about the student's feelings regarding the story, a comparison between two characters, a description of one character, and so forth. Whether this is done at home or in class depends on the teacher's wishes and the students' ability- evels. It may be helpful to supply some questions or ideas for them to write about.

Discussion/Instruction. The teacher should then lead the class in a discussion of the story. At times it may be necessary to give a short lecture on some difficult or culture-bound aspects of a story. However, the teacher should always act as a facilitator. Lectures can help students prepare for college-type courses, but they are not necessary in a literature class. For advanced ESL students, some instruction on literary technique, style, and terminology may be given if teachers are comfortable presenting these topics.

Note-taking. The students should take notes in their journals during the discussion. For those who are in college or who plan to go to college, this will be a good opportunity to develop note-taking skills. Teachers may may decide to give them an outline, or simply have them copy down the ideas written on the board and some interesting concepts that are introduced in the discussion.

Second Entry

This writing exercise involves the students' response to the story *after* one or two class periods of discussion and instruction. Teachers should tell them that more in-depth writing is expected at this point. Teachers can suggest topics, but it is important that students understand that they can write about any aspect of the story. This exercise will work best as homework. Teachers may wish to set a guideline of, for example, two to three pages, but it is important to encourage students to write as much as they would like.

Further Discussion

Before returning their journal entries, teachers should read bits and pieces to the class. This provides encouragement for those who have done well, ideas for those who still don't understand the journal concept, and a chance to close discussion on a piece of literature using the students' ideas. This is a chance to tell them, "See, you understood more than you thought."

ASSESSMENT:

Assessing the journals is not a lot of work. The students generally rise to the occasion and do an excellent job. Most of what you write will be comments of interest and praise in the margin, and perhaps a sentence concerning your overall impression at the end. If a student is not delving into the material deeply enough, teachers can ask questions to point him or her in the right direction. If the student's writing suggests misunderstanding of concepts, the teachers can explain. It is critical that teachers not always agree with the students—especially if they have missed the point. Students want instruction as much as they want to express their own ideas. Only the grammar mistakes that distort meaning should be corrected. Students need to be reminded that the journal is not a term paper—it is a place to explore. The classroom atmosphere that the teacher creates is vital to the success of this approach.

CONCLUSION

The use of literature in the ESL classroom is an exciting way to explore the English language. As students interact with the ideas of artists who choose their words with ardor and precision, they grow not only in their language skills, but also in their ability to think critically. By writing about literature, students have a record of their growth both in terms of critical thinking skills and language development. It is this author's hope that the

methodology presented here will enable more ESL teachers to make use of literature in the classroom both as a tool for language acquisition and as an opportunity to instill in students an appreciation for the beauty and strength of the English language.

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APPENDIX

LITERATURE SYLLABUS

In this class, you will read short stories written by a variety of authors. The stories are not simplified for ESL purposes, so do not expect them to be easy. The vocabulary will be particularly challenging. Thus, I expect you to bring an English/English dictionary to class. You will compile a list of vocabulary from each story.

The first time you read a story, you will make a list of vocabulary in your journal. After you read the story again, you will write your first journal entry. This will be your initial response to the story. Then we will discuss the story as a class. Finally, you will write your second journal entry on the story. Use your journal also as a place to take notes, record interesting sentences and passages, ask questions, and complete any extra exercises that I assign.

Journals:

1. Your journal will be your written response to the stories.

2. You will be graded on content and effort primarily, but I do expect you to be able to communicate well in writing.

3. Write your journal entries on paper that you can hand in to me while you continue to write new entries.

4. Feel free to write whatever you want about each story—but do make sure that what you write pertains to the story.

5. Here are some ideas:
   - You can write about how you feel.
   - You can write about what you learned.
   - You can compare the story to your own life and experience.
   - You can compare the story to another story.
   - You can analyze the story.
   - You can write what you think the story means.

I will grade you on the effort you put into your journal, the quality of your journal, your participation in class, and your ability to read.

I hope you find this class both challenging and rewarding. I look forward to discussing the stories with you.

Children of Abya-Yala:* EFL Students Consider the Quincentennial of Columbus' Arrival

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Many educators are using the quincentennial of Columbus' arrival in Abya-yala (the Americas) to focus attention on social and cultural issues and reevaluate the historical aftermath of 1492. Students in an Ecuadorian EFL class were asked to choose topics related to the quincentennial to develop as individual or small group projects. Surveys were conducted on the chosen topic, interviews were made with native speakers of English, and library research was completed. In addition, class time was spent on reading articles and listening to music focusing on Columbus. Finally, Columbus was put on trial in a dramatic role-play. While the Quincentennial is almost over, this paper presents a model for a long-term class project involving a variety of language skills.

Nineteen ninety-two has arrived, and while many official celebrations of Columbus' "discovery" have taken place in Spain, the U.S., and elsewhere, the indigenous people of Abya-yala (the Americas) continue their 500-year struggle for life and justice. On Saturday, April 11, 2,000 natives of the Ecuadorian Amazon region began a walk from Puyo, at the edge of the rainforest, to Quito, the capital of Ecuador, 268 kilometers away. They marched under banners proclaiming in Quichua, "For the Earth, For Life, We Rise Up." As they walked, they received tremendous

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* "The Fruitful Place" in the language of the Cuna people of Panama. Abya-yala has come into use as the name for the Americas among many peoples of Latin America.

public support, especially from the indigenous communities in the provinces of the sierra. They were coming to Quito to talk to the President, to demand that they be given control of their traditional territories which are currently being invaded by colonists whose land-use policies are leading to widespread erosion, oil companies who are polluting the air, ground and water, and "ethnotourists" who arrive by the hundreds to snap photos of the "savages" of the jungle. But this march was not merely to regain native rights to land and life. As march organizers put it: "We are defending the last uncontaminated area of tropical rainforest that remains in Ecuador, part of the greater Amazon region, lungs of the world, and patrimony of every living thing on the planet (Una Semana de Marcha, 1991, p. 7B).

Few people in Latin America view the Quincentennial with ambivalence. For this reason I felt that the "500 years" would be an ideal theme for my EFL classes studying in Quito, Ecuador. Students were asked to address the issues surrounding the Quincentennial in a number of ways. First, individually and in small groups, students chose topics that addressed Ecuador's particular situation in the light of 500 years of contact with Europe. They conducted an extensive survey of Ecuadorians and an in-depth interview with a native speaker of English, focusing in each case on their topic. These student projects were concluded with oral reports, with visuals and outlines that were presented to the entire class. While students worked on their topics outside of class, readings and a song were used in class to focus on the meaning of the Quincentennial. Finally, a trial was prepared and conducted wherein Columbus, and to a lesser extent his followers, were prosecuted for their actions in the "new world."

INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS

In the second week of classes, students were asked to hand-in a short paragraph describing a topic they wanted to explore that would deal in some way with Ecuador and the Quincentennial. Their topics included:

- Incan contributions to modern Ecuador
- racism in Ecuador
- traditional medicine in Ecuador
- the problem of working children
- oil exploration in the Amazon
- traditional food vs. imported fast food

Once the topics were approved, students were asked to conduct a survey of at least 20 persons, which would help them gain more insight into how

their fellow citizens felt about the topics. To prepare for this survey, we practiced creating yes-no questions in class, and students conducted their surveys with each others. As a follow-up to the survey, students were asked to prepare a table of results and to analyze the results in one or two paragraphs.

Next, each student was asked to conduct a one-half hour interview on their chosen topic with a native speaker of English. A number of native speakers of English were recruited from the local community, and each student was asked to telephone one of them to set up the interview. Before the interviews, we reviewed in class ways in which to elicit longer responses from the interviewees, such as asking questions about their lives in their native countries, social conditions there, etc., before asking specific, on-topic questions. Whenever possible these interviews were audiotaped, with students providing a short summary of the interview and mentioning any surprises or particular difficulties that they encountered. Using the information gathered in surveys and in-depth interviews, students prepared an oral report that would last approximately five minutes. These reports, accompanied by outlines and visual aids such as photographs, slides, and graphs, were presented in the last few days of class.

QUINCENTENNIAL MATERIALS: READINGS AND SONGS

Due to the perceived importance of the Quincentennial, many materials have been published in the last several months that can be readily adapted to the second language classroom. In our class we made use of two articles that appeared in a special issue of *Newsweek* entitled "I Won't Be Celebrating Columbus Day," (Harjo, 1991), and "Stop Knocking Columbus" (Sokolov, 1991). These articles are short, well-written, rich in vocabulary and idioms, and present views on the Columbus celebration that are diametrically opposed. Students were asked to read the articles at home and, paragraph by paragraph, make short summaries and add questions, comments, or criticisms. This exercise led to a more critical reading of the articles, and many inconsistencies in the writers' arguments were pointed out by the students. In class, we went over any difficult vocabulary or idiomatic expressions, trying to get meaning from the context. We also listed on the board the main arguments of each of the authors. Some of these arguments would be used later when we conducted the "trial" of Columbus and when students answered this essay question for the final exam: "If you had been Christopher Columbus, what would you have done differently?"

To focus on the meaning of "America," we did a cloze exercise with *America*, the song by Simon and Garfunkel (see Appendix A). Following this exercise, students were asked to decide what the narrator in the song was really looking for in America: friendships, love, meaning of life, or what? Students were also asked to decide what was special about the Americas and the people of the Americas. Following this discussion, students were provided with maps and, in small groups, decided on where they would travel in the Americas if they had six months and an unlimited budget.

THE TRIAL

In a country such as Ecuador, where the vast majority of the people are either indigenous or mestizo, any discussion of Columbus and the legacy of European involvement in Abya-yala can become emotional and problematic in a second-language classroom, especially one in which the majority of students are lighter-skinned and wealthy. Therefore, in order to achieve some psychological distance from the events, I decided to role play the trial of Columbus: Students took the roles of individuals involved directly in Columbus' adventure and its aftermath.

To prepare for the trial, students chose the parts of Columbus, his defenders, and his prosecutors (see Appendix B). The defense team and the prosecution team, each consisting of two or three attorneys and several witnesses, met separately to prepare their testimony, search for evidence, and think of questions for the witnesses of the other team. This preparation took place the day before the trial and lasted about 20–30 minutes. Each team went home to gather evidence (much of it fabricated) and appropriate props.

On the trial date students were briefly taught some important expressions, such as "I object!" The trial was then held, with the teacher as judge, and when possible, a small group of native speakers of English as the jury. The trial of Columbus tended to last approximately one hour and forty-five minutes, and, for each class, Columbus was found guilty of "irresponsibility" and sentenced to a long term of community service.

EVALUATION OF PROJECT AND SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

One of the goals of the "500 years" project was to get my students to address aspects of the Quincentennial that are not always addressed in public forums. This goal was achieved through student projects, class discussion of reading and listening materials, and the role-play trial of Columbus. The students conducted some very interesting projects that

were particularly relevant to the legacy of the Spanish conquest. The three students who addressed the issue of racism, for example, found that despite laws guaranteeing equality of opportunity and education, may people still consider the indigenous people of Ecuador as "dirty" and "inferior." The process of surveys and interviews was good for getting students to consider different points of view. In a few cases, students and their English-speaking interviewees agreed to stay in touch for regular exchange of language and ideas. One difficulty with the projects is that not all students wanted to address the theme of Ecuador and the Quincentennial. One student, for example, did his project on race cars. Nevertheless, for time-consuming projects such as these were, I decided to allow students to go with their preferred topics.

The trial of Columbus was an excellent opportunity to cover all sides of the "500 years" controversy. Students demonstrated great creativity in their arguments as well as in their props. While the prosecution claimed that Columbus had, among other crimes, stolen money from Queen Isabella, the defense emphasized the scientific nature of the man and his voyages.

It would have been ideal to spend more class time with reading, listening assignments, and discussions on the theme of the Quincentennial. However, this was only one of several themes addressed during the ten-week quarter, and less than ten hours of class time was devoted to it. An entire quarter could be spent on a theme of such relevance, incorporating films, guest speakers, and field trips. In the United States, where many excellent films and speakers could be found, this would be more feasible. For example, teachers could focus on the lives and struggles of Native Americans in the geographical area of their schools.

Our "new world" has another history that often goes unreported, and this EFL class project was one attempt to bring this history into focus, a history that the peoples of our continents can little afford to ignore. Despite our European, African, and Asian roots, we are all children of Abya-yala, and for our survival and the survival of our planet we need to learn from the wisdom of those who have been the custodians of this beautiful land for millennia.

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Editors' Note:

Hones' article, although geared for an EFL setting and although focused on the 1992 Quincentennial, is valuable for all educators in that it serves as a model for implementing participatory practices in the classroom. For those readers who are interested in learning more about critical, participatory pedagogy, particularly with respect to second language contexts, we suggest the following sources:

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APPENDIX A

America
Simon & Garfunkel

Let us be lovers we'll _____ our fortunes together

I've got some _____ _____ here in my bag

so we got a _____ of cigarettes and Mrs. Wagner pics

and _____ _____ to look for America

"Kathy" I said as we_____ the Greyhound for Pittsburgh

"Michigan seems like a _____ to me now

It took me four days to _____ from Saginaw"

_____ _____ to look for America

_____ on the bus, playing games with the _____

She said the man in the gabardine suit was a _____

I said " _____ _____ his bow tie is really a camera"

_____ _____ a cigarette I think there's one in my _____

_____

We _____ the last one an hour ago

So I looked at the _____

She read her magazine

And the moon _____ _____ an open field

Kathy, I'm lost, I said though I knew she was _____

I'm _____ and _____ and I don't know why

Counted the cars on the New Jersey turnpike

_____ _____ _____ to look for America.

Group Questions:

1. What are the people in this song really looking for? Love? Friendship? Excitement? Explain your answer.

2. How is *America* (abya-yala—North, South, and Central America) different from Europe, Asia, etc.? What are the things that make America a special place? What is special about the people here?

APPENDIX B

THE TRIAL...500 YEARS LATER. *PEOPLE v. COLUMBUS*

The Defendant
Christopher Columbus. He is charged with trespassing, kidnapping, and various other crimes. Should he be convicted, he could face up to 20 years of hard labor in the mines at Potosi.

The Judge
The judge wants to get the trial over with. S/he won't let the lawyers talk too much. ("Get to the point" is a favorite phrase.)

Defense Attorneys 1, 2, and 3
You will try to prove that Columbus is innocent of these charges. In fact, you will try to prove that Columbus' influence on America was very positive.

Defense Witness 1
King/Queen of Spain. You will talk about Columbus' contributions to Spanish culture, the Spanish state, etc.

Defense Witness 2
Columbus' brother. You will talk about Columbus' good character and his good behavior on the voyages to the new world.

Defense Witness 3
Surprise Witness.

Prosecuting Attorneys 1, 2, and 3
You will try to prove that Columbus is guilty of the above-mentioned charges as well as other charges you may wish to bring (genocide, robbery, etc.)

Prosecuting Witness 1
Bartolomeu de Las Casas. You will highlight the violence committed by Columbus and his followers against the indigenous population of the Americas.

Prosecuting Witness 2
Indigenous Leader (Ruminahui?). You will give evidence about the bad character and bad behavior of Columbus' followers, the conquistadors.

Prosecution Witness 3
Surprise Witness.

Prosecution and Defense Teams:
1. Prepare your cases for Thursday. Gather evidence (photos, documents, testimony, etc.) that helps to support your case.
2. Prepare you witnesses. Make sure that their stories support your case and that they are ready for questions from the opposition.
3. During the trial, you will have the opportunity to cross-examine the witnesses of the other team. Plan what questions you would like to ask in order to support your case.

Developing Oral Communication Skills Through Cassette Journals

JANE PETRING

Teachers have had a lot of success with written dialogue journals to improve writing proficiency and increase communication between the student and teacher. Cassette journals transfer these same qualities to the oral/aural medium by allowing students and teachers to maintain a conversation on an audio cassette tape. This method, which can be used with any age level, provides a useful alternative to written homework and serves as an excellent example of authentic assessment.

Many teachers use dialogue journals to help students develop writing fluency. In these journals, the teacher and the student maintain a written dialogue through letters to each other. These differ from a more traditional journal because the teacher is an active participant in the writing. The teacher does not make corrections (except through modelling proper usage), and both the student and the teacher have the opportunity to get to know each other on a more personal level. Students are encouraged to write freely, striving to develop fluency through written communication without being hindered by grammatical structures, and the teacher responds to the content of the letter rather than the form (Fulwiler, 1987).

Dialogue journals allow students of any age or proficiency level to practice writing in a natural and unthreatening format (Peyton, 1990). Children who have not even mastered the alphabet can begin their journal with pictures (the teacher responding with pictures and a few labels); as their writing develops, their illustrations and labels evolve into written descriptions. Older students may discuss their family, share

hobbies, interests, favorite books, and movies with the teacher. Adult or university students may exchange sophisticated discussions concerning government, political issues, or cross-cultural questions about life in America. The important point to remember is that each journal takes off on its own direction as each dialogue between student and teacher evolves.

In an effort to extend the benefits of the dialogue journal to develop listening skills and oral proficiency, I decided to try the same format with a different medium—the audio cassette. My students (K–6) had been keeping written dialogue journals for a few months already and were accustomed to the informal written exchange. Shortly after the winter holiday (early January), I introduced the cassette journal. I explained to the students that this would give them a chance to talk with me about some of the things they liked to do, and it would also give us a chance to hear how much their spoken English was improving over the course of the year.

Teachers tend to be cautious about embarking on a project that requires an unrealistic amount of outside preparation time. Before starting the cassette journals, I had visions of being held trapped in my room evenings and weekends, listening to my students' tapes. To make the assignment manageable for both teacher and student, I established four guidelines:

1. Each entry should begin with the date.
2. Students should not talk for more than 5 minutes.
3. Previous entries should not be erased.
4. The tape should be rewound to the beginning of the last entry.

In the first entry to a student I would say something like this:

> Good Morning Cheng, this is Ms. Petring. Today is Monday, October 5, 1992. What I am starting with you is called a cassette journal. It is like the dialogue journal that we have been writing back and forth to each other but instead of writing, we will talk to each other on this cassette tape. Every time you talk I want you to start off by telling me the date, and when you finish talking please rewind the tape to the point where you started talking. If you don't like what you have said, you can record over it but once you hand in the tape to me you should not erase my voice or any of the earlier entries on your tape. You don't need to talk for a long

time, and you shouldn't talk for more than five minutes. O.K.? I'm looking forward to having a nice long conversation with you this year!

After this, I start into whatever topic I'd like to talk about on this entry, for example:

Cheng, I saw you outside with your gym class and I noticed that you are a really good runner. Do you like sports? Do you like to play soccer or baseball or basketball or some other sport? Do you play games like this with your brothers and sisters sometimes? I don't play games with teams very often but I do like to ride my bike. Almost every weekend I go for a long bike ride with my children—we like to ride around the lakes and parks. Do you have a bike; do you like to ride bikes too?

Well, that's all I'm going to say for now. I hope you'll tell me about some of the sports and games you like to do outside. If you want to know something about me, you can ask me questions too. I'll talk to you later!

I bring up topics that will help me know and understand my students better: their family, favorite foods, books, movies, games, etc., what they did/will do over the weekend/vacation, how they liked their class field trip, holidays in their country, what their school was like in their home country, etc. I encourage, and sometimes require, students to include a question for me in their response to assure that the conversation is not one-sided. In responding to the students, I try to concentrate on the content of the student's message rather than detailing the grammatical or phonetic errors the student made. I want the students to develop oral fluency and confidence in speaking, motivated by interest and not stifled by the fear of not speaking correctly. The students do want to know about their errors, however, and the cassette offers a confidential format to make corrections. For example, one of my sixth-grade students described the schools in his home country for me. In my response I highlighted a couple of the errors that I thought he would be most interested in having corrected:

Ricardo, thank you for telling me about the schools in Brazil. You said that you went to a "particular" school in Brazil, I think you mean a "private" school—these are schools that you have to pay

for in order to attend. Also, you mentioned that you like American food very much. Notice that in English we don't say "I very like American food" but rather "I like American food very much." I'm glad that you like school in America so much! I'm really pleased with the progress you have made in English and I hope you will tell me more about life in Brazil. In fact I was wondering about..."

One of the beauties of the dialogue journal or the cassette journal is that they can be used appropriately at any age level. The teacher may have different goals, depending on the age and proficiency of the students, but the basic procedure remains the same. I have been using the cassette journals at the elementary level, but I was first introduced to the idea by a colleague who was using the same concept at the university level (Miller, 1990). The same topics (favorite books, movies, games, foods...customs and holidays in the homeland...weekend or vacation activities...hobbies and freetime) take on a different flavor with adults, and adults are more likely to discuss cross-cultural differences or political issues, or provide a historical perspective on a given topic. Teachers may want the journals to focus on the reading that students are doing for class, or on some of the coursework they may be taking concurrently with the ESL students. Teachers of foreign teaching assistants may want to use cassette journals with their students to discuss the subject matter that the students are or will be teaching. Because adults are also more likely to fossilize pronunciation errors, the teacher may want to pinpoint the specific sounds the student needs to work on, depending on the student's level of proficiency and the teacher's intended goals.

By offering an alternative to written homework, the cassette journal helps students develop the oral/aural skills outside of the classroom. It also allows the non-literate parents and family members to have a very clear idea of the student's homework and it brings a piece of home back to school. On a number of the tapes, the background noises of dishes being washed, babies crying and children laughing can be heard; usually it's not loud enough to impede comprehension but it does provide a window to home life. At parent meetings and open houses several parents have commented on how much they enjoy listening to the tapes along with their children.

As mentioned above, teachers may be wary about new projects that are going to require an undue amount of outside preparation. Techniques that can make the preparation time more efficient or less demanding are

always appreciated. One day I had a stack of tapes I wanted to respond to, and my five-year-old son was wanting some attention from me. He was very intrigued by the tapes and as an experiment, I decided to let him listen to the tapes with me and then have a conversation with him on the tape as part of my response to the students. Alex responded to the students' comments about favorite foods and games with a five-year-old's enthusiasm—he talked about pizza and Ninja Turtles, about "Alice in Wonderland" and Super Mario. The students loved it and began directing many of their questions to my son rather than to me. My son's voice on the tape gave the students a window into my home life, in addition to sparking spontaneous enthusiasm from them. This also became an activity that my son and I enjoyed doing together—allowing me the luxury of spending time with him and preparing for my students at the same time.

Many teachers have asked me if I allow the students to write out and read their entries on the tape. At the elementary level, students are just learning to write or have been writing for only a few years. Personally, I feel it is very exciting if the child "discovers" this use of writing to plan out what he or she wants to say. For that reason, I have not dissuaded my students from writing out their entries (though I have not encouraged it either). Working with secondary students, university students or adults would be another story, however. At this stage, students may become slaves to the pen and often their greatest needs are in pronunciation, intonation, and conversational fluency. The cassette journal allows the student to experiment with the language and develop a sense of rhythm and expression. When the teacher models appropriate usage, the student has the opportunity to listen to these segments over and over again. Secondary/adult students could be advised to think about what they might want to say, jot down a couple of words to help them remember, and then speak without reading a prepared speech. Students generally have many opportunities to do written homework, yet in the "real world" they will be judged on their oral proficiency, and we need to be sure that this area is not being neglected.

Sometimes the teacher may want to work specifically on the skill of reading aloud. For this, the teacher may want to read a selection to the student on the tape and then ask the student to read the same (or different) selection back. Students should listen for intonation patterns and the natural pauses in the teacher's reading and learn to predict these patterns in their own reading.

The two major constraints teachers face with any new project are time and resources. The cassette journals do take time but if the students adhere

to the 5-minute limit (the average time my students talked was 2 minutes) and remember to rewind the tape to their last entry, then the teacher can review and respond to the tapes efficiently. In terms of resources, audio cassette players are generally easily available—I have found that most students have one at home or have a friend or relative they can borrow one from. I asked students to provide their own tapes, but knowing that it would take time for all of the students to bring them in, I bought a dozen cassettes to start off with and then replenished my supply with the students' tapes.

I try to have my students turn in their tapes once every two weeks—this allows me enough time to respond to the tapes without letting so much time pass that they forget what they talked about the last time. Some of my students are so enthusiastic about the tapes that they would like to do it twice a week (others would prefer once a month). The interval of time between tapes will depend on the number of students being served and the amount of time the teacher has to listen and respond to the tapes, as well as the other assignments or obligations the students may have.

In conclusion, I have found the cassette journal to be a very practical and useful tool to develop oral communication skills. It forces the student to practice listening and speaking skills outside of the classroom while establishing a friendly communication link between the student and teacher. It allows the teacher to individualize each student's oral progress plan by responding to the student's needs. The teacher and student may have a lively conversation, with the goal of developing overall fluency, or the teacher may zero in on the individual's specific problem areas that impede communication, always with the goal of increasing confidence and clarity in speaking. It also allows the teacher to unveil the common weaknesses among students for future classroom lessons (specific pronunciation drills, intonation patterns, grammatical structures, etc.). With the increasing popularity of authentic assessment and portfolios to record student progress, the cassette journal can easily be included in the student's portfolio, allowing future teachers a record of the students progress in oral proficiency (with the student's permission). The cassette journal, like its written counterpart the dialogue journal, serves as an excellent exercise for students of all ages and a wide variety of proficiency levels.

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Using Compliments in the ESL Classroom: An Analysis of Culture and Gender

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This article utilizes original research done in St. Cloud, MN. among Southeast Asian students who employed compliments to initate conversations at work sites in order to establish ties of solidarity in the English language community. The research was based on pertinent data provided by Wolfson, Manes, Holmes, and Herbert on the compliment speech event between people of different cultures and genders. This article incorporates just one approach, complimenting behavior in English, to the teaching of communicative competence among second language learners. The author encourages ESL teachers to use the information provided below as a catalyst to the cultural and pedagogical needs of their students.

Speech acts, such as apologizing, promising, greeting or complimenting have a wide variety of structures, functions, and uses with regard to people of different cultures and genders. This paper will endeavor to examine in some detail one particular speech act, that of complimenting. Substantial research by Wolfson (1981, 1983, 1989), Holmes and Brown (1987), and Herbert (1990) has documented that complimenting behavior varies with regard to cultural background, and that the function of compliments is quite diverse based on cultural values and norms. For instance, compliments in English are regularly given for praising others' possessions; however, the same compliment offered to a native of Timor, Indonesia or Costa Rica would solicit a very different response, especially if the complimenter is a non-native. For example, after complimenting one of her female Costa Rican students on her clothing, a Peace Corps

volunteer was given the very blouse the student was wearing, although not at the exact time the compliment was offered. Accordingly, the research presented here will concentrate on the structure and function of the compliment speech event in English and will endeavor to show how the second language learner can use complimenting behavior to initate conversation and thus express and establish ties of solidarity in the English language community.

CROSS-CULTURAL VALUES AND NORMS

The research on complimenting behavior demonstrates the importance of understanding the cross-cultural perception associated with such behavior. Many international students who have studied in English-speaking countries have commented on what seems to be the extreme number of compliments used by native speakers. Because of this abundant use of compliments, many international students think Americans to be insincere. Holmes and Brown (1987) found that Malaysian students in New Zealand experienced difficulty accepting compliments and usually responded with disagreement, the typical response in Malay culture. In this instance, the cultural value, that of modesty, was expressed by the Malaysian students. To agree with the compliment would be associated with boasting and arrogance.

Similarily, other cultures might view complimenting behavior in America with suspicion. A Danish student at St. Cloud State University stated that compliments are viewed quite differently in Denmark. For example, a simple compliment about clothing would be quite unusual and looked upon as suspicious especially between strangers in an informal setting. The student commented that in Demark the setting for such a compliment about clothing would be much more restricted, and the participants would have to know each other well. As a result, he was surprised to find that a compliment in America could be given almost anywhere, even between strangers, in order to initate conversation or to express approval.

Perception of behavior. From the examples cited above, it should be recognized that cultural values and norms dictate not only the perception of the speech act but also the behavior associated with that speech act. Wolfson (1981) tells of an international student "complimenting" his teacher by telling her she was old and fat. Her research demonstrates that each culture has sets of rules and a variety of structures for the giving and receiving of compliments. For example, Arabic speakers often utilize

proverbs or set phrases when responding to compliments, and Chinese speakers will customarily assert that the object complimented is not worthy of praise. Wolfson (1983) states that appropriate speech behavior is culturally based and "communicative competence thus includes not only the mastery of grammar and lexicon, but also the rules of speaking." Wolfson explains that the "rules of speaking" refer to knowing when and how to initate a conversation; what topics are proper, given the setting; and not only which speech acts are appropriate for a situation, but what is the proper response to a given speech act.

Conversational rules. The "rules of speaking," as expounded by Wolfson, are basically the common rules of conversation associated with particular cultural norms. In English speaking communities, these common rules direct the speaker to employ compliments in order to exhibit praise with regard to appearance, possessions, or performance (Holmes & Brown, 1987). The research also shows that environmental factors as age, gender, and social status play a significant role in complimenting behavior in America. Wolfson (1983) points out that "the overwhelming majority of all compliments are given to people of the same age and status as the speaker" (p. 63). Generally, compliments serve as "social lubricants," often taking the place of other speech acts such as greetings or apologies. However, according to prevalent research, the purpose of the majority of compliments offered in English is to confirm or establish solidarity (Wolfson, 1989. Herbert adds that the majority of "American English compliments are not literal statements of admiration or praise...but rather are offers of solidarity" (Herbert, 1990, p. 209). Therefore, if the basic premise of English compliments are to establish solidarity, then the response to the compliment could be viewed as similar negotations on the part of the addressee (Herbert, 1990).

How to respond. The "rules of speaking" as outlined by Wolfson also address the issue of the importance of second language learners understanding the appropriate responses to complimenting behavior used in American English. American etiquette books advise speakers to offer 'thank you' as the appropriate response to a compliment (Herbert, 1990). Herbert cites research done by Pomerantz in 1978 which claims that there are basically two general conditions which govern the act of responding to a compliment: agreeing with the speaker and avoiding self-praise. Herbert himself has designated twelve types of compliment responses which include: appreciation, comment acceptance, praise upgrade, comment history, reassignment, return, scale down, question, disagreement,

qualification, no acknowledgment, and request interpretation. He explains that the above responses are used in varying degrees with comment acceptance being employed only thirty percent of the time with the addressee accepting the compliment and then offering a relevant comment on the appreciated topic. Conversely, Herbert's research shows that two-thirds of the time compliments among Americans are met with something other than a simple thank you (Herbert, 1990.)

COMPLIMENTING IN ENGLISH

The research generated on complimenting in English demonstrates the existence of rule governed behavior that includes the use of specific lexical structure and syntactic patterns. Compliments most often occur at the openings and closings of speech events, normally preceded by a greeting and followed by some kind of good-bye (Holmes & Brown, 1987). In addition, compliments can occur at transition points in a conversation, but they do not normally appear in the middle of a conversation. Furthermore, extensive analysis has shown that compliments in American English are, in fact, formulas that incorporate a relatively small number of lexical items and syntactic patterns. Manes and Wolfson(1981; Wolfson & Manes, 1981) found that a large percentage of the 686 compliments in their corpus incorporated only five frequently used adjectives: nice, good, beautiful, pretty, great These terms were used nearly 70% of the time in compliments, out of a total of 72 positive adjectives. Of the compliments that utilized a semantically positive verb, nearly 90% claimed love or like. The researchers claimed that repetitiveness and regularities existed in the lexical items used to describe the object of the compliments. In addition, the data indicated that three primary syntactic patterns occurred 85% of the time (Wolfson, 1981). The three syntactic patterns are as follows:

A. NP [is] (really) ADJ (e.g. Your car looks really great.)
   [looks]

B. I (really) [like] NP (e.g. I really love your hair.)
   [love]

C. PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP (e.g. That's a nice pen.)

The above study by Manes and Wolfson (1981; Wolfson & Manes, 1981) was repeated by Holmes and Brown (1987) in New Zealand with 200

compliments in their corpus. The findings were strikingly similar with 78% of the compliments employing the three primary syntactic patterns referred to above. Likewise, the New Zealand study showed that love and like accounted for 80% of the positive verbs used in compliments. The only difference between the two studies was that New Zealanders preferred lovely and wonderful to the American terms pretty and great. These findings are important to second language learners as they provide an essential linguistic tool in the initating of conversation in the Enlish language community, in turn offering learners the means to produce or reinforce a feeling of solidarity between themselves and their co-workers or classmates. Wolfson (1981) adds that the formulaic expressions associated with complimenting behavior in English can be readily taught to the second language learner to enhance communicative competence .

Connecting. With the above tools of communication, the non-native English speaker can initate successful conversation in a sometimes frightening second language environment. However, the speaker must also be concerned with how to "connect" with the response of the addressee (Robinson, 1990). In an informal study on small talk conducted in St. Cloud, Minnesota in the summer of 1990, approximately 45 Southeast Asian high school students employed the complimenting strategy as outlined in the research by Wolfson. The results were overwhelmingly positive as students recounted numerous situations at their respective work sites in which they were able to initate conversations with native speakers and thereby begin to establish friendships and ties of solidarity. However, some students found that a simple 'thank you' in response to a compliment seemed to indicate an unwillingness to continue the conversation on the part of the addressee.

In addition, nearly one-third of the students, especially those that were at a beginning or low intermediate level, expressed an uncertainty with regard to connecting with the response of the addressee; that is, the students did not know how to continue with meaningful conversation (Robinson, 1990). Thus, the students in the study were instructed on how to maintain or continue the conversation based on the response of the addressee. The following is an example of a connecting exercise the students learned in the classroom and implemented at the work site:
For example:

      NNS.   That's a nice shirt.

      NS.   Thanks. It's new. I bought it at Wal-Mart.

      NNS.   Oh, I shop at Wal-Mart a lot.

The example demonstrates how non-native speakers of English can utilize the new information from the response of the addressee and make a comment about it, resulting in an on-going conversation based on the response to the compliment. The feedback from the Southeast Asian students concerning their use of complimenting and connecting was very encouraging and often resulted in an increased confidence on the part of the students to overcome the initial hurdle of not knowing how to initate and then maintain conversation with native speakers. It was clear the exercise increased the communicative competence of the students dramatically.

COMPLIMENTING AND GENDER

The above research has shown how cultural values and norms dictate what is considered appropriate compliment and response behavior. In addition, social variables, such as socioeconomic level, age, education, race, and gender also determine the linguistic behavior of individuals. Mary Ritchie Key was one of the early researchers that dealt with issue of differences in men's and women's speech. Key (1975) claimed that "differences between male and female linguistic behavior...is a certain universal just as the sex role is universal, and that linguistic sex distinctions undoubtedly occur in every language of the world" (p. 13). Lakoff was also a pioneer in the area of gender-based language differences. In her 1975 book entitled *Language and Woman's Place*, Lakoff discussed her personal view of six major charateristics of women's speech. These six characteristics are by now well-known and are as follows: lexical choice, Question intonation in statements, Hedges, Emphatic modifiers and intonational emphasis, Hypercorrect grammar and pronunciation, Superpolite forms (Wolfson, 1989). Wolfson points out that Lakoff's work consisted not of objective research, but rather relied entirely on introspection. In 1980, O'Barr and Atkins took issue with Lakoff's point of view of "women's language" and renamed it "powerless language," claiming that female speech behavior was simply a reflection of their social status (Wolfson, 1989). Wolfson agrees with O'Barr and Atkins, and sums up the prevalent research on gender differences in language by stating,

> it is important to recognize that these beliefs have meaning of their own and influence the amount of power, status, and control that men and women have available to them in the general American society. (p. 182)

Having briefly covered the issues of gender differences in language use, we can now connect this with the task of teaching non-native speakers appropriate complimenting behavior in American society. Second language learners will benefit greatly from understanding which terms to avoid and which are acceptable when paying someone a compliment, and here the instructor, whether male or female, can serve as an excellent role model. Gender differences in complimenting behavior are verified by a wide range of research. Herbert (1990) discovered that research on sex-differentiating language behavior indicates that women employ more personal focus in conversation than men in social contexts. For example, research of behavior of female and male professionals at a business meeting showed that women's questions were more often encoded in personal terms, such as, "I would like to know what data exists for..." as opposed to the male use of the impersonal "What data exists for...?"

Herbert's (1990) own research showed that women are much more likely to use 1st person compliments than are men, regardless of the gender of the addressee. Conversely, women used third-person compliments, that is, impersonal expressions, only 20% of the time compared with nearly 60% of male-offered compliments (Herbert, 1990). That is, women, for example, were three times more likely to say, "I really like...," or, "I love your...," than men; while men refrained from using the personal pronoun "I" the vast majority of the time, preferring to use the impersonal, such as "nice car," or "great catch". Preisler (1986) suggests that this data lends support to the "the characterization of women's style as social, affiliative, other-oriented, socioemotional, and supportive" (Herbert, p. 205). Further research by Herbert indicates that second-person compliments are more frequent from females to males, and more frequent from males to females, but less common from males to other males.

Along similar lines, Wolfson's research indicates that females seem to both give and receive compliments much more frequently than males. The study conducted by Holmes and Brown (1987) supports the above statement. They found that female-female and female-male compliments accounted for 73% of all compliments given and nearly 70% of compliments received, while male-male compliments accounted for barely 10% of recorded compliments. Holmes & Brown (1987) also noted that 88% of the compliments directed towards men about their appearance originated from women. This, however, was not upheld by Wolfson's research which suggests that the appearance of American men does not seem to be

an appropriate topic of compliment for either men or women (Holmes & Brown, 1987). Wolfson (1989) states that there exists a strong "constraint against the giving of appearance-related compliments to higher-status males" especially in the workplace. Clearly, the research demonstrates the existence of decided patterns of complimenting behavior and appropriate topics for compliments that involve both the social status and the gender of the complimenter and the addressee. It is therefore essential that non-native speakers understand the structure, rules, and the sociological patterns of complimenting behavior in English-speaking countries.

COMPLIMENTS AS CONVERSATION STARTERS IN THE ESL CLASSROOM

In recognizing the wide variety of complimenting behaviors between people of different cultures and genders, it is necessary to instruct non-native speakers of English in the appropriate structure and function of compliments. It is useful to begin in the classroom with a structured setting in which ESL students can practice initiating and connecting conversations in a non-threatening, positive learning environment. The following provides examples of teaching techniques created by Robinson and his colleages (1991), which could be implemented into the curriculum of an intermediate ESL class:

USING COMPLIMENTS AS CONVERSATION STARTERS

1. Ask students how they offer and respond to compliments within their respective cultures.

2. Present complimenting within American culture using visual aids and demonstrate a typical compliment speech event.

3. Give students lists of formulas, phrases, and vocabulary that would be appropriate in a variety of complimenting situations, depending on context. (Students should know that meaning changes as situation or context changes).

4. Students practice complimenting behavior in English using information provided in Step 3. (At this point, teacher moves around class assisting students and answering questions).

5. Ask students to role play in pairs depicting several different settings based on age and the kinds of social interactions experienced by the students. For example, if the class is made up of High School age students, each pair would practice complimenting their peers in school, at work, or while shopping.

6. Teacher role plays with individual students in front of class. For instance, the teacher would play the part of the native English speaker and the student would initate a conversation using compliments. Afterwards, discuss role play situations with entire class.

7. Assign a project in which each student must compliment a native speaker who they are familiar with. For example, the student can use the information in step 3 to compliment a peer in school, on the job, or while shopping.

8. (The next class meeting). Ask students to report on how the complimenting exchange went. (Teacher can easily incorporate a writing exercise, such as a daily journal, at this point in the approach).

9. Introduce connecting techniques using real-life situations from the students' experiences. Here the teacher can demostrate how connecting can work to produce a longer conversation.

10. Have students interact with compliments in pairs incorporating the connecting techniques in order to develop a longer exchange. For example, utilizing their own experience with giving compliments, students can incorporate the connecting techniques to see how long they can keep the conversation going.

The above teaching technique can be adopted to any level ESL class, whether beginning or advanced. It is interesting to note that Wolfson advocated early instruction of complimenting rules and structures to non-native speakers, indicating that the speech act of complimenting was both useful and applicable at a beginning level.

CONCLUSION

Sociolinguistic variations with regard to the complimenting speech event shows that behavior is normally based on one's cultural background, and, as a result, is determined by social factors such as age, social status, and gender. Although compliments are given for appearance, possessions, or performance, the basic premise of the majority of compliments in English is an effort to establish solidarity between the complimenter and the addressee. It is also important to notice that complimenting behavior in American English is directed by specific rules, structures, and social patterns, that is, linguistic and pragmatic knowledge which can be taught.

In addition, the author feels it necessary to remind the reader that only one pedagogical approach to communicative competence for non-native speakers was described above, and that it is the responsibility of ESL teachers to utilize both linguistic and pragmatic knowledge to meet the particular needs of their students. With this in mind, it would be beneficial for non-native speakers to understand the functions and uses of complimenting in order to initate meaningful conversation and establish ties of solidarity in the English language community.

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The Importance of a Good Kibun in the ESL Classroom

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Culture is not only a part of the curriculum in ESL classrooms, it is also a part of the everyday life of these classrooms. As more than one culture is generally represented in most ESL classrooms, these classrooms are cross-cultural teaching-learning contexts. Within these contexts, translations of cultural concepts, values, and behaviors are important to facilitate better communication between teacher and student. A cultural translation of kibun (mood or feelings) in East Asia with mood in the U. S. can provide important insights into the differences in communication styles between U. S. teachers and East Asian students. This article makes such a cultural translation based on anthropological research and applies this translation to the ESL classroom at the university level. This cultural translation will help U. S. teachers to improve inter-ethnic communication in the classroom, increase the level of participation by East Asian students, and help both teachers and students to avoid stereotypes of each other.

INTRODUCTION

As most ESL classes in the U. S. have participants from more than one culture, these classes can be viewed as a cross-cultural teaching-learning context or as schooling across cultures. Within this context, the cultural points of view of the participants strongly influence the success and failure of interactions in the classroom and most probably influence language learning. Researchers and scholars have for a long time suggested that culture should take a more prominent place in our consideration of what goes on in ESL classrooms (McGroarty & Galvan, 1985; Politzer,

1954) and some major work has been initiated in this area (Byrd, 1986; Cargill, 1987; Damen, 1987; G. Robinson, 1985; Valdes, 1986). Some researchers have focused on differences in communicative competence (Richards & Schmidt, 1983; Richards & Sukwiwat, 1985) or ethnic styles (G. Robinson, 1987; Sato, 1981) of communication in a general sense. At the same time, too much of the literature has a travelogue nature, such as from the first ESL teachers in China, or focuses more on social situations and sociolinguistic competence and not educational situations and classroom management in cross-cultural contexts (J. Robinson, 1991a).

Some previous work has focused on specific cultural translations with the aim of improving classroom management in the ESL classroom. This work has explored cultural concepts such as cooperation and competition (Buchanan, 1990), kinesics (Morain, 1986), *nunchi* (J. Robinson, 1990a), face (J. Robinson, 1991a; Scollon & Scollon, 1983), and confucian orthodoxy (J. Robinson, 1990b) in the ESL classroom and in American classrooms with international teaching assistants from East Asia (J. Robinson, 1989). Other work has dealt with these cultural concepts as they relate to turn-taking behaviors (Allwright, 1980; J. Robinson, 1991b). This type of cross-cultural analysis provides cultural translations of concepts, values, and behaviors for two cultures and predicts how cultural differences can negatively impact inter-ethnic communication and learning in the ESL classroom. In a sense, this research is a cultural contrastive analysis following suggestions by Lado (1957, 1988), Saville-Troike (1976), and Pialorsi (1984) for an anthropological analysis of ESL classrooms.

For this article, the cultural category of *kibun* (loosely translated as "mood") will be examined to explain some of the rules of interaction within East Asian societies and their classrooms. In Japan and Korea, this cultural concept is written with the same Chinese characters 氣 分 and is phonetically identical: きぶん in Japanese and 기 분 in Korean. While this study focuses on Japan and Korea, informal discussions with Chinese students suggest that *gifen* in Chinese has the same meaning as *kibun* in Japan and Korea, although the Chinese use slightly different characters 氣 氛 . In East Asia, behaviors that prevent "bad *kibun*" complement behaviors that avoid "a loss of face." Within these societies, face (J. Robinson, 1990b, 1991a) and *kibun* are complementary and partially overlapping albeit not identical cultural concepts. In addition, similar concepts may also exist in some Southeast Asian cultures because of the influences of Confucianism or Buddhism.

The main focus of this analysis will be on how ESL teachers need to read the *kibun* of their East Asian students in order to increase their participation in ESL classes. For this paper, East Asian students will refer directly to Japanese and Korean students, but one should also be able to apply much of this following discussion to Chinese students, too. *Kibun* will be defined within its own cultural contexts, compared to "being in a...mood" in the U. S. and related to the rules of social interaction. Problems that could result from miscommunication because of the cross-cultural or inter-ethnic differences in these two concepts include: East Asian students regarding their ESL teachers as foolish, ESL teachers regarding their East Asian students as less than honest, and the silencing of these students by their teachers. Two general solutions to bridge this cross-cultural communication difficulty are suggested: 1) ESL teachers need to pay more attention to the non-verbal behaviors of their East Asian students, and 2) they should postpone any character judgments about these students without expert advice. The sources for the analysis include anthropological literature on East Asia and a research project conducted by Fisher and his colleagues (1991) on the cross-cultural differences between *kibun* in Japan and mood in the U. S.

KIBUN IN JAPAN

In Japan, *kibun* refers to how people feel or think about something. *Kibun* is usually expressed indirectly through "facial expressions, behaviors, eye contact, the space between them and another person, or a change in their tone of voice rather than by any direct statement" (Fisher et al., 1991, p. 1). *Kibun* has three characteristics:

1. Japanese *kibun* indirectly expresses or reflects the situation of a person,

2. the Japanese do not directly discuss what makes a person have a bad *kibun*, and

3. *Kibun*, even a bad one, is not judged. (Fisher et al., 1991)

The following three examples from the research of Fisher and his colleagues (1991) demonstrate how this cultural concept manifests itself in social behavior. In the first example, this cultural difference results in an American accusing a Japanese of dishonesty.

An American student who is taking the same class as a Japanese student comes up to the Japanese student and asks, "How was the

test today?" The Japanese student answers, "It must be bad because I didn't have enough time." And then he says to the American student, "How about you? You look like you did well." The American student answers, "I think I did well." A few days later after the result of test scores are shown, they happen to meet. The American student asks the Japanese student what score he got. The Japanese student tells the American student that he got one hundred points. The American student then says to the Japanese student, "You told me you didn't have enough time. Don't tell a lie." (Fisher et al., 1991, p. 2)

In this example, the Japanese student expressed a neutral *kibun* and the American student interpreted this neutrality as dishonesty. The Japanese student was hedging. He thought he did well on the test but wanted to hide his *kibun* just in case he did not do as well as he had thought.

In the second example, a Japanese thinks an American is somewhat foolish.

A Japanese student is studying in a study lounge of a student dormitory. An American student comes up to the Japanese student and tries to start a conversation, but the Japanese student has to study. He avoids turning his face toward the American student; however, he does not say, "I have to study. Can you leave me alone?" The American student continues to talk to the Japanese student. Finally the American student says, "Do you mind my talking?" The Japanese student says to himself in Japanese, "Aren't you able to tell?" (Fisher et al., 1991, p. 3)

The Japanese student expressed his *kibun*, annoyance at the American student interrupting him, through indirect means: gaze and space. The Japanese student refused to make eye contact with the American and leaned as far away from the American as he could. The American student missed these cues, and the Japanese student could not imagine that the American would be so dense.

A third example reports on a conversation between a Japanese boyfriend and girlfriend and shows that misreading of *kibun* can also influence intra-ethnic communication:

B: You look sad today. What's wrong with you? What happened?

G: Nothing.

B: What's wrong? You should not be in such a mood.

G: Nothing. (She gets angry while almost crying.)

B: Come on!

G: Leave me alone! (She is completely angry.) (Fisher et al., 1991, p. 4)

In this interaction, the boyfriend made the mistake of trying to make his girlfriend "spell out" what was wrong. The result was that her *kibun* became worse. The mistake was made partially because the boyfriend had a bad *kibun* as well.

In Japan, four other cultural concepts are important to understand *kibun*. First, these indirect expressions of *kibun* are read through *kan*.

> *Kan*...encompasses a range of cognitive attributes, including: Intuition, or a "sixth sense"; Premonition, A natural knack for doing things; Inspiration, A realization of what is needed for a task.... *Kan* is also a "sixth sense" in social relationships. (White, 1987, p. 43–44)

Japanese use *kan* to grasp a situation or to read someone's *kibun*. For the first example above, a Japanese would not have guessed dishonesty but would have identified two possible meanings to the hedging statement: 1) the student did poorly or 2) the student pretended that he did not do well. With *kan*, a Japanese would listen for the words and their tone and look at the speaker's face before deciding which of these two alternatives would be the best (Fisher et al., 1991).

Second, face is a major element of social interaction in Japan. Face in East Asia has a negative nature, a status sometimes beyond the claim of ego, and a characteristic bestowed by society (Hu, 1944, p. 61). One fears losing face, is always concerned about what people think, and has to maintain the appearance of a presence in society (J. Robinson, 1990b, 1991a). Japanese try both to save their own face and to avoid anyone else losing face. In the first example, the student hid his excitement over doing well on the test, his good *kibun*, because he was afraid that he might lose face if his prediction were higher than his actual score on the test.

Third, "receiver responsibility" is also a critical element of social communication in Japan. Hinds has written about how the responsibility for comprehending written texts is more with the reader than the writer (1987). The same is also true of spoken language exchanges. The Japanese *kibun* is good, one 'feels like a million dollars,' when bad, one 'feels like eating worms'" (Crane, 1967, p. 7). One author referred to it as the "Good

Mood Syndrome" (De Mente, 1988, p. 26). Sensitivity to *kibun* has effects on both private and public life and on "etiquette, politeness, and respect." This respect for *kibun* can even be seen in Korean greetings which emphasize a calm and collected social interaction: Anyang hashimnika? (Are you in peace?); Anyang kashimnika? (May you go in peace?); and Anyang kaishimnika? (May you remain in peace?) (Crane, 1967, p. 8).

Appearances and social hierarchy are strongly related to the importance of *kibun* in social interaction. In a sense, appearances are more important than reality even if one has to lie to protect another from the truth. "It is often felt by many to be more important to feel right than to be right, if a choice must be made" (Crane, 1967, p. 7). Within social relations, *kibun* has a direct connection to hierarchical relations. The *kibun* of elders is more important than that of the younger generation. Consequently, employers and teachers are less concerned about the *kibuns* of their employees or students, but employees and students have to be very concerned about the *kibun* of the boss or the teacher. To correct a teacher in class or to point out a mistake by the boss would be barbaric behavior. The truth is only good when it brings "joy and peace" (Crane, 1967, p. 10).

One example from Crane provides a picture of the importance of appearances before those higher in the social hierarchy during the Korean War.

> Thousands of refugees jammed into Pusan and created living conditions that were very poor, to say the least. In order to keep visiting officials from having their *kibun* upset, a high board fence was built with extremely scarce lumber along a part of the highway leading from the Pusan airport into the city, so that prominent visitors and foreigners would not see the miserable conditions of the refugees living in hovels behind the fence. Everyone felt better hiding these poor refugees from the view of visitors who drove to and from the airport. Appearance here was certainly considered more important than using the lumber to help build urgently needed housing for these refugees. (Crane, 1967, p. 11)

Crane suggested that even the refugees preferred the fence to housing, as preventing another's and especially a superior's bad *kibun* was more important than protecting one's physical self from the elements.

Another aspect of *kibun* is that Koreans try to avoid being the bearer of bad news. The resulting behavior may be varied: 1) the bad news is not communicated at all, 2) the bad news will be communicated at the end of

the day, and 3) the bad news may be watered down to the point that it does not appear bad. Especially, Koreans would not want to give the bad news to someone who is very emotional or temperamental, as this knowledge may result in not only a bad *kibun* but also a loss of self-control (De Mente, 1988, p. 26-27).

The following example shows to what lengths a Korean might go in everyday life to avoid communicating unpleasant information and what anxiety it can create for a westerner.

> A common example of the effect of *kibun* can be seen at a repair shop when one asks for the time of completion. When one arrives at the appointed time to find the work far from completion, one is tempted to demand why this unrealistic estimate was promised. The bland reply may be that it might have made you unhappy if a longer period had been mentioned. Thus to help your *kibun* for that moment, a short time span was given. (Crane, 1967, pp. 11-12)

One interpretation of this interaction would be that the repair shop owner told a lie in order to get business, but this western interpretation fails to take into account that the same work would most probably take the same amount of time no matter where the customer goes. Crane's interpretation could be refined by stating that the owner was being polite within Korean values by emphasizing the *kibun* of the customer.

Finally, just as Japanese use *kan* to perceive the various interpretation of messages, Koreans use *nunchi*. In Korean, nunchi means *eye measured* (Kang, 1972, p. 64; Park, 1979, p. 92). More figuratively it could be translated as eye sense or playing things by eye. Martin and his colleagues (1967) define *nunchi's* nominative usage as, "tact, savoir faire, sense, social sense, perceptiveness, an eye for social situations," and its predicate function as, "tries to read one's mind, probe one's motives, studies one's face, grasps a situation, sees how the wind blows" (p. 364). With *nunchi*, Koreans perceive the *kibun* of an individual before deciding whether to communicate or not, what to say, how to say it, and how to read the responses to these behaviors.

IN THE U. S.

In the U. S., people have moods rather than *kibun*. Although these two words may appear identical in definition, they differ considerably. Mood in the U. S. can be contrasted with *kibun* in Japan and Korea in at

least three ways. First, in the U. S., moods are more ephemeral. A good or bad mood is a temporary situation that someone is in rather than a condition that someone has. Moods can be changed quickly and are less identified with self-image (Fisher et al., 1991). One's *kibun* on the other hand is maintained over a much longer period of time.

Second, people in the U. S. tend to communicate their moods directly through non-verbal or verbal channels. The receiver gets what is seen with only one clear interpretation. Americans would regard the hedges of a neutral *kibun* as dishonesty. Westerners not only want to know the truth, but would generally prefer it sooner than later, and spelled out in a direct way that is not misleading. In East Asia, the truth may be equally important, but preferably expressed non-verbally and in an indirect fashion, and preferably not at the beginning of the day as it would ruin the whole day.

Third, people in the U. S. tend to communicate and discuss good and bad moods. While some individuals may avoid those who are in a bad mood, many would respond with either commiseration or by trying to "cheer someone up." The calamity that often produces a "bad mood" is often the content of small talk (Robinson et al., 1991). This type of small talk can lead to "competing calamities" as two individuals compete with each other for who has the worse mood. People in the U. S. may also try to "cheer someone up" by changing their mood. The idea is to distract the individual and to help him or her to get their mind off the problem. For example, an American may ask: "Let's go shopping," "Let's go out and have fun," or "Let's go shoot some hoops" (Fisher et al., 1991). A second strategy would be to "talk through the problem." Another strategy may involve a complex analysis of the problem, but the general aim would be to downplay the problem by pointing out its positive effects or humorous side. As the third Japanese example above suggests, trying "to cheer someone up" would be the worst strategy for interacting with someone who has a "bad *kibun*."

IMPLICATIONS FOR ESL
ESL professionals need to understand how differences in mood and *kibun* can impact inter-ethnic communications between U. S. teachers and East Asian students. Implications from these differences can be seen in the emission and reception of both mood and *kibun* by U. S. teachers and East Asian students respectively.

First, teachers need to realize more and more the consequences of their actions in the classroom as they emit and as their students receive

messages. They need to understand that their good and bad moods may be received and interpreted in a variety of ways by their students. For example, the expressiveness of Americans may be interpreted as moodiness, and consequently East Asian students may be reluctant to do anything in the classroom as it may induce a bad temper or erratic behavior. In other words, more self-control and less expressiveness in terms of mood by the teacher in front of the class may actually help elicit more verbal behavior by East Asian students.

Second, teachers should realize that student *kibuns* can be influenced in unpredictable ways by what teachers say. For example, an overt public correction may produce a bad *kibun* that ultimately silences a student. In addition, inadvertent comments may result in bad *kibuns*. For example, teachers should be careful when using counterfactual expressions. Bloom has indicated that such thinking is unusual for Chinese and difficult to translate properly (1981). Consequently, when a teacher refers to a specific student and says, "if he were the thief," a counterfactual statement, the result may be that the East Asian student and the class would infer that the teacher questions the honesty of that particular student.

Third, teachers must develop their perceptive skills, *kan* or *nunchi*, in order to pay more attention to the variety of meanings that expressions of *kibun* may have and to guess which is the correct interpretation. The teacher needs to pay attention not only to what is said or seen overtly, but also to the student's posture, hands, desk, and the surroundings. A tapping foot may give a better view of the *kibun* than a smiling face. The tapping foot emits evidence of a negative *kibun* that the smiling face is trying to hide.

Fourth, teachers should understand that the behaviors of East Asian students may be controlled by a reluctance to emit behavior that would give someone a bad *kibun*. For example, East Asian students may view asking questions in class as a *kibun*-threatening activity for teachers. If the teacher does not know the answer, the teacher will feel bad about having to give a possible wrong answer. Even if the teacher knows the answer, the teacher may feel bad because the question slows down the class and may mean that all the material will not be covered. In addition, as these students may be reluctant to communicate the unpleasant, they may not tell a teacher that they could not understand an explanation or not provide evaluative information to the teacher on how the course is progressing or how they are doing in the course. When a teacher finds out that a problem exists or that a certain learning activity is not working, he or she may think that these students are uncommunicative, hostile or

insincere if not dishonest, while their students are in fact trying to prevent the teacher or someone else from having a "bad *kibun*."

Fifth, ESL teachers need to understand that East Asians tend not to judge others by their *kibun*. One reason for this non-judgmental attitude may be because of the variety of interpretations that any behavior may be given in Japan or Korea. When students say that they understand something, the teacher should realize that this answer has at least two interpretations: they understand, and they do not. To evaluate the statement on the surface structure could result in the wrong interpretation. The wrong interpretation could then lead to a negative value judgment: the students said they understood, but they did not, so they must be dishonest. ESL teachers need to postpone these judgments and try to figure out through *kan* or *nunchi* how what appears as insincerity or dishonesty might be something else entirely. Without *kan* or *nunchi*, teachers should try to identify culture brokers from among former students or colleagues. These culture brokers can use their *kan* or *nunchi* to try to interpret the inter-ethnic situation. At the least, teachers ought to postpone any judgement about their students until they have the cultural knowledge and understanding to analyze their students behaviors.

Finally, with an understanding of the *kibun* of the East Asian student, the ESL teacher should be able to help bridge the cultural discontinuity between *kibun* in East Asia and mood in the U. S. In curricular activities, teachers would need to help these students to de-emphasize *kibun* and to focus on the American concept of mood in the student's interactions with Americans. For example, East Asian students need to learn to accept negative feedback with less affective response, to give negative feedback rather than polite responses, to pay more attention to what is said directly, to react less to what may be implied or is only perceived visually, and in general to express their personality more through visual channels. In other words, the concept of *kibun* is not only an important part of cross-cultural classroom management for ESL teachers but also helps East Asian students acquire a second culture along with the language.

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Test-Taking Strategies on ESL Language Tests

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This article looks at test-taking strategies in the taking of second language tests. Strategies that have been identified through verbal report measures are described—first for two indirect testing formats, multiple-choice and cloze, and then for two direct formats, summarization tasks and compositions. The focus is on tests of reading and writing skills. Several suggestions which may lead to more effective test taking are provided.

A PROCESS APPROACH TO TEST TAKING

Over the last fifteen years, there has been increasing interest in approaching the testing of language material from the point of view of the respondent going through the process of taking the test.

Tests that are relied upon to indicate the comprehension level of readers may produce misleading results because of numerous techniques that readers have developed for obtaining correct answers on such tests without fully or even partially understanding the text. As Fransson (1984) put it, respondents may not proceed via the text but rather around it. In effect, then, there are presumptions held by test constructors and administrators as to what is being tested and there are the actual processes that test takers go through to produce answers to questions and tasks. The two may not necessarily be one and the same. Students may get an item wrong for the right reasons or right for the wrong reasons.

It may, in fact, be the case that the strategies the respondents are using are detrimental to their overall performance, or at least not as helpful as others they could be using. For example, respondents may plod laboriously through a reading passage only to find that once they reach the multiple-choice questions, they have forgotten most of what they read or failed to

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focus adequately on those elements being tested. In such a case, the strategy of studying the questions carefully before reading the text may have been more beneficial.

The intent of this paper is to describe test-taking strategy data emerging from studies of respondents taking different kinds of tests. We will start by looking at the purpose for considering the processes involved in test taking. The main purpose is to determine the effects of test input upon the test taker—specifically, the processes that the test taker makes use of in order to produce acceptable answers to questions and tasks. There is a concomitant concern to determine the respondent's perceptions about tests before, during, and after having taken them.

WHAT IS MEANT BY TEST-TAKING STRATEGIES?

For the purposes of this discussion, test-taking strategies will be viewed as those test-taking processes which the respondents have selected and which they are conscious of, at least to some degree. In other words, the notion of strategy implies an element of selection. Otherwise, the processes would not be considered as strategies. At times these strategies constitute an opting out of the language task at hand (e.g., through a simple matching of look-alike information). At other times, the strategies may constitute short cuts to arriving at answers (e.g., not reading the text as instructed but simply looking immediately for the answers to the given reading comprehension questions). Yet in the majority of cases, test-taking strategies do not lead to opting out or to the use of short cuts. In some cases, quite the contrary holds true. One Hebrew second-language respondent in a study of test-taking strategies in Israel determined that he had to produce a written translation of a text before he could respond to questions dealing with that text (Cohen & Aphek, 1979).

While early reference to strategic competence as a component of communicative language use (Canale & Swain, 1980) put the emphasis on "compensatory" strategies—that is, strategies used to compensate or remediate for a lack in some language area, Bachman (1990) provides a broader theoretical model for viewing strategic competence. There is an assessment component whereby the respondent (in the case of language testing) sets communicative goals, a planning component whereby the respondent retrieves the relevant items from language competence and plans their use, and an execution component whereby the respondent implements the plan.

Within this broader framework, it may still be the case that a fair number of test-taking strategies are, in fact, compensatory. Respondents often omit material because they do not know it when put on the spot, or produce different material from what they would like to with the hope that it will be acceptable in the given context. They may use lexical avoidance, simplification, or approximation when the exact word escapes them under the pressure of the test or possibly because they simply do not know the word that well or at all.

Thus, in theory, when respondents are given a situation in which to perform an oral role play, they may first assess the situation and identify the information that is needed in that context. Then, they may plan out their response and go about retrieving from their language competence the grammatical, discourse, and sociocultural features needed for the role play. Finally, they execute the role play. After they finish, they may again perform an assessment to evaluate the extent to which the communicative goal was achieved.

As is the case with any theoretical model, test takers may make differential use of the components of this model when performing specific testing tasks. For example, there are respondents who do not assess the situation before starting the role play and because of this, may violate certain sociocultural conventions. Likewise, there are respondents who plan out their utterances before producing them while others would just start talking on an on-line basis. Recent research involving the use of verbal report directly after the performance of oral role play interaction is beginning to obtain data regarding the extent of assessment and planning actually taking place before the execution of apologies, complaints, and requests (Cohen & Olshtain, in press).

Let us now consider strategies on two more indirect testing formats, multiple-choice and cloze, and then consider strategies for two more direct formats, namely, summarization tasks and compositions. The focus will also be on tests of reading and writing skills. We will end with several suggestions which may lead to more effective test taking.

INDIRECT TESTING FORMATS

Indirect formats for testing—i.e., those formats which do not reflect real-world tasks—may prompt the use of strategies solely for the purpose of coping with the test format. Let us look at two such formats, multiple-choice and cloze, and at some of the research findings regarding strategies used in taking such tests.

Multiple-choice

A study of 40 college ESL respondents used retrospective verbal report to gain insights about test-taking strategies (Larson, 1981 in Cohen, 1984). The students were requested to describe how they arrived at answers to a 10-item multiple-choice test based on a 400-word reading passage. Seventeen students met with the author of the test in groups of two or three within 24 hours after the test, while 23 students met in groups of five or six 4 days after taking the test. The investigator found that the respondents used the following strategies:

1. they stopped reading alternatives when they got to the one that seemed correct to them,

2. they matched material from the passage wit material in the item stem and in the alternatives (e.g., when the answer was in the same sentence with the materal used to write the stem),

3. they preferred a surface-structure reading of the test items to one that called for more in-depth reading and inferencing (Larson, 1981 in Cohen, 1984). It was found that this superficial matching would sometimes result in the right answer. One example was as follows:

    The fact that there is only one university in Filanthropia might be used to show why...

    a) education is compulsory through age 13.

    b) many people work in the fishing industry.

    c) 20 per cent of the population is illiterate.

    d) the people are relatively happy and peaceful.

Students were able to identify c as the correct answer by noticing that this information appeared earlier in the same sentence with the information which reappeared in the item stem: "...The investigating travel agency researchers discovered that the illiteracy rate of the people is 20 per cent, which is perhaps reflective of the fact that there is only one university in Filanthropia, and that education is compulsory, or required, only through age 10." They assumed that this was the correct answer without understanding the item or the word *illiterate*. They were right.

In another example, students did not have to look in the text for surface matches. They were able to match directly between the stem and the correct alternative:

The increased foreign awareness of Filanthropia has...

    a)   resulted in its relative poverty.

    b)   led to a tourist bureau investigation.

    c)   created the main population centers.

    d)   caused its extreme isolation.

Students associated "foreign" in the stem with "tourist" in option *b*, without understanding the test item.

It was also found that more reasoned analysis of the alternatives—e.g., making calculated inferences about vocabulary items—would lead to incorrect answers. The following item provided an example of this:

The most highly developed industry in Filanthropia is...

    a)   oil.

    b)   fishing.

    c)   timber.

    d)   none of the above.

This item referred to the following portion of the text: "...most [dollars] are earned in the fishing industry....In spite of the fact that there are resources other than fish, such as timber in the forest of the foothills, agriculture on the upland plateaus, and, of course, oil, these latter are highly underdeveloped."

One student read the stem phrase "most highly developed industry" and reasoned that this meant "technologically developed" and so referred to the "oil industry." He was relying on expectations based on general knowledge rather than on a careful reading of the text. The point is that his was a reasoned guess, not that of, say, surface matching, as in the previous example.

In an effort to investigate the extent to which multiple-choice questions are answered on the basis of prior knowledge of the topic and general vocabulary knowledge, 32 intermediate and 25 advanced Israeli EFL students were given a title and just the first paragraph of a passage appearing on the previous year's exemption examination, and then were asked to answer 12 questions dealing with the portion of text not provided. Two weeks later they were given the text in full along with the questions and once again were asked to respond (Israel, 1982 in Cohen, 1984). The rate of success on the multiple-choice items was still surprisingly high—

49% for the advanced group and 41% for the intermediates. These results were far better than the 25 per cent success rate that would be expected on the basis of change alone. (These results are also consistent with those for native English readers, where the results were far better than chance (Tuinman, 1973-4; Fowler & Kroll, 1978).) When the students were given the test with the complete passage and questions two weeks later, the advanced group now scored 77% and the intermediates 62%. The score necessary for exemption from further EFL study was 60 per cent. The fact that the average performance on the test was low even when the passage was provided makes the results without the passage that much more striking.

In a research study with 30 tenth-grade EFL students—15 high proficiency readers and 15 low proficiency readers, respondents were asked to verbalize thoughts while finding answers to open-ended and multiple-choice questions (Gordon, 1987). She found that answers to test questions did not necessarily reflect comprehension of the text. Both types of reading comprehension questions were regarded by the respondents as "mini" reading comprehension tests. With respect to test- taking strategies, the low-proficiency students tended to process information at the local (sentence/word) level, not relating isolated bits of information to the whole text. They used individual word-centered strategies like matching words in alternatives to text, copying words out of text, word-for-word translation, formulating global impressions of text content on basis of key words or isolated lexical items in text or test questions. The high-proficiency students, on the other hand, were seen to comprehend the text at a global level—predicting information accurately in context, using lexical and structural knowledge to cope with linguistic difficulties.

In an effort to provide immediate verbal report data, Nevo (1989) designed a testing format that would allow for immediate feedback after each item. She developed a response-strategy checklist, based on the test-taking strategies that have been described in the literature and on her intuitions as to strategies respondents were likely to select. A pilot study had shown that it was difficult to obtain useful feedback on an item-by-item basis without a checklist to jog the respondents' memory as to possible strategies.

Nevo's checklist included fifteen strategies, each appearing with a brief description and a label meant to promote rapid processing of the checklist. She administered a multiple-choice reading comprehension test in Hebrew (first-language) and French (foreign-language) to forty-

two 10th graders, and requested that they indicate for each of the ten questions on each test the strategy that was most instrumental in their arriving at an answer as well as that which was the second most instrumental. The responses were kept anonymous so as to encourage the students to report exactly what they did, rather than what they thought they were supposed to report.

It was found that students were able to record the two strategies that were most instrumental in obtaining each answer. The study indicated that respondents transferred test-taking strategies from the first language to the foreign language. The researcher also identified whether the selected strategies aided in choosing the correct answer. The selection of strategies that did not promote choice of the correct answer was more prevalent in the foreign-language test than in the first-language version. The main finding in this study was that it was possible to obtain feedback from respondents on their strategy use after each item on a test if a checklist was provided for quick labeling of the processing strategies utilized. Furthermore, the respondents reported benefiting greatly from the opportunity to become aware of how they took reading tests. They reported having been largely unaware of their strategies prior to this study.

Another study of test-taking strategies among non-natives revealed that respondents used certain strategies differently, depending on the type of question that was being asked. For example, the strategies of "trying to match the stem with the text" and "guessing" were reported more frequently for inference type questions than for the other question types such as direct statement or main idea. The strategy of "paraphrasing" was reported to occur more in responding to direct statement items than with inference and main idea question types (Anderson, Bachman, Perkins, & Cohen 1991).

The Anderson, et al. study originated as a doctoral dissertation in which 28 native speakers of Spanish studying at the Texas Intensive English Program in Austin took three measures of reading comprehension: reading comprehension subtest from a test of language skills, a measure of ability to read college-level textbook prose (Textbook Reading Profile), and a second form of the standardized reading comprehension test (Anderson, 1989). After the first two tasks, the participants provided retrospective think-aloud protocols describing the strategies they used while reading the textbook material and answering the comprehension questions. The respondents also provided think- aloud protocols along with the final test. The data were categorized in to a list of 47 processing strategies.

In the follow-up phase of the research, data from the participants' retrospective think-aloud protocols of their reading and test taking strategies were combined with data from a content analysis and an item analysis to obtain a truly convergent measure of test validation (Anderson et al., 1991). The content analysis of the reading comprehension passages and questions was comprised of the test designer's analysis and one based on an outside taxonomy, and the item performance data included item difficulty and discrimination. This study marked perhaps the first time that both think-aloud protocols and more commonly used types of information on test content and test performance were combined in the same study in order to examine the validation of the test in a convergent manner.

Emerging from these various studies on multiple-choice tests of reading comprehension is a series of strategies that respondents may utilize at one point or another in order to arrive at answers to the test questions. Whether these strategies are of benefit depends to a large extent upon when they are used and how effectively they are used. A composite list of some of the more salient test-taking strategies appearing in one or more of the studies mentioned above can be found in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Strategies for Taking a Multiple-Choice Reading Comprehension Test

1. Read the passage first and make a mental note of where different kinds of information is located.

2. Read the questions a second time for purpose of clarification.

3. Return to the passage to look for the answer.

4. Look for the portion of the text that the question refers to and then look for clues to the answer there.

5. Look for answers to questions in chronological order in the text.

6. Read the questions first so that the reading of the text is directed at findings answers to those questions.

7. Try to produce your own answer to the question before you look at the options that are provided in the test.

8. Use the process of elimination—i.e., select a choice not because you are sure that it is the correct answer, but because the

other choices don't seem reasonable, because they seem similar or overlapping, or because their meaning is not clear to you.

9. Look for an option that seems to deviate from the others, is special, is different, or conspicuous.

10. Select a choice that is longer/shorter than the others.

11. Take advantage of clues appearing in other items in order to answer the item under consideration.

12. Take into consideration the position of the option among the choices (a, b, c, or d).

13. Select the option because it appears to have a word or phrase from the passage in it—possibly a key word.

14. Select the option because it has a word or phrase that also appears in the question.

15. Postpone dealing with an item or selecting a given option until later.

16. Make an educated guess—e.g., use background knowledge or extra-textual knowledge in making the guess.

17. Budget your time wisely on this test.

18. Change your responses as appropriate—e.g., in the case where new clues are discovered in, say, another item.

Cloze

Research regarding strategies for taking cloze tests is of interest in that it has helped to determine whether, in fact, such tests measure global reading skills as they are purported to. As more studies have been undertaken on the cloze test, it has become clearer that the instrument elicits more local, word- level reading than macro-, discourse-level reading (Alderson, 1983; Klein-Braley, 1981; Lado 1986), contrary to the claims of its early supporters (see, for example, Chihara, Oller, Weaver, Chavez-Oller, 1977; Chavez-Oller, Chihara, Weaver, & Oller, 1985). It has also become evident that more proficient readers are more skilled at correctly completing those cloze items that do assess discourse-level reading, whether reading in the native or in a foreign language.

Studies on strategies for taking cloze tests have shown that perhaps only a quarter of nonnative respondents read the entire cloze passage before responding (Emanuel, 1982 in Cohen, 1984; Hashkes & Koffman,

1982 in Cohen, 1984). A case study shed some light on the issue of reading the text before completing the cloze test (Kleiman, Cavalcanti, Terzi, & Ratto, 1986). Verbal protocol data provided by a 7th-grade Brazilian girl filling in two cloze passages—one as a warm up and the other as the exercise in Portuguese (first language)—indicated that the respondent was preoccupied with local clues from isolated elements of text. What emerged was that she did not use global clues until she had completed a substantial number of blanks on the cloze. In other words, it is easier to read the cloze passage once it has been partially completed and the respondent has some idea of what it is about, much as a child may have an easier time of connecting numbered dots once the picture that the dots are forming becomes clearer.

One of the early studies of strategy use in completing a cloze passage involved indirect assessment of strategies used. The researchers administered a rational deletion cloze with 23 blanks to 39 EFL subjects from three levels (Homburg & Spaan, 1981). One of four strategies was intuited to be necessary in finding a correct word for each of the blanks: recognition of parallelism, sentence bound, forward reading, backward reading. Success at items calling for "forward reading" (cataphora) was significantly associated with success at understanding the main idea. In verbal report studies, it was found that nearly 20% of the respondents did not use the preceding or following sentence for clues to blanks but rather guessed on the basis of the immediate context (Emanuel, 1982; Hashkes & Koffman, 1982 in Cohen, 1984).

Thus, the research on strategies in taking cloze tests would suggest that such tests are more tests of local-level reading than they are measures of global reading ability. Furthermore such tests are more likely to test for local-level reading when they are in a foreign language (see, for example, MacLean & d'Anglejan, 1986).

MORE DIRECT FORMATS

Whereas more direct formats for testing, such as text summarization, are less likely to elicit test-taking strategies at the expense of language use strategies, results on such measures are still influenced by testwiseness. As long as the task is part of a test, students are bound to use strategies they would not use under non-test conditions.

Summarization tasks

In the case of a summary task, the respondent is invariably summarizing a text for a reader who already has a notion of what the summary should

look like. In the real world, we usually summarize a text for our own future use or for the benefit of someone who has not read it.

Case-study research concerning the strategies used by respondents in producing summaries on a test has suggested that they might use various shortcut measures (Cohen, forthcoming). One strategy is to lift material directly from the passage in summarizing, rather than restating it at a higher level of abstraction or generality. In such cases, it would not be clear whether the respondent understood the material or not. Furthermore, when respondents are in doubt about whether material should be included or deleted, they might be prone to include it (particularly in the case of one less proficient student), with the assumption that a summary that runs longer would probably be preferred by the raters to one that was too terse. The study found that the respondents spent more time on their strategies for reading the texts to be summarized than they did on the production of their summaries, so not surprisingly, the summaries were not so coherent or polished.

Compositions

The interpretation of essay topics is a problem which is related to inadequate attention to instructions. Usually, an essay topic is presented in the form of a mini-text which the respondent needs to understand and operationalize. Ruth and Murphy (1984) note cases where students misinterpret words in the prompt, such as interpreting the word "profit" as "prophet," thus shifting the meaning of the topic entirely. Perhaps of greater consequence are the strategies the respondents have to size up the nature of the task. Ruth and Murphy give the example of a supposed friendly letter topic wherein what is actually called for is a response at a higher level of performance than might be reflected in an authentic friendly letter. The message here for the respondent is to be extra careful in interpreting these mini-texts.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

We appear to have entered an era where it is more acceptable not only to look at process approaches to language testing, but also to use verbal report techniques to better understand these processes and the test-taking strategies that respondents use. It would appear that the test-taking strategy research can be used to substantiate or refute such claims with respect to a given test in a given test administration with given respondents.

The results of test-taking strategy studies on the cloze tests would also appear to provide crucial information regarding what cloze tests actually measure. The various types of cloze tests have been subject to careful scrutiny in recent years, and of the studies carried out, those that deal with response strategies are perhaps among some of the most insightful. Thus, while the reliability of a given cloze test may be high because the individual items are interrelated, the validity as a measure of global reading ability could be questioned if the respondents indicate that they answered most of the items by means of local micro-level strategies.

It would appear that the nature of test-taking strategies with respect to the more open-ended formats, such as summarization and essays, has yet to be fully investigated. Since the assessment of summaries and essays depend on judgments made by raters, there is a concomitant need for research concerning strategies used in doing the ratings, such as the recent work conducted by Hamp-Lyons (1989), Connor and Carrell (1991), Vaughan (1991), Tedick (1992), and others.

Given the results from test-taking strategy research, those who use tests in research would probably want to consider validating the testing measures that they use through triangulation. Such triangulation would include the collection of test-taking strategy data on subsamples of respondents as in the Anderson et al. (1991) study. Even though the field of test-taking strategy research is a fledgling one, researchers can find descriptions in the literature of techniques for identifying the strategies used by respondents, however much these techniques are still in need of refinement.

The results of the various research studies described above could be incorporated into classroom activities for helping students to improve their test-taking skills. The teacher could take the strategies summarized below and construct a short quiz where, say, one or more of these strategies is crucial for successful completion of the quiz. These quizzes would be worked through in class as part of a test-training procedure. Here are some suggested test-taking strategies:

1. Read the directions carefully and pay attention to the entire item stimulus. Deal with all material both in the item stimulus and in the response options if there are any, guessing where necessary.

2. On multiple-choice reading comprehension tests, it may be advisable to read the questions before reading the text in order to have a better idea of what to read it for.

3. In doing cloze tests, when not sure of the correct completion for a blank, read ahead as well as checking back since clues may be in the next sentence. Also look for clues in the larger context.

4. In performing summary tasks, determine whether it is necessary to restate ideas in the text in your own words, and if so, make an effort to do so, drawing on the language of the text wherever necessary.

5. In preparing compositions, pay careful attention to the language used in the statement of the topic so as to be sure to write the essay that is called for.

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Work in Progress

MinneTESOL Journal invites readers to submit short reports and updates on their work. These summaries may address any areas of interest to *Journal* readers.

Teachers' Reformulations of ESL Students' Responses

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The concept of "reformulation" is taken from the ethnomethodological concept of "formulation." Garfinkle and Sacks (1970) define "formulation" as talk about talk, which is , "Saying-in-so-many-words-what-we-are-doing." In a topical sense, the "doing" of formulation is an integral part of making conversations preservable and reportable, and it is in this sense that teacher reformulations select or fix what is validated as knowledge in classroom dialogue.

Watson and Young (1980) identify similarities between formulation, and the reformulation process occurring when teachers react to student responses. They define reformulation as, "The repetition (either partial or complete) of student responses, syntactic and/or semantic transformation of student responses, or a mixture of both repetition and transformation" (Watson and Young, 1980). (See examples below; reformulations are in bold print.)

SOFT REFORMULATION

Student: OK, my first, first language Russian and second language Hebrew. But English I was study from I was eight years old in school in Russia.

Teacher: **So you started studying English when your were eight?**

Student: (pause) mmmmm, I think that, most they,
            I have the same really. I think you have
            some very good organized, and uh, uh, I
            want to say that, the pronunciation is not
            your problem. You can say very fluently,
            and uh you also very much good on what, I
            want to say, it might be some teaching skill,
            and even I teaching in China over five
            years, and uh I've been teaching assistant
            here for two years I still (?) and I think we
            can still learn some new skill, even we have
            some experience teaching.

Teacher: **So even if you have some experience in
            China, there's still some maybe cultural
            differences or, expectations American
            students have?**

Student: **Yea.**

Reformulation practices indicate social information regarding the relationship between teacher and student in terms of the constitutive outcomes of total teacher-student classroom discourse. "Soft" reformulations function mainly to demonstrate or to clarify a point, and the reference for self-confirmation is strong on the part of the speaker of the original utterance. Soft reformulations promote understanding between participants by establishing an intersubjective contextualization of classroom experience. On the other hand "hard" reformulations function to change and transform meaning, and the reference for self-confirmation is less strong. The speaker of the original utterance has to work harder to reject or repair unintended meanings stated in the reformulation. Hard reformulations often promote teacher discourse at the expense of student meaning. (See examples above of "soft" and "hard" reformulations.)

Watson and Young (1980) find that most often, teacher reformulation practices function to stigmatize student responses as deficient. Secondly, they find that much of the semantic work associated with language expansion (generalizing, specification, elaboration, clarifying, and so forth) is performed in teacher reformulations and not in student responses.

PROCEDURES

My study adapts Watson and Young's (1980) basic methodology in an attempt to push the scope of reformulation research horizontally into the realm of ESL, and vertically into the arena of higher education and teacher development. The subjects in the study are two teachers and their eight students in an English language and teacher development program for international teaching assistants. The analysis consists of two phases: a descriptive phase and a critical phase. The descriptive phase involves the identification of reformulations and a linguistic and pedagogical description of reformulations in terms of how teachers affect and/or change student language during the reformulation process. The descriptive phase addresses the following research question:

1.   What are the forms and functions of teacher reformulations of student responses?

The critical phase assesses how much control students have in the reformulation of their responses, and the developmental affect reformulation practices have on the expansion of student language and meaning. The critical analysis addresses the following research questions:

2.   Are students given the opportunity to confirm of disconfirm reformulations of their responses?

3.   What effect do reformulation practices have on the expansion or replacement of student language over the length of the course?

DISCUSSION

This study deals specifically with teacher reformulations in an English language and teacher development program. In a broader sense, the study informs educators about teacher reformulation—a discourse practice that is found in one form or another in most classrooms and at most levels of educational experience. In terms of discourse practices, the results should provide a clearer understanding of the way in which teachers regularly affect student language, meaning, and expression.

In terms of teacher development, this study has implications for the manner in which individual educators are asked to reflect on and evaluate their own teaching, language, and interactive strategies. In terms of models of teaching and pedagogy, this research should make teacher development programs more cognizant that: (a) teacher-student discourse patterns indicate, directly and indirectly, particular sociocultural

values, and (b) models of teacher-student discourse that are demonstrated (and thereby validated) during the course of a teacher development program are value laden and therefore in need of ongoing critical review and evaluation.

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Acculturation, Ethnicity, and Second Language Acquisition: A Study of Hmong Students at the Post-Secondary Level

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INTRODUCTION

Almost every textbook in second language acquisition includes a chapter on acculturation, yet the nature of the discussion has progressed little since Schumann's Acculturation Model was first pioneered in the early 1970s. There has been almost no attempt to learn about acculturation from other disciplines—most notably, anthropology, sociology, and psychology—which would greatly inform and enrich the discussion in second language acquisition. And there has been remarkably little research investigating the relationship between acculturation and second language acquisition. Even with regards to Schumann's Model, virtually no attempt has been made to operationalize the social and psychological variables that constitute the model, a necessary first step in any large scale investigation of its usefulness.

A close reading of current theories about acculturation and second language acquisition reveals some interesting contradictions. For example, Schumann's Acculturation Model strongly suggests that assimilation into the target culture, in contrast to either maintenance of native culture or the integration of two cultures, either enhances acquisition of the target language, or is an inevitable result. Proponents of bilingual education, however, claim that maintenance of the first language and culture contributes to the acquisition of a second language from a cognitive perspective, as well as to the overall emotional and psychological stability of the individual.

As the United States and Canada become increasingly multicultural, and as relations between ethnic groups around the world take on serious geo-political implications, it seems a propitious moment to reevaluate our assumptions about acculturation and second language acquisition. What is the relationship between acculturation, ethnicity, and second language acquisition? Can language learners maintain a strong sense of ethnic identity, integrate into the target culture rather than assimilate, and be successful second language learners? Is assimilation an inevitable outcome

of proficiency in a second language, particularly for members of a minority immigrant community?

ACCULTURATION AND ETHNICITY

Acculturation has been defined in different ways in different disciplines. In the field of anthropology, acculturation is considered a group process comprehending "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 633).

Social scientists interested in acculturation have focused on relations in society that result when groups of different cultural backgrounds come into contact. Gordon (1964) defined acculturation as the process of cultural assimilation, distinguishing it from social/structural assimilation or the integration of immigrant groups into the clubs and institutions of the host society, a necessary condition for full assimilation to occur. Indeed, acculturation can occur independently of assimilation and does not require either a positive orientation or identification toward the out-group, or a change in reference group and values (Teske & Nelson, 1974).

Psychologists have focused on acculturation as an individual process resulting in changes in behavior, cognition, attitudes, and values. Berry (1980) listed four different strategies for cultural adaptation: assimilation, integration, rejection, and deculturation. Assimilation involves relinquishing cultural identity as one moves into the larger society. Integration implies the maintenance of cultural integrity, while at the same time there is movement towards the host society. Rejection refers to self-imposed withdrawal from the larger society, and deculturation to the loss of cultural affiliation with either group, a condition also referred to as "marginality" (Stonequist, 1937).

Numerous research studies have challenged the traditional view of acculturation as a linear, unidimensional process, by which the culture of the immigrant group is replaced by the culture of the host society. Many immigrant and native peoples, in fact, choose some form of biculturalism, in which individuals adapt to the new culture without relinquishing their native culture (Padilla, 1980; Polgar, 1960; McFee, 1968).

Studies have also indicated that one form of acculturation does not necessarily entail others (Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1987). For example, cultural or behavioral assimilation does not necessarily mean a loss of ethnic identity, defined as an individual's allegiance to a specific group with its own language, values, customs, traditions, and beliefs (Masuda, et al., 1970), although an inverse linear relationship is generally assumed;

that is, as acculturation proceeds, there is a gradual erosion of ethnicity. Frequently, immigrants maintain or even enhance their ethnic attachment in order to sustain their sense of security, primary-group satisfaction, social recognition, and identity (Barati-Marnani, as reported in Hoffman, 1989; Hurh, 1984; Rosenthal, 1960; Scott, 1982).

CULTURAL ADAPTATION AND MENTAL HEALTH

Many social psychologists hold that the preservation and enhancement of the self is a basic human need. Individuals who do not have a clear sense of identification with the heritage and culture of their ingroup can suffer from self-hatred and ingroup denial (Lewin, 1948). Maldonado (1975) states that "ethnic self-identity is...central to the development of the personal identity of minority group members" (p. 621).

It follows that assimilation, which leads to a change in reference group, could precipitate a crisis of identity and subsequent loss of self-esteem. Biculturalism or the successful integration of two cultures should, therefore, result in a more positive form of cultural adaptation and one that leads to greater psychological stability in individuals. Indeed, many studies suggest as much (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Dworkin, 1965; Fernandez-Marina, as reported in Vazquez, 1985; Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1980). Overall, these studies question the commonly held assumption that highly assimilated individuals are better adjusted than immigrants who have chosen bicultural forms of adaptation.

To what extent, then, is the individual's pattern of adaptation related to self-esteem?

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION THEORY

Various theories of second language acquisition have assigned an important role to acculturation, yet they view acculturation as linear and unidimensional.

Schumann's Acculturation Model (1978) states that second language learners in informal language acquisition environments who preserve their native culture will have greater difficulty acquiring proficiency in a second language than those who assimilate into the culture of the target language. In the middle are those who adapt to the culture of the target language without giving up the values and customs of their native culture, an integration strategy which yields varying degrees of second language acquisition.

Schumann's Acculturation Model includes many social and psychological variables, all of which affect either directly or indirectly the degree of social distance between the second language learner and the native

speaker community. However, the degree of social contact is but one dimension of acculturation. What about other dimensions, such as behavior, values, and attitudes? How are they related to the dimension of social contact, and to the larger issue of second language acquisition?

Taylor et al. (1977) assert that second language acquisition may be threatening to members of linguistic and cultural minority groups within a majority culture, especially if they identify with their ethnic group and see their language as an important dimension of their ethnicity. They may resist learning the language of the dominant culture for fear of losing their own language and cultural identity. This theory essentially equates acculturation with ethnic identification, but studies have shown that ethnic identification can operate independently from other dimensions of acculturation. Cultural or behavioral assimilation does not necessarily mean a loss of ethnic identity.

Lambert's theory of additive/subtractive bilingualism (1974) assumes that the relationship between first and second language proficiency is linear and inverse. Lambert claims that members of a minority group will inevitably lose proficiency in their first language as they acquire proficiency in the second language, and will eventually assimilate as a result of linguistic and cultural domination of the majority group over the minority group. Additive bilingualism, or the acquisition of a second language without loss of proficiency in the first language or loss in ethnic identity, is according to Lambert's theory only characteristic of majority groups learning a second language. Socioeconomic status, therefore, determines whether the native language and culture of the individual survive, and yet, most sociological studies in acculturation suggest that the lower the socioeconomic status, the more likely individuals will retain their ethnic identity, as well as reject the host culture (Nguyen & Henkin, 1980).

Thus, the prevailing view in second language acquisition theory that first language and culture maintenance, and by implication a strong ethnic identity, prevents or impedes the second language acquisition process, is generally uninformed about the nature and processes of acculturation as discussed in the social sciences. It also reflects quite naïve assumptions about the possibility of racially and culturally distinct groups assimilating into American society, and stands in contrast to the underlying theory of bilingual education, in which acquisition of the second language, particularly in academic areas, is facilitated by the continued development of the first language.

According to Cummins' theory of Common Underlying Proficiency (1981), academic language skills developed in the first language will

transfer, and therefore contribute to the development of academic skills in the second language. For this to happen, however, it is important that learners reach a certain level of proficiency in reading and writing in their native language.

In addition, maintenance of the first language and culture contributes to the emotional and psychological well-being of the individual, without which individuals would be less likely to successfully adapt to a new culture or to learn a second language. Indeed, there is considerable evidence from studies in psychology and mental health of the negative social and psychological consequences of assimilation. Ethnic identity serves not only as a grounding force within the individual, but as a survival strategy in a new and bewildering environment.

What is the relationship between acculturation and second language acquisition? This study addresses this question, as well as the relationship between acculturation and self-esteem, and acculturation and academic success. It is hypothesized that bicultural adaptation, rather than assimilation or rejection of the host culture, contributes positively towards second language acquisition, self-esteem, and academic success. The findings of this study should be of interest to educators and policy makers, and should inform the ongoing discussion of the importance of multicultural education.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The purposes of this research study are to determine in the Hmong population at the post-secondary level:

1. to what extent acculturation is a significant predictor of self-esteem, second language proficiency, and academic success, and

2. to what extent the demographic variables, age, gender, education, length of residence in the U.S., and age at immigration, affect the above relationships.

A questionnaire was developed to assess acculturation in the Hmong student population. The questionnaire is comprised of four major parts: The Hmong Acculturation Scale was developed using, as well as modifying, portions of existing instruments (Rick, 1988; Rick & Forward, 1992; Wong-Rieger, 1987; Young and Gardner, 1990); a widely used Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965); Can-Do Scales assessing language proficiency in Hmong and English (Clark, 1981); and demographic questions.

The Hmong Acculturation Scale reflects the non-linear, multi-dimensional nature of acculturation. It includes items assessing five dimensions of acculturation: language use, social contact, behavior, values, and attitudes, both in terms of movement towards the host culture and maintenance of ethnic culture.

The questionnaire will be given to students in English. Research has indicated that less than 50% of Hmong adolescents are literate in their native language, and that literacy has been documented at the intermediate level only (McGinn, 1989). Furthermore, translation into Hmong does not necessarily ensure an accurate rendition of the concepts presented in English, particularly if the concepts relate to experiences encountered in this country. In general and for purposes of this research, therefore, it is assumed that Hmong students at the college level can read and write English at a higher level of proficiency than Hmong, and that the questionnaire in English can be understood and appropriately responded to.

The specific research questions which this study will attempt to answer are:

1. To what extent are the various dimensions of acculturation: language use, social contact, behavior, values, and attitudes, significant predictors of self-esteem, second language proficiency, and academic success?

2. To what extent are the above relationships dependent upon age, gender, age on arrival, length of residence in U.S., years of education in native country, years of education in the U.S. and level of education of parents?

Multiple regression will be used to answer the above questions.

In-depth interviews will be conducted to obtain additional information about the acculturation process, and students' individual experiences and thoughts about various dimensions of acculturation. The interviews will be analyzed based on the procedure recommended by Colaizzi (1978) and Giorgi (1970, 1975), and used in McGinn (1989): a) reading of the protocols, b) formulating meanings of constituents, c) establishing initial categories from the clusters of meanings, d) apprehending themes from the clusters of initial categories, and e) stating the fundamental structure of the phenomenon.

Thus, both quantitative and qualitative data will be used to respond to the research questions above.

PROGRESS TO DATE

Data were collected during Spring and Summer, 1992. Subjects who completed the questionnaire were Hmong students at the University of Minnesota, Concordia College, Lakewood Community College, Mankato State University, University of Wisconsin-River Falls, Minneapolis Community College, Chippewa Valley Technical College, Winona State University, and National College. Approximately 100 students filled out the questionnaire assessing their degree of acculturation, self-esteem, and English and Hmong language proficiencies. In addition, end-of-the-year GPAs and total credits completed were obtained to measure academic progress. The data are currently being analyzed.

Fifteen of these students were interviewed to obtain more in-depth information about the acculturation process. The purpose of the interviews was to corroborate the findings of the questionnaire, as well as to obtain more in-depth information from an insider's perspective about the nature of acculturation and its relationship to second language acquisition in the Hmong student community. The interviews are currently being transcribed.

With the increasingly multicultural nature of North America and the political implications of changing ethnic relationships throughout the world, sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists have had to reconsider the general assumption that ethnic groups eventually assimilate or even desire to assimilate into the culture of the host country. It has become increasingly clear that ethnic immigrant groups vary greatly in their cultural adaptation patterns in the host society, with many immigrants, in fact, choosing some form of bicultural adaptation in which accommodation is made toward the host society, but without relinquishing traditional cultural values and customs.

It is hoped this study will lend support to the importance of first language and culture maintenance as the foundation of successful adaptation to a second culture, acquisition of a second language, and academic performance in the second language. In the increasingly heated political debate about the importance of multicultural education in an increasingly multicultural society, evidence of this kind is essential.

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Students' Work

Poetry

A close friend can become a close enemy. *(Farsi)*
—Masoumeh Nejati-Namin

Friends always come when you invite them.
True friends will come with no invitation. *(Lao)*
—Linh Nguyen

My dream in my future is to some day have good work to do.
I asked my dad and mom and they said it was true. *(Cambodian)*
—Kinchhe Tuy

If you want something, don't give up your steady effort.
One day you will accomplish your goal. *(Vietnamese)*
—Hoang Ngo

United States

Great sounds of fake silence whisper through the air

Intelligence of the mind wastes away...
the smell of the diploma crumbles.

Throwing junk in the air wastes the money we share.

Money calls to the gamblers, the stock traders,
the drug dealers

The smell of losing is what they fear.

Streets of darkness call to the killers
The racial gangs, everyone in his own group,
everyone in his own life.
Policemen show unlucky fear
lights of darkness go where nobody dares.

Sickness of the heart should be taken seriously
People like you should have the heart to care.

—Yeng Chhoeung

What I Miss in My Country

I miss my old house
where we have coconut, grapefruit, mango,
banana and papaya trees in the backyard.
I miss the weather,
always warm or hot,
never cold or having snow.
I miss my old school
that has no wall except ceiling.
I miss my family and friends
whom I used to have fun with.
I miss my country's food
that I like best, Khauniu and Ceng No May.
I miss the old street where I lived;
it always had kids running around
and singing thei favorite song, "O-duong tram pha."
And I miss my nieces, Thuy and Ai-me,
whom I have never seen in person before.

—Ngoc Nguyen

Looking Back

I look back from where I was
going and see myself like a
 mirage on the hot road behind
  me.
   I look back and see a younger
    version of myself, with my shoelaces
    untied, crying in frustration, not
     being able to tie them.

    Mixed feelings.
    I try to tie my laces,
    and I fumble. My
    grandma walks into the room,
   kneels on the floor, grabs the laces,
 shows me how to tie them, making
  a loop, pulling it around, and then
    yanking the laces. I now
      know how to tie
       my shoes.

          I look ahead down the road and see a
                    Big
                    Question
                    Mark.
                         —Carlos Lamas

Secret Forest

The black forest
was a flood of darkness,
Where the sky was never bright.
The clouds are full of lightning,
Where there is never light,
and if you walk
Along the hidden trail,
you won't lose a day.
But if you turn
to look back,
You may never
find your way.
     —Kaysone Syonesa

Music is important to me
because it is my first true
love. It could repair
my broken heart.
　　　—Hoang Ngo

When I hear music sometimes I think about
nature.
　　　　—Chantha Kouch
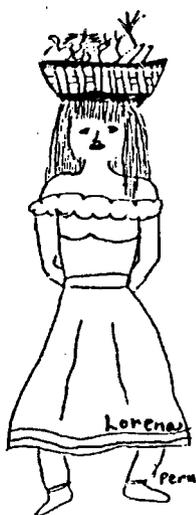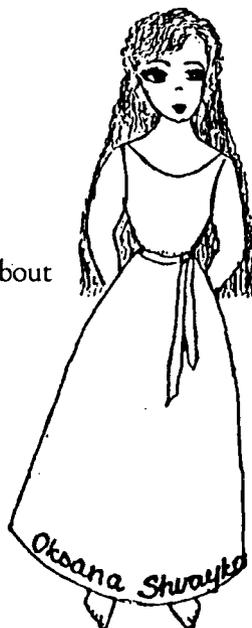
We don't have any
refrigerators in
Guyana, so we have
to shop every single
day. We go home from
school for lunch.
　　　—Zaheeda Nabuilla

These poems were written by students from Metcalf Junior High in
Burnsville, Minnesota. Our thanks to their ESL teacher, Connie Evans.

Essays

The following essays were awarded first place in the MinneTESOL-sponsored writing contest that formed part of the events scheduled to celebrate ESL/Bilingual Awareness Week (October 17–24, 1992).

What I'd like people to know about being Laotian is...

1st Prize, Grade 3–4

What I'd like speaker to know about being Laos is that we eat on the floor. We eat different food like rice and mango and lots of other foods. Sometime we eat the same foods as Americans. We wear wrap around skirts that matches the scarf. We go to a church that has Buddhas. Buddhas gives you a safe life.

Bounpasith Sounthala,
Madison District 742, St. Cloud, ESL teacher, Mrs. Walker

What I'd like people to know about being Laotian is...

1st Prize, Grade 5–6

...our cultures. We wear different clothing to church, sometimes weddings, sometimes furnerals, and special occasions. There are more places we wear our clothing too. Our parties usually get out of hand and get too wild. Especially birthday parties. We invite almost everybody we know. There is loud music, drinking beer for adults, dancing, playing cards, loud noises and sometimes, it leads to fighting. The birthday parties begin with a good start like, opening presents, eating cake, and children getting all of the attention. When we get to where the adults do all of the stuff, the birthday child/children doesn't get any attention at all. I guess that's it about our parties.

When we eat, we sometimes eat on the floor (not all of the time) with something called pa-t ăt. We like to eat with sticky or non-sticky rice. I say that our foods are better in my opinion. We eat noodles, eggrolls (goooooooooooood), chicken wings, papaya, and more. I think that our language is important because if I didn't know any Laos, I wouldn't be able to know about my parents or family because they speak Laos. I do think how I speak (English) has improved. I just can't remember how I started speaking English. And—I just can't believe how we grow up, we speak our languages and how do we know our words right away. I think our writing is special and important because it is so different. Other writing (Chinese, Vietnamise, etc.) is so cool how they write. It's just so NEAT! Even though I don't know how to read Laos that much, I can read and write a little bit. Here's an example:

Laos is a very poor place in some areas. Some areas are wealthy but stingy and selfish. I don't like that. I sometimes cry even to think of how my family was in Laos. We were poor but an OK type of poor. We had homes we built ourselves. We were lucky and safe we made it. How I knew all this was by my mother and father. They told me almost everything about Laos because I wasn't born there. I was born in Thailand.

Sack Insixiengmay, Laotian
Discovery Elementary, St. Cloud, ESL teacher, Nikki Rajala

My First Day to Keewaydin School

On my first day of school it was the most scary thing I did in my life. Imagine me going to school alone with other people who already been in the U.S.A. for a long time. As my uncle walked me to my bus stop in my mind I'm thinking what will happen to me and will I ever return home safe. The more I thought about, my tears wants to come down from my innocent eyes because this is not my homeland that I use to play all day long, it is about getting education in school.

I got on the bus and rode to Keewaydin School. When we arrived in school every students seems to know where to go but except me. I felt frightened and worried. I walked up to the door. I opened the heavy door

and got myself inside. As I got in, everyone was gone. The hall was clear and quiet. I was all alone. I can feel my heart beating. I just stood in the middle of the hall way and looking for help. Suddenly, I heard a soft voice from a beautiful lady coming out of the door. She say in Hmong, "What's your name?" I was too scare to answer so I just walked up to her with a frightened face. She took me to the office then a Hmong lady came to me and showed me my first grade class.

I was really puzzled now, because I didn't understand any English. The lady introduced me to my first grade teacher. He had a queer looking mustache, he's very tall and he had a Pinnochio nose.

After lunch the Hmong lady come to my room. She took me to a small room and taught me the American Alphabets and numbers. When she left my first grade teacher gave the class a clay project. The teacher asked me to join the class. He grouped me with some Hmong girls, because I didn't know any English at all. Than the teacher say something in English that I didn't understand. All I can hear and see is that his mouth is moving and he's talking very strange.

The girl explained to me that the teacher wanted every group to use the green clay to make a boat and whoever's boat doesn't sink will received some prizes. I thought to myself, hey that was so hard. So each one of us have our own clay. I make a thin and well shaped boat. I try to put the boat on the water and it didn't sink. My boat float on the water. I told the girls, "Hey, look is my boat working?" The girls was silent and stared at it.

Suddenly, all the girls explained, if I let them have my boat than they will be my friend and if I don't they won't be my friend. I was scare I will not have any friends so I gave them my boat. After I handed them my boat they raise their hands and the teacher came up to them. He saw the boat was perfectly fantastic! The teacher say something to them and I ask what was the teacher saying, one of the girl say he ask you made it and we say we made it.

I felt sad cause they lie to the teacher that they made the boat. The teacher gave them some prizes, like papers, pencils, pens, coloring books, and he didn't give some to me. After the teacher handed out the prizes, everyone start to get their stuff ready to go home. I was glad my first day of school was finally over. It's time for me to go back home so I can be with the people I can communicate.

Khoua Yang, Hmong
Folwell Middle School, Minneapolis, ESL teacher, Linda Bjorklund

The First Day of School

1st Place tie, Grade 9–12

It was a beautiful day, the weather was cool and a little windy. There were beautiful leaves being blown around me as I made my way down the peaceful street to the bus stop. I could smell fall in the air. I was walking in the peacefulness of fall but many things came up in my mind, all of those things were half of happiness and half of worries because that day was my first day of school in the United States.

The first minute in the new school of mine was full of surprises because it looked so strange to me. Suddenly for the first time I felt so uncomfortable because all around me were all the American students and my problem was I could not speak English. I still remember every minute after that. I just walked in the hall as walking in a huge desert with hopelessness to find a little bit of "water." I had nothing to say, did not know where to go, where to start. Everything, everybody was like switching around me. I saw the students talked, played, laughed…but I had no feeling inside of myself as them. Some students asked me something, but I could not answer them because of my English. What I said was only a sentence: "I am sorry, I do not understand English well." Deep inside I knew that all of those things came from the feelings of a new student and with me, an Asian student, in a foreign school would be more difficult for me. I still ask myself why I was so scared of the school bell! One reason might be that after the bell rang then I got lost. I could not find my classrooms, and the answer for me was: I was always late for my classes, even though that I held in my hand the map of Harding!! Lunch time was the only time I felt easier. I sat there at the table in the cafeteria and tried to get all the things that made me worry the first time out of my head, but I could not. It was stuck in my mind until the second week in Harding. My culture and my native language are so different from all the students in Harding. I can say I was scared of everything! I knew that everything would be fine but I still worried. On that day I almost talked to myself and closed myself to the world outside until the bell rang at 2:00 p.m. of September 3rd 1991.

The day of difficulties and uncomfortableness is over, but I will never forget it. I keep it as my best memory of my first time in Harding, keep it to remember there was one time I was scared of everything around me, even the school bell!! It is a beautiful thing for me to remember forever.

Dai Nguyen, Vietnamese
Harding Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teacher, Bob Bergstrom

On First Day of School

1st Place Tie, Grade 9–12

I will never forget how excited I was on my first day of school. It was March 1991 when I first came to America. I had an appointment with counselor to register in Burnsville High School. I guess it was lunch period when I entered into the building. In spite of cold weather, school kids in building wore short T-shirt. As soon as I realized how nice and warm inside was. However I looked around quickly. Some were talking and some were laughing. They were full of vitality. I wanted to be part of them some day. By the way, after the meeting was over, the conselor let some girl guide me to my locker. While we walked to my assigned locker, she kept asking me something but it was so hard to understand her fast speaking. She seemed to give up asking anyway. In front of my locker, I had to fight with red locker because whenever I tried to open it with correct combination, it was still locked. When American girl rotated combination just the way I did, it was opened. I felt the locker was discriminated. Gnashing my teeth I tried very hard and so finally I opened it. I made big smile for myself. After this big event, I went to my class also under the guidance of some student. It was drawing class. Teacher said "Welcome to my class" and she gave me a big smile. I felt so comfortable. But this comfort didn't go along with me after class was over because I had to run and run to find out my next class without guidance. More and more students disappeared. When finally bell rang, I panicked and was about to cry as if small kid lost parent in crowded street. Suddenly I saw a boy and I just grabbed him to stop and ask where am I to go. After I found my class, I finally could draw deep deep breath of relief and thought what a great day I started with.

Kyung Bang, Korean
Burnsville High School, Burnsville, ESL teacher, Pat Korb

What I'd like people to know about being Latino is...

1st Place, College

When you want to get in contact with people around the U.S., no matter how many ESL classes you have attended, your accent will show that you are different.

From the very moment a Colombian says the first sentence in a conversation, he or she knows what all the conversation will be about, and is not because of any special power Colombians may have, no magic, no voodoo, no macumba; it is pure and simple experience.

First the person you are talking to will ask ¿Is that the South American nation that produces coffee and emeralds? After that he or she will want to know all about drug cartels and guerrillas. Once again a Colombian will have to fight against tons of partial information that is being spread all around the world about Colombia. I mean partial because it shows only one side of the coin. It is true; we have guerrillas and drug cartels. Every single person that reads the press knows that.

But if you—because of mere curiosity—want to find out who is more popular arround the U.S., you will find that in the list of top five Colombian populars there are more people from drug cartels than from the artistic, sports, or scientific "cartels." The first synthetic vaccine against malaria was developed by a Colombian scientist named Dr. Patarrollo this name is almost unknown at the U.S. but the name of Pablo Escobar Gaviria is quite popular. What a shame.

Columbia has great boxers, foot ball players, and chess players. During the last Olimpiades Colombia got a silver medal in running, but all this information is opaqued by the negative information that can be sell more easily.

During the time I have been here I have met about three persons that want to go to Colombia for vacations, but they are afraid to come back with a bullet on their body instead of a nice tan and lots of handmade souvenirs.

To be a COLOMBIAN means to be strong enough to show that majority is not totality, that even when the highest rate of students leaving school is in hands of Latinos, one as an individual can go as far as an American in his own development, and in what this Latina can give to the American comunity.

Being a Latina means to be responsible of Latin America's image, if it improves the oportunities for future immigrants will improve too. I wish more Latinos could be aware of this responsibility.

We can change that negative image, the U.S. of A. is a great nation that gives everyone the oportunity to show how much you worth.

Paola García, Colombian
Northeast Metro Technical College, ESL teacher, Bette Dean

On My First Day of School

1st Place, Adult

Since I came to Minnesota, I have had to face many difficulties. The problem which I met first was communication with Americans. I had already graduated from the secondary school in the colony. I thought the English that I learned in Hong Kong was enough to talk with someone, but it was not. When I met with Americans, I could not talk with them, because I couldn't hear, and they didn't understand what I was saying.

Every day, I felt too lonely when my daughter and son-in-law went out to work. I stood in front of the windows, counting cars and birds. I tried to improve my English by watching television, but I didn't understand what was happening daily around the world and locally. I listened to a radio, I didn't know even one sentence. Sometimes I tried to see movies, I barely understood their contents. When I went shopping, I could not speak with the sales person very well. For these reasons, I decided to continue my study in English at the Edina Community Center. I studied in an ESL class.

My school is at 5701 Normandale Road, Edina. It is a three-stories building, consisting of many classrooms, and is very quiet. We can learn different subjects inside the school.

When I came to school on the first day, I took an entrance examination. I was admitted to the intermediate class. While I met my substitute teacher, Janet Voettiner, for the first time, I felt that she was so kind. I was too shy to speak to her. During she taught us lesson, she very patiently pointed out the errors in my pronunciation, especially the words ending with "ly" and "ry" such as "happily" and "very." I also found out that British and American accents are quite different.

All the classmates introduced themselves, such as "What are their names?" "Where are they from?" and "How long have they been in the USA?" but I could not remember them clearly. During break time, I discovered that all the Southeast Asians were talking in one group, while the others who were Europeans were talking in another group. I remembered that Janet taught us about the culture and custom of the US, such as greeting each other by saying: "Pleased to meet you," or "It's my pleasure." When I wanted to talk with an American, I stood at least two feet away from him; and this distance is called "personal space." Besides this, she taught us grammar lesson about "tenses" and "prepositions." She also taught us vocabulary. She asked us to use the new words to make sentences, and gave us homework about grammar.

With regards to conversation, I could say only simple words "yes" or "no." Janet urged me to answer it with a complete simple sentence with courtesy.

On my way home, I recalled many words and of some the rules of grammar. I greatly appreciate with teacher and classmates because they helped me a lot to improve my English. Now, my listening, speaking, reading, and writing are getting better. For these reasons, I need to study more diligently in order to get a good result.

Cynthia Wong Fong, Chinese
Edina Community Center, ESL teacher, Janet Voettiner

Reviews

The *MinneTESOL Journal* welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professionals. In addition to textbooks and reference materials, these include computer and video software, testing instruments, and other forms of nonprint materials.

What's in a Word? Reading and Vocabulary Building

Samuela Eckstut and Karen Sorensen. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1992. (Removable answer key and cassette of recordings of the unit readings and the text for dictation from the review units are available.)

The often-asked question, "When does a learner really 'know' a word?" has many answers: When s/he can pronounce it, spell it, use it in the appropriate context, produce its other forms, use it with the appropriate preposition, use it in the appropriate situation, etc. The authors of *What's in a Word* obviously had all of these answers in mind when writing this book. Eckstut and Sorensen have produced a text which offers the learner the full-range of practice in really "knowing" vocabulary.

In *What's in a Word*, learners are presented with lexcial items in context as well as given opportunities to meet the new words in many communicative activities such as discussion, games, opinion polls, and information gap exercises. There are also opportunities for reviewing and extending learned vocabulary. For example, in the unit entitled "Politics and Protest," students learn vocabulary related to an election. In the following sections they are given the opportunities to share their opinions about the most important qualifications for a politician, compare their countries' systems of government with that of the U.S. and England, read and discuss an editorial criticizing our current election system and complete a crossword puzzle using the vocabulary words. Finally, in the word study, they focus on prefixes meaning *not*.

What's in a Word has eight such thematic units like "Politics and Protes"t and a review unit found after every three units (four review units in all). In each topical unit, students have the opportunity to learn

vocabulary related to that common theme, read it in context, and use it in communicative interaction. The units in the book can be used independently of one another, but the review units would then be unuseable without some modification.

Each thematic unit is introduced with the question "Do you know these words?" followed by a list of ten lexical items (verbs, adjectives and nouns) which are related semantically to the theme of the unit. The unit is further divided into sections with the first being "Presentation." Following the vocabulary list, the "Presentation" section provides warm-up activities introducing the theme, a 1-page reading presenting the 10 vocabulary items in context, and follow-up activities guiding students to an understanding of the words based on their context in the reading, structure, and relationships to other words (e.g., synonyms or antonyms).

The next section, "Expansion," introduces additional words and phrases related to the 10 lexical items. Like the final activity in the Presentation section, at the end of "Expansion" the students have an opportunity to practice many of the new words and phrases in a communicative context.

The final section, "Word Study," asks students to look more analytically at some of the words they have practiced in the unit. It focuses on such areas as the grammar of words, pronunciation, spelling, and collocation. It also helps students develop skills for more efficient dictionary use. The review units give students oppotunities to review the vocabulary and evaluate their own learning. First, learners meet the previously learned vocabulary in a new way—they are asked to decide if the lexical items have a positive, negative, or neutral meaning. Next, they review the derivations of words they have learned or play an association game with the lexical items. Finally, they evaluate how well they "know" the new vocabulary. In a chart, they indicate whether they can use the words correctly, whether they know the meanings, but can't use them, or whether they are not sure about the meanings or simply don't know the words.

I had an opportunity to use this book in an Adult Education ESL class and found it to be very successful in gaining the students' interest and in stimulating interaction. Many of my adult ESL students were interested in improving their reading and vocabulary as well as having an opportunity to speak English. *What's in a Word* provides copious opportunities for interactive practice and short readings which can be read and discussed within the class period. In the unit "Right and Wrong," the "Presentation"

section has a survey entitled "What Are Your Values?" Students are asked to state whether they agree or disagree with nine opinions. I recall that this activity in particular sparked a highly-animated small group discussion on values.

I would highly recommend *What's in a Word* as a supplementary text for teachers who want to help (high) intermediate students improve their active and passive vocabularies as well as provide many vocabulary-building strategies. In addition, I would recommend it as a resource book that provides teachers with a model of the range of activities that can be included under "vocabulary practice." It offers many unique ideas to help students "know" a word in all of its dimensions.

THE REVIEWER
Caren Hohenstein Abdelaal is a Teaching Specialist for the University of Minnesota, English Program for International Students, and an Adult ESL Instructor for Wayzata Community Education, Westonka Adult Education

Culture Shock U.S.A.

Esther Wanning. Portland, Oregon: Graphic Arts Center Publishing Company, 1991.

     Culture Shock. U.S.A. is a text designed to help newcomers adjust to life in the United States. It consisists of thirteen chapters dealing with American history, entertainment, family, religion, education, and social life. It also includes information about doing business in the U.S. The book itself is very descriptive, giving lots of factual information.

    At first glance the book has a readable format, with text accompanied by illustrations. The cartoons are very enjoyable and show the American sense of humor; however, the illlustrations in the book seem dated, and present an almost stereotypical image from the fifties and sixties era.

    The author states that she wrote the book to answer questions posited by immigrants during interviews in different states. But there are some methodological questions the reader would like to know. How were these immigrants chosen and what types of questions were asked of them? Without the answers to these questions, the book is rather confusing. One wonders if Ms. Wanning had a specific audience in mind when she wrote the book. It seems as if this text was written for people who have not heard of western manners or who have been brought up in a very different environment. If this is not the case, then the chapters on table manners and bathroom etiquette are boring or worse, patronizing. One assumes that most people who have the proficiency level needed to read this book would be aware of the stated manners and etiquette.

    Many chapters seem to support superficial surface level facts about American society. Ms. Wanning repeats a lot of clichés about Americans: Southerners are hospitable, New Englanders are quiet and reserved, New Yorkers have a reputation for being rude. One reads such a book in order to find insightful remarks on the whys and hows of American culture. Sadly, such remarks are often lacking. For example, Wanning talks about American education, SAT scores, and universities, but we never hear about what types of high school students go on to college or what motivates them to continue their education. It is always safe and easy to talk about the more general issues, but more serious topics, such as the common problems that students have in college or the growing liberalization on college campuses never seem to be mentioned.

    Likewise, other topics are treated in the same general manner.

Wanning describes the American family in a very traditional way. She does talk of "blended families" where divorced parents marry again and children of both parents start living together. However, nowadays we also see gay and lesbian couples forming families and adopting children. The text neglects to mention some of these more recent (and more controversial) types of unions.

The book definitely lacks cultural and ethnic variety. Wanning describes a society of the successful white middle class. Overall the text is a quick review of how this middle class lives and behaves. Most of the examples given in the book are very short and focus on the responses of this class. Yet the U.S. is not only white middle class. Hispanics, Blacks, and American Indians do exist in the community and any visitor to the U.S. can easily see them. Including interviews with minority groups could have given more substance and vitality to the book. It would have been more than a cookbook of recipe-style information.

Included at the end of the book is a "cultural quiz" composed of case studies intended to sum up or test what has been discussed in the text. While such studies can be useful, they are a superficial way of understanding the culture. Their contribution in cross-cultural training programs is limited.

In sum, because the book does not provide enough information for insightful ideas about day-to-day survival in the U.S., it's best use may be as a quick reference to a superficial look at what Americans are like. Used in this way, the book could provide a point-of-departure for discussion of stereotypes, or it could be compared to other, better references such as: *Habits of the Heat: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* by Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton, Berkeley, 1985. Readers might also find *American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* by Edward C. Stewart and Milton J. Bennett, Intercultural Press, 1991; and *American Ways: A Guide for Foreigners in the United States* by Gary Althen, Intercultural Press, 1988; and *Cross Cultural Orientation: New Conceptualizations and Applications*, edited by R. M. Paige. University Press of America, 1986.

THE REVIEWER
Deniz Gökçora is a graduate student at the University of Minnesota in Second Languages and Cultures Education. She has taught ESL and Turkish as a foreign language at the same institution.

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