Research and Practice in Immersion Education:
Looking Back and Looking Ahead

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CARLA Working Paper #10

CARLA | Center for Advanced
Research on Language
Acquisition

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Research and Practice in Immersion Education:
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Selected Conference Proceedings

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1998

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First Edition

Acknowledgments

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Preface

Immersion education has received increasing attention since the 1960's as one of the most effective means to facilitate second language acquisition in children. Research on the topic of immersion education (cf. Swain and Lapkin, 1982; Genesee, 1987 for an overview) has demonstrated that children in immersion programs experience no lags in achievement as a result of receiving academic instruction in a second language and at the same time they attain normal levels of English language proficiency and higher levels of second language proficiency than children in other types of foreign language programs. As interest in these programs has spread, their numbers have increased so that by 1995 there were 179 one-way immersion programs as well as 182 two-way immersion programs in the United States (Rhodes, 1995).

Although much research on immersion programs has been carried out, a number of issues remain unresolved. Some examples include: what models of immersion programs work best in different contexts? how can immersion education be continued into the middle and high school levels? what are the best means to recruit, prepare, and supervise immersion teachers? how can language and content teaching be integrated effectively? how can the development of sociolinguistic competence be facilitated in immersion settings? what instruments exist to assess students content and language development?

To address some of these issues the members of the Immersion Project of the National Language Resource Center in the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA) of the University of Minnesota jointly with the Minnesota Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (MCTFL) organized a conference on "Research and Practice in Immersion Education: Looking Back and Looking Forward" which took place on October 19-20, 1995 in Bloomington, Minnesota. The conference was designed around four key themes in immersion education: policy and planning issues, immersion pedagogy, culture and diversity, and assessment issues. A distinguished scholar introduced each of the themes in a keynote address which was followed by a series of interactive discussion sessions. The outcomes for each discussion group varied according to the topic under consideration. The conference was designed to encourage as much interaction as possible between researchers on immersion education, teachers, and parents of immersion students. The goal of the conference was twofold: (1) to determine how research from the last two decades informs each of the key topics; and (2) to determine what we do not know and define directions for future research in this field.

The papers presented here are divided into two main sections: policy and planning, and pedagogical and assessment issues. The papers under the topic of policy and planning include the keynote address by Donna Christian and discussion group summaries on (1) two-way immersion, (2) continuing immersion schooling into middle schools and high schools, (3) recruitment, preparation, and supervision of immersion teachers, and (4) continuing immersion into post-secondary institutions. The papers under the rubric of pedagogical and assessment issues include the keynote address by Merrill Swain and discussion group summaries on (1) the integration of language and content teaching, (2) the development of sociolinguistic competence in immersion settings, (3) the choice of language for cognitive tasks: reasons and consequences, (4) the role of strategy-based instruction in immersion education, (5) instruments to assess students' content development, and (6) instruments to assess students' language development.

It is the hope of the conference organizers that these reports contribute to continuing discussions on immersion education and serve to promote future research on this topic.

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Policy and Planning Issues in Immersion Education

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Overview: Looking Back

The immersion approach to language education, while perhaps still "innovative," is no longer new. There has been a wide proliferation of immersion programs in Canada and the United States since the St. Lambert experiment began thirty years ago. Rhodes (1995), in an annually updated list, puts the number of schools with one-way immersion programs at 179; we estimate that over 30,000 students are learning academic content and an additional language in these programs each year. In addition, the language immersion model has joined with bilingual education to produce two-way immersion, and in 1994 we gathered information on over 180 schools using that approach, involving over 25,000 students (Christian and Whitcher, 1995). While these totals represent a small percentage of the total U.S. student population, the numbers are nonetheless not insignificant. And, looking back just 30 years, we can clearly see substantial growth since St. Lambert and its offspring in the U.S. in Culver City.

Moreover, we have gained experience. We have conducted research and evaluated many programs. We have formulated policies and watched their effects. So, it seems to be an excellent time to take stock, to think about what has been learned, to look at the current set of educational and social conditions, and to look forward toward future years of immersion education. We must, at the same time, recognize some of the nagging issues that continue to nip at our heels.

This paper will examine the ways in which policy at many levels can affect language immersion programs and then look at some issues in planning programs within that policy context, as we strive to align theory, implementation and desired outcomes. As a case in point, specific policy and planning matters related to the two-way immersion approach will be explored. More issues will be raised than resolved, to be sure. However, it is hoped that discussion of these issues might lead to greater understanding and knowledge of the immersion approach to language education.

Policy/Planning Interface

Policy and planning need not be related at all (for instance, planning may ignore the existence of any relevant policy guidance). However, they are typically linked by the way in which existing policy constrains or influences what can be planned. That is, a

policy may prohibit or require a particular choice at a planning decision point. In between those two extremes, applicable policies may encourage, discourage, or simply remain silent on alternative choices.

Policy and planning do not function in isolation, of course. In an interactive set, they coexist with our knowledge base (from research and experience), our beliefs, and various local conditions. At some point, too, all of these are related to the result of planning, for example, the implementation of language education programs or classes. Schematically, this set might be represented as in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1:
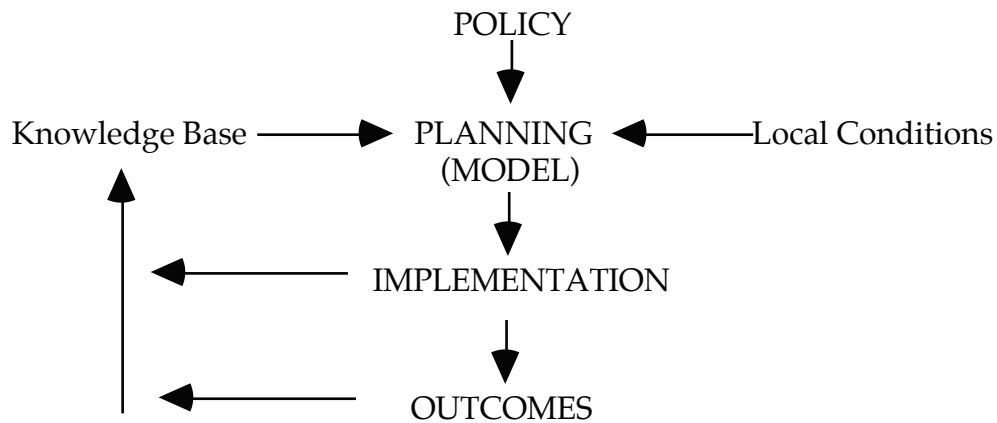
Using this simple model as a backdrop, we can examine briefly the relationships between the background, planning, implementation and outcomes of immersion programs--a connection that language educators must consider carefully. One of our major tasks is to explicate the knowledge base, bringing together our research and experience in immersion education. We may also clarify the policies that exist and notice areas where policy is lacking or needs to be changed. In the end, we will look forward to the future, developing the field of immersion education in general, and planning local programs and practices to fit local conditions.

Policy Contexts for Immersion Education

Policy exists at many levels--federal, state, local, school, program, classroom--and may be codified (and written) or may be simply a matter of accepted practice. In most cases, governmental policies (federal, state, local) are codified and often are a matter of

law or regulation. Policies at the school, program, or classroom level may or may not be set out in writing; they are still very real, however. A program's policy not to admit new students above the second grade level, for example, whether found in a policy manual or not, affects what happens in the program, as long as those in power adhere to it.

In the government context, language policies and education policies are the primary ones that affect immersion education. Of those, the latter are much more highly developed in the United States. The following discussion focuses on this country; policy contexts in other nations where immersion education is practiced, such as Canada, differ considerably. These diverse policy contexts merit full discussion, and a comparative analysis would be extremely interesting, but it is beyond the scope of the present paper.

At the federal level in the U.S., a codified language policy has been absent (Robson, Dutcher, Rhodes, and Solomon, 1995). There is no reference to language in either the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution, although languages other than English were widely used at the time those documents were written. In the last 25 years, however, there have been a number of proposals to add an amendment to the Constitution or pass a law that would name English as the official language of the nation. To this point, such efforts have been unsuccessful, but some current proposals are seen as more likely to pass than in the past. How such a policy, if adopted, would affect foreign language education, and immersion education in particular, is unclear. Most of the current proposals would exempt the teaching of foreign languages from "Official English" provisions (which would bar the use of federal funds on activities in languages other than English). However, it seems likely that non-English languages will decline further in value if such a measure becomes law.

At the state level, the policy context is somewhat different, since a number of states name official languages in their constitutions or in legislation. In New Mexico, English and Spanish are official state languages, and in Hawaii, English and Native Hawaiian are official. Four states have named English the official language in constitutional amendments (Colorado, Florida, Nebraska and Arizona), but Arizona's amendment was overturned by a federal judge as a violation of the right to free speech. Eighteen other states have given English official status through resolutions or statutes (as of 1995). On the other hand, three states (New Mexico, Oregon, and Washington) have passed "English Plus" resolutions, which support English proficiency for all, along with learning/maintenance of other languages and cultures.

Turning to education, relevant policy contexts include general education policy (such as compulsory schooling for children of certain ages, graduation requirements, and

so on) as well as policies about language in education. Since, in the U.S., responsibility for education resides in the states, there is no specific federal policy on languages in education. One exception is the 1990 Native American Languages Act, which makes it U.S. policy to "preserve, protect and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages." (This contrasts sharply with policies which undermined these languages and contributed to the extinction of many-- only 70 years ago, Native Americans in government schools were punished for speaking their native language. Mexican students in the Southwest were similarly prohibited from using their native Spanish in school, according to Crawford (1992)).

Although there is no national curriculum in the U.S., the federal government can influence state and local policy and practice through the budget process. For example, programs may be authorized that encourage states and local school districts to expand or update their language offerings, programs like the Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) established by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. However, if no funds are appropriated for that program in a given year, this encouragement can quickly turn to discouragement. Several recent Congressional budget proposals have eliminated funding for FLAP. Although it has survived to this point, this program's uncertainty demonstrates how policy can also be shaped through the budget process. Regulations that derive from non-education specific laws, such as those guaranteeing civil rights, also set policy. Services to English language learners, for example, may be instituted in response to such regulations, in order to avoid violating the law by allowing discrimination in educational opportunity based on national origin.

Some federal legislation has actually provided support for the teaching of languages other than English (Robson, Dutcher, Rhodes, and Solomon, 1995); The National Defense Education Act (1955) included provisions to fund research and fellowships in post secondary foreign language education, which were later incorporated into the Higher Education Act. In 1992, the National Security Education Act authorized programs in the Department of Defense to fund fellowships and other grants to promote the learning of less commonly taught languages, again at the post secondary level. Support for language learning by K-12 students has been less in evidence. FLAP, mentioned above, was recently (1994) reauthorized within the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, to provide funding for foreign language programs. An important policy indicator, although not directly related to funding for programs, was the inclusion of foreign languages as a "core subject" in the federal Goals 2000 initiative

approved in 1994. Following on that, a national panel was convened to develop national K-12 standards in foreign language education (ACTFL 1995).

Since education policy resides largely at state and local levels, policies about requirements and possibilities for the teaching of foreign languages are found (if at all) at those levels. Curricula in all states include foreign languages, and some states require language study for certain high school diplomas (college preparatory). In most cases, the requirements depend on course credits, but in at least one case, Pennsylvania, a proficiency requirement was proposed for high school graduation. Most decisions about foreign language teaching and learning, however, are made at the local school district level.

The governmental policy context for foreign language, then, resides in laws and regulations that allow or encourage (through funding) language education, but seldom mandate it. (Met (1994) notes a study of fifteen developed nations which found that 13 mandate foreign language study by the middle grades, unlike in the U.S.) Since immersion programs are embedded in the overall system, broader education policy directions must also be examined in the policy context. At present, at least three trends are noteworthy for their possible effect on immersion education:

- the continued devolution of power and authority (and funding) from federal to state and local governmental levels;

- changes in budget allocations for educational programs;

- shift in emphasis from categorical programs (such as immersion) to whole school approaches.

These trends suggest that immersion education will remain primarily a local decision, with even less likelihood for external funding to be available.

Planning Issues in Immersion Education: Aligning Theory, Implementation, Outcome

As everyone involved in immersion programs (or any education program) knows very well, planning and implementing a program requires many decisions to be made-- from grosser ones (what languages will be used?) to finer ones (with no certified teacher available who is fully proficient in the language of instruction, should a compromise be made?). Many such decisions, once carried out, may become policy as precedent.

The biggest challenges for innovative language programs, as indeed for all innovations in education, lie in reconciling theoretical, or research-based, principles with

local conditions in real schools, in the design and implementation of programs and practices to achieve the outcomes desired. Using the framework presented in Figure 1, we can say that the input of our knowledge base to planning and implementation is moderated by local conditions and policies. In other words, there is a good deal of information in the knowledge base that cannot be fully applied, due to local conditions (including attitudes and beliefs). This fact suggests two questions:

- Can we plan ways of implementing practice that conform more closely to recommendations from our knowledge base?

- What are the consequences of implementing programs or practices that are not supported by our knowledge base?

These questions will permeate the issues in the following discussion.

There are a variety of issues to be considered in planning for individual programs and schools as well as for the future of immersion education. In each case, the connections among our knowledge base, policy, and implementation in local conditions play key roles. Areas of concern in the field that affect the planning of programs include: program variations; language proficiency development and maintenance; languages of immersion education; articulation of programs; teacher resources; parent and community support and involvement; and assessment.

Program Variation

It is important, at all stages of planning and implementation, to keep in mind the consequences of choices that are made. In the setting of goals and priorities for an immersion program, for example, a school needs to consider the local sociolinguistic situation, recognizing whether the target language is present in the community, is a heritage language in revival, or is not represented locally ("target" language refers to the language other than English in which students are immersed). There are many options for models and methods in immersion. An early decision on whether a program will utilize *full* or *partial* immersion, for example, reflects a complex array of local factors and carries an equally complex array of consequences for implementation and outcomes. During implementation, goals and priorities may conflict, as in a scheduling issue where a choice must be made between the language development priority and others.

Language Proficiency Development and Maintenance

Given the sociolinguistic realities of both the broader society and the local community, it is important in planning an immersion program to consider the target

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language goals. Some measures may need to be taken, for example, to combat the development of an "immersion dialect" among students, which may develop when the only standard model for the target language is the teacher (where fossilized, non-native forms persist in student usage). Tarone and Swain (1995) have discussed the diglossic situation that may occur in immersion programs, where target language proficiency is restricted to academic contexts because students seldom choose to use it when not required. In those cases, a functional distribution of native and target language often emerges because the target language is rarely used in non-academic conversations in or out of the classroom. Students' language preferences stem both from ease of use and from influences of broader societal attitudes toward languages other than English. Finally, attention must also be devoted to articulation with appropriate secondary programs early on in the planning, if a goal is to maintain and/or further develop language proficiency beyond the elementary immersion setting.

Languages of Immersion Education.

The choice of target language has obvious consequences for programs. Resources, both material and human, must be considered, along with community interest. In the case of less commonly taught languages, these issues may define what is possible.

Articulation of Programs

As mentioned above, maintenance and development of the target language beyond the elementary immersion program is an issue to be dealt with early in planning. Many educators would argue that we should only plan programs that span grades K through 12 and beyond, but we might ask whether elementary school programs alone are worthwhile even when secondary follow-up is not possible. There are many open questions as well as to what kind of instruction is adequate or desirable for maintenance and/or further development of target language skills gained in elementary immersion. When actually planning the secondary program, identification of resources becomes an issue (since target language teachers and materials for secondary content courses may be hard to find), as well as scheduling and student assessment.

Teacher Resources

A vital issue for the field is teacher supply. Draper (1991) found that 57% of state foreign language coordinators reported a shortage of foreign language teachers (not just immersion). Pesola (1991) noted that the shortage is especially critical in grades K to 8,

because of the rapid growth of interest in language learning in elementary schools. The situation is even more serious in immersion, since teachers need to be able to help students learn challenging academic content, they need to speak the target language at a high level of proficiency in academic and social contexts, and they need to understand immersion methodology. Such qualifications far exceed those cultivated by most teacher preparation programs. As a result, much teacher preparation in immersion is in inservice contexts, and local decision-makers must place a priority on professional development to make it happen.

Even when qualified teachers are available, other local policies or practices may intervene. Dolson and Lindholm (1995) cite a case where administrators who were not sensitive to the needs of an immersion program assigned teachers with insufficient target language proficiency to teach in immersion classrooms. They also mention other policies that may interfere with appropriate teacher assignment, such as policies related to seniority and school choice, as well as union rules.

Parent and Community Support and Involvement

When planning immersion programs, parent and community support is critical, since participation is voluntary. If parents do not enroll their children, the programs will not exist. (It should also be recognized, of course, that many immersion programs arise from parent, rather than school, initiatives.) But the challenge for planners and implementers goes beyond initial enrollment. As Davies (1995) points out, "There is now a convincing body of research that links various forms of parent involvement to improved student achievement and better student attendance, behavior, and social access." Thus, parent involvement must be addressed at all times, even when there is a waiting list for the immersion program.

Assessment

Methods and purposes of student assessment have received a great deal of attention throughout the education world in recent years. All of the issues raised in that discussion apply equally to immersion programs, with the additional concern for alignment of assessment with the curriculum when part of the curriculum is provided in a language other than English. The question of language of assessment is just one of many that must be addressed.

A Case in Point: Two-Way Immersion Education

As a specific case in policy and planning issues, we can look briefly at two-way immersion in the U.S. Given its shorter recent history, it may provide a compact view of immersion issues in general. Two-way immersion integrates the goals and methods of "one-way" immersion for English speakers with those of maintenance bilingual education for native speakers of another language. In these programs, roughly equal numbers of students from each language background participate in classes together, and content instruction is provided through each language (see Christian (1996) for a fuller characterization). At the local level, the impetus for planning two-way programs may come from either the foreign language or the language minority education constituency, due to its roots in both traditions. The source of the initiative can have interesting consequences for the policy context in which the program operates, and, in turn, for implementation.

From a federal perspective, these programs illustrate how funding can encourage program proliferation (without mandating the model in any way). Prior to 1980, there were just a few programs using a two-way approach, mostly under bilingual education auspices. In the mid 1980's, the U.S. federal government funded a research center that investigated the two-way model (the Center for Language Education and Research at UCLA) and also resumed funding for developmental bilingual education through the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs that provided schools with funds to offer two-way programs. In 1987, a survey report produced by the research center described 30 schools with such programs in operation (, 1987). A recent study documents the two-way approach in over 180 schools (Christian and Whitcher, 1995), an indication of the impressive growth in interest. This increase is not, of course, due solely to federal action; other factors, such as greater awareness of possible benefits for minority and majority students and greater interest in elementary school language learning, among others, played significant roles.

On the other hand, two-way programs exist in an environment of increasingly negative attitudes toward immigrant and minority groups and their languages. Although there is a long history of indifference toward learning languages other than English in the U.S., there remains a significant difference in attitudes toward English speakers learning other languages and language minorities continuing to develop their native language while they learn English. Federal, state, and local policies about language, reflecting many of these attitudes, create the atmosphere in which two-way programs operate and in some cases directly affect them. For example, some extreme proposals at all levels would

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prohibit funding for bilingual programs, which could negatively affect two-way programs since they provide bilingual education for language minority students. Foreign language education, though not often attacked, has not typically been well supported by policy makers at elementary and secondary levels. Thus, two-way programs experience the mostly ambivalent policies about foreign language learning, as well as the potentially threatening policies stemming from attitudes toward bilingual education.

Keeping such policy considerations in mind, two-way programs face planning issues like those mentioned earlier—program variations, teacher resources, articulation, and so on. Several of these issues will be briefly discussed from the perspective of two-way programs in the U.S., to further elaborate the case.

Target Language Maintenance and Development.

If a priority is placed on maintenance and development of the target language by its native and non-native speakers, specific planning must address that goal. Many two-way programs report that students in the upper elementary grades have a strong preference for English, and use the target language only when required in the classroom (like students in one-way immersion). Minority students as well as majority tend to participate in this shift, even at the expense of their native language.

McCollum (1993) investigated the concept of the "cultural" capital carried by English, reflected in the local setting, and the role it might play in the power exerted by English. In a middle school two-way program, where English was preferred by all students, she found ways in which Spanish forms of cultural capital were less valued by school and teacher practices, despite strong expressions of support for bilingualism. For example, routine school practices conveyed the message that English was the language of power: daily announcements were given in English first, then in Spanish, every day, and the daily vocabulary word was always an English word. In testing, although both English and Spanish achievement tests were given, the English test was signaled in many ways as more important (one student commented: "The Iowa determines if you pass the year. Not La Prueba. It's important because it goes to the State" (p.14)). Classes prepared for the English test for many months, and it was given to all students at the same time. The Spanish test, on the other hand, was administered in class whenever it could fit in. Subtle cues like these were found by McCollum to influence students to use English rather than the target language.

The presence of native speakers of the target language in two-way programs raises a related matter: dialect differences. McCollum (1993) found that the variety of Spanish

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used by the native speakers was not generally accepted in the school, making it seem that their language was devalued, rather than a foundation to build on. Planners need to look at varieties of both English and the target language brought to school by the students in order to determine how they can be built on and used as resources.

Community and school administration support and understanding also deserve ongoing attention. Two-way, like one-way, immersion programs are voluntary, and parents must support them by enrolling their children. Unlike one-way immersion, though, they may be subject to local attitudes about community languages and their speakers, and suspicion from minority language parents about possible dilution of services to their children. Community support is often enthusiastic, however, especially after the programs demonstrate effectiveness over several years, and demand for access may be high. Craig (1993) documents what she calls "public language planning" and "grassroots bilingualism" in the establishment and growth of a two-way program that became strongly supported by parents and community.

Broad school and district understanding are also critical for program implementation. Dolson and Lindholm (1995) cite the case of a school district with a two-way program option in its magnet school plan to promote racial integration. Student enrollment and school assignment were done in the district central office. Because racial integration was the highest priority, Hispanic students were assigned to the immersion school solely on the basis of racial identification, and the school ended up with primarily English-speaking Hispanic and Anglo students. Spanish-speaking Hispanics were underrepresented because of the random assignment. Later, when the program gained more control over the process, more balanced numbers of Spanish speakers and English speakers were achieved (while still meeting desegregation objectives). Thus, it is important for planners to work to facilitate broader understanding and support, anticipating which policies might work against the goals of the program.

Looking Forward: Policy and Planning for the Future

In summary, immersion education in the U.S. operates in a policy context where there is no mandate, but there are some supportive policies. Program planning should be mindful of that context, along with many other aspects of implementing immersion in real schools. Some of the points mentioned include variations in models, implications of priorities chosen, planning for articulation across educational levels, instructional resources (including well-prepared teachers), and language development issues. Other matters come to light as we gain experience and knowledge about immersion. It is

important to bring all relevant information to bear in the planning process; to plan in full awareness of policy, knowledge base, and local conditions; and to consider the likely consequences of choices that are made. It is also essential to observe the outcomes of implementation and feed that information back into the knowledge base for future planning.

The very good news is that our knowledge base is growing constantly and there continues to be a core base of support for immersion education among parents, educators, and policymakers at all levels. The challenge of implementation remains, figuring out how programs can be effective for students within the context of local conditions.

Immersion education is an ambitious undertaking. It aims to give students the opportunity to learn high levels of academic content--all the core curriculum prescribed by the state and school district--and to do it in a language other than English. In this era of standards-based reform, that means planning to work toward high standards in all academic content areas--math, science, social studies AND language--with the proficiency targets at the highest levels. Tucker (1986) has spurred us to dream of a language competent society. If we can move the field of immersion education ahead by our discussions, we will be moving in the right direction.

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Dual-Language Immersion Programs:
A Cautionary Note Concerning the Education of
Language Minority Students[*]

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Dual-language immersion programs bring children from two different language groups together. Beginning in kindergarten, monolingual anglophone children are put into classrooms with non-English-speaking minority children. According to Christian (1996), there are two major patterns of language allocation in such programs: 90/10 programs, in which 90 percent of the instruction is carried out in the non-English language and 10 percent is carried out in English, and 50/50 programs, in which the percentage of instruction in each language is roughly equal. The aim of these programs is for majority anglophone children to develop a high level of proficiency in a "foreign" language while receiving a first-rate education, and for minority children who do not speak English to benefit from having instruction in their mother tongue, as well as by interacting with English-speaking peers.

The following anecdotes are composites derived from conversations with other researchers and from observations I carried out over many years in schools and communities in both New Mexico and California. These observations have been carried out as part of my research on English-Spanish bilingualism among the Mexican-origin population. Andrew represents a majority child who, in a bilingual situation, speaks English, the majority/prestige language. Maria represents teacher-activists, many of whom I have known for over twenty years, who have a deep commitment to using non-prestige minority languages in the education of non-Anglo students.

Andrew is a bright seven-year-old boy with flaming red hair and blue eyes. He is the child of an academic mother and a software executive, both of whom are deeply committed to social justice. Andrew's parents are also deeply committed to providing Andrew with educational opportunities that will help him attain a position in society commensurate with their status and accomplishments. Andrew is enrolled in a dual-language immersion program offered in a magnet school in a large city in California. At recess one day, Andrew and a group of three other boys were engaged in a noisy game,

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chasing and pushing each other. As often happens with seven year olds, what started as a game turned into a fight. Andrew felt outnumbered and, red in the face and almost in tears, shouted at the other three boys, "If you can't play fair, I'm going off to another school, and all of you will be here, all by yourselves." At seven, Andrew already understands a great deal about power and about the fragile relationships between groups in our society. His remarks, said in childish anger and frustration, reflect a fundamental difference between the two groups of children enrolled in this particular immersion program.

Andrew's school is located in a transitional area that until recently was almost entirely populated by lower-middle-class and middle-class Euro-Americans. In the last several years, however, large numbers of immigrants of Mexican origin have moved into the neighborhood, occupying most of the apartment rental property in the area. Until the dual-immersion program was established, the school had experienced "White flight." White parents, fearing the declining quality of the neighborhood schools because of the need to accommodate "less able" students, moved their children to private schools or moved their families to different neighborhoods in order to send their children to more mainstream—that is, English-language—public schools.

Since the dual-language immersion program has been implemented, however, the school's enrollment is almost 50 percent White anglophone children and 50 percent first-generation Spanish-speaking children of Mexican origin. From most available indicators, the program is successful. Children from the two groups interact daily. The children of Mexican origin provide language models for the children learning Spanish and, in turn, the anglophone children provide English-language models for the Mexican-origin children. At this particular school, the anglophone children receive a great deal of publicity and praise from both majority and minority teachers, from school district administrators, from members of the school board, and from the media for acquiring Spanish-language skills. The teachers are proud of what the school's immersion program has accomplished for these children.

In another area of the country, a statewide meeting of educators was held to discuss the merits of implementing dual-language immersion programs as alternatives to bilingual education. In this state, many educators are concerned about the dwindling resources available for bilingual education programs, about the constant attacks on such programs by legislators, and about their own inability to demonstrate by means of achievement scores that bilingual education is working. Dual-language immersion programs involving anglophone children appear to be the perfect solution to these

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problems. Linguistic-minority children will still be able to begin their education in their first language, while the presence of anglophone children will ensure community support.

One educator present at the meeting whom I will call Maria, is not convinced. She is about sixty years old, and a veteran of many struggles. As a child she was involved with her parents in a historic strike against the state's powerful copper mining industry. As a young woman she worked to organize farm workers in a nearby valley. She has picketed, marched, and taken on numerous fights against wealthy White landowners on behalf of poor and powerless workers of Mexican origin. For fifteen years, before bilingual education training was offered at institutions of higher education, she ran a model training center for bilingual teachers. She has been a champion of bilingual education for children of Mexican origin, and is opposed to the concept of dual-immersion. "Dual-language immersion education is not a good idea," she says, rising to her feet. Then, switching to graphic Spanish, she adds, *"Si se aprovechan de nosotros en inglés, van a aprovechar de nostoros también en español."* Translated freely, she said, "If they take advantage of us in English, they will take advantage of us in Spanish as well." For Maria, what is at issue here is not an educational approach but intergroup relations, and the place of the powerful and the powerless in the wider society. In her view, the Spanish language is a resource that has served the community well. It has served as a shared treasure, as a significant part of a threatened heritage, and as a secret language. Many times, Spanish has also served to bring the community together, to delineate borders, and as an entry into the work domain where bilingual skills were needed. She worries about giving it away casually to the children of the powerful.

In this article, I focus on the realities reflected by the remarks I have attributed to Andrew and Maria, and raise questions about dual-language immersion programs from a number of perspectives.[1] I put on the table difficult issues surrounding this relatively new effort so that it can be examined closely by policy makers, practitioners, and researchers. I briefly discuss the rationales for dual-language immersion programs, which are intended to replicate the benefits of first-language instruction for children from non-English-speaking backgrounds and to offer monolingual anglophone children a rich opportunity to learn non-English languages. I then review the literature about the success and failure of children of Mexican origin, arguing that language is not necessarily the dominant factor in their education, but one of many factors that contribute to their

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[1] I am indebted to Anne Haas Dyson for the remarks I have attributed to Andrew.

success and failure in school. I conclude with a cautionary note on dual-language instruction in these programs, on intergroup relations, and on issues of language and power.

Rationales for Dual-Language Immersion Programs

To a large degree, dual-language immersion is based on research carried out over a multi-year period on one-way immersion programs implemented in Canada. These one-way programs, known as Canadian Immersion Programs (Genesee, 1979; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain & Lapkin, 1982), educate anglophone children primarily through French. From research on these programs, we know that middle-class anglophone children (members of the linguistic majority in Canada) can be educated through a second language quite successfully. The only apparent shortcoming of such programs is that students, because they have no interaction with native French-speaking peers, develop somewhat limited interpersonal, as opposed to academic, skills in second language.

U.S. dual-immersion programs, on the other hand, might be expected to result in developing more fluent second-language skills in young anglophone learners. Based on theories about second-language acquisition (Krashen, 1985; Long, 1985), as well as on work conducted in European bilingual education settings (e.g., Baetens Beardsmore, 1993), proponents of dual-immersion programs have suggested that the presence of native speakers of the target language who are available for peer interaction with language-majority children can add to the many strengths of the original models of immersion education. Early evaluations of established dual-immersion programs support this conjecture (Lindhold & Gavlek, 1994).

At the same time, from the perspective of educators concerned about the education of linguistic-minority children, the concept of dual-immersion builds directly on the body of research (e.g., Andersson & Boyer, 1978; Crawford, 1989; Cummins, 1989; Dutcher, 1982; Hakuta, 1986; McLaughlin: 1985; Orum, 1983; Ramirez, Yuen, Ramey, & Pasta, 1991; Troike, 1978; Willig, 1982, 1985; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986) that has focused on the benefits of primary-language instruction for at-risk minority children; that is, for children who are limited English speakers and members of groups that researchers have described as "recipients of varying degrees of socioeconomic marginality and racial or ethnic discrimination" (Ovando & Collier, 1985, p.6). For many advocates of such programs, dual-immersion offers primary-language instruction for

language-minority children in programs that are highly prestigious and in contexts where there is access to the majority language through same-age peers.

Currently, there are two groups of professionals involved in the implementation of such programs.

1. bilingual educators who are primarily concerned about the education of minority students and who see two-way bilingual education as a means of providing quality education for these students, and

2. foreign language educators who, while concerned about minority children, are mostly interested in developing second-language proficiencies in mainstream American children.

It is important to point out, however, that in spite of these superficial differences, these two groups of educators approach dual-immersion from very different perspectives. For foreign-language educators, both immersion and dual-immersion programs offer the benefits of extended language sequences that have been found to result in highly developed target language skills. Having struggled to interest the American public in language study for many years, immersion education seems to be offering an attractive solution to the problem of majority monolinguals. For bilingual educators, on the other hand, who have struggled to ensure the implementation of quality programs for minority children, the presence of mainstream students in dual-immersion programs offers language-minority children what appears to be the best of two worlds: access to instruction in their primary language, and access to both school and community support. This can counter the trend that Wong Fillmore (1992) has found in many areas of the country where bilingual education has been implemented but language-minority students have not enjoyed the support of the school administration of the surrounding community.

The key point is that, while language is important, it is only one of many factors that influence school achievement for language-minority and -majority children. In order to illustrate this point, I will focus specifically on Spanish-speaking children of Mexican origin. I have selected this group for a number of reasons. First, the debates surrounding bilingual education (Imhoff, 1990; Porter, 1990) have often focused on Spanish-speaking children; second, Spanish is the language of instruction in 155 out of 169 programs recently studied (Christian, 1996); and finally, my own research has focused on Spanish speakers of Mexican origin.

The following sections have been cut because of space considerations:

- Education and Mexican-Origin Children

- Understanding School Failure

- Mexican-Origin Students and Explanations of School Failure

To view the article in its entirety, please see: Valdés, G. (1997). Dual-Language Immersion Programs: A Cautionary Note Concerning the Education of Language Minority Students. *Harvard Educational Review, 67,* 3, (Fall 1997), pp. 391-429.

Fixing the Problem: Educational Interventions

In spite of the complexity of the problem of school failure for non-mainstream children, those concerned with its remediation have focused on attempting to change particular aspects of the institutional and instructional contexts, hoping that such changes will bring about increased school success. While aware of the structural factors that frame the problem, these researchers and practitioners represent the tension that Carnoy and Levin (1985) have described as existing between "the unequal hierarchies associated with the capitalist workplace" and "the democratic values and expectations associated with equality of access to citizen rights and opportunities" (p. 4).

In comparison to theorists who have sought to explain the nature and circumstances of educational failure, practitioners and policymakers have focused on breaking the cycle or bringing about change in schools and in school outcomes. It is interesting to note, however, that programs that have endeavored to alter or reverse educational outcomes for poor, disadvantaged, or at-risk children have reflected the thinking of theorists who have worked within the deficit/difference paradigm. Many of these theorists have tended to address single micro-level factors such as English-language fluency, standardness of spoken English, or the blend and mix of students of different racial groups within a given school. These research and theoretical foci in turn have led to the implementation of programs that offer narrow solutions to far broader problems (e.g., bilingual education programs, desegregation programs, Head Start). Ironically, even though the theories that held that problems experienced by at-risk children were their own "fault" or responsibility have been called into question, program implementation still rests on this fundamental view. With few exceptions, programs aimed at at-risk children are designed to address key shortcomings or deficits in these students in order to help them succeed in the school environment.

It is not surprising that researchers working within the class-analysis paradigm argue that the aforementioned programs leave existing institutions largely untouched and that these institutions continue to reflect the realities of the larger society. For that reason, they point out, compensatory programs have failed to meet the expectations of those policymakers and practitioners who sincerely hoped that correcting or compensating for key factors would bring about significant changes in total educational outcomes.

In the case of Mexican-origin students, the absence of a sound underlying perspective that brings together explanations with interventions is particularly evident. Not only is there a lack of a coherent theory about macro-level factors that can adequately explain the failure and success of these children in U.S. schools, but there is also a lack of coherence among the many theories that have focused on micro-level variables. In general, the work of both policymakers and practitioners involved in the education of Mexican-origin children also reveals a very practical and problem-oriented focus. The focus for such individuals has been finding solutions, establishing policies, and funding programs that will address what are seen to be the needs of these children, and implementing promising programs in spite of heavy local and national political fire.

While from the perspectives of class analyses of schooling and society the educational problems of Mexican-origin children cannot be alleviated without a major change in the societal structure that impacts on every level of students' lives, many policymakers and practitioners believe that the right kinds of instructional solutions and school programs can bring about observable, if not lasting, change (such as higher test scores and lower dropout rates). Single and partial solutions, then, often take on extraordinary meaning, and these interventions become the focus of intense debate. The politics of bilingual education (a solution designed to focus on children's inability to profit from instruction carried out exclusively in English), for example, have been particularly acrimonious. Many practitioners, parents, and policymakers are convinced that good bilingual education programs in and of themselves will impact significantly on educational outcomes.[2]

The fact is that current educational outcomes—high dropout rates, grade retention, low test scores, and low college enrollments by Mexican-origin students—demand solutions. Whatever the realities of the structures of inequality in this country may be, practitioners feel a strong pressure to find ways of helping their students to

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[2] For a discussion of the bilingual education debate in this country see Crawford (1989), Hakuta (1986), and Imhoff (1990).

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succeed in school. For a number of educators who care deeply about language-minority children, and particularly about Mexican-origin students, dual-immersion appears to be a very promising solution. Several reasons exist for their enthusiasm about such programs.

First and most importantly, dual-language immersion programs directly address the language "deficit" issue. Dual-language immersion provides instruction in the primary language for minority students. These students can therefore begin their academic work in a language they already speak and understand. They can have access to the curriculum and they can develop what Cummins (1979) has called "cognitive academic proficiency" in their first language. This "proficiency" is believed to form the basis for the acquisition of higher order academic skills in a second language as well.

Second, dual-language immersion programs bring together mainstream and minority children. This is an important benefit in an age in which both residential *and* linguistic segregation have compounded an age-old problem. In dual-language immersion programs, minority children are no longer segregated from their English-speaking peers. The presence of children from two groups ends the linguistic isolation in which many minority children find themselves. More importantly, perhaps, the mere fact of bringing mainstream children into a school where they were not present before gives a middle-class orientation to what might have been low-income schools. There is no question that different resources are available to children in schools with a predominantly middle-class population. As Kozol (1991) dramatically points out, differences in funding result in vastly different school facilities, teaching staff, availability of materials and supplies, access to technology, and availability of programs.

Beyond these obvious benefits, many educators are enthusiastic about dual-language immersion programs because early results of the measurement of achievement levels of both minority and majority children in these programs have been encouraging (see, for example, the work carried out by Lindholm and Gavlek, 1994). Test scores, while not as high as some educators would wish, appear to suggest that low achievement is not concentrated among students of lower socioeconomic levels.

It is not surprising, then, that in many areas of the country bilingual immersion is seen as a win-win solution. Not only do such programs appear to benefit minority students, but they have been found to offer important benefits to majority students as well. The implementation of such programs can contribute directly to the development of national language resources in the general population. If these programs are implemented widely, and if mainstream American children begin to consider it normal to acquire a

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second language from childhood, the fears about the dangers of bilingualism (e.g., retardation, intellectual impoverishment, schizophrenia, anomie, and alienation) that Haugen (1972) argued were prevalent in the majority society might begin to break down.

A Cautionary Note on Dual-Language Immersion Programs

In spite of these encouraging results, in the final section of this article, I want to suggest that it is important to exercise caution as we move forward to a wholesale implementation of such programs. In particular, I want to suggest further that school board members, school district administrators, and school practitioners who are engaged in the planning and implementation of dual-language immersion programs are, as Freeman (1996) points out, also engaged in the process of language planning in much broader terms. As defined by Cooper (1989), language planning "refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (p. 45). Others (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971) define language planning as "a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society" (p. 211).

In the case of dual-language immersion in English and Spanish, elected officials and school personnel are clearly engaging in language policymaking and attempting to solve two very different language problems simultaneously. The first problem involves the limited acquisition of non-English languages by monolingual anglophone students. Dual-language immersion policy addresses this problem by providing multi-year content-based language instruction for these students and by making native Spanish-speaking peers available for interaction. The second problem involves the choice of instructional language for teaching hispanophone minority students who, for the most part, are socioeconomically marginalized and often the targets of racial or ethnic discrimination. Dual-language immersion policy addresses this problem by giving legitimacy to Spanish as a language of instruction in programs designed to provide these latter students with the same academic benefits obtained in late-exit bilingual programs as described by Ramirez et al. (1991).

As I have noted above, supporters of dual-language immersion programs are members of two very different groups. One group, foreign language teachers, hopes to appeal to parents largely by emphasizing the instrumental value of Spanish, that is, its value in the world of business, politics, law, etc. The other group, former bilingual teachers, hopes to bring about educational success for linguistic-minority students by

providing them with an excellent education in their first language and with a school context in which Spanish is more valued then it is in the majority society. In some dual-language immersion contexts (such as the Oyster School described by Freeman, 1996), schools and teachers also have as their goal promoting social change — that is, opposing existing practices and ideologies and socializing "language minority and language majority students to see themselves and each other as equal participants in school and society" (p. 572).

As Tollefson (1991) argues in his book, *Planning Language, Planning Inequality,* language policy is a mechanism that can either support or oppose existing hierarchies of power. Moreover, language planning, because its focus in on language, is never neutral. As Ricento and Hornberger (1996) maintain: "Politics is inseparable from any discussion of something so central to human society as language" (p. 411).

By engaging in language planning, that is, in the development of language policies for education, proponents of dual-immersion education are engaging in a process that will directly affect the future lives of two groups of students. Moreover, they are engaged in this endeavor at a time in U.S. history when there is intense anti-immigrant sentiment coupled with clear opposition to the use and maintenance of non-English languages by minority communities. It is important, therefore, that conversations carried out by members of the different policy sectors (foreign language educators, bilingual educators, advocates of educational equity) supporting this educational solution carefully examine the many difficult questions surrounding language policy decisions that focus on which languages should be used in public education and on how and to whom non-native languages should be taught. In the final section of this article, I discuss three of these issues: 1) the use of minority languages in public education, 2) the issue of intergroup relations, and 3) issues of language and power.

The Use of Minority Languages in Public Education

Within the last decade, numerous countries around the world have grappled with questions surrounding the choice of language to be used in the education of linguistic-minority children. Publications focusing on language policies in education number in the hundreds, and include examinations of language and education issues in Africa (Bokamba, 1991), India (Dua, 1991; Srivastava, 1988), the Philippines (Smolicz, 1986), Spain (Siguan, 1983), Australia (Kalantzis, Cope, & Slade, 1989), Germany (Raoufi, 1981), Belgium (Roosens, 1989), Jamaica (Craig, 1988), and Switzerland (Kolde, 1988).

Additionally, a number of publications have examined specific aspects of education and language policies affecting linguistic minorities. Tosi (1984), for example, examined the entire issue of immigration and bilingual education in the European context. Churchill (1986) focused on Organization for Economic and Community Development (OECD) countries and the education of both indigenous and immigrant linguistic minorities. Spolsky (1986) focused on language barriers to education in multilingual settings, and Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) and Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988) have examined violence and minority education and community struggles for educational rights around the world.

In this country, as Paulston (1994) argues, the key question for educators and policymakers is, "Under what social conditions does the medium of instruction make a difference for school children in achieving success?" (p. 7). As Snow (1990) reminds us, the issues are complex:

> Clearly the decision whether or not to use native language instruction is not the only challenge to educational policy makers; one must also decide, if the choice is in favor of native language use, *how* it should be included, how much native language instruction is optimal, and what constitutes the best quality instruction. (p. 60, italics in original)

In contexts in which their culture and identity are supported, children can develop enhanced cognitive abilities, as well as key academic linguistic skills, which will then transfer to their acquisition of academic English. While the research on the success of bilingual education is not unambiguous (Baker & de Kanter, 1981; Ramirez et al., 1991; Secada, 1990; Willig, 1985), many individuals concerned about the education of linguistic minorities believe that existing evidence strongly supports the position that the use of native languages in education will ultimately result in educational success in English (e.g., Cummins, 1977, 1981; Lyons, 1990; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986). It is not surprising, given the fact that dual-language immersion programs provide both a context in which native culture and identity are valued and in which children's first language can grow and develop, that an increasing number of experts (e.g., Lyons, 1990) are persuaded that such programs provide the optimal solution for linguistic-minority children.

As Snow (1990) has argued, however, simply introducing native-language programs will not automatically solve all of the educational problems of linguistic-minority children:

Poor quality bilingual programs do not work any better than poor quality ESL or submersion programs. Language minority children are typically at considerable educational risk for reasons that have nothing to do with their bilingualism, so they need the best quality instruction available to ensure their continued progress. (p. 73)

In dual-language immersion programs, therefore, special attention must be given to the quality of the primary language used with minority children.[3] I am especially concerned about the fact that, while Spanish is being used in dual-immersion programs, instructional strategies are also being used that must take into consideration the needs of the mainstream children. What this means, in practice, is that the language in which both majority and minority children receive instruction, especially in the early grades, is a language that must be modified somewhat in order to respond to the needs of those children who are in the early stages of acquisition. It may be that the modification is slight, or, even if the modification is significant, it might make little difference. But there is no evidence to support either position. What the research has not told us is how using language in an even slightly distorted fashion influences the language development of children who are native speakers of that language. This is a serious question, especially if language is the primary focus in such programs. Were the situation reversed, mainstream parents would vigorously protest having their children in classrooms in which the instructional needs of language-minority children required that English be used in ways that did not provide their children with the fullest possible exposure to school language.

The question I am raising may be a non-question. It may indeed be that the Spanish spoken in a first-grade classroom, in which half have had only one year of Spanish in kindergarten, is still very much like the Spanish one would expect to hear in any monolingual setting where Spanish is the language of instruction. But if it is not, the implications of this question must be attended to closely. Will hispanophone children acquire native-like academic Spanish? Will they learn as much and as rapidly as they might have in standard bilingual programs? Will they develop the cognitive academic

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[3] My interest in this issue stems from conversations that I have had with both teachers and administrators of dual-language immersion programs who have expressed concerns about the Spanish-language and reading test scores of Mexican-origin children. As a result of these conversations, I was invited to give a talk at the Annual Conference on Developmental Bilingual Education (Valdés, 1995) in which I attempted to help teachers examine the disappointing test scores of Mexican-origin children by analyzing the knowledge/skill demands made by the standardized Spanish-language tests they were currently using.

proficiency that Cummins (1979) has claimed undergirds development of similar proficiencies in a second language?

In a relevant article provocatively entitled "Should the French Canadian Minorities Open Their Schools to the Children of the Anglophone Majority?" two Canadian researchers (Mougeon & Beniak, 1988) argued that:

> Negative repercussions can also be feared as regards achievement in other subjects than French. A recent survey (Desjarlais et al., 1980) revealed that in those French language schools where English-dominant students are in the majority, Franco-Ontarian teachers have to slow down and simplify their French so as not to leave these students behind. Franco-Ontarian educators believe that as a result, the other students do not learn as much or as fast as they could. (p. 172)

Bilingual educators working in dual-language immersion programs, then, must make every effort to ensure that minority-language children are being exposed to the highest quality instruction possible in their native language. They must grapple with the conflicts engendered by the fact that they must educate two very different groups of children in the same language.

The Issue of Intergroup Relations

According to Christian (1996), based on Lindholm (1990), there are eight criteria to the success of dual-language immersion programs. One is the issue of intergroup relations: "Positive interactions among students should be facilitated by the use of strategies such as cooperative learning" (Christian, 1996, p. 68). Because of interest in cross-cultural interactions and their effects on children, a number of researchers (e.g., Cazabon, Lambert, & Hall, 1993; Lambert & Cazabon, 1994) have examined social networks in classrooms and children's perceived competence.

As Freeman (1996) points out in her study of the Oyster School, however, even when there is a conscious effort by school personnel to construct an alternative discourse and practices, it is difficult to counter the impact of the larger society on both teachers and students. Freeman observes that, while students could recognize discriminatory practices both in and outside the school, girls tended to form separate groups in the lunchroom based on race and class. Dark-skinned Latina students sat apart from light-skinned Latinas. African-American anglophones did not mingle with White Euro-American anglophones.

Freeman (1996) quotes a staff member who, in responding to Freeman's comments about such groupings, criticized her colleagues by saying that it was "the fault of the teacher for not watching" (p. 579). One may wonder, like Freeman, to what degree it is possible for school personnel to counter the influence of interactional norms that are part of the larger society. This example suggests that in terms of intergroup relations, school personnel need to be particularly sensitive to the realities of the ways the children interact with one another and to the messages that they send to each other in numerous ways. Majority children bring to their interactions with less privileged peers a mixed bag of attitudes and feelings. And while we know that these attitudes can change—and, indeed, that is one of the benefits attributed to dual language immersion programs—we know little about what impact mainstream children's original attitudes have on minority children with whom they interact.

Because of this, it is important to realize that we are experimenting in potentially dangerous ways with children's lives. Certainly some research (Cazabon et al., 1993; Lambert & Cazabon, 1994) has found that children from different groups become friends at school. They play together and otherwise interact. In their out-of-school lives, however, the picture may be very different. Children sense exclusion quite quickly, and minority children realize, when several of their mainstream friends talk about weekend excursions and out-of-school activities to which they were not invited, that they are not really part of the same group.

In addition to intergroup relations within the school, there are external structures that differentiate the significance of acquiring a second language for both groups of children. For minority children, the acquisition of English is expected. For mainstream children, the acquisition of a non-English language is enthusiastically applauded. Children are aware of these differences. The reporter who writes a story on a dual-language immersion program and concentrates on how well a mainstream child speaks Spanish while ignoring how well a Spanish-speaking child is learning English sends a very powerful message. The next day, after the reporter is gone and everything seemingly returns to normal, all may appear to be well. I suspect, however, that children are deeply wounded by such differential treatment. This is clearly an issue that must be attended to by educators.

Issues of Language and Power

Researchers working within the perspective of conflict theory (Coser, 1956; Schermerhorn, 1956; Wilson, 1973) argue that groups in society compete with each other for tangible benefits. They argue further that conflicts over education have to do with the labor market and with the allocation of people to jobs with varying rewards. The ruling class maintains its position of power and domination in part through education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Collins, 1971) and ultimately reproduces itself from generation to generation. Influenced by work carried out in this tradition, other theorists working from the perspective of critical language awareness (Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Tollefson, 1991) have argued that language must be seen as an important tool that can be used by both the powerful and the powerless in their struggle to gain or maintain power. In Tollefson's (1991) words:

> Language policy can be analyzed as the outcome of struggle as well as a component of it. In other words, particular policies in specific countries result from and contribute to the relationship among classes. (p. 14)

These scholars criticize "pluralist" positions, such as recent language policies in Australia and Great Britain that advocate the study of minority languages by the majority and raise questions about whether prejudice and discrimination by members of the dominant culture can be decreased by their children's study of minority languages. Like class analysis theorists, researchers working within the critical language awareness perspective (Bhatt & Martin-Jones, 1992; Tollefson, 1991) also question whether societal inequalities can be overcome by curriculum and teaching practices.

In spite of the impact of the above perspectives on many educators and theorists in this country, conversations surrounding bilingual education and dual-language immersion programs have not been couched in these terms. As Ada (1995) points out, bilingual educators have sought to maintain a non-confrontational attitude and have not generally engaged in carrying out critiques of the educational system. Ada contends that bilingual educators have struggled to maintain an appearance of neutrality so as not to seem political to their opponents. Making the same point even more harshly, Walsh (1995) argues that bilingual education is neither progressive nor empowering and criticizes bilingual educators quite strongly. Because of the importance of her position to my arguments here, I believe that she is worth quoting at some length:

While most bilingual educators do not adhere to this limiting definition of bilingual education or to the assimilationist notion of a mainstream, most continue to work in or with such programs, probably with the hope of somehow making a difference in districts, programs, classrooms, and/or students' lives. Energy often is directed at small victories like convincing school boards to replace transitional programs with developmental, two-way, or Spanish immersion programs. However, a good heart, a good effort, and even a good program are not enough to shift the dominant conceptions, relations, and practice of schools and societies that situate bilingual/bicultural students and communities as "other." (p. 85)

Arguing that the practical manifestations of this otherness include the imposition of a White, middle-class standard as a base against which all other students are measured, she concludes:

Such reality is illustrated by the fact, for example, that White, native English speakers in two-way or Spanish immersion programs often outperform native Spanish speakers on Spanish-language achievement tests. Of course the norms, values, concepts, skills and experiences such test support are those taught and reinforced in White middle-class families.

What Walsh's criticism suggests is that discussion by the bilingual education policy sector of dual-language immersion programs must take into account the fact that diversity is a challenge. For us to succeed as educators in a context where deep racial and linguistic divisions are present, we must do more than simply wish these differences away. In implementing dual-language immersion programs, there must be sensitivity to the realities of intergroup relations in the communities surrounding schools to the fact that teachers are products of the society with all of its shortcomings, and to the fact that mainstream and minority children live in very different worlds.

If we are truthful, perhaps we will admit that supporters and proponents of dual-language immersion programs face a dilemma. They want to find ways to support language study among majority groups members, and they want to provide minority children with access to the curriculum in a language they can understand. These two objectives, however, have very different agendas. Thus, it is not surprising that, as Freeman (1996) found, even in a school that had a stated commitment to social justice, administrators presented arguments to majority parents in support of dual-immersion that "focused on economic and security benefits of bilingual education or any moral

commitment to equal educational opportunities for the native Spanish-speaking students" (p. 569).

While it is tempting to bill dual-language immersion programs as examples of implementations in which language is a resource rather than a problem (Freeman, 1996; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), it is important to note the arguments of Bhatt and Martin-Jones (1992) within the critical language awareness perspective, which contend that educators need to carefully examine who the main beneficiaries of these language "resources" will be.

An actualization of the above discussion could lead us to recall that, in this country, when all else failed, skills in two languages have opened doors for members of minority groups. Being bilingual has given members of the Mexican-American community, for example, access to certain jobs for which language skills were important. Taken to its logical conclusion, if dual-language immersion programs are successful, when there are large numbers of majority persons who are also bilingual, this special advantage will be lost. We can only begin to conjecture about what the consequences of such a change might be. At this moment in time, given strong anti-immigrant sentiments, it is not difficult to imagine that an Anglo, middle-class owner of a neighborhood Taco Bell might choose to hire people like himself who can also talk effectively to the hired help instead of hiring members of the minority bilingual population. While Maria, the sixty-year-old bilingual educator mentioned at the beginning of this article, may not be right in saying that majority group members will take advantage of minorities any chance they get, policymakers, administrators, and practitioners must recognize that language is not neutral. Bilingualism can be both an advantage and a disadvantage, depending on a student's position in the hierarchy of power.

Language acquisition is extraordinarily complex. The issue that I raise here may again be a non-problem. It is possible that, as Edelsky and Hudelson (1982) and Ellman (1988) have found, anglophone children will not really acquire lasting language competencies in minority languages. What is important here is that conversations surrounding dual-language immersion programs include discussions of difficult issues and complex questions with both majority and minority parents. It is essential that such conversations also take place across the different policy sectors that support such educational implementations.

Conclusion

I began this article by talking about two composite characters. One character, Maria, cares deeply about excluded children, worries about their future, and opposes practices that may result in their further exclusion. The other character, Andrew, is a majority child who appears to have every advantage in this society. I also describe Andrew's parents as having a deep commitment to social justice. It is my hope that bilingual educators can talk to parents like Andrew's about dual-language immersion programs in terms of equal educational opportunity and social justice, not just in economic terms. It is also my hope that parents of both groups, educators, and children can engage in an extensive emancipatory dialogue that involves what Cummins (1994) has described:

> The curriculum in schools and the interactions between educators and students reflect the societal power structure in virtually all societies. In other words, they reinforce the lies, distortions, and occasional truths upon which national and dominant-group cultural identities are built...In culturally diverse societies, a central goal of education should be to create interactional contexts where educators and students can critically examine issues of identity and experience and collaboratively deconstruct the myths that are inherited from one generation to the next...For educators to create an educational context with their students where the assumptions and lies underlying dominant group identity become the focus of scrutiny rather than the invisible screen that determines perception is to challenge the societal power structure. Educational equity requires no less (p. 153).

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Summary: Two-Way Immersion Programs

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Introduction

Two-way immersion education combines the goals and methodologies of language immersion for majority language speakers with maintenance bilingual education for language minority speakers. In these programs, students from two language backgrounds (the majority language of the society--in the U.S., English--and another, or "target" language) receive academic instruction together in each of the languages. They remain integrated for most of their instruction. Typical goals for such programs include: high academic achievement; high levels of proficiency in the native language and in a second language; positive cross-cultural attitudes and understanding.

Differences between one-way and two-way immersion stem primarily from the presence of native speakers of the target-language in significant numbers in the classes. In one-way immersion, all (or nearly all) the students are immersed in a language they do not speak natively. The primary model for the new language being learned is the teacher, and the language is not (usually) the language of the wider society. In two-way immersion, half the students are native speakers of each of the languages of instruction, so they can be models and resources for one another in the languages, in addition to the teacher. A concern in the programs, then, becomes how to maximize the use of peer resources for language learning.

Another consequence of the difference in student populations is the identification of the programs with bilingual education and the possible negative attitudes and impressions that may be engendered because of that relationship. While "foreign" language programs, including one-way immersion, are treated indifferently in many communities, bilingual education programs for language minorities are often a source of controversy. Such political perspectives can influence the implementation of programs.

Two-way immersion programs are, in any event, gaining popularity around the country. In a 1995 study, 182 schools reported operating some form of two-way immersion. These schools are located in 18 states and the District of Columbia, and the programs include over 25,000 students (Christian and Whitcher, 1995). The vast majority of programs offer instruction in Spanish and English and are found in elementary schools. Target-languages other than Spanish include Korean, French,

Navajo, Cantonese, Japanese, Arabic, Portuguese, and Russian. Many programs are relatively new; about two-thirds of existing two-way immersion programs have been operating for five years or fewer.

Variability in Two-Way Immersion Programs

An examination of two-way programs in practice reveals a wide range of differences in implementation. Although they share many of the same goals (academic and language development, cross-cultural understanding), communities, schools, and program designs vary considerably. It is important to acknowledge these areas of difference and to recognize that choices made among alternatives have consequences that need to be understood. Major areas of variation include:

- administrative framework (whole school, magnet program, school-within-a-school, multi-site program, etc.);
- allocation of languages of instruction (amount and distribution);
- integration of students from different backgrounds (total or partial);
- instructional strategies and methods (including approach to initial literacy);
- languages of instruction.

There are many other ways individual programs differ from one another, some of which stem from aspects of the sociocultural context of the school and community.

These points of variation raise issues of evaluating the possible alternatives. For example, in considering the allocation of languages of instruction, the major alternatives seem to be a "90/10" model and a "50/50" model. The "90/10" approach resembles total immersion, where 90% of instruction in the early grades (K-1) is given in the target-language, with the remaining 10% in English, and the amount of English is increased each year (20% in grade 2, and so on), so that by grade 5 or 6, instruction is equally divided between the two languages. In the "50/50" model, the percentage of instruction in each language is roughly equal from the beginning. Questions raised by these alternatives include: what are the benefits of each approach? do these benefits differ for native English speakers and native speakers of the target-language? is there a concern that the "90/10" model will not provide enough exposure to English for language minority students early enough?

The integration of students sparks similar concerns. Some programs never separate students by language background; others do so for a number of reasons. One

argument is that, in order to pursue the goal of better understanding across groups and to allow peers to be resources for one another, the students need to work together. Others believe that language instruction can be more effectively delivered to students who speak the same native language. Should students be segregated by language background for native language arts and second language instruction, and, if so, until what grade level?

Another interesting source of variation comes from the orientation of the program. Two-way immersion programs often identify more strongly with either the foreign language perspective or the bilingual education perspective. In some cases, this orientation stems primarily from the department in which the program falls administratively. In others, it is a product of history or of funding availability. The choice (or accident) of perspective raises interesting questions related to the possible differences in emphasis that may be entailed, the relative attention given to different groups of students, and the possible differences in support from various groups in the community. It may take deliberate efforts to bring the two orientations together, to emphasize enrichment for all students and to involve all sectors of the school and community.

Recommendations for Programs

Despite the huge amount of variation across programs, there are some features that are generally recommended to achieve the goals of effective two-way immersion (see Lindholm (1990) for a fuller discussion):

- a minimum of four to six years of participation for students;
- an additive bilingual environment in the whole school;
- a minimum of 50% level of target-language use;
- instruction in the same core academic curriculum as other programs;
- roughly equal numbers of students from the two language backgrounds;
- incorporation of features of effective schools and instruction in general.

It is also important to consider ways to maximize the strengths inherent in two-way programs, particularly the presence of speakers from two language backgrounds and to build in strategies to exploit this advantage to its fullest extent.

Research Questions to be Addressed

There are many ways in which the foundation of research on language immersion and bilingual education provides a framework for two-way immersion, but there are

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questions that remain. Given the relative youth of most two-way immersion programs and the early state of research focused specifically on these programs, many needs can be identified. The following are some of the questions that merit investigation.

What are the consequences of different program variations? The relationship between features of the model chosen and the local context must be considered, and within that, how program alternatives affect outcomes. For example, outcomes related to decisions about how much instruction will be provided in the target-language (90%? 50%? other?) need to be looked at, and the effect of school and community contexts as moderating influences need to be considered. A related question is one of minimum, or core, requirements for a program to be classified as two-way immersion.

What modifications, if any, are called for depending on the target-language of instruction? Here, the features of the program that might vary according to the languages of instruction need to be identified. Do speakers of some target-languages need more English language exposure than others? Do alphabetic differences (Roman vs. non-Roman) mean that initial literacy instruction should be done in certain ways? Should availability of resources constrain the pursuit of programs in less commonly taught languages?

How do characteristics of native speakers of the target-language affect two-way immersion programs? Some programs screen students for participation (from one or both backgrounds). The advisability of screening, and the circumstances under which it might be helpful (if any) need to be investigated. Often, target-language native speakers arrive at school with a reasonably high proficiency in English. Should more monolingual target-language speakers be given priority (because they could stand to benefit more from the program and/or because they will enhance the language development opportunities for other students)? In some cases, balanced classes by language background (half target-language dominant and half English-dominant) can be achieved in situations where all the students share the target-language cultural background. How do these programs differ from those where groups are more culturally distinct?

How does transiency affect programs? In some cases, two-way immersion may be seen to decrease transiency, in that families will make efforts to keep students in the program. However, when the rate of transiency is significant, many issues are raised for programs where participation for four to six years is a goal. Attrition also affects the size of upper grade classes and thus the viability of the program.

How do parent and community beliefs fit in? Parent support and involvement are key to program and student success. Some program features may worry some parents; if so,

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how can their feelings be accommodated? For example, programs that delay reading in English until third grade may raise concerns in parents about their children's future ability to read in English. In other cases, parents may attribute some aspects of student performance to the program (failure to read on grade level, for example), that may or may not be related to two-way immersion. Their instinct may be to pull their child out of the program as a result. Educators need to consider how to respond in such situations.

Long lists of such questions can easily be generated. Addressing them is difficult, for many reasons, including some political. Research on programs like these is embedded in a political context (all research is, of course, but programs for language minorities seem particularly charged at this point in time). One concern that is sometimes voiced is the fear that any results that might be interpreted in some negative way could be ammunition for those who would advocate against two-way immersion or other language programs on political grounds. These issues must be taken into account, as they must in any educational or social research where multiple agendas may be played out. Furthermore, it is hard to raise difficult issues with the participants, that is, the educators and families who are expending tremendous efforts to make two-way immersion work. Any research that appears critical risks discouraging those efforts. These are extremely sensitive issues that call for highly careful treatment.

It is instructive to remember that the St. Lambert experiment began with the question "What would happen if...?" and language immersion developed as it has today. Research and front-line experience have taught us much and have formed the models of immersion that have developed. The same can be expected in the case of two-way immersion, if we continue to pose such questions as "what would happen if...?"

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A Delicate Balance: Continuing Immersion in U.S. Middle and High Schools

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> Come to the edge, he said.
> They said, "we are afraid."
> Come to the edge, he said.
> They came.
> He pushed them,
> And they flew.
> —Apollinaire

In Edward Albee's play, "A Delicate Balance", the audience is uncomfortably drawn into the fears of a middle-aged couple who seek sanctuary at the home of their best friends. As Albee defines their dilemma, they have realized that "nothing happened." In immersion education, "something" has happened while, ironically, nothing has happened, and sanctuary, of course, has a price. That which continues to happen is the growth of elementary school immersion programs across the United States (Rhodes, 1995). Although immersion education in our nation has not yet attained the chronological age of the Albee characters whose disorientation is humanity's sense of purposelessness or loss of focus, our programs are at that point where we must look to the issues and needs that will affect the numerically modest population—30,000 in a land of 16,000,000 students—as their education continues beyond elementary school (García, Lorenz, & Robison, l995). "Looking ahead" has been only too infrequent in our immersion experience. And it will affect the function and/or dysfunction that awaits our young learners within those walls of the education complex where hostile Darwinian modes of behavior prevail. Robert Robison and Mary Ann Ullrich will share their insights on the matter of continuing immersion programs in this volume, while the present paper will address the professional and political skills that a successful immersion planner must possess.

Nationwide, our immersion students are unevenly distributed across 55 districts and 139 schools. They should be nurtured as models of national and local commitment to 21st century education, but often they are not, neither academically nor administratively. Details abound that demonstrate why community vigilance, active and open educating of others about immersion, and careful planning are the means that we must employ to ensure that the case for continuing immersion into the secondary schools compels U.S. boards of education to guarantee commitment to their children's future, irrespective of shifts at the administrative level (García & Gramer, 1998). To consider immersion as a grade-school experience without devoting time to the establishment of continuation components is to produce a stunted academic endeavor and

the eventual disappearance of what critics will, in the future, deem a mistakenly grafted or even exotic program ill-suited to public education. Those forces of educational Darwinism include financial crises, minimal student numbers, and sustained, significant investment of funds and efforts in the operational areas that often are taken for granted, such as materials. curriculum, and staff preparation. Elsewhere (García, 1990a, 1990b; 1991) I have argued that immersion educators need to attain a sense of personal hardiness and professional stability which extends itself into the elementary school program that is their intellectual offspring. That need prevails, and becomes critical, as parents and children review options for the middle and junior high school years.

As the general American perception of the middle school years has changed from years of safety and preparation for high school (at the same time that education researchers have made the case for exploration and separation from high school) to years of risk, rancor, and drop-out, immersion students and their parents attempt to chart new ground for their community. Their voyages of discovery often encompass territories that others in North America--in Canada, in Kansas City, Missouri, in Ohio, and in Maryland, to name a few--have ventured upon. Common to all, as was found in an extensive survey undertaken in late 1993/1994 (García et al., 1995), are the concerns of staffing, curriculum, and "place" that the respondents noted. Their concerns are given below, augmented by considerations that are based upon almost ten years of experience in the implementation and growth (with the support of parents and professional educators) of a K-12 immersion program in three languages. Many similar lists may be devised. What is essential is that each list profit from the existence of others' experiences, and that each list comprise part of the needed planning activities that are to take place for the implementation of the extended sequence of immersion. Planning outlines such as those used in Kansas City (García, 1990a) will of course enhance the sense of focus that characterizes the successful middle school immersion program; they might well include the following "primer" of considerations:

The ABC's of Middle School Immersion

A: Articulation (K-5)

B: Books and materials

C: Curriculum outcomes

D: Development of staff expertise

E: Equity pedagogy

F: Foreign cultures and their place in the curriculum

G: General Middle School philosophy

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H:	High School/College connections (articulation again)
I:	Isolation of students
J:	Journey of exploration & growth, real & imaginary
K:	Kinetic kid
L:	Library resources
M:	Methods
N:	New technologies
O:	Offerings/FL electives
P:	Plateau Of skills--how to overcome it
Q:	Quest for unity--themes, projects
R:	Rescue squad (= extra staff, subs, aides)
S:	Staff mobility (Don't quit on me now !)
T:	Talents of students (Nick the Artist)
U:	Unity at site, between FL's, others
V:	Variety shows (for the school)
W:	Wages for materials development
X,Y,Z:	The usual unknowns

Only a few of these phrases require explanation; the rest are readily apparent. Depending upon the local immersion program, different perspectives may be employed that individually characterize the dilemma of immersion continuation. If we discuss implementation, then the letter "I" is of greatest concern. "Isolation" is used to underscore the dilemmas experienced by immersion students placed at a "regular" middle school. Most importantly, they can become victims as a consequence of course scheduling and their numerical insignificance in the general scheme of things. This placement of an immersion school within a school will be a part of US immersion life; the numbers of fifth grade students in most districts will not support a middle school of even modest size. Its consequences for the immersion program will invariably lead immersion parents to support the notion of a K-8 site where immersion will be honored, if even to the sacrifice of some middle-school benefits. An explanatory scenario not unlike discussions held at workshops across the U.S. (involving parents, teachers, and administrators) illustrates the difficulties. Moreover, it clarifies the "IOU" signed by adults on behalf of the children; the scenario is the "I" of Isolation, the "O" of Offerings, and the "U" of Unity.

Whereas the students' elementary days were in a building that visibly and audibly endorsed immersion, now, in the standard middle school, everything and everyone shouts, and the overwhelming sound is English. That students who cannot enroll in certain courses because

of scheduling conflicts is a truism that takes a more serious tone. Due to scheduling conflicts, immersion students are forced to choose between activities that interest them and activities that they need to continue their language growth. Students cannot enroll in a course because it conflicts with the immersion schedule, and the immersion schedule cannot conflict with the basic, or team, schedule (Hallsall, 199l). Then, the library/media center is not stocked with French or Spanish encyclopedia volumes and appropriate reading/software/video materials. A sense of loss and dysfunction is further exacerbated by the classroom aspect of immersion. The class may be considered vestigial because of the scheduled time and the size of the facility (see also García et al., 1995). If the program occurs at the beginning of the day or the end of the day, then that placement is perceived as the "shared teacher" issue. Quite often, immersion middle school teachers are placed on a part-time basis in a secondary building, and use a classroom where they and the students are part-time tenants who have no "wall hanging rights" or, at best, "some wall space." The innocent committee members who see nothing wrong with the shared teacher should review the details of sharing before agreeing to such an arrangement, since the schedule may isolate the immersion students and, indeed, "nothing" will happen. The Darwinian cycle, in such a scenario, will produce the inevitable result of program dissolution and disappearance. Isolation leads to a sense of being forgotten or at least diminished in prestige and importance among faculty and others.

For students of middle school immersion, both the teacher and the materials developed must replace what is otherwise considered "standard equipment" at the school. The immersion teacher must develop or exude that personal hardiness that produces projects, learning materials, and activities that interest preadolescent children in the classroom and help nurture and develop the second language skills that set them apart from their peers. There can be no question that the teacher must make the immersion classroom a "safe" place for L2 use and development, even at the time of day when "basics" are on schedulers' minds. If the immersion students are part of a middle school team, then the immersion class or classes are relegated to another, perhaps less academically desirable part of the day. It is the responsibility of the teacher together with influential professional leadership to propose an alternative response to the schedule. Students in immersion may indeed share a team but must have options during the more structured part of the day to deviate from the standard block of classes. It may be important that reading and social studies times are fully developed away from the team, for instance, if the immersion program and teacher have but a two-period part of the day. The issue of the hardy teacher thus goes beyond the traditional role of dedication. The immersion teacher must be prepared to develop a para-professional agenda that supports the classroom goals, and is, in its own way, a step beyond hardiness, to "saltiness:"

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"SALTINESS"

Supporters & support systems (infrastructures, parents) are made not born

Attitude--be positive, be focused, be on a "mission"--and stay the course!

Location, when/where is "the best" location for the program

Talent, as in "teacher Talent"—to make friends and win allies

Innovation. Have Plan B ready for a middle school/schedule that works

N = Student Numbers--and they need to grow!

Excellence in Education, pre-lB, and rigor--what risk-taking parents want

Subject offerings, "hard" or "soft," and English, too

Selling the program to the "immersion-impaired"

Discussions about the relative value of each aspect of the "ABC's" or of "Saltiness," and their implications for the local immersion program are to be encouraged, and possibly modified, since they will provide participants with insights into the complexity of continuing immersion. As has been noted (Lipton, 1992), local conditions can often be paramount in implementation: it is thus advisable that planners understand the significant changes to the prevailing conditions and institutions that immersion in the middle school context will mean.

It would be the real-life equivalent of the delicate balance we see on Albee's stage if the modes of public education politics bring to life programs of quality such as immersion is, and then proceed to deny them the supports that are their due. Much remains to be done for our American immersion experience. This introductory and cautionary overview concludes with the reminder that we shall be incapable of developing successful answers for local needs unless we leave the sanctuary of "known" solutions. Both urban and suburban education, the standard-bearers for immersion programs in our nation, are especially advised to avoid subjecting the immersion program, its students, and their parents to the vacuous loyalty of short-term administrations that seize the (short-term) moment and forget the long-term evolution that immersion must naturally take. Otherwise, for them, as for the Albee characters, "nothing" will have happened.

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About the author

Paul A. García (Ph.D., University of Illinois) served the Kansas City, Missouri School District as the foreign language and international studies supervisor from 1987-1995. During that time, he was responsible for implementing ten language immersion magnet schools (French, German, Spanish, K-12), Latin FLES, and a middle school for foreign languages. He has served as the President of Advocates for Language Learning and is a member of the Executive Council of ACTFL. He has published many articles on immersion education and has presented workshops on the topic nationally and internationally. He teaches German and Spanish, and is Adjunct Associate Professor of Foreign Language Education at the University of Kansas.

Creating A Compelling Rationale for Middle and High School Immersion Programs

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Introduction

What usually comes to mind when we think of immersion are programs for elementary school children in which the regular elementary curriculum is taught via the target language. Were we to sketch the rationale for early language learning programs, undoubtedly included in our lists would be reports from national commissions such as the National Commission on Excellence (*A Nation At Risk*), the National Governors' Association Report, *Goals 2000: Educate America Act*, etc. Another part of our rationale would include research results maintaining that students who start second language learning early in immersion environments perform as well or better than their peers on English tests of reading and math, think more creatively and divergently, become much more proficient in a second language than those taught by more traditional methods, and become more open to learning about other cultures and peoples (Rosenbusch, 1995: 5-6).

As a result of these notions, it is no wonder that elementary immersion programs have enjoyed tremendous growth over the past eight years. In 1987, the Center for Applied Linguistics Survey identified 29 districts with K-5 or K-6 immersion programs (Rhodes, 1987). Of those 29 respondents, four acknowledged programs extending as far as the eighth grade. The 1993 CAL Survey includes 139 school districts with immersion programs, 18 of which now also offer continuation at least through the eighth grade, a four fold increase in middle school programs (García et al., 1995, 37-8). In the 1995 survey, the number of school districts offering immersion has increased to 187, and the number of districts claiming to offer middle school continuation has more than doubled to 44 during the two-year interim (Rhodes, 1995).

Issues

The question we must address is what sort of compelling rationale, aside from the need to continue what we have started, may be used to justify continuing immersion programs into middle and high schools and to market them to our students, parents, and administrators. To provide an idea of some of the issues that will need to be addressed in

order to build such a rationale, we turn to excerpts from a questionnaire (García, Lorenz, and Robison) mailed to 103 school districts in the U.S. and Canada which had developed immersion programs through at least the fourth grade. Thirty-six percent (32) of the 82 school districts that were contacted in the U.S. responded, while 35% (9) of the 21 Canadian districts replied to the inquiry.

Why Students Continue

When asked why students continue in immersion programs, reactions were mixed. Strong, established programs were most frequently cited, followed by the commitment of students and parents to the program, the opportunity to earn a bilingual certificate upon graduation, and a perceived need for bilingualism as the key to better future employment opportunities.

Attrition

When asked why students do *not* continue in immersion in the middle schools, responses were predictable. The most frequently cited reason (6 responses) for discontinuing immersion study was competition from specialized programs such as technology, gifted, etc. Another frequently stated rationale (5 respondents) for leaving immersion programs was that the program was perceived to be too challenging. Transiency, that is, students moving away from the district, was an equally frequent response. Canadian researchers point to additional issues such as student dissatisfaction with the instructional quality of the teachers and the lack of opportunities for meaningful communication in the second language as explanations for programmatic attrition (Lewis and Shapson, 1989, 540; Halsall, 1991, 2; Morrison, Pawley & Bonyun, 1984, 539). Difficulty learning the L2 (French) or reading English, emotional or behavioral problems, and lack of sufficient special education support (Halsall, 1991, p. 2) rounded out the list of stumbling blocks retarding the growth of immersion middle school programs.

The effect of attrition can best be summarized by examining the enrollment figures in Table 1. Immersion classes at the middle school level in the U.S., generally speaking, are much smaller than those of our Canadian counterparts for all of the reasons already enumerated.

Table 1.

Average Middle School

Immersion Enrollment

Country	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8
Canada	NA	199	268
N		7	4
U.S.	49	37	40
N	9	12	8

N = number of schools reporting.

Concerns

As we look at what the immersion school officials who responded to the survey consider to be their five most pressing concerns, patterns begin to emerge. Instruction and attrition reappear. Funding and materials acquisition, as in any specialized program, are also worrisome (see Table 2).

Table 2.

Five Most Pressing Concerns

Concerns	U.S.	Canada	Total
1. Funding	7	3	10
2. Materials	6	3	9
3. Qualified Instructors	6	2	8
4. Students' Attrition	6		6
5. Scheduling	4		4

N = 22

What to Teach

All is not gloom and doom, however. The survey also revealed that any course can be taught via immersion (see Table 3).

Table 3.
Middle School Immersion Course Offerings

Course Name	Number
Social Studies	13
Language Arts	11
Science	6
Geography	4
Math	4
Visual Arts	4
Culture	2
Drama	2
Music	2
Health	2
Technology	2
Physical Education	1

N = 13 schools

Although social studies is the most popular, a strong language arts program emphasizing the four skills plus culture should form the cornerstone of any middle school immersion program. Research across the decades has consistently demonstrated that in the productive language skills immersion students lag behind native speakers of comparable age. Most recently, in 1993, the Toronto Board of Education asked Canadian graduates of immersion programs to self-assess their proficiency level at graduation in the four skills compared with francophone peers of the same age. Forty-two percent of the respondents rated themselves "about the same" as their francophone peers in listening and 32% rated themselves "about the same" as their francophone peers in reading ability. When asked to self-assess their own abilities in the productive skills, respondents were much less confident of their abilities. Only 11% rated themselves "as proficient as" their francophone peers in speaking and 19% rated themselves "about the same" as their francophone peers in writing. If its findings are consistent, as the Toronto Board's report notes, with those of other programs, then immersion programs must do better or promise less (García et al, 65). Perhaps, as Mary Ann Ullrich (personal communication, 1994) has pointed out, there is less focus on social language in immersion classes because teachers

are concentrating their efforts on developing content knowledge and skills (see also Tarone & Swain, 1995).

Increasing L2 Usage

At this point it is worth reconsidering an issue raised earlier as a reason for discontinuing immersion study: students do not have sufficient opportunity to use their second language skills in authentic situations. It is not necessary to enumerate the ways that social language can be elicited and practiced in the classroom. The literature abounds with examples. On the other hand, immersion schools should be encouraged to consider extra-curricular means of increasing opportunities for students to use the target language. Examples include:

- Forming consortia with other districts, much like universities, and establishing joint programs abroad.
- Establishing big brother/sister programs with immersion students and the local heritage language community where possible.
- Creating local exchange and homestay programs of an after-school, weekly, bi-weekly, monthly nature, etc.
- Organizing overnight, weekend, or summer immersion camps.

These are just some of the ways to provide students with genuine opportunities and motivations to practice their second language skills.

Creating a Compelling Rationale

Programming

It is now time to return to our original proposition: How do we create a compelling rationale for middle and high school immersion programs? Based on the research we have conducted, a "PETER Principle" (Programming, Exit Criteria, Teachers, Research) may serve as a guide for the future. First, we need to develop solid, quality programming with a high degree of choice and provide multiple meaningful opportunities for students to use their budding second language skills.

Exit Criteria

Second, we need to establish clear exit criteria for immersion students by asking and answering what it is that students who have progressed through a K-8 immersion

program should be expected to do with language. By establishing meaningful exit criteria, assessment measures can be formulated for determining what immersion students can do with the language they have learned. We should all be aware of the level of L2 proficiency we may expect of a graduate of a K-8 or K-12 immersion program. With solid exit criteria in place we could then offer bilingual certificates upon completion of study, which would guarantee language proficiency at a respectable level and perhaps even serve as an incentive to attract and retain continuation students.

*Te*achers

Next, a strong cadre of well qualified teachers must be developed and maintained. In-service teachers must be afforded continual training and support to keep them energized, positive, and current. To help attract and prepare a continuous stream of qualified pre-service teachers for immersion programs, training centers such as the one at Indiana University of Pennsylvania should be established, in which prospective teachers are required to spend enough time abroad to boost their language skills to the advanced level. At the same time, they should be helped to expand their repertoire of language skills and knowledge in appropriate settings such as camps, middle schools, recreation centers, and the like, thereby expanding their methodology and readiness to meet the demand (Glissan, personal communication, 1993). To establish such teacher training centers, university foreign language educators should consider applying for grants which will enable their institutions to supply tuition waivers so that young people can afford the time and investment of energy to become the future immersion teachers that we need. In short, it is time to match words with deeds if immersion programs are to succeed beyond the elementary level.

*R*esearch

Finally, in order to build a compelling rationale for middle and high school immersion continuation programs, solid high quality research is required. The professional literature is filled with an abundance of program descriptions, especially at the elementary level. What is desperately needed is more focus on immersion student performance on standardized tests compared to their monolingual peers at the middle and high school levels. Such data is virtually non-existent in the continental U.S. and could provide the basis for formulating the compelling rationale necessary to enable program planners and developers to continue to lobby for and expand their offerings.

Summary

If we are serious about the continued development of immersion education in the United States, it is time to match words with actions. By focusing on quality programming, establishing clear and reasonable expectations via well-conceived exit criteria and subsequent assessment, and investing in teachers and research, foreign language professionals can create a compelling rationale for establishing and nurturing middle and high school immersion programs.

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High School Immersion Continuation Programs:
Discussion Session Report

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The discussion group activity addressing high school immersion continuation programs provided an opportunity for participants at that session to share ideas and discuss a number of issues relating to political dynamics, program design, marketing, and curriculum and instruction. An outline of possible topics and some questions submitted by immersion colleagues from across the country who were not able to attend the conference were offered to stimulate discussion. A copy of that outline is appended.

The discussion of high school continuation programs opened with a brief look at some of the political issues that influence the development of high school continuation programs. The groups talked about how local conditions including demographics have an influence and how grassroots efforts of local pressure groups can be used effectively for program development and design. Just as a large and assertive immersion target language community and an active, vocal and well-organized immersion parent association encourage the likelihood that a K-12 sequence will be provided, so too, proponents of an English-only philosophy can make their influence felt to delay or impede development. An understanding of the political scenario and the ability to work effectively within that framework is essential for those responsible for program development and implementation.

Laying the groundwork for development of a high school immersion continuation program is essential. An early start is recommended—at least two years in advance of implementation. Parents and other stakeholders need to be informed at all stages of program development and should be included in early decisions regarding the location and program design. Solid lines of communication between the immersion middle and high school administrators and teachers should be established early and immersion teachers from both levels should be part of a task force to address program articulation. Taking steps to bridge the gap between the middle and high school immersion programs is sure to pay off.

Collaborative Program Design

As a lead into the discussion of program design and other curricular and instructional issues, some time was dedicated to highlighting the importance of using a collaborative process in planning and designing a high school continuation program. A process currently being used in the Arlington, Virginia Public Schools served as an example of a process that encourages collaboration among administrators, teachers, and parents in resolving important issues of program location and design. In developing a new model for the middle and high school continuation program, input from staff and community was sought. Open community informational meetings and individual school staff and PTA meetings were held to bring stakeholders into the decision-making process. The program design, too, is a team effort with input from the foreign language supervisor, immersion elementary, middle and high school principals, immersion teachers and parents. An outcome of the collaborative process is a shared ownership for the program.

An informal survey of high school continuation programs currently in operation in the United States provided some background on models for program design. The results of surveys returned revealed great diversity in programs. The appended chart summarizes the responses from a sampling of programs in the United States. (Due to a short turn-around time for the survey, only programs in the United States were surveyed.) Participants reviewed some of the current models and had an opportunity to share information about other programs in operation or in the planning stages in their school districts. Challenging and creative programs are being developed as the growing number of elementary and middle school programs reach maturity. The Foreign Language Immersion Center at J. R. Tucker High School in Henrico County, Virginia was one among many interesting models described. This particular program is interesting because it offers an immersion experience to students at the high school level who have not previously been part of an immersion program. The architects of this program worked as a collaborative team with math, science and social studies teachers, as well as business and marketing professionals to identify resources and develop an interdisciplinary curriculum.

Participants agreed that a strong academic focus for the program creates a positive image and sends a message that translates quality. Continuation programs that can connect to an International Baccalaureate program, that offer a bi-national curriculum or that house themselves in an international school focus program offer examples of programs perceived as standard bearers of excellence. Clearly the program design has an

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influence on enrollment. Strong, comprehensive programs encourage students to enroll and remain in the continuation program. Too few school systems, though, have been able to meet the challenges and commitment to a fully articulated K-12 sequence. Continued effort and emphasis on the importance of extended study is critical to the development of high school programs. Parents and students must be constantly reminded that language proficiency is proportional to time spent in language learning and practice. Students must not only come to the immersion program early, they must stay late. That message must be reinforced to encourage students to remain in the program so that a broad base for programming can be maintained.

Problems

Following the discussion on program design, participants turned their attention to some of the problems frequently faced by program planners and administrators. Among the most significant problems identified were: 1) maintaining and building enrollment; 2) finding certified bilingual teachers for content-specific courses; and 3) identifiying materials that meet standards and methodological approaches currently in place.

There are no easy solutions for these problems. To address enrollment concerns and to cope with the natural attrition expected as students move from the middle to high school program, program planners suggest that efforts should be made to make immersion accessible to a wider audience. A policy to guarantee access should be developed in the early planning stages. As part of that policy, means for appropriate student recruitment and a clarification of admittance criteria (i.e., target language proficiency) for students transferring into the immersion continuation program from outside (the immersion program) should be included. Universities with teacher preparation programs must be made aware of the demand for bilingual teachers with secondary certification in content areas. School systems must look to internal staff development programs that identify and train bilingual teachers within the school system for immersion programs. With respect to content-specific materials, more high quality materials for Spanish language immersion programs are being produced each year. Although publishers need to be encouraged to pursue materials development in other languages, until the market for materials in French, German, Japanese and Russian expands, publishers realistically cannot be counted on to provide materials. Networking to share and develop curriculum and materials is a better option.

Marketing

Marketing the immersion continuation program early on can make the difference between a program perceived as successful and one that is likely to fail. The importance of a K-12 sequence should be highlighted as part of the informational meetings with kindergarten and first grade parents interested in an immersion education for their child. Parent orientation on the need for extended study should be emphasized; it should begin early and be reinforced intermittently.

Immersion parents and teachers are some of the best advocates and should be part of a planning team or advisory council to develop and build understanding and acceptance for the program within the overall school community. The role parents and teachers play in advocating for the program should be considered in designing sound marketing strategies.

School staff training on immersion philosophy and goals is as important at the high school level as at any level in building understanding and acceptance for the program within the overall school community. Staff development for non-immersion teachers should be considered another marketing strategy to build a positive image for the immersion program.

Community awareness and outreach activities should be developed to build a positive program image and to encourage enrollment. Where cable TV is an option for promoting the program, it should be used in creative ways. Service projects for high school immersion students should be encouraged to bring the immersion program in close contact with the community.

Everyone agreed that the program image is critical to the success of an immersion program and that it is particularly important in high school continuation programs. An attractive and safe location is a must. Marketing a positive image and reinforcing the message that the program is an asset to the school and community in which it is located is essential.

Curriculum and Instruction

Time did not allow for an in-depth whole group discussion of issues relating to curriculum and instruction, however, a number of topics were identified for small group work. Among the topics discussed were the continuing role of the mother tongue and the quality of the teaching staff. Participants expressed how great the challenges are in maintaining the target language as the only language for communication in the immersion classroom. Maintaining the target language in small group processing

activities seems to be the greatest area of concern. To guarantee a quality teaching staff, efforts should be made to encourage state departments of education to develop certification standards that include a target language proficiency requirement appropriate for immersion instruction.

The session concluded with a brief discussion of priorities for the future. Participants highlighted the need for continued advocacy for the K-12 sequence, emphasis on teacher training and immersion certification, development and improvement of resources including textbooks and other support materials, and continued efforts to guarantee K-12 program articulation. Closing statements also affirmed the need for more attention to program evaluation. A final question, "Why doesn't a university or resource center have more research going on in the United States to validate some of the qualitative survey results that exist from schools?", targeted an important priority for the future and one which can continue to influence the agendas for future research.

High School Continuation Programs: Topics Discussed

Political Issues

- Pressure groups and their influence
- English only movement
- Demographics

Marketing Issues

- Where programs are centered
    - attractive to students, parents
    - attractive to school community at large
- The program image
    - what the program consists of
    - an asset or an appendage
- Strategies
    - parent orientation on need for extended study
    - school staff training on immersion philosophy and goals
    - community awareness and outreach

Leadership Issues

- Program design and development
- Staff selection and training
- Program image
- Student recruitment

Curriculum and Instruction Issues

- Choice of program content areas
- Identification of materials
- Curriculum development
- Continuing role of mother tongue
- Quality of teaching staff

Assessment Issues

- Evaluators
- Assessment tools

High School Continuation Programs: Questions Raised

Political Issues
- How do local conditions influence the development and growth of program?
- What strategies can be used to build support for continuation programs?

Marketing Issues
- What influence does the program location and design have on enrollment and overall success (both academically and perceptually) of continuation programs?
- What strategies can be used to influence good decision-making in choosing Program location and design?

Leadership Issues
- How can we build a spirit of cooperative leadership for the development and administration of programs?

Program Design Issues
- What process should be used to initiate a continuation program?
- What process would we use to work with the community?
- What would a timeline look like?
- What tasks should be identified as part of a timeline?
- How can program design best address maximizing enrollment, offering a challenging   content, meeting special needs and dealing with class scheduling issues?
- Who should be involved in decision-making on choice of content area/s and curriculum development? And how?
- How do we design a program that will meld academically into an already existing high school program?
- How do we design a program that challenges the best students and meets the needs of students with a wide range of abilities?
- Can we really offer a content class at the high school level in the target language and have it really be parallel to the mainstream program?
- What constitutes an immersion program at the high school level? How do we define immersion/immersion continuation?
- How can we maintain the interest of boys in high school programs?
- How can we best address attrition issues?

Curriculum Issues
- What materials should we recommend for language arts—literature, music and music appreciation, history and art history?

Research Issues
- Why does a university or resource center not have more research going on in the United States to validate some of the qualitative survey results that exist from schools?

Opportunities for Continuation of Immersion Studies at the High School Level

SCHOOL DISTRICT	GRADES	LANGUAGE	COURSES
Culver City High School, CA	9-12	Spanish	AP Spanish
San Diego City Schools, CA	9-12	French Spanish	AP French I.B. Program (Spanish)
District of Columbia Public Schools Wilson High School, D.C.		Spanish	I.B. Program (11-12)
Wade County Public Schools, FL	9-11	French Spanish German	Binational Curriculum
Prince George's County Schools, MD	9...(12)*	French	2 courses - Literature Focus Life Literature and Civilization I.B. Program
Milton Public Schools, MA	9	French	French Language and Literature
Kansas City School District, MO	9...(12)*	French Spanish German	
Cincinnati Public Schools Withrow High School, OH	9...(12)*		Math
Columbus Public Schools, OH	Planning	French Spanish	
Eugene Public Schools Sheldon High School, OR South Eugene High School, OR	Int'l High School 9-12	Spanish French	Geography, I.B. including Comparative Values, Language, History of the Americas, Community Service I.B.
Arlington Public Schools Washington-Lee High School, VA	9-12	Spanish	I.B. Spanish for FL Speakers I-IV (9-12) World History (9) Virginia and U.S. History (10)
Bellevue Public Schools, WA	9...(12)*	Spanish	Spanish Literature
Milwaukee Public Schools, WI	9-12	French German Spanish	Languages Arts Social Studies

*... indicates that the program is presently at the 9th grade and plans to continue through grade 12.

Continuing Immersion Schooling into Post-Secondary Institutions

Discussion Group Conducted by Marjorie Wesche and Carol Klee
Session Summarized by Marjorie Wesche
University of Ottawa

Participants

Seven of the fourteen participants in this workshop were from Minnesota, including four from the University. The others came from as far away as Australia, the Netherlands, Canada, Hawaii, Los Angeles and Arkansas. The group included researchers, immersion teachers, parents, graduate students and university professors, and collectively represented school foreign language immersion programs, a Hawaiian language revival immersion program, study abroad programs in Mexico and Japan, a German immersion language program at the college level, and university programs in the U.S., Canada and Australia offering instruction in non-language disciplines through foreign and second languages, including language teacher training programs.

Focus

Participants shared an interest in promoting post-secondary students' continuation of language study at advanced levels. It was observed that relatively few students continue foreign language study at the university level unless there is a specific requirement. Of these, only a small proportion, most of them foreign language majors, continue language study at advanced levels. While societal attitudes toward foreign language study evidently play a role, other problems include poor articulation between high school and university language programs, and the relatively narrow focus of many university language programs on literary discourse and analysis of many university language programs. Few university programs cater to non-majors at advanced levels, or are geared to immersion graduates and others like them who have advanced functional skills but may lack accuracy in oral and written production, and whose language interests lie outside literature. Languages across the curriculum (LAC) initiatives were discussed as one promising means for broadening the appeal of advanced foreign language studies beyond the traditional clientele. A major form of LAC involves credit courses in non-language disciplines offered through the medium of a foreign language, with or without supporting language instruction.

Two major policy and planning issues were identified and discussed:

1) The kinds of post-secondary language and LAC offerings sought by foreign

language immersion graduates and other students who have acquired proficient language skills in use-oriented contexts. Such offerings should correspond to students' linguistic strengths, weaknesses and diverse career aspirations.

2) Applications of immersion principles in university settings. These included examples both of successful LAC courses and of LAC programs. Together they illustrated possible formats, teacher requirements, assessment issues and curricular definitions responding to the linguistic, cultural and subject matter objectives of a non-native speaker clientele.

Characteristics of Immersion Graduates: Implications for University Language Programs

Most of what is known about long-term immersion outcomes is based on Canadian studies of graduates of bilingual high school programs who also attended early-entry (kindergarten/grade 1) or late-entry (grade 6/7) school immersion programs in French. Such students have taken approximately a third of their high school program, including French language arts, through the medium of French, their L2, and early immersion students have additionally taken over half their elementary schooling through the medium of French. The most comprehensive study of linguistic outcomes of immersion education was carried out with two cohorts totaling some 230 immersion graduates from the Ottawa (national capital) area from 1985-91 (Wesche, Morrison, Ready and Pawley, 1990; Wesche, 1993), and confirms patterns found in other parts of the country. It provides data on graduates' baseline French language abilities, French usage patterns and language related attitudes at graduation and three years later, and for a sample of the 1985 cohort, six years after graduation. The profile drawn at graduation is of academically successful, university bound students, with a wide range of career interests. These graduates are aware of their well-established functional abilities in French which allow them to understand standard spoken and written French in school texts and a wide variety of contexts, and to express complex meanings in most domains they are familiar with, even if in a non-nativelike manner. Many would like to improve their vocabulary range and "nativeness", grammatical accuracy in speaking and writing, written style, and pronunciation through specialized advanced language study. Most express the desire to continue studies in their areas of interest through French, if possible. They will generally not choose a university or program based on the availability of offerings in French, but will take advantage of relevant offerings.

The bilingual University of Ottawa offers undergraduates the opportunity to take

courses geared toward native speakers of the other language. Former immersion students surveyed in the study took approximately two (of ten) 1-semester courses per year in French, including some 70% in programs for francophone students in a variety of disciplines, and 30% in advanced French second language courses. Students reported finding courses in which, for the first time, they were competing in French with native speakers, to be "much more difficult" than courses in English. For the vast majority of these students, reading, understanding lectures and note-taking in French posed few problems, while about half of them reported that speaking in class or seminars and writing essays and course papers were "much more difficult" for them than they would be in English. However, only one immersion graduate of 78 surveyed reported not being able to successfully complete a course for French native speakers. This study and other Canadian findings indicate that while few immersion students major in their second language at the university level, most are interested in pursuing study through the medium of French in other disciplines, and in perfecting their skills in oral and written expression for academic and professional purposes. They also report the wish for opportunities to interact with native speaker peers. Similar profiles might be expected for immersion graduates and former exchange students in other languages in the United States. Advanced language and culture courses for non-majors and LAC offerings are indicated for these learners, and might also serve a proportion of third generation students who have had home and community exposure but little formal study of other languages.

Applications of Immersion Principles through LAC Offerings

The application of immersion principles in university and college settings involves using a foreign language as the medium of instruction in other disciplines, either in the usual course format or in intensive programs. Several examples of such programs were described in detail, including the following:

1) One of the most ambitious LAC initiatives to date in North America is the one-semester Foreign Language Immersion Program (FLIP) offered annually by the University of Minnesota since 1992. In FLIP, advanced speakers of Spanish, French or German can take a coordinated cross-curricular program of humanities, social sciences and language courses taught through the target language (Klee, Cohen and Tedick, 1995; Klee and Tedick, forthcoming). A summer FLIP variant for practicing foreign language teachers covers similar content paired with a methodology course in English, and bears graduate education credit (Tedick and Tischer, 1996). While the undergraduate FLIP program was

conceived to serve students in fields with foreign disciplinary and geographical links, such as area studies and international studies, it has tended to mainly attract language majors because of the high level of language proficiency required, and the evident benefits for their field of study. Students from other fields frequently take one or two FLIP courses, or other "foreign languages across the curriculum" (FLAC) offerings which have been developed at the University of Minnesota in many fields over the past decade (Klee and Metcalf 1994).

Experience with FLIP has shown it to offer a rich linguistic, cultural and disciplinary learning environment. The program has also provided a laboratory for ongoing refinement of its different components for the somewhat different clienteles in the three languages. Finding start-up funding is a major first hurdle for such initiatives, but even when stable funding is assured for a period of time, as in this case, every LAC initiative is likely to raise a number of issues which must be resolved for the particular context. Among these, identification and recruitment of a stable student clientele is essential, together with the related issue of assuring that these courses will be adequately recognized in students' programs. A high level of proficiency as well as adequate background for the subject area are necessary for student success, as LAC courses may discourage rather than motivate students who do not have the requisite language proficiency. A third year language student may be able to handle one or two FLIP courses, but not the full FLIP semester, while previous experience using the language intensively for an extended period—as in school immersion or study abroad—provides valuable preparation for the program.

Other problems encountered during FLIP development included difficulty in finding and recruiting regular faculty members to teach in the program. Highly proficient, generally native-speaker, instructors who have the appropriate disciplinary specializations are needed. Such courses require special materials and preparation, and may not be as highly valued by the home department as are core courses serving majors. Instructor training has also proven necessary, as native speaker-professors are not always naturally sensitive to the linguistic and pedagogical support needed by non-native speaker students, even at advanced levels. Readings must be carefully selected for linguistic clarity and to minimize unfamiliar cultural references, and reading "guides" offering comprehension questions on the text may be needed by FLIP and FLAC students. Experience has also shown that the usual quantity of assigned reading must be substantially reduced. Participatory teaching approaches have been found to be generally more effective than formal lectures, as are assignments emphasizing the use of receptive

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language abilities.

Changes to FLIP program structure over the time to adapt to the linguistic limitations of the clientele and to better recognize students' linguistic gains have included: a) development of a language support course in which material presented in the content courses will provide the base texts for the study of language and discourse features; and b) increased academic credit hours for language gains. More careful initial screening and ongoing counseling and tutoring of students are other adaptations. Several of the language departments have also developed advanced "pre-FLIP" courses to better prepare students for extensive reading of foreign language texts in social sciences and humanities disciplines.

Assessment Instruments

The University of Minnesota has developed comprehensive tests (Klee, Cohen, and Tedick) in the three languages to assess students' academic language skills. These may be used both for initial screening and for program evaluation purposes. Subtests require reading comprehension of academic texts in the foreign language, listening comprehension of a videotaped lecture excerpt, writing an essay, elicited imitation (sentence repetition) and completion of a cloze test; tasks which together assess the kinds of language abilities students need for success in FLAC and FLIP courses.

2) The University of Central Queensland at Rockhampton, Australia, offers a four-year Japanese teacher training program using immersion principles (Erben, 1995). High school graduates enter with substantial secondary school training in Japanese, and continue language study as part of the university program, which includes a period of study in Japan. A number of the methodology and other courses are conducted in Japanese, as well.

3) Ellen Webber reported that Concordia College at Bemidji, Minnesota, offers an intensive one-year German program through its Institute of German Studies. Everything is taught in German, including language and humanities courses offering university credit, and students live in German language residences.

4) The University of Ottawa, which offers a wide range of undergraduate and graduate programs in both English and French, has for a number of years offered advanced academic second language courses in French and English paired with selected courses in psychology, sociology, history, linguistics and other disciplines, to provide language support for non-native speakers taking those courses and simultaneously help them to improve their academic language skills (Burger, Wesche and Migneron, 1997).

Thus, English speakers can take "Introduction à la psychologie" or "Sociologie de la famille" offered for French speaking students, and also take an 'adjunct' French second language course paired with the particular discipline course. In these specialized language courses, varied activities help students to master the subject matter while becoming more effective language users. Examples include review and discussion of lectures and readings for the non-language course, study skills, reformulation and written summaries of course materials, preparation of first drafts of essay and paper assignments for grammatical and stylistic feedback, and systematic study of terminology.

Concluding Remarks

Experience in the programs described above has in every case revealed the need for clear curricular definition to explicitly deal with the interface between language and content learning by a given student clientele in a given context. In a content-driven curriculum, formulation of objectives begins with the subject area, taking into account the kinds of cultural knowledge students will need to access textual meanings, and which will probably require explicit teaching. Equally important is clarification of the kinds of language skills and specific language knowledge students will need to successfully complete the course, how initial screening for proficiency will be managed, the kinds of pedagogical and language adjustments that should be built into the curriculum, and whether there is a need for supplementary language instruction or tutorial support. A variety of formats may be used, depending upon such factors as the clientele, purpose, availability of native-speaker instructors and language instruction, the nature of the subject matter, and available texts and time constraints. In addition to instructors with expertise in the subject matter and target language, instructor sensitization and training will probably be necessary. New initiatives will always have rough edges, and careful ongoing evaluation will be necessary if they are to become institutionalized. Further examples of such initiatives are described in Krueger and Ryan (1993), Straight (1994), and Stryker and Leaver (forthcoming).

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Recruitment, Preparation, and Supervision of Immersion Teachers

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This session and discussion focused on the selection of immersion teachers, the knowledge and skills necessary for successful performance, and professional preparation and/or development. The long-term viability and sustainability of an immersion program depends on teachers, for they are the key to program quality. Because teachers are so critical to program success, it is important for us to consider the following questions:

What makes a good immersion teacher? Whom do we want to recruit?

Like all teachers, immersion teachers should be knowledgeable of state-of-the art curriculum and its implementation, and of emerging national standards in the elementary school disciplines. Many of the characteristics of immersion teachers are shared with all elementary teachers; others are unique to the immersion setting.

Immersion teachers, like all teachers, should:

- be reflective and introspective
- interact well with children
- be engaging
- be responsive to learners
- communicate effectively with staff and parents
- be master teachers
- be flexible
- be grounded in child development
- use experiential teaching
- know grouping practices and strategies

Immersion teachers, more than non-immersion teachers, must frequently:

- prepare and adapt materials
- contextualize
- make the abstract concrete
- teach thematically
- assess student progress using a variety of language and non-language based techniques
- use more cooperative learning
- be familiar with second language acquisition theory and research
- be aware of literacy development in two languages
- teach social and academic language
- promote output
- instruct on the cultures of second language communities

• be able to apply general education trends to language immersion

Immersion teachers should know how teaching content through a second language is different from teaching curriculum through a first language. Further, immersion teachers need to ensure language growth as well as teach content. To be effective, immersion teachers must be proficient in the language of instruction. Teachers not only need to be able to communicate orally and in writing, they also need to have the range and breadth that allows for flexibility. That is, their range must allow them to say the same thing in many ways. Accurate pronunciation is also important.

To assess language proficiency, schools use a variety of approaches. Group discussion focused on the level of proficiency required, and approaches used by schools to ascertain proficiency. One principal said she has candidates talk and write in the target language at an interview. Other schools have a team of at least 3 or 4 teachers assess candidates. Some schools give candidates a short amount of time to prepare a lesson and to write a letter to parents. Other schools require candidates to submit a video of themselves teaching in the language, a strategy which also allows candidates to demonstrate how they interact with children. Some schools gave options for what to teach in the demonstration lesson, and felt that a candidate's choices served to reveal important information about that person.

Participants debated whether academic knowledge and methodology are more important than language proficiency, and the group was evenly divided in opinions on methodology vs. fluency. One participant suggested that it is important to consider the purpose of the immersion school. In his Hawaiian immersion program, the goal is language redevelopment, so proficiency in Hawaiian is more important; teaching skills can be developed.

It was also noted that teachers need fluency in English in order to communicate with parents and other staff. This gave rise to a discussion about the value of native vs. non-native teachers. Some participants felt that it is easier to help teachers who are target language speakers to understand and function in U.S. culture than it is to teach Americans the target language and culture. Others questioned, "Who is a native speaker?" Total immersion two-way programs and one-way programs (90/10 models), require teachers with near native proficiency. Some discussants felt that 50/50 program models might not. Most felt strongly that it is very important that the teacher be linguistically competent and culturally aware.

Teachers also need to have in-depth knowledge of the culture, although the question of which country to choose as the vehicle for teaching culture led some participants to suggest "every culture that uses that language." It was noted that even native speakers often only know about their own regional or national culture.

Discussion turned to an identification of what it means to be an immersion teacher. If schools can identify the skills, knowledge, and abilities needed, then they can more easily identify not only whom they wish to recruit, but also what kinds of professional development may need to be made available to those who are hired.

What is it that differentiates or sets apart an immersion teacher?

How does an immersion teacher teach differently from a regular classroom teacher? Teachers work with grade-level curriculum in a language new to children. Therefore, they need to understand how a second language develops in children instructed in a school setting. Immersion teachers must use contextual clues, body language, and manipulatives. If a regular class and an immersion class are videotaped with the sound turned off, it should be evident which one is the immersion classroom. Many immersion teachers teach thematically, more often, it was thought, than do regular classroom teachers. Some participants suggested that immersion teachers need to look for production in classrooms, because unless students "produce" teachers do not know if students are learning. Immersion teachers should be using more cooperative learning and learning strategies to enhance understanding.

Immersion teachers often use teacher-prepared materials or adaptations, rather than the commercially available texts that a regular classroom teacher has at her disposal. Many teachers/ schools prepare translations of regular textbooks. Some participants thought that made for stronger materials, others felt this was a serious time demand on immersion teachers, a demand for which they are usually not compensated.

Immersion teachers must help students develop social language, something the regular teacher does not do, thus promoting both academic and social language. Immersion teachers need to know how to promote opportunities for children to use their new language. They create a climate in which only the target language is used in the classroom. Tasks and tests should require more than single words or sentences as a response. Teachers must make students use complex language, and not compensate for learners' skill limitations.

Participants noted that immersion teachers teach the culture of the language, but that the role of target culture in the immersion classroom needs to be considered. Too many immersion classes lack indicators of the target culture aside from the language itself. Cross-cultural communication needs to be worked on.

What type of teacher training is needed?

The answer to this question stems from the identification of the kind of person most likely to be successful in an immersion classroom. Participants returned to the issue of hiring

teachers with language proficiency vs. effective teaching skills. It does not often happen that an individual is available who knows the language, the content area, and is a master teacher. There are no teacher preparation courses for immersion education. Teachers, therefore, receive most training on the job. One issue to address is how teacher development can occur in a school that has only one or two teachers, or only one or two new teachers each year.

In immersion programs, staff development relies most heavily on the staff itself. Some schools begin by determining what is most important to them. One teacher reported that in her school immersion teachers have a half-day every week for staff development, and teachers take charge of their own professional growth. Some schools use peer coaching and team meetings. In one school, a grade level team meets every Monday to work out curriculum for their students. They improve their program and their own performance by evaluating, discussing, and communicating. They feel that support from others makes the difference. Some schools noted that they use videos for inservice training. In immersion schools, administrators frequently rely more on teachers, empowering them to use their expertise to make decisions. It was noted that schools should promote reflective practices, such as teacher self-assessment. Teacher self-assessment can then become the basis for determining professional development needs.

Participant suggestions for increasing opportunities for the professional development of immersion teachers included:

- training in the summer
- electronic telecommunications
- cooperative arrangements with other countries
- teaming with nearby immersion schools
- combining content skills and language proficiency training

The issue of program supervision and administration was briefly discussed. It was suggested that a "lead teacher" structure can provide significant support to teachers. All agreed that teachers and administrators need to keep the program's vision in the forefront for they are the "keepers of the flame."

Integrating Language and Content in Immersion Classrooms:
Research Perspectives[*]

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Introduction

This paper focuses on an important issue in immersion pedagogy: the integration of language and content teaching. In this context, language teaching covers all aspects of language knowledge (e.g. vocabulary, grammar, sociolinguistics, discourse) and the four language skills (speaking, listening, reading, writing). Content teaching refers, of course, to the academic content taught to immersion students (e.g. mathematics, social studies).

Our observations in immersion classrooms suggest that there is considerable content teaching that occurs where little or no attention is paid to students' target language use; and there is also much language teaching that is done in the absence of a context laden with meaning. Furthermore, in discussions with teachers, how to improve the target language of immersion students, particularly their "grammar", is a frequent topic. A solution often heard is: "teach more of it". However, teaching grammar in isolation has not proven to be a particularly effective strategy in improving immersion students' spoken and written target language use.

Snow, Met and Genesee (1989) provide a conceptual framework for the integration of language and content in second and foreign language instruction. Basically, the model assumes two teachers—a language teacher and a content teacher—who work together to determine language-teaching objectives. As Snow, Met and Genesee point out, "It is unlikely that desired levels of second or foreign language proficiency will emerge simply from the teaching of content through a second or foreign language. The specification of language learning objectives must be undertaken with deliberate, systematic planning and coordination of the language and content curricula." (1989, p.204). They also point out that whereas in most ESL settings, the language and the content teacher are two different people who may have difficulty coordinating their work; in immersion, the content teacher and the language teacher are one and the same. This gives immersion teachers an advantage in knowing both the language and content needs

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[*] Article originally appeared in *Canadian Modern Language Review 4,* 529-548, June 1996. Reprinted with permission.

of their students; it also puts a heavy load on immersion teachers as they try to do the task of two teachers by teaching both language and content.

I would like to discuss the issue of the integration of language and content teaching by focusing on research that *directly* addresses ways of doing so. I say directly because I am only going to discuss research that has been conducted *in* immersion classrooms. Although this research has been carried out in *French* immersion classrooms, the particular target language is, I believe, of lesser importance than are the pedagogical strategies which have been used. Each of the studies that I will mention was conducted in order to see if the learning of a particular aspect of the immersion language could be enhanced through particular teaching strategies involving the integration of language and content teaching.

This paper begins with a brief description of some of what we observed in visits to immersion classes—the sorts of things that are difficult, if not impossible, to notice when one is fully engaged in the act of teaching, but that might help to explain the nature of immersion students' developing second language proficiency. These observations speak to the need for developing pedagogical strategies which more effectively integrate language and content teaching. From these observations, pedagogical strategies which might be helpful to immersion students are proposed. Following this, several studies that have been conducted in which these pedagogical strategies have been adopted are discussed. This research has focused on the teaching of various aspects of the target language: for example, the correct and appropriate use of the conditional, vocabulary, and sociolinguistics (i.e., the appropriate use of language in context).

Observations in Immersion Classes

Early research in immersion education focused on whether students learned the target language, and how well they did so. In general, the research has shown that students develop high levels of communicative fluency in the immersion language, yet their spoken and written use of the target language often contains morphological and syntactic inaccuracies, lacks precision in vocabulary use, and tends to be sociolinguistically limited to a more formal academic register (see, for example, Swain and Lapkin, 1982, 1990; Genesee, 1987; Harley & King, 1989). In searching for explanations for the nature of immersion students' developing second language skills, we returned to a number of grade three and grade six immersion classrooms to observe and record (with tape-recorders) what actually went on. We were particularly interested to see what *about* the target language was taught--either explicitly or implicitly—as teachers

were engaged in teaching their students the academic content of schooling. Thus, we looked at what teachers said, how and when they taught grammar and vocabulary, how much opportunity they gave their students to use the target language, and whether they corrected their students' linguistic errors. Below are brief summaries of what we observed. More details can be found in Swain (1986) and in Allen, Swain, Harley and Cummins (1990).

Teacher talk

One of the things we found was that what the immersion students heard from their teachers--the input they received—was not as rich linguistically as one automatically assumes. Certain uses of language simply did not occur naturally, or occurred only infrequently in the classroom setting. In other words, the full functional range of particular linguistic features was not used, or was infrequently used. It is probably similar to what happens in teaching content in L1 classrooms. However, when the main source of second language input is the classroom teacher as in immersion classrooms, this is a particularly serious problem. One example will serve to illustrate this phenomenon, an example which shows clearly that conflicts can arise between good content teaching and good language teaching.

This example of functionally restricted language use involves the use of verb tenses. We decided to look at the frequency of verb tense usage of French immersion teachers because we had found that the correct use of past and conditional tenses is an area of continuing difficulty among immersion students. Among the findings is that students tend to overgeneralize the use of the *passé composé* to contexts where the imperfect should be used. Furthermore, students rarely use the imperfect with action verbs. We have also found that even at grade ten, immersion students correctly produce the conditional only a little more than half the time in obligatory contexts (Harley & Swain, 1984).

Before giving you a summary of what was observed as the immersion teachers taught content material, I would like to discuss three excerpts that are taken from a history lesson in a grade six French immersion class. The lesson is about the Antilles in 1796—what it was like then and the sorts of things that were influencing life at that time. Consider these two questions: (1) What would be the tense the teacher would most likely use in teaching this lesson—past, present or future? (2) What would be one linguistic objective of teaching a lesson with a historical theme?

Most people answer "the past tense" to both of these questions. But let's examine what happens when language is used authentically in the content classroom. Below are three excerpts from the history lesson, translated into English.

Excerpt 1

> T: It (Europe) **didn't have** sugar cane. Why **didn't they have** sugar cane? Mary?
>
> S: **It's** too cold.
>
> T.:   **It's** too cold. What's a word for 'le temps'?
>
> S: 'Le climate'

Excerpt 1 illustrates one of the teacher's relatively infrequent uses of the past tense in this history lesson. Notice that the student answers in the present tense. The teacher indicates acceptance of the student's idea—and presumably of the way in which it was given, that is, the student's use of the present tense—by her repetition of the phrase. The teacher further concentrates on content by asking for a word for "le temps" that would, in her estimation, improve the response.

Excerpt 2

> T: What do you think? How **did** these plantations **influence** life in the Antilles? How do you think that these plantations...**are going**...uhm **to change**...life in the Antilles?

In excerpt 2, we see the teacher switch from past tense usage in 'How DID these plantations influence life in the Antilles?' to future tense usage 'How do you think that these plantations...ARE GOING...uhm to change...life in the Antilles?' Use of the 'immediate future', that is the use of the verb 'to go' plus a verb to signal action that is just about to happen, appears to be one of this teacher's favoured strategies in this lesson. Excerpt 3 illustrates this well.

Excerpt 3

> T: These people **are going to sell** their sugar, rum, molasses, brown sugar. They
> **are going to make** money. With the money, they **are going to buy** clothes, furniture, horses, carriages...all that they want and they **are going to bring** them back to the Antilles. Now I want to go back to what John was saying because I thought that was what he was trying to explain to me. How are these plantations **going to change** life in the Antilles?

S: Modernize.

T: OK We **are going to import** modern objects to the Antilles. OK, it's one way that that**'s going to influence** things. Another way? How **are** the plantations **going to influence** life in the Antilles?

S: All the slaves and all the different cultures who work on the uhm XXX.

T: Yes! You have these huge plantations you certainly **are going to have** some cultures and customs that are...

S: Different.

T: **Are going to mix together.**

These examples illustrate the conflict that arises between teaching content and teaching language. What the teacher has done by her use of the 'immediate future' is superb from a content teaching point of view. Its use has brought the distant past into the lives of the children, got them involved, and undoubtedly helped them to understand the social and economic principles which this historical unit was intended to demonstrate. However, as a language lesson modeling past tense usage, it was less than a success.

Once one considers examples such as these, the summary of our observational data of teachers' verb use is perhaps not so surprising. We examined in detail the frequency with which different verb forms were used by ten grade six immersion teachers. Let me say immediately that the issue here is not one of correct usage, but *frequency* of usage. On average, approximately 75% of the verbs used by the grade six immersion teachers were in the present tense or the imperative. The proportion of verbs in teacher talk in the past tense was only 15%; the future tense, 6%; and the conditional tense, 3%. Of the verbs used in the past tense, about two-thirds (10% of all verbs used) were in the *passé composé* and one-third (5% of all verbs used) were in the imperfect. The use of the imperfect was almost completely limited to the verbs *avoir, être, faire* and *vouloir.* Its use with action verbs was virtually nonexistent. These figures concerning the frequency of use, it would seem, go a long way towards explaining the second language performance of the students that I mentioned earlier, in that, without sufficient input, students may not have the "data" they need to learn the form and function of certain verb tenses.

The point these observations make is that we need to become aware of what language is not naturally present in content teaching, and make sure that we plan for, and integrate activities into, content teaching in which that language is either naturally present, or is *contrived to* be present. For example, in the Day and Shapson study

discussed below, knowing about the very limited natural use made of the conditional by teachers, the researchers developed teaching materials which focused on the use of the conditional in the context of a science unit about an imaginary space colony.

Grammatical Instruction

What did we find out about the teaching of grammar in the immersion classes that we observed? Our observations revealed that grammar was being taught in immersion classes. However, the main emphases in these activities appeared to be more on manipulating and categorizing language forms than on relating forms to their meaningful use in communicative contexts. It was a relatively rare occurrence for teachers to refer to what had been learned in a grammar lesson when they were involved in content teaching, and even more rare for teachers to set up specific content-based activities for the purpose of focusing on problematic language forms. In other words, our observations did not suggest that grammar instruction was being integrated into content teaching. Teachers and researchers are experimenting with ways to do this, some of which will be discussed later.

Vocabulary Instruction

One would think that the integration of content and vocabulary teaching would happen almost automatically. It does, but only certain aspects of vocabulary were taught. We observed that most planned vocabulary teaching occurred during reading activities organized around particular themes. In these contexts, students learned to pronounce words as they read aloud, and to interpret passages. The meanings of unfamiliar words were explained. The focus of both planned and unplanned vocabulary teaching was mainly on what the words meant in a specific context. There was little attempt to provide instruction about other possible meanings of a word and, with few exceptions, the presentation of structural information such as derivational relationships between words was limited to a separate grammar lesson. Because of its association with reading activities, the teaching of new words emphasized written varieties of French; few attempts to teach words unique to the spoken mode were observed. Furthermore, there was no evidence that teachers were focusing on vocabulary and phrases that provide coherence to speech and writing - phrases like "in my opinion" or words like "next", "therefore", "furthermore", and so on. Thus vocabulary teaching appeared to occupy a rather narrow place in the overall teaching plan, and it mainly involved giving the

meaning of words in context, with little planned attention to other aspects of vocabulary knowledge.

Output—Student Talk

We also wanted to see how much language the students were using during the time teachers were engaged in content teaching, as well as the type of feedback teachers provided students about the linguistic accuracy of their target language use.

The importance to second language learning of output—that is, of language production—could be that it pushes learners to process language more deeply (with more mental effort) than does input. In speaking or writing, learners can "stretch" their interlanguage to meet communicative goals; that is, they can move beyond their current stage of language development (Swain, 1995).

We examined the output of the students in 'public talk'--that is, the talk of students mostly in response to teachers' questions during content lessons. Each turn taken by a student was categorized according to its length. They were categorized as 'minimal', 'phrase', 'clause', or 'sustained' in length. Minimal length refers to turns of one or two words in length. Phrase length refers to turns consisting of an adverbial phrase, a nominal phrase or a verb phrase; and clause length refers to a turn consisting of one clause. Any student turn which was longer than a clause was categorized as sustained talk.

The results indicate that there were, on average, about two student turns per minute (as compared to about six student turns per minute in the English portion of the day). In grade six, about 44% of those were of minimal length, that is, consisted of only one or two words. In only about 14% of the times that students talk in teacher-fronted activities were their utterances sustained in length, that is, longer than a clause. Second language learning theory would argue that students should get more opportunities than this for sustained oral use of the target language.

Error Correction

We classified and counted the surface level grammatical errors made by the grade six immersion students as they interacted with their teachers. For each error, we noted whether the teacher corrected it. We counted both implicit and explicit instances of correction. Our findings show that only 19% of the grammatical errors students made were corrected, while the remainder were ignored by the teachers. The pattern of correction appeared to be determined as much by an "irritation" factor as by any

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consistent pedagogical or linguistic factors. There was little indication that students were being pushed by their teachers toward a more coherent and accurate use of the target language.

To summarize, our observations in immersion classes as teachers taught their content lessons suggested possible reasons for the nontarget-like performance of immersion students: somewhat unexpectedly that the input to the students was restricted in a number of ways; that grammar was taught but it was often taught isolated from meaningful contexts; that little about vocabulary was taught except context-specific meaning; that extended oral discourse was rare among students; and that correction of linguistic errors by teachers was rather inconsistent and relatively infrequent. These observations are a source of hypotheses about what sorts of pedagogical strategies might be more helpful in supporting second language learning in immersion classes. Specifically, these observations led us to hypothesize that the second language outcomes of the immersion approach can be enhanced through content teaching which plans for and incorporates the provision of: 1) focused input in problematic areas of French grammar and vocabulary; 2) increased opportunities for the productive use of the target language in meaningful contexts; and 3) systematic and consistent feedback about students' use of target language forms in meaningful contexts.

Classroom-Based Immersion Research

Research conducted recently in immersion classes has addressed the value of these pedagogical strategies. We will look in detail at one study which examined the teaching of the conditional, and one study which examined the teaching of vocabulary. Also, we will look very briefly at two types of tasks (activities) that teachers and researchers are currently experimenting with that are compatible with the now theoretically assumed needs in immersion education for focused input, a focus on form, and increased second language output that should be incorporated into content teaching to enhance second language learning.

Integration of Science Teaching and the Teaching of the Conditional

The first study, one conducted by Day and Shapson (1991), focused on the use of the conditional. It involved the use of a unit on an imaginary space colony that incorporated both science and language objectives. An imaginary space colony was chosen as the theme because it allowed many authentic contexts for the use of the conditional. This study, like that of Harley's (1989), is important for its attempts to

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develop curriculum materials that focus on form in a manner that is integrated with content learning; grammar is not isolated from meaning or context. The study, conducted with grade seven early immersion students, provided enhanced input about the conditional by drawing attention to its use in various ways, including a focus on form, and encouraged output through group work and collaborative learning. A comparison group of immersion students who were not instructed using the experimental materials was also involved in the study.

It is important to note that the approach taken in the Day and Shapson study, and in other studies discussed, differs from an approach fully compatible with Krashen's well-known theoretical account of second language learning. Krashen considers that teaching grammar (in or out of context) is of little use in the acquisition of a second language. Furthermore, Krashen views production as an outcome of learning, not as a source of learning (Krashen, 1982; 1985)—a view contrary to the one stated above that output can make an important contribution to second language learning.

The curriculum unit developed by Day and Shapson for use in their study was designed to be used over a five to six week period with approximately three 45 to 60 minute periods per week. In groups, students made plans for an imaginary space colony; prepared an oral report that described and justified their plans; made a model of the plan; prepared a written report that described each part of the colony and its importance; and prepared a newspaper article that described the life of the space pioneers. Prior to engaging in each activity and at the beginning of each class, students participated in "linguistic games" in which rules for the use of the conditional were provided and then the students played games that required them to make use of the conditional. Throughout, students took part in group and self evaluation procedures "to encourage students to develop conscious awareness of their language use, particularly with respect to the conditional." (p.35). This was done by appointing a group member to be a "monitor of French" whose responsibility it was to record each time the conditional was used by each student.

Teachers were provided with all the necessary materials including a teacher's guide which gave an overview of the unit, a description of the various uses of the conditional, the goals and objectives, and the procedures for forming student groups, conducting the major activities and evaluating group work. Student materials were also provided and included information about the theme, instructions, glossaries of linguistic expressions, as well as group and self evaluation sheets. Wherever possible, the conditional was used in the written material provided to the students.

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Short-term and long-term comparisons of the experimental classes with the comparison classes showed an advantage for the experimental classes on a written test measuring the accurate use of the conditional, and in writing a composition making use of the conditional. There was no difference, however, in their oral use of the conditional. That a difference between the experimental and comparison groups was not found in speaking was attributed by the researchers to a few problems that arose in the implementation of the instructional treatment that could easily be overcome in future use of the materials.

In addition to these test results, it was found that the teachers who used the material felt that their students enjoyed the activities; thought they were of an appropriate level of difficulty; and thought the educational objective of integrating content and language teaching had been successfully attained. Overall, the teachers' comments were positive, indicating considerable enthusiasm and support for the experimental materials.

Integration of Science Teaching and the Teaching of Vocabulary

Let us turn now to a study which examined in detail how one particular teacher, Leonard, integrated the teaching of vocabulary into a science lesson. Recall that in our observations of immersion classes, we found that teachers, not surprisingly, taught vocabulary *meaning* as it arose in context. However, little, or no, attention was paid to the derivational or inflectional morphology of words in context, or other related structural information. Furthermore, there was no evidence that teachers were focusing on sociolinguistic or discourse-related aspects of vocabulary.

In this study, we (Lapkin and Swain, 1996) video-taped Leonard teaching his grade eight class for a week, and talked at length with him about his approach to vocabulary teaching. We asked Leonard to let us video-tape him because his students' level of French proficiency was so high. We wanted to discover what his teaching strategies were. We found that Leonard's approach to vocabulary instruction included many components that were absent or infrequent in other classes, demonstrating clearly that there are no inherent constraints to the rich teaching of vocabulary in immersion classrooms. His teaching focused on both meaning and form, considered both spoken and written registers, and dealt with sociolinguistic and discourse-related aspects of vocabulary while still being fully integrated into the teaching of content.

Several examples of ways in which Leonard integrates different aspects of vocabulary knowledge into his teaching of a content lesson are provided below.

Translations are provided in Appendix A. The lesson was on "the greenhouse effect", and took up about 40 minutes spread over two days.

Excerpt A

1	T:	C'est un problème qui est causé par les rayons du soleil. Et ce problème est provoqué aussi par la pollution, et il s'agit d'une certaine couche*** Quelle est la fonction, quel est le rôle de cette couche dans l'atmosphère?
2	S:	Ça protégeait la terre des rayons de soleil.
3	T:	Elle nous protège contre les rayons de soleil. Est-ce que tous les rayons de soleil sont nocifs? Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire "nocif"?
4	S1:	Dangereux.
5	S2:	Qui nous cause, qui cause du...
6	S3:	Danger.
7	T:	Oui, dangereux, nuisible, nuisible à la santé.

(Note: ***indicates that several utterances have been omitted from the sequence in this excerpt.)

As can be seen in Excerpt A, Leonard often repeats himself, and in so doing, replaces one content word with another, leading him to provide a constant supply of synonyms: for example, in turn 1, *le rôle* (role) substitutes for *la fonction* (function); in turn 7, *nuisible* (injurious) with its complement *à la santé* substitutes for *nocif* (harmful) and *dangereux* (dangerous). In providing synonyms, Leonard is not simplifying his input; in fact these synonyms are a form of enrichment. He seems to use language that would be used in a mother tongue classroom, and avoids simplifying his speech as a concession to the second language context. This appears to have a direct impact on students' language development, as they use sophisticated vocabulary items in their initiations and responses in the lesson. Leonard's repetitiveness, giving him the opportunity to supply synonyms, is not accidental. Neither are other sorts of repetitions in Leonard's lessons. Often he uses structures receiving attention in his language arts lessons. Thus, as seen in turn 1 of Excerpt A, he uses *provoqué* as an equivalent of *causé*, permitting him to repeat the passive structure that he had told us was an explicit objective of that day's language arts lesson.

I now want to illustrate some ways in which Leonard systematically addresses the neglected aspects of vocabulary instruction that I mentioned previously—morphological, syntactic, and discoursal.

In Excerpt A, Leonard implicitly corrects the morphology and syntax of a student response - in turn 3, the student response *ça protégeait* (it protected) is changed to *elle nous protège*; also in turn 3 the preposition *de* is corrected to *contre* which it must be when associated with the verb *protéger*; and in turn 7, Leonard corrects a student's use (in turn 6) of the noun *danger* to its adjectival form (*danger -> dangereux*).

Excerpt B

1	T:	Et cela cause...Quel est l'effet de cette diminution de la couche d'ozone?
2	S:	Ils causent la cancer de la peau.
3	T:	Le. Ils causent...
4	S:	Le cancer de la peau.
5	T:	*Le* cancer de la peau. Et qu'est-ce que les médecins vous conseillent de faire avant d'aller vous bronzer à la plage? Ou avant de prendre votre voyage vers les pays tropicaux, vous savez la Jamaîque, le Mexique Qu'est-ce que les médecins vous conseillent de faire?
6	S:	Ils nous conseillent de mettre beaucoup de protection...
7	T:	Comment est-ce qu'on appelle?
8	S:	L'écran. L'écran soleil?
9	T:	La forme?
10	S:	Solaire?
11	T:	L'ecran solaire. [Writes on board while saying aloud:] Mettre de l'écran solaire. Pourquoi?
12	S:	Pour protéger de la cancer de la peau?
13	T:	Pour nous proteger...petite faute.
14	S:	Contre.
15	T:	Quoi?
16	S:	Contre de le cancer de la peau.
17	T:	Contre le cancer de la peau.

In Excerpt B. we also see Leonard paying systematic attention to other linguistic aspects of words than their meaning. In Excerpt B. in turn 5, with the question "What do doctors advise you to do? (*Qu'est-ce que les médecins vous conseillent de faire*?), Leonard begins work on the syntactic frame of the verb 'to advise', i.e. *conseiller* and on one

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aspect of the content of the lesson, the need for sunscreen to protect skin from burning and thus to prevent skin cancer. In this short sequence, in turns 7 to 11, he elicits vocabulary such as *l'écran solaire* (sunscreen) and draws attention to the derivational relationship between *soleil /solaire*. In turns 12 to 14, he insists on the correct preposition (*contre*) following the verb *protéger*, a point we noted him doing also in Excerpt A. (In English, both "from" and "against" can follow "protect", whereas only the latter, *contre*, is grammatical in French.) At the beginning of Excerpt B, in turns 2 to 5, we find an example of explicit error correction focusing on morphology, rather than syntax: in turn 3 Leonard corrects the gender of *cancer*, supplying *le*, waiting for the student to repeat the correct form, and confirming the correctness of the response by repeating it in turn 5.

Finally, discoursal aspects of word use are also taught. Examples include the implicit and explicit teaching of conjunctions that introduce embedded clauses and allow for temporal sequencing, e.g. *avant de* is consciously used in turn 5 of Excerpt B—*avant d'aller; avant de prendre*, and is explicitly corrected in Excerpt C—in turns 8 and 9 from *avant que* to *avant de*. so that in turn 10, it is used correctly by the student. Elsewhere in the lesson, impersonal verb phrases such as *Il est necessaire de* and *Il faut que* are introduced as alternative ways of introducing a complex sentence structure beginning with *On nous conseille de* (We are advised to). By the end of Excerpt B, Leonard and the students have together constructed in French the complex sentence "we are advised to put suntan lotion on to protect ourselves against skin cancer."

Excerpt C

1	T:	Tout le monde sait ce que c'est que "de l'écran solaire"?
2	Ss:	Oui.
3	T:	Bien. Avez-vous un écran à la maison?
4	Ss:	Oui.
5	T:	Comment s'appelle-t-il, votre écran? Un petit écran, oui?
6	S:	Le téléviseur?
7	T:	Le téléviseur. Qui a regardé le petit écran hier soir? Qui a fait ses devoirs avant de regarder le petit écran? Qu'est-ce qu'on vous conseille de faire?
8	S:	On nous conseille de finir nos devoirs avant qu'on...
9	T:	Avant de
10	S:	Avant de regarder le télévision.

A noteworthy feature of the instruction throughout this lesson is the way that Leonard revisits vocabulary and structures on an iterative basis throughout the discourse. Toward the end of the lesson, in turns 1 and 2 of Excerpt C, Leonard verifies that the term *l'écran solaire* has been understood, then in turns 3 to 5 moves to exploit a second meaning of *écran* that of "television screen" (in the phrase *le petit écran*). In joking about watching television instead of doing one's homework, Leonard manages in turn 7 to reintroduce the structure "to advise someone to do something" (*conseiller à quelqu'un de faire quelque chose*) in a different context, giving a student in turn 8 the opportunity to use it, thereby allowing for its consolidation.

All in all, an examination of Leonard's content teaching makes it clear that repetition, the use of multiple synonyms in their characteristic syntactic frames, revisiting words in a variety of contexts and in different parts of the lesson—all of these reoccur as typical patterns in Leonard's instruction. Leonard never lets up in pushing students beyond their current knowledge about vocabulary—he not only provides information about the immediate meaning of a word, but of other possible meanings, and provides a rich variety of synonyms. He constantly, in context, provides mini-lessons about the derivational and inflectional morphology of words, their gender, their syntax, and provides phrases that give coherence to talk and writing.

Integration of Content and Language Teaching through Tasks

I would like to now describe briefly two types of tasks whose purposes are to integrate content and language teaching by providing focused input about an aspect of language; by drawing learners' attention to form/function relationships; and by increasing students' use of the target language by engaging them in collaborative group work. Both of these task types have been used by researchers as they study the acquisition of a second language by immersion students in order to encourage students to *think about* and *reflect on* the target language as they use it, and as it is used.

We (Kowal and Swain, 1994; LaPierre, 1994; Swain and Lapkin, in progress) have been using a task-type known as "dictogloss". Dictogloss is a procedure which encourages students to reflect on their own output through collaborative dialogue. In this procedure, a short, dense text on a topic or theme related to the academic content they are studying is read to the learners at normal speed; while it is being read, students jot down familiar words and phrases; the learners then work together in small groups to reconstruct the text from their shared resources; and the various versions are then analyzed, compared and corrected in a whole class setting. The initial text, related to the

content of subject material being taught, is constructed to provide practice in the use of a particular grammatical construction that has recently been taught or reviewed. Wajnryb, who wrote a book about this procedure, points out that "Through active learner involvement students come to confront their own strengths and weaknesses. In so doing, they find out what they need to know." (1990, p. 10).

We have found, working with grade seven and eight immersion students, that the use of the dictogloss gets them talking about language in a highly contextualized situation. It succeeds in getting them to notice the gap between what they know and what they do not know. They solve their linguistic problems through collaboration within the group, and by turning to other resources such as the dictionary, their teacher—even their grammar books!

The following short example comes from Kowal and Swain (1994). Sofie and Rachel, two grade eight immersion students, were reconstructing a passage which included the phrase *de nouveau problèmes*. Rachel decided it would be a good idea to use *menaces* instead of *problèmes*. Sofie wonders aloud then, if it should be *de nouveaux* or *de nouvelles*. She can't decide, and tries out both gender possibilities: *un menace, une menace, un menace, une menace, ay ay ay*! Sophie and Rachel decide to look *menace* up in the dictionary, and Sophie triumphantly declares *C'est de nouvelles*! Rachel concurs with *oui, c'est feminin: so, it's nouvelles menaces*. Another related study (LaPierre, 1994) suggests that a week or two later, students negotiating in this way remember many of the solutions they negotiated in their group work, suggesting that this sort of activity, in which students reflect on the language they are using, is a supportive one for second language learning.

The second type of task is one I am sure is a familiar one—a jigsaw task; but I would like to describe a particularly interesting way in which it has been used by Lyster (1994). Lyster was interested in raising students' awareness about language, in this case about sociolinguistic aspects of language—differences that occur between written and oral texts, and between formal and informal contexts. Each "home" group in the class was given four "texts", each expressing the same message—how to make a tape-recording. Two texts were oral—provided on a tape-recorder; and two were written. The oral, formal tape was of a salesperson telling a customer how to make a recording; the oral, informal tape was of one kid telling his friend how to make a recording. Of the two written texts, the formal one was from a user's manual; the informal one was a note written to a friend—again, both stating how to make a recording. Students, in their home groups, compared these four texts, looking for vocabulary and expressions that

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distinguished them. Students in each group then chose one domain in which they wanted to become an expert—formal speech, informal speech, formal writing, or informal writing. With others, who chose the same "expertise", they worked together to identify characteristics of their particular type of text.

Eventually, each expert returned to his or her own home group, where together in their home group, they had to decide on a theme, for example, how to make a banana split, and produce four texts that said the same thing but each in its own sociolinguistically appropriate way. In the case of the banana split, the four texts might relate to a TV cooking show, a friend telling a friend, a recipe from a cookbook and a note from mother to daughter.

This jigsaw activity could involve the content from any lesson, for example, a news item in current events—how a radio broadcaster would say it; how your brother would tell it to you; how it would be written up in a newspaper; how your buddy would write it to you in a letter. This activity is highly contextualized and meaningful, yet analytical and focused on language form, helping students to become aware of how differently the target language is used in different contexts.

I would like to conclude, not by summarizing what I have said, but by making a final point, which is that *if* immersion pedagogy is as we claim it to be—both content teaching and language teaching, and *if* second language learning is more successful when learned in meaningful contexts not in grammar lessons isolated from meaning, we need to be doing a lot more *fundamental planning* about *how to* integrate language and content teaching. As we have observed in our research, and as Snow, Met and Genesee (1989) have argued, it does not necessarily happen automatically; situations must be contrived to ensure that students both hear and read the language we want them to learn, and to ensure that students are given opportunities to be *pushed* beyond their current abilities in the target language through the provision of feedback on the accuracy, coherence and appropriateness of the immersion language they use.

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Appendix A

Excerpt A
Translation

1	T:	It's a problem caused by the sun's rays. And this problem is also caused (provoked) by pollution, and a certain layer*** What is the function, what is the role of this layer in the atmosphere?
2	S:	It protected the earth from the sun's rays.
3	T:	It protects us from the sun's rays. Are all the sun's rays harmful? What does 'nocif' mean?
4	S1:	Dangerous.
5	S2:	That causes us, that causes…
6	S3:	Danger.
7	T:	Yes, dangerous, harmful, harmful to our health.

Excerpt B
Translation

1	T:	And that causes…what is the effect of this reduction in the ozone layer?
2	S:	They cause skin cancer (la cancer de la peau)
3	T:	The. They cause…
4	S:	Skin cancer (Le cancer de la peau)
5	T:	Skin cancer. (Le cancer de la peau). And what do doctors advise you to do before going to sun yourselves at the beach? Or before going to tropical climates for a holiday, to Jamaica, or Mexico. What do doctors advise you to do?
6	S:	They advise us to put on lots of protection…
7	T:	What's it called?
8	S:	Screen. Sunscreen? (L'écran soleil)
9	T:	The form?
10	S:	Solar? (Solaire)
11	T:	Sunscreen. (L'écran solaire) Put on sunscreen. Why?
12	S:	To protect from skin cancer.
13	T:	To protect us…small mistake.
14	S:	Against.

15	T:	What?
16	S:	Against skin cancer (de la cancer de la peau).
17	T:	Against skin cancer, (<u>le</u> cancer de la peau).

Excerpt C

Translation

1	T:	Does everyone know what "sunscreen" is?
2	Ss:	Yes.
3	T:	Good. Have you a screen (un écran) at home?
4	Ss:	Yes.
5	T:	What do you call this screen? A small screen, right?
6	S:	The television?
7	T:	The television. Who watched television last night? Who did their homework before watching television? What are you advised to do?
8	S:	We are advised to do our homework before (avant que)...
9	T:	Before (avant de).
10	S:	Before (avant de) watching television.

Integration of Language and Content Teaching:
Discussion Group Summary

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The topic "Integration of Language and Content Teaching" is a broad one. It encompasses initiatives in settings as diverse as foreign language, English as a Second Language, and English as a Foreign Language teaching. It crosses over all educational levels—elementary through—and includes programs with instructional purposes ranging from academic to vocational. Moreover, both language teachers and subject matter teachers are engaged in this enterprise, working either independently or in conjunction with each other in a variety of program types and models.

Discussion began with an overview of how "content" has been defined historically, and multiple rationales for integrated language and content programs, including: 1) successful outcomes from a wide variety of language teaching programs; 2) current theories of second language acquisition; 3) general trends in education; and 4) demographic changes affecting the American educational system.

With this backdrop, the group focused on five areas related to immersion education: teacher training/staff development, practical considerations, curriculum and materials, assessment and evaluation, and research. In the area of teacher training/staff development, participants described the need for training on how to effectively combine current instructional approaches such as whole language teaching or the literature-based curriculum *with* immersion teaching. They also pointed to the need for more pre-service opportunities to observe immersion classes before beginning their own teaching assignments. Reacting to the question, "What special skills and competencies are required of immersion teachers?," participants noted that many immersion teachers have content knowledge and second language skill, but not necessarily the language essential for teaching the particular subject matter. The intersection of these competencies is one of the greatest challenges in immersion teacher preparation.

The most salient practical considerations revolved around student placement decisions. Should students be allowed to join immersion programs in the upper grades? What policies should be implemented to deal with students whose language development lags behind that of their peers? There was general unanimity about how decisions should be made and who should make them under "ideal" conditions, but also recognition that decisions are often made which must take into account a variety of contextual factors.

Under the category of curriculum and materials, participants raised questions about the relative emphases of language development and content teaching in elementary school grades. They were generally in agreement that decisions must be made about instructional priorities because teachers often have to "let go of something." For this reason, they emphasized the importance of articulating the curriculum across grades and the critical need for teacher coordination at each immersion site.

The topic of assessment and evaluation resulted in the most sharing of actual classroom techniques because many of the participating immersion teachers were attempting to use performance-based assessment both out of a deep dissatisfaction with standardized testing in immersion education and the need to follow the movement in this direction by their school districts.

Finally, the topic of research elicited such broad concerns as how to do formative research on fledgling programs and how evaluation can capture the varying local conditions in which different programs take place. A key research question is: To what extent does language proficiency determine the amount and quality of students' mastery of content?

Many issues which have been ongoing concerns of immersion teachers since the inception of these programs in the 1960's were considered. Appropriate placement of students and the scope and sequence of the curriculum are two such issues. Newer concerns included how to merge other innovative teaching and assessment approaches within the immersion instructional setting. It seems that one of the critical challenges facing immersion teachers is finding the balance between exploiting authentic subject matter texts and creating rich communicative environments, along with the current call for more systematic attention to language teaching objectives.

Development of Sociolinguistic Competence in Immersion Settings: Interactive Session on Immersion Pedagogy
Elaine Tarone
University of Minnesota

This discussion group explored the degree to which immersion programs should teach a range of language styles, and how this goal might be attained. It was agreed that this is an important goal for which to strive, and many ideas were generated.

Defining Terms

Language styles: every language, including the second language (L2) being taught in the immersion program, consists of a variety of styles, each style with a distinctive vocabulary and typical grammatical forms. These styles are appropriate for use in different settings, with different addressees.

Formal "school" style: a language style of the L2 with academic vocabulary, and increased syntactic complexity including the use of complex sentences, relative clauses and such verb forms as the conditional and the passive. This style becomes appropriate in the upper grade levels in reading materials and for addressing the teacher and doing classroom fronted discussion.

Discipline specific styles: there are distinctive varieties of formal school style used in each discipline. For example, science textbooks may use "science" terminology and extensive use of passive verb forms and cause/effect expressions. History textbooks may use a disproportionate number of past tense verbs and modal verbs.

Informal vernacular style: a language style of the L2 with "slang" vocabulary and set expressions, and simpler syntax. May become appropriate in the upper grade levels in interactions with peers for social purposes. (Some vernacular expressions may be appropriate for classroom use, while others clearly are not.) This style is typically not appropriate for use with the teacher in schoolwork.

English teen vernacular: this style of English seems to be ubiquitous and very prestigious with pre teens and teens, even "imperialistic". If there is no plan for dealing with its influence, there seems to be a natural tendency for upper grade immersion students to increasingly use the English vernacular in peer peer interactions in the classroom.

Policy and Planning

The choice of variety of L2 to present depends on the goals locally set for the immersion program. Choices involve whether to teach more than a single school variety of L2, adding an age appropriate vernacular around Grade 4, or discipline appropriate varieties of the L2 around Grade 4.

Goals for Discipline Specific Varieties of L2

A program will find that L2 vocabulary, grammatical choice and rhetoric will vary in a social studies text, a science text, or a math text. Policy needs to establish to what extent immersion students will be consciously taught to use and understand those formal varieties of L2. (Learning strategies may be found to be appropriate to one or another area of disciplinary study as well).

Goals for the Vernacular

Program Type A: an immersion program with the goal of enabling learners to understand and use L2 for teacher fronted classwork but not use it productively outside of formal classroom work might choose to present only a single formal variety of L2, that used in text books and teacher fronted presentation.

Program Type B: an immersion program with the goal of enabling learners to use the L2 in interaction with each other in the classroom and with Native Speakers (NS) outside the classroom will need to present and provide practice with at least two varieties of L2: a formal variety and an informal (vernacular) variety.

Program Type C: an immersion program (like those in Hawaii or the Basque country) with the goal of defining a local language as the immersion program L2 may find that an L2 vernacular style is more naturally viewed as prestigious, created and taught by older children to younger children, but that a more formal school style must be consciously created and taught by teachers and curriculum materials (many of which must be autonomously created). In places like Hawaii, where the children's Native Language (NL) is a devalued variety (Hawaiian Creole English), it may be necessary for the first few grades to be taught in the children's NL before introducing L2 (Hawaiian). In other words, late immersion may be a more appropriate program model.

Pedagogy

Participants felt that in the early grades of immersion, a single style of the L2 seems to be adequate. Usually, this is the style used when parents interact with their own

children. However, it was agreed that as children enter the middle and upper grades of immersion, at least two language styles seem to be needed: an increasingly formal school style presented by teachers and in textbooks, and an informal vernacular style desired by the children for use with each other.

Two methodologies were discussed:

(1) An extremely structured approach using an array of positive and negative incentives can be used to encourage the children to continue to use the more formal school style in all interactions in the classroom and hall. This approach was reported to be relatively successful in a French immersion school on the East Coast. Children in this school, who know they will all be attending a school in France in the fifth or sixth grade, are reported to be compliant in their use of French in the classroom in all interactions, and to do well in the coursework in France. (This is a type A immersion program as discussed in Policy and Planning above).

(2) An approach which teaches students to understand and use both formal and informal styles of L2 may begin in the fourth grade with explicit discussion of the vernacular style of L2, examples of NSs using these styles, and student tasks involving the translation of information from one style to another. This approach (see Lyster, 1994) crucially also may entail involving the students with contact with NSs of the L2 outside the classroom, by means of structured activities with same age NSs of the L2 who live in the vicinity of the school, trips and homestays in the target culture, or summer language camps. It was stressed that these extracurricular activities must be activities that the older children enjoy and are attracted to, such as team sports, summer camps, or scout troops. The importance for the success of this methodology of getting immersion children out of the classroom and into target language communities was repeatedly stressed.

Mari Wesche stated that surveys conducted in Canada suggest that this second pedagogical approach seems to correlate with learners' continuing contact with the target culture and active use of the L2 after leaving immersion programs.

Priorities for Future Research

1. We need to have good descriptions of the language used in such disciplines as science, social studies, and math, in elementary immersion school textbooks and in elementary immersion classroom discussions. Such research should focus not just on vocabulary, but also on the typical syntax used and the typical way in which information is organized in such textbooks. Descriptions of language forms should be tied to function

(e.g., what forms are used to express cause/effect relationships? to refer to events in the past? to distinguish main points from supporting detail?)

2. We need to have good descriptions of the NL and L2 language styles used in immersion classrooms by teachers and students, in both full and partial immersion programs, and in one way and two-way immersion programs. To what extent and under what conditions is teen vernacular English invading such classrooms?

3. If a program (type A) uses an extremely structured pedagogical approach to keep students functioning in the formal school style of the L2, does it succeed in meeting that goal? Do students in such programs use the L2 in all classroom interactions at all grade levels?

4. What is the effect on immersion students' SLA of extracurricular contact with the L2 as used in daily (non school-oriented) communication? How much and what kind of such contact is needed to result in the students' desire to initiate use of the L2 with each other in social interactions? What is the long term impact of such contact upon immersion students' use of the L2 in later life?

5. If a program (type C) is set up to revive a local, indigenous language for purposes of local identity, what styles of that language are introduced and used by the teachers and students? Do some styles evolve more naturally and originate with the students, while others must be consciously structured by the teachers? (Research on this topic may need to be delayed until the participants are less vulnerable to political pressures.)

Assessment

It was suggested that one way to make sure that learners add a vernacular L2 language style to their repertoire instead of using the English vernacular would be to let students know their use of the L2 vernacular would be assessed. The conflict between the testing situation (which usually is formal and entails prescription) and the use of pre teen vernacular (which is informal and may entail rebellion) might be resolved by having the students themselves design the test of vernacular language use.

Assessment measures might also be needed to assess learners' mastery of a range of formal school styles, as these are appropriate to different disciplines.

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Choice of Language for Performing Cognitive Tasks
A summary of the group discussion

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In her plenary, Merrill Swain asked, "How rich is the input to immersion students?" This was the closest Swain came to dealing with the issue of this discussion group, namely, the extent to which the immersion pupils are exposed to adequately rich input to stimulate full fledged cognitive operations through the foreign language on the part of the pupils. In addition, the question was raised, "To what extent can immersion pupils' cognitive and metacognitive processing in the target language be improved by having immersion teachers model such processing?" It has been observed that immersion students are not as fluent in the target language as they might be expected to be after a number of years of immersion schooling. So the question arises as to whether the learners are really functioning as much of the school day through the immersion language as one might think. The question put to the group was as follows: "Is this whole issue a missing piece in explaining students' shortcomings in the target language?"

The group had a free ranging discussion of these issues, and the themes fell roughly into two categories points related to research issues and points related to pedagogical issues. A synopsis of the research points will be presented first, followed by a synopsis of the pedagogical points. The research-oriented points can best be summarized as a series of questions for further research:

1. Is problem solving in the native language difficult because of language (e.g., syntax) or because of concepts?

2. Why do learners translate mentally (reprocess) into the native language or the status language in the society (if not their native language)?

3. If pupils can perform cognitive operations in the native language, does this ability transfer into the target language (and the converse)?

4. How do we determine the teacher's ability to model cognitive operations through the target language?

5. What is the relative importance of the following features in cognitive modeling on the part of immersion teachers?

    a. skill at teaching

    b. proficiency in the target language

c. knowledge of the content subject

6. Assuming teachers work in teams in order to improve their own skills at cognitive modeling, what might be the long term benefits of such an intervention?

7. What kinds of treatments may produce a "din in the head" phenomenon among immersion students, that is, when they feel that cognition simply flows in the target language; that they are swimming in the language?

8. What are the differential effects of a cognitive modeling treatment on different types of immersion programs for example, full immersion, delayed immersion, late immersion, or partial immersion?

The points relating to pedagogy can likewise best be summarized in terms of a series of questions that might well be asked when setting up an immersion program or in attempting to enhance the program with regard to cognitive reinforcement through the target language. The points were as follows:

1. What constitutes a model of cognition in the target language?

2. How might teachers best be prepared for a program situation where immersion is not "air tight," that is, where pupils are unlikely to be as immersed as administrators and teachers might want them to be?

3. Can we find teachers who naturally perform cognitive modeling as a matter of course? Are they like "Leonard," the super teacher of immersion referred to by Merrill Swain? (see pp. 87-91 in this volume) To what extent can we use them as good examples for other teachers?

4. Whereas nonnative immersion teachers (50% of all immersion teachers nationwide) may speak only or mostly in the target language in class, to what extent do they perform their cognitive processing in their own native language (usually English)? To what extent might their modeling of cognition in the target language be at best an approximation or interlanguage?

5. How beneficial would it be for native-speaking immersion teachers to coach nonnative teachers in the language for performing cognitive operations through the target language?

6. What would it take to implement a project of enhanced cognitive modeling by teachers?

With regard to this last item, the group identified three prime needs—to get support from administrators, to get immersion teachers to work in teams, and possibly to have a day each week reserved for coordinating the project (as was the case in one immersion program in Kansas).

The Role of Strategy-Based Instruction in Immersion Education

Anna Uhl Chamot
The George Washington University

The session on the role of strategy-based instruction in immersion education began with consideration of some basic conclusions of prior related research. The commonly held research conclusions offered were that 1) learning is mentally active and strategic; 2) learning involves higher-level processes, not just memory; 3) students learn content by using their prior knowledge; 4) students learn processes through interactive practice; and 5) students learn by talking about their own learning strategies.

Learning strategies are actions and thoughts through which students understand and remember information, use processes and skills, produce language, and manage their language. Such strategies are used in language acquisition, content subject learning, reading and writing, and problem solving.

During the session, discussion highlighted the importance of teaching learning strategies to language learners. Such strategies are considered to help students learn more efficiently, motivate them, develop their metacognitive awareness, and facilitate self-regulated learning.

The specific study presented for the session included five French immersion classrooms and three Spanish immersion classrooms in Montgomery County, Maryland, and six Japanese immersion classrooms in Fairfax County, Virginia.

The research questions considered in the study were:

1. Which learning strategies are used by more effective and less effective learners?

2. Do these strategies change over time, and if so, how?

3. Do students who use learning strategies more frequently perceive themselves as more effective language learners?

4. Are students who use learning strategies more frequently rated higher in language proficiency?

5. What are the differences in strategy use across the languages studied?

6. Do immersion teachers believe that strategies instruction improves their

students' language learning?

These research questions were explored via classroom observations, workshop-seminars for teachers, think-aloud interviews with more and less effective students, and teacher ratings. The findings to date indicated that many children can describe their thinking, although some have difficulty in thinking aloud. Findings also indicated that some children are aware of their own learning processes and they can describe the strategies they have been taught.

During discussion of the study, the following questions were planted. A general consensus of the responses follows each question:

How can we go about answering the question of the impact of strategies instruction?

One way is by looking at how strategy use changes—in terms of proficiency. For this study, there were two groups: one with strategies instruction and the other without. Right now we are using the teacher ratings to determine proficiency. The interviews we conduct also help, and in general, the raters agree with ratings of proficiency that the teachers have given. Remember that proficiency can (and does!) change from year to year.

The current design was not set up for this kind of research study (to answer this kind of question), but rather more clearly relates to the students' on-line processing. We are working on interrater reliability and categorizing the strategies. One major question is: Who *is* a flexible strategy user?

Do the students' metacognitive processes develop from participation in the study itself?

Probably not, since the students are only seen once a year, but some of the teachers are incorporating this strategies instruction into the classroom.

What is the impact of the activities teachers use in the classroom and how do they influence the students' strategies? In other words, what kinds of activities are used in class by the teachers and in the textbook? Is there a link between students' and teachers' strategy use?

Not all teachers are into teaching the strategies. Sometimes what they do is give the strategies a name and describe their purpose. Teachers can encourage strategies that the students use on their own, and many teachers do some modeling of thinking aloud when reading, etc.

What kinds of strategies can be used in small groups?

The social strategies especially: asking questions (where the students are encouraged to ask each other first—thus pooling their knowledge and using the target language at the same time), cooperation, etc.

What is the difference between describing their thinking and verbalizing the strategies?

There are two parts: teaching the strategies AND then having the students be able to discuss the strategies they are using. Many students can describe their thinking (even the first graders!).

What we are doing is gathering the strategies from what they say—not necessarily that they are always conscious of verbalizing the strategies themselves. It seems that this is a developmental process—younger children use fewer strategies and older students have more well-developed metacognitive processes and can discuss their strategies more.

Are there any trends or patterns in terms of students' abilities with short-term or long-term memory tasks?

We are looking at on-line processing (working memory), although there is also retrieval of some prior knowledge involved. And this is a limitation of think aloud: it focuses more on short-term/working memory than long-term memory.

How can verbalization be encouraged without losing the interest of the other students? And what if the students (and the teacher) are having difficulty understanding what that student is trying to explain ? (i. e., the difficulty in maintaining the interest of the class when one student is trying to explain his/her thinking)

At the beginning it seems that the students are not as interested and then later become more so through training and practice. We can reward and encourage the students to listen to each other.

What do we do if the child's strategy description is inaccurate or simply incomprehensible?

One option is the roles in cooperative learning, especially the de-briefing process that the teacher can help students with. It should be part of the activity itself—the teacher should plan to have students think about language use deliberately. For example, in some ESL classes, the teacher assigns the role of researcher or something similar to write these things down.

Are the interview sessions recorded in the study?

Yes, they are recorded and transcribed verbatim. Then the transcripts are translated into English so that all members of the research team can participate in the analysis.

What about the need for benchmarks at each grade level for strategy use?

The collection of descriptive data like this study's will give us a start at trying to determine the benchmarks. The same students are studied over time, although the Japanese students end at grade six. (It would be great to do a long-term follow-up of these students in middle school and beyond.)

How can we implement this approach?

The NFLRC gives workshops at cost—i.e., for travel and expenses, but no honoraria.

What strategies in the classroom best promote teaming and metacognition (thinking about teaming)? What can the teacher do that helps or hinders learning in the classroom? Which strategies are the BEST?

There can be a large difference between the strategies that are validated in the school system and the strategies that are valued in the target (or native) culture. It is a two-way issue—it is not just linguistic issues, but strategies can also be complicated by cultural issues. For example, some ESL students' traditions like the model of the teacher as all-knowing ("That's *your* job since you're the teacher") can make it difficult.

[Merrill Swain]: There is some research on teaching metacognitive strategies with adults (2 Ph.D. theses—listening comprehension and grammar). There were three groups of very advanced learners:

1. students taught as usual
2. students talked to about metacognitive and cognitive strategies
3. students not only talked to about the strategies, but also asked to verbalize (and thus "appropriate" the strategies for themselves)

Results: the third group did much better!!

In terms of how quickly content area texts move beyond the level of reading comprehension for our students, what are the strategies that can be used by immersion students to use text itself as part of instruction? When they can not access the text when reading for information?

Use graphic organizers and cooperative groups. Have the students select what is

really important, then arrange it in a logical way, and then it becomes a study guide. This process includes the strategies of selective attention, using prior knowledge, cooperating with others, etc.

Margaret Early in British Columbia has been working with a school with a large ESL population (in a pull-out program). Graphic organizers and key visuals are used quite a bit. The transfer is phenomenal from the ESL classes to the content areas--the students have learned to analyze their learning and transfer it to other areas of learning by organizing what they're learning and using visual organizers. Thus, the ESL teacher has been instrumental in helping the other teachers to use strategies also.

Transfer is enhanced when students talk about the strategies and why they are used (metacognition).

What is the difference between a key visual and a graphic organizer?

They are the same--e.g., time lines, K-W-L, spider webs, comets, hierarchical relationships, story mapping, graphs, time sequences using pictures or words, cycle maps, etc.

What is the difference between cognitive and metacognitive awareness?

Cognitive represents the on-line process, where students are actually engaged in the task, and metacognitive is the awareness by stepping back from the task.

What strategies seem to really suit immersion education in particular?

Jigsaw activities are useful (but have to be very well-planned).

Which language is being used for thinking?

The idea to "never, never use first language" is OK for teachers, but kids should not be cut off from L1 altogether. They should be able to use English for cognitive purposes and getting control of their own cognitive abilities and to verbalize about it.

If the goal is building bridges between the languages (like "natural language learning" in the two-way programs), then the students should be able to gradually build up to complete sentences. Are we really saying that students shouldn't be allowed to answer unless they use complete sentences?

[Merrill Swain]: It really depends on how English is used to serve L2 learning and when it gets in the way. In a study last year of a grade 8 partial immersion class, the students did not have the linguistic ability to discuss the text. They were given the

task of understanding a reading and then give an oral presentation in French. There were four groups—two groups had to use ONLY French and the other two groups were given no specific instructions.

The first two groups used a lot of English (even though they were heavily monitored by the teacher), but they were using it to learn French (e.g., "How do you say . . .?"). Those that used the most English gave the best oral presentations in French. Therefore we really cannot (and should not) deny students the use of English altogether.

What about the use of prior knowledge—if it is in L1, how to access it otherwise? What is it that we're trying to do? How sacred does L2 use have to be?

So far, the immersion methodology has worked, where with bilingual programs the same methodology is not always being used. Many are not wanting to say this publicly, but it is the students who should be allowed to use English sometimes. Setting up the need for the student to use the TL was why immersion was set up the way it was.

In terms of error correction, the teachers often are using modeling and do not need to move from the target language. There is a reciprocal interaction. We can let the little ones use English to see if they are following along or to monitor their comprehension, especially if we want them to be able to understand the content in the immersion classes.

At what point are the students switching to the TL?

By 2nd/3rd grade they are asking questions in the TL.

Kids go through a phase where they can use the TL a lot in social/class contexts, but about 6th grade they begin using L1 again—why?

[Merrill Swain]: There is an article I wrote with Elaine Tarone on this subject in the Modern Language Journal (1995) that gives a sociolinguistic explanation about what is taught in the classroom and some reasons why their communicative needs are not being met. When a group of students had planned a trip to France, they wanted to learn the "cool" language. Once they learned it (on their own in France), they continued to use it in the classroom when discussing content.

It can be the explosion of vocabulary and that students just can not keep up since they want to express so much. Teachers feel so guilty about not keeping their students in the TL, but there are outside reasons for this. Does the teacher know how to help the students

get beyond a plateau? Also, it might not only be a question of the competence of the teachers—we have not known what strategies can be used—we just might not know how to teach them.

It is easy when teaching content to ignore some issues—unless there is some linguistic pushing, why should they go beyond if the teacher and the other students really do understand?

For some teachers and students there is the pressure for demonstrating high test scores—academic performance is more important than language—except for ESL!! ESL students have no choice because not using the TL is not acceptable in the regular classroom! There is a big difference between ESL and immersion motivation—they have to use it a lot outside the classroom.

Another example is a kindergarten immersion class. Classroom issues were understood by January, but it was a huge hurdle to get the students to actually verbalize—because of the fear factor—so, using positive reinforcement, regardless of errors, I gave marshmallows every time they spoke (for two weeks) and the language suddenly flowered. Even after two weeks, language use continued.

Extrinsic motivators can be very important. For example, student council meetings at my school are conducted in the TL. We need to help students see the practical need outside the classroom.

We need to give a value to language learning, not just as a communication payoff, but also by showing them that the language can be used in practical ways.

We need to go from extrinsic to intrinsic types of motivations—rewards can be used for a limited time and eventually the students create their own.

What about learning strategies and motivation?

One activity is the jigsaw where the task components are broken up so that each student becomes the specialist for the group. It places value on the child's learning AND the value of others' learning. It shows the need to talk and listen.

Jigsaw can also be used for teaching the strategies themselves.

Are there any studies on sex differences and learning styles?

Yes, with adults, but not with kids yet.

Assessment Instruments for Immersion Students and Programs

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Center for Applied Linguistics

Introduction

Major changes are now occurring in the ways that schools are assessing the language proficiency of immersion students. Teachers are trying to better reflect their communicative teaching styles in their assessment procedures, and there is more focus on assessing authentic language production. It is indeed a critical time for language educators to be scrutinizing assessment procedures, because now, more than ever, administrators, parents, and the general public are asking for justification of language programs and evidence of how young students are performing in the language. This paper will provide background information on trends in early language assessment, give a working definition of alternative assessment, offer criteria for "good assessment," and provide details and teachers' critiques of five assessment instruments currently in use in immersion schools.

Trends in Early Language Assessment

Assessment has become a critical issue in educational reform—in all areas of instruction as well as in languages. Foreign language educators are seeing the necessity for better ways of evaluating current programs. Administrators need to be able to determine whether programs are viable and should continue to be a part of a basic education program. In addition, if we are going to promote a K-12, long sequence program as the ideal, we need to improve our assessment methods so that articulation from one level to the next is improved. Lastly, with the new national and state standards for foreign language learning, it is critical to design assessments that can be used to assess whether our students meet the standards.

Foreign languages is one of those disciplines where we have a good sense of how well our students are doing, but it is often difficult for us to explain to others outside the field just exactly how we are able to determine how well they do. For a long time in immersion and in other early foreign language programs, we have just been testing as time allows, but not systematically assessing the students' language development on a yearly basis. Now the public is saying, "These students have been studying foreign language for 8 years. What can they do with the language?" Despite this interest, we still do not have really good ways of telling people what these students can do. We know that

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they can do a lot in the language, and we can give specific examples, but we are just at the beginning stages of developing systematic assessment procedures to show students' progress in language.

Now that the profession is strongly promoting articulated, long sequence K-12 programs, the field needs to develop good assessment instruments for students as they go from elementary to middle school and middle to high school, not to mention assessment instruments that can show progress within a specific level. Especially now with the new standards, we want to be able to show what students know and what they can do. We have national standards as well as numerous sets of state frameworks (either completed or under development). How can we use these standards to show what our students can now do? How do our students fit into these standards and how are we going to assess them? These are major questions that are currently being addressed by the foreign language profession.

Ironically, as the federal government is pushing for more standards, and looking at nationwide assessment systems, the educational testing community is exploring various nonstandard and informal, authentic assessment measures that dovetail better with student-centered, holistically-oriented curricula. There's been an explosion of interest in alternative forms of assessment and much talk of portfolios, hands-on projects, writing across the curriculum, etc. The question that needs to be asked is—are these trends mutually exclusive or are they compatible? Can we have standards and nationally mandated assessment and also work with alternative assessment? Genesee (1994) suggests that they are compatible and that there is a place for both. As Genesee and other testing specialists suggest, we need to continue to use a variety of assessment techniques with our students in order to obtain various types of information and answer the questions that are asked about their progress.

Fortunately, there has been so little work done in early language assessment that we do not have to "negate" what has been done before us. There are no nationally normed foreign language proficiency assessment instruments that are applicable to the wide variety of programs that exist today. There are pockets of innovations state-wide (Louisiana and North Carolina have state-wide elementary school language tests) and certainly innovations in Canada with immersion assessment, but most of the innovations in the U.S. are found at the local level. A recent study of assessment instruments by the Center for Applied Linguistics as part of a project for the Iowa State University National Foreign Language Resource Center has identified 105 foreign language assessment instruments for grades K-8 in 13 languages.

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Definition of Alternative Assessment

When searching for a definition of alternative assessment, we find a variety of terms being used for the same concept, including authentic assessment and performance-based assessment. According to the ASCD's *A Practical Guide to Alternative Assessment* (1992), these terms are used synonymously to mean *variations of performance assessments that require students to generate rather than choose a response.* They all require students to actively accomplish complex and significant tasks while using prior knowledge, recent learning, and relevant skills to solve realistic or authentic problems.

Probably the biggest contrast between alternative assessment and traditional testing is that the purpose of assessment can now be viewed as *gathering of information* instead of *making judgments.* An assessment instrument should measure if classroom objectives have been met and classroom instruction should provide students with the opportunity to learn and attain the knowledge and skills. Tests should not drive the curriculum, and thus teachers should not teach to the test. Rather, good assessment should be an integral part of good instruction.

Assessment Criteria

The following criteria for good assessment (National Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards and Student Testing, 1993) and assessment critique form (CAL, 1994) were used by teachers to critique five assessment instruments presented at the assessment session at the "Research and Practice in Immersion Education" Conference in Bloomington, Minnesota (October 19–21, 1995).

Criteria for Good Assessment

- *A good assessment should encourage good instruction.*

- *A good assessment should be worth the instructional time devoted to it.*

- *A good assessment should provide information relevant to the decisions being made with that assessment*

- *A good assessment should enable students to demonstrate what they know and can do.*

- *A good assessment should include tasks that cannot be assessed by the student in advance.*

- *A good assessment should examine the processes by which the students attempt to solve the task.*

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ASSESSMENT CRITIQUE FORM

Name of assessment instrument:

This assessment is appropriate for students at: (level of language acquisition)

Circle appropriate level(s):   Beginning   Intermediate   Advanced

Grade level(s): K   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

1. What does this assessment measure?
2. Does it ask students to perform, create, produce, or do something? If yes, what?
3. What will this assessment tell you about your students in terms of: a) your goals, b) important student outcomes, c) student strengths and weaknesses?
4. If the assessment includes scoring criteria, do they match FLES/immersion curriculum priorities? If not, what other criteria could you use?
5. How could you use the results of this assessment to improve/change your teaching?
6. Would you use this assessment in your class? Why or why not? If it is not appropriate for K-8 assessment, how could it be adapted?
7. Pros/cons of this assessment:

Descriptions and Critiques of Sample Assessment Instruments

The following five assessment instruments were discussed and critiqued in small groups: The CAL Oral Proficiency Exam (COPE), the Immersion Second Language Writing Assessment, the Immersion Oral Language Video Interview, the Spanish Oral Proficiency Assessment (SOPA), and the Student Oral Proficiency Rating (SOPR). Descriptions of each instrument (as presented in Thompson's *Foreign Language Assessment in Grades K–8: An Annotated Bibliography, of Assessment Instruments,* 2nd edition in press)[1] are provided along with the critiques of the group participants. The instruments are all "working copies" under continual revision so it was in this spirit that the group members discussed what the assessments would tell teachers about their students' language development and how the results could be used to improve or change teaching.

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[1] See Foreign *Language Assessment in Grades K–8: An Annotated Bibliography, of Assessment Instruments* by L. Thompson. McHenry, IL, and Washington, DC: Delta Systems and Center for Applied Linguistics (2nd edition in press). 240 pages. $14.95. To order, please call Delta Systems at 1-800-323-8270.

Availability:	All schools, if they agree to provide test results to CAL for research purposes
Current Users:	Various total and partial immersion programs
Type of FL Program:	Immersion (total, partial, and two-way)
Intended Grade Level:	5-6
Intended Test Use:	Proficiency
Skills Tested:	Listening, speaking
Test Author:	Shelley Gutstein, Sarah Goodwin, Nancy Rhodes, Gina Richardson, Lynn Thompson, Lih-Shing Wang
Publication Date:	1988
Test Cost:	None
Test Length:	15-20 minutes per pair of students
Test Materials:	COPE rating scale (one per student), COPE cue cards (Dialogs 1-17), instructions for using the COPE, tape recorder, blank cassette tapes
Test Format:	Oral interview/role play
Scoring Method:	Holistic, using the COPE rating scale

Description: Using an oral interview/role play technique with two students at a time, the COPE measures a student's ability to understand, speak and be understood by others in Spanish. The test measures primarily cognitive-academic language skills (the ability to discuss subject matter effectively, e.g., social studies, geography, and science) as well as social language (the ability to discuss family, recreational activities, etc.). The rater evaluates each student's proficiency in terms of comprehension, fluency, vocabulary, and grammar using a simplified holistic scale based on the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. Role play/discussion topics include greetings, program of studies, the cafeteria, timelines, using the library, fire drills, social studies trips, school buses, the movies, social life, a party, a science project, future careers, an accident, a fight, unfair rules, and science equipment.

Test Development and Technical Information: The COPE was developed through a federally funded research study that identified the need for oral proficiency tests of Spanish for fifth to seventh grades. Steps in the test development process included a review of the literature on oral proficiency testing and of existing oral proficiency measures; observations of immersion classes; interviews with sixth-grade students and teachers; development and piloting of a trial COPE; and revisions of the COPE based on feedback from the pilot sites. The COPE has a concurrent validity

index of .62 when compared to the IDEA Proficiency Test (IPT). Test developers suggest that this provides a fair degree of assurance that the COPE validly measures oral proficiency as intended.

See the following:

Gutstein, S., & Goodwin, S. H. (1987). *The CAL Oral Proficiency Exam (COPE)*. Project report. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 331 296)

Rhodes, N., Richardson, G., & Wang, L. S. (1988). *The CAL Oral Proficiency Exam (COPE). Project report addendum: Clinical testing and validity and dimensionality studies.* Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 331 296)

Rhodes, N., & Thompson, L. (1990). An oral assessment instrument for immersion students: COPE. In A. M. Padilla, H. H. Fairchild, & C. Valadez (Eds.), *Foreign language education: Issues and strategies* (pp. 75-94). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rhodes, N., Thompson, L., & Snow, M. A. (1989). *A comparison of FLES and immersion programs. Final report to the U.S. Department of Education.* Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 317 031)

Parallel Versions in Other Languages: Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Russian

Contact Address: Ms. Nancy Rhodes, Center for Applied Linguistics 1118 22nd Street NW, Washington,

DC 20037   (202) 429-9292

CRITIQUE by conference participants:

The CAL Oral Proficiency Exam . . .

- tests for global meaning, not absolute accuracy
- includes dialogue situation tasks that seek different types of linguistic structures and speech styles
- allowed conference participants to identify good grammatical control, good pronunciation, and a variety of vocabulary in one taped response of two students being administered the COPE
- may not be as appropriate for low-level language students as it is for the 5th/6th grade two-way immersion students in the taped sample
- rater training is time-consuming and it is difficult to train raters to use the rating scale effectively

Summary: In general, participants viewed the COPE as an instrument that was useful for attaining a global sense of students' use of both academic and social language. There was concern, however, about the expertise and amount of time needed to become thoroughly trained as a rater.

Immersion Second Language Writing Assessment (Spanish)

Availability: Unrestricted

Current Users: Milwaukee Immersion Schools, WI

Type of FL Program: Immersion

Intended Grade Level: 3, 5, 8

Intended Test Use: Proficiency

Skills Tested: Writing

Test Author: Milwaukee foreign language immersion teachers

Publication Date: 1992 (updated yearly)

Test Cost: Not reported

Test Length: Two 45-minute segments over a two-day period

Test Materials: Test booklet containing target language prompt and space to write final draft

Test Format: Essay question (grade-appropriate prompt)

Scoring Method: Holistic rating (grade-appropriate prompt)

Description: This writing sample is administered to groups of students over a two-day period. On the first day, students see prompt and work on a rough draft. On the second day, students must write their final draft in the test booklet. They are allowed to use a dictionary. These writing samples are taken at Grades 3, 5, and 8 to allow teachers to keep a longitudinal record for each student. Samples are rated by teachers on a 5-point, holistic scale. Focus is on what students can actually do and thus follows current trends in assessment.

Test Development and Technical Information: not reported

Parallel Versions in Other Languages: French, German

Contact Address: Ms. Marcia Roth, Milwaukee Spanish Immersion School

2765 South 55th Street, Milwaukee, WI 53219 (414) 327-5780

CRITIQUE by conference participants:

The Immersion Second Language Writing Assessment . . .

- is a global assessment that reflects the writing process approach

- gives students the opportunity to use process writing in an assessment activity; it is an authentic writing opportunity that requires revisions

- is appropriate for program evaluation

- can be used to develop benchmarks or to modify teaching; could impact future teaching

- provides useful rubrics; they show range of student performance

- can be used in conjunction with portfolio assessment plan

- has a prompt that may be more appropriate for some children than others; too limited to elicit a good response—suggest offering a variety of prompts

- should identify the audience for the writing task for the students so they know who they are writing for

Summary: Participants were impressed that this assessment activity directly integrated all the steps of the writing process approach that students had learned in various subject areas. It was felt that the instrument could be used for evaluating individual student progress as well as the entire program.

Immersion Oral Language Video Interview (Japanese)

Availability:	Restricted
Current Users:	Portland Public Schools, OR
Type of FL Program:	Immersion
Intended Grade Level:	K-4
Intended Test Use:	Oral proficiency
Skills Tested:	Listening, speaking
Test Author:	Adapted from the Spanish version by Deanne Balzer and Mary Bastiani
Publication Date:	1991
Test Cost:	Variable
Test Length:	Varies from 8 to 20 minutes depending on grade level
Test Materials:	Questions, two "press-and-peel" pictures, blank video tapes, two camcorders
Test Format:	Question/answer
Scoring Method:	Holistic

Description: For this oral language videotaped interview, the interviewer asks the student questions about two "press-and-peel" pictures (one of a school and school yard, the other of a home scene). Interviews are recorded using two camcorders. As with the oral interview procedure developed by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL OPI), there are warm-up questions and exit questions if the student shows frustration.

Test Development and Technical Information: Test questions were developed based on research done by Stephen Krashen and Tracy Terrell on children's stages of language acquisition. This test is used to track students' progress through the stages of language acquisition: preproduction, early production, speech emergence, intermediate fluency, and fluency. This has been an ongoing process over several years with changes or additions to questions and pictures as necessary. For additional information on the ACTFL OPI, see Byrnes, H., Child, J., Levinson, N., Lowe Jr., P., Makino, S., Thompson, I., Walton, A. R. (1986). ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. In H. Byrnes & M. Canale (Eds.), *Defining and developing proficiency: Guidelines, implementations, and concepts.* Yonkers, NY: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

Parallel Versions in Other Languages: Spanish and Spanish FLES adaptation

Contact Address: Ms. Deanne Balzer, Portland Public Schools, Richmond Elementary School, 2276 S.E. 41st Street, Portland, OR 97214   (503) 280-7802

CRITIQUE by conference participants:

The Immersion Oral Language Video Interview . . .

- can be used as a diagnostic tool to identify students' progress and to see where students need more work

- measures listening comprehension, vocabulary, pronunciation, creative use, and grammar

- has a format and layout that are user-friendly

- offers an excellent way to show year-to-year progress of language development through video

- could expand the grammar rubric to help teachers pinpoint areas of needed improvement

- could expand prompts in order to gather a larger language sample in order to measure overall proficiency

- could add more details to the test instrument instructions so that teachers in other school districts can pilot the instrument

Summary: Participants were quite impressed with the idea of keeping a videotaped record of students' language development over a long period and thought the Oral Language Video Interview was an excellent way to have an ongoing record of a child's language development.

Availability: Individual schools if they agree to provide test results to CAL for research

Current Users: Various total and partial immersion programs

Type of FL Program: Immersion (total, partial, and two-way)

Intended Grade Level: 1-4

Intended Test Use: Proficiency

Skills Tested: Listening, speaking

Test Author: Nancy Rhodes

Publication Date: 1992

Test Cost: None

Test Length: 10 minutes per pair of students

Test Materials: Small pieces of fruit (plastic or rubber-eraser type), picture sequence of science concepts, storybook with attractive pictures, the modified COPE rating scale, tape recorder, blank cassette tapes

Test Format: Listening: physical responses to commands. Speaking: informal questions. Science concepts and language usage: description, telling a story.

Scoring Method: Holistic, using modified COPE rating scale

Description: The Spanish Oral Proficiency Assessment (SOPA), a lower-level version of the CAL Oral Proficiency Exam (COPE) to be used in Grades 1-4, consists of four parts: listening comprehension, informal questions, science and language usage, and story telling. Two students are assessed at a time by one or two testers in a non-stressful, friendly environment. The listening section is based on commands and physical responses using fruit manipulatives. The informal questions assess comprehension and fluency for basic language concepts. Science concepts and language usage are measured by the students' description of a series of four pictures showing the stages of a seed growing into a tree. In the final part of the assessment, students are asked to tell a story in Spanish (one they already know in English) by describing what is happening in the pictures. A modified COPE rating scale using only the six junior novice and junior intermediate levels is used.

Test Development and Technical Information: This test was developed in order to assess immersion students' speaking and listening proficiency at Woodland Elementary School in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Data are currently being collected for reliability/validity.

Parallel Versions in Other Languages: none

Contact Address: Ms. Nancy Rhodes, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1118 22nd Street NW

Washington, DC 20037 (202) 429-9292

CRITIQUE by conference participants:

The Spanish Oral Proficiency Assessment . . .

- encourages students to be creative

- provides content that can be adapted by the examiner for different grade levels

- suggests that, in the story-retelling portion, it is important for the children to know the story ahead of time

- includes rater training as an important component of the assessment

- needs to fine-tune the test examiner's directions

Summary: In general, participants felt that the SOPA would provide a global view of a child's language proficiency, with a focus on the language used in science.

Student Oral Proficiency Rating (SOPR) (All languages)

Availability:	Unrestricted
Current Users:	Various FLES and immersion programs (including Fairfax County Pub. Schools)
Type of FL Program:	FLES, immersion, middle school sequential foreign language
Intended Grade Level:	K-12
Intended Test Use:	Proficiency, to monitor progress, to guide instruction and ongoing placement
Skills Tested:	Listening, speaking
Test Author:	Development Associates, Inc. (adaptation of SOLOM Matrix)
Publication Date:	1984
Test Cost:	Free
Test Length:	Teacher completes one form per student based on observations over a long period
Test Materials:	SOPR rating scale sheet for each student
Test Format:	Rating matrix of five components of oral language. Student is assessed through rater's observations of target language use in formal and informal classroom interactions over a period of approximately 2-3 weeks. The SOPR does not involve a specific testing session with the student.
Scoring Method:	Each student is rated on five categories of oral language proficiency: comprehension, fluency, vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. Scores range from 1 (no ability) to 5 (equivalent to native speaker).

Description: The SOPR provides a measure of a language learner's ability to understand, to speak, and to be understood by others in the language he or she is learning. It focuses on oral communication ability considered apart from ability to read or write in the language. The SOPR uses as the basis of its rating the teacher's observations of individual students in the course of both formal instruction and informal conversation.

Test Development and Technical Information: The SOPR was adapted from the Student Oral Language Observation Matrix (SOLOM), an assessment matrix developed by the San Jose California School District in 1978. It was used in a national study of services to limited English proficient students, conducted in 1984 by Development Associates, Inc. A training workshop on the use of the SOPR and a training manual were made available as part of the study. Information on reliability and validity is available from the author.

Parallel Versions in Other Languages: Appropriate for all languages.

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Contact Address: Mr. Malcolm Young, Development Associates, Inc.

1730 N. Lynn Street, Arlington, VA 22209-2023 (703) 276-0677

CRITIQUE by conference participants:

The Student Oral Proficiency Rating . . .

- doesn't take away from class instructional time (a real plus!), since the SOPR is conducted by the teacher on his/her own time

- assesses both production and comprehension (an advantage)

- could expand the grammar categories so as to be more specific (e.g., morphology, syntax, appropriate usage, idiomaticity, L1 interference)

- could rewrite categories in more positive language so that the users of the results could easily view what the children can do, not just what they can't do

- could add explicit reference to age level in Level 5 (i.e., age-appropriate native-speakers)

Summary: Overall, participants felt that the SOPR would be a useful instrument for assessing oral proficiency and listening comprehension, especially in tandem with other assessments, such as tape-recorded language samples or portfolio-type evaluations.

Conclusion

Alternative assessment activities, such as those described above, involve close collaboration between teachers and learners in assessing student progress. To take advantage of the benefits of classroom-based alternative assessment, teachers need to plan carefully and reorganize classroom routines. But teachers should not be expected to automatically know how to reorganize their teaching to incorporate alternative assessment. They need to be offered in-service training and be provided with a variety of assessment techniques so that they can gradually include them in their instructional planning. In order to incorporate practical assessment into the classroom and help improve and change their teaching, teachers need to rethink their roles to include ongoing collaboration with students, taking into account instructional goals, plans, and practices. Eventually, teachers can learn to view assessment as an integral part of instruction, and experiment with a wide variety of alternative assessment procedures in day-to-day classroom activities.

References

Alternative Assessments in Practice Database. User's Manual. 1993. The National Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards and Student Testing. Los Angeles: UCLA, p. 7.

Genesee, F. (1994). *Assessment Alternatives.* TESOL Matters, 4, (5), 3.

Herman, J. L., Aschbacher, P. R., Winters, L. (1992). *A Practical Guide to Alternative Assessment.* Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Instruments to Assess Students' Content Development

Discussion Group conducted by Wallace Lambert and Andrew D. Cohen
Session summarized by Andrew D. Cohen
University of Minnesota

Lambert drew on the assessment of one two-way bilingual education program that he has been evaluating as a means for illustrating the types of assessment that can be performed in immersion programs, the Amigos Program in Cambridge, Massachusetts.[1] Lambert noted that their evaluation used a portfolio approach to the assessment of writing. The portfolios were initiated largely so as to let parents see the progress that their children were making in writing. The feedback from the parents is that this method is pleasing in that it offers readily interpretable, tangible results from bilingual schooling.

Lambert also shared the questionnaire administered to pupils in the Amigos Program, in which language use patterns and opinions were queried in the following areas: reading, writing, and speaking in the two languages; TV watching patterns; translation from one language to the other; teaching their peers; language use with peers, siblings, and parents; choice of friends; intra and intercultural attitudes and understanding; and attitudes toward the two-way bilingual program altogether. Lambert indicated some of the findings of that assessment instrument: all children watched English TV, there was a social rule that Spanish-speakers could speak Spanish as long as there were no English-speakers around, most of the pupils enjoyed bilingual schooling but 35% were unsure, and the pupils did not feel as if they were behind in English at all.

One of the problems with such evaluations noted by Lambert is the difficulty in finding suitable control groups for the students in the study. Often there is no academically, socially, and culturally comparable peer group to use as a control. Russ Campbell (UCLA) voiced the same concern with regard to an assessment of a two-way Korean-English immersion program with which he is involved. Key tests are sometimes available only in one language when there is a need for the same test in another language as well.

The issue of forced output to "clean up" immersion students' grammar was raised, as well as the idea of using tests as an incentive for students to become more grammatical. Lambert stressed the importance of functional, clear communication above grammatical accuracy through the immersion grades. He read an article by a former French immersion student in Canada which was his reaction to those who say he received a poor education by virtue of going through

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[1] Progress reports on the project are available through the National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning, 399 Kerr Hall, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA 95064.

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immersion schooling. He noted that he and many other immersion pupils succeeded later in sciences, that he and others had no problem communicating well and that early errors tended to disappear. He noted that memorizing grammatically correct sentences has only limited usefulness in the "real world" and that 90% of the parents would prefer immersion to other methods of learning foreign languages.

One issue raised was a worry of parents of immersion pupils that their children would have problems with SAT exams due to a lack of vocabulary. The kids themselves have reported having a problem in not understanding the questions fully, largely because of syntax. They may in fact have some cognitive deficit in their first language. Lambert felt it imperative that students be given the skills to cope with the material in both languages. He suggested an instructional technique that would give students the terms they need for advanced cognitive operations in both languages at the same time.

Lambert also pointed out that learning math in French through the accepted French syllabus in Canada has advantages in that pupils learn to perform long-division entirely in their heads. Also, the kids are taught skills for checking whether their answers are correct and whether they have used appropriate strategies for doing such problems. With regard to the choice of L1 or L2, whether for learning or for test-taking, Lambert felt that successful bilinguals can navigate their way around all subjects equally well; that the L2 percolates into the L1; that kids never completely turn off their native language and in fact, "they figure out whether to push the L1 or the L2 button."

One final topic for discussion was that of test "fairness." Test constructors were maligned for not allowing immersion pupils sufficient time to respond. The concern was that the pupils deserve credit for being able to perform in two languages. It was suggested that tests be given in both languages and that the students receive a combined score based on the results of both test versions. When tests are given in English across the curriculum, it was suggested that a glossary be designed to assist those immersion pupils who have not studied the material in English. It was also considered valuable to educate parents about the meaning of various tests that their children take at school--what information is provided from the various tests, how it will be used, and so forth. Writing portfolios were seen as an example of an approach to assessment that parents could readily interpret, as indicated above.