Massachusetts passed the first state legislation mandating bilingual education in 1971, the Transitional Bilingual Education Bill (TBE). This publication contains five case studies that demonstrate how teachers and schools have responded to the needs of their minority group students. The first case study, "Bilingual Education in a Bilingual Community," describes a Spanish/English program that incorporates the parents' goal for a bilingual program in the context of quality education. The second study, "One Full Curriculum Shared by Two Languages," describes a joint effort by an English-speaking teacher and a Cambodian teacher to provide a well-rounded program for Cambodian students, despite a lack of materials and Cambodian-speaking personnel. Study 3, "Schooling a Transient Population of Japanese," describes an effective bilingual program for small numbers of students at each grade level, and study 4, "An Introduction to English Language and Culture Through Technology," describes a high school English-as-a-Second-Language class that uses word processing to teach literacy to Vietnamese students. Finally, the fifth case study, "Good Bilingual Education Is Good Education: The Case of a Kindergarten Teacher," describes a kindergarten Cantonese bilingual classroom based on high expectations and research-based teaching strategies. The report concludes by discussing the impact and flexibility of TBE and the observed characteristics of the teachers involved in the program. Typically, these teachers: (1) have a strong sense of commitment and advocacy; (2) do work that goes beyond teaching; (3) care a great deal about their students; (4) have a good understanding of students' backgrounds; (5) have high expectations; and (5) teach in a way that focuses on learning first, and on learning language second. A 21-item bibliography is appended. (FMW)
THE MANY VOICES
OF EDUCATION
FOR BILINGUAL STUDENTS
IN MASSACHUSETTS

By
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ABSTRACT

As a pioneer in bilingual education legislation and implementation, Massachusetts school systems have worked hard for the past 20 years to educate increasing numbers of bilingual students of many different language and cultural backgrounds. Under the mandate of the Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) Act, schools have developed programs to serve students of 20 different linguistic groups, representing diverse social, psychological, and educational needs. This publication is an attempt to understand the implementation of TBE with such diverse populations. Five case studies of outstanding bilingual teachers working with Spanish, Cambodian, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Chinese students present an in-depth picture of a bilingual classroom. The case studies describe the context within which these teachers worked, program characteristics, teaching strategies, and community involvement. These case studies give a picture of what teachers do—considering the parents' demands, the particular nature of the program, and the resources available.

The first case study, Bilingual Education in a Bilingual Community, describes a school with a Spanish/English program. This school has embraced their Spanish-speaking students and community. In response to the parents' goals, the school strives to make their students bilingual in the context of quality education. In the second case study, One Full Curriculum Shared by Two Languages, an English speaking teacher and a Cambodian teacher join forces to provide a well-rounded education to Cambodian children in spite of the lack of materials and the shortage of Cambodian-speaking personnel. Schooling a Transient Population of Japanese illustrates how a school district can provide bilingual education even with small numbers of students at each grade level. The district's concern for the students, their language, culture, and academic success is just as high as in schools where there were large numbers of bilingual students.

High standards and expectations has always brought success in school; this truism also applies to bilingual students. The last two case studies exemplify that this truism applies to the high school level (An Introduction to English Language and Culture Through Technology) as well as to the kindergarten level (Good Bilingual Education is Good Education: The Case of a Kindergarten Teacher). Teachers who care for their students and keep up with the latest research on the best methodologies for teaching and learning can inspire their students to learn and succeed academically. These case studies are good examples of English-language development in the context of acceptance, understanding, and efficient use of the language and the culture of the students.

The Many Voices of Education for Bilingual Students
The last section analyzes the law and the research in light of what these teachers are doing. It also lists and illustrates some common outstanding attributes that these teachers share, including:

- a strong sense of commitment and advocacy
- work that goes beyond just teaching
- the great deal of care they have for their students
- a good understanding of the background of their students
- high expectations for their students
- teaching that focuses on learning first, on learning language second.
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- teaching that focuses on learning first, on learning language second.
In 1989, I was invited by the Massachusetts Department of Education to explore ways in which institutions of higher education might collaborate with the Department's Bureau of Equity and Language Services (BELS) in the interest of quality education for language minority students. At the time, I was offering a seminar on *Issues in Bilingualism* at Boston University. Gilman Hébert, director of BELS, met with all of us who were participating in the seminar. It was agreed that the students could look at what was happening in the field of bilingual education in Massachusetts as part of their course assignments. As a result of this meeting, we decided to look at good bilingual teachers.

Directors of Bilingual Education were asked to nominate teachers. After numerous visits, permissions, and other details, the students regularly observed their respective chosen classes, analyzed the data they gathered, and produced papers which were circulated among the teachers and schools visited. A selection of papers constitute the case studies included in this book. An analysis of the case studies allowed me to present a broad perspective of what the implementation of Transitional Bilingual Education is like after 20 years. This document demonstrates that good bilingual education comes in different forms in Massachusetts. The variety of the implementation still respects the main points of the law and has evolved conscious of the research in education and in bilingual education and second language learning.

This is just the beginning of what we hope will be an on-going collaboration between the Bilingual Program at Boston University and BELS. We also hope to recruit other colleges to join in the effort to document what is happening in bilingual education within Massachusetts. At a time of budget cuts, collaboration among different institutions is essential to continue the support for good education. Both BELS and myself are deeply grateful to the teachers and administrators that facilitated this project and to the students who greatly contributed to the heart of this publication.

....Maria Estela Brisk, Boston, July 1990
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Introduction

Nearly 20 years ago Massachusetts passed the first state legislation mandating bilingual education. On February 4, 1971 Chapter 71A, the Transitional Bilingual Education Bill, became law. This law mandates bilingual instruction in districts where there are twenty or more students who speak languages other than English and whose command of English is not adequate to do academic work. Programs were set up with practically no precedent on which to base their decisions. The United States was founded on a very multilingual community where education was carried out in multiple languages throughout the 19th century. The 20th century, however, saw a retrenchment into exclusive use of English in schools regardless of the linguistic background of the students. Therefore, when Massachusetts passed its pioneer law, it also set out to pioneer programs.

The number of students in the programs has steadily increased over the last two decades. The census of 1972-73 reported approximately 7,000 students speaking 6 different languages being served by TBE in 31 towns. The latest census of 1987-88 shows 31,235 students in TBE programs in 47 towns with over 20 languages.

The purpose of this study is to look in depth at the work of a group of outstanding teachers, the silent heroes of bilingual education. Describing the work of these teachers in the context of their schools shows how bilingual education in Massachusetts has evolved from a program that emerged mostly from the plight of Hispanic students (Massachusetts Advocacy Center, 1970) to serve its increasingly diverse communities. It has also evolved from a "compensatory" program as stated by Chapter 71A to a program that strives for quality education.

Through observations and interviews we have achieved a picture of what good teachers do in their daily struggle to educate bilingual students and the context within which these teachers work. Although we are viewing bilingual education through the narrow window of a few case studies, we have been able to get at the nuances of bilingual education programs usually overlooked in statistical studies. The diversity of populations observed, Spanish, Cambodian, Japanese, Vietnamese and Chinese, allows us to show the varying needs of these populations and how teachers and schools have adjusted to them.
Leaders in the field, including program directors and principals, suggested candidates to be observed. After securing their agreement, researchers regularly visited their classrooms and discussed their findings among themselves and with the teachers and principals. The results were written in the form of case studies.

In the first case, we describe a teacher working in the context of a school that fully embraces bilingual education and places a high value on bilingualism and community involvement. We continue with another school, equally committed to bilingual education, which uses a team approach to deal with the issue of limited personnel and resources. The third case exemplifies how a good teacher and committed school personnel can serve students well even when there are only small numbers at each grade level. The last two cases are examples of a high school ESL teacher and an elementary bilingual teacher who use the latest technology and methodology in their classrooms.

We wanted to finish with the focus on outstanding methodology and approach to teaching. After 20 years of bilingual education, we need to go beyond focusing on whether we should have bilingual education or not; whether there is a particular model that works—we will show that good bilingual education comes in different forms. Now we need to improve what and how the students are taught. We need approaches that are student-centered, where the voice of the student becomes very important, and where students are seen as knowledgeable beings whose abilities we want to further develop. In a democratic society where life is about making choices, it is essential that teaching styles prepare students to know what they want and to decide how they can make choices. In addition, in a society that tends to devalue linguistic minorities, it is also essential to raise the students' self-esteem by recognizing that they have much to offer.
The Rundberg School (not its real name) is nestled in a residential section composed of modest two-family homes in a Boston neighborhood. With pride, the neighborhood claims to be and claims to have always been an area of ethnic diversity. However, the patrons of the multicultural art center on one section of the main street tend to be white and monolingual, while further down the main street is Knox Square where mainly Spanish-speaking people live. There is an immense Catholic church towering over Spanish-American grocery stores, check cashing establishments, clothing stores, sub shops, Cuban and Colombian restaurants, all with signs in Spanish and English. The street is bustling. Cars whiz by playing loud music and small groups of men stand on the sidewalk talking. While driving through at night, a drug deal or two can be spotted.

Walk a block West and there is the school. The windows are covered with wrought iron screens and the walls are covered with graffiti. A hurricane fence surrounds the building as well as a small asphalt-covered area used for recess. From the outside, the Rundberg does not seem inviting.

Once inside, though, the atmosphere changes. Colorful banners extending a welcome in both Spanish and English hang in the entrance way and lobby. Examples of students' work are displayed on the walls. At various times during the day, one can see the Physical Education teacher bounding through with students or parents waiting for their children. The office staff is warm and helpful.

The school is a bit overcrowded with over 500 students, 100 more than last year. The gym, auditorium, and alcoves have been converted into classrooms. Of these 500 students, most are Hispanic, though not all are in bilingual classes.

It is within this setting that John Lawrence (not his real name) works with his 17 fifth grade students. Most of the students and/or their families come from Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic. Other Central and South American countries, such as Peru and Nicaragua, are also represented. The amount of time they have spent in Boston ranges from all their lives to less than a year.

Mr. Lawrence speculates that several of his students will be in advanced classes next year. When asked what they like about school, the students' answers included:
I want to learn more Science and Math because I want to be a scientist. I want to make more rockets to discover new planets with life.

I like to read stories about animals.

I want to speak both English and Spanish because I can talk with families and people in the shops.

In Mr. Lawrence's classroom, there are students who not only are able to learn academic subjects through the media of Spanish and English but are also ready for advanced work. Mr. Lawrence and the Rundberg school practice bilingual education from an "additive" perspective. Learning through two languages provides students "cognitive flexibility" and a "new instrument of communication" (Trueba, 1989 p. 112). Their first language is not a disability. It is this perspective which is behind the empowerment of the students.

Cummins (1986) proposes that:

"[L]egislative and policy reforms may be necessary conditions for effective change, but they are not sufficient. Implementation of change is dependent upon the extent to which educators, both collectively and individually, redefine their roles with respect to minority students and communities. ...[S]tudents from 'dominated' societal groups are 'empowered' or 'disabled' as a direct result of their interactions with educators in the schools." (pp. 18, 21)

Cummins' framework for empowering language minority students includes four characteristics of the institution and the choices educators make in relation to these characteristics. It is these characteristics and choices which make the difference for Mr. Lawrence's students. He clearly sees the power dynamics of the larger society, including the school district, and the need for change. His interactions with students and their parents reflect this perspective. Following is an analysis of what happens in this school in light of Cummins' four characteristics.

**Minority students' language and culture are incorporated into the school program.**

In the Rundberg school, the welcome banners in Spanish and English are a metaphor for the organization and staff of the school. Bilingual classrooms have been moved from the third floor and are distributed throughout the building. Several of the mainstream teachers also speak Spanish and several of the bilingual teachers are of European heritage. The principal spent a summer, on his own accord, in Puerto Rico and does his best to communicate to parents in Spanish. Students from bilingual and monolingual classes go on
field trips together and those in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th grades are integrated for Computer and Physical Education classes.

The bulletin boards in Mr. Lawrence's classroom are in Spanish, English or both languages. The Spanish bulletin board is titled "Our Heritage." This visual acceptance and promotion of the students' linguistic and cultural heritage is carried through in the lessons. This happens in relatively subtle ways such as noting that "all your home countries are in this story" when introducing a reading assignment. A less subtle example is the way in which Mr. Lawrence chose to use an extra pair of hands and a video camera provided through a Title VII grant to the district. He arranged for guest speakers representing the various home countries of the students to come to class. The students were videotaped interviewing the guests about their lives as children in their countries. It was obvious that the students saw this as something very special. They were excited to see the "video man" and help him set up the equipment. One of the guest speakers was a woman from Cuba who worked as an aide in the school. She has known most of the students for several years. The students responded to her with great affection.

**Minority community participation is encouraged as an integral component of children's education.**

Building on the example above in which members of the community are part of the curriculum, both the principal and Mr. Lawrence encourage parents to take an active role in the school. The front door to the school is open most hours of the day (unlike many schools in neighborhoods not quite as safe) and parents are often in the school waiting to pick up their children, volunteering or conferring with teachers. The school expects all parents to come to the Open House to pick up their children's report cards. Three days prior to the Open House, flyers notifying parents went home in both Spanish and English. The bilingual classes had nearly 100% attendance of parents.

Mrs. Rios, a parent of one of Mr. Lawrence's students, has had three children at the Rundberg from Kindergarten through 5th grade. She says that "parents
feel involved here." When asked to explain what it is that makes parents feel welcome, she paused and reflected:

It's hard to explain. We like the teacher and the principal because we like the way they treat the kids. The teacher talks to parents one by one about what the kids do—very honest and open.

Mrs. Rios gave an example of how Mr. Lawrence explains the curriculum to the parents so that they know how to help their children at home. When at the Open House she discovered that Mr. Lawrence was working with her daughter to shorten her response time to the multiplication tables, Mrs. Rios realized that this was the same technique she was using at home.

We talk. We compare notes. [It is] a good feeling because [I] learned [that] the teacher was doing the same thing.

Mr. Lawrence does know the parents of his students. This shows when he describes the students' families, that few parents speak English, that most parents are of humble means and that most new to the area are able to depend on family already here. Several times he described particular circumstances of certain students. One boy who has been absent a week has been living with his mother in a motel in Revere without cooking facilities or a telephone. Another boy is a recent arrival from Peru whose father was a journalist there. The mother of one of the girls has been having a hard time since her husband left last year.

Supporting this work between individual teachers and parents is the school social worker/counselor. This is a Hispanic woman who knows the community well. She opens the door to parent participation by doing home visits and organizing programs for parents on issues surrounding families and problems in urban areas.

The pedagogy promotes intrinsic motivation on the part of the students to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge.

An important decision in any model of bilingual education is when to use which language and for what reason. Throughout the day Mr. Lawrence handles this question differently. When teaching Language Arts, he consistently uses one language. Exceptions are made only when a student requires a translation for "comprehensible input" (Trueba, p. 79). Sometimes this means translating instructions for assignments. Other times it involves content. For example, in one of the reading groups, Mr. Lawrence asked the students to compose sentences using new vocabulary words. One student stumbled through her sentence, becoming stuck on the word 'cielo.' Mr. Lawrence translated the word for her and she went on.
During the other subject lessons such as Science, students are encouraged to choose which language they will use. He tells them:

In science, it doesn't matter which language ... whatever language helps you understand, use it.

More student-centered examples come from the lessons in process writing. This is the main reason behind the principal's choice of Mr. Lawrence as an exemplary bilingual teacher. Choosing the language, students write compositions. In pairs or small groups, they read each other's compositions and offer critiques regarding the mechanics of writing and asking questions regarding the content. One subject was their autobiography beginning with their infancy. Students wrote about their memories of that time including threatening to run away from home and being scared of the dark. Sharing their papers provided more opportunities to use language.

The interviews described previously of older people regarding their childhoods were another subject. Mr. Lawrence worked with the class as a whole to generate a list of topics for the interviews. With the whole class as an audience as well as the "video man" and his camera, students asked questions of their guest. During this time, the atmosphere of the class was hushed, respectful, excited, confident and intent.

This experience gave the students an opportunity to use their own voice and be validated. For example, one of the few students who is not ready to be mainstreamed and is waiting for a special needs placement asked several questions of the interviewee, each related to the last. His eyes lit up when the honored guest responded in a dialogue with a manner conveying respect and interest. The final outcome of these interviews were more compositions which in turn generated more discussion among the students. This lesson, more than any other, brought to life Mr. Lawrence's perspective that "good teaching is good teaching" regardless of the language.

Professionals involved in assessment become advocates for minority students rather than legitimizing the location of the problem in the students.

Mr. Lawrence, who is also the Language Assessment Team Manager, worked from the theory that Bilingual Education is a "safety zone and a launching pad" as opposed to working from a deficit theory. He has repeatedly made a policy recommendation to the district that when his students are mainstreamed in the 6th grade they should at least be able to continue learning Spanish as a subject. When implementing a district-wide, standardized
achievement examination, Mr. Lawrence was given one week. He demanded more time in order to administer the exam in both languages.

_We’re lucky to have the teacher and the school here, seriously._

...Parent of one of Mr. Lawrence's students

Actions taken by a teacher and the school as a whole tell only half the story of empowerment. The decisions, attitudes and achievement of the students and their parents also indicate success. The Rundberg School was awarded the Spanish PAC award for the 1988-1989 school year. Clearly, the partnership between the school, the parents, the students and this teacher is a productive one, enabling students to add to their repertoire of languages and excel academically. The ingredients are applicable for good teaching anywhere. They include parental choice, a curriculum which includes both languages as media of instruction, a supportive school environment and students who are like students everywhere—eager to learn and proud of their achievements.
Did you know, if you have a wormy apple, it is better to have seven worms than only one? Did you know witches have license plates on their brooms? If they didn’t how would you know which witch is which? Are these challenging ideas for second graders? Yes! Especially if they are learning English as a second language and living in a culture very different from their own. After all, Halloween is one of our most colorful traditions. It has a language all its own and children who are newly arrived need to experience the fun as well as the language of haunted houses and scary ghosts. All of this is an important part of the second grade curriculum in the Garfield School in Revere.

The Garfield School in Revere is a Kindergarten through grade four building of 588 children, 60% of whom are Cambodian. The building was designed for many fewer students, so the cafeteria and other spaces have been converted to classrooms. However, work is already underway on the new Garfield Magnet School next door. When the new building is occupied, the old school will be taken down and the site used for a park and playground. Although the school is currently unbalanced racially, this will not be the case in the new building. The educational innovations planned for the school will, no doubt, attract many more English-speaking students. In the meantime, the administration, teaching staff and parents have developed a very exciting and effective program for English and non-English speaking children.

Although the public education system in the United States is considered to be unprepared and overwhelmed by recent immigrations from different parts of the world (NCAS, 1988), the Garfield School has put together a program of its own design, based on principles of child development, pedagogy and bilingual education blended with a great deal of common sense and basic instinct. The former principal, William Waxman, and the current principal, Dorothy Foley, collaborated with parent groups, central administration and building teachers to resolve the issues that inevitably accompany the sudden arrival of large numbers of people from an area of the world not yet represented in the local community.
Not only were these students new to the United States, most of them were new to education. Many of the Cambodian children had been born in refugee camps and arrived directly from Thailand without the benefit of experience in a transitional processing center. The challenge to the school was to develop priorities of instruction that included attention to issues of acculturation, language and content. Central to this mission was the development of an effective communication system between the school and parents of Cambodian and English-speaking children. Many of the suggestions outlined by Yao (1988) were incorporated into the Garfield solution. Administrators, teachers and staff learned all they could about the Cambodian culture and language as well as various approaches to bilingual education. Social workers and counselors prepared to deal with the issues of culture shock and post-traumatic stress syndrome (Olsen, 1988) at a time when very few resources were available to provide guidance. Above all, Mr. Waxman became a strong advocate within the school and the community.

An important bridge to the community of Cambodian families was built through the employment of Cambodian teachers and aides. These remarkable individuals, many of whom learned English in refugee camps, interpret the culture of the American school to the parents and the culture of the Cambodian people to the school. They play a critical role in the successful integration of Cambodian children into the academic and social life at Garfield. Most importantly, they serve as effective role models of acculturation and assimilation. They access higher education for themselves, aspire to professional credentials and earn the sincere admiration of their American colleagues.

SCHOOL CLIMATE

For years we’ve known that the physical plant does not make a good school. Students, teachers, administrators and parents do. However, when you walk through the door of the Garfield School you know immediately that this is a good place for kids. Children’s work is displayed everywhere. Individual classrooms reflect careful planning and creative management of the instructional process. Diane Schwalb, a second grade ESL teacher, is very impressed by the work of her colleagues. She learns from them and is happy to share in return. Like most school systems, Revere has very little money for anything more than the basics. The special materials so necessary to creating vivid learning experiences for second language learners often come from the teachers. Enrichment on a larger scale comes from the grant writing ability of Dorothy Foley, the principal. Four years ago Mrs. Foley wrote a Newcomers Grant to fund the IBM Writing to Read program for the 1st grades. The Writing Lab is staffed with a full time teacher and two aides and is a highlight of the children’s day. Children are becoming very proficient in language learning as well as com-
puter technology. However, after moving to second grade, children felt deprived without their computers so Mrs. Foley wrote another grant to provide computer access for the other grades.

Garfield is very proud of its kids. Administrators and teachers have discovered all kinds of wonderful opportunities to gain recognition for English speaking and Cambodian students. Last year, a third grader at Garfield won a bookmark contest. Another student won first prize in a national poster contest. The winning poster was displayed at Columbia Teachers College, much to the surprise of Mrs. Foley’s daughter, a Columbia Law student.

A VIEW OF SECOND GRADE

The second grade ESL team of two English-speaking teachers and one Cambodian teacher has developed a flexible schedule of groupings to accommodate for the language proficiency of the children and the need for socialization with English speaking peers. Children were selected for the ESL class on the basis of teacher recommendations at the end of first grade, and the results of the Metropolitan Achievement and the IDEA Test. Other students were mainstreamed into regular second grades or into a Transitional Second Grade taught in English. Mrs. Schwalb is an ESL teacher whose homeroom is a mixture of English-speaking and bilingual Cambodian students. In the room next door, Mrs. Goss, another ESL teacher, also has an integrated homeroom. Together with Mrs. Vy Yeng, the bilingual Cambodian teacher, they plan all areas of the academic curriculum for Cambodian students and English-speaking students who attend their classes for specific integrated activities. Mrs. Yeng divides her time between the two rooms. She teaches Khmer language arts and mathematics to each group. At other times, she facilitates instruction by translating important content.

A TYPICAL SCHEDULE

The schedule for Mrs. Schwalb’s group is complex. However, the children move through the day with ease and confidence. School begins at 8:15 when Mrs. Schwalb’s homeroom children arrive. Some of the students are served breakfast, while others do activities at their desks. Mrs. Schwalb chats with the children and prepares for the day. The mood is relaxed and informal. The group is a mixture of English-speaking and Cambodian students. At 8:45 the English-speaking children depart for mainstream classes; Mrs. Schwalb has a group of Cambodian students for Reading and Language Arts. She and Mrs. Goss divide the population of Cambodian students according to proficiency in reading in English in order to provide more personalized and appropriately
paced instruction. During this time, Mrs. Yeng works with children who are less skilled at reading in English in a small area outside the classroom.

At 9:45 Mrs. Schwalb has an integrated group of students for Art or Penmanship; on Fridays they go to gym. At 10:30 on Mondays and Wednesdays the ESL group have a lesson in Khmer with Mrs. Yeng. On Tuesday Mrs. Schwalb has them for Science, on Thursday for Language Arts and Friday for Social Studies. In the afternoon, the ESL group works on Spelling and Phonics with Mrs. Schwalb. At 12:30 Mrs. Yeng teaches Math in Khmer. Mrs. Schwalb serves as an assistant during this lesson. In the final forty-five minutes Mrs. Schwalb may provide ESL activities in the "I Like English" series by Scott Foresman or creative writing opportunities around themes developed in reading and language lessons. At 2:00 children return to homerooms for dismissal.

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K = Cambodian teacher in Khmer
I = Integrated group: English, Spanish, and Cambodian
E = ESL class

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF INSTRUCTION

The overall goal of the program is to promote personal, social, and academic growth of all students in the second grade. For the Cambodian children, the major objective is to facilitate their acquisition of both English and Khmer in oral and written forms. To this end, all areas of the curriculum are used to introduce vocabulary, reinforce language concepts and provide a sound knowledge base for further study in social studies and science. The focus of the integrated classes is the opportunity to enrich the social, emotional and cultural development of the English-speaking and bilingual students within the context of activities that include art, music, and physical education, as well as language. Above all, learning activities are presented, monitored and evaluated in ways that assure the self-esteem of each student. During activities with the integrated group, the Cambodian children tend to interact...
with English-speaking and Cambodian peers using English. The informal nature of art, physical education as well as language activities provide an ideal environment for developing the social use of language in a natural environment.

METHODOLOGY

Mrs. Schwalb believes the Whole Language approach to reading will provide her ESL students the best opportunity to develop literacy in English (Goodman, 1987). Because Whole Language uses language in contexts that are meaningful, functional and genuine, it provides the second language learner a more naturalistic approach to learning the semantics and syntax of discourse and narratives in English. For the bilingual student, it promotes the development of a strong auditory language system capable of supporting the development of the visual language system. It also responds to the needs of a total generation of American students who are considered by many to be linguistically undernourished. In this respect it is appropriate for students in the mainstream as well as the ESL classroom.

The drawback from a teacher’s perspective is the fact that there are no basals, workbooks and ditto sheets. A great deal of teacher time is spent in searching for good children's literature, poetry and other materials to model and motivate good language expression. Mrs. Schwalb spends the time (and her own money) to access the best of what is available. Above all she wants her students to follow their own speech into print—in both languages!

A good example of this is the writing, illustrating and editorial experience of her 88-89 second grade class. The children wrote and illustrated a story in English and Khmer. Through cooperative learning activities, the Cambodian children taught the Khmer words to their monolingual partners and vice versa. They each, in turn, taught their new vocabulary words to the rest of the class. This very beautiful book was on display at the Boston Children’s Museum for several weeks. This year’s class has already produced two books. The second book was done in a large single edition for everyone and a smaller version for each child. The art teacher helped with reducing, printing, and laminating the smaller books. The children were thrilled!

A typical language lesson has the children grouped in front of a chart board looking at the poem “Clouds” by Christina Rossetti. Some of the children sit on the floor, others on desks, others stand. Prior to reading the poem, Mrs. Schwalb provides an Advance Organizer, that is, she recalls other poems they have read, reviews the features—
of poetry that are different from prose, asks children to share experiences looking at the sky on a sunny day and, then, invites them to listen to a poem that will put lovely pictures in their minds. Mrs. Schwalb points to each word as she reads it through by herself. Then the children read it with her. At the end of the second reading she asks the children to share images they have seen in the clouds. Throughout the activity, the children speak English. After the children read the poem aloud by themselves, she directs them to return to their seats to draw pictures of something they have seen or would like to see in the clouds and to write about what they draw. During the independent activity, children speak to each other in Khmer. When asking for a particular resource, e.g., dictionary or other assistance, they speak in English.

Story time happens every day. No one is late for the group. It is exciting to listen to stories like No Jumping on the Bed because everybody jumps on the bed. But poor Marty fell through the floor! It gives children pause to consider. And when they're thinking about it, they are likely to use the language from the book.

Critics of Whole Language (Vail, 1989) have pointed out that one of the "Holes" in Whole Language is the fact that there is an overdependence on narrative. Students must learn to read for content in various areas of the curriculum. Dealing with expository text is very different from comprehension of story themes. It involves skills that usually do not develop without specific instruction. Mrs. Schwalb is very aware of the need to expose children to various forms of reading. When the Bilingual Department gave her an opportunity to order materials she ordered six of the Rigby Publishing Co.'s Big Books in Science series. The books are beautifully illustrated and use language the children can learn to read. Mrs. Schwalb has developed science units around the six topic areas of the books. Her second graders are reading for information and developing a knowledge base in science that should provide a firm foundation for additional content area reading.

Vail (1989) also suggests that Whole Language can become a "psycholinguistic guessing game." She suggests that a balance needs to be achieved between the richness of literature, poetry and drama and the specific skills needed for total reading competence when reading for content or for pleasure. Vail would like us to "add regular, daily multi-sensory training to the playful, literary offerings, making them equal partners in our teaching" (p. 6). Mrs. Schwalb seems to have determined the right amount of each for Cambodian students struggling with the mysteries of two very different languages. She supplements the
very rich Whole Language activities with the Merrill Skill text. Children become aware of the patterns of language in English as well as the use of punctuation marks (non-existent in Khmer) to assist meaning. The Houghton Mifflin Listening Corner, and other materials provide excellent opportunities for the children to follow directions, integrating the language they hear with what they see. In spelling, this year’s class completed the first grade list by Christmas which indicates excellent growth in spelling proficiency. The children also made their own books of short vowels. The exercise increased their awareness of differences between English and Khmer which has 33 vowels (an awesome challenge for a child!).

Writing is an important part of the language curriculum in the ESL second grades. Mrs. Schwalb subscribes to Cambourne’s (1988) belief that sustained engagement with writing also means sustained engagement with reading. In a recent writing unit, she read the children a Big Book of children’s stories. The children particularly enjoyed The Gingerbread Man. The book was left on a table available to any child who wished to read it alone. Another day the children had an opportunity to role play writing in English, they spoke in English. The themes of the stories tied up again in the dictionary the children wrote two or three times a week. The ideas and language remained. Writing for a person they know helps the children understand the concept of writing for an audience and forming decisions about content. The exchange of written communication reinforces skills in thinking, reading and writing and helps them to internalize the interconnections of all three.

Literacy in Khmer is the responsibility of Mrs. Yeng. The materials developed by the Education Development Corporation (EDC) in Newton are used. The children typically sit at their desks following the instruction in their workbooks. Mrs. Yeng speaks only in Khmer. Children respond to questions orally or by going up to write on the board. Stories dictated or written by the children in English are sometimes translated into Khmer. Differences in language structure and usage are pointed out. Since high quality reading materials in Khmer are sparse, there is a good chance these children will become more proficient in the use of the English language; however, they will have basic skills in reading and writing their first language. The more sophisticated comprehension skills associated with literature and content area reading will be developed in English. Should the situation in Cambodia stabilize, there is always the possibility the classic works of Cambodian arts and letters will become more available for use here. The issue has not been a problem for Cambodian parents at the Garfield since they prefer an emphasis on learning English.
Mrs. Yeng also teaches Math to the Cambodian students for a forty-five minute period each day. Mrs. Yeng and Mrs. Schwalb plan lessons together. Mrs. Yeng instructs in Khmer and Mrs. Schwalb serves as an assistant. They use the Heath Math Program in the same way it is used in mainstreamed classes. Mrs. Yeng presents the concept at the chalk board with the children following in their workbooks. During a lesson involving addition equations, all instruction was in Khmer but with numbers named in English. The students responded to questions by raising their hands and being called. During independent seat work, Mrs. Yeng and Mrs. Schwalb monitored the children, answered questions and checked finished papers. Mrs. Yeng in Khmer and Mrs. Schwalb in English. The children spoke to each other in Khmer except for one child who had just finished an English interaction with Mrs. Schwalb. He returned to his seat and continued to use English with a neighbor.

Math instruction in the first language is a practice supported by limited research (Medrano, 1989). Experiences at the Garfield School indicate that bilingual Cambodian children can function at grade level in Math when instructed in their first language. It is the only area of the curriculum in which the second grade ESL group are at grade level. This fact alone seems sufficient justification for continuing the practice. However, consideration must be given to the issue of an appropriate transition to math instruction in English. At this moment the language of instruction is changed abruptly. Cambodian students mainstreamed or placed in a transitional class at the second grade level receive Math instruction in English. Ferro (1983) found that Cape Verdean Junior High School students performed better in math when English and Cape Verdean (L1) rather than English alone or English and Portuguese were used as the medium of instruction. Perhaps for Cambodian students the transitional process should involve the move to math instruction in English with Khmer used for clarification and elaboration. Perhaps it should continue well past the time when students are fully mainstreamed.

At the Garfield School, teachers and administrators are constantly looking for ways to improve the program for a population that arrived so suddenly in such large numbers.
You are very lucky to have the opportunity to work with her was repeated to me every time we met one of the classroom teachers, as Mrs. Shirahama showed me around the Lawrence school in Brookline. They winked and commented how wonderful and active a person she was and how impressed they were with her work. The school was full of life. Japanese students stopped to smile at Mrs. Shirahama and update her on what they were doing. Some American children called her by name and greeted her. We went by the library where Mrs. Shirahama pointed at one bookshelf full of Japanese books. How fortunate are these Japanese children to be educated in such a friendly atmosphere. (S. Masamune’s Journal, October 1989)

The growth of joint Japanese-American ventures has brought increasing numbers of Japanese families to America for a temporary stay. All the Japanese students in the Lawrence school arrived in the United States recently and their length of overseas stay is mainly from one to five years. Only two out of forty-two families have decided to stay permanently. These parents are highly educated and put high expectations on their children’s academic performance. The Lawrence school, through the efforts of Mrs. Shirahama, has developed a successful bilingual program which is not only a model of how to serve a transient population of students but how to deal with small number of bilingual students at each grade level. Mrs. Shirahama works with four other bilingual staff: two full-time aides and one part-time aide, and a part-time science teacher. The parents wish their children to acquire English proficiency, and the sense of being an international person. At the same time, these children have to keep up with subject matter when they go back to Japan. The Japanese bilingual teachers carry out a program to help students work within the context of English-speaking classes and help them adjust to schooling in English in the most humane way with minimum loss in academic performance.
THE PROGRAM

The Japanese bilingual program's goals include "adjustment to school" and "mastery of subject matter," using the Japanese language as the medium of instruction. The Japanese bilingual education program is provided for all grades, from kindergarten to grade 8. Fifty-five Japanese students from K to grade 8 who attend this school participate in the bilingual program. The organization of the students are sixteen students in K, nine in grade 1, six in grade 2, five in grade 3, two in grade 4, six in grade 5, three in grade 6, six in grade 7, and two in grade 8. The number of the students, however, varies constantly because of the high mobility of the students. All Japanese students are mixed with English-speaking students to work academically in monolingual English classes. In this model of bilingual education, the subjects are not offered independently for Japanese students. The students' academic work is totally related to the curriculum of the school with the bilingual program support. The Japanese language is used as the medium of instruction for the students to master subject matter and to adjust to school.

Mrs. Shirahama arranges two methodologies for the Japanese bilingual program, walk-in and pull-out methodologies, depending on the grade level. In the primary grades from K to grade 4, the bilingual teacher aides walk in to the classes instead of pulling the students out for bilingual instruction. When experiments are held in Science class once a week, the Science bilingual teacher, who is especially hired for Science, walks in. This arrangement allows the bilingual students to learn with their English speaking classmates and still understand the lesson.

The grade 2 classroom teacher was demonstrating the math problems when Mrs. Shirahama walked in. After the demonstration, the students were asked to work individually in their workbooks. Mrs. Shirahama asked a Japanese boy whether he understood the presentation and told him to start working on the worksheet. He had little trouble understanding the concept of multiplication. He had learned it before in the Japanese weekend school, but the approach to the concept was different between Japan and America. The American approach was to understand the process of getting the answers, while that of the Japanese was to get the answers. Mrs. Shirahama explained the conceptual differences between them and guided him clearly in the American concept approach as they worked on the exercise together.
The English proficiency of the Japanese students develops while learning content. The bilingual teacher makes sure that the students understand by explaining the concepts in Japanese. This approach benefits from full support of the English-speaking classroom teachers who work very closely with Mrs. Shirahama to insure that the Japanese students in their classes feel part of the education process. By contrast, the second methodology is the pull-out methodology, mostly for the grade 4 to grade 8 students. Many factors make the "walk-in" method harder to carry out in the upper grades. There are more lecture type classes, the subject matter is more complex and the material is presented at a faster rate. In this "pull-out" system, the students are not pulled out together for a certain time. Instead they are tutored bilingually for individual needs. This occurs when the classroom teachers request aid from the bilingual teacher during the class, or spontaneously by the students during their study time.

A grade 4 girl was pulled out by Mrs. Shirahama during her study time to finish her science research on the butterfly. She came to the Japanese bilingual room with her research paper which she had worked on at home and at the school library. She was told to complete her research paper including pictures and explanations just as if she would hand it to a Japanese teacher in Japan. The paper had lots of interesting details and was well organized so Mrs. Shirahama could see that she had worked hard. Mrs. Shirahama helped her translate her Japanese sentences to English for the English-speaking classroom teacher to evaluate her work.

All the students are free to bring their work to the Japanese bilingual room individually. In such arrangements, the bilingual teacher, Mrs. Shirahama and three other teacher aides, can fulfill their different needs and give adequate attention. Being integrated into the English-speaking classroom coupled with such strong bilingual support, the Japanese students are able to appreciate the importance of learning English and American culture without losing their positive self-concept.

The English-speaking classroom teachers do accept classwork in either language, as long as the students are following the subject matter. The Japanese students are encouraged to write creatively in Japanese in a journal, without worrying about writing in English until they acquire English skills. Since improvement of the native language proficiency is considered an important factor in second language acquisition development, students are encouraged to write good sentences in Japanese, such as using as many Chinese characters
as possible, writing well-organized sentences, and making no grammatical mistakes.

Little by little, students are guided to put Japanese words into the English words, starting with the nouns they know. This switching starts from a noun to the sentence level with instruction in grammar skills. The students are encouraged to write whole sentences in English after a year or so. By allowing students to write in Japanese, they can participate in the class activities or exercises in some way. This encourages their motivation to learn English skills and eagerness to join the class activities. Their writing, reading, listening, and speaking skills develop through not only the structured skills but also through learning content.

Mrs. Shirahama keeps close contact with all teachers who have Japanese students in their classes. She keeps track of students' new content and follow-up exercises sharing the information with classroom teachers. Mrs. Shirahama is successful because of the other teachers' positive attitude towards the Japanese students. Many classroom teachers make a special effort to include the Japanese students in all class activities. Thus, they often ask Mrs. Shirahama for help with instructions for their Japanese students by explaining the details of the content and objectives of the unit activities. These small meetings are held many times a day and are scheduled many ways, by leaving the notes in the teachers' mailboxes or walking along a hallway.

Mrs. Shirahama plans her weekly schedule around the students' classroom schedules. She coordinates at the beginning of the term with the classroom teachers to plan for the best support possible. This schedule is flexible and Mrs. Shirahama will break it to attend to emergencies which seem to occur daily.

MAIN ROLE OF BILINGUAL TEACHER

Mrs. Shirahama's main role is to be the "intermediary" between the Japanese-speaking students and the classroom teachers, the curriculum, and American students, as well as between the Japanese parents and the classroom teachers.

A grade 3 Japanese boy had been too shy to make friends with an American boy whom he liked. To allow them to become close friends, Mrs. Shirahama talked to the mother of this American boy about the situation. This mother was kind enough to invite the Japanese boy to her house. Now his English has developed and he is having an enjoyable time in school and is participating well in class.
Mrs. Shirahama's interaction between the Japanese parents and school is one of her most important roles since the Japanese parents are deeply involved in their children's education. On the one hand, she explains the American educational system and school role to Japanese parents. She encourages parents to support Japanese language and literacy development at home and intercedes when the parents want to put too much pressure on the children to acquire English, at the expense of having normal social interactions in Japanese with their Japanese peers. On the other hand, she explains Japanese education, cultural characteristics, and parents' goals to the school staff, thus helping them understand the Japanese children better. The classroom teachers often consult with her prior to conferences with Japanese parents, especially if there is a serious problem. They want to avoid cultural misunderstandings.

Her close attention to all the students' personalities and attitudes produces healthy, positive and effective relationships between teachers and individual students. The good communication between her and students comes from her very open-minded approach to new opinions. Mrs. Shirahama accepts various different opinions, and her enjoyment of learning new things from students makes students relaxed and willing to share many things. She constantly praises the students and encourages them to work. The Japanese room is always full of students who love to stop by and chat with her and their peers. The students always use Japanese when speaking with Mrs. Shirahama. The outcomes for the Japanese students are healthy self-images as well as positive feelings about their background. Their academic work in Japanese is accepted by English-speaking classroom teachers. Often, student products written in Japanese hang next to their American peers' work. This positive attitude toward work done in Japanese motivates students to learn the value of the Japanese language and the importance of learning English as well as striving for academic success in the mainstream school.

Mrs. Shirahama believes that having good relationships with students is the most important factor not only for their successful academic achievement but also for better human development.
Mrs. Shirahama avoids giving instruction to the Japanese students unless she is sure she has a correct understanding of the content. She confers often with classroom teachers to keep abreast of what the classes are covering. She encourages her students to realize that they can perform as well as native American students and helps them to achieve this goal. She makes great use of praise and encouragement expressed by using gestures and words to enhance student's positive self-image.

CONCLUSIONS

The Japanese bilingual program has been successfully adapted to the Lawrence school. Mrs. Shirahama's effective instruction comes from the great confidence in both students and classroom teachers. This program cannot stand on its own, but consists of Mrs. Shirahama's effort toward effective education and the cooperation of the classroom teachers. This program does not have a clearly articulated curriculum because of the diversity in length of the students' stay. The flexibility of the program and of the bilingual teacher is essential for these students. By setting as the final goal adequate mastery of English proficiency for work in all-English classes, the Japanese students are provided diverse benefits to succeed in schooling in the mainstream. With native language instruction, the Japanese students are able to receive a significant quality and quantity input of grade-level skills according to individual levels. This kind of program depends on an accurate diagnosis, sensitivity and a careful decision making process by the bilingual teacher and the school to carry out an appropriate curriculum. The evidence so far suggests that this program is functioning quite successfully in this community.

The outcomes of the Japanese students' development in both English proficiency and in the subject matter in the mainstream classrooms is positive as far as the students are concerned. The Lawrence school program provides an example of a bilingual program for the benefit of a transient minority group whose goals and needs are different from those of students who stay permanently and who have come to Massachusetts under very different circumstances.
Charles Skidmore is an English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher at Brighton High School. He is a teacher who accepts the native language and culture of his students while introducing them to American culture and language. He strongly believes that they can learn American culture and high levels of English language skills while maintaining their native tongue. Mr. Skidmore uses innovative methodology to develop the language through process writing with the use of the computer and literature for reading.

Brighton High School, where Mr. Skidmore teaches, resembles a massive medieval stone monastery situated high on a hill, with its castle-like structure. Above the arched red doorways to the entrance is the name "Brighton High School", etched across the front in Roman script. The thick red doors emphasize the majestic atmosphere which the school projects. The hallways are wide and usually bustling with students of diverse ethnic backgrounds; Asian, Hispanic, Afro-American, and Anglo-American. Throughout the school are displayed various posters one might expect at any typical High School: students campaigning for Student Government offices, school club advertisements, and signs directing visitors to the main office.

Mr. Skidmore teaches process writing in a computer lab. The classroom has three long tables each with four Wang computers on top, and one wider table in the middle of the room on which eight computers are sitting back to back. The computers are arranged in such a manner as to give sufficient space for the students to work individually. There are two large printers on smaller tables located at different areas of the room. The teacher's desk is located in the far corner across from the entrance. At the front of the room and to the side opposite the windows are large book shelves encased in glass. There is a blackboard at the front of the room which has three components that slide up and down.

Mr. Skidmore teaches various levels of ESL. A typical class is a level 2 ESL reading and process writing class. The class is composed of 17 students who come from four different countries. Twelve come from Vietnam, three from Guatemala, one from Honduras, and one from the Dominican Republic. The time they have been in the United States ranges from 6 months to 2 years. In a written interview, the Vietnamese students wrote that the reason for coming to the U.S. was to find "freedom" or "liberty." One Vietnamese student wrote,
"Before 1984 my father came here, because I wanted to see my father and I searched for the liberty myself." This student has lived in the U.S. for 13 months. Four of the five Spanish-speaking students interviewed said they came to the U.S. to learn English. "I moved to the U.S. because I wanted to learn English," replied one student.

All of these students are involved in the Bilingual Program at Brighton High School which serves Vietnamese and Spanish speakers. Each student takes at least one class in their first language. The most common classes taken in their first languages are math, history (U.S. or civics), and science (chemistry or biology).

Mr. Skidmore speaks highly of his students in the class. He holds "a positive attitude toward their English ability." He sees it as a "positive element, not a deterrent or problem."

> Overall the students like Brighton High School because they feel wanted, they often feel at home with Vietnamese and Spanish speaking teachers, and they feel comfortable. [The students] have a place to go, a haven among the outside [American] world.

His conclusion follows Cummins' theory of empowering minority students in that "students from 'dominated' societal groups are either 'empowered' or 'disabled' as a direct result of their interactions with educators in the schools" (Cummins, 1986, p.21). In this case, the students are empowered by the schools' incorporation of Vietnamese and Spanish students' language and culture into the school program through offering academic classes taught in the students' first language and hiring Vietnamese and Spanish speakers with whom the students can relate.

Mr. Skidmore is in his 14th year with the Boston Public Schools, bringing with him an impressive background in foreign languages and the field of Bilingual Education. With an undergraduate degree in French and Spanish, he began his teaching career at Taft Junior High School teaching French and Spanish. After two years at Taft, he decided to return to school and received a master's degree in Bilingual Education from New York University. During this time, he spent a summer in Spain and a summer in Puerto Rico experiencing the diversity of the Spanish language and culture.

For the last four years, Mr. Skidmore has been teaching at Brighton High School where he presently teaches five ESL classes ranging from level 2 (the lowest being level 1) to level 4. In addition, he is heading the committee preparing for the accreditation of Brighton High School. To say the least, he is a busy man, but somehow he manages very well to juggle his work while maintaining a positive and professional attitude toward his teaching. Mr. Skidmore
is always enthusiastic and in control of his classroom. His tone of voice is warm and clear. He never seems frustrated or aggravated by the students and often praises their work.

**INSTRUCTION**

The mode of instruction in the class is English, although Mr. Skidmore allows for some peer tutoring in the first language. He often requests students to help one another, giving them a sense of responsibility and respect:

(Student walks into class late)

*Mr. Skidmore:* Where have you been?

(Student speaks quietly to Mr. Skidmore)

*Mr. Skidmore:* OK, uh hum, ok. Did she give you a pass?

*Student:* (hands him a pass and talks to him quietly)

*Mr. Skidmore:* You don’t understand that homework? Phong can you help Nguyun with his homework?

*Phong:* OK.

The two students spoke to each other in Vietnamese. They spoke briefly, and the student who needed the help was nodding. After talking, the two immediately returned to their computer and began to type. Nguyun, who was at first confused, seemed relieved and happy that he now understood. Phong smiled, showing a sign of confidence and pride that he had assisted his classmate.

Trueba maintains that:

*....if sheltered English is the mode of delivery, the emphasis [should be] on providing children with enough contextual clues that permit them to discover patterns and meanings to disclose for them the content of the lesson. There [should be] no emphasis on correcting their errors in English, although input [should] always be given in correct English through rich contextual information. (Trueba, 1989, p.61)*

Mr. Skidmore's style of teaching follows closely Trueba's suggested method of teaching English literacy to language minority students. He often works indi-
vidually with students, encouraging them to think for themselves. He only suggests alternatives or options when correcting their writing, "What's another way of saying this?" is a phrase he uses often to correct work. He never points out a mistake or emphasizes the error but instead praises the students effort. "Good work! Now, let's see if you can write a good sentence to complete your story." When explaining vocabulary or story content he often uses analogies to which the students can relate. For example, a student did not understand the phrase "ripe fruit soon spoils" so Mr. Skidmore used the example of a green banana turning brown to explain 'ripe' and 'spoils.'

Mr. Skidmore integrates the teaching of all aspects of language and language skills, i.e., reading, writing, speaking and listening, around topics. He also believes that high school students who aspire to go to college need to become acquainted with American literature and history as well as themes of Western Civilization. In order to understand this new culture, students need to relate it to their own cultural experiences. Therefore, students in his class are exposed to American literature through reading short stories and later plays and longer works. He selects pieces that he used as a student himself and others that English teachers in his high school are using with their own students. He adds, however, a cross-cultural dimension. For example, he introduces Tennessee Williams play The Glass Menagerie by suggesting that its theme is "escape." He asks his students what escape means to them. The students are then asked to write autobiographical essays about escape. Only then do the students read The Glass Menagerie and do their character analysis and summaries. In this way the new and unfamiliar literature of the new culture is related to the students' respective cultures, making it easier to comprehend what they are trying to study. In the same fashion, when discussing issues of Western civilization and American history, Mr. Skidmore starts the topics by having students look into their own history for examples of comparable situations. Therefore, the topics of his classroom focus on the new culture but are presented in relation to students' experiences. The same approach is used with students with lower levels of English proficiency, only the materials and completion of the assignments are different. All of the materials are examples of good literature. Mr. Skidmore spends a lot of time building a library of "beautiful books," as he calls them, for his students' use.

The method of teaching writing that Mr. Skidmore uses is "process writing" with the use of computers. The basic idea behind process writing as a method of teaching writing is a step-by-step process which allows students the opportunity to see their stories evolve from ideas to meaningful written pieces of work. The first step is to generate a topic for the students' story. Mr. Skidmore feels that individually the second language learner might not have enough vocabulary or feel comfortable enough in hers/his second language to initiate a topic alone. He finds the students often become frustrated because they may think they are not able to come up with a good idea. To alleviate this "writers
blo.k" dilemma and to facilitate the generation of a topic, Mr. Skidmore has the class brainstorm for ideas before beginning to write anything. The students share ideas and pool their vocabulary to create an interesting topic from which each will write a story. This method of brainstorming is fun for the students and gives them a chance to voice their ideas without the anxiety of being "wrong."

The second step of process writing involves writing a rough draft. Once the class has decided on a topic, the students are asked to write down their ideas either on paper or directly on the computer. Mr. Skidmore emphasizes to them that the first draft is not going to be the end product, and most likely will not be good. This lessens the pressure feel more relaxed about writing anything that comes to mind, using the notes.

The students who write by hand type their rough draft begins the revising/editing stage. Using the computer has improved their writing and revising strategies greatly. Their questions have become more sophisticated. The students are encouraged to change sentences and wording around while typing. During this stage, Mr. Skidmore is constantly walking around the classroom giving immediate feedback. He might say something to the effect of "don't you think it would be better to use the past tense here" or "can you think of another way of saying that?"

Mr. Skidmore interacts with the students and in this way helps them in the acquisition of knowledge and language. This interaction with the students he calls "intervention." He describes it by making an analogy to the interaction of a parent and child with the "parent modeling for the child, allowing for a natural learning/language acquisition environment."

When the students are finished typing their first draft on the computer, they print it out. This time the papers are turned in to Mr. Skidmore who then reads each paper and gives the students both oral and written feedback. He tries to make the comments clear and concise. The following day the papers are returned to the students.

The last stage of the writing process is to print the final story which has been edited so that every student finishes having written a very good paper. This process validates for the student that she or he is capable and competent enough to write a good paper in English, their second language. The students gain confidence and a strong sense of accomplishment. They are individually affirmed by Mr. Skidmore who reads each paper and gives positive feedback to each student.
Even though the end product is important the emphasis is placed on the "process" of writing. In other words, they literally see an idea evolve into a written piece of work. The immediate results of their work gives them great satisfaction and motivation to write on their own. Being able to experience and see first hand the process of writing, taking an image in their head and putting it down on paper is a great experience for these students, who may have never had the chance to write or been given positive reinforcement they receive from seeing their own work. Several of Mr. Skidmore's students have won awards for their writings. Process writing is a great way to lift the students self-esteem and confidence, while increasing the possibility of having a positive learning experience in school.

The use of the computer in Mr. Skidmore's ESL instruction has changed the way he teaches writing and his approach to using the computer has had a real effect in the quality of his teaching. Simply using the computer is not going to improve the process. How the computer is used is also very important. One essential aspect is the fact that the computer use is integrated to the whole second language and writing development program. One common problem with using computers is that students go to the computer lab to follow a computer curriculum focused on "computer literacy" quite divorced from what they are doing in their language and content area classes. Mr. Skidmore uses computers to facilitate their writing development. Students learn how to use the computer while they learn to write English. Therefore the use of computers is completely functional.

Using the computer as an integral part of the ESL program turned the task of teaching writing into a pleasurable activity for teacher and students alike. These ESL students learn to write by engaging with their teacher while trying to make sense in writing. The teacher's responses were rich unplanned and meaningful "language lessons." Mr. Skidmore works hard at interpreting his students' thoughts and teaches them to express what they wanted to say at the moment. These oral responses are of better quality than written corrections because they are interactive, negotiated, specific, clear, and less discouraging for the emergent second language writers. Although, these responses share many of the qualities of the oral conferences, they add a special dimension to the process, improving the quality by making the teacher's responses more student-centered and a more natural, less obtrusive process with better final results. Thus, the computer as a weapon in the hands of an excellent teacher can revolutionize the process of developing writing in second language learners.

The combination of excellent methodology, high expectation, and cultural sensitivity makes Mr. Skidmore an exemplary teacher. He is truly an ambassador for the new language and culture that his students are acquiring.
Good Bilingual Education is Good Education:  
The Case of a Kindergarten Teacher  
Gina Cheng

The classroom is a kindergarten Cantonese bilingual classroom. The children are all four-year old K-1 students bused into the Harvard Kent school from three different districts. They are greeted every morning by Mrs. Fung, a native Chinese teacher who has been in the system for nearly 20 years. On top of her rich experience, this bilingual teacher has very clear objectives in her teaching. Her goal is to arouse students' interests to pursue knowledge on their own, and to establish good studying habits for them at an early age. The synergy occurs when the children are willing to persist their own exploration on different topics armed with the study habits the teacher implanted. Mrs. Fung believes that on top of the standardized curriculum, teachers in general should discover and expand the interests of students in class, so that there are opportunities for students to inquire about topics they like and make further pursuits on their own. In addition, she stresses the importance of establishing positive self-identity and cultural identity among the bilingual students, and that both the mother-tongue (Chinese in this case) and the English language should be used in a complementary manner to facilitate language development. Only when the children have developed positive attitudes towards both the American and Chinese languages and cultures will Mrs. Fung transfer them to the English-speaking classes.

AN INTEGRATED CURRICULUM

Mrs. Fung has structured her classes into integrated lessons based on specific themes. For example, when the children were discussing "dreams" in the song *Row the Boat Down the Stream*, Mrs. Fung followed up the discussion by asking the students to draw about their dreams in their language lesson. In their science lesson the same day, Mrs. Fung shared a big book story of how different animals dreamed, and the students discussed the different names and characteristics of the animals. The children were encouraged to pronounce the names of the animals in English, while they could hold their discussion in either language.

Here, the integration of subject matters and language instruction would have been applauded by Jim Cummins (1984), who believes that "there is the need of conscious integration of language use and development with all curricular..."
content rather than teaching language and other content as isolated subjects" (p.225). The integration of subjects has provided chances for children to see how the cognitive and language skills required by one subject can be used in another content area. Though in this case Chinese was the most commonly used language, the language skills for expressing oneself across different subject areas were still developed.

STUDENT-CENTERED LESSONS

To further establish her goal of developing students' interest within the framework of the curriculum, Mrs. Fung held many student-centered lessons. The following conversation (all in Chinese) was taken from the opening scene of an actual science lesson:

Teacher: Who was absent yesterday?
Child A: Susan.

Teacher: Why do you think she couldn't come to school?
Child B: She has to see a doctor.

Teacher: Have any one of you been to a doctor's office before? (All the children giggled and nodded their heads)

Teacher: What do you do in a doctor's place? What do you see?
Child C: Needle and medicine.
Child D: Lolly-pop.
Child A: No, doctor draws blood from me.
Child G: How did he do that? Did he use the thing with tubes and ym....
Child I: I know, he used a needle, didn't he?
Child A: Yeah, and it's a big one.
Child G: (covered face with hand) Uh!...
Child B: My doctor weighed me. With one of those big square things....

It might sound strange that after the first few sentences, the bunch of four-year-olds took over the science lesson and were continuously talking about their medical experience, inquiring about others' experience, and treating each other as teachers. Instead of stopping them, their teacher encouraged them to do so and gave them freedom to explore the topic on their own! In return, the children loved their science and social studies lessons because their teacher
was providing them chances to talk about their own experience as much as a chance to learn from the experience of their peers. Their teacher always started with a theme (e.g. doctors, dreams, bus rules) which the students showed interests in, and then let the students talk about it. During the discussions, Mrs. Fung’s role was only to facilitate the discussion process, making sure the discussion was on focus, that different aspects of an emerging theme were explored, and that everyone had a fair chance to express himself/herself.

In particular, Mrs. Fung was keen in relating the students’ experience to the process of active learning. Shortly after they had explored their experiences with their doctors, the topic went on to a discussion of why people wore glasses. Throughout the students’ conversation, Mrs. Fung picked up interesting themes about seeing a doctor (e.g. drawing blood with needles, taking temperatures, inspecting the throat, etc.) and asked the students to describe in detail what was involved in each of those themes and how they felt about them. Since all these themes were from the students’ experience, they were excited to elaborate on them and convey a complete picture of their experience. For example, one of the students was anxious to talk about her visit to the eye doctor. After she finished describing her experience, Mrs. Fung used the chance to ask the students why they thought people went to see eye doctors. The responses from the students were just fabulous. They had the idea that some people needed glasses because they watched too much TV, because they were old, because they read with their books too close to their eyes, etc. This way, they all consolidated a realistic sense of who needed glasses and why people had problems with their eyes. In fact, their discussion raised many interesting concepts which their teacher had never expected them to have known. Mrs. Fung even admitted at the end of that lesson that if she were to run the lesson in a more traditional way, providing all the required information to the children rather than letting the children talk, she would never have thought about being able to teach them such complicated concepts about eyesight! The class ended up to be a totally student-oriented discussion, while her goal of talking about doctors and teaching different terminologies about doctors were fulfilled through the students’ own words.

This type of student-driven curriculum is ideal for bilingual students. By making the learning process a generator of information from the students, the instruction can be tailored to the children’s cultural knowledge and previous experience. Students learn in an environment they created and are free to acquire knowledge based on their own background. They need not be overwhelmed by knowledge from a new culture being imposed on them. The children can engage in socially meaningful interactions because the conversations are based on their own experience. Such social interactive contexts have powerful implications for success in academic contexts, including those that are strictly cognitive (Trueba, 1989). Even partial social successes in these interac-
tions can help children to acquire personality integration and positive self-concept during the difficult transitional period from the home to the school culture.

Moreover, according to Cummins (1986), cognitive skills (the ability to structure knowledge and to approach learning tasks effectively) can be best acquired through the native language (Chinese) and then easily transferred to a second language (English). These students were developing their cognitive skills through the discussions of their experience in their native language. Eventually, these can easily transfer into English.

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

To develop good reading habits and provide exposure to the English language, the kindergartners have at least 5 minutes of free reading time each day. In addition, if anyone finished an activity and was waiting for others to accomplish their job, the student could choose a book to read. The children regarded their permission to read as a prize. The children are thrilled when they can go and select one of the many books vertically displayed on two big tables. Mrs. Fung is always adding new books to the collection. It is her favorite hobby to gather a rich collection of children books including: Mother Goose stories; American children's poems; simple science tricks, chemistry made easy; children's encyclopedias; pop-up self-discovery books; alphabet books; number stories; fairy tales; stories from around the world; and many others.

Mrs. Fung wants to expose her students to various kinds of writing and, at the same time, introduce them to different cultures. The books were also chosen with the children's interests in mind. Although all of her books were in English, Mrs. Fung encouraged the children to talk about the books in either language. In fact, the children had grown to like reading so much that during their reading, they often started a discussion on the pictures or words on the book with their neighbors. Sometimes, they went up to Mrs. Fung to tell her their own interpretation of the stories. She listened and asked questions to help them express themselves. Through the students' interpretation of the stories in their native language (Chinese), their teacher could tell how much they understand from their reading and how much English reading skills they were acquiring. The children are very proud of the fact that they know some of the English words or English names of objects in the pictures. Mrs. Fung was much less concerned about whether the children had all the facts from the books, than about whether they had actively participated in the process of reading. Each time the students read or told stories to her, she encouraged them to elaborate their stories so that they can do the job better next time.

This appeared to be in total agreement with Don Holdaway (1984), who states that children of this age should be allowed to approximate things in their
reading: "Getting things right is not what matters, the real secret is in getting it better" (p.18).

The kindergarten students have grown so fond of reading that they regard it as fun rather than a must. They are also living up to their teacher's expectation that even as K-1 students, they can read on their own. Nobody should have doubts about their reading skills because of their age! Their teacher is just happy that her favorite hobby, reading, has become her students' hobby. To further enrich their reading skills, as rewards or gifts to the children.

With all that wonderful literature for the children to read, Mrs. Fung has indeed established what Holdaway (1984) would call a "favorable environment." To borrow what Holdaway has described, this classroom is an environment in which learning is "maximized." Literacy here is viewed as of high human value, purposeful, inviting, functional, and associated with deep satisfaction. There is a great variety of print and a storehouse of literature relevant to the age group. It is also an area of relaxed reading and shared reading.

In terms of formal instruction of English language skills, Mrs. Fung believes in gradual immersion in different language experiences. She believes that it took time for students to master English language skills and that developing the students' native language provides them a structure for learning a second language (English). Therefore, she provides instruction in both languages and encourages students to use both languages in expressing themselves. Since she is dealing with kindergartners, she introduces English largely through songs and games. She teaches the children a list of English children's rhymes such as: Alphabet Song; I Heard Thunder; Ba-Ba Black Sheep; London Bridge is Falling Down; and Jack and Jill. Whenever she introduces a song, she first discusses the content of the song (in Chinese), the different concepts and the English vocabulary. From the vocabulary discussions, the children are encouraged to talk in their native language about their own experience with such a word or concept. They then sing the song together and further discuss how the words or concepts apply to the song. After the children master the tone and the words of the song, Mrs. Fung adds a game or a little dance that goes with the song so that the children develop a physical sense of the concept or meaning of the words. After the children have plenty of fun acting out the dance or the game, Mrs. Fung leads a discussion on how they felt about the games and what new things or feelings they have learned about the words through the actions. The concept is further reinforced by the drawing activity which usually follows the games. Very often, their drawings turn out to be a "writing" experience for the children since they express their own thoughts and stories.
on paper, adding simple English words that explained their stories. In other words, Mrs. Fung uses the students’ drawing as a developmental tool for writing.

Indeed, teaching language through songs and activities has been regarded as one of the most powerful Language-Experience Activities. According to Curtain & Pesola (1988) the linkage of language with songs and physical actions can be located in the target language (English) to bring concepts and common expression to life for children and to add a cultural dimension to the lesson. The Chinese children here learn English through a shared language experience enabling them to share their songs with their English-speaking counterparts. Furthermore, it is important that the children learn English in a meaningful and interesting environment. According to Trueba and other researchers, language acquisition takes place most effectively when the input is comprehensible to the learner. Curtain & Pesola also suggest that acquisition takes place best in a setting in which meaning is negotiated through interaction, so that the student has influence on the message being communicated. This was what Mrs. Fung encourages in her class. Children discuss (in either language) about the English rhymes they sing, talk about the pictures that they draw, or the books they read.

In terms of teaching the Chinese language, Mrs. Fung believes in first developing the students’ verbal ability at their early age and gradually introducing them to the written words. Since there are very few language books written for Chinese students in America, when it came to teaching reading and writing in Chinese, Mrs. Fung usually teaches with the simple children’s poems or folktales. However, at the kindergarten level, she does not expect them to get to the advanced reading and writing stage. She would rather introduce separate Chinese characters instead of teaching them to read long sentences or passages. At this level, Mrs. Fung emphasizes the children’s ability to write the English alphabet and the Arabic numbers rather than Chinese characters, because the latter is difficult to pick up. However, she encourages the develop-
ment of Chinese language through verbal expressions of different subjects. She constantly encourages the children to express their interpretation of certain concepts, words, or stories in Chinese. She also includes Chinese children's songs in their singing activities, and traditional Chinese folklore during their story-time. She normally teaches one Chinese character per day to the students and uses flash-cards to reinforce the characters learned over the period. When the data bank of the students becomes rich enough, Mrs. Fung will demonstrate how to tie the characters together to make simple sentences. Yet, this is merely a long-term goal from her perspective and it was up to individual children to fulfill it.

SUMMARY

Were the goals and expectations of bilingual education fulfilled in this classroom? The noticeable improvement of the students indicates that the goals and expectations were fulfilled. The children became increasingly interested in exploring knowledge on their own, and grew to accept and incorporate both the Chinese and American culture in their identity. The children improved in their language development, in their cognitive skills, and in their attitudes toward learning. They were reading more books on their own and were more and more expressive about telling stories from their reading. As their drawings became more detailed, the stories that go with these drawings became more complicated. They kept asking Mrs. Fung for new words (in both English and Chinese) to enrich the descriptions of their stories. They were anxious to learn how to write their names and other simple English words. In their content area lessons, they became more daring in suggesting new topics to explore, raising more questions about one another's comments. Their discussions became more and more student-directed.

The experience with this teacher provides evidence that good bilingual teaching methods are in fact good teaching methods to implement in any classroom. These practices coincide with much of the current research on language development and teaching strategies as shown in the foregoing sections. Provided that the teacher has a clear goal of being a facilitator, offering chances for student to explore and expand on topics of their interest and creating an enriching environment for language development, children can benefit a great deal within a short period of time. Good teaching strategies and high expectations for students are essential elements for their advancement. Given time and encouragement, even K-1 students with limited literacy skills in either language can learn to read and write on their own. As a positive side-effect of the implementation of such teaching methods, this particular group of students were trained to hold discussions on their own, which is a very atypical and anti-traditional practice in Chinese culture. This has served as a first step
the children take in the acculturation process into the American mainstream classroom.

What about the future? It is appropriate to state Mrs. Fung's hope for the Chinese bilingual program. She hoped that in the near future, the Chinese bilingual program could be expanded not only as a transitional program, but rather as a continuation of the teaching of the Chinese language and culture in other forms in higher level institutions. Particularly, she would like to see that Chinese be offered as a choice for foreign language study in all high schools just as the teaching of French and Spanish has been. She would like to give her students a purpose for learning their own language and culture in the elementary level, and a choice to further develop their own language skills as they grow up. It is clear that if society can provide such a choice, the bilingual teachers will not get comments from elementary students like, "It's no use learning Chinese," or "My parents feel ashamed because I am in the bilingual program." If society can provide such a choice, the bilingual teachers will have a solid ground to help students outgrow the fear and the inferior feeling of being who they are, and most importantly, who they can become.
Implementation of TBE

The Transitional Bilingual Education Act was written at the onset of the bilingual movement of the 20th century. In 1971, except for isolated programs in Florida, New Mexico, and Texas, there were no examples of how to carry out bilingual programs. The implementation of bilingual education in Massachusetts during the last twenty years has evolved from a compensatory program serving large numbers of Spanish-speaking students to a program that seeks quality and serves more than 20 linguistic groups with different goals, needs and resources. These adjustments have been made in the context of the law and with careful consideration as to what is good education.

FLEXIBILITY WITHIN TBE

The schools we visited have developed programs with diverse characteristics in response to differences in the number of students, the specific languages, the availability of personnel and materials, the intended length of time in the United States, and the wishes of the parents. Communities with large numbers of students who speak the same language at each grade level have developed self-contained bilingual classes at the various grade levels. Where the numbers are smaller, more than one grade level forms a class. Close involvement and cooperation from the English speaking staff is required where the numbers are large but the bilingual staff is scarce or where there are only a few students per grade level. Each particular language offers a different challenge. Spanish is a language widely spoken in this country and materials are plentiful. Newspaper, radio and television use it. Many Spanish-speaking people travel frequently to their place of origin or are visited by family. Therefore children are constantly exposed to the oral and written form and find it a functional language.

Chinese-, Japanese-, and Khmer-speaking children do not enjoy as much exposure to their mother tongues in the United States, and written materials in those languages are harder to find. Therefore it is harder to motivate the students to fully develop those languages.
Perhaps the greatest influence on what actually happens in a bilingual program is the attitude of the parents and of the community. At the Rundberg school, parents felt strongly that their children should be functionally bilinguals. They want their children to continue to participate in the bilingual program.

*Children in this country learn English first thing. I don’t want her to forget her culture. I want her to be able to speak with the family, my mother. My older children, without bilingual, are embarrassed to speak with my parents.*

...Mother of a 6th grader

In the other communities, although they felt it was important to use the native language to facilitate learning, they felt less strongly about the full development of the native language. This was true even among the Japanese parents who are in the U.S. for a temporary stay only. Although they don’t want their children to get behind academically, they see this as an opportunity for their children to acquire English and a sense of internationalization. The type of program developed by the Lawrence school is consistent with their goals.

The programs we analyzed range from a fully developed bilingual self-contained program at the Rundberg school to a program totally integrated with the English program at the Lawrence. They all, however, provided a full curriculum for their students making use of both languages, the native language and English. Regardless of the model, all of these programs were fully accepted by the school. Where personnel, materials or number of children made the situation difficult, rather than give up, school personnel rounded up their resources to create a viable program that offered a full curriculum and that used the language of the children and respected their culture.

In spite of their differences, all of these programs are consistent with the main points of the Transitional Bilingual Education Act of 1971:

1. participation in the educational system
2. use of the native language for instruction
3. acquisition of content areas
4. acquisition of first- and second-language literacy
5. acquisition of English
6. integration with the rest of the school
7. communication with the community

The law is flexible enough to accommodate the varied circumstances present in Massachusetts classrooms. With this law and the willingness of school districts, a variety of sound educational programs can be provided for children of diverse language backgrounds. What the law does not allow is the choice of doing nothing for these students.
In the past 20 years, TBE programs have become an integral part of the Massachusetts educational system. Their long-term influence is moving the state to increase the awareness of mainstream programs of the presence of linguistic minorities in the State system and to develop "Two-way" programs which offer bilingual education for both native speakers of English as well as linguistic minority children.

Some educators, although supporting bilingual education, may negatively view this lack of uniformity in the structure of the programs. Uniformity is not necessarily evidence of quality. This paper demonstrates that diversity emanating from communities' needs and goals can go hand-in-hand with compliance with the law as well as with good education.

If we analyze what they have done, we can show that it is consistent with the research that as been done since the law was written.

1. Spanish-speaking persons especially Puerto Ricans are best off being functional bilinguals. (National Puerto Rican Task Force on Educational Policy, 1977)
2. Content area is an optimal medium for introduction of a second language. (Chamot & O'Mally, 1987)
3. Using the native culture is more than just teaching about the national heroes. It means using the knowledge the students have to interpret the new culture. (Heath, 1983)
4. It takes Chinese children up to six years to learn the basic characters of the language. Using a phonetic system simultaneously with introduction of the characters facilitates literacy acquisition. (Liu, 1976)
5. It is important to take advantage of both languages for cognitive and second-language development. (Hudelson, 1989)

QUALITY OF TEACHERS AND TEACHING

Some of the teachers we observed were of the same ethnolinguistic group as the children; others were Anglo teachers who had acquired the language of the children. In one case, the teacher was not bilingual, but worked in a symbiotic relation with a bilingual teacher. Regardless of the circumstances and the characteristics of the programs, all the teachers who were observed did an outstanding job, helped or hampered by the circumstances. Some of the characteristics that these teachers shared are noted below.

(a) They have a strong sense of commitment and advocacy. They accept responsibility for their students. They are always on guard to insure that the system does not harm the students and that everything is done
so that they receive the best possible service. For example, Susan Fung follows up on "high risk" students once they have left the elementary school. Whenever they get into trouble she is there to rescue them. John Lawrence is always ready to fight policies, such as unfair testing time, which he feels are detrimental to his students.

(b) Their work goes beyond just teaching.
They are involved in policy in their school and other programs. They constantly serve as brokers: between parents and the school, between their students and other children, as well as between bilingual children and English-speaking teachers. They develop summer programs, work at improving curricula, develop materials and any other thing they think will improve the situation of their students. Mrs. Schwalb and Mrs. Vy Yeng together provide a bridge between the school and community. Mrs. Schwalb translates the American education system to the Cambodian community through Mrs. Vy Yeng, while the latter brings the Cambodian perspective to the school. Susan Fung sets up inter-class activities for bilingual children to go visit English-speaking classes and vice versa.

(c) They care a great deal for their students.
They make an effort to know each individual student. Through their teaching and their counseling, they hope to make a difference in the lives of these students. When we visited Mr. Lawrence he was particularly concerned with a child whose parents had recently separated, leaving the mother and the children in very precarious conditions. Mrs. Shirahama knows well each one of the 60 students in the program and is always there to support them during crises and to help them get ahead.

(d) They have a good understanding of the background of their students.
There is always close contact with the community and parents. They reach out to parents rather than wait for them to come to school. Charles Skidmore carefully weaves the students' cultural background with the introduction of American themes. He explains the new culture through the lenses of his students' own experience.

(e) They have high expectations for the students.
The curriculum content and the demands made on their students show that they are confident that their students can do well. Susan Fung trusts her young kindergarten students to be able to learn to read in English as well as to develop their thinking skills and knowledge through Chinese. Charles Skidmore's advanced ESL students are getting ready to enter college. His curriculum reflects the high hopes he has for his students.
Their teaching focuses on learning first, on learning language second. Their goals for their students are not limited to improving their English or native language skills. The main goal is to develop knowledge in general. These teachers allow for expression in either language as long as the students are learning the content. This is true for the teachers who are bilingual and for those who are not. In John Lawrence’s class, the students choose the language in which they do science reports or any other form of writing. In Mrs. Schwalb’s class, children produce books in Khmer and English, even though Mrs. Schwalb doesn’t speak Khmer.

In sum, these teachers have made a tremendous personal commitment to their students, their community, and their cultural background. These teachers, through their methodology and curriculum, demonstrate that they keep up with educational research and innovation and bring it to the bilingual program. A very important additional factor is that these teachers work in schools that support their work. In some cases, the support means allowing the teachers to make their own decisions and carry them out. In other cases, the whole school cooperates with the teacher towards the education of the bilingual students.
Conclusion

In the last 20 years, bilingual education in Massachusetts has matured. Because of TBE, linguistic minorities have become accustomed to going to school and finishing rather than dropping out as it happened when the "sink or swim" approach was prevalent. Enlightened schools, as the ones we have studied, welcome and value their presence and rise to the challenge of educating children of diverse language backgrounds within the mandates of the law, rather than fight the law.

In the last few years, opponents of the law have attacked it as being inflexible, thus proposing that individual school districts should decide what kind of education they want to provide for their linguistic minority populations. The most extreme want it eliminated altogether, thus bringing us back to the times when entire generations of immigrants never finished their schooling. These opponents of bilingual education have as their main goal to teach children English even if it comes at the cost of their education.

A better solution is to follow the example of these exemplary programs. They have respected the main principles of the law—as discussed above—but have evolved their implementation to fit the needs and goals of the communities.

Above all, these programs have never rejected the language and culture of the students and have put successful education as the main overall goal of their program.


