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Mainstreaming the Marginalized: Secondary Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions of ESL Students

Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs

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MAINSTREAMING THE MARGINALIZED: SECONDARY MAINSTREAM

TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF ESL STUDENTS

by

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A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the
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for the degree of
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1999
This dissertation, submitted by Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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This dissertation meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

Harvey Kuhl
Dean of the Graduate School

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Title Mainstreaming the Marginalized: Secondary Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions of ESL Students

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study focused on the following question: What are the perceptions and experiences of mainstream classroom teachers working with ESL students in their regular, content area classrooms? There are increasing numbers of ESL students entering mainstream classrooms. Unfortunately, most mainstream teachers often are not trained to teach ESL students.

This study was conducted in a Great Plains community. It began with a district-wide survey to profile the typical mainstream teachers' experience with ESL students. Then, eight mainstream teachers were recruited for a series of intensive interviews, and interviews of three ESL administrator/teachers also were conducted.

The survey showed that district teachers currently were teaching 2 to 3 ESL students and had taught an average of 11.2 ESL students during the past six years. Their students came from diverse countries. Survey data from the eight interviewed teachers were compared to the district-wide data and revealed that the experiences of interviewed teachers were similar to those of the typical district teacher.
Interviews revealed that teachers worked within a context of marginalization. ESL students were marginalized within the school; mainstream teachers were marginally prepared in ESL pedagogy; and the ESL program/teacher had a marginal status in the school. Within this context, mainstream teachers felt a time bind in meeting diverse student needs; they were unclear about expectations for ESL students; and teachers wanted more collaboration with the ESL program/teacher. Teachers felt they lacked voice in affecting change.

The study concludes with recommendations for schools and future research. Teachers suggested that there should be regular orientation sessions, mentors for ESL students, special cultural events, pre-service training in ESL, a full-time ESL teacher/staff, clarification of expectations for ESL students, and improved collaboration between mainstream and ESL teachers. Future research should examine whether these results would differ where there are more ESL students, the ESL students come from more (or less) diverse backgrounds, and there is a well-funded ESL program. Such research could help all students to flourish in American schools.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Diversity and multicultural education have long been discussed in the educational literature. These issues are attracting even more attention today because there has been a major increase in the number of students in American schools who do not speak English as their first or native language. Researchers tell us that these numbers will continue to increase in the future (Clair, 1995; Faltis & Hudelson, 1994; Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987). Often these new students and their families are forced to leave their native countries because of violence and political unrest. Once they are displaced from their homelands, they have few options but to spend time in refugee camps established to help people during this critical time in their lives. Families must decide what to do next, and many decide to escape to other countries to try to start new lives.

Many families arrive in the United States with high hopes for a better future. Upon arrival in this country, families typically meet for assistance with social service agencies or churches. The ESL coordinator helps families enroll their children in the appropriate elementary or secondary schools and then the children begin the discovery
of what it is like to be a foreign student in an American school. They also confront the challenge of learning in a language other than their native tongue. Across the nation, some of these students will spend time in programs for bilingual education or in English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, and most of these students will sooner or later move into mainstream classrooms and interact with mainstream teachers. This is where my research begins. The following discussion identifies my research question, the purpose of my study, limitations, key terminology, and the study's significance.

Research Question

I have long been interested in ESL in the secondary school system. After repeated, on-site visits with an ESL teacher in 1995, I became sensitive to challenges that the ESL students face in moving out of the ESL classroom environment into the mainstream classroom setting. I also learned of some of the frustrations mainstream teachers experience as they, too, help with these transitions. From this experience, I developed the following research question: What are the perceptions and experiences of mainstream classroom teachers working with ESL students in their regular, content area classrooms?

Purpose of the Study

Identifying the purpose of a study has a number of significant implications. Evertson and Green (1988) suggest
that "the purpose of the observation influences what is observed, how it is observed, who gets observed, when observation takes place, where it takes place, how observations are recorded, what observations are recorded, how data are analyzed, and how data are used" (p. 163). So, I began my study with a clear purpose, but I also tried to avoid over specifying my purpose for fear it would limit what I might discover in the setting.

The purpose of my research was simply to explore the perceptions and experiences of mainstream teachers as they worked with ESL students. I was interested in those teachers who instructed regular, content area classes that included one or more students whose first language was not English (i.e., ESL students). I wanted to gain the insider's perceptions of what it was like to teach such a linguistically and culturally diverse class.

Methodology

My design focused on middle/junior high school teachers in a midwestern city of about 80,000 people. This city did not have a large population of ESL students, but, as in many parts of the United States, the numbers of ESL students had been rising. The ethnic backgrounds of ESL students in the studied community were varied, including students from Bosnia, Korea, Japan, Africa, countries that were part of the former U.S.S.R., Kurdistan, Somalia, Viet Nam, and Serbia. This variety made it challenging to integrate the many
distinct customs, religions, histories, and languages associated with these countries. Such diversity among ESL students added to the challenge of successfully teaching in mainstream classrooms that already contained diversity in social class, gender, and special needs. The challenge was especially intense at the middle/junior high level where difference was not always seen as positive.

My research began with a district-wide survey of all the middle/junior high school teachers in this community. This survey provided information on the general demographics and teaching experiences of the mainstream teachers in three separate middle/junior high school buildings. Many of the survey questions focused specifically on the amount and variety of experiences these teachers had had in teaching ESL students in regular, content area classes. These results provided a context for interpreting the data from the next stage of my design.

The next stage of the design went to the heart of my effort to understand the perceptions and experiences of mainstream teachers teaching ESL students. I chose to do in-depth interviews of teachers in one school building. The school was selected because I already had gained access to the setting during a prior qualitative study of the school's ESL teacher and felt that this would give me important background information on the ESL program and how it related to mainstream teachers. To select mainstream teachers, the
surveys distributed in this building included a request for those teachers with experience in teaching ESL students to volunteer for three taped, in-depth interviews. I selected and interviewed eight teachers from the volunteers and also interviewed three ESL administrator/teachers.

The data from these interviews were transcribed, reviewed, and categorized. Several major themes gradually emerged during this qualitative data analysis process. These will be described in detail in the Results and Discussion chapters.

Limitations

My intent in this study was to spend enough time with teachers in their school setting to enable me to gain some insight into the structure of their viewpoints. Thus, the interview data for this research came from a limited number of teachers in one middle/junior high school to which I could easily gain access over the period of an entire academic year. The teachers volunteered for my study and were not necessarily representative of the school, nor was the school necessarily representative of the district, and, of course, the district was not necessarily representative of districts nation-wide.

This study, however, did take the unusual step in qualitative research of collecting survey data both from other teachers in the selected school and from teachers throughout the selected district to provide some
understanding of the extent to which the interviewed teachers were similar or dissimilar to their colleagues. As will be discussed in the Results chapter, the interviewed teachers turned out to be similar in attitudes and experiences to their colleagues throughout the district's three middle/junior high school buildings. Thus, the survey provided context for my more in-depth understanding of teachers' perceptions and experiences and some basis to hope that the themes that emerged in this study will provide a useful framework for other researchers and for teachers in the field as they attempt to further understand the complex interactions of mainstream teachers and ESL students.

Definition of Terms

Three sets of terms are key to this study, those associated with the mainstream teacher, the ESL student, and the ESL teacher. The mainstream teacher is a teacher whose primary training has been in one or more of the traditional subject areas, such as English, math, science, social studies, physical education, music, auto mechanics, or foreign languages, and who teaches these subject areas in English. This excludes teachers who have received their primary training in various specialty areas such as ESL, special education, or counseling.

There is some debate (Cummins & Cameron, 1994; Penfield, 1987) over the use of the term, mainstream. Cummins and Cameron note that in some "mainstream" classrooms today, the
majority of the students are students whose native language is not English, so they are really the mainstream. However, this treats the concept of mainstream as a purely statistical term rather than as a term that describes the content and the primary language of the identified classroom. Penfield (1987) avoids the term, "mainstream," because she believes it implies a pejorative status for those classrooms and students who are, by process of elimination, non mainstream. She uses the term, "regular classroom," and defines the regular classroom as "a setting in which subject matter and literacy skills are taught entirely in English and the majority of the students are native speakers of English" (p. 21). However, the term, "regular," implies that those classrooms that are not regular are irregular, a rather pejorative status, as well. Perhaps, a slightly better term is regular, content area teacher because it shifts some of the focus to content. (ESL teachers also are concerned with content but their unique concern is language.) Thus, I will use the terms, mainstream teacher and regular, content area teacher, interchangeably, but I will most often use the term, mainstream teacher, because it is less cumbersome and much more frequently used in the literature.

The second set of terms associated with the focus of my study refers to students who do not speak English as their native language. These students are referred to by many different names, such as ESL (English as a Second Language)
students, LM or LMS (Language Minority) students, LEP (Limited English Proficient) students, and L2 (Second Language) students. An ESL or English as a Second Language student is defined generally as a student who speaks a language other than English as his or her first language. The term can be used in a very broad sense to include any student whose native language is something other than English and who is just beginning or, perhaps, is well on the way to learning English. It can also include students (e.g., some American Indian students) whose first language may be English, but whose language is substantially influenced by a second language. But the term is sometimes used in a more narrow, bureaucratic sense within some school systems to refer only to those students formally associated with the school's ESL program.

Many other terms are also applied to students who essentially fit the ESL definition above. For example, LM describes a student who speaks a language other than English as his or her first language and who is not proficient in English (Scarcella, 1990, p. 181). In this sense, the student is in the Language Minority in classes where English is used. LEP stands for Limited English Proficient and refers essentially to the same group of students described by the term, ESL (Scarcella, 1990, p. 33). It is a term that is often used in official government reports to describe students who speak a language other than English as their
first language (Arias & Casanova, 1993, p. 252). However, the term can be seen as a negative term because it focuses on what the student cannot do, speak English proficiently. I prefer to use the terms, ESL student and Language Minority student, because I find these terms to be more positive, and will most often use the term, ESL student, because that is the most widely used term by researchers, schools, professional associations, and commercial publishers to describe non-native, English-speaking students.

The third and final set of terms refers to teachers who teach ESL students. Actually, in this case, there is primarily one term, ESL teacher. The ESL teacher is a teacher who specializes in teaching ESL students, many times, in separate pull-out programs (Milk, 1993). She or he teaches the ESL students English and also some content areas. ESL students are put into this class if their English skills are not well developed, and they need extra help. Usually students stay in an ESL class for one to two years. Once their English skills have improved a little, the students are put into one or more mainstream classes, but they may also continue to take some course work in the ESL class. This approach to language learning contrasts with bilingual education where students not fluent in English due to the substantial influence of another language at home (e.g., American Indian children) or to the use of a native language
other than English are taught content in a language they best understand (Arias & Casanova, 1993; Crawford, 1993).

Significance of the Study

As noted, the number of ESL students in U.S. schools is likely to increase significantly over the next decade (Clair, 1995; Merino & Faltis, 1993), and many mainstream classroom teachers can expect to have ESL students in their regular, content area classrooms. Unfortunately, most mainstream teachers have not been adequately prepared through pre-service teacher education programs to work with ESL students (Clair, 1995). This has created a situation where teachers face complex student needs without proper training. Therefore, it is important to get the mainstream teachers' perceptions of their teaching experiences with ESL students in order to understand more fully what is happening in these classrooms.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Over the last two to three decades there has been a tremendous expansion of interest in teaching English to K-12 students who speak other languages. This interest has triggered the emergence of entire educational specialties including ESL (English as a Second Language) and bilingual education. There are numerous journals, books, CDs, publishers' catalogs, professional associations, and conferences dedicated to these topics. Most of this material has focused on ESL pedagogy for the ESL teacher. Comparatively little attention has been given to the mainstream teacher who has ESL students in his or her regular, content area classroom, but many ESL students will be spending most, if not all, of their time with mainstream, not ESL, teachers (Clair, 1995; Young, 1996). Thus, the focus of the present study is on the mainstream teacher and that teacher's perceptions of ESL students.

ESL and bilingual education were spurred by funding from the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Collier, 1985). This act was passed in response to concerns about the performance of students whose native language was not English. Further
development of ESL programs occurred as a result of a Supreme Court decision, *Lau v. Nichols* (1974). The Court ruled that Chinese students in San Francisco were not receiving an equal educational opportunity compared with other native English-speaking students.

This decision had an immediate impact on the growth of bilingual education. The Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974 gave legislative backing to the *Lau v. Nichols* decision, spreading its application to districts across the nation. Administrative muscle was added by the Office of Civil Rights.

These legal and administrative actions reflected the changing demographics of U.S. schools. Clair (1995) reported a 51.3% increase in the population of K-12 ESL students between 1985 and 1991. The 1990 Census showed 2 million Limited English Proficient (LEP) students (Merino & Faltis, 1993). Based on information from the *United States Congressional Record* (1989), Clair notes that "the ESL student population will be increasing at two and a half times the rate of the general student population" (p. 189).

The laws and policies triggered by demographic changes generally focus on supporting specialized ESL programs in the public schools. These programs are designed to give ESL students initial training in English and to cover certain content areas in a setting separate from the mainstream classroom. As students gain some mastery of English, many
are scheduled into one or more mainstream classrooms. Often, within a short time, these ESL students are spending significant amounts of time in the regular classroom. However, because it takes several years before non-native English speakers gain a full mastery of English, these students are still likely to be challenged linguistically as they interact with the teacher and with other students in the mainstream classroom (Cummins, 1993).

In looking through the ESL literature, I found many references to teaching ESL students (Arias & Casanova, 1993; Crawford, 1993; Freeman & Freeman, 1992). The main focus of these articles has been on "how to teach" and on "what to teach." The majority were written for and by ESL teachers who had been trained to teach in separate or pull-out ESL programs. Many fewer articles have addressed mainstream teachers teaching ESL students, but these teachers have not been entirely overlooked.

The literature on mainstream teachers and ESL students includes both general commentaries and research articles. The commentaries call attention to the increasing numbers of ESL students that are likely to appear in mainstream classrooms (Clarke, 1994), the importance of the mainstream teacher in the education of the ESL student (Clarke, 1994; Young, 1996), the need to provide training in ESL for mainstream teachers (Clarke, 1994; Statham, 1995; Young, 1996), and the need to restructure the classroom
significantly if it is to truly value diversity (Cummins, 1997). Finally, Law and Eckes (1990) provide the only substantial pedagogical guide that I could find that was designed specifically for mainstream teachers who teach ESL students. Thus, for the most part, these commentaries are a call to arms about the need to better understand the role of mainstream teachers in teaching ESL students.

In addition, a body of research that lays the foundation for such an understanding is beginning to emerge. However, the research is rather limited in quantity (Clair, 1995; Constantino, 1994; Harklau, 1994; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Markham, Green, & Ross, 1996; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997), given the wide variety of issues to be addressed. In addition, the research has gone in several different directions focusing only briefly on a variety of different aspects of the mainstream teacher/ESL student relationship.

For example, Lucas et al. (1990) focused on schools that they believed were particularly successful at integrating Language Minority students (primarily Hispanic students). They conducted five in-depth case studies of such schools to determine what made these schools successful. This study is unique in its effort to provide a school-wide perspective on the relationships of mainstream teachers and Language Minority students.
Studies by Markham et al. (1996) and Constantino (1994) focused on comparing ESL teachers with mainstream teachers. Specifically, Markham et al. surveyed ESL teachers, mainstream teachers, and even special education teachers in an attempt to understand what these teachers found stressful about their jobs and how they coped with their stresses. Constantino conducted interviews of five mainstream and six ESL teachers to compare their knowledge of language development issues.

Two other studies focused just on the ESL student. Harklau (1994) followed four ESL students as they took both ESL and mainstream classes in order to compare these students' experiences as they transitioned from one type of class to another. Platt and Troudi (1997) focused in depth on just one ESL student to see how that student interacted with the teacher and the student's peers to construct a social setting within the classroom.

Finally, two studies (Clair, 1995; Penfield, 1987) focused just on the mainstream teacher. Clair interviewed three mainstream teachers about their views of in-service training in ESL pedagogy. Penfield administered a short questionnaire with roughly a dozen open-ended questions to 162 New Jersey mainstream teachers attending an in-service workshop. She analyzed teachers' responses to these questions to assess their perceptions of ESL students. In fact, Penfield is the only author I could find who did a
study bearing directly on the central focus of the present study. But before exploring this specific topic further, I will summarize what I believe to be the key issues addressed by the authors of the commentaries and research articles that I have just identified.

At least five sets of observations and findings have emerged in the literature discussing mainstream teachers and ESL students. These include the following: (1) Mainstream and ESL teachers face different challenges in teaching ESL students; (2) the traditional structure of the mainstream classroom may be especially problematic for ESL students; (3) mainstream teachers lack necessary training in ESL pedagogy; (4) the ESL student faces both advantages and disadvantages in the mainstream classroom; and (5) little is known about mainstream teachers' perceptions of ESL students, but what is known suggests that teachers' perceptions are often contradictory and potentially disabling to the ESL student. Each of these topics will be discussed in depth below.

Comparing Mainstream and ESL Teachers

Studies comparing the mainstream teacher with the ESL teacher have confirmed that mainstream and ESL teachers and classrooms do differ and that there are different stresses associated with teaching non-ESL and ESL students (Markham et al., 1996). According to a study by Markham et al., the ESL classroom is separate from the rest of the school, and
this both isolates the ESL students and provides them with a safe haven. The ESL teacher focuses primarily on teaching English along with some content area material. He or she tends not to feel well prepared in a given content area. However, the ESL teacher's main worry is how well ESL students will do when they move into the mainstream. Because it takes a long time to learn abstract, academic English used in the classroom (Cummins, 1993), ESL teachers feel stressed by the pressure to get their students up to academic standards. Constantino (1994) found that some ESL teachers, unfortunately, are not serving as great role models for how to teach ESL. Even though ESL teachers are trained in second language acquisition, they often do not follow practices consistent with their own training.

The primary focus of mainstream teachers is on content (Markham et al., 1996). The material being covered in the mainstream classroom is part of the school's central curriculum obligation. Therefore, mainstream classes are likely to be valued more than ESL classes even by the ESL students. The biggest concern for the mainstream teacher is how to teach a large class and keep things under control, but mainstream teachers, like ESL teachers, also are very stressed about how they are going to prepare ESL students for the general school system.

In light of the differing demands in mainstream and ESL classrooms and the lack of modeling from ESL teachers, it is
not surprising that mainstream teachers do not understand the ESL teacher's role. First, mainstream teachers really do not know or understand what it is that ESL teachers are supposed to do (Penfield, 1987). Mainstream teachers think that the responsibility for the ESL students should be the ESL teacher's (Constantino, 1994; Penfield, 1987). Penfield also found that some mainstream teachers do not think that they should be spending time in their classrooms teaching English. Apparently, many mainstream teachers feel that most issues dealing with ESL students and language learning should be handled only by the ESL teacher.

However, this feeling runs contrary to reality. While ESL students are in the mainstream classroom, they are the responsibility of the mainstream teacher. Furthermore, the presence of ESL students may call for the mainstream teacher to make significant modifications in classroom structure.

Classroom Structure

The mainstream teacher needs to be especially sensitive to the importance of classroom structure for ESL students (Penfield, 1987). It is important for the mainstream teacher to look at classroom interaction from a socio-linguistic perspective to determine patterns of behavior and roles that language plays in the classroom (Platt & Troudi, 1997). The classroom is a community with its own norms that teachers and students co-construct through the activities and speech that take place there (Platt & Troudi, 1997).
The ESL student may not flourish within the traditional structure that teachers and non-ESL students construct in most regular, content area classrooms across the nation (Penfield, 1987). Freire (1993) described this more traditional approach to teaching as the "banking approach." The teacher is at the front of the class asking all of the questions and depositing information into the heads of listening students for later withdrawal. It is a teacher-centered, rather than a student-centered, approach to teaching. And, while it may be a less than desirable approach for any student, it is especially problematic for ESL students.

Penfield (1987) argued that the way the mainstream teacher sets up the classroom plays a major role in how well ESL students do in American schools and that ESL students do better in student-centered classrooms. Penfield suggested that ESL students do best in classrooms that are well organized and that have lots of activities that encourage students to participate in class and to practice their interpersonal skills. The second language acquisition (SLA) literature shows that ESL students, in particular, need to be directly involved in listening to and in talking with both their peers and their teachers (Constantino, 1994; Harklau, 1994). As Platt and Troudi (1997) noted, language learning is a process, not a product, and the more students can get
involved in classroom discussions, the more that they will learn.

Vygotsky's (1986) concept, the Zone of Proximal Development, describes the process of language learning. According to Vygotsky, teachers should begin with what students can perform on their own and move students, with help, to where students can perform new activities. This means that teachers need to start where students, such as ESL students, are and then assist them through guided performance to build on these abilities in order to reach a higher level of proficiency. In this way, teachers can help ESL students get to the next higher level of performance (Platt & Troudi, 1997). This approach emphasizes individualized attention in order to uncover students' current abilities, as well as interaction with others so that ESL students can build on their abilities by hearing and practicing English. In other words, it suggests a classroom structure based on cooperative learning (Platt & Troudi, 1997).

For mainstream teachers facing large classes, the notion that they need to modify the classroom structure for the needs of ESL students is likely to meet with some resistance. This may explain the somewhat schizophrenic response of mainstream teachers to the mainstreaming of ESL students. While many mainstream teachers believe that it is better to mainstream than to isolate ESL students, these same teachers are concerned about mainstreaming (Penfield, 1987). For
example, Penfield found that the teachers are concerned that the individualized attention required by ESL students makes it difficult for teachers to meet the needs of the non-ESL students in class. Other teachers do not even see a need for changing the structure of the classroom (Clair, 1995).

In addition, Cummins (1997) argued that some of the resistance to diversity and to ESL in the American classroom reflects a desire to protect the current distribution of power. He also suggested that mainstream classrooms, teachers, curriculum, administrators, and society represent the White, male, Christian American status quo, a world that is threatened by diversity. This is why, according to Harklau (1994), ESL services are often very makeshift—they threaten a school system that is geared toward serving the mainstream student, so it is best not to allocate too many resources to these services. In sum, instead of changing the system, we are trying to change the student to fit the system (Clarke, 1994).

According to Cummins (1997), mainstream teachers need to see diversity as a positive addition to the classroom. However, before such a shift in perspective can take place, it is likely that many mainstream teachers and school administrators will need to be exposed to substantial pre- and in-service training regarding SLA and cultural sensitivity.
Training

Unfortunately, few mainstream teachers have been prepared to address the linguistic challenges and cultural differences present in diverse classrooms (Clair, 1995; Constantino, 1994; Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997; Statham, 1995; Wong-Fillmore & Meyer, 1992; Young, 1996). For example, a Teachers' Language Skills Survey done in 1980-81 (O'Malley & Waggoner, 1984) discovered that half of all public school teachers had LEP (Limited English Proficient) students in their classes, but only 6% of these teachers had taken a course in how to teach LEP students. Similarly, Gollnick (1992) found that many pre-service teachers were unprepared to adequately teach culturally and linguistically diverse school populations.

So, teachers are often facing challenges for which they are not formally prepared. Most mainstream teachers have had no training in second language acquisition, and they really do not know exactly what to do with ESL students. However, as Handscombe (1989) described it, "every teacher is an English-as-a-second-language teacher, whether assigned that function or not" (p. 12).

This is of concern for both the teachers and their students. Crawford (1993) argued that "many teachers do not have the strategies or comfort level for teaching culturally different or English second language (ESL) students" (p. 7). Erickson (1988) noted that miscommunication based on cultural
differences can create adversarial relationships. According to Erickson, "When students act in ways that do not match the classroom teacher's cultural expectations, the children's behavior can be perceived by teachers as frustrating, confusing, and sometimes frightening" (p. 135).

Without an understanding of ESL pedagogy, there is the temptation for mainstream teachers (and the general public) to assume that anyone who is caring and who speaks English can teach ESL students. However, Young (1996) emphasized that sensitivity and awareness are not enough. In fact, Constantino (1994) found that following appropriate ESL pedagogy is hard even for ESL teachers. These teachers fall back on their American, middle-class interaction styles despite the diversity of students in their ESL classrooms. If it is hard to do it right with training, the likelihood of doing it right without training seems slim.

In addition, lack of training means mainstream teachers can suffer from a variety of misconceptions about the relationship between content area learning and language learning (Statham, 1995; Young, 1996). For example, Constantino (1994) and Penfield (1987) found that mainstream teachers do not understand that they are teaching language skills as they teach content. Penfield suggested that mainstream teachers need to appreciate that the best way to teach content to ESL students is by integrating content and everyday language so that students will be learning authentic
language from other students while also learning content. According to Constantino, mainstream teachers do not understand that the mainstream classroom is one of the best places for ESL students to learn English, to begin to integrate into American society, to continue learning content, and, finally, to hear English spoken by their peers while also trying to speak English.

Furthermore, as Statham (1995) noted, teachers need to realize that ESL students can learn content even before they have totally mastered English and that they do not need to be fluent in English before they are put into the mainstream classroom. No ESL student can afford to stop learning content because that will put the student behind in his or her academic development.

Finally, training should help mainstream teachers to be more aware of some of the adjustments they need to make for ESL students. Some adjustments are perhaps obvious, such as the need to modify terminology on a test, but other adjustments are often more subtle. Harklau (1994) found, for example, that mainstream teachers often fail to adjust their use of jokes and sarcasm so that their ESL students can understand their presentations. Mainstream teachers also need to adjust to the many different cultural perspectives and value systems represented by ESL students and their families (Penfield, 1987).
Fortunately, Constantino (1994) and Penfield (1987) found that teachers, themselves, realize that they lack training in ESL and that they desire more background knowledge. Unfortunately, Clair (1995) found that most teachers do not find in-service training in ESL that helpful. Teachers also find this type of training too time-consuming. Instead, they want a few techniques or quick fixes that they can use and move on.

But quick fixes are not enough. Training should include knowledge of language development issues, cultural sensitivity, and information on helpful teaching materials (Penfield, 1987). One of the best books that I have found for helping mainstream teachers to effectively teach ESL students in the mainstream classroom is Law and Eckes' (1990) book, The More-Than-Just-Surviving Handbook: ESL for Every Classroom Teacher. This book offers very practical information and suggestions for mainstream teachers who have ESL students in their regular, content area classrooms.

Finally, training for the mainstream teacher should include training in how best to collaborate with the ESL teacher (Statham, 1995). Markham et al. (1996) and Penfield (1987) found that collaboration is not happening, but they emphasized that it is greatly needed. Collaboration will help teachers to know exactly where the ESL student needs help and to monitor the ESL student's progress. Thus, through collaboration, teachers can support each other in
modeling ESL pedagogy and better serve the needs of the ESL student.

The ESL Student in the Mainstream Classroom

There are advantages over the ESL classroom for ESL students working with non-ESL students in the mainstream classroom. In the mainstream classroom, ESL students have a chance to interact with native English-speaking peers, as well as with teachers. Because the mainstream classroom focuses more on content, there is more of a chance for "authentic input," that is, writing and speaking English in a purely English-speaking environment (Harklau, 1994). This should better prepare ESL students for interaction in similar environments outside the classroom.

However, ESL students face numerous challenges in the mainstream classroom, as well. Platt and Troudi (1997) found that ESL students find abstract concepts to be especially hard to learn in another language. Some school systems may attempt to fit the student to the system by placing ESL students in lower academic tracks (Harklau, 1994). Penfield (1987) found that ESL students are not well integrated into the classroom and that they feel a barrier between themselves and non-ESL students (Harklau, 1994). Harklau noted that because of this barrier ESL students do not have as much social interaction with other students as might be desired.
Some of these problems can be ameliorated by the active intervention of the mainstream teacher, but the willingness of the mainstream teacher to take such an active role is likely to be dependent on that teacher's perceptions of ESL students. This leads me, finally, to the focus of the present research.

Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions of ESL Students

Lucas et al. (1990) noted that the success of ESL students depends on perceptions. Schools, administrators, and teachers need to value ESL students' culture, their language, their experiences, and their knowledge and to value the fact that these students already speak another language besides English. Instead of seeing what students do not have, their deficits, teachers need to affirm the students' linguistic and academic abilities (Constantino, 1994). According to Penfield (1987), teachers need to look at the advantage that these students offer to the school and classroom because of their unique experiences and cultural background. She also noted that the important thing is to treat each one of these students as an individual with unique strengths and areas that need development. Lucas et al. stressed the importance of having the whole school involved in welcoming and affirming the presence of ESL students. These authors suggested that each administrator, teacher, and
staff person in the school make it a priority to help make ESL students feel welcome.

However, the only study to really pursue the perceptions of mainstream teachers in depth was done by Penfield (1987), and her results suggest that mainstream teachers often do not view the ESL student as positively as Lucas et al.'s (1990) study found they should to best promote the development of ESL students. Penfield found that the mainstream teachers are often frustrated over their inability to communicate with both ESL students and their parents. Teachers see ESL students as staying in their own groups and as not well integrated into the classroom. Mainstream teachers are concerned that non-ESL students teach the ESL students bad habits, including bad language. Penfield found that mainstream teachers view ESL students as easier to discipline; but when there were problems, mainstream teachers often attribute such problems to stereotypical beliefs that some mainstream teachers hold about the various ethnic groups (Penfield, 1987). According to Penfield, mainstream teachers appear to have comparatively little knowledge about their ESL students' backgrounds and cultures.

The net result of such perceptions, according to Cummins (1997) and Constantino (1994), is for mainstream teachers to engage in a pattern of disabling interaction with ESL students. These authors concluded that some mainstream teachers have low expectations for their ESL students, blame
the students for poor performance, and fail to take into account the role that culture plays in the performance of ESL students. Thus, it is clear from the literature that mainstream teachers' perceptions of ESL students are important, and it is also clear that much more research is needed to fully understand the nature of these perceptions.

It was my desire in the present study to further explore the perceptions and experiences of mainstream teachers as they taught courses that included ESI students. This desire demanded a qualitative research approach. To get the firsthand experiences of teachers, it was necessary to be on site, to observe, and to interview. It was also necessary to give teachers the full latitude available in qualitative research to express their concerns, insights, and interpretations of their teaching experiences.

Penfield (1987) believed this as well. She relied on comments teachers made in response to a short questionnaire with roughly a dozen open-ended questions. But this just begins to get at the teachers' perceptions and experiences. In fact, the need for more qualitative research in ESL led in 1995 to a special issue on qualitative research in the discipline's primary journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, the TESOL Quarterly. According to one of the guest editors of this issue (Davis, 1995), "With the increasing acceptance of qualitative research in education, many researchers who conduct L2 [second language
acquisition] research in classrooms and schools have become interested in the ways in which qualitative studies can inform the SLA field" (p. 431). The SLA field has focused largely on linguistics, so the advent of an issue on qualitative research exploring general interaction patterns in the classroom is a significant development, and one that I wish to encourage and pursue through my own research in ESL.

My research design had two components. First, I conducted a system-wide survey in a moderate-sized midwestern community to gather some quantitative measures of the amount and variety of teachers' experiences with ESL students. Second, these results provided a context for subsequent interviews with eight mainstream teachers and three ESL teacher/administrators. These qualitative interviews provided the primary data on teachers' perceptions of ESL students, and I reviewed my notes repeatedly for emergent themes. The next chapter will describe my design and analysis techniques in detail.
CHAPTER III

METHODS

Throughout this study, I was committed to discover the perceptions and experiences of teachers working with ESL students in mainstream classrooms. In order to achieve this goal, I used two different data collection techniques. First, I surveyed middle/junior high school mainstream teachers across an entire school district. This was done to get some initial insights into the teachers' perceptions and experiences and to gain an understanding of the larger context within which the teachers worked. Second, I interviewed eight mainstream teachers and three ESL administrator/teachers from one of the district's schools. The teachers had indicated on the survey that they recently or currently had ESL students in their mainstream classes and that they would be willing to participate in my study.

Using these two data collection techniques helped me to triangulate my data. Numerous authors (Berg, 1995; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1990) have emphasized the importance of triangulation, and Delamont (1992) specified three types: (1) between methods, (2) between investigators, and (3) within method (several different checks using the same method). The use of surveys
and interviews represents between methods triangulation. These methods will be described in detail below.

Quantitative Methods: District-Wide Survey

The survey was designed to provide context. It helped me to discover some of the issues mainstream teachers consider important as they teach ESL students; it gave me a sense of the overall profile of teachers' attitudes throughout the district; and it provided a reference point to assess the quantity and diversity of ESL teaching experiences reported by the teachers I interviewed.

Sample

I selected a medium-sized Great Plains community for my study. A significant factor in the selection process was ease of access. I needed to be able to make the face-to-face contacts necessary to gain approval for my study, and I needed to select a district where I could readily contact the teachers I planned to interview repeatedly. But these criteria would be irrelevant if the selected district did not have enough ESL students to reasonably expect that most teachers had some degree of contact with such students. Fortunately, the district that met my criteria also included roughly 560 ESL students across grades K-12.

Within this district, I decided to focus just on middle/junior high schools. I made this decision for several reasons. First, my specialization is secondary education, so I did not feel prepared to study elementary school teachers.
Second, with my long-range goal focused on intensive interviews of six to eight mainstream teachers, it seemed best to focus on just one level, middle/junior high schools or high schools, to ensure a good picture of that level. Finally, I picked the middle/junior high school level because this is a particularly challenging time for student development (Atwell, 1987) and likely to highlight issues of concern to mainstream teachers in teaching ESL students.

The district I selected has three middle/junior high schools. At the time of my study (1996-97), each school had close to 1,000 students, and all three schools combined had approximately 130 ESL students. Among these students, the four largest ethnic groups were Bosnian (19%), Asian (18%), African (15%), and Kurdish (14%).

I requested lists of teachers from each of these three schools. The lists included a total of 224 teachers. It was clear from the lists that not all teachers were mainstream teachers, but it was not always clear who did or did not fall into this category. Therefore, one of the early questions on the survey asked, "Please list the subject areas you currently teach. (If you have a primary area, please list that one first. Thanks.)." Four spaces were provided below this question, but I focused just on the area they listed first. More will be said about this in the Results chapter, but the end result was 143 teachers who participated in the study and could be classified as mainstream.
Procedure

The proposal for this study went through several stages of approval. First, I obtained approval from the University of North Dakota's Institutional Review Board or IRB. Second, I obtained approval of the assistant superintendent of the selected school district (see Appendix A) and the principals of the three middle/junior high schools (Appendix B). Finally, I included a cover letter (see Appendix C) with the survey booklets requesting teachers' participation.

Once all of the approvals had been obtained, I requested permission to present my project to the teachers at each of the schools. Fortunately, I was ready to start as school was about to begin in the fall of 1996, and each of the principals invited me to present my project at each school's opening meeting. I then waited about a month for teachers to get to know their classes.

When time came to distribute the surveys, I did so along with the cover letter mentioned above. The cover letter described the study, emphasized that participation was voluntary, and provided information on how respondents could contact me if they had any questions. The cover letter also promised confidentiality. The cover letters were addressed individually to each teacher.

The survey itself was eight pages long and was formatted consistent with recommendations made by Dillman (1978). Dillman suggests that the focus in designing questionnaires
should be on maximizing the ease of reading the questions rather than minimizing the length of the survey. So, he recommends that the response options be presented in a vertical array and capitalized. The result is a clear format that respondents can move through quickly. Finally, I printed the surveys for each of the three schools on different colored paper to make tracking easier.

I distributed the surveys and cover letters to teachers' school mailboxes. The surveys and letters were enclosed in envelopes individually addressed to each teacher. A stamped, return envelope with my home address was enclosed so the questionnaires could be returned directly to me. This was done both to make it as convenient as possible to return the survey and to further ensure the confidentiality of teachers' responses.

After the initial distribution of surveys, I abided by Dillman's (1978) recommendation to do at least two follow-up mailings. Roughly, two weeks later, I distributed a letter to all teachers in all three schools reminding them to complete the survey and thanking them if they had already done so. Approximately two weeks later, I determined which teachers had not yet responded and distributed another letter (see Appendix D for both follow-up letters) and a survey booklet to these teachers. As will be discussed in the Results chapter, this procedure was very effective in producing a high response rate.
The survey included both open-ended and closed-ended questions (see Appendix E). The open-ended questions provided teachers an opportunity to express themselves in their own words on several topics, and teachers' answers to these questions gave me some insight into concerns the informants might have. The closed-ended questions focused primarily on measuring demographic characteristics and the teachers' teaching experience. Both types of questions are described below.

Open-Ended Questions

One technique available to qualitative researchers is the use of open-ended questions in survey questionnaires. Patton (1990) described open-ended questions as "the most elementary form of qualitative data" (p. 24). Open-ended questions provide respondents with the opportunity to give long, detailed comments. According to Patton, "The purpose of gathering responses to open-ended questions is to enable the researcher to understand and capture the points of view of other people without predetermining those points of view through prior selection of questionnaire categories" (p. 24).

Patton (1990) noted that there are several limitations of this method. For example, the answers are limited by the respondents' writing skills, by the time it takes to complete an open-ended questionnaire, and by the researcher's inability to further probe the respondent. However,
combining open-ended survey questions with in-depth interviews can help to overcome some of these shortcomings, and I employed these additional data collection techniques in my research project.

Specifically, this survey provided teachers with several opportunities to express their viewpoints. For example, respondents were given space to make comments following both a closed-ended question asking teachers about their attitudes toward ESL students and following a closed-ended question asking teachers about their views on general ESL policies (questions 5, 5a, 6, and 6a in Appendix E). Respondents also were given considerable space to answer an open-ended question asking them to "Please provide any general comments you would like to make about the advantages and/or disadvantages you perceive in teaching ESL students" (question 10c in Appendix E). Finally, on the last page of the survey teachers were asked the following two open-ended questions (see Appendix E): "Is there anything else you would like to mention about your expectations for or your experiences with teaching ESL students?" and "Also, I would appreciate any comments you might wish to make about this questionnaire and study. Thank you." Considerable space also was provided below each of these questions.

Teachers' responses to all of these open-ended questions were typed and reviewed. As it turned out, few issues arose in these comments that were not already anticipated in
Preparing for the interviews. However, many issues that were anticipated did receive attention in these comments and helped to validate pursuing various topics with the teachers whom I interviewed.

Closed-Ended Questions

A variety of closed-ended questions were included on the survey to get a sense of the demographic profile of district teachers, their teaching experience in general and specifically with ESL students, and their attitude toward teaching ESL students. The demographic characteristics were gender and age. Gender was determined by simply asking, "What is your gender?" and giving respondents the option to check "Female" or "Male" (question 12, Appendix E). Age was measured with the following question (question 13, Appendix E): "Which of the following categories includes your age?" Teachers could check "21-30," "31-40," "41-50," "51-60," or "61 Years or Older." These demographic questions were included at the end of the survey.

The survey began with three questions assessing respondents' overall teaching experience. First, I asked, "How many years have you taught, including the current year?" and simply provided a blank labeled "Year(s)" for teachers to fill in the number (question 1, Appendix E). Second, grade level was obtained with the following query (question 2, Appendix E): "What grade(s) do you currently teach? (Please check all that apply.)." All applicable grades (6th, 7th,
8th, and 9th) for the three middle/junior high schools were listed. Finally, as already noted, respondents were asked to indicate the subject area(s) they currently teach (question 3, Appendix E). This question helped to determine whether a teacher could be classified as a mainstream teacher. More will be said about this classification in the Results chapter.

Teachers' experience with ESL students also was the focus of a number of questions. I wanted to determine both the average number and the ethnic diversity of ESL students that teachers had taught overall, plus both the largest number and the greatest diversity that they had taught in a single class. To assess the overall number of ESL students teachers had taught, I asked two sets of questions, one set focusing on the number of ESL students they currently were teaching and one set asking about the number they had taught in the prior five years. Specifically, teachers were queried (question 9, Appendix E), "Do you currently have any ESL students in any of your classes?" If they said, "Yes," they were asked how many they now have ("If YES, roughly, how many total ESL students do you now have?"). Whether teachers said they were or were not currently teaching ESL students, they were asked if they had taught any ESL students in the past five years (not including the current year), and if so, how many.
To measure the diversity present among the ESL students teachers had taught, an entire page was devoted to a list of different regions throughout the world and to two columns of blanks next to this list (question 10d, Appendix E). The lead-in asked, "Approximately how many ESL students have you had in your classes from each of the following regions?" The first column of blanks was headed "Number During Past 5 Years" and the second column was labeled "Number During Current Year."

My main interest in asking for this information was simply to get a count of the number of regions represented among each teacher's total experience with ESL students. To get this count, the two columns were added for each region, and this sum was coded as "0" if the total was zero and as "1" if the sum was one or greater. These "0s" and "1s" were summed to create the overall diversity measure that gives a count of the number of regions to which mainstream teachers had been exposed via their work with ESL students.

Ten regions were listed on the page. These included the following: (a) "Central America (including Mexico)," (b) "South America," (c) "Southeast Asia," (d) "China," (e) "India," (f) "Africa," (g) "Western Europe," (h) "Eastern Europe," (i) "Countries formerly part of USSR," and (j) "Middle East." An eleventh option was (k) "Other (Please specify below.)." A number of teachers made use of this category listing Japan and Korea (I combined Japan and Korea
with China and re-labeled the "China" category as "Asia"); Haiti, Cuba, and Jamaica (I combined these to create a new category, "Caribbean"); Nepal (I combined these with "India" and re-labeled this category as "Indian Subcontinent"); and Native American (I created a new category with this label). These modifications and additions resulted in 12 categories. So, the overall ESL diversity measure could range from 0 to 12, although the actual number is not as important as its comparative value—the more regions represented among the ESL students a teacher had taught, the greater the teacher's overall exposure to cultural diversity through his or her ESL students.

It proved easier to measure the number and diversity of ESL students teachers had taught in a single class (question 10a, Appendix E). First, I asked, "What is the largest number of ESL students that you have had in any one class?" Second, I followed this item with the question, "With the above class in mind, how many distinct languages, other than English, were spoken by these ESL students? (Please do not count more than one language per student.)." Blanks followed each question for respondents to write in a number.

The final set of closed-ended questions that I included for context focused on teachers' attitudes toward ESL students. I asked both a focused question and a global question. The focused question (question 5, Appendix E) asked, "If you were told that you could expect two or three
ESL students in one of your classes next year, how would you
describe your reaction?" Respondents could mark "Very
Pleased," "Moderately Pleased," "Neutral," "Moderately
Displeased," or "Very Displeased." The global question
(question 10b, Appendix E) asked, "How would you describe
your overall reaction to working with ESL students in your
classrooms?" Teachers could check "Greatly Like,"
"Moderately Like," "Neutral," "Moderately Dislike," and
"Greatly Dislike."

In summary, these questions about demographics, teaching
experience, and attitudes were asked in order to provide
context for the intensive interviews I am about to describe.
Quite often in qualitative research, a small number of people
are interviewed without much information on the larger social
setting. This leaves two important questions unanswered.
First, are the informants in one's study characteristic of
others in the same setting? Second, what is the larger
social context within which informants' views have been
shaped? The Results chapter will compare the characteristics
of the district teachers with those of my informants to help
address these two questions.

Qualitative Methods: Interviews

The above survey set the stage for my real focus,
in-depth interviews of a selected group of mainstream
teachers. I had a reason for this focus. Seidman (1991)
quoted Schutz (1967) as saying, "The way to meaning is to be
able to put behavior in context" (p. 4). For me, this is the key characteristic and advantage of qualitative research. Qualitative research promotes the collection of data in the context of the field or the setting where meanings emerge. To understand the experiences of mainstream teachers with ESL students in their classrooms, I needed to talk with these teachers, face to face. Only this on-site experience was able to provide me with the context behind these teachers' perceptions and experiences.

Consistent with the qualitative approach, I did not enter the field with a specific theory or hypothesis to test, but I instead let themes emerge as I collected the data. "Looking at people in process" is a broad challenge, and qualitative research meets this challenge by offering a broad range of approaches. In fact, the field of qualitative research is so broad that Bogdan and Biklen (1992) used the term, "paradigm," to describe the qualitative approach to data collection and interpretation. Consistent with this view, Patton (1990) defined a paradigm as "a world view, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world" (p. 37). Patton further described a paradigm as "a loose collection of logically held together assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research" (p. 33). In this sense, qualitative research is a loose collection of assumptions or characteristics.
There is a close parallel between the qualitative approach to doing research and phenomenology. The phenomenological perspective "attempt[s] to understand the meanings of events and interactions to ordinary people in particular situations" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 34). According to Patton (1990), the phenomenological approach focuses on the question, "What is the structure and essence of this phenomenon for these people?" (p. 69). The focus is on the insiders' meanings associated with a particular setting, and this focus was my primary concern in studying mainstream teachers who work with ESL students.

However, I tried to do more than just describe these meanings. I looked for patterns that set the stage for themes, assumptions, and grounded theory. According to Evertson and Green (1988), qualitative researchers are "concerned with obtaining detailed descriptions of observed phenomena in order to explain unfolding processes and to identify generic principles and patterns of behavior within specific events" (p. 172). In other words, many qualitative researchers seek to move from their data to grounded theory— that is, from thick, specific description to general description and then to assumptions (Erickson, 1988).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) popularized the concept of grounded theory in qualitative research. Grounded theory, simply put, refers to any theory that comes directly from the data. Therefore, the development of grounded theory requires
the use of qualitative research focusing on on-site observations, in-depth interviews, document searches, and open-ended survey questions. These sources of data help to provide the insider's perspective on "what is happening here," and analysis of these data reveals patterns leading to grounded theory.

Not all qualitative researchers feel completely comfortable with Glaser and Strauss' (1967) approach to grounded theory. For example, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985), "Glaser and Strauss do not address themselves to working within the naturalistic paradigm; indeed, they argue (p. 3) that a major purpose of theory in the field, sociology, is 'to enable prediction and explanation of behavior,' a purpose with which the naturalist probably would not agree" (p. 339). In other words, Lincoln and Guba saw Glaser and Strauss as closet positivists rather than true naturalists. I tend to agree with Lincoln and Guba. I sought to develop grounded theory or assertions from my data, rather than look for predictive or explanatory propositions. Instead, I let themes emerge that provided as full a description of the teachers' views, as possible.

**Procedure**

Before themes can emerge, however, there must be data, and collecting data requires Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval. As I noted earlier, I requested approval from the IRB to do a survey and to conduct intensive interviews of
mainstream teachers. The University of North Dakota IRB approved all aspects of this design.

I also prepared a consent form for my informants (see Appendix F). The form indicated that I had received approval from the district's assistant superintendent and their school's principal, but it emphasized that participation was voluntary. The nature of the project was described, and, finally, I promised to keep their participation confidential.

The decision to focus most of my efforts on qualitative interviews raised a number of methodological questions. First, how many teachers should I interview, and how should these teachers be recruited and selected? Second, from what school site should these teachers be selected? Third, how should entree be gained to the selected site? Fourth, how should the interviews be conducted? And finally, how should teachers' comments be recorded? Each of these issues will be discussed below.

Sampling

One of the first issues in gaining this context through interviewing is the selection of whom to interview. This raises questions of how many people should be selected and how the selection should be done. With respect to the issue of how many, Patton (1990) suggested,

There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry [italics in original]. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have
credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources. (p. 184)

Implicit in this answer is a purposeful, rather than a random, approach to sampling (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Patton (1990) stated that "qualitative inquiry typically focuses in-depth on relatively small samples, even single cases (n = 1), selected purposefully" [italics in original] (p. 169). Also, Bogdan and Biklen noted, "You choose particular subjects to include because they are believed to facilitate the expansion of the developing theory" (pp. 71-72). In other words, the goal is to select information-rich cases that relate to the purpose of the research.

To find information-rich cases, Patton (1990) suggested that the researcher can do "typical case," "extreme or deviant case," "critical case," "sensitive case," "convenience," and/or "maximum variation" (p. 169) sampling. In commenting on Patton's list, Seidman (1991) observed, "In my experience maximum variation sampling provides the most effective basic strategy for selecting participants for interview studies" (p. 43). Similarly, Erickson (1988) noted that when one does fieldwork, one always wants to start with the wide-angled view.

I set out to obtain information-rich cases with maximum variability by essentially recruiting from all middle/junior high school teachers at one of the three schools in the
district. To get information-rich cases, I needed to be sure that the teachers I interviewed either currently worked with ESL students or had taught ESL students within the past five years. To achieve maximum variability, I desired to obtain interviews with teachers from several different subject areas because the challenges of teaching ESL students can vary by content area. I focused on just one school to hold the immediate social context constant as an aid in understanding teachers' comments. (I will say more about my selection of this one site later.) Finally, I recruited from all teachers at this school through the survey I distributed.

Specifically, the end of the questionnaire at the selected school included an extra page to recruit informants (see Appendix G). This page began with the following comments:

To learn more about teaching ESL students, I would like to interview several of you who currently have ESL students in regular, content area classrooms. I also would like to observe these classrooms. Informal interviews and direct observations should provide a much richer perspective on the challenges and rewards for teachers with classrooms that include ESL students.

If you wish to volunteer, I would like to meet with you three or four times over the next several months. Each meeting will take roughly 40-50 minutes. I also would like to observe three or four of your classes during the same period. Participation is entirely voluntary; you may decline further participation at any time; and all the information you provide and all the observations I make will be kept confidential.

Your willingness to volunteer will be greatly appreciated and will significantly advance the goals of this research.
Following this lead-in, I asked, "Would you be willing to be interviewed by me and to discuss the possibility of observing your classes?" Teachers could check "No" or "Yes." If they checked "Yes," I asked for a time I could contact them, and if they would write their name and home phone number either on the survey or on the back of the return envelope.

Twelve teachers responded with some interest in participation. Nine said, "Yes," and of these, five said they were currently teaching ESL students in their regular, content area classrooms. The remaining four all had taught ESL students within the last five years. My original goal was to interview six to eight teachers plus ESL personnel, so I selected all five teachers who currently were teaching ESL students in their mainstream classes and three of the remaining four teachers who had taught ESL students but were not currently doing so. Fortunately, these teachers did include a wide variety of subject areas (see Results chapter for more detail). The ninth teacher, that is, the one who was not selected among those who definitely agreed to participate, was excluded because that individual would have represented the third foreign language teacher. Finally, another three teachers indicated tentative or conditional interest in participation, but I already had enough informants to interview. So, I contacted my eight selected informants to confirm their willingness to participate and
obtained their signatures on consent forms approved by the University of North Dakota IRB (see Appendix F, as noted earlier).

In addition to these eight mainstream teachers, I also decided to interview ESL personnel either currently or recently involved with the selected school district. I selected these individuals purposefully to represent different vantage points on ESL. After obtaining signed consent forms (see Appendix H), I interviewed three such individuals. Because there is a limited number of ESL personnel in the district, either teachers or administrators, I will refer to these individuals globally as ESL administrator/teachers to protect their confidentiality. I was able to interview these ESL administrator/teachers one, two, or three times, depending on the individual. I mainly used these interviews to check the reactions of ESL personnel to some of the themes I saw emerging in my interviews with mainstream teachers. These ESL administrator/teachers also supplied considerable detail about the actual steps involved in registering ESL students and about the structure of the ESL program (e.g., the nature of the activities in the ESL Resource Room at the selected school).

Site Selection for Interviews

As noted earlier, a key characteristic of qualitative research is its ability to incorporate context into the understanding of human behavior. According to Evertson and
Green (1988), "The consideration of context issues is an important part of making inferences about processes and how those generalize" (p. 166). Understanding the importance of context, in turn, highlights the importance of the first, major methodological decision in qualitative research, the selection of a site. The selection of a site is in essence the selection of the context within which the researcher will be observing behavior.

According to Schatzman and Strauss (1973), before selecting a site researchers should "case the joint." They also suggested some of the following questions to answer during this casing process: Is the site suitable (does it fit the properties you are looking for)? Is it feasible (can you readily access it within the limits of your personal time and energy)? Can you gain access through the use of suitable or acceptable tactics (e.g., do you know the hierarchy, politics, and any appropriate contact people in the site)?

I had already "cased the joint" during a prior study for a qualitative research class at the University of North Dakota. For that project, I observed and interviewed an ESL teacher in the middle/junior high school that became the site for the current study. This project gave me some insights into the concerns of an ESL teacher whose students spend much of their time in mainstream classes. And, as I absorbed these insights, I began to develop my interest in the mainstream teachers' own perceptions of ESL students.
I also learned from this earlier project that this site would satisfy my needs for the present study. First, the site was suitable. I wanted a school that had a significant number of ESL students from diverse backgrounds participating in a formal ESL program where the program routinely schedules its students with a number of mainstream teachers. The middle/junior high school where I originally observed had these characteristics. Second, it was a feasible site. It was easily accessible, and it was easy to enter and leave the site with little more than a quick check at the school's main office. Finally, I already had gained formal access once and left telling the principal that I was very interested in returning for further research. The principal was very receptive to this idea.

Gaining Access (Entree)

The general theme of the advice on entree is that the researcher must be a courteous negotiator. He or she must simultaneously be sensitive to the needs of the people in the selected site and be protective of the need for flexibility in the research process. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) offered a number of pointers to this effect. For example, the researcher needs to call ahead of time, to develop relationships, to be careful that the researcher's self-presentation is consistent with the values of the setting, to prepare a story line explaining why you are there and how you are going to proceed, to pledge confidentiality,
and to assure people that they are not being evaluated or tested. Overall, the researcher must clearly adopt the role and attitude of a learner or student in the setting (Lofland & Lofland, 1984).

To re-establish entree at the site of my earlier mentioned study, I renewed contact with the principal and explained my new focus, that is, my desire now to study the school's mainstream teachers who instruct ESL students. I indicated that my hope was to start the upcoming fall semester. I received permission to speak that fall (1996) at the teachers' in-service meetings at the selected site (as well as at the other two schools included in my survey). This helped to legitimize my presence in the setting. Later, I also had to negotiate appropriate entree into the classrooms of the individual teachers I was interviewing. As a number of qualitative researchers have noted (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Delamont, 1992; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973), entree is something that is constantly renegotiated.

**Conducting In-Depth Interviews**

The unstructured interview is a common data collection technique (Delamont, 1992; Lofland & Lofland, 1984). "At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (Seidman, 1991, p. 3). Seidman emphasized the importance of context and suggested that interviewing is one way of providing context for observation. "Interviewing
provides access to the context of people's behavior and thereby provides a way for researchers to understand the meaning of that behavior" (p. 4).

Schuman (1982), as discussed by Seidman (1991), suggested a structured sequence of interviews. At least, three interviews with each respondent were recommended. In the first interview, one should find out the context/history of the person's experiences relative to the topic or site in question. In the second interview, the researcher should get the details of the person's current experiences. Finally, in the third interview, one should ask the person to reflect on the meaning of his or her experiences.

My approach was a little more conversational and flexible than Schuman's (Seidman, 1991). I did follow Schuman's advice and obtained three interviews of each mainstream teacher, and I began with a focus on each teacher's personal history and context. My second interview focused on questions about ESL students and often incorporated questions generated by comments from the earlier survey and the first interviews. During the final interview, I asked teachers, among other things, what would help them in working with ESL students and with their school's ESL program.

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992), interviews should be like conversations. I felt especially comfortable with this aspect of the data collection process. No doubt my
gender-role socialization has led me to value conversation, and all but one of the teachers I interviewed were female. Feminist researchers suggest that women interviewers are more likely to get female informants to open up (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Reinharz, 1992), and consistent with this, I had no difficulty keeping any of the interviews going.

Recording Data

Several researchers (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Lofland & Lofland, 1984) have advocated the use of tape recorders. Using note-taking alone can make it too difficult to attend to the full flow of the conversation. However, they suggested that sparse notes be taken during the interview even if the tape recorder is running and that the interviews be kept to a reasonable length to maintain some control over time and focus. These are the techniques I followed for all of my interviews. As soon as interviews were complete, I listened to the tapes, made copies, and deleted references to both student names and teacher names. I took these tape copies to the typist for transcription. Finally, I read and re-read the transcripts.

Length of Time in the Field

Patton (1990) noted, "Fieldwork should last long enough to get the job done—to answer the research questions being asked and to fulfill the purpose of the study" (p. 214). In addition, another indication that it is time to leave the field is when the data become saturated, that is, when there
exists more than enough data to fully represent the categories and themes you see emerging. In other words, it is time to leave when everything becomes too familiar (Delamont, 1992), and this did happen with respect to the interviews.

In fact, I found that I was overwhelmed with data from the surveys and interviews. There were many tempting paths to follow with respect to data from each source. But my focus from the beginning was on my interviews of the eight mainstream teachers. So, the survey data will be used only to provide context for these interviews. The discussion to follow will describe how I proceeded with the lengthy process of analyzing my interview data.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of reducing large amounts of data collected in the field into a reduced format. I carefully studied the data and created a classification system that helped to make sense out of the data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). This started during data collection and continued throughout the study (Delamont, 1992; Glesne & Peskin, 1992; Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). Multiple blizzards during my data collection forced many school closings and postponements of my interviews, so data collection was a much lengthier process than I had anticipated.
Techniques for Analysis

In my research study, I mainly used Glaser and Strauss' (1967) constant comparative method. I continually read and re-read my corpus data and compared emerging patterns in one segment of my data with evidence on related concerns in other parts of my data. I worked from codes, to categories, to themes. It is my hope that these themes will help future researchers, teachers, and policy-makers better understand the dynamics of teaching ESL students in mainstream classrooms.

Coding

Tapes of the interviews were transcribed and put into a software program called Ethnograph (Version 4). This program enabled me to create a separate file for each interview of each teacher, to code sections of these interviews with whatever coding scheme I chose, and to search all files for all examples of a given code category once I had done the coding. So, all I needed were coding categories.

Miles and Huberman (1994) described three different approaches to creating codes. First, they said that the researcher can begin with a "start list." "That list comes from the conceptual framework, list of research questions, hypotheses, problem areas, and/or key variables that the researcher brings to the study" (p. 58). Second, Miles and Huberman described an inductive approach for the researcher who "may not want to precode any datum until he or she has
collected it, seen how it functions or nests in its context, and determined how many varieties of it there are" (p. 58). They suggested that this approach is essentially that of Glaser and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory. Third, Miles and Huberman presented an approach that lies between the first two (i.e., between the a priori and the inductive approaches). This third approach involves "creating a general accounting scheme for codes that is not content specific, but points to the general domains in which codes can be developed inductively" (p. 61). "Such schemes help the researcher think about categories in which codes will have to be developed" (p. 61). One of the examples Miles and Huberman gave of this mid-range approach is a coding scheme developed by Bogdan and Biklen (1992). Their coding scheme is seen in Table 1, and this is the approach that I decided to select.

I used these a priori categories to set up a general coding scheme. I found all of the major categories useful except Events and Methods. As Miles and Huberman (1994) noted, "Any particular study, of course, may focus on only a few of the categories" (p. 61). I then inductively developed subcategories for most of the major categories. The net result of my efforts to create a coding scheme can be seen in Table 2.
Table 1

Bogdan and Biklen's Coding Scheme

1. Setting/Context: general information on surroundings that allows you to put the study in a larger context
2. Definition of the situation: how people understand, define, or perceive the setting or the topics on which the study bears
3. Perspectives: ways of thinking about their setting shared by informants ("how things are done here")
4. Ways of thinking about people and objects: understandings of each other, of outsiders, of objects in their world (more detailed than above)
5. Process: sequence of events, flow transitions, and turning points, changes over time
6. Activities: regularly occurring kinds of behavior
7. Events: specific activities, especially ones occurring infrequently
8. Strategies: ways of accomplishing things; people's tactics, methods, techniques for meeting their needs
9. Relationships and social structure: unofficially defined patterns such as cliques, coalitions, romances, friendships, enemies
10. Methods: problems, joys, dilemmas of the research process—often in relation to comments by observers


These code categories were used to code all interviews using Ethnograph. To get a sense of each of these categories across interviews, I asked Ethnograph to do a separate printout of all examples of each code across all interviews. I organized these in a ring notebook binder, and read and re-read them.

This coding effort helped me to see patterns, but I was not satisfied with the above coding scheme as the final basis for analyzing the data. It did not seem to connect directly to a theme I saw repeatedly—marginalization. Across
categories, issues seemed to revolve around this theme. So, I began to review the coding scheme from this perspective.

Table 2

**Coding Scheme Adapted From Bogdan and Biklen**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Setting</td>
<td>STT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Definition of Situation Codes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>System</td>
<td>DS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School system expectations</td>
<td>DSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E students</td>
<td>DSSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible E student accomplishments</td>
<td>DSES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>DSESSPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T's role in helping E students</td>
<td>DST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DSTRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Perspectives Held by Mainstream Teachers</td>
<td>PT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspectives on teaching</td>
<td>PTT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectations?</td>
<td>PTTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity?</td>
<td>PTD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspectives on self</td>
<td>PTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training?</td>
<td>PTST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work load?</td>
<td>PTSWL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of ESL program?</td>
<td>PTSKES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspectives on overall situation</td>
<td>PTOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change?</td>
<td>PTOSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding?</td>
<td>PTOSF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspectives on ESL parents</td>
<td>PTEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpful?</td>
<td>PTEPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. T's Views of Things and Objects</td>
<td>TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E students</td>
<td>TVES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>TVEST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English comprehension</td>
<td>TVESE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning</td>
<td>TVESL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotions</td>
<td>TVESEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group together</td>
<td>TVESG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolation</td>
<td>TVESI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response to mainstream</td>
<td>TVESR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E parents</td>
<td>TVEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of American school</td>
<td>TVEPKES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of English</td>
<td>TVEPKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of American society</td>
<td>TVEPKAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E teachers</td>
<td>TVET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M teachers</td>
<td>TVMT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2—Cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Process Codes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entree of E students</td>
<td>PC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration of E students</td>
<td>PCEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Activity Codes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socializing</td>
<td>AC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating</td>
<td>ACS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing</td>
<td>ACT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creating community</td>
<td>ACM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working with parents</td>
<td>ACCrC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Strategy Codes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching strategies</td>
<td>SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative learning</td>
<td>SCTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Testing</td>
<td>SCTSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due dates</td>
<td>SCTST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grading</td>
<td>SCTSD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration strategies</td>
<td>SCTSG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>SCTSCoL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Relationships and Social Structure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/E students</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/M students</td>
<td>RTES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/E teachers</td>
<td>RTET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T/E parents</td>
<td>RTEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E students/E students</td>
<td>RESES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E students/M students</td>
<td>RESMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E students/M society</td>
<td>RESSO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E students/E teacher</td>
<td>RESET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E students/E parents</td>
<td>RESEP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. "E" stands for "ESL," "M" means "mainstream," and "T" stands for the "mainstream teacher."

Bogdan and Biklin's approach (Miles & Huberman, 1994) helped in this effort even though I strayed from their original structure. The point of their scheme, as I saw it, was to begin with basic, a priori structures inherent in most social settings and build inductively within and around these structures. Given the focus of my research question on the
mainstream teacher and the ESL student, it seemed reasonable to make these players part of the basic structure of my coding scheme. In addition, my interviews with mainstream teachers and with ESL administrator/teachers convinced me that the ESL teacher and program, together, should be a third basic structure in my coding scheme. Finally, I saw that each of these structures as impacted in one manner or another by marginalization. This set the stage for marginalization as a major category (category I, Table 3) and for the ESL student, the ESL program, and the mainstream teacher to be the three main subcategories under marginalization (I.A., I.B., I.C., Table 3). All of the data in this major category were contextual, setting the stage for my primary focus, the mainstream teacher's perceptions of ESL students (category II, Table 3). These perceptions fell inductively into three groupings, time bind issues, unclear expectations, and support issues (II.A., II.B., II.C., Table 3).

With this new coding scheme in place, I revisited the codes I had originally created based on Bogdan and Biklen's approach (Table 2). Fortunately, I found that this original coding scheme was generic enough to give me the flexibility necessary to regroup individual code categories into my new coding scheme. Once I did this, I reorganized my interview data into the categories in Table 3 and re-read the newly restructured data. I felt very comfortable with this new
structure, and this is the structure I used for my data analysis.

Table 3

Final Coding Scheme for Data Analysis

I. Context: Marginalization
   
   A. Marginalized status of ESL student
      1. Marginalized culturally
      2. Marginalized linguistically
      3. Marginalized socially
   
   B. Marginalized status of ESL program and ESL teacher
      1. ESL program
      2. ESL teacher
   
   C. The mainstream teacher: marginally prepared for ESL students

II. Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions and Concerns: Mainstreaming the Marginalized
   
   A. Time bind
   
   B. Unclear expectations and goals
   
   C. Support
      1. Initial entree
      2. Ongoing collaboration

This analysis will be presented in the Results chapter. That chapter will describe what I heard and what I saw during eight months of interaction with mainstream teachers. I believe that I actually entered into my informants' world. I became part of it while also staying separate from it. Now, I will tell you their story as I understand it.

Enter into the world. Observe and wonder. Experience and reflect. To understand a world you must become part of that world while at the same time remaining separate, a part of and apart from.
Go then, and return to tell me what you see and hear, what you learn, and what you come to understand. (From Halcolm's *Methodological Chronicle* as cited in Patton, 1990, p. 199)
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

The goal of this chapter is to describe the results of both the district-wide survey and the interviews of my 11 informants within the district. Part One presents the survey data. These data provide a context for understanding the setting within which my informants worked. Part Two presents the results of my interviews. These interviews represent the major focus of my study. This section is organized in terms of the themes that emerged as I interviewed and interpreted the data. These themes are related to the ESL literature later in the Discussion chapter.

Part One: Survey Data

It is helpful in understanding the comments of informants to know something about their larger social setting. Working in a district where the number of ESL students is comparatively small is likely to be quite different from working in a district where ESL students represent a substantial minority, if not a majority, of the students in mainstream classrooms. The collective experiences of teachers in such differing settings is likely to play an important role in the perceptions of individual teachers, such as the teachers I interviewed. Thus, the data
presented in Part One provide an understanding of the larger group of teachers among whom my informants worked.

Three types of information will be presented. First, I will provide a sample profile of the general background characteristics of my district-wide respondents including their gender, age, and teaching areas. Second, I will focus on the amount of contact teachers have had with ESL students and how diverse that experience has been. Finally, I will present data on a question from the survey that assesses teachers' attitudes toward working with ESL students. These data provide context.

Throughout the presentation of this contextual information, I will relate the district-wide data to my informants. Of my 11 informants, 3 were ESL administrator/teachers and 8 were mainstream teachers. I recruited the ESL administrator/teachers by simply contacting them and asking for interviews, but the eight mainstream teachers were recruited through the survey by including a question asking respondents if they would like to participate in my study. Thus, for these eight teachers, I can compare their responses on the survey to those for the district-wide teachers in order to connect the context of the district to the teachers I actually interviewed. This will give a sense of the extent to which those teachers who volunteered to participate were similar or different from the larger group of teachers in the district.
Sample Profile

As noted in the Methods chapter, the survey questionnaire was distributed to 224 teachers in the district's three middle/junior high school facilities. The response rate was 78% (N=174). In response to a question asking about their teaching areas, it was learned that 31 respondents were engaged in providing various special services and/or counseling. Thus, the survey included 143 mainstream teachers, that is, teachers who taught regular, content area classes. It is this group that will be included in the following district-wide statistics.

These 143 teachers represent all three schools fairly evenly (School A, 30%; School B, 32%, and School C, 38%) similar to the actual distribution of staffs across these facilities. As intended, the eight mainstream teacher informants all came from just one of these schools. To help reduce any threat to teachers' confidentiality, the responses of teachers from all three schools were combined before they were compared to the responses of my informants.

The data on the background characteristics of the district teachers and the interviewed teachers are presented in Table 4. The overall profile of the district teachers was similar to the profile of the teachers who were interviewed, but certainly not identical. In both groups, the majority of
Table 4

Comparison of the Sample Profile of the District Teachers and the Interviewed Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Characteristic</th>
<th>District Teachers (N=143)</th>
<th>Interviewed Teachers (N=8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-40</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41+</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grade</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject Areas</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nat. and Phys. Sciences</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied Disciplines</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teaching Experience</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Years</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** The percents for the different grade levels add to more than 100 because some teachers cover more than one grade.
the teachers were female although it was barely more than a 50/50 split for the district (53% female), while all but one of the interviewed teachers was female. The survey question on age included multiple categories, but these were collapsed to 40 and younger versus 41 and older in order to avoid revealing overly detailed information on my eight teacher informants. Both groups included substantial percentages of teachers in each age category, but the majority (52%) of the district teachers were 41 or older while the majority of the informants (63%) were 40 or younger. With respect to the grades taught, both the survey group and the informant group mainly taught ninth grade (43% and 75%, respectively). Subject areas taught were about the same for both groups. A plurality of both groups taught in the humanities. The district group included 35% who taught in the humanities while the informants included 38% who did the same. For the informant group, the second most common area represented was the natural and physical sciences (38%) while this area ranked third (24%) among the district group. Finally, the average years of teaching experience was very similar for both groups (15.5 and 14.1, respectively).

Overall, it is evident in Table 4 that the district included fairly even distributions of teachers along the dimensions of gender, age, grade level taught, and subject area. Relative to the district, teachers in the informant group were more likely to be female and young, but they were
generally similar to the larger district in the grade level they taught, the subjects they taught, and their years of experience.

**ESL Teaching Experiences**

Tables 5 and 6 present data on the ESL teaching experiences of district and interviewed teachers. The district teachers had 2.3 ESL students currently (i.e., at the time they were surveyed) across all of their classes compared to 1.5 ESL students for the interviewed teachers. In the last six years (including the current year), the district teachers have had 11.2 ESL students and the interviewed teachers have had 9.8 ESL students. It was very rare for a district-wide respondent to report not having had any ESL students over the last six years (only 6%) and all of the interviewed teachers had had experience teaching ESL students. Approximately a third of both groups had taught 12 or more ESL students during this time period. Both groups were also similar in the largest number of ESL students they had taught in a single classroom (2.3 and 2.1, respectively). I later learned that typical classroom sizes were 28 or 29 students.

Both groups taught ESL students from a number of different regions of the world. For example, 56% of the district teachers had taught ESL students from Southeast Asia while 75% of the informant group had done the same. Among
district teachers, 55% had contact with students from the Middle East and, among informants, 50% had worked with students from this region. Similarly, substantial percentages of district teachers and informants had taught ESL students from Central America (40% and 38%, respectively) and Eastern Europe (37% and 38%, respectively). Thus, similar percentages of teachers from both groups worked with students from the same regions of the world.

Table 5
Comparison of the Amount of Contact That District Teachers and Interviewed Teachers Have Had With ESL Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ESL Teaching Experiences</th>
<th>District Teachers (N=143)</th>
<th>Interviewed Teachers (N=8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number Currently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in Last 6 Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in Last 6 Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Category</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-11</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 or More</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Largest Number of ESL Students Ever in a Classroom</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6

Comparison of the Diversity Contact That District Teachers and Interviewed Teachers Have Had With ESL Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ESL Teaching Experiences</th>
<th>District Teachers (N=143)</th>
<th>Interviewed Teachers (N=8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Teachers (N=139) With ESL Students From Various Regions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asia</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR Countries</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Subcontinent</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia (China, Japan, Korea)</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Different Regions Per Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Languages Other Than English in Class With Most ESL Students Ever</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The percents for the different regions add to more than 100 because some teachers taught ESL students from more than one region.

Beyond similarity in the nature of the diversity encountered by both groups of teachers, the amount of the diversity was similar across groups. The average number of
different regions represented among the ESL students taught by the typical mainstream teacher was 3.2 compared to 3.4 for the interviewed group. Both groups said that the greatest number of languages (besides English) that they had ever encountered in a single classroom was on average 1.8.

In sum, these data on teachers' experiences with ESL students in the studied district clearly indicated that, even in this modest-sized midwestern community, teachers were working with meaningful numbers of ESL students and that their ESL students were coming from all over the world. At the same time, it was apparent that these students represented at most 10% of any given classroom of mainstream students. Similar patterns emerged for both the district as a whole and for the eight interviewed teachers. Thus, my subsequent discussions of teachers' attitudes based on the survey data and/or on my interview data must be understood in this context.

Attitudes Toward ESL Related Issues

Teachers were asked on the survey what their reaction would be to having two or three ESL students in class next year. The majority of teachers from both groups said they would be neutral (57% for the district v. 63% for informants). A similar percentage of both groups (28% for the district and 25% for the informants) said they would be moderately pleased or very pleased and a similar percentage of both groups (15% v. 13%) said they would be moderately
displeased or very displeased. This neutrality or perhaps ambivalence was also apparent in my interviews where teachers made few comments indicating either great excitement or real displeasure over the nature of their experiences with ESL students.

Table 7

Comparison of District Teachers' and Interviewed Teachers' Reactions to Having Two or Three ESL Students in Their Classes Next Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reactions</th>
<th>District Teachers (N=143)</th>
<th>Interviewed Teachers (N=8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Pleased</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Pleased</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Displeased</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Displeased</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part Two: Interview Data

The data presented in Part Two of this chapter come from my interviews with 11 informants—eight mainstream teachers and three ESL administrator/teachers. The focus of the analysis was intended to be on the mainstream teachers' perceptions of working with ESL students in the mainstream classroom. However, it became apparent during the data collection and data analysis that the relationship between the mainstream teachers and the ESL students could only be
understood in the context of a larger theme of marginalization.

What happened between the ESL student and the mainstream teacher was, in part, a product of a school system that was attempting to mainstream the marginalized. A variety of factors, including aspects of the school system itself, promoted the marginalization of the ESL student. This context of marginalization needs to be understood, as the teachers saw it, and this will be the focus of the first section of Part Two. Then, the second section will examine teachers' perceptions of the ESL student in the classroom and the concerns mainstream teachers had as they taught ESL students.

Finally, I need to add some technical notes. Throughout the presentation of the interview data, I will provide a code for the source of the quote. Quotes from teachers were coded with a "T" and followed by a number. There were eight teachers, so there were eight different teacher code numbers, T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T5X, T6, and T7. The T5 and T5X codes were assigned to two teachers whom I interviewed at different times either separately, or at their request, together. When the selected quote came from their joint interviews where they often bounced comments off each other, I simply coded the quotes as T5,5X.

These codes for different teachers provided a basis for assessing the extent to which various teachers were
represented among the quotes cited below. However, the quotes were not selected with the intent of citing every instance that any teacher made a comment that fell into a given theme. Rather, the quotes were selected to illustrate the identified theme with comments that were among the most succinct and rich for that theme.

In addition to the "T" codes, some codes begin with "ET." These codes signal that the quotes came from one of the two interviewed ESL teachers or the interviewed ESL administrator. These quotes add an important perspective to those of the mainstream teachers, and they need to be clearly distinguished from the quotes from mainstream teachers. However, because there were only three individuals falling into this category, it is especially important to drop any additional identifying information beyond the ET code. In other words, even though two distinct roles were represented by these three people, the roles of teacher versus administrator, I will simply describe any quote from one of these individuals as a quote from an ESL administrator/teacher. The three code values were ET8, ET9, and ET10.

The Context: Marginalization

This section will examine the theme of marginalization that permeates ESL. First, I will discuss the marginalized status that the ESL student brought to the mainstream classroom. The fact that the ESL student brought to the
mainstream classroom a culture, a language, and a social status that were different from those of the native English-speaking students greatly affected the mainstream teachers' perceptions of working with ESL students in a mainstream classroom.

Second, I will examine the ways in which the ESL students' support system was marginalized. Lack of adequate support for the ESL program and for the ESL teacher reinforced the marginalized status of the ESL student and complicated mainstream teachers' efforts to work with ESL students.

Third, I will shift my focus to the mainstream teacher and the background that he or she brought to the classroom. Again, the issue of marginalization arose. Much of what happened between the mainstream teacher and the ESL student was dependent on the extent to which the mainstream teacher had had some training in working with ESL students. Interviews with my informants suggested that these teachers had little training, certainly little pre-service training, in working with ESL students. In other words, for these mainstream teachers, training in ESL was as marginalized as were the ESL students.

The Marginalized Status of the ESL Student

The ESL student was outside the mainstream on a variety of dimensions. First, ESL students came from a very diverse set of countries, such as Viet Nam, Cambodia, Bosnia,
Somalia, the former Soviet Union, Haiti, et cetera. The diversity represented by these countries was immense. This marginalized the ESL student culturally.

Second, ESL students, by definition, were outside of the mainstream language. A wide variety of native languages were represented among the ESL students taught by mainstream teachers. These languages obviously had their own vocabulary and sometimes very distinct grammatical rules that differed significantly from American English. The ESL student therefore was also marginalized linguistically.

Finally, the ESL student's marginal cultural status and linguistic status often led to a marginal social status. It was difficult for ESL students to enter into the social activities of the school and the classroom. They encountered not only some resistance from mainstream students who did not know how to interact with "foreigners," they also found social support in spending time with other ESL students rather than entering the unknown world of mainstream American students.

These three dimensions of ESL student marginalization, cultural, linguistic, and social, will be explored further below. Each dimension is worthy of study on its own, but the intent of the following discussion is to better understand mainstream teachers' perceptions of these marginalized students in their mainstream classrooms. ESL students carried each of these dimensions of marginalization into the
classroom, and they affected how mainstream teachers perceived these students.

Marginalized culturally. ESL students come into the American school system with a wide variety of different cultures and customs. This diversity can make integration into the mainstream classroom challenging for both ESL students and mainstream teachers. The survey in the present study provided evidence of the diverse backgrounds of the ESL students with whom the studied teachers were working.

Their diverse backgrounds often meant that ESL students were coming into the classrooms with expectations and beliefs that were inconsistent with those of the mainstream teacher and mainstream students. Several examples of this emerged from comments made by the mainstream teachers concerning their observations of ESL students' view of the teachers themselves, of gender roles, of family relationships, and of religion.

For example, teachers noted that some ESL students viewed the role of the teacher differently from the view of the mainstream students. The more relaxed American system in which students are expected to state their opinions and to be directly involved in discussions with other students was very foreign to many ESL students. Many American schools pursue cooperative learning through groups, discussions, and presentations. However, in many countries outside the U.S., the teacher is the one who imparts the knowledge while
students are expected to be quiet and obedient. Thus, the expectations of the American classroom, especially the mainstream classroom, can be very disturbing to many ESL students. The ESL student's dilemma in the present study is evident in the following quotes.

**T5.** In their [native] country, if they say, "no I'm not understanding it," then that is an insult to the teacher. . . . So here we are, we're saying come on tell us, what don't you understand?

**T5X.** . . . we had some kids in the eighth grade level who have a hard time understanding the words . . . it is disrespecting their teacher if they ask questions but when they get to the ESL classroom, they open up.

**T5.5X.** Ours [ESL students] are very good so our challenge is just to keep them up to speed. . . . getting their assignments done. . . . making sure they understand every assignment . . . because they won't come to us initially. . . .

This response to teachers among many ESL students appeared to reflect a larger pattern of respect for authority. For example, mainstream teachers commented on the respect some ESL students demonstrated for their parents.

**T5.5X.** . . . our kids also have more family influence. One of the ESL students said he was afraid of his dad. I think that meant he respects his father. He is 6'6", and he is big. He would not do anything to go against his father. You don't hear many American kids saying that. I think the family structure, sometimes, is tight. He is the oldest son. I think they depend on him.

**T5X.** . . . the respect for their parents is very strong with these students. . . . I know especially with the Asian and the Far East students, you know that respect factor is very, very strong, at least that's what I've seen.
This respect often put ESL students in a bind as they interacted with teachers and parents. While some ESL students felt loyalty to their parents and held them in high regard, their parents felt quite subordinate to teachers. When cultural differences led to conflicting expectations from parents and teachers, the resulting misunderstandings negatively affected the relationship of the mainstream teacher and the ESL student.

ETQ. The problem I see with the parents is how intimidated they are and . . . how uncomfortable that must be. We have to understand that the mother of the student doesn't have any schooling. Even in Spanish, they cannot read or write. Imagine coming to a school and then coming to a meeting that is regarding your son having problems and then you see all the teachers, the facilitator, the psychologist, how would you feel?

Other cultural differences included gender roles. Often ESL students came from countries with a very traditional, largely passive, view of the female role. The female ESL student might feel obligated to conform to such expectations. One mainstream teacher suggested that while most ESL students were quiet, this seemed to be especially the case for female ESL students.

T6. I cannot think of a single female ESL student who ever acted out. Very few males. Of the ones I have had, I cannot think of a single female student, ESL student, who was aggressive, demanding, or mouthy or objecting to anything I asked them to do. They were always more passive and, perhaps, passive aggressive. Maybe they're passive in not doing their work consistently.

Many ESL students were from countries in which males and females are not even educated together. These students were
surprised to find females in the class and even more
surprised to see female students discussing their own views
on various subjects. Similarly, it was sometimes a surprise
to have a female teacher for those ESL students from a
culture where a woman's role does not include work outside
the home. The perceived confusion of some ESL students over
gender roles in the classroom is seen in the following quote.

T1. ... then getting into a room with girls and
the social behaviors of, it's, you know, a big
adaptation, and I don't know how closely that they work
even with the counselors on something like that. I
think that they could probably involve the counselors
more.

ESL students also brought with them religious beliefs
that frequently were not well understood in American culture,
and these students did not understand core religious beliefs
and/or holidays that interweave with American school customs
and calendars. These religious differences made it more
challenging for ESL students to become a central part of the
school system. These differences required a two-way
education as is evident in the experiences of the following
two mainstream teachers.

T2. He's comfortable [the ESL student]. ... he
came up to me before class today. ... And I said,
"you have a holiday tomorrow, what is it?" He said,
"Ramadan," and so I asked him what he would be doing
... I thought that was kind of good. He took the
initiative just to come and to tell me. ... Now, at
the beginning of the year he wouldn't have done that.

T1. ... because many of our students really
don't know what Christmas is ... as a house [a
division within the school] we should do something where
different students present things about Christmas, and then things about their celebrations.

Finally, the cultural marginalization of the ESL student was furthered by another type of cultural difference, a difference in awareness of what humans could do to other humans because of one's membership in an oppressed group. A significant number of ESL students had to endure very traumatic experiences before arriving in the U.S.

ET10. We got a lot of Africans this past year, Somalians, Sudanese. Before Kurdish was our largest number. . . . also, a large number of Bosnians.
I. Would it be fair to . . . call them refugees?
ET10. Yes.
I. So they really are leaving their countries because if they didn't, they might be killed or . . .
ET10. Yes.

Each student handled such realities in a different way, but the most common way was for students to keep silent. This silence was often due to fear for their lives and the lives of their families in case their new residence was discovered by people in their home country. It also reflected the reality that mainstream American students were unlikely to understand such experiences.

T1. . . . a lot of the students who have been coming here lately have been coming because of exile situations so there is that extra sensitivity there that some of the other students just can't understand . . .

Thus, as the ESL student sat in the mainstream classroom and interacted with the mainstream teacher and students, that student carried with him or her different cultural beliefs, expectations, and experiences which made him or her
marginalized within the context of the regular classroom. Other factors, such as linguistic differences, further enhanced this marginalization.

**Marginalized linguistically.** ESL students come into the American school system with a wide range of English language skills in speaking, writing, and reading. The ESL student's command of the English language will largely determine how well he or she is able to adjust to life in the mainstream classroom. It was clear from interviews with my informants that many ESL students were marginalized linguistically, but it was also clear that not all were equally marginalized. The range of difficulty began at one extreme with students who probably should not have been in the mainstream classroom at all. In response to a question about one such student, a teacher commented,

*T2.* We're talking very, very basic. He hardly speaks English as far as I can understand. . . . I thought he was going to struggle. He shouldn't even be in my class at this point.

*ET8.* . . . the biggest barrier they [ESL students] have is their language so when they do math, they can't understand the question to do math and when they do science, they can't understand the directions to do the activity. So, basically, it's a language struggle. . . .

Frustration from such experiences triggered the perception that some ESL students were mainstreamed before they should be simply because it was assumed that certain content areas were more easily handled by linguistic minority students than other areas.
If you can't survive in English, how can you survive in a reading course such as History? But this is my own personal feeling that sometimes Social Studies or History is kind of a dumping ground, and I have to be very honest when I say I don't understand if you can't get along in English class, how are you supposed to get along in a History class?

Of course, as time passes, more English is learned, and both student and teacher adjust to one another. One teacher noted that he had to make significant adjustments, at first, to his student's difficulty with English, but this situation improved with time.

I. Does she, like when you would go over and talk to her, would she understand pretty much what you are saying or do you need to slow down?

I need to slow down quite a bit. And if you slow down, I think she does know. I don't think she did earlier in the year. But what are we now—five months into the school year. I think she understands quite well now . . .

However, even ESL students who were relatively fluent in English had difficulty in the mainstream classroom. This difficulty took several forms. For example, it could be relatively minor such as a misunderstanding of everyday expressions that native speakers take for granted.

The students that are here, that are in mainstream classes, can speak English fluently. They may not be able to write English as well as they speak it, or understand it as well as they speak it, but they know. The problem lies with simple things that we assume they know. When we are native language speakers, we know what the word, "estimate," means. We know what the word, "guess," means. . . . They don't. So, it's easy for a mainstream teacher to teach them that because, I mean, it's just the simple words that they don't understand.
Unfortunately, some of the minor words ESL students misunderstood included inappropriate slang—slang they had heard with some frequency from native speakers. Misusing such terms not only could be embarrassing, it also could get ESL students into trouble.

T1. A lot of them don't realize that some of the things [aren't] acceptable and [the ESL teacher] has gone through it with some of them that you don't realize just because you hear people using these words, that these are words that aren't supposed to be used and that's a tough and touchy subject for some of these students. . . . They pick up a lot of words that they shouldn't be hearing and start using them . . .

The above quotes described the types of problems non-native speakers were likely to confront inside or outside of the classroom, but there were problems unique to the classroom that significantly challenged even very fluent ESL students. A mainstream teacher noted,

T5X. Just because they speak fluent English doesn't mean they are ready for the concepts at a certain level. . . . Because these boys have very fluent English but sometimes I think they aren't maybe ready for this level at times.

This difficulty in understanding the basic concepts in a particular discipline was more or less of a challenge depending on the academic discipline in question, but it was a problem to some extent in all disciplines. The following comments about ESL students in mainstream social science, math, physical education, and art classes all show that ESL students who were fluent in English still were marginalized by the concepts unique to a given content area.
T3. Well, a social studies class is going to have a much higher degree of English proficiency necessary than say even an English class. . . . if you're discussing some concept, some idea . . . then it gets to be difficult. Then the language skills need to be improved even for our own English students.

T2. Well, and I'm getting these ESL students like this boy from Cuba who speaks very little English and you open up these math books and there's lots of writing all over the place, lots of word problems. You can't find a page with just numbers.

I. Phy ed is another area and . . . there are directions.

T3. Directions for lockers, rules, that kind of thing. I think there's, you know, there's always those skills for areas that we forget about sometimes, and we think well they can go to art class and paint or they can cook something in home econ. If they've never had any training in those areas, they need to have the explanations. . . . They don't measure [in Europe] the same way we do.

There was at least one area where some of these problems were mitigated by the content itself. A surprising finding in my interviews was the presence of ESL students in mainstream foreign language classes. Why would a student already struggling to learn English be placed in a class where he or she had to learn yet another language? The answers are revealed below.

T3. They're all beginning. That's why I think sometimes for an ESL student, well, they're already struggling to learn English so learning another language may not be a real positive thing for them, but the one positive about a foreign language class is that they would be starting French at the same level as the American student, and they would be at the same place at the same time. . . . we can give this student a chance to excel in some area that he feels comfortable with, and that will keep him motivated to try harder so that he can do this in other classes and, you know, to maybe have some carry-over from this language to that language . . . .
In other words, at least in a foreign language class, the inability to speak English was less of a marginalizing force. There was another force at operation here, as well. In a foreign language class, there was less focus on abstract concepts and more on skills and conversation. This latter focus worked to help ESL students learn English in other skills related courses. This point was made by one teacher below.

T3. I think, perhaps, in classes like art and shop and phy ed and a foreign language class where they can sit and work on projects that are not necessarily academic at the time but they are hands on classes where real conversation takes place. . . . Now the academic areas are going to help them for their technical stuff, their knowledge stuff, but the language acquisition is going to come where they can just sit and listen, listen and talk and feel free that nobody is going to judge them. . . . I think it's those settings where more happens than sometimes in the classroom because they are simply watching and listening there to knowledge.

Finally, linguistic marginalization affected not only the ESL student but also the ESL student's family and how both the student and his or her family related to the mainstream teacher. Teachers rarely saw ESL students' parents. This was probably due to these parents' lack of English skills and to their limited experience with American schools. Inability of the mainstream teacher to work effectively with ESL students' parents further marginalized those students. Two mainstream teachers noted their difficulty in talking with the parents of ESL students during parent/teacher conferences.
T2. I haven't met all of the parents of the ESL students. . . . I know last year, one came with an interpreter. Now this boy, his brother comes and not his parents. I have also had like, you know, foster families come that have adopted this child. You never know if you are going to see anybody or not. . . . because usually with the parents the language isn't as far along as with the son or the daughter.

T6. I think they are intimidated. Usually their English-speaking skills are way far, far worse than their children's. They are just here trying to survive, and I think the whole school system, the whole teacher thing is intimidating. Very, very seldom have I ever seen any ESL parent at a parent/teacher conference, very seldom.

This linguistic marginalization played a key role in the ESL student's acceptance or lack thereof in the academic life of the school. Some ESL students lacked very basic English language skills while others were fluent overall but misunderstood certain everyday words, slang, or content specific concepts. These linguistic difficulties, whether minor or major, along with the cultural differences mentioned earlier, set the stage for social marginalization.

**Marginalized socially.** Across the nation, ESL students are in a difficult situation. All that was familiar to them is back in their home country. Often they and their families were forced to leave their native countries because of political atrocities and were most likely sent to a refugee camp before entering the United States. Then, once in the United States, they and their families often meet prejudice and anger because of their very presence in our country. The ESL families must find housing in a strange culture, and the
children must start school in a very foreign and often hostile middle/junior high school environment. Here the ESL students come face to face with prejudice, lack of tolerance, and their own frustration at becoming a marginalized person because of their different languages, customs, religions, and values. All of this is happening at a very stressful time in their lives—adolescence. Thus, ESL students and programs operate within the context of considerable national resistance to immigration and in the face of prejudice against ethnic and racial minorities.

The community where this study was conducted mirrored, at least to some extent, these national patterns. It was worried about the increasing wave of non English-speaking peoples arriving in the area. For example, much negative publicity had been given to the increasing numbers of Hispanic people in the region. Recent burglaries, violence, and gang activity in Hispanic neighborhoods contributed to this xenophobia.

According to my informants, this anti-immigrant sentiment— or at least concern about increasing numbers of immigrants— was evident among some mainstream students and teachers. Informants made the following comments.

I. . . . how are the [ESL] students accepted by other students?
T6. I don't think well. For one thing . . . ninth graders are not particularly tolerant of people. . . . I teach U.S. history. . . . We are now in the 20's and this is when they began to cut off unlimited immigration. They began to put up the quotas and
whatever, and whenever we get into classroom discussion, that's [support for these limitations is] very common. Now, again, these are ninth graders' lack of tolerance. They tend to repeat what their parents say or what the media says.

TL. I've gotten . . . the feeling . . . they're not against that but more against like, I heard some people talking about . . . why are [people from a social service agency] bringing all these people in and I said, well, you know, it's not so much that. They're doing it. They're going to continue to do it. It's up to us to decide what are we going to do about it. You know, you can't feel angry because people are trying to give people an opportunity to get out of a bad situation and come and start again. In most of these cases, that's very true and it doesn't seem like they are getting maybe all that they could be getting.

TL. . . . it's just that people in general think well, we're here, why should we be catering to these; you know it's the immigration story and there is some resentment there. It's just like there has been towards the migrants here for a long, long time and I think it's sad if it shows up and the students have to deal with that. . . . I've seen the attitudes out there towards these people [immigrants] . . . one of the common things is that they are mistaken for migrants and putting all their feelings that they had towards migrants, about using the _____ [State] Social Security or whatever, you know the whole story, and expressing those towards all Hispanics and the Cubans [who] are coming over.

This national and local negativity found its way into the schools where ESL students tried to become part of the school environment. Prejudice easily entered into the middle/junior high school where this age group was very frightened of anything that was seen as not fitting in. It is clear from the comments of mainstream teachers that these teachers saw the potential for ESL students to be the target of such prejudice but that this did not automatically develop in all situations.
XI. And it really depends on your class though. I have a good class that I would say if I had an ESL student in there, I think that they would react that way, that they would really sort of bond to help him or her out, especially a few of the students that can be leaders. But then I have another class where I think the opposite might happen where I have, you know, students calling other students stupid so I can imagine if you put an ESL student in that situation it's not going to be the best situation.

T5X. I think the only harassment that is really happening is from kids who aren't in the same house, who see them [ESL students] in the hallway and will do something.

One of the observations of the mainstream teachers was that many ESL students grouped together for moral support. This probably resulted from the comfort found in similar companions and from the forces of marginalization. However, this banding together often caused further marginalization as mainstream students reacted negatively to groups of students talking in a language they did not understand.

1. . . . do you note all of the ESL students are over there in a little group?

T1. Yah. Especially being next to the ESL classroom, and I will go out in the hall and watch a few of them [ESL students], but yah, they do tend to group together and some of them more than others, and some of them you need to keep an eye on pretty closely.

T3. But, yes, I guess I think they [ESL students] probably, maybe the first year, they kind of stay together because they have more classes together, and they know each other better and then, after that, I think they just break off and they get involved with classes just like any other.

T6. The [mainstream] kids don't see that they [the ESL students] want to be their friends because they are congregating together and they're speaking a language that these kids can't understand.
T5X. I had bus duty outside, and I saw them [ESL students]. They would all hang out together, and, of course, they were talking in their language, and I went over there, and I said, "Hey, this isn't fair. I don't know what you guys are saying." But they had some humor with it. They laughed. . . . but I have run into a couple of them who have probably had something happen to them in their native country which made them very angry, and their behavior is not acceptable. . . .

I. What happens then?

T5X. Well, you do approach them, and say something like "Let's go talk." . . . They may be laughing just because they can't understand us anyway, or they may understand and say, "You can't do anything." So, I would talk with ____ [the ESL teacher], and she would sit down with them. That is someone that they have a connection with, and who they can trust. Here, we are somebody who they have never seen before, and they don't have any connection with us.

T6. So . . . they [mainstream students] have these kids around them who don't speak English, and it makes them really angry when they are walking down the hallway, and these little clusters of ESL kids are speaking some other language. It really ticks them off. So, I guess I wouldn't say there is a whole lot of assimilation going on.

This social separation between the ESL students and the mainstream students was a product, in part, of the initial placement of ESL students into a separate ESL program to learn English.

Often mainstream students viewed the ESL students as not very intelligent because of their lack of English skills, different customs, foreign background, and the separate ESL program.

T2. . . . he [an ESL student] isn't taking eighth grade English in this house or History or Science like everybody else is. . . . It makes it harder for him to be acquainted because the other kids are seeing other students again and again throughout the day and these students aren't.
In addition to their own marginalization, often ESL students had to help their parents fit into the local community. The parents usually struggled to understand American customs, language, and certainly American schools. Some parents not only did not speak English, but often did not know how to read or write in their own language. This certainly caused further separation or marginalization of the ESL students themselves.

Facing a community that was concerned about an influx of immigrants, prejudice from mainstream students, and parents who were not well integrated themselves, ESL students were challenged to feel an accepted part of the school and the local community. This challenge is apparent in the following comments from teachers describing their perceptions of the mainstream students' acceptance of the ESL students.

I. They're accepted by their peers and everything?
T5. X. Yes, I mean you are always going to have that discrimination somewhat but they have to learn to deal with that. . . . But, at the same time, we need to work to help them feel comfortable and make them feel comfortable in our classroom, so if I see it, I try to disintegrate it and get moved on . . .

T2. . . . initially you feel worse . . . at the beginning because he [an ESL student] is brand new, and you don't know him, and it is hard. And then, once you get to know the student, you develop a relationship. . . . as an instructor, you have started to realize he isn't so alone, not the way he is in the beginning or whoever and that helps.

The social marginalization of the ESL students should not be over emphasized, however. When I asked teachers about mainstream students' acceptance of ESL students, many
teachers suggested that they thought their students were accepting of ESL students. Several factors seemed to relate to the level of acceptance. First, time played a factor as suggested in one of the above quotes. The longer the ESL student was in the class, the greater the likelihood of acceptance.

T7. . . . She [an ESL student] started out very timid and very difficult to talk to, and I think she has opened up a lot. She was in the play. She had a part in the Christmas play, and I think that helped her kind of come out a little bit and got with some other kids and met some new people and stuff and, so, I think, that helped her. The only negative thing with that, her grades slipped drastically during that time period, so she probably is a student who has trouble handling both.

Second, ESL students whose culture and/or personal experiences were more similar to U.S. customs were more likely to be accepted by mainstream students. One teacher made several observations along these lines in discussing an ESL student from a European country.

T3. . . . I think coming from another country . . . not in a third world country. . . . He [an ESL student] dresses like our kids dress. . . . He knows about the same superstars. He knows about the same sports, the same music because ______ [the student's European home] was quite with it, too, as part of the western culture, so he is quite knowledgeable about those kinds of things and doesn't seem to be isolated, but the strictly unique American kinds of things he will still question.

I. Is he accepted as kind of one of us or does he stand out?

T3. If you put him in a room, he wouldn't look any different than any of the other kids. . . . No, there's nothing unusual. . . . Other than when he talks, he has an accent. . . . he reacts pretty much like all the rest of the kids, and he behaves and misbehaves pretty much like kids his age do. He is
interested in girls, and there are some girls that kind of like him too because he's a bigger boy, he doesn't look like a little boy, and there is that foreign appeal, kind of a novelty to some kids.

Third, the ESL student's personality played a role in acceptance according to the interviewed mainstream teachers.

I. The student in this class—the ESL student—it sounds as if he is pretty well integrated into the class, accepted.

T3. He is with some of the students. He has a couple of friends in this class I think that appreciate his humor and appreciate his personality, and then there are others who maybe find him a little bit offensive or too showy maybe, too outspoken because they tend to be quieter. It's just a different personality. It's nothing to do with where he's from or the language he speaks or any of that.

T7. I think the other students accept her. But there, again, I think they probably accept her better than the other gal because I think she is more outgoing. . . . where one of the girls tends to lay back and expects others to do for her what the other girl will do for herself and seeks information and seeks help and stuff like that. It is just a different personality.

Fourth, acceptance also was dependent on the mainstream students themselves. Their personalities and levels of tolerance directly affected their willingness to accept ESL students.

T1. . . . I did hear a positive from one of the teachers, some positive things, that they had a new student that speaks very little English . . . and how the other students were kind of uniting to help him out, to try to really explain things to him, to make an extra effort.

I. . . . do you feel that, overall, they are integrated, accepted?

T3. Pretty much. I think that some of our American students are afraid to talk to them [ESL students], afraid that they won't be understood, and I think some of the foreign students are maybe a little hesitant, understandably so, to open up to a lot of
them. But, at the same time, I know there are ESL students there, there are like four of these foreign students and three of the Americans, young boys sitting there and they are all sitting together. But it is the same boys that are sitting at the table with them so maybe it's their friends.

Finally, according to the mainstream teachers, the context of the classroom appeared to make a difference. For example, teachers who made an effort to have students work in groups believed that they had created an environment supportive of the interaction necessary for mainstream and ESL students to get to know each other.

T4. ... what I always did was put that [ESL] student next to someone that I know was understanding and would take care of that student. So if I gave a verbal instruction very quickly, I would know that that student would then tell the other student slower what we were going to do. And I allowed that in my classroom.

I. And the students, ... do they accept that pretty well?

T4. The ESL student?

I. I'm thinking of the native speakers.

T4. Oh, yes. They like it. It gives them a little bit more authority.

I. Because I was wondering if they would sort of like be. ... Oh, no. ...

T4. Some students would, but the majority of kids are going to want to help that person.

I. ... do they [ESL students] feel strange that they are working with another [non-ESL] student?

T5, 5X. No, I don't think strange. I think they feel, actually, much better because now they are not only learning from a teacher, but they are learning from their peers, and the more that they interact with them, the more they talk, the more they feel comfortable, and the more the people around them get to know them too.

T2. So, I would say that this whole chapter on problem solving has been a real boost for him [an ESL student] ... they have been working in groups, and they have only been doing a few problems as opposed to
20 or 30 problems, and there has been a lot of talking, and those girls have enjoyed working with him.

In addition, teachers in foreign language classes felt that the types of students selecting that subject area were more open and the focus of the class, itself, led to greater tolerance for cultural and linguistic differences.

I. This would be a course [a foreign language course] that students would choose. Is it fair to say, do you think, you would have some of the better students?

T. Overall, yes, and I think, probably, a little more accepting kind of person because they are trying to learn about a new culture, and they are trying to learn about other people. They tend to be a little more open-minded kind of person rather than the person who maybe is not interested in a foreign language or another culture.

The American school has the job of helping these non-native English speakers to become a part of the school community. This task becomes more challenging when one considers that American public schools are the places where multiple levels of diversity are found. From social, physical, mental, and linguistic differences to differences in customs, religions, values, knowledge, and languages, schools are asked to educate all students in the United States.

The question that schools seem to be struggling with is, "How do we help all students, regardless of language, physical and emotional abilities, and social differences to succeed in our school system so that these students will become competent and informed human beings?" Thus, I asked
mainstream teachers about their views on efforts to mainstream students who have been marginalized for one reason or another.

I. Do you find that having ESL students mainstreamed . . . is that helpful, a hindrance?

T7. Tough question. . . . I am not convinced that it is helpful educationally. It's probably helpful socially for them adjusting to different diversity. . . . Educationally, I don't know, I guess I would tend to go on the other side in that I don't know how much we are gaining by it in the regular classroom as far as what they understand and are able to understand.

Clearly, mainstreaming the marginalized ESL students--marginalized culturally, linguistically, and socially--was a significant challenge for all concerned, including the students themselves, and, ultimately, the mainstream teachers. Presumably, an approach to accomplish this process was the ESL program and teacher. However, interviews with mainstream teachers and ESL administrator/teachers suggested that this approach, itself, suffered from marginalization.

The Marginalized Status of the ESL Program and the ESL Teacher

As long as ESL students are "ESL students," they are part of the ESL program and connected with the services of its staff. The mainstream teacher, who has ESL students, is by definition connected to this program. Thus, to the extent that the funding and staffing of the ESL program are insufficient, the success of the mainstream teacher in working with ESL students is likely to be hampered.
Both mainstream teachers and ESL administrator/teachers were asked about their perceptions of this support. Their answers inevitably reflected concerns specific to the school and district under study, but there was little sense in the interviews that teachers were focusing their concerns on individual programs or people. Instead, many of the issues raised by informants also are likely to resonate with mainstream teachers and ESL administrator/teachers across the nation. Overall, it is evident that ESL programs and teachers are marginalized and that they are marginalized, in part, precisely because they are ESL programs and teachers.

**ESL program.** Interviews with both the mainstream teachers and ESL administrator/teachers suggested that there were a number of factors that were likely to marginalize the ESL program itself. For example, the ESL program suffered from what I might label as "curriculum diffusion." While there were enough ESL students to support a program, there were not enough to justify ESL staffing for each of the disciplines taught in the school. Instead, one ESL teacher was stretched across multiple subject areas. This reality concerned several of the interviewed mainstream teachers.

T1. I think ____ [an ESL teacher] teaches three different subjects, History, Geography, and English [for ESL students not yet mainstreamed into a given subject]. So, she has those three preps plus . . . three resource rooms [rooms where those ESL students who have been mainstreamed into one or more subject areas can return for help from the ESL teacher].
T3. You've got all of these students [mainstreamed ESL students] with a different history teacher, and they are all at a different place in the book, and they all have different math teachers. I don't know how she [the ESL teacher] does it. I don't know. . . .

T1. . . . usually during the 15-30 minutes that she [the ESL teacher] has lunch she may even consider talking to you over her lunch. A lot of time she is preparing things because there is no lesson. There is no curriculum and that's another problem.

This "curriculum diffusion" also concerned one of the interviewed ESL administrator/teachers.

ET8. . . . when you [ESL students] do mainstream class work, you are able to come to a resource room and get help in those classes, but . . . I'm [as the ESL teacher] the only person in here and there are 12 students and the mainstream teachers assume that they [the ESL students] are being tutored in the resource room, but with 12 people and one teacher and 50 minutes, that's impossible. . . . it is built into my schedule because second period I teach English. I'm the teacher, and they are getting instruction in English. Then, second period, it is World History, so they get content in World History just like a regular class and that's me. In fourth period they have resource, so it's like their study hall, but they get help. Then sixth period, they have resource, and then seventh period, I teach Science, and the eighth period, they have another resource. . . . I teach three different classes, and I have to have three sets of curriculum for three different classes every day, and I get 60% of the teacher's salary . . . which I don't think is fair.

The above issues were a product of the nature of the ESL program—that is, one program dealing with students in multiple classes—and a product of funding shortcomings. These twin forces also led to problems in securing the necessary curriculum materials.

ET8. We don't get a book. . . . we get like consumable workbooks, and . . . that is like our guideline and from that guide, we can supplement it with different activities, you know, videos and things like
that, but I have to come up with those different activities and different videos and stuff like that. I mean we get kind of a skeleton, and then we have to fill it in.

T1. But my argument is that if they are taking a history class, just like any other student who is taking a history class, why do the other students get books, and they don't? These are probably people that need books more than anything. [they] need some sort of structure and for a teacher to come up with that all on her own, I mean we're not to be writing the books at the same time we're teaching the material. It just doesn't seem fair to those students—if I'm coming from their viewpoint—that they should not be entitled to the same things as our students within the district. And that's the way I see it, that they are not getting the same thing.

Finally, the ESL program in the studied district was supported to a significant extent by soft money. This truly kept the program in a marginal role vis-à-vis the overall school program.

T1. . . . the _____ [State] Legislature really needs to do something regarding ESL. I read in the paper . . . that . . . the state . . . thought the district itself should do the funding because we have more [ESL students] in the area than any of the other districts in the state. But yet it is the state's guidelines that have set up something for ESL for teachers, for them to be qualified teachers. I'm sorry, but they should be salaried just like anybody else.

ET1Q. . . . It's money. . . . If they [individual middle/junior high schools] have ninth graders, they [the school's students] have to have an English credit to take that class, so that's why the [the ESL teacher] is contracted 60%. They [ESL teachers] don't [get] credit for resource [for supervising the resource room]. I mean, I know she does just as much as a special ed teacher, I know she does.

ESL teacher. The ESL teacher was seen as being on the fringes of the main curriculum. The ESL teacher in the
studied school district was on a special, part-time (usually 60%) contract, so he or she was not considered as a regular full-time faculty. This meant lower pay, often no benefits, a heavier teaching load, and further marginalization because the funding often depended on grants. The ESL teacher wondered from year to year if there would be a job the next year. This is evident in the following comments from two mainstream teachers.

T1. She is not paid full time but she is working almost full-time hours.
   T1. I don't know if the . . . system would ever make that just like a regular teaching job.
   T1. I don't know what that's going to take. And that's really sad because there is no incentive to become an ESL teacher. . . . It's almost degrading to see that they're doing this. This year has really put me in contact with that being so close to ____ [the ESL teacher] and hearing some of the things that are either just taken for granted such as now we are giving you more students. It's amazing.

T1. But it is really ridiculous because she ends up working tons of time, probably even more than I do, because she has more preps and she has time when her resource rooms, they don't count those as her teacher subject, per se, but she is tutoring students. . . . If I'm a teacher that's something that should be included in there. And I just don't think that it's really fair at all. . . . if they had realized that's the way it was going to be, they probably wouldn't have gotten involved. And I'm just thinking there is going to be a turnover rate.

T1. They don't have the benefits of the rest of the teachers. They aren't even viewed as teachers in some ways. In some ways, again, those resource rooms, and I don't know, if you're putting the time into it, I just think . . . and I think they are getting paid just like a para or something . . . and that's not the case. They've been trained for this. Most of them have sort of a degree even in ESL which isn't even required I don't think in ____ [State].
T5.5X. . . . she [the ESL teacher] is a teacher, that's what she is here for. It's kind of sad to see that, you know, she is doing all this work, and she is just an hourly wage or whatever. It's tough to see.

This lack of regular, full-time funding and lack of a regular, full-time teacher contract made the high turnover of ESL teachers inevitable. This high turnover rate of ESL teachers was upsetting to the mainstream teachers because they found that the approach that each ESL teacher used was different, and this was often confusing and upsetting to the classroom teacher who already wondered exactly how he or she was supposed to be teaching these ESL students. This high turnover also meant that classroom teachers did not know what to expect from the ESL teacher because that person changed so often.

T5X. . . . the turnover has been different every year of both teachers and students. . . . It would be like getting a new administrator every two years. You know how . . . things work so that is kind of tough.

T5.5X. Well, it's a stress job and, I mean, she is doing everything. She has five different preps. . . . She decides what she wants to cover. I mean, you would have no clue as to all those different levels, some at a third, some at a fifth, some at a tenth grade level. That would be difficult to do, to make sure you are getting everyone accounted for. I can see why there is high burnout.

Additionally, the ESL teacher often was excluded from some mainstream teachers' meetings because of his or her part-time schedule. Because of the unique schedule, the ESL teacher did not have a planning period nor some of the benefits that mainstream teachers received.
Not all content area teachers were aware of the part-time status of the ESL teacher. When asked what they knew about the ESL program and teacher, a frequent response was "I know nothing or very little." Few mainstream teachers knew that the ESL teacher was considered part-time, had no planning period, had few sick days, and was hired mainly on grant money. This lack of knowledge not only reflected but enhanced the ESL teacher's marginalization. Mainstream teachers who did not know of these limitations on the program and on the ESL teacher were free to maintain unreasonable expectations for the services they desired to support their work with ESL students.

**T1.** ... I don't know what the other teachers know. ... she only gets something like two sick days or something like that so she didn't even want to take some sick days whereas I got 12 which it didn't coincide whatsoever and, again, maybe that's because they weren't counting the resource rooms. ... that just seemed to me just really wild that anyone would be considered 60%, would only have very few sick days leave. ...  

**T2.** Is [the ESL teacher] hired as a teacher?  
**I.** She is a teacher, what did she tell me, at 60% and she has like a day of sick leave or two days at the most.  

**T2.** 60%. So they are calling her 60% because she is teaching three subjects?  
**I.** I have no idea. ...  

**T2.** And the rest is tutoring?  
**I.** They are getting a bargain.  

**T2.** Well, that is why I got out of ESL. I tutored for two years and was part time and was working more than full time at it.  

**T3.** I guess I have never visited with them personally about their contracts, but from past history I know that those people are on a different plan than we are.
Finally, the ESL teachers in the studied state were not required to have an ESL license, and few had it, at least in the district studied.

**ET8.** It varies according to the state. In [a bordering state] you need an ESL licensure apart from whatever Bachelor's degree you hold. In [the studied state], you need a Bachelor's degree. You don't need an ESL licensure.

**ET10.** None of our ESL teachers at this point have to have ESL endorsement . . .

This gave administrators more flexibility in whom they hired, and it allowed the system to keep very good ESL teachers who did not have a license, but it may also have been a factor in the ESL teacher's marginalization. These teachers, however, were required to have a teaching certificate, preferably in English, so students in the ESL program could receive English credit for taking ESL courses.

The Mainstream Teacher: Marginally Prepared for ESL Students

Today's teacher has many more challenges in the classroom than ever before. For example, most mainstream teachers now have a wide variety of students with needs for which they have not been trained, such as students who have learning disabilities, students who are emotionally or behaviorally disturbed, students with attention deficit disorders, and, finally, students who do not speak English as their first language.
Many teachers in the present study expressed frustration over this lack of training. My informants questioned how they could effectively teach special needs students, including ESL students, when their training had focused on mainstream students. Many teachers felt that their pedagogy for special needs students amounted to doing whatever their common sense and experience allowed them to do within the very tight constraints of multiple demands and insufficient training. Some mainstream teachers expressed a sense of being a "dumping ground." Whether trained or not, teachers were simply expected to accept the challenge and move on.

T6. ... I never, never, never had any class that dealt with learning disabilities, educably mentally handicapped students, English as a Second Language. ... it's not until you have actually had to deal with it that you begin to develop philosophy and ideas, be they wrong or right or whatever.

T6. I'm teaching three ESL kids. In reality, you are teaching three kids from very different cultures, and you don't know anything about their culture. You don't know anything about their biases. ... I don't feel that I am qualified to say what should be done for those kids. I don't know. I know that I have this responsibility for this classroom. And I'm hoping that on the tail end of it, they are getting something.

T5. ... we have not had a whole lot of educational background for ourselves to know how to deal with the ESL students. We try and have our department help us out, but there is so much to do. There is not the time, the funding, the facilities to incorporate all of that. So, they not only need to know our culture, we need to know their culture, and it's tough.

Most teachers did not know what teaching techniques would work best with ESL students. They really were not sure
how to help the ESL student feel comfortable in the mainstream classroom and to become acquainted with mainstream students. Mainstream teachers said that they really had no idea how to adapt assignments and tests for ESL students. They were never taught how to do this.

As a result, mainstream teachers developed their own strategies. Usually what happened was that the mainstream teacher gave the ESL student the same test that he or she gave to other students, but shortened or simplified the test in some manner. This frequently meant that the test given to the ESL students was the same that the teacher had developed for the special needs students, such as special education students.

T6. He [an ESL student] will take a modified final which is less reading. For example, in my modified final instead of four selections for a multiple choice question there are only two. . . . so it's less reading. . . . He still has the same exact questions . . . but . . . fewer selections that he has to read. . . . he is taking the same modified test that my LD [learning disabled] kids are and . . . any other student that I feel is lower ability and has trouble with the reading comprehension.

One teacher developed a plan with his colleague, the special education teacher, to send ESL students to special education in order to have that teacher redo the test. In addition, the mainstream teacher allowed the ESL students to look at the test ahead of time to practice their responses. The teacher also let them pick the questions they wanted to answer.
I. . . . you gave your class a test. What do the ESL students do?

T2. They go to their special education room to take it. . . . then that teacher takes your test and redoes it or helps them with the test. . . . What I do with them is give them the test a couple of days ahead of time, and they make flash cards off of it and study for it, and then, sometimes, they will maybe have them answer half of them. Sometimes, I give them the freedom to pick out questions that they want to cover. So, oftentimes, for example, on a multiple choice where there are four answers, they may eliminate down to two answers for them, to modify it that way or just pick out questions, like essay questions they usually throw out. They don't like to do those. So, most of the time, this year now they have modified them to their needs . . .

T6. . . . that's [test modification] no big deal. I have to modify for all those other kids anyway. Usually, I guess my modifications are for anybody that's got issues and, shoot, that could even be an issue of "mom is in jail," whatever. My modification is that if there are extenuating circumstances you get the option of turning your work in whenever. So, the ESL kids have always, ever since I started teaching, had the option of turning in assignments, however long it takes them to get it done.

When interviewing one of the ESL administrator/teachers, asked if the above practice of giving ESL students the same test that special needs students were given was a common practice.

ET8. Yes, but I guess I don't know what they are doing for LD [learning disabled students] and in terms of adapting math, giving them less problems isn't helping them.

I. I wouldn't think so.

ET8. No, it is not. So that is not adapting their curriculum to help the ESL learner. For the LD learner, I mean, if the problem with LD is that they are not able to do that many problems, then that may help LD, but if an ESL student can't read, number one, having to do 20 instead of 50 isn't going to help him. So that's not going to help at all. And, you know, that was my biggest point in the meeting yesterday was that the largest problem they [ESL students] have is that they can't read the directions. And math is obviously the
hardest because you can't say this is number 1, 2, 3, and 4. For speech, you can read the directions to them and that will help them but math is the biggest problem.

This ESL administrator/teacher's comments clearly indicated that she did not view merely shortening tests as an entirely appropriate form of test modification. The typical ESL teacher would focus more on test language than test length, for example, by providing definitions of terms, simpler words, concrete examples, a dictionary, and/or verbal clarification. The difference between the approach to testing of some mainstream teachers in the present study and the ESL teacher's typical approach to test modification at least reflected, in part, mainstream teachers' lack of training in ESL.

This lack of ESL training also increased the challenge of working with ESL students' parents. Many teachers felt that the ESL parents, for whatever reason, simply did not want to get involved in their children's school. Several teachers observed that ESL parents never came to teacher conferences and did not respond to any notes that the teacher sent home with the students. My informants were sensitive to the role of language and culture in these communication problems, but they seemed uncertain about the appropriate techniques to overcome these obstacles.

Thus, my informants expressed frustration with a situation that forced them to meet challenges for which they were not prepared. In response, teachers did the only thing
they could do, punt. Until ESL training becomes a part of the preparation of mainstream teachers, future teachers will do their best, but their best may not be the best that can be done.

Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions:
Mainstreaming the Marginalized

With the above context in place, I will turn my attention to the central focus of my analysis: How do mainstream teachers view the challenge of working with ESL students in regular, content area classrooms? Three key issues emerged in the interviews: time, expectations, and collaboration. Specifically, mainstream teachers believed that their efforts to teach ESL students were hampered by lack of time, unclear expectations, and insufficient collaboration. It is my belief that each of these issues was a product, at least in part, of the larger context of an educational system that was mainstreaming students who entered the classroom with a truly marginalized status.

Time Bind

Throughout my interviews I repeatedly heard teachers complain about lack of time. This was a key source of frustration. Teachers wanted to do a good job but felt overwhelmed by the demands they faced relative to the time they had.

In teaching, time, no doubt, would be a challenge even if there were only 10 students in the class, but the class
size in the district I studied tended to be about 28 or more students. This was a large class even for the regular mainstream classroom, but it was a huge number of students when the class included a wide variety of student needs. It appeared that teachers believed they could better handle all of the special needs students if there were a limited number of these students in any one class, and also if the overall class size were reduced.

T7. I think one of the problems we face is that we need more one-on-one. It's a time factor with 29-30 kids in a classroom. You just simply can't find the time in the day to reach every one of them and that's kind of frustrating at times.

T7. . . . from the bottom of my heart, I care about each student and that ESL student is right in that mold with every other student. You need to provide as best you possibly can, and we fail sometimes. There's just 24 hours in everyone's day, and you divide it up as best you can, and somebody is going to get slighted. . . . So, I guess you take the most apparent and instant needs first and work from there.

In large classes, where most of the students were mainstream students, the presence of special needs students forced teachers to reallocate time they would otherwise spend with the mainstream students to these special needs students. This created considerable tension for the mainstream teacher. As one teacher asked, "What happens when all of my time is spent on redoing tests and assignments for all of the special needs students (including ESL students)? What then happens to the mainstream students? They also deserve my time and attention."
T2. The biggest challenge? I think it is to meet all their needs which you can't do. . . . And you do have the bright students that you have to keep thinking of ways to challenge and interest, and you have the ones who won't even bring their book to class, and then there are a lot in the middle, and, you know, pacing your class so that you can keep them interested and motivated and feel like they are getting some recognition. The other thing at junior high is to make some sort of connection with each student, and it's hard but you just keep working on it. . . . We have so many students with so many different needs. . . . It's just mind boggling and there are only so many hours in the day.

T6. Every year, you have kids with different problems, different things that have to be focused on. I don't know whose job it is. . . . but the facts are the teachers don't have time for individualized plans for their kids. You know, you may take your special services kids, aside from those kids, there are still kids in here besides those, that need other kinds of modifications and other changes. . . . Every kid should have something that fits for them. But that is not public school.

T7. And obviously, in American education today, and I think one of the faults of it is that we teach to the middle, and we are cheating an awful lot of kids. That bothers me. And I guess one of the ones that bothers me is that higher ability student, that we aren't able to challenge him because we spend 90% of our time with others who are in need, and the good students kind of tend to take care of themselves, and I'm not sure that that's fair.

This time bind was especially salient to teachers working with ESL students. The mainstream teacher needed to make a special effort to check with ESL students to see how much they had understood during class, because ESL students tended not to ask questions. As noted earlier, ESL students often came from cultures where it was considered rude to ask the teacher questions. This means that the mainstream teacher sometimes needed to set aside extra time to explain
the assignment to an ESL student to prevent him or her from falling behind. The time bind and resulting frustration caused by this need is evident in the following comments.

**T2.** . . . I can't take all the responsibility for making sure they understand everything because I don't have time. I have too many other students, and I don't have the time to work with him [an ESL student] individually. I do what I can, and I am finding it is helping him, and it is helping the other students to work with him, and as time goes on, we will do more of that. . . .

**T7.** . . . I need to spend a lot of time with that young lady to see that she understands an assignment. . . .

1. How do you do that?

**T7.** Give her the time that you can give her I guess. But the sad thing that I see with that is the time I give her I'm taking away from somebody . . . I should be spending, I feel, 15-20 minutes of every 40-minute class period just with her and obviously there are 29 others sitting there that need some help too. So that's the frustrating part . . .

This frustration built upon other frustrations. Teachers wanted to fully tap their students' abilities, but there was not enough time. They wanted to get their paperwork done, but there was not enough time. They wanted to work with parents, but there was not enough time. And teachers still needed time for their own lives and families.

**T7.** So the ability is there, I have no doubt about that, it's just how do you tap into that ability in a diverse classroom. That's the frustration.

**T6.** . . . teachers are totally overwhelmed with paperwork. . . . There's so much, so much.

**T6.** But parents continually expect you to do more. Expect their children to get very, very individual help and consideration. Maybe it's unfortunate that they are not, but at this point in time, I can't do that.
T6. I'm sorry, but I have a family and a life outside of this school. I'm somewhat guarded about that.

So, teachers clearly believed that there was too much to do and too little time. But what were teachers to accomplish with the time they did have, anyway?

Unclear Expectations and Goals

My interviews with mainstream teachers revealed a second source of frustration. Teachers did not know for sure what they were to accomplish in working with ESL students. This left the teachers wondering if they were giving these students and the school district what they needed and wanted. For example, teachers expressed confusion over the extent to which they should emphasize English skills, subject content, and/or social skills. This confusion led to a lot of extra stress for all involved.

I. . . . on a couple of the surveys someone said, "I'm sure glad all we have to do is give them social skills." And I thought well that's true, that's part of it, but is that ever verbalized?

T6. Well, no. That's absolutely not verbalized. We talked once about your preparation as a teacher in college, and all of these little individual scenarios are things you are not prepared for, and I guess in my _____ years in the . . . District, I have gotten so very little input on anything. You know, you are given a book, and that's it. You're given a book, and you're given your general learner outcomes as brought up by the teachers and that's your guidance. So, you have to rely a lot on the strength of the teachers . . .

T3. No, I can't say that I've ever been given any instruction or given any, like, checklist or any kind of guide to let me know what or where he [an ESL student] should be at a certain point in time. No, I have no idea.
I. . . . it seems like it would be very helpful to have the ESL teacher, at some time, at least tell you a little bit about this is what to expect. You never get that?

T5. No. And I don't know the reason why. Maybe it's because we have a new ESL teacher this year, and _____ [that teacher] is probably overwhelmed. . . . I have been in the system starting _____ [several years], and we have never had a special meeting just for the sake of introducing the students and telling us the background.

This lack of clear goals explained mainstream teachers' confusion about grading ESL students—what criteria should they use? Some felt that ESL students should be graded on the same criteria as mainstream students. Similarly, others felt ESL students should be graded on content, but given a "pass" just for trying because they had to learn English as well as course content. Others felt the only purpose in mainstreaming ESL students was to help them learn English in an intensive English environment—with much less emphasis on content learning. The resulting confusion is evident in the quotes below. Teachers differed in their standards; they were uncertain of what standards to use; and they were unclear about what could be done should ESL students not meet the standards. Finally, the ESL administrator/teachers appreciated the difficulty of the mainstream teachers' grading dilemma, but they believed that the decision should be the teacher's decision.

I. . . . what do the ESL students get for grades?

T5.5X. I've been giving mine regular letter grades.
I. OK. And it would count like any student's "A," "B," "C," or whatever?

T5.5X. Yup.

T1. I know if I have problems with students I talk to the counselor, I talk to the principal, and I see about them being removed from my class. . . . Whereas in English class, if they are struggling, I don't know if anyone hears about it, because they just have to stay there. Or, do we send them back to ESL? I don't know if teachers know the options either.

T1. . . . the teachers have the same questions, who makes the decision--do we remove him [an ESL student] from our class, or do we keep him? Who can I get this information from?

ET8. It's a situation [how to grade ESL students] that's basically left up to the individual teacher. . . . teachers used to call me at the beginning of the year with the same question, and I would tell them that it was up to them. If they felt that they had satisfactorily completed the course they could give an "S," "P," or an "F," whatever they wanted. . . . So a "P" or an "S" would say that they didn't fail necessarily, but they didn't pass, or they didn't get a "D." . . . I don't know if there is even a district policy, or if there is a general policy, because when they asked me, I didn't know, and, you know, each individual teacher has to determine whether or not they feel that the student has done enough to give them a satisfactory [grade]. You can have a student that works hard every day, turns in the homework, maybe doesn't do it all correctly but turns it in, listens, I mean, then maybe they have done satisfactory work enough to give them an "S." But if there is a student that sits there that's not a discipline problem but never turns in a piece of work, then they should get an "F." It all depends on what the teacher wants to do.

I. And I get the feeling . . . they really don't know what's expected . . .

ET8. There's really nothing that says, for ESL students, there is an option of an "S," a "P," or an "F." They don't know. I don't know. I was never told what an option was, and how the school system works and credits. I mean, I had no idea. And it would be nice for, you know, for me to include that on my memo to them. . . .

ET9. I have had some teachers being concerned or not knowing what grade to give the student and coming to
me and asking me saying, "I'm in between, I don't know what to do." . . . But other times, they just do whatever they want to do. They give their grades, and they don't ask for any extra information.

ET9. . . . there should be a little more communication between the ESL teacher and the mainstream teacher. That way there is not just one person doing all that racing. . . . If there is some communication with the ESL teacher, the ESL teacher can say, "OK, when it comes to a test, at this point there is no way that the student would know this unless you rephrase it into something else or is this relevant, does the student have a prior knowledge of this?" You know, something like that. But it is time-consuming.

I. Do ESL students fail very often in the content area?

ET9. My perception was that they don't pass.

I. Just enough to get by.

ET9. Yah, get by. . . . And many times I would complain about that to the teachers, and I would say they're passing but the problem is not solved. They haven't mastered anything . . . and they don't have to do very much in the other classes because they just sit and say, "I don't know English," so the teacher is going to pass you. . . . I would say, "Please, if you don't think the student . . . [is] . . . qualified to move on, don't give the grade. Don't feel bad that you are giving an "F" when the student deserves the "F."

ET9. . . . and she said she is not passing, and I said, "Very good, then don't pass her." She was willing to give her a "D," if I had said it was OK to give her a "D," but I said, "Don't, if she doesn't deserve it, do what you think is right." And, so finally, we talked to the student and said, "You're not succeeding. You have to go back to ESL."

The final two quotes not only provide insight into the confusion over goals and expectations, they also reveal ongoing communication between the ESL and mainstream teachers. This leads me to the third and final issue that arose throughout my interviews--a desire among mainstream
teachers for more support and communication from the ESL program/teacher and from the school system.

Support

Because of the many teachers and students involved in mainstreaming, it was essential that all parties were able to support each other. This support was needed both at the point an ESL student enters the program and throughout the subsequent mainstreaming process. My informants expressed frustration over what they perceived to be a lack of support at both stages. If this frustration were triggered by the idiosyncrasies of individuals in the studied district, there would be little reason to discuss this issue. However, it was clear in the teachers' comments that the majority of the frustration reflected a sense of just how difficult collaboration was. Each stage of the support process will be discussed below.

Initial entry. As non-native English-speaking students arrived in the community, they were settled into the community and registered in the schools. Once registered, they were placed in the appropriate schools, grades, and classes. Depending on a student's English ability, he or she was assigned to ESL classes only or to a combination of ESL classes and mainstream classes. Two ESL administrator/teachers described the process as follows.

I. So when a student like that or any other student or family comes, do they go to _____ [a local
social service agency] first, usually, and then they contact the school system?

ET8. Yes, . . . the curriculum manager . . . for ESL . . . works with [the above mentioned social service agency] in terms of knowing who is coming in. . . . . she would place them according to where they are living . . . into what school they would attend and get them tested, figure out if they should be in the entry level program or a regular ESL or mainstreamed in terms of their ability . . .

I. And does that generally . . . work well . . . ?

ET8. Yes, because the school system part is to make sure that when they enter the country, they get registered as soon as possible to benefit from the services . . .

I. . . . it seems that you should be party to this, and the schools should be able to kind of gauge how many students, how many teachers . . .

ET10. That's right. You know there are 100 Kurdish coming in, I don't know how many school age children. I have five families, ranging from one kid to seven kids that we haven't registered yet for this school year. So we have to be able to get them in.

I. They haven't arrived yet?

ET10. They're here. I haven't met them or registered them yet.

I. So you are the one who does that?

ET10. Right. I meet with the families, I give them the test, and then we decide, and then we go into the school and talk to the ESL teacher, redo the ESL schedule, when to get them in.

I. . . . how do the families get here?

ET10. They get here through [a local social service agency]. I mean the refugee families. There's the refugee families, but there is also second migration, and they may come from Georgia to join or wherever, to join a family here. [A local social service agency] isn't involved in that because they are second migration.

I. And would there be a contact person here other than you?

ET10. No. Their family member says, "OK, my cousin is here." . . .

I. . . . if they are second migration, who would contact you?

ET10. A relative or a friend, whoever brought them here.

I. OK. . . . And then what happens?
ET10. I go to the school. I look at their address. Go to the school, do their forms and that's where they go, yah, the ESL information form. Do they have the form for free and reduced lunch? . . .

I. And then you have to meet with the principal?

ET10. Yes. Sometimes it is with the principal, and sometimes it is with the secretary. Each school is different, and then we talk to the ESL teacher, "Where are we going to fit this kid in," talk to the classroom teacher, and sometimes I don't even talk to the classroom teacher, the kid is just there.

The need for communication between the ESL program and the mainstream teacher began with this initial placement of the ESL student into the mainstream classroom. Teachers raised a number of issues about this aspect of program/teacher communication. These issues ranged from concern over the short notice they sometimes received to a desire for more information on the incoming students.

For example, teachers perceived that many ESL students were placed into their classroom with little, if any, advance notice. As the ESL administrator/teacher mentioned in the previous quote, sometimes "the kid is just there."

I. . . . I get the feeling that people don't get much advance warning if they are going to have an ESL student.

T1. They don't. And I don't know if that is because a lot of time the school district doesn't know much in advance either and that happens with me in even regular students.

T2. . . . you might not even find out the day before, you might find the day of . . . "here's your new student" and the class is now starting. . . . I met [an ESL student] at the beginning of the class, [a teacher aide] walked him down, and we were having a test that day, and I was thinking, well, now what am I going to do with him?
T2. Usually you get a notice in your mailbox, the afternoon before, but you could miss that. . . . when we get other new students, it's the same thing. We get a notice in our box, and it is highlighted. But usually the counselor, whoever their counselor is, will walk them [the new mainstream students] around the day before or the morning of, a half hour before school will start. They [counselors] will come down with the [new mainstream] student and get them a locker, introduce them to us, show them where they are going to be. They [the new mainstream students] are getting the introduction that the ESL students aren't getting. And they should.

I. . . . the beginning of the school year, . . . do they ever say to you, "... you will have these students in your class, I'll have a chance to tell you a little bit about what you might need to know?"

T5. No. . . . the only thing that I maybe get is . . . a little piece of paper saying this is so and so. They came from so and so. This is their family background. This is how old they are, and they speak very little, moderate, or a lot of English.

A second concern expressed by both mainstream teachers and ESL administrator/teachers focused on the nature of the decision making process associated with student placement. How many students can the system absorb? Who should make the decision? And where should students be placed?

ET10. . . . I have told them _____ [a local social service agency] that we would like some input as to the numbers coming in. . . . Give us some input. But they don't. It's like here they are.

ET10. I don't want to be the one to make the final decision [about placement] but, many times, principals say, "You decide. You know more than we do."

T6. . . . my assumption is that someone has decided that this kid needs to be in my classroom and those somebodies should have knowledge about that placement . . . I'm not ESL trained.

Third, related to the concern over placement was a concern about screening. Several teachers expressed
confusion over the extent to which ESL students were screened prior to placement. Some assumed little if any screening was done. However, an ESL administrator/teacher indicated that such screening was done. What appeared to occur was some screening of English language skills and basic skills such as math, but little or no testing in many content areas such as science or social studies. Perhaps the key point here is that the confusion over the exact nature of the testing done reflected problems of communication during this initial entry stage.

T5X. . . . I think they should have some kind of [content area] testing beforehand because then a lot of that stuff gets taken care of before the fact.

T5X. We just assume that they [the ESL students] know what they need to know [in the content area] because they have come into my classroom. . . . But when do we find that out? Do we find out while they're learning in the classroom or should we find that out beforehand?

ET8. She is the ESL coordinator. She does all the testing, she does all the placement. She does everything. . . .

I. And that's done before the student comes into the school?

ET8. Yes. When the student comes in, they come in with papers in terms of their ability, and, you know, in what you can expect in terms of mat... skills, decoding comprehension, things like that. So, it's a standard Wood-Cochman-Hughes test.

I. And that is what _____ [the ESL coordinator] does?

ET8. Yes. She assesses it and places them according to age primarily and then, you know, where they live according to what school they will go to and gets them set up.

Fourth, regardless of the exact nature of the testing or screening that was done, teachers expressed a desire to have
access to as much available information as reasonably possible. There was fairly intense interest in better coordinating this aspect of the ESL student's initial entry, but there was also considerable confusion. For example, the following quotes reflect confusion over just how much information was actually given to teachers.

T1. Maybe something should accompany the student, instead of [just] this is . . . Jo Schmo, and here he is. I don't know if that information gets passed on such as he is from such and such a country, his reading skills are documented as this. They're probably in his file, but I don't think it gets passed on to the teacher, and, you know, that's probably something that should be addressed in the future. . . . Or, I don't know, somehow more of a cooperation, and it is so hard because ESL teachers are so busy the way it is too.

I. What would help you do your job?

T4. Background of the student and probably of their previous culture, because I wouldn't know what a Bosnian would think of for Christmas, and, you know, that type of thing. You've got so many different religions involved and whatnot. I would like a background of that type of thing.

T7. We usually get that from special ed students early on, what they are capable of and what level they are at basically, but we don't get it as much from ESL students. I don't know why. I guess, maybe it's not possible, but it would seem to me that it is.

ET8. But in the beginning of the year, because they are tested when they come, when a teacher has an ESL student that teacher is given kind of a test summary. It says their name, their country of origin, and maybe some general statistics in terms of their abilities, language, decoding math, and that sort. . . . I'm not sure who you talked to [about not getting information on ESL students] but . . . the students now have changed classes for second semester and in that change some of them have changed instructors. . . . reports have not been given to new teachers. . . . it is something that they should have . . .
In addition, there was some confusion as to the amount of information that teachers could legitimately expect to get without violating student and family privacy.

T6. You know there is so little that we know about the kids and that's not just ESL, that's all our kids.
T1. If you were to find out about students, who would tend to tell you other than the student?
T6. They can't. It's against the law.

T3. I guess I can't see any reason to withhold information, and the more information we have to start with, you know, why not? And I would say if we can get some information about somebody that would help us help them, I don't know why that wouldn't be a good idea.
T1. No legal binds there, on privacy?
T3. I don't know. You know, we are notified about special needs. We are notified about, I mean it's confidential. All of this confidential [information] that we are given .......... I mean the reason is not to tell us to make us prejudiced or cause us to put us on guard. It is to help us help them as far as I'm concerned.

T6. A lot of my ESL kids are far older than their fellow students. . . . So, in a way, maybe some of that would be nice to know but . . . I don't actively pursue that knowledge because there are always privacy things and whatever. The kid often will share it, but if they don't, an advocate would maybe be nice.

ET8. I'm sure they [mainstream teachers] are curious to see [information about the background of ESL students]. . . . And there have been students who have been in concentration camps, themselves, and seen the horrible things and had to either witness or suffer the loss of a parent, and, I mean, it's just tragic stories. I don't know if that is as pertinent as they need to know their abilities and where they are testing. . . .

Finally, several teachers mentioned that the initial entry of ESL students should involve some sort of orientation for the student and perhaps his or her family. This happened on occasion when a large group of ESL students arrived at
once, but it apparently was even less likely to happen for ESL students arriving individually.

ET10. Well, I know that [a local social service agency] has had an orientation, and I have gone to a couple of their orientations when, like when the big Kurdish group came in, they had someone from the clinics come, and I came from the school, but I haven't done that, I mean they haven't asked me for a long time. . . . they don't all come at the same time. . . . I mean I think it is a great idea.

T1. . . . I think that maybe the teachers think that the ESL teacher is doing this [providing an orientation tour]. And it's just not happening. It's not feasible. They may not realize some of the schedules of the ESL teachers, and as they get more involved, they probably see that, but you know, it's costing someone someplace. . . .

ET10. And many times the ESL teachers, they try to take on that role [of providing an orientation], too, but that is a problem. That is. When they used to have sponsors, you know in the old days, when they had sponsors, that was helpful because many times the sponsors would do that. But, yes, that is true, and I don't know. I have tried or else other people do it, not just me, but give the kid a tour of the school, and like this girl who is going to start tomorrow, this Vietnamese girl, this other Vietnamese girl who lives in her area, she is going to do that. She knows it better than I do.

Thus, the initial entry stage was perceived by mainstream teachers to be a problem spot. They wanted more advanced notice of arriving students and more information on the students once they did arrive. They also wanted students to receive some sort of orientation before coming into class.

Beyond these specific issues were several layers of confusion over exactly what was happening and what could happen. Both the teachers' desires and this confusion are of interest. The desires showed what mainstream teachers
perceived they needed to know about ESL students to better work with them in class. The confusion over just what information they were getting and what information they had the right to receive suggested there may exist some structural challenges to collaboration between the ESL program/teacher, the school system, and the mainstream teacher. For example, neither the ESL program/teacher, the school system, nor the teacher could control when students would arrive and how many students would arrive at once. Similarly, several structural issues appeared to hamper ongoing collaboration once ESL students were in the system.

**Ongoing collaboration.** Throughout both the interviews (and the district-wide surveys), mainstream teachers expressed the need to collaborate with the ESL teacher. This message came through mainly in the negative. Several informants felt there had been little ongoing collaboration to date, and they desired to have more. Their concern is evident in the following comments.

**T2.** I guess I would say that's maybe a weakness. There hasn't been the communication that would be helpful between the regular teachers and the ESL teacher.

**T7.** I guess I wouldn't call our collaboration [with the ESL teacher] tight, but it probably should be tighter.

**T1.** There's no follow up . . . it could be that teachers don't take the initiative . . .

**T5.5X.** . . . as far as the ESL department and [the ESL teacher], no, we have not received any slip to see how they [the ESL students] are doing.
As far as us checking on these kids, we do it daily because we have our teaming system. They are kind of under our wing.

I. from what I'm hearing, it's here's the student.

T6. Yah. Here's a student. This is some basic information. This is what we know. These are some suggestions, perhaps. I mean we get that. Not always with ESL but we get that. See ya. We might check in two or three times in a quarter and that would be about it. And I don't know what's happening in their [the ESL teacher's] rooms either. I don't know what's going on in the resource area.

Thus, the teachers clearly saw a need for more ongoing collaboration. It was not the role of this researcher to determine if teachers' perceptions were accurate or who was to blame if the perceptions were not accurate. Furthermore, if I believed that this situation were unique to the studied program, this finding would be of little general interest and should receive relatively little attention here. However, reviewing the issues already discussed, such as lack of time and lack of clarity over whose responsibility it is to keep channels of communication open, suggests that teachers' perceptions reflected fairly basic issues that are likely to prevail elsewhere.

For example, when I asked teachers how much they collaborated with the ESL teacher, my question often was answered with a question, "When do I have time?" A frequent answer to their own question was lunch. However, the following comments indicate that this was not perceived to be enough.
XI. . . . I go to lunch with _____ [the ESL teacher] . . . so I hear her talking to the other teachers that have her students because a lot of times they don't get that contact.

I. . . . how much interaction or collaboration do you have with the ESL person?

T3. Very little so far. I have not worked with _____ [the ESL teacher]. I see her at lunch. I have visited with her a couple of times on things. . . . I've never had the opportunity to really work with the teacher on planning lessons or any of that.

In addition, mainstream teachers differed in their views of whose responsibility they believed it was to make the contacts necessary for collaboration. Should the ESL teacher be contacting them, or should the mainstream teachers somehow find time to work with the ESL teacher? The following comment puts the responsibility on the ESL teacher.

T1. . . . they [ESL teachers] should have a meeting of some sort with everybody that has an ESL student in their class to sit down [and say,] "I'm the ESL teacher. If you have a question, contact me about this. If I don't know maybe I can help you." [ESL teachers should have] some sort of procedures established at the beginning of the year and written down.

Other teachers suggested that they were willing to take, and did take, some of the responsibility for making contacts with the ESL teacher.

T6. Every time that I've had a kid actually in an ESL program, I think that I work very closely with that teacher. I think that we are in communication weekly.

T3. . . . I would consider it my responsibility to go to that ESL teacher, if I were the one having the problem, and say, "I need your help." . . . But if there were something that I felt strongly enough about, I would go and ask her, or find her free schedule, and go and talk to her about whatever it was I needed to
talk with her about. But, no, we have not visited about him [an ESL student], other than that one time . . .

T2. . . . she gave us her schedule. I have it right here in fact. And ____ [a teacher's aide] . . . would like to just spend a day with her, seeing what [the ESL teacher] is doing. . . . she was just wondering how she manages it, and the different cultures, the different levels.

In the context of time binds and conflicting perceptions of responsibility, the ESL administrator/teacher did hold a meeting for mainstream faculty and faculty came. However, she also reported that few mainstream faculty had come to her for help. She observed that this was due in part to students who did not make their needs fully known to the mainstream teachers. The final quote below is from a teacher who supports this argument.

I. ____ [the ESL teacher] told me . . . she had a meeting for teachers. Was that all faculty?

T2. She wanted anyone who had an ESL student to come to this meeting, and she scheduled one before school and one after so that if you couldn't come before school, you came to the after-school one.

I. Does the mainstream teacher come in . . . ?

ET8. No. Some, a few. Tomorrow, I have a meeting with all of the teachers in the entire school because it is a problem. They need to realize what happens in the [ESL] resource room, and how it works, and that they need to be available for the student as the [student's mainstream] teacher.

ET8. I let them know some of the things that would help me in terms of scheduling and test taking and things like that in terms of the students. It helped them to know that the students are petrified of them in terms that they are teachers not that they are who they are, and the teacher can come up to them and say, "Do you need help, are you OK?" and they will [say,] yes, they don't need help. But they come running to me because they are comfortable . . . [with] me and scared of you. So, the teachers brought it to my attention
that they want to know if a student is having trouble because they are willing to help, and they want to be involved, which is good for me....

T5. . . . They've [ESL students] been coming into the ESL room saying they don't understand this and don't know how to do this, so she is being bombarded with all of this, and of course they won't say anything in our classroom so we would have no idea that these kids are having problems.

Despite these problems with establishing collaboration, there were a number of channels of contact that were available and open to varying degrees. For example, mainstream teachers frequently met as a team to review the progress of students, including ESL students. The ESL teacher could be part of this, but the part-time status of the ESL teacher meant that he or she was rarely present at these meetings.

T1. Team staff is in a house and usually that includes like six teachers.
I. And they would all represent different areas?
T1. Right. Science, English, or whatever, and then they talk about, since they have the same students in common, so it seems like really a similar thing could be done in talking with the ESL teacher. You know, you've got my student also, to kind of collaborate on things--what's going on in their life, whatever.

T7. Like in eighth grade, there are four houses. Well, I guess with the students we have, all they would have to do is come to the house and like the two students I have, it would take maybe 15 or 20 minutes or maybe 10 minutes to do that to meet with us as a staff of four or five teachers. . . . they don't even have all of our courses so maybe it is only two or three teachers you're talking about.

Second, the ESL teacher was responsible for supervising a resource room for ESL students to use. The room served as an access point for ESL students to the ESL teacher, but it
could also serve as a channel for collaboration between the ESL teacher and the mainstream teacher.

T1. The whole purpose of the resource room seems to me like it's being used as here's an ESL teacher that can tutor you at the time, but I don't know, I guess ideally I would see it more productively as in, "Here's a file cabinet from the different teachers that have ESL students. Here's what we're going over. Here's a copy of some of the things that we are going over today." So, when Johnny comes in and says, "I forgot my English homework." "Well, who's your teacher? I don't know what you have." You can go to the file and find out what was missed. . . . it would make sense. It would help the ESL teachers out. It would be more work for the regular teachers to get extra things there, a lot of work.

T1. Yes, the ESL teacher is there to help them more than a study hall teacher maybe, but I think the numbers in these classes are pretty high also so that, from what I've heard, some of the teachers are expecting [that] the students get the extra help they need in the [ESL] resource room whereas they may only get a couple of minutes from the ESL teacher, which may not be enough. . . .

ET9. It depends on the teacher. . . . many times, the ESL students will take advantage of saying, "I don't want to do it here. I want to do this in my Resource ESL Class," and then the teacher says, "OK." And then what do we do? . . . And then another thing is they would think that the ESL resource teacher would tell the answers and so they just push and push. "I don't get it. Tell me this. Explain it to me." What do you think is the answer?

Other channels of collaboration included notes and e-mail.

T3. . . . I might just jot down, "So and so has a difficulty understanding this idea. Could you cover it in ESL?" And pop it in her mailbox. Now she's got something that she knows this is what he needs to understand for this day's lesson and he could work on that.
Thus, a variety of channels were available for collaboration and this fact will be discussed later when recommendations are made for improving the amount of communication and collaboration between the ESL teacher/program and mainstream teachers.

Summary

In summary, it is evident from the survey data that teachers in the studied district did interact with meaningful numbers of ESL students and that these students came from many parts of the world. In addition, comparisons of district teachers and interviewed teachers suggested that the interviewed teachers were generally similar to the district teacher along various background characteristics, ESL teaching experiences, and attitudes toward teaching ESL students. It was in this context that the interview data were interpreted.

The interviews of mainstream teachers showed that ESL students, the ESL teacher, and the ESL program were all marginalized. They did not fit neatly into the mainstream curriculum of the American school. This marginalization was further shown when the ESL students were mainstreamed into regular, content area classes. In this setting, the mainstream teacher's lack of ESL training was evident. Despite the fact that schools expected the mainstream teacher
to teach ESL students in the teacher's subject area, the mainstream teacher had to accomplish this without adequate training in ESL while also teaching mainstream students and special needs students all in the same classroom.

The challenge of mainstreaming marginalized students from a marginalized program triggered considerable frustration among the mainstream teachers. These teachers showed that they were frustrated with their lack of time, unclear expectations, and lack of collaboration with the ESL program/teacher. The following chapter will look at these findings as they relate to the literature on ESL students in American schools.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

I began this research effort with the following question: What are the perceptions and experiences of mainstream classroom teachers working with ESL students in their regular, content area classrooms? My desire was to answer this question by talking in depth with mainstream teachers. I wanted to see their world as they described it. As I pursued this goal, I encountered three paradoxes.

First, the ESL literature is voluminous, but very little research exists specifically on the perceptions of the mainstream teacher who teaches ESL students. There are numerous books, journals, articles, and technical reports focusing on how to teach ESL, and publishers' catalogs are full of books, games, CDs, et cetera for use in teaching ESL at all levels. However, this literature largely consists of ESL professionals talking to other ESL professionals. There is much to be done in examining ESL from the perspective of the mainstream classroom and teacher.

Second, I realized that understanding the mainstream teacher in depth meant that it was also necessary to see the larger context within which these teachers worked. Part of this realization came before I started my study, and this led
to the inclusion of the survey that preceded my interviews. The survey allowed me to compare the experiences and perceptions of the teachers I interviewed (i.e., my informants) with the teachers in the school district as a whole. Fortunately, my informants appeared to be similar in backgrounds, experiences with ESL students, and attitudes to the larger group of teachers in the middle/junior high schools throughout my interviewees' district.

The importance of context also surfaced during my interviews. As I talked with teachers, I realized that mainstream teachers' perceptions can be more fully appreciated by examining issues outside the classroom, and a key issue outside the classroom is marginalization. The ESL student brings a marginal status into the classroom, the ESL student is supported by a marginalized ESL program/teacher, and training in ESL pedagogy is outside the mainstream of most teacher education programs that train the mainstream teacher. So, to understand mainstream teachers and their perceptions up close, one also has to spend some time standing back.

The third and final paradox only occurred to me as I analyzed teachers' comments. Not only is the mainstream teacher's experience affected by the marginalization of those they teach, the mainstream teacher, himself or herself, shares a certain powerlessness within the larger educational system. In part, issues of time bind, unclear goals, and
insufficient collaboration reflect mainstream teachers' lack of voice in establishing ESL policies and procedures, and much of their frustration can be understood from this perspective. Thus, the following discussion will begin with context, then examine teachers' perceptions, and conclude with this issue of voice.

Context

Mainstream teachers' perceptions of ESL students can be understood in the context of marginalization. The status of the ESL student is marginal, the status of the ESL student's support system—the ESL program/teacher—is marginal, and the mainstream teacher's training in ESL is marginal, at best. Furthermore, what I found in the district I studied coincides with the ESL literature on ESL students, ESL programs, and ESL training.

Marginalized ESL Student

ESL students come from many different countries and many different cultures (Clegg, 1996). The average teacher in the district I surveyed had worked with ESL students from 3.2 different regions of the world. These students enter American schools with diverse cultural expectations (Ogbu, 1992), different languages, and a marginal social status reflecting these differences. The school system, with its administrators, teachers, counselors, parents, and students, is a key institution in helping these families become
acclimated to their new home. This is a huge undertaking for all concerned, including the ESL students and their families.

ESL students are by definition outside the mainstream. As Clegg (1996) observes, "Coming to school [for ESL students] means entering a new culture, learning a new language . . . [and] learning to face prejudice and experience powerlessness" (p. 2). As my informants discussed ESL students, it became apparent that ESL students' marginalization occurred along at least three dimensions, cultural, linguistic, and social. I will examine each of these dimensions below.

Cultural Marginalization

First, when Language Minority students come to the United States, they are coming into a culture that is brand new to them. Many of the customs that these ESL students learned in early childhood provide little guidance for everyday life in their new country. Different cultures have different cultural rules for social interaction, and this includes interaction in the classroom, as well (Cazden, 1986).

These cultural rules are often subtle and complex (Coelho, 1994) and sometimes directly contradict U.S. customs (Ogbu, 1992). For example, the mainstream teachers I interviewed noted some confusion among their ESL students in how to interact with teachers. Some ESL students are not comfortable with the more casual atmosphere created by
American teachers and students (Coelho, 1994). ESL students may not know American classroom rules for behaviors such as how long to wait before responding to questions, whether it is permissible to interrupt, and how one asks and answers questions (Peregoy & Boyle, 1993). Students may be hesitant to respond to a teacher's questions with the correct answer for fear that this is showing off or unduly calling attention to themselves.

In addition, the teachers I interviewed suggested that some ESL students may have difficulty learning American gender roles. American gender roles are often quite different from those that ESL students learned in their home countries. For example, some ESL students come from countries where it is considered more appropriate for males than for females to receive an education, and females may enter ESL programs considerably behind their male counterparts (Spencer & Lewis, 1986). In addition, many ESL students are surprised to find students of the opposite sex in the same classroom and to find that some of their teachers are female (Spencer & Lewis, 1986). Thus, there is much besides English for ESL students to learn in order to interact successfully in the American classroom (Cazden, 1986).

This learning is a two-way street. Much of the cultural backgrounds that ESL students bring to the classroom is foreign to mainstream teachers and students, so these
teachers and students may experience some culture shock and have some learning to do, as well. Part of this learning is gaining an appreciation of the role of culture in the behavior of ESL students. It is easy for mainstream teachers and students to expect that ESL students should quickly catch on to the English language, American customs, education, music, and heroes. It is easy to conclude that any failure to do so suggests lack of intellect and/or motivation. It is a harder task to appreciate that ESL students are different, not because they are deficient, but because they come from a culture just as valuable to them as American culture is to American teachers and students (Anderson, 1992; Heath, 1983).

In other words, what is important for teachers and students to remember is that even though ESL students have much to learn about our language and culture, "none of the students are without their own native language and culture" (Anderson, 1992, p. 31). As Gregory Anderson (1992) states, "All cultures and all individuals within cultures are complex and should be respected as such. No approach to cultural understanding which fails to grasp this reality is valid" (p. 8). ESL students are not without culture; they are bringing their full set of cultural traditions with them (Heath, 1983).

**Linguistic Marginalization**

A second dimension of ESL student marginalization is linguistic marginalization. All of the traumatic cultural
challenges that ESL students face are accompanied by the challenge of learning a new language. The mainstream teachers I interviewed made it clear that a key to understanding ESL students' language skills is to understand that those skills vary widely from student to student. This statement applies not only to their English skills, but also to their reading, writing, and speaking skills in their native languages. Thus, every ESL student is beginning at a different point in English and even at different points in their own languages. This is of more direct importance for the ESL teacher to appreciate, perhaps, than the mainstream teacher, but this variety of skill levels affects both sets of teachers.

Once ESL students begin to enter mainstream classes, my informants made it clear that basic fluency in English is not enough to succeed. Students still have trouble with terms specific to a given discipline. Cummins (1993) made this point in advocating bilingual education. He noted that language learning for students involves at least two levels, conversational and academic (Crawford, 1993; Gersten, 1996). While students may achieve proficiency at the first level fairly quickly, achieving proficiency at the second level can take six to eight years for students in the middle/junior high school age brackets (Crawford, 1993).

ESL students can learn conversational English more rapidly than academic English, in part, because the former is
more contextualized than the latter (Collier, 1989; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; McKeon, 1994). As students progress from grade to grade, regular content classes tend to become less contextualized (Clegg, 1996; McKeon, 1994). This may explain why the teachers I interviewed at the middle/junior high school level were especially sensitive to the language difficulties of ESL students that otherwise seemed fluent in English.

My informants also noted that they perceived differing demands being placed on the language skills of ESL students by different disciplines (e.g., social science v. physical education). This is consistent with the importance of contextualization in understanding language. It is reasonable to argue that different subject areas differ in the extent to which key concepts are routinely contextualized or decontextualization (McKeon, 1994). Thus, subjects where abstract concepts are being presented (e.g., concepts such as democracy, fascism, competition, and capitalism in the social sciences) may be more difficult for ESL students to master than subjects where concepts more directly relate to specific events and tasks (e.g., wars in history or sports in physical education).

However, despite teachers' awareness of the language difficulties facing even fluent ESL students, it is unclear to what extent they appreciate the underlying linguistic issues. Crawford (1993) noted,
Many teachers and school administrators are unaware that academic language requires a more extensive learning period. ESL and bilingual teachers are often pressured to place ESL students in regular classrooms with little or no support services because the L2 [non-native English-speaking] learners appear to speak conversational English well. Although this may be the case, these L2 students may need years of supportive services to assist them with the academic conceptual development of content subjects available in bilingual programs. (p. 45)

In the face of a revolt against bilingual education (Purdum, 1998) and the overwhelming resource demands of such education for already underfunded educational systems, it is clear that ESL students are likely to be placed in mainstream classes before they are fully prepared to understand academic English, and, in that sense, these students could become permanently marginalized linguistically.

Social Marginalization

Cultural and linguistic marginalization can lead to social marginalization. ESL students inevitably are separated socially by their involvement in an ESL program. They spend time in classes outside the mainstream and develop networks of relationships with other ESL students outside the mainstream. This social isolation can be even greater in bilingual education programs (Clegg, 1996).

In the mainstream classroom, teachers face the challenge of ensuring the social integration of ESL students within the network of classroom interactions. My informants were concerned that their ESL students were not fully integrated.
Teachers thought that ESL students were sometimes the target of anti-immigrant feelings from other students and the community. My informants had heard other teachers ask the familiar question, "Why do schools have to spend so much money and time on these foreigners?" They sympathized with the frustration behind this question, but at least one teacher noted that the community's concern should be not on why ESL students are coming to town, but how best to serve them once they are here.

The teachers I interviewed also sensed some hostility toward ESL students from mainstream students. Some hostility was attributed by teachers to mainstream students' fear of the unknown and to adolescent concern with peer conformity (Atwell, 1987; Stevenson & Ellsworth, 1993). For some mainstream students, those who do not conform to mainstream student norms are "weird" and are to be avoided. Teachers reported that some mainstream students reacted negatively when they saw small groups of ESL students standing together in the hallways and speaking in their native language. In addition, teachers suggested that mainstream students showed discomfort and could not relate to the tragic life experiences that many ESL students shared (Coelho, 1994). Overall, however, the teachers reported relatively few instances of explicit prejudicial statements or face-to-face discrimination, and they did not feel that much social isolation of ESL students existed in their own classes.
The ESL literature paints a more negative image of ESL students' social status and suggests that there is considerable reason to be concerned about their social marginalization (Clegg, 1996; Crawford, 1993; Cummins, 1993; Shor, 1992; Trueba, 1989). Clegg succinctly summarized this concern and pointed to two types of social marginalization, individual and institutional:

There is plenty of evidence which shows that language minority children can suffer from personal and institutional racism in school; that their linguistic and cultural identities can be undermined; that teachers can harbor low expectations of them (Wright, 1985); that cultural incongruity can disadvantage them (Erickson, 1984); and that these injuries can cause damage to their personal and social development and to their academic success. (p. 9)

From the perspective of trying to understand mainstream teachers' perceptions of ESL students, this gap between what teachers reported to me and what the literature reports is of considerable interest. The comments made by the teachers I interviewed focused mainly on individual rather than institutional discrimination. They did not report significant levels of individual discrimination, and I cannot directly confirm or refute their observations. Hopefully, their observations are correct. However, what is of interest is that few teachers alluded to issues of institutional discrimination or of discrimination in society as a whole (other than to mention the presence of some
anti-immigrant sentiment in the community). In addition, little was said about the need to integrate multicultural issues into their classrooms.

Crawford (1993) discussed an ethnographic study by Grant and Sleeter (1986) that found a similar pattern of responses among the teachers they studied. According to Crawford, Grant and Sleeter found that teachers understood that they should avoid all forms of discrimination, but that they did not really adjust their teaching and/or curriculum materials to include a truly multicultural perspective. Yet, as Cummins (1993) noted, "Minority students will succeed educationally to the extent that the patterns of interaction in school reverse those that prevail in the society at large" (p. 107). Reversing these patterns is likely to require that mainstream teachers take a proactive approach to learning about the dynamics of discrimination at both the individual and institutional levels. Otherwise, it may be easy to view ESL students as simply deficient students waiting to be brought up to speed in the classroom like any student experiencing some sort of deficiency (Clegg, 1996; Trueba, 1989).

**Marginalized ESL Program/Teacher**

The marginalization of the ESL student is accompanied by the marginalization of the ESL program/teacher. For example, the ESL program in the district I studied is funded to a significant extent by grant money. This means that the
program is living on the edge financially. Grant money must be obtained before ESL teachers can be hired and the program continued at a constant level.

Uncertainty in funding makes the turnover rate of ESL teachers in the district very high. The frequent change of ESL teachers makes the mainstream teachers wonder each year who the new teacher for ESL will be and how that teacher will work with the ESL students who are mainstreamed into content area classes. Thus, the turnover of the ESL teachers further marginalizes the ESL program.

This marginalization of the ESL teacher is increased by the fact that most ESL teachers in the district are hired on a part-time contract. This part-time status makes them separate and different from the regular mainstream faculty. As is often the case with part-time assignments, the schedule is part time and the pay is part time, but the expectations are full time or more. The ESL teacher must find time to teach all of the ESL classes, to meet with ESL students in a resource room, and to collaborate with mainstream teachers from a wide variety of content areas who have diverse expectations and personalities. In sum, the status of the ESL program and ESL teacher in the district I studied is characterized by uncertain funding, full-time expectations, and part-time status.

My findings are consistent with what others have reported in the ESL literature. For example, Huerta-Macías
and González (1997) noted, "ESL programs, students, and staff are often ignored by administrators and general education teachers who structurally, academically, emotionally, and physically marginalize them from mainstream school processes" (p. 16). Linda Harklau (1994) observed that ESL students and ESL teachers were often in a state of change. According to Harklau, ESL programs in the U.S. are in a "marginalized . . makeshift . . . and isolated position in the U.S. public schools" (p. 241). Similarly, McKnight (as discussed in Johnston, 1997) described ESL teachers as suffering low morale, low status, lack of opportunities, high attrition rates, and a lack of power.

Interestingly, Harklau (1994) also pointed out that language minority students, as well as their parents, marginalize the ESL program. They consider it to be less important than mainstream classes. In fact, they see it as a type of special education or remedial education to get language minority students ready for mainstream classes.

In one sense, this perception is correct. ESL programs are preparatory. They are a means to an end, not an end in themselves. They are intended to help Language Minority students learn English so these students can focus on the content offered in numerous mainstream classes. However, the marginal status of ESL programs is a product of more than just their preparatory relationship to mainstream classes. As already discussed, there are structural issues (soft money
and part-time status) involved in the marginalization of these programs.

There is also another issue, perhaps more fundamental, than those described so far. Garcia (1990) suggested that the ESL program and the ESL teacher are seen as only temporary, just patches to the system for what some assume to be a temporary increase in the number of language minority students in American schools. While I do not have data on this point from the district I studied, I suspect this is a significant factor in the structural status of the district's ESL program and ESL teachers. The presence of significant numbers of ESL students is relatively new to the district, and the numbers are still modest. At the moment, the program may not have enough visibility to pass whatever threshold it needs to pass to become a fixed part of the school district's structure. However, as pointed out earlier, many current scholars believe that the number of students in our schools who do not speak English as their first language will continue to increase (Clair, 1995; Garcia, 1990; Gersten, 1996; Grant & Secada, 1990; Trueba, 1989), so it would seem inevitable that ESL programs and ESL teachers are likely to be needed for a long time to come.

Marginalized ESL Training for Mainstream Teachers

Just as ESL teachers and the ESL program are marginalized, so too does ESL training exist only at the
periphery of pre-service and in-service training for most mainstream teachers. In the district-wide survey, only 43% (N=60) of the teachers said that they had any ESL training, and when they were asked whether they had received specific types of ESL training, the percentages saying "yes" dropped dramatically (college, 18%; in-service, 21%; conferences, 14%; or any other form of ESL training, 9%). These results are consistent with the ESL literature on training. Very few mainstream teachers have received any pre-service teacher education training on how to effectively teach language minority students (Clair, 1995; Faltis, 1993; Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997; Young, 1996).

This marginalization of ESL training is disturbing in light of several observations from the ESL literature. First, Fitzgerald (1995) said that "an estimated 85% of the ESL students in the United States' public schools do not participate in a program specifically designed for language minority learners" (as cited in Young, 1996, p. 17). Second, many authors (Clair, 1995; Faltis, 1993; Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987; Short, 1993; Trueba, 1989) have noted that the mainstream teacher will be the one who spends the most time teaching the language minority students even if an ESL program exists. Third, California's recent vote (Purdum, 1998) limiting the time language minority students are allowed to participate in bilingual education may herald a nation-wide trend to move such students more rapidly into
mainstream classrooms. This would mean that more language minority students would be placed in mainstream, content area classes before they have had a chance to learn the English language. Fourth, some researchers (Clegg, 1996) have suggested that ESL students should spend even more time than they do currently in mainstream classrooms. And, finally, Clair (1995) mentioned that due to demographic trends, alone, more mainstream teachers will be teaching language minority students in the mainstream classroom. All of these factors emphasize the need for mainstream teachers to have ESL training. As Handscombe (1989) stated, "Every teacher is an English-as-a-second-language teacher, whether assigned that role or not" (p. 12). And, as Young (1996) noted, "Teachers must have opportunities to gain specialized skills to work effectively with ESL students; otherwise, mainstreaming is not a positive solution" (p. 18).

In the absence of such training, the teachers I interviewed simply punted. Penfield (1987) noted in her study,

The vast majority of the respondents recognized the gaps in their own knowledge of how to handle LEP [Limited English Proficient] students . . . [and when] classroom teachers [were asked] to select three ways (from six choices) that would help them deal more effectively with LEP students . . . the most frequently selected response was the need for more training on how to teach content to LEP students. (p. 29)

The ESL pedagogy of the teachers I interviewed followed two themes: (1) shorten the length of assignments and tests,
and (2) extend the time allowed to complete assignments and tests. These are reasonable modifications and may be enough for some ESL students, especially those who already possess some fluency in English. However, they are mainly time management techniques for the students, not techniques that directly address the need to increase understanding. As one ESL teacher I interviewed noted, reducing the amount of English a student needs to read and/or increasing the time allowed for reading it does not help if the student lacks the necessary vocabulary.

In addition, mainstream teachers not only need training in how best to modify assignments and tests, they need training in how to manage human relations in a multicultural context. How can teachers promote positive interaction in the classroom among students of different backgrounds? How can they collaborate effectively with the other teachers, parents, and ESL professionals, all of whom need input from the teacher concerning students in the class? Hard work and good intentions are not enough for effective teaching, classroom management, and collaboration. This is the case even for experienced teachers. It was found that even experienced mainstream teachers are not that effective in teaching language minority students (Enright, 1986; Lucas et al., 1990).

If few teachers are getting pre-service teacher education in how to work with ESL students, then an
alternative is for schools to provide in-service education on how to effectively teach ESL students in the mainstream classroom. However, Clair (1995) acknowledged that most teacher in-service workshops do not bring about a change in teacher attitudes and values concerning language minority students (McDiarmid, 1992). For Clair, an even better approach would be teacher study groups. These study groups would help to give the mainstream teachers a say in what they are concerned about and what they feel are the important issues that they, as mainstream classroom teachers, face. This approach, according to Clair, would empower the teachers to pose the questions that they need to address.

Summary

The context of marginalization helps explain the perceptions of the mainstream teacher. If ESL students are different, often very different culturally, linguistically, and socially, from the students whom mainstream teachers were prepared to teach and have become experienced in teaching, then how can a mainstream teacher do a good job in teaching ESL students? How do these teachers get the help they need when the ESL program/teacher is marginalized? How do they know what to do when they have not had the necessary training in ESL? Mainstream teachers are asking themselves these questions, but they have formulated few answers. It is this context that sets the stage for understanding the themes that
emerged in mainstream teachers' discussions of the challenges they perceived to be associated with teaching ESL students.

Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions

Mainstream teachers' perceptions of ESL students emerged, in part, out of this larger context of marginalization. As noted in the Results chapter, the perceptions of the teachers I interviewed focused on three issues, time bind, unclear expectations, and insufficient collaboration between the mainstream teacher and the ESL teacher. In the discussion to follow, I will briefly review my findings and examine the extent to which these issues coincide with the ESL literature.

Time Bind

The mainstream teachers I interviewed were motivated to do a good job, but they felt unable to do so because of time limitations. ESL students did not create the time bind—teachers already faced sizable classes with diverse and sometimes demanding needs—but ESL students did exacerbate the time bind. Mainstream teachers reported that ESL students often required proactive monitoring because many ESL students came from cultures where it was seen as inappropriate to "complain" that they did not understand material. In addition, the presence of ESL students in a mainstream classroom meant that teachers had to devote extra time to modifying assignments and tests. These extra demands can "break the camel's back." As one teacher expressed in
frustration, "I do have my own life to live!" Many of the other informants remarked, "I can't do everything."

This concern with time is a problem faced by many mainstream teachers teaching ESL students (Law & Eckes, 1990; Penfield, 1987). The time challenge is apparent in the advice Law and Eckes have given to mainstream teachers who are teaching ESL students. Directly addressing the mainstream teacher, Law and Eckes said that "your role as a teacher" among other things is to:

Adopt a policy of "a little more." Take the initiative in trying to understand your students, to be aware of the problems they face and the adjustments they're making. . . . Learn a little more. . . . Culture, religion, and family patterns all influence your students profoundly. By learning about these, you can . . . be better prepared to understand why and how your students perceive the world. . . . Be aware of the danger signals. ESL students fall into the category of "fragile" learners . . . "in crisis." . . . Learn about resources within the community. . . . There are many agencies to help immigrants and refugees. Find out which ones are operating in your area so that you can turn to them . . . [for help]. (pp. 65-66)

Doing a "little more" here and a "little more" there can quickly add to a whole lot more overall. And Law and Eckes (1990) recognized the potential burden of all their suggestions: "As a teacher, your time and energies are limited. You cannot possibly provide students with all the educational input they require as well as meet their social and emotional needs" (p. 64).

In her study of mainstream teachers, Penfield (1987) reported that teachers also expressed concern that ESL
students took away a lot of time from the rest of the class. This is a point that was made repeatedly by the teachers I interviewed. They felt that the teacher cannot spend substantial amounts of time with the ESL students and still have time left to work with other students in class. This is a subtle shift in the time bind issue from a concern with the impact of the ESL student on the teacher's own time to a concern with the impact of ESL students on the time other students have with the mainstream teacher. Thus, the time bind is not just something my informants experienced; and it is not just something that affects the teacher selfishly protecting his or her work load. It also is not just caused by ESL students, but ESL students do have unique needs and the teachers perceive the time bind as very real.

Unclear Expectations

A second issue of concern to the mainstream teachers I interviewed was a lack of clear expectations for what they should achieve in teaching ESL students. Does anyone in the school system really know exactly what is expected of regular classroom teachers and the ESL students who are put into their classes? Should mainstream teachers focus just on course content and let the ESL teacher address language concerns; if so, should they expect ESL students to perform at the same levels as the dominant language students; should mainstream teachers focus mainly on language and put content on the back burner; should they make sure that ESL students
are gaining the social skills necessary to fit into mainstream classrooms; or should mainstream teachers attempt to address content, language, and social skills simultaneously and with equal vigor? My informants varied in the answers they gave to these questions, and they seemed uncertain of their own answers.

Nevertheless, these questions demand answers and the answers have consequences. For example, the answers to these questions affect the criteria used to grade ESL students. Should teachers make adjustments to the grading scale for non-native English speakers, and just how much of an adjustment, if any, should be made? One of the ESL teachers interviewed said that she had never been told by the school district how ESL students should be graded. So, the goals remain unclear in the minds of many teachers.

Authors have been generous in listing the goals they believe mainstream teachers should achieve in working with ESL students (Clegg, 1996; Genesee & Hamayan, 1994; Law & Eckes, 1990; Met, 1994; Short, 1993). Met succinctly summarized much of this advice, "All [Met's emphasis] teachers who work with second language students—second language teachers, grade-level teachers [i.e., mainstream], bilingual education or two-way immersion teachers—must enable their students to make academic progress while [Met's emphasis] they are learning English" (p. 160). Inherent in
this goal statement are actually two goals, master English and master content.

I believe that this goal duality is at the heart of the goal uncertainty experienced by my informants. Achieving both goals is not easy. Gersten (1996) wrote,

Increasing numbers of teachers have become, by default, teachers of English language learning. They face the daunting task of simultaneously building literacy, developing writing ability, and enhancing English language growth. The complexity of this challenge can cause even seasoned and accomplished teachers anxiety. (p. 18)

But it is more than just a complicated teaching task. It is one thing to meet these goals in working with individual students; it is another thing to achieve these goals simultaneously at the classroom level.

This can be seen in research by Harklau (1994). Harklau studied students moving from an ESL classroom setting to mainstream classrooms and found that students encountered classrooms with distinctly different goals. The mainstream classrooms assumed continuity of student preparation from grade level to grade level, adopted the same texts for the same courses, and were "constrained by ... state curriculum guidelines, district guidelines, the curriculum set by each subject-area department, ... and the requirements of standardized measures" (p. 257). In contrast, the ESL classroom goal was to adopt materials to a rapidly changing profile involving a wide variety of students and needs.
Every September, the number of students entering the program was different, and new students suddenly appeared at random intervals throughout the school year. The constantly shifting needs of the population in ESL classes can exercise a profound effect on course curriculum and planning. (Harklau, 1994, p. 257)

Thus, the challenge facing mainstream teachers teaching ESL students is to develop a classroom structure with elements of both mainstream and ESL classroom structures. No wonder there is confusion over goals.

**Insufficient Collaboration**

Finally, the third theme apparent in my informants' perceptions of teaching ESL students was the need for more collaboration with the ESL program/teacher. Exactly how much collaboration actually took place is difficult to assess and there was some variability in the amount of collaboration mainstream and ESL teachers perceived to be occurring. However, it is fair to say that most of the teachers I interviewed believed collaboration is important and more was needed.

Mainstream teachers perceived the need for collaboration in two areas. First, the initial entry of ESL students into their mainstream classrooms was of concern to my informants. Teachers said they needed more advanced notice, if possible, of incoming students, and they needed more background information. There was inconsistency in reports of just how much background information teachers did receive and differing views of how much background information they could
or should receive. There was general agreement, however, on the need for more information to be more readily available.

Second, the mainstream teachers I interviewed perceived the need for more ongoing support from the ESL program/teacher once students were part of their classrooms. These teachers believed more coordination with the ESL teacher would be helpful on how best to educate, test, and grade ESL students. The main reasons teachers gave for the perceived lack of sufficient ongoing collaboration were structural. The reasons included lack of time on the part of both the mainstream teacher and the ESL teacher (Meier & Schwarz, 1995), the part-time status of the ESL teacher which made scheduling of meetings difficult, and the frequent turnover of ESL teachers that made establishing collaborative relationships even more time-consuming.

Collaboration is important for all teachers as Linda Darling-Hammond (1997) stated, "[All teachers] need to understand how to collaborate with other teachers to plan, assess, and improve learning within the school" (p. 297); but collaboration seems to be an especially recurrent theme in the ESL literature. The ESL literature clearly has emphasized the need for collaboration and communication between the mainstream teacher and the ESL teacher (Clair, 1995; Faltis, 1993; Freeman, 1989; Law & Eckes, 1990; Lopes, 1997; Met, 1994; Penfield, 1987; Sakash & Rodriguez-Brown, 1995; Short, 1993) and has suggested that adequate
collaboration is often lacking (Harklau, 1994; Markham et al., 1996; Milk, Mercado, & Sapiens, 1992; Statham, 1995). As Reid and Kitegawa (1996) noted, "There is evidence that schools need to be organized to facilitate cross-flow of expertise and understanding between ESL/D and classroom teachers" (p. 118).

This lack of collaboration has consequences. For example, mainstream teachers often are not sure how to adapt assignments and tests for ESL students nor are mainstream teachers sure how best to grade the work of ESL students (Harklau, 1994; Law & Eckes, 1990). Given that mainstream teachers often lack training in ESL and that it will often take ESL students many years in mainstream classes to achieve full academic English fluency, mainstream teachers certainly need this advice. Thus, the support mainstream teachers need is not just help in getting the job done, but help in how to do the job.

But a dilemma arises at this point. Most of my informants lacked a clear idea of exactly what the ESL program does. They wanted collaboration, but they were unsure what this collaboration would help them to achieve. They also differed on where they perceived the responsibility to lie for initiating and maintaining collaboration. In other words, mainstream teachers were unsure of their role relative to the role of ESL teachers.
Constantino (1994) found the same issue in her study of mainstream teachers. The mainstream teachers mainly thought that the ESL teacher was the one to deal with the issue of language, even though ESL students were mainstreamed into their classes. Mainstream teachers also believe that any contact with the ESL parents should come from the ESL teacher. Some of my informants held similar beliefs, and other authors have found such beliefs in their experiences with mainstream teachers (Harklau, 1994; Law & Eckes, 1990; Penfield, 1987; Statham, 1995; Young, 1996).

The ESL teachers in my study also saw the need for collaboration, and they expressed frustration that more collaboration was not occurring. They felt that their part-time status did not give them the time they needed to teach all of the classes for ESL students, meet with mainstream faculty, and continually contact the ESL parents about all of the concerns that the mainstream teachers might have regarding the progress of the ESL students in their content area classes. In addition, the ESL teachers expressed some frustration that they had not heard more from mainstream teachers about their needs and their students' needs. Based on my interviews, some mainstream teachers might plead guilty to this both because of the time constraints they feel and because of the role ambiguity mentioned above.
The ESL literature has suggested that in some settings this lack of collaboration reflects lack of administrative leadership, although I have no direct evidence of this from my own study. According to Harklau (1994), lack of collaboration in her study was due to the fact that "the administration provided little leadership or encouragement of mainstream teacher involvement in language minority education at the school" (p. 244). Similarly, Law and Eckes (1990) claimed, "More than any other factor, success with ESL students depends upon a commitment by teachers and administrators to acknowledge and meet their special needs" (p. 25). In fact, many authors (Clegg, 1996; Huerta-Marcías & González, 1997; Lucas et al., 1990; McLeod, 1996; Miramontes, 1994; Reid & Kitegawa, 1996) have advocated that ESL programs be included as part of an entire school program that promotes and welcomes ESL students. In this sense, collaboration is more than just establishing a working relationship between certain mainstream and ESL teachers, it is establishing a collaborative effort across the whole school.

The school that I studied actually has the seeds of this type of school-wide collaboration on multicultural issues. It has a team-work structure among groups of mainstream teachers who work with the same students. This gives these teachers a chance to meet and to discuss how the same students are doing in different classes. So, there is a
culture supportive of collaborative arrangements. In addition, the school recently engaged in a school-wide effort to focus for one week on diverse cultures including many of the cultures represented by the school's ESL students. My informants suggested that this effort was very well received, but it is yet to be institutionalized.

Summary

Mainstream teachers' perceptions of ESL students can be clustered into three main areas. First, the overall theme that kept reappearing was teachers' concern with the lack of time that they have to teach all of the students in the mainstream classroom including those, like ESL students, who require special time and attention. Second, the theme of unclear expectations for the mainstreaming of ESL students is repeatedly mentioned as a stressor. Finally, connected to lack of time and unclear expectations is the mainstream teacher's belief that there needs to be much more collaboration with the ESL teacher in order to successfully teach ESL students.

Behind these perceptions is the larger context of marginalization discussed earlier. For example, teachers who work with culturally, linguistically, and socially marginalized ESL students face heavy demands on their time to address the issues raised by this marginalization. Teachers who wish to do a good job in working with ESL students will seek guidance for the goals they should be achieving and are
unlikely to find that guidance if the school's ESL program/teacher are marginalized. Finally, teachers who have been trained in pre-service teacher education programs that largely ignore ESL pedagogy will need considerable support from the ESL program/teacher to fill in these training gaps. In other words, the general context of marginalization outside the classroom and mainstream teachers' perceptions of ESL students in the classroom are intricately related.

Mainstream Teachers' Lack of Voice

After reading and rereading my field notes, it suddenly struck me that there was another major theme still to be explored concerning the mainstream teacher—the teacher's lack of voice. The mainstream teacher's response to ESL students is constrained, in part, by the teacher's lack of voice within the larger school system. This theme at first escaped my attention because the mainstream teacher's professional position, relative to ESL students and the ESL program, is culturally, linguistically, and socially mainstream.

Then, I reread an interview with one of my informants, and I realized that the mainstream teacher actually lacks voice as he or she adjusts to the challenges associated with teaching ESL students. This informant told me of an experience where an ESL student who presented behavioral problems in the ESL program was instead put into the teacher's content area class without any input from the
teacher. This was particularly frustrating for the teacher because the student did not have very well developed English skills.

When I asked the teacher why all of this would happen without the teacher's input, the response was, "I just do what the office wants me to do; I figure they must have a reason for doing this, but it is not my decision, so I just have to go along with it." During an interview with another teacher, that teacher described mainstream classrooms as "a dumping ground" for ESL students in the sense that ESL students simply arrived in class, and the teacher had to start from there without adequate background information or time to prepare for their inclusion in the class. Thus, many of the mainstream teachers felt, correctly or not, that they were simply expected to make do with the resources they had, that these resources (e.g., time) were not enough, and that this situation was unlikely to change whether or not they complained about it.

This frustration reflects a lack of voice. Voice is discussed in much of the feminist literature on women's position in society. This literature suggests that women often do not feel that they should speak up and express what they are really thinking (Gilligan, 1993; Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1995). Gilligan explained, "To have a voice is to be human. To have something to say is to be a person. But
speaking depends on listening and being heard; it is an intensely relational act" (p. xvi).

Being part of the mainstream culture, as are the teachers I interviewed, certainly increases the likelihood one will be heard, but it does not guarantee it. If the concerns teachers have reflect their interaction with students and with programs that exist at the margins of society, then not only are these students and programs likely to find it hard to get a listening ear, so are the teachers who serve and work with them. To some extent, ESL students, ESL programs/teachers, and mainstream teachers serving ESL students have been set loose to sink or swim in their collective effort to meet the challenges associated with teaching ESL students.

This dilemma for teachers, however, is not just present in their work with ESL students and programs. Shor (1992) connected the issue of voice to teachers in general. Shor focused on how schools and society use their power to keep some groups, in this case the teachers, silenced and a continued part of the status quo, "Teachers themselves lack power in their institutions, which are run from the top down" (p. 102). As Nieto (1996) noted, "While the voices of students are not heard, frequently neither are those of the teachers" (p. 103).

Goodlad (1984) has documented the sense of powerlessness that this lack of voice can trigger. According to Goodlad,
teachers' sense of powerlessness is especially felt in the areas of fiscal management and personnel decisions and not so much in the area of decisions affecting students. In fact, he reports that teachers feel some relative power in the latter arena; "teachers felt more potent concerning policies that govern students than policies directed at the teachers themselves" (p. 190). However, the comments of my informants suggest that this may not be the case for teachers working with students, such as ESL students, whose status is marginal.

If teachers have a sense of powerlessness or lack of voice, this can have consequences. For example, it may be especially hard for teachers to remain positive and to perceive students positively if their students are powerless also and present extra challenges because of their marginal status. As Nieto (1996) suggested, "The more powerless teachers feel, the more negative they feel toward their students as well" (p. 103). While most teachers in the present study did not feel negative about working with ESL students, few viewed the prospect of working with more ESL students positively, either.

Lack of voice at least partially explains this reaction and provides insight into the underlying concern behind teachers' perceptions of time binds, unclear expectations, and insufficient collaboration. For example, mainstream teachers' concern with the lack of time that they have during
the school day reflects the many expectations that schools place on them. As Shor (1992) said,

Teachers are especially burdened by the size of their classes, the number of classes they are assigned, the short class hour, the many academic and personal needs of the students, the oppressive paper work and bureaucracy, the absence of resources and support services, and the restrictions of required texts, and syllabi. (p. 102)

In other words, much of the time bind stress seems to come from all of the expectations put on the teachers without providing sufficient resources to address these expectations adequately (Law & Eckes, 1990). Teachers frequently make their concerns known, but the resources simply are not there or, if there, are allocated to other concerns.

Similarly, teachers' comments about unclear expectations suggest that they feel they lack input into establishing the goals for mainstreaming ESL students into the mainstream classroom. They can establish their own goals for students in their own classrooms, but they desire some sort of collective guidance. As Trueba (1989), in Raising Silent Voices: Educating the Linguistic Minorities for the 21st Century, wrote, there is "the need for educators to arrive at a consensus regarding fundamental principles guiding educational practice for linguistic minorities (and other students as well)" (p. vi).

Finally, mainstream teachers' desire for more collaboration also can be seen as a desire for a greater voice in teaching ESL students. Collaboration involved both
the initial entry of ESL students into the classroom and ongoing collaboration once ESL students were in the classroom. The issue of voice is most clearly seen in teachers' comments about the initial entry of ESL students. From the perspective of many mainstream teachers, ESL students simply appeared without warning. It may well be that this is the case for any new student, but the arrival of a "different" student is especially salient to mainstream teachers who are uncertain about how best to deal with such students. Advanced notice and/or more background information would give teachers a sense of participating in the new student's arrival and of having some basis to evaluate what the teacher might be able to do for the student.

Summary

Mainstream teachers are frustrated and much of that frustration likely reflects teachers' perceptions that they lack voice. Teachers see things happening to them rather than being able to make things happen. This can lead to a certain fatalism. As Trueba (1989) noted,

Some say that "nothing" can be done about incoming linguisitc minority students, and they give these reasons: the overwhelmingly rapid arrival of many immigrant children from diverse language groups, confusion among school management and teaching personnel concerning programs for linguistic minority students, and/or sheer prejudice on the part of school administrators, combined with lack of resources. (p. 108)

However, as Trueba (1989) continued, "Teachers are a pivotal force in making a most decisive impact on minority
children. Teachers' burdens and suffering, their disappointment and hopes are extremely important to this issue" (p. 108). If teachers lack voice or power and if they feel overwhelmed by the challenges they face, then it becomes harder for them to be advocates for language minority students. In the words of Jim Cummins (1989, p. 6), a researcher of language minority issues, "Minority students can become empowered only through interactions with educators who have critically examined and, where necessary, challenged the educational (and social) structure within which they operate" (as cited in Lucas, 1993, p. 132). Similarly, Casanova and Arias (1993) noted that "the empowerment of language minority students and their communities may well depend on the empowerment of teachers" (p. 29).

In the next chapter, I will present recommendations offered by the teachers I interviewed about how some of their concerns could be addressed and how they could be empowered to help ESL students.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND
SUGGESTED FURTHER RESEARCH

ESL research has paid scant attention to the relationship between the ESL specialist and the classroom teacher or to the perceptions and attitudes of regular classroom teachers toward LEP students. (Penfield, 1987, p. 22)

What are the perceptions and experiences of mainstream classroom teachers working with ESL students in their regular, content area classrooms? This is the question that guided the present study, and it is an increasingly important question because of the expanding number of Language Minority students entering American schools. As Penfield noted in the above quote, most ESL research has focused on ESL students in the ESL classroom. It has examined what methods, texts, and tests are best suited for teaching this diverse group of students. In contrast, comparatively little research has been done on the mainstream teacher's experience in teaching ESL students in the regular or mainstream classroom. Much of the time ESL students will spend in American schools will be with mainstream teachers, but few mainstream teachers have received any training, either through pre-service teacher education programs or through in-service workshops, about how to successfully teach these Language Minority students. This
lack of training in the face of some real challenges can set the stage for considerable strain on these teachers and make it difficult to effectively teach ESL students.

The present study included a survey of all of the middle/junior high school teachers in one school district in a midwestern city of about 80,000 residents. Once the survey was completed, eight mainstream teachers in one of the surveyed schools volunteered to be interviewed, and the major focus of the present study was on the perceptions of these eight teachers.

These teachers worked with ESL students who were busy adjusting to a typical American middle/junior high school. The ESL students were aware of being different. In fact, these ESL students were marginalized culturally, linguistically, and socially. They were marginalized culturally because of what they brought to the American classroom including different norms of behavior, fashion, and religion. They were marginalized linguistically because they were not native speakers of English. Because of these cultural and linguistic differences, these same students were also marginalized socially. Many of their American adolescent peers were very concerned about fitting in, and this made diversity difficult for these adolescents to appreciate. Consequently, it was a challenge for ESL students to become socially accepted in the mainstream. It is this marginalized status of ESL students that mainstream
teachers must address when ESL students enter mainstream classrooms.

My interviews focused on the reactions of mainstream teachers to the presence of these marginalized ESL students in their regular, content area classrooms. Several themes emerged. First, the classroom teachers I interviewed had received little training, either through pre-service teacher education programs or through in-service education workshops, in teaching Language Minority students. Second, these teachers were unclear about what they should expect academically from their ESL students. This confusion affected how the teachers taught, tested, and even graded these students. In fact, it appeared that the entire school system lacked a clear goal for teaching ESL students.

Third, the interviewed teachers were frustrated by their lack of time to help so many students with so many needs. As classrooms become more diverse, so do student needs, and this can trigger time binds for the teacher. For example, ESL students were placed in the regular or mainstream classroom along with mainstream students who, themselves, were at various levels of learning. These classes also included special needs students who were learning disabled, emotionally disturbed, behaviorally disturbed, and/or suffering from attention deficit-hyperactivity disorder. Teachers felt that they sometimes neglected the mainstream students because of the attention needed by ESL and special
needs students. The time binds created by these diverse needs meant that teachers often felt overwhelmed. As one teacher emphatically stressed, "I'm only one person, and I also have my own life outside of school." This frustration appeared many times in the intensive interviews.

Finally, teachers expressed frustration about what they perceived as a lack of collaboration between the mainstream teacher and the ESL program/teacher. Some teachers who had been assigned an ESL student said they hardly ever saw the ESL teacher. Interestingly, they did not blame the ESL teacher, personally. Teachers saw this situation as a product of larger issues such as insufficient support for the ESL program, the ESL teacher's part-time status, the high turnover of ESL teachers, and the mainstream teacher's own lack of time to collaborate. Nevertheless, it meant that mainstream teachers had to figure out, largely on their own, how best to teach their ESL students.

Underlying all of these concerns, there was a sense of helplessness among some (not all) of the informants, a sense that they, as teachers, had little voice in how best to address their frustrations. They had had little or no training in second language acquisition, little or no input into the placement of ESL students into their classrooms, and they had what they perceived as little or no information about the background of their incoming ESL students. Some teachers felt left alone to figure out what to do next.
Despite their "mainstream" status, teachers felt dumped upon by larger social forces over which they had little control. They wanted to meet the challenges these forces presented, but often felt that they did not have the time, energy, or support to do so.

It is my belief that this situation is not unique to the school and/or the school district I studied. In fact, I would argue that administration and teachers at my school site were unusually progressive. Instead, the concerns of the teachers I interviewed are more accurately attributed to a lack of clear national commitment to ESL from state legislatures, school districts, and local schools. By the end of my research and writing, I began to see a pattern of benign neglect. I sensed that school districts were doing just enough to meet the national standards for teaching ESL students set in place by *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) because this is all that we as a nation are willing to do as well. In fact, those states that have dedicated considerable resources to Language Minority students have faced a political backlash. So, what can be done at the local level by dedicated administrators and teachers, both ESL and mainstream?

**Recommendations for Schools and Teachers**

The mainstream teachers and ESL administrator/teachers offered a number of recommendations and expressed a variety
of desires about how best to improve the teaching of ESL students in the mainstream classroom. I will present many of their suggestions below organized around the themes discussed earlier.

Reduce Marginalization of ESL Students

To counter the marginalized status of ESL students, explicit efforts must be made to value their presence and to focus on the contributions they can make to the school. To be successful at this, the entire school must actively encourage the acceptance of differences (Lucas et al., 1990). This means that everyone in the school, from the administrators to the staff and teachers, needs to create a welcoming atmosphere. They must communicate an appreciation of the cultures, native languages, and experiences of all students. It is important for all to see that diversity is a positive, and not a negative, for the school, its teachers, and its students. Helping all students and their families to become an integral part of the school is a major part of helping all students to learn. In other words, the entire school must put a priority on valuing diversity.

There are a variety of specific ways that this global goal can be implemented. For example, a number of the teachers and ESL administrator/teachers I interviewed emphasized that schools should have an orientation meeting for all ESL students and their parents before school starts.
Schools can be terrifying to many people, but they can be especially frightening to non-native speakers of English who were born in other countries with entirely different school systems and attitudes toward authority. Both ESL parents and students should be involved in these orientation efforts. This will help teachers, students, and parents to feel that they are all working together to help the ESL student.

The orientation should include such things as general information on American customs and on American schools including the typical roles of teachers, students, and parents. It also should cover specific information about the local ESL program, how students will be graded, and information on parent/teacher conferences. It should be stressed that ESL students and families should learn English in order to survive in the U.S., but that their native language and culture also must be valued and should never be lost. Parents should be told where they, themselves, can get tutoring in English and should be encouraged to do so. Finally, there should be a tour of the school. This should include introductions of administrators, faculty, and staff and time to cover the basics such as the location of bathrooms and classrooms.

During my research, I learned that such orientation sessions are held on occasion for large groups of incoming ESL students, but many ESL students arrive so erratically that it is difficult to coordinate orientation activities for
every single new student. Perhaps, a regular, monthly schedule of such orientation sessions should be established and only canceled if not needed in any given month. Translators should be scheduled for these meetings. The overall intent of this orientation effort is to make new immigrants feel welcome to America and to the school.

Once school starts, the welcoming should not end. Regular meetings should be held at the school for parents to talk with the teachers and staff, to hear about some of the things going on in school, and to meet other parents. Similarly, the welcoming of ESL students should continue. Each ESL student should be assigned an American student mentor who would go with the ESL student to class for some period of time to help explain customs, assignments, etc.

Schools can also make ESL students and parents feel welcome and reduce their marginalization through special events. For example, the teachers I interviewed discussed a multicultural Olympics put on at one of the school sites in the system. This was done in concert with the winter Olympics that year. Different teams of teachers and students within the school were responsible for representing different countries. Each country's customs, music, clothing, and food were studied and then all teams coordinated an evening celebration open to parents and to the general public. This committed the school, as a whole, to an activity that valued
differences and involved students in learning about differences.

Reduce Marginalization of ESL Training

As noted several times before, there is both a clear need for ESL training and a clear absence of such. More focus is needed on ESL training through both pre-service teacher education programs and in-service workshops. For example, all teachers need at least one course in their pre-service teacher education course work focusing on working with ESL students in mainstream classes. This course should include information on ESL related demographics in the United States, on SLA (second language acquisition), on the role of the ESL teacher, on collaborating with the ESL teacher, on teaching ESL students in the mainstream classroom, on working effectively with ESL parents, and finally, on serving as an advocate for Language Minority students. Similarly, those teachers who are currently in the system should be provided with in-service workshops or given time to establish their own teacher-organized study groups (Clair, 1995) to cover many of these same topics.

Training should extend to another group of professionals within most schools. Specifically, counselors should be trained in cultural sensitivity and be willing to work with ESL students to help them adjust to their new country, school, and friends. Counselors should be ready to deal with
some of the adjustment issues facing ESL students, many of whom have witnessed very traumatic events in their native countries. Counselors also need to be trained to address the resistance of students from some cultures to the very notion of seeking help from professionals.

During my research, I also heard of a unique training idea from the ESL administrator/teachers whom I interviewed. They were developing culture grams. Culture grams are short descriptions (e.g., three pages) of specific ethnic groups and their customs. These are made available to teachers and to local public libraries as a means of educating teachers and the community about the many different ethnic groups. This is a form of ongoing training.

Reduce the Marginalization of the ESL Program/Teacher

Many of the schools and educational personnel in the United States have not really accepted the fact that they must educate all students, regardless of their native language, culture, or religion. School systems need to decide if they are really considering the education of Language Minority students as an important part of their mission to educate all students. If school systems decide that this is a priority, then adequate funding must be given to individual schools to hire ESL teachers who have a good background in second language acquisition and a strong sense of cultural sensitivity. These teachers should be hired,
full time on regular contracts, and the ESL program should be treated as part of the schools' permanent, regular curriculum.

**Clarify Expectations**

Mainstream teachers need to be given time, as a group, to examine appropriate expectations and policies for ESL students. On-site ESL teachers should be part of these meetings. These groups need to discuss, for example, the role of the mainstream teacher in teaching language skills, social skills, and subject area content. They also need to examine the standards that are appropriate for grading ESL students. It may not be necessary or even desirable for all teachers to establish a common set of expectations, but it is necessary for teachers to address these issues explicitly and to ensure that they understand each other's expectations.

School and ESL administrators also need to be part of this discussion about expectations. For example, teachers need to be better informed about when and how decisions are made to put ESL students into ESL programs versus mainstream classes. Often, such decisions implicitly communicate expectations, but the expectations communicated and/or heard may not be the expectations administrators actually have for teachers.

Finally, ESL students and parents should be brought into the formulation of appropriate expectations. Such discussions might be difficult and sensitive because
expectations also reflect values. But these discussions will help ESL parents to become more a part of their children's education.

Promote More ESL/Mainstream Teacher Collaboration

Ongoing collaboration between the ESL teacher and the mainstream teacher is key to making diversity a positive addition to the school environment. All of the people involved in the schooling of ESL students need to be kept informed of each student's progress. This collaboration requires time, energy, and support in order to succeed.

There appeared to be room for more collaboration at my school site—a state of affairs no doubt common to many schools with ESL programs. There was some disagreement among mainstream teachers over whose responsibility it should be for maintaining this collaboration. In addition, most of my informants lacked a clear idea of exactly what the ESL program did and how both the ESL teacher and the mainstream teacher could help the ESL student. Extensive collaboration was not likely to occur without more clarification of roles.

A major part of this clarification would be addressed by putting the ESL teacher on a regular, full-time teaching contract. Besides working with ESL students, the ESL teacher needs time to teach mainstream teachers the goals and purposes of ESL, to explain the mainstream teacher's role in the process, to help them learn how to adapt tests and
assignments for ESL students, and to track the progress of ESL students in and out of the mainstream classroom. A full-time contract would help provide more time to meet these expectations. It also would give the ESL teacher more status as a true colleague of regular, content area teachers.

In addition, teachers need a good support staff to help make the diversity in their individual classrooms more manageable. This support staff might include translators who would be available to help teachers work with students and their parents during crisis periods. Also, it would be helpful to have aides in the classroom to help work with ESL students when these students need extra help and to serve as a link between the mainstream classroom and the ESL program/teacher. These aides also would help mainstream teachers deal with the time bind they face in trying to meet the needs of their diverse classrooms.

Recommendations for Further Research

The present research is part of a relatively small number of studies examining the relationship between the mainstream teacher and the ESL student. Hopefully, considerable further research will be done on this very important topic. I see several issues to address.

First, what differences, if any, would be seen in the concerns of mainstream teachers who teach in schools with a much larger proportion of ESL students? Would these teachers
feel a greater sense of time bind, for example? Or would they and/or their school systems already have made the adjustments necessary to clarify expectations and ensure strong ESL programs?

Second, does the extent of diversity significantly affect teachers' perceptions? There was considerable diversity among the ESL students at the site I studied, but diversity may not be salient unless teachers are also working with sizable numbers of ESL students. Does such diversity further increase teachers' concern with time bind, and/or increase the contributions made to the class by the presence of ESL students?

Third, would implementing my recommendations in schools similar to the one I studied really make a difference? For example, it would be interesting to do more research on this topic in schools that have full-time ESL teachers to see how the presence of that kind of support might change mainstream teachers' perceptions of working with ESL students. Similarly, would in-service education on ESL be helpful to mainstream teachers in understanding the goals of ESL and in adjusting tests and assignments? Researchers also should check to see what happens once you add a pre-service class in ESL for future mainstream teachers.

Fourth, more research is needed on the meaning of marginalization for the ESL student and the ESL program/teacher. For example, I argued that mainstream
teachers' interactions with ESL students are flavored by the cultural, linguistic, and social marginalization of ESL students; but how do ESL students see this? Do they see themselves struggling against social discrimination or striving to fit in? Do they see the mainstream teacher as a roadblock or a role model? Assuming that ESL students differ in how they might answer these questions, what might explain their different answers?

Similarly, I have suggested that the ESL program/teacher is on the margins of the school system. My pilot study of an ESL teacher (i.e., the one I alluded to in the Methods chapter) first alerted me to this concern. Further research might survey and interview ESL teachers about their perceptions of their status in the system, of their students' status, and of mainstream teachers. Do ESL teachers feel excluded, and if so, why? Cummins (1997) argued, for example,

In societies characterised [sic] by unequal power relations among groups, pedagogy is never neutral; in varying degrees, the interactions between educators and pupils always either reinforce coercive relations of power or promote collaborative relations of power. Educational reform efforts that ignore the intersections of power and pedagogy inevitably will tend to reinforce coercive relations of power. (p. 105)

A society that marginalizes ESL students and program/teachers may do so for a multitude of reasons ranging from inadequate resources or benign neglect to outright racism. The reasons are likely to vary from person to person
and from district to district, and a better understanding of the dynamics of marginalization will set the stage for more effective reform. Addressing these issues will require studies across many different school districts throughout the country. The teachers I interviewed seemed genuinely interested in serving ESL students effectively. They were honest about both their concerns and their joys in teaching students from a multitude of backgrounds; still ESL students and program/teachers were on the margins of the system. Perhaps some of the policy changes suggested earlier will make a difference or perhaps change will await a broader understanding, as a nation, of the best means of creating a pluralistic society.

Our goal as teachers should be to help all students learn and flourish in our school system. This acceptance of all students is the means by which our society can succeed at creating educated citizens for democratic life. As one of my survey respondents said, "I really enjoy teaching ESL students in the regular classroom because they are so appreciative, and I feel good about playing an important role in teaching our possible future citizens." As educators of future teachers, we must continue to encourage this perspective. As Giroux (1988) explained (as cited in Shor, 1992), a teacher's role is educating students "to fight for a quality of life in which all humans benefit" (p. 16). To achieve this goal, we must "attempt . . . to see difference
as a marker of the human condition rather than as a problem to be solved" (Gilligan, 1993, p. xviii).
APPENDICES
I hereby request permission to conduct a research study in the _____ Public District during the period (8/25/96) to (2/1/97).

TOPIC: (Secondary Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions of Having ESL Students in Their Content Area Classrooms)

If this request is granted, I agree to abide by Board of Education Policy 4800 and Administrative Regulation 4800.

(Cheryl Stanosheck Younas)
Signature of Researcher

(University of North Dakota)
Institution of Higher Education

(Mary R. Laycock)
Signature of Graduate Advisor

(July 25, 1996)
Date

Endorsement:

This request is (approved) (disapproved)

_________________________________________
Assistant Superintendent

(8/23/96)
Date
October 22, 1996

Dr. __________, Assistant Superintendent
__________ Public School District

Dear Dr. __________:

This summer, we talked about a survey of teachers concerning their perceptions of what it is like to teach ESL students. I received approval from you; the three principals I approached at __________, __________, and __________; from Dr. __________; and from the District's ESL directors. The survey is finally printed, and I am distributing it today. A copy of the cover letter and the questionnaire is enclosed. Each teacher received these items and a stamped, return envelope to send their responses directly to me.

I want to thank you again for your approval of this effort. When the results are available, I will be happy to present them at your school.

Sincerely,

Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs, M.A., M.Ed., NCC

[Note. This letter was sent to each of the principals of the three school sites as well.]
August 1, 1996

Dear ____________:

I wish to ask permission to conduct a study of teachers in your school. My desire is to better understand mainstream teachers' perceptions of having ESL students in their regular content area classrooms. Specifically, I wish to learn what mainstream teachers perceive to be the rewards and costs involved in teaching such diverse classrooms, and how these teachers have adjusted their pedagogy. Very little research exists on these issues despite demographic trends suggesting that increasing numbers of mainstream teachers are likely to be teaching in classrooms that also include ESL students. I hope this information will be valuable for pre-service and in-service training.

My plan is to distribute a survey to teachers via their mailboxes. I will enclose return envelopes for teachers to mail the survey back to me. All results will be kept strictly confidential. Code numbers will be attached to the survey so I can send follow-up surveys to those who do not respond initially, but no names will ever be attached to any of the surveys. A copy of the survey is attached. I also hope to conduct this survey at the other junior high/middle schools in the community.

[Version sent to the two schools where I did not do interviews.]

This survey will provide data for my dissertation in education at the University of North Dakota. Throughout the project, I will be working closely with my advisor, Dr. Mary Laycock at the University of North Dakota. Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact her (701-777-3146) or me (232-5721). I also asked Dr. ____________ how I should proceed in obtaining permission to do this research, and he suggested I first get permission from the principals.
involved. I would appreciate your signature below if it is acceptable for me to distribute my survey in your school. I will stop by to pick up the signed copy from your secretary in a few days. A second copy of this letter is enclosed for your file.

[Version sent to the school where I did do interviews.] In addition, I wish to attach a page to the survey asking teachers, just at ________, if they would be interested in being interviewed and observed. My goal is to study 3-6 teachers in depth. I am limiting this aspect of my study to one school due to time constraints. I have chosen ________ because of my familiarity with the school based on an earlier pilot study I did at ________ over a year ago.

If 3-6 teachers do agree to participate further, my hope is to interview each outside of class for approximately an hour on 3 or 4 occasions during the fall semester and to observe these same teachers in their classrooms on 3 or 4 occasions. My role in the classroom will be that of a silent observer. All interviews and observations will be conducted at the teachers' convenience. (I taught for four years at the secondary level and have a great deal of empathy for the demands on teachers' time.)

I have attached the consent forms that I will provide to the teachers who indicate interest in participating. These forms describe the nature of the study and ensure confidentiality in the research process and in all reports of the results. I do not foresee any risks associated with the study, and I would hope that the teachers would benefit from the opportunity to verbalize their experiences and perceptions to a receptive listener. I also hope that the results will be useful for others conducting pre-service or in-service training programs designed to help teachers work in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms.

The study will provide the data for my dissertation in education at the University of North Dakota. Throughout the project, I will be working closely with my advisor, Dr. Mary Laycock at the University of North Dakota. Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact her (701-777-3146) or me (232-5721).

I asked Dr. _________ how I should proceed in obtaining permission to do this research, and he suggested I first get permission from the principals involved. If I may have your permission to distribute these surveys and to contact teachers for possible interviews and classroom observations, please sign this letter (on the next page), and I will stop by to pick up the signed copy from your secretary in a few
days. A second copy of this letter is enclosed for your file.

[Return to format used for all three letters to principals.]
Sincerely,

Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs, M.A., M.Ed., NCC

I willingly grant permission for this study to be conducted in my school. It is understood that participation by teachers is purely voluntary.

_________________________________________  Date__________

Signature
Dear first last:

As a teacher, you work in classrooms with students from many walks of life and sometimes, from different countries. For example, you already may have taught in classrooms that include English as a Second Language (ESL) students or you may do so in the future. Unfortunately, little research exists to help us understand your expectations for and/or your actual experiences in such classrooms.

Your help in answering this survey will be much appreciated. It will provide the kind of data necessary to improve our understanding of teachers' perceptions about these classrooms. The long-term goal of this project is to make the results available for pre-service and in-service teacher education programs.

This survey is being distributed to all teachers at your school and to teachers at two other schools. Approval was requested and received from ________'s Assistant Superintendent of Instruction, all three principals, ________'s ESL directors, and the University of North Dakota's Institutional Review Board. Your completion of this survey is important in order to ensure as broad a picture as possible of teachers' expectations and experiences.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and your responses will be kept confidential. There is a code number on this survey so that I can cross off your name when your survey is returned. All results will be reported in summary form only--no names will be used.

The goal is to present these results as part of a dissertation available to the public at the University of North Dakota and as a report for educational professionals, such as yourself. I also will be available to visit your school and present a summary of the results. Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me, Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs (701-232-5721) or my advisor at UND, Dr. Mary Laycock (701-777-3146).

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs
November 6, 1996

Dear «first» «last»:

Two weeks ago, I distributed a questionnaire asking for your views on what you believe it would be like or what it is actually like to teach in classrooms that include students whose first language is not English. I have been very encouraged by the response, but I still need additional feedback to ensure that the data are fully representative.

If you have already responded, thank you very much for your participation. If not, I would greatly appreciate hearing from you. If you need a new questionnaire, please call me at 232-5721, and I will be more than happy to deliver a questionnaire to your school mailbox.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs
Dear «first» «last»:

Several weeks ago, I distributed a questionnaire asking for your views on what you believe it would be like or your views on what it is actually like to teach in classrooms with ESL students. I was very encouraged by the response to that first mailing of the questionnaire and to the subsequent follow-up reminder. Many have commented that they believe this to be an important topic. However, I am still striving to obtain a fully representative cross-section of views.

So, I would like to ask one last time for your participation. I am sure many of the original copies of the questionnaire have either been misplaced or disappeared into round files by now. Therefore, I have included a second, numbered copy of the questionnaire. I also have included a stamped, self-addressed envelope for your convenience.

If my records are in error and you have already responded, thank you very much for your participation. If not, I would greatly appreciate hearing from you. Please call me at 232-5721, if you have any questions.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs
The following survey is being distributed to teachers at your school. The goal is to better understand your views on what you believe it would be like or on what it is actually like to teach in classrooms that include students whose first language is not English (i.e., ESL or English as a Second Language students). It is increasingly likely that your classes will include ESL students, but little research exists to help us understand whether this changes the dynamics of everyday classrooms. Your help in answering this survey is much appreciated.
Thank you very much for taking time to complete this survey. First, I would like to know a little about your teaching experiences.

1. How many years have you taught, including the current year?
   ____ YEAR(S)

2. What grade(s) do you currently teach? (Please check all that apply.)
   ____ 6TH
   ____ 7TH
   ____ 8TH
   ____ 9TH

3. Please list the subject areas you currently teach. (If you have a primary area, please list that one first. Thanks.)
   a. _______________
   b. _______________
   c. _______________
   d. _______________
4. Please check any training you have had in how to teach ESL students (i.e., students whose primary language is not English). (Please check all that apply.)

___ NO TRAINING
___ COLLEGE CLASSES
___ IN-SERVICE WORKSHOPS
___ CONFERENCE WORKSHOPS
___ OTHER, PLEASE SPECIFY:

5. If you were told that you could expect two or three ESL students in one of your classes next year, how would you describe your reaction?

___ VERY PLEASED
___ MODERATELY PLEASED
___ NEUTRAL
___ MODERATELY DISPLEASED
___ VERY DISPLEASED

5a. Comments?
6. Which of the following approaches do you believe is most effective in incorporating ESL students into school programs? ESL students should be:

___ PLACED IN SEPARATE ESL CLASSROOMS UNTIL A SPECIFIED LEVEL OF ENGLISH COMPETENCY IS REACHED.

___ PLACED IN SEPARATE ESL CLASSROOMS WHILE ALSO ENROLLED, SIMULTANEOUSLY, IN SELECTED MAINSTREAM CLASSES.

___ PLACED DIRECTLY INTO MAINSTREAM CLASSROOMS WITHOUT SEPARATE ESL TRAINING.

___ PLACED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS ONLY AFTER A SPECIFIED LEVEL OF ENGLISH COMPETENCY IS REACHED.

6a. Comments?

7. Do you believe that U.S. schools should fund programs for teaching English as a Second Language?

___ YES
___ NO
___ UNDECIDED

8. Do you believe that new immigrants to the U.S. should be required to have a specified level of English competency before being allowed to enter the country?

___ YES
___ NO
___ UNDECIDED
Now, I would like you to answer several questions concerning the amount of experience, if any, you have had with ESL students.

9. Do you currently have any ESL students in any of your classes?

   ___ YES—>  
   9a. IF YES, roughly, how many total ESL students do you now have?

   ___ NUMBER

   9b. Roughly, how many ESL students, if any, have you had in the past 5 years—NOT including this year? (Insert zero if none.)

   ___ NUMBER—>Please skip to question 10a and continue.
   Thank you!

   ___ NO—>  
   9c. IF NO, have you had any ESL students in your classroom in the past 5 years—NOT including this year?

   ___ YES—>  
   9d. IF YES, roughly, how many?

   ___ NUMBER—>Please skip to question 10a and continue.
   Thank you!

   ___ NO—>  
   9e. IF NO, please skip to question 11 and continue.
   Thank you!
10a. What is the largest number of ESL students that you have had in any one class?

___ LARGEST NUMBER IN A SINGLE CLASS

10aa. With the above class in mind, how many distinct languages, other than English, were spoken by these ESL students? (Please do not count more than one language per student.)

___ NUMBER OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGES

10b. How would you describe your overall reaction to working with ESL students in your classrooms?

___ GREATLY LIKE
___ MODERATELY LIKE
___ NEUTRAL
___ MODERATELY DISLIKE
___ GREATLY DISLIKE

10c. Please provide any general comments you would like to make about the advantages and/or disadvantages you perceive in teaching ESL students.

ADVANTAGES:

DISADVANTAGES:
10d. Approximately how many ESL students have you had in your classes from each of the following regions? (Please indicate approximately how many students from each area you have had in your classes in the past 5 years—NOT including this year, and then indicate the number you currently have. Thank you!)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number During Past 5 Years</th>
<th>Number During Current Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Central America (including Mexico).......</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. South America...........................</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Southeast Asia...........................</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. China....................................</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. India....................................</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Africa...................................</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Western Europe...........................</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Eastern Europe...........................</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Countries formerly part of USSR..........</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Middle East..............................</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. Other (Please specify below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) ______________________________:</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) ______________________________:</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) ______________________________:</td>
<td>___</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally, I would like to collect some background information about you that will help to develop a profile of respondents to this survey.

11. Have you had any of the following multicultural experiences? (Please circle YES or NO for each item. Thanks.)

   a. Completed one or more years of a foreign language in high school or college........................... YES NO
   b. Completed at least one course in multicultural education............ YES NO
   c. Completed at least one course in anthropology..................... YES NO
   d. Traveled outside of the U.S............ YES NO
   e. Lived outside of the U.S.............. YES NO
   f. Taught outside of the U.S............ YES NO
   g. Hosted a foreign exchange student... YES NO
   h. Other, please specify: ____________________________

12. What is your gender?

   ____ FEMALE
   ____ MALE

13. Which of the following categories includes your age?

   ____ 21-30,
   ____ 31-40,
   ____ 41-50,
   ____ 51-60, OR
   ____ 61 YEARS OR OLDER.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!!
(Any comments? See next page.)
Is there anything else you would like to mention about your expectations for or your experiences with teaching ESL students?

Also, I would appreciate any comments you might wish to make about this questionnaire and study. Thank you.
CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWED MAINSTREAM TEACHERS

Secondary Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions of Having ESL Students in their Content Area Classrooms

CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in a study designed to discover mainstream teachers' perceptions of having English as a Second Language students (ESL) in their content area classrooms. You are being asked to participate based on your initial indication of interest on the ESL survey questionnaire I distributed earlier this semester.

I wish to interview you at your convenience for approximately an hour on three or four occasions during this fall semester. The interviews will ask you for your perceptions and experiences of teaching mainstream classes with ESL students. The interviews will be conversational in nature. I will tape record each interview so I can give my full attention to your comments during the interview. I will then hire a typist to transcribe these tapes to permit convenient review of your comments. (The typist will be required to sign a form promising to keep all information associated with the tapes confidential.) No names will be connected to the tapes or transcripts, and both tapes and transcripts will be destroyed at the conclusion of the study. At anytime during the interviews, if there is any topic or question you do not wish to discuss, we will simply move on to some other question or discontinue the interview.

I also wish to observe, at your convenience, one of your regular content area classes where you have one or more ESL students. I will be a silent observer. Observations of the same class on three or four occasions should help me to better understand your comments during the above interviews. I will take field notes in the classroom, but I will not tape record any classroom observations. Any reference to students or teachers in my notes will be done through pseudonyms, never real names.

The results of this research will be used for my dissertation at the University of North Dakota. The focus of my analysis will be on general patterns of perceptions and experiences found among respondents to the earlier survey and among the 3-6 teachers interviewed for this study. No names will be used and every effort will be made to protect the identity of the school and the study participants in the dissertation and any subsequent reports or articles.
I see no risks associated with participation in the interviews or classroom observations. Benefits should include the opportunity to verbalize your perceptions and experiences and to participate in a study that may provide useful information for others. For example, I would hope that the results would be useful for pre-service and in-service training programs designed to help teachers address the complex issues of teaching in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms.

Your decision whether or not to participate will not change your future relations with __________. If you decide to participate, you are free to discontinue participation at any time without it being held against you.

I am available to answer any questions you have concerning this study. In addition, you are encouraged to ask any questions concerning this program that you may have in the future. Questions may be asked by calling me, Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs, at 232-5721. I will give you a copy of this form for your records.

Now to the signature part. The "I" below refers to you.

All of my questions have been answered and I am encouraged to ask any questions that I may have concerning this study in the future. I have read all of the above and willingly agree to participate in this study explained to me by Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs.

________________________________
Your Signature

________________________________
Date
INFORMANT RECRUITING QUESTIONS

14. To learn more about teaching ESL students, I would like to interview several of you who currently have ESL students in regular, content area classrooms. I also would like to observe these classrooms. Informal interviews and direct observations should provide a much richer perspective on the challenges and rewards for teachers with classrooms that include ESL students.

If you wish to volunteer, I would like to meet with you three or four times over the next several months. Each meeting will take roughly 40-50 minutes. I also would like to observe three or four of your classes during the same period. Participation is entirely voluntary; you may decline further participation at any time; and all the information you provide and all the observations I make will be kept confidential.

Your willingness to volunteer will be greatly appreciated and will significantly advance the goals of this research.

Would you be willing to be interviewed by me and to discuss the possibility of observing your classes?

____ NO

____ YES----->

IF YES, would you indicate the best time for me to contact you?

_________ TIME OF DAY

_________ DAYS OF WEEK

IF YES, would you write your name and home phone number here or on the back of the return envelope. Thanks!!
APPENDIX H

CONSENT FORM FOR ESL PERSONNEL

Secondary Mainstream Teachers' Perceptions of Having ESL Students in Their Content Area Classrooms

CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in a study designed to discover mainstream teachers' perceptions of having English as a Second Language students (ESL) in their content area classrooms. You are being asked to participate based on your knowledge of ESL programs.

I wish to interview you at your convenience for approximately an hour on one to three occasions this year. The interviews will ask you for your perceptions and experiences in working with teachers and ESL students. The interviews will be conversational in nature. I will tape record each interview so I can give my full attention to your comments during the interview. I will then hire a typist to transcribe these tapes to permit convenient review of your comments. (The typist will be required to sign a form promising to keep all information associated with the tapes confidential.) No student names will be connected to the tapes or transcripts, and both tapes and transcripts will be destroyed at the conclusion of the study. At anytime during the interviews, if there is any topic or question you do not wish to discuss, we will simply move on to some other question or discontinue the interview.

The results of this research will be used for my dissertation at the University of North Dakota. The focus of my analysis will be on general patterns of perceptions and experiences found among survey respondents and the teachers interviewed for this study. No names will be used and every effort will be made to protect the identity of the school and the study participants in the dissertation and any subsequent reports or articles.

I see little or no risk associated with participation in the interviews. Benefits should include the opportunity to verbalize your perceptions and experiences and to participate in a study that may provide useful information for others. For example, I would hope that the results would be useful for pre-service and in-service training programs designed to help teachers address the complex issues of teaching in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms.
If you decide to participate, you are free to discontinue participation at any time without it being held against you in any way.

I am available to answer any questions you have concerning this study. In addition, you are encouraged to ask any questions concerning this program that you may have in the future. Questions may be asked by calling me, Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs, at 232-5721. I will give you a copy of this form for your records.

Now to the signature part. The "I" below refers to you.

All of my questions have been answered and I am encouraged to ask any questions that I may have concerning this study in the future. I have read all of the above and willingly agree to participate in this study explained to me by Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs.

__________________________________________
Your signature

__________________________________________
Date

Thank you.
REFERENCES


