

THE SOCIAL PRACTICE (ACTIVITY) OF THE INTEGRATION
OF K-12 ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (ESL) STUDENTS IN
A DIVERSE URBAN SCHOOL DISTRICT IN CANADA

by

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Abstract

Using mixed methods this exploratory research examined the social practice (activity) of integration for English as a second language (ESL) students in a large multicultural, multilingual urban school district from the point of view (survey, n=253/interview, n=64) of respondents (teachers, parents, students, administrators) from the school community. The study also examined documents (n=242) at a micro/macro level over time (ten years). It explicitly raised the question: How was the integration of ESL learners practiced by various participants in an organization, both actively and in writing (text)? – to explore and illuminate issues surrounding the widespread disagreement amongst stakeholders previously documented in both internal/external school district reviews and other documents.

TESOL Standards K-12 (2000) recommends against a 'traditional' model of integration and for a 'new' model, endorsed by contemporary research, and ultimately implying a language socialization perspective. Each of these models was considered in this research.

Findings indicated that the majority of respondents and documents focussed on a traditional ESL service delivery model for integration centred on English testing of K-12 ESL students, but a substantial minority of respondents and documents gave other views of integration and/or views critical of the traditional model. School organizations did not adequately address issues required by TESOL Standards K-12 (2000): language as a medium of learning in relation to content knowledge, culture and student diversity. A greater focus on language socialization

by schools could offer a richer and more current model for integration that would advance policies and practices for multicultural, multilingual ESL students in large urban centres and offer a more holistic approach to research amongst those in ESL, multicultural, and special education, as well as education generally around issues of ESL integration in urban school districts.

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Chapter 1: Overview of the Study

Given the depth, complexity, and length of this thesis, a brief overview of the study is presented to summarize the research. An overview of the method, perspectives and findings of this study are very briefly considered.

A. Background

Using mixed methods this exploratory research examined the social practice (activity) of integration for English as a second language (ESL) students in a large multicultural, multilingual urban school district from the point of view (survey/ interview) of respondents (teachers, parents, students, administrators) from the school community. The study also examined documents at a micro/ macro level over time. The study explicitly raised the question: How was the integration of ESL learners practiced by various participants in an organization, both actively and in writing (text)? – to explore and illuminate issues surrounding the widespread disagreement amongst stakeholders previously documented in both internal/external school district reviews and other documents (see Chapter IV, pages 120-143).

B. Models for Integration

In the new TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) Standards K-12 (2000), a set of documents which have been commissioned and endorsed by the TESOL organization which summarize much contemporary

literature, two models of the social practice of integrating ESL learners can be identified: i) the traditional model for integration, and ii) a new model or concept of integration recommended by TESOL (see Table 1). TESOL Standards K-12 (2000) recommends against a 'traditional' model of integration and for a 'new' model, endorsed by contemporary research, and ultimately implying a language socialization perspective.

1. The Traditional Model for Integration

The traditional model for integration as presented in the *TESOL Advancing the Profession ESL Standards for pre-K-12 Students* (2000) concentrates the provision of ESL services and support around separate English language classes and English tests. In this model English is taught for its own sake rather than as a medium of learning; ESL students' developing knowledge of the language system (e.g. English grammar and vocabulary) is deemed of paramount importance. Language classes operate quite separately from the mainstream of a school and students are both placed in these classes on the basis of English test results, as well as moved out of these classes either when the time limit has expired, and/or when they pass an English exit test.

2. A New Model of Integration Recommended by TESOL

In contrast, in a new model or concept of integration recommended by TESOL, English is taught to achieve academically in all content areas, the expectation being that this will take six to nine years with much variation due to

many factors. The purpose of learning the English language is to achieve academically; the goal being to reach a level on par with non-ESL students. ESL students learn sheltered (adapted) content as a bridge toward the mainstream academic program of a school. Given this thinking TESOL advocates that ESL students should receive support for as long as it is necessary. Teachers and students within this model for integration are a fully functioning part of the mainstream with a curriculum organized around the mandated state curriculum, and instructional practices that involve the teaching of language with content to achieve academically in all curricular areas. In this model the recommended concept of integration in the mainstream by TESOL is an active and ongoing process, which involves the provision of support for the ESL student by both content and language teachers and bilingualism including literacy in the L1, and the concomitant diversity within the student body "facilitates second language development." Instructional practices involve students in higher level thinking about the curriculum; for example, students compare and contrast science species through language, or establish cause and effect relationships through language in social studies. Evaluation in this model is based on students' ability to use English to achieve academically in the content areas. Students are tested on what they are taught with the recognition, according to TESOL, that performance and assessment must "distinguish between language and academic achievement" if assessment is to fairly represent the capabilities of ESL students.

C. Findings

Findings in this research indicated that the majority of respondents and documents focussed on a traditional ESL service delivery model for integration centred on English testing of K-12 ESL students, but a substantial minority of respondents and documents gave other views of integration and/or views critical of the traditional model (see Chapter V, pages 144-311).

A brief summary of the findings from texts of respondents and documents related to the traditional service delivery model for integration follow. And, in contrast, a summary of findings from texts of respondents and documents that express other views and/or views critical of this model follow. Brief reference to some of the conclusions and implications of the study are also indicated below.

1. Findings: The Traditional ESL Service Delivery Model for Integration

The traditional model was dominant in this study and the texts of many respondents and documents supported TESOL' s description of the traditional model. For these traditional respondents and documents some main areas of support found in this study were:

1. ESL students were grouped by language level in language classes based on scores on English tests and were separated from non-ESL students for most of the academic day;
2. parent and student respondents placed great stress on knowing how to pass the English tests which would facilitate ESL student movement into the mainstream academic program;

3. ESL teachers took sole responsibility for teaching English to ESL learners and content teachers generally expected ESL learners to know English before entering their academic classes showing little awareness of the time it takes to develop academic language;
4. although respondents and documents commented on the tremendous student diversity (cultural, linguistic, educational background, learning needs) in schools, respondents and documents indicated that ESL students were generally expected to use 'English only' at school, and to assimilate to the dominant English culture of the school;
5. many respondents believed that monolingualism and/or 'English only' practices supported the learning of English; and
6. mainstream teacher respondents generally did not view dealing with student diversity and the range of ESL learners in their classes as part of their job – they indicated that they believed the teaching of language related to their subject specialty was an ESL teacher's responsibility.

These respondents and documents showed an awareness of language as traditionally understood but there was little evidence of an understanding of the link of language to content learning (points 1, 2, 3 above), of the demands of academic English (points 3, 4 above), of the potential role of the bilingual learners' L1 to support learning generally (points 5, 6 above), and of the range of student diversity in terms of educational background, language, culture and learning needs (points 5, 6 above).

2. Findings: Other Views or Views Critical of the Traditional Model for Integration

A substantial minority of the texts of respondents and documents in the present study were critical of the traditional service delivery model for integration and/or respondents held other views. These responses lined up with and elaborated on issues recommended in TESOL's standards (2000) new model of integration. Evidence of dissatisfaction with the dominant traditional practices, in a positive light, suggested that there existed substantial support for changing the traditional program model of integration. Among of the main points of the present study are those following:

1. parents expressed dissatisfaction with ESL students lack of access to mainstream academic/content;
2. ESL students and parents expressed dissatisfaction at how they were moved into mainstream programs and some teachers and administrators also recognized this;
3. the English test based traditional model for placing and moving students was often criticized in the texts of respondents and documents – Some parents, teachers, students, and administrators believed that there was a need to consider testing in relation to the English language of mainstream content curriculum outcomes;
4. some ESL teachers believed that the schools under study here needed to better coordinate language learning with education generally because the ESL student population was the dominant one in schools and they indicated in the

data that they did not believe ESL students' integration was of good quality/best practice;

5. some content teachers believed that they needed to learn more about teaching ESL students from ESL specialist teachers because there was a large range of ESL learners in their content classes;
6. respondents indicated concerns about culture (e.g. some respondents did not believe parents and students understood mainstream traditional school culture, access to translation to support parents' and students' understanding of issues of teaching and learning was commented on as an issue, ESL students reported cultural adjustment was difficult);
7. respondents believed that student diversity was greater than it had been in the past and they indicated great frustration teaching and trying to meet the educational needs of the wide range of ESL learners in schools

Thus, dissatisfaction recorded in the texts of respondent and document data in the present study generally centred around issues related to language as a medium of learning in relation to content knowledge (points 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 above) , culture (points 6, 7 above) and student diversity (points 5, 7 above) and implied that that some respondents were aware that issues of language socialization were at work in the schools under study here. It should be noted however that these critical/other views were expressed by a diverse group of respondents with a range of opinions.

3. Conclusions and Implications

TESOL offers forward thinking ideas in terms of standards to foster a new model for integration which are generally supported in the texts of respondents and documents which expressed other views and/or views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration in this study. At the same time, the present study suggests that TESOL standards need to consider more closely the diverse contexts that exist in organizations including specific school sites in terms of the impact that students, teachers, administrators, and parents might have on the adoption and implementation of standards that support a new model of integration. In examining ESL integration as a social practice, this study considered the stakeholders in the school district as active agents and they brought to integration as a social practice diverse theories/practices concerning language learning, culture, and/or content that could impact on attempts to make changes in the organization that supports ESL learners' education. Changing dynamics with respect to the diversity (linguistic, cultural, educational background, and learning needs) of student populations in large urban schools like those under study here require greater consideration; especially with respect to policies and practices that require organizations to change traditional views of integration that separate the learning of language from the learning of academic content and culture. Study of the specific school sites in which 'change' is to be implemented is needed to better appreciate the circumstances that may exist in specific educational contexts, as are studies that pay greater attention to issues of language as a medium of learning, to academic content,

and to issues of culture in relation to learning to better understand these issues of language socialization in public schools.

Chapter 2: Rationale, Significance and Implications of the Study

This original research has explored *integration* as a social practice (or activity) in an organization – a large, culturally and linguistically diverse urban school district. Using a mixed methods approach, this study has documented the plurality of perspectives that are encountered when discussing integration practices with parents/guardians, students, teachers, administrators and other interest groups that comprise the school community and bring their ideas to the table for consideration. In addition, the researcher examined the involvement of some of the specialists and leaders in the school district, and province to determine whether or not they facilitated and/or hindered integration through the public documents that they produced to support ESL integration in their practice as educational leaders.

This *exploratory discovery oriented study* is significant in that the researcher has been unable to find any previous studies in second language education that have examined integration as a social practice (or activity) in an organization with a view to critically examining the testing of English in isolation of other learning that drives the existing model of service delivery (assessment, placement, movement) for the integration of ESL learners. At the university level, such testing (using the TOEFL test) has been severely criticized by the Canadian Psychological Association (see below).

At the present time, as a consequence, the standard assumption in public schools appears to be: a) that ESL students are assessed for performance in English

on tests of language in isolation and placed, b) that they experience a language teaching program and, c) that after passing additional tests of language in isolation and/or moving through levels of language progress and/or after proving they can perform on English only assessments, students move into partial or full mainstreaming. A similar situation exists at the university level with the TOEFL (Test of English as a foreign language) where ESL students are often excluded from the university mainstream because of their English language test scores/performance.

Significant links with respect to ESL integration and the services provided for ESL students have not been adequately made amongst studies in special education, multicultural education, and ESL education, yet, careful examination of the literature in these areas suggests that these fields of study need to collaborate in terms of advancing ESL education in the best interests of the students who experience the activity of ESL integration – there is a need for a more holistic approach to hold school systems more accountable. Also, the researcher has not been able to locate any studies of ESL integration that have dealt with the plurality of perspectives which could be encountered when various participants in a diverse school community come together, each with belief systems and philosophies of education (theories), to put “integration” into practice.

This study has highlighted aspects of research in second language acquisition that is seldom given enough consideration. First, the *context* of the interactions of participants has been developed in greater detail so that the research is firmly

housed in the social and cultural circumstances that surround the activity of integration in an organization, here the school community. If learning is a social and cultural process then English second language, multicultural, and special education researchers will benefit from examining more closely the social and cultural contexts, which surround ESL students with regard to their integration. Secondly, the use of mixed methodology, as appropriate to circumstances, has been used to facilitate the critical examination and presentation of an educational issue, giving due consideration to all of the diverse interest groups involved, and the dilemmas within which the perspectives may operate. By choosing not to focus on one or the other method of conducting research here, the researcher hopes to better mirror the diversity found in an organization, adding incidentally through this exploratory study to other studies that are moving second language research in this direction.

This study has implications for both practitioners and researchers.

Practitioners in diverse school communities are encouraged to reflect on the quality and complexity of *integration* as a social practice (or activity) for the learner of ESL, and to advance practice by creating and implementing more effective policies and practices consistent with current research in English second language learning and education. TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) has recently introduced standards for K-12 learners with an implied concept for integration that is more current and visionary that suggests a richer model for integration than the traditional service delivery orientation. Evidence of aspects of this model while not dominant were evident in this study and offered this potential for this richer model.

In addition, the study suggests that more meaningful attention needs to be given by school communities to the plurality of perspectives encountered when working with and “integrating” ESL students and their families, particularly in large urban centres where they now dominate the student population. Educators are encouraged to reflect on their use of institutional discourse in theory and on its relevance to actions or practice when attempting to act on and/or resolve issues of importance to ESL students in the school community. It is hoped that perhaps educational leaders may spend more time analyzing the process of ESL integration and the multitude of agents and/or implications for action and their various perspectives, rather than accepting the status quo.

Researchers, on the other hand, have an opportunity to examine ESL integration from the point of view of a social practice (or activity) in a diverse school community in which ESL learners are not only placed for services based on assessments of their language performance on English tests but are also engaged in the process of second language socialization; they may build on this exploratory attempt and examine educational issues in greater detail and depth considering many alternatives and challenging existing rules.

Finally, there is an opportunity for researchers to continue to examine links between the three fields of study examined in this research – multiculturalism, special education, and second language education – in terms of working more holistically to critically investigate and advance language policy and educational practice in public schools in large multicultural and multilingual urban centres for

the benefit of the integrated English second language learner, and his/her public education.

Chapter 3: Review of Relevant Literature

A. Integration Practices – An Introduction

Historically, integration has directly and indirectly been a topic considered in many research discussions in the areas of second language education, special education and multiculturalism with reference to the education of immigrants. However, each of these fields of study have largely operated in isolation with regard to ESL students and the services provided for their integration, in spite of obvious links between them when it comes to the *social practice or activity of integration* for ESL students. It is not clear that any adequately address the impact of the *English in isolation assessment based service delivery orientation for integration* on the ESL learner perhaps because integration has not been viewed within the context of a large urban school district where ESL learners predominate and where learners are also engaged in learning the K-12 public curriculum mandated for schools. Instead the existing social practices with respect to ESL integration operate at the level of program arrangements – assessment/placement/movement of ESL learners dominates the discussion and operate from the perspective of language in isolation – decisions for integration are made for ESL students based on results on tests of English forms or structures/grammar in isolation of other learning. Absent from discussions in the three fields is an examination of the “big picture” concerning integration as social practice (activity) in an organization – a large urban school district with a culturally and linguistically diverse student population of which many are ESL learners – the focus of this study. Given large numbers of ESL learners (fifty percent or more) how

does/can a school district integrate? Are schools continuing to use models for integration that are based on testing of English for its own sake? And, how are they working with the large numbers of ESL students they must integrate in large urban centres?

The literature in the field of multicultural education has paid insufficient attention to complex issues of the social practice (activity) of integration and its impact on services provided for ESL learners in the large urban school communities in which they predominately attend school. And yet, while the learner of ESL has been viewed through various multicultural lenses as multicultural ideologies developed and altered over time (assimilation, enrichment, empowerment, inclusion, critical perspectives etc.), little attention has been given in multicultural studies to language issues when ESL dominates an entire student population (fifty percent or more). Neither has *adequate* attention been given to the quality of the educational services and programs provided for English second language learners for integration in multicultural studies, nor to the complexity of the social and cultural situation encountered by the ESL learner who is the subject of the social practice or activity of integration in the elementary or secondary school where he/she dominates.

Efforts in Canada and the United States to include the ESL learner through discussions of multiculturalism have largely focused on "inclusive curriculum" and heritage language programs" underplaying the linguistic issues that occur when multilingual groups of students interact within a single classroom through many

languages, or when ESL learners are the dominant group in a school and English speakers are "the minority," or where one language group (e.g. Mandarin) predominates. There are also many examples of ESL learners having been misdiagnosed as needing learning assistance or special education because of a lack of ESL education and training on the part of well intentioned educators who have not adequately understood linguistic, social, and/or cultural factors and were impatient with the learners' progress in learning the language of instruction in the school (see, Samuda, 1989 or Cummins, 1995; 1998; Cummins and Cameron, 1994). It was easier to fix the learners than it was to examine the organization and its myriad of social policies and practices. And, given research that clearly points to the educational necessity of ESL learners being able to use all of their language resources (first, second, etc.) to learn at school to enhance their integration and optimize academic success (see, Short, 1991; Thomas and Collier, 1997 and others) advocacy to ensure that school districts do so has not been forthcoming in multicultural literature (nor in some ESL literature).

Links between language learning, and curriculum content, and culture are largely absent from discussions of integration in multicultural education and yet the impact of programs on the ESL learner has been profound. The ESL learner has been diagnosed (often through biased measures of the English language in isolation given during early days of cultural and social adjustment to a new school and/or society, sometimes while yet in culture shock), organized (e.g. grouped/segregated/mainstreamed), misdiagnosed (learning disabled, special education), as well as

placed and positioned within these programs (separated/included/pulled out/moved) on the basis of criteria that may marginalize the learner. The ESL learner as both one who encodes as well as creates culture in the classroom is not adequately recognized in most multicultural studies (and in many ESL studies), however, recent investigations in second language education into the complexity of social discourse and its relationship to identity and power relationships indicates that this is a much-needed area of study when it comes to ESL learners and their families (see, for example, McKay and Wong, 1996:577-578). In this regard, there is a need to bring together multicultural research and English second language research. Both fields of study might support each other and provide leadership in the best interests of ESL learners and the social practice or activity of their integration in public schools.

Special education has also paid insufficient attention to the social practice of integration and its impact on the English second language learner, this in spite of the tremendous increase in the number of ESL learners in many of our urban schools and on descriptive accounts in ESL education that indicate there is a need to do so (see, for example, B.C. Ministry of Education document on ESL learners with special needs, 1998). Nor has special education collaborated adequately with multicultural education experts to ensure that ESL learners were integrated fairly and not based on test scores that are at best questionable (see, for example De Rose, 1990). And yet, much of the literature on "integration" appears to have its origins in studies of special education policies and practices. Though ideas from special education concerning integration may have been applied to the circumstances of the ESL

learner, the language socialization of the ESL learner has largely been unrecognized in discussions of special education, as has the benefit and the impact of the two or more linguistic domains in which the ESL learner operates in school. Important links with second language researchers have frequently not been made and the consequence has often been the misdiagnosis of the ESL learner, a misunderstanding of appropriate program placement because of the application of special education ideas concerning integration to the ESL learner (see, Samuda, 1989 or Cummins, 1995; 1998; Cummins and Cameron, 1994; Kline, 1999).

Second language education seems to have mirrored special education in suggestions for the movement and placement of the ESL learner as *integration*, this in spite of the fact that ESL educators have long dismissed links between special education and English second language education – language was declared a natural process and not a learning handicap or disability. This appears to have led the way concerning the development and implementation of integration for the ESL learner in the public school. In addition, policies and practices for ESL learners seem to follow ideas popular in multicultural education at various times (for example, assimilation, inclusion). And, while second language studies are frequently focused on cultural issues, the field has not taken the leadership role it could have in discussions of the ESL learner in multicultural education and in special education, particularly when it comes to notions of integration as a social practice (activity) of significance in terms of the language education of ESL students K-12.

Traditional views of integration include the theoretical dominance of issues of language in isolation (e.g. studies of language as form or rule) which indirectly work at the expense of advancing ESL integration policies because language is perceived in absence of learning and the focus is on English tests as the basis of program organization. Among other things, this focus on English forms may inadvertently negate the value of learning that has already occurred in another language and culture (see, Thomas and Collier, 1997; Mohan 2001; Thomas and Collier, 2002 as examples). A richer, more current and visionary model is needed and is implied in the new TESOL Standards Pre-K – 12 (2000) based on the notion that ESL learners in the K- 12 school system need to acquire English to learn if they are to achieve academically and reach their potential for learning curriculum. The work of international TESOL is of major importance in currently reorienting this field.

B. Models for Integration in K-12 Public Education

In the new TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) Standards K-12 (2000), a set of documents which have been commissioned and endorsed by the TESOL organization which summarize much contemporary literature, two models of the social practice of integrating ESL learners can be identified: a) the traditional model for integration, and b) a new model or concept of integration recommended by TESOL. Each of these models is briefly presented in the subsequent discussion.

1. The Traditional ESL Service Delivery Model

The traditional model for integration as presented in the *TESOL Advancing the Profession ESL Standards for pre-K-12 Students* (2000) concentrates the provision of ESL services and support around separate English language classes and English tests. TESOL describes this traditional pedagogical model as:

... approaches that view language learning and teaching primarily as mastery of elements of language, such as grammar and vocabulary without reference to their functional usefulness

This model was originally conceived when ESL students were few within the student body of a school site. This traditional concept of integration presupposes that ESL students have passed an English test or completed an English class/course prior to being integrated – meaning placed in the mainstream. This model provides support for ESL students within a limited time period; two years is presently the upper limit in many cases in the United States (TESOL, 2000). (Similar time limits are being imposed in Canada – ranging from two years in Ontario, to three years in Calgary, and in recent months support has been capped at a maximum of five years in British Columbia.) Beyond these time limits, there is no additional ESL support or services provided for ESL students.

In this model English is taught for its own sake rather than as a medium of learning; ESL students' developing knowledge of the language system (e.g. English grammar and vocabulary) is deemed of paramount importance. Language classes operate quite separately from the mainstream of a school and students are both placed in these classes on the basis of English test results, as well as moved out of

these classes either when the time limit has expired, and/or when they pass an English exit test.

Teachers and students within this model for integration operate quite separately from the mainstream of a school population within a separate ESL program/course with a curriculum organized around the learning of English for communicative purposes, and instructional practices that incorporate grammar worksheets, levelled reading books, and oral language drills. Evaluation is based on the ESL student's knowledge of the elements of the English language system, including grammar, vocabulary and language structures.

2. A New Model for Providing ESL Support Recommended in the TESOL Standards pre K-12 (2000)

TESOL's point of view as expressed in the "Standards" implies another concept of integration, which if interpreted accurately leads to a model of integration that is perhaps more current and visionary because: i) it allows for the increasingly diverse urban school situation where there are large numbers of ESL students in the population, and ii) it facilitates both ESL students' language education as well as the learning of the academic content mandated in public schools. TESOL recognizes that language minority students are a growing concern in the United States and states that "effective education" for ESL students includes not only the learning of English but also "the maintenance and promotion" of ESL students "native languages in school and community contexts." In *Advancing the Profession: ESL Standards for Pre-K-12 Students (2000)* TESOL notes the following

which points to a growing awareness of student diversity, as well as to the growth of ESL students in urban centres:

Every year, more and more students who speak languages other than English and who come from homes and communities with diverse histories, traditions, world views, and educational experiences populate classrooms in urban ... settings. The number of school-age children and youth who speak languages other than English at home increased by 68.6% in the past ten years... Current projections estimate that by the year 2000 the majority of the school-age population in 50 or more major US cities will be from language minority backgrounds.

TESOL has recognized that ESL students are growing in number, which has implications for public schooling, as does the notion that with this growth schools are becoming increasingly diverse. Furthermore, TESOL Standards, intended to "bridge" the "general education standards" in the United States, have recognized the importance of facilitating both ESL students' language education as well as the learning of the academic content mandated in public schools. The significance of this recognition is made clear in the document:

ESL Standards do not and cannot stand alone. Other professional organizations and groups have developed standards that are world-class, important, developmentally appropriate, and useful. These standards mandate high levels of achievement in content learning for all learners, including ESOL learners. But the content standards do not provide educators the directions and strategies they need to assist ESL learners to attain these standards because they assume student understanding of and ability to use English to engage with content. Many of the content standards do not acknowledge the central role of language in the achievement of content. Nor do they highlight learning styles and particular instructional and assessment needs of learners who are still developing proficiency in English.

In this model, according to TESOL, English is taught to achieve academically in all content areas, the expectation being that this will take six to nine years with

much variation due to many factors. The purpose of learning the English language is to achieve academically; the goal being to reach a level on par with non-ESL students. ESL students learn sheltered (adapted) content as a bridge toward the mainstream academic program of a school. Given this thinking TESOL advocates that ESL students should receive support for as long as it is necessary. In *Advancing the Profession*, TESOL notes:

It can take 6-9 years for ESOL students to achieve the same levels of proficiency in academic English as native speakers. Moreover, ESOL students participating in thoughtfully designed programs of bilingual or sheltered content instruction remain in school longer and attain significantly higher rates of academic achievement in comparison to students without such advantages.

Teachers and students within this model for integration are a fully functioning part of the mainstream with a curriculum organized around the mandated state curriculum, and instructional practices that involve the teaching of language with content to achieve academically in all curricular areas. In this model the recommended concept of integration in the mainstream by TESOL is an active and ongoing process which involves the provision of support for the ESL student by both content and language teachers. Bilingualism including literacy in the L1 and the concomitant diversity within the student body "facilitates second language development." Instructional practices involve students in higher level thinking about the curriculum; for example, students compare and contrast science species through language, or establish cause and effect relationships through language in social studies. Evaluation in this model is based on students' ability to use English to achieve academically in the content areas. Students are tested on what they are

taught with the recognition, according to TESOL, that performance and assessment must “distinguish between language and academic achievement” if assessment is to fairly represent the capabilities of ESL students.

The model for integration recommended in this TESOL document also views the responsibility for ESL students as that of both the ESL specialist teacher and the content area specialist. As TESOL states it:

If ESOL students are to have full access to challenging curricula and to achieve to the same high level in the content areas as native English speakers, then content area specialist must become aware of the importance of language in relationship to their disciplines so that they can better facilitate the academic achievement of ESOL students.

3. **Comparing and Contrasting Models for the Provision of ESL Support and Service Delivery for Integration**

Table 1 presented following, summarizes the two models for integration presented in the foregoing discussion. The extent to which these models in reference to the social practice of integration are evident in an urban school situation has yet to be explored in research in language education.

TESOL in *Advancing the Profession* and in a related document entitled *Assessment and Accountability of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Students (June 2000)* criticizes the tenets upon which the traditional model of ESL integration has operated. There are a number of areas of critical analysis, among them: a) functional language rather than “mastery of the elements of language” as the language learning focus, b) the sequential presentation of curricula to ESL students versus their interdependence, c) the importance of assessments that

Table 1. Comparing and Contrasting Models for the Provision of ESL Support and Service Delivery for Integration

Policies/Practices in ESL Education	The Traditional ESL Service Delivery Model for Integration	A New Model for Providing ESL Support Recommended in the new TESOL Pre-K-12 Standards (2000)
1. Language Learning Focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English is taught for its own sake rather than as a medium of learning the language learning focus is mastery of basic social language and communicative skills social English is acquired in about two years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the language learning focus is functional rather than mastery of the elements of language English is taught to achieve academically in all content areas, as a medium of learning takes six to nine years to acquire, with much variation due to many factors
2. Implied Concept of Integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> placement in a mainstream class after passing an English test or completing an English course (in many cases in the US within a two year limit) no further provision of ESL support services after an English class or test designed for smaller numbers of ESL students within a student population 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> integration in the mainstream as an active ongoing process of support for the student by content and language teachers, and student progress monitored by a strong ongoing system of accountability designed for urban schools where there are large numbers of ESL students in the population and as a consequence schools are becoming increasingly diverse, culturally, linguistically and in terms of the language and learning needs of the students
3. Program Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ESL students are organized into language classes separated from the mainstream and/or mainstreamed without support in a "sink or swim" model ESL students are placed and moved according to the results of English test scores, or upon completion of an English class programs are based on learning sequentially presented English language structures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ESL students receive support in the mainstream and may be pulled out short term for a specific purpose ESL students are placed with age/grade peers and move with them throughout schooling programs are related to and aligned with subject/content with the expectation that achievement will some day be on par with non-ESL students
4. The Teacher's Role a) ESL Teacher b) Content/Subject Teacher	<p>Teachers work independently:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ESL teachers work with ESL students in separate English classes (where they exist) Content teachers neither accommodate ESL students nor seek ESL teacher support 	<p>Teachers work collaboratively:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ESL specialist teachers work with the ESL population of the entire school Content teachers collaborate with ESL specialist teachers to support ESL students and seek professional ESL training

Policies/Practices in ESL Education	The Traditional ESL Service Delivery Model for Integration	A New Model for Providing ESL Support Recommended in the new TESOL Pre-K-12 Standards (2000)
5. The Student's Role a) ESL students b) Non-ESL Students	ESL students attend separate language classes or programs: a) ESL students are organized in separate classes to learn English outside the mainstream of the school b) Non-ESL students take on the role of socializing ESL students who are new to the school	All students co-exist in the mainstream: a) ESL students work with age/grade peers on age/grade appropriate content b) Non-ESL students work collaboratively/cooperatively with ESL students academically/socially both in/out of class
6. Vision of Culture and Bilingualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ bilingualism is not an asset – it inhibits English ▪ ESL students learn about mainstream school culture and contribute aspects of their cultures on special occasions (e.g. multicultural nights) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ bi/multilingualism is an asset and should be promoted ▪ all students (ESL and Non-ESL) help to create school culture and actively influence and change school culture which is dynamic (e.g. influence curriculum and instruction, school policies and practices)
7. Curriculum Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ there is a separate ESL/English language curriculum ▪ successful completion takes two years on average 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ESL students learn the ministry/state mandated learning outcomes/curriculum – it may be adapted or sheltered ▪ because academic success takes six to nine or more years
8. Instructional Practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ESL students work with grammar worksheets, levelled reading books, and oral language drills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ESL students develop/learn strategies for learning such as how to create timelines, Venn diagrams, classify, etc.
9. Method of Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ assessment is based on student knowledge of the English language system (e.g. grammar and vocabulary) for basic communicative skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ assessment is based on student ability to use English to achieve academically in all content areas

measure student ability beyond an isolated test of English for its own sake, and
 d) the need for an accountability system that aligns both progress in the English language and progress academically. Each is briefly discussed in the following with appropriate reference to parts of the documents.

a) *Functional language rather than "mastery of the elements of language" as the language learning focus*

First, TESOL notes that "language is functional." In this regard the focus of language learning is according to TESOL "to function effectively in English and through English while learning challenging academic content." TESOL views this as different than traditional approaches which teach mastery of the elements of language only, and documents this – the TESOL language learning focus is:

a departure from traditional pedagogical approaches that view language learning and teaching primarily as mastery of the elements of language, such as grammar and vocabulary, without reference to their functional usefulness.

Traditional models for integration that focus on service delivery offer students an emphasis on language for its own sake but do not account for TESOL's concern which is the English that ESL students must learn to be successful academically. In this way, ESL students can be marginalized according to TESOL because they could lack access to language support while learning content, as well as to the opportunity to continue to learn content from content specialists while learning English.

b) *The sequential presentation of curricula to ESL students versus their interdependence*

Traditional views of integration that include the sequential presentation of language arts (speaking, listening, reading and writing) to ESL students limit the possibilities for learning in other areas. As TESOL puts it:

Traditional distinctions among the processes of reading, listening, writing, and speaking are artificial. So, is the conceptualization that language acquisition as linear (with listening preceding speaking, and speaking preceding reading, and so forth). Authentic language often entails the simultaneous use of different language modalities, and acquisition of functional language abilities occurs simultaneously and interdependently rather than sequentially.

TESOL recognizes that the language learning focus needs to account for both functional language so learning becomes meaningful, as well as the interdependence of skills so that students are enabled to reach their potentials as language learners and learners in general and not held back by having to unnaturally focus on mastering an isolated linguistic skill.

c) *The importance of assessments that measure student ability beyond an isolated test of English for its own sake*

Traditional views of integration that focus on learning English for its own sake also test in English as a means of placement and movement for ESL students. TESOL has been critical of this method of assessment because an English test does not assume that ESL students have any other knowledge except the knowledge of English language systems of grammar and vocabulary. To this end TESOL has written the following in a *TESOL Advocacy: Position Paper* concerning the assessment

of ESL students entitled *Assessment and Accountability of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Students (June 2000)*:

Of major concern is the overreliance on the results of a single test when assessment standards require that teachers, school districts, and states use multiple measures.

The TESOL document writes about a number of issues of concern regarding assessment, of particular importance, the lack of adequate specialist support and a general lack of awareness of the issues when it comes to matters of assessment and ESL students, as TESOL expresses it:

Most US school systems do not have adequate procedures, resources, and staffing to identify, develop, and implement multiple measures of assessment for ESOL students. In addition, schools generally are unaware of best practices in assessing ESOL students and have inadequate or inappropriate tools to measure their progress. In addition, insufficient professional development is provided on the appropriate use and interpretation of assessment results for ESOL students.

Given the great diversity in the ESL student population in urban centres, assessments have not yet been developed that recognize this diversity and translate this recognition into meaningful assessments that support issues directing teacher instruction and intervention. In addition, TESOL is critical of models that test only in English and do not acknowledge either in theory or in practice that ESL students, if they are expected to achieve academically (and there should be high expectations for this achievement) must be assessed for their knowledge of content as well as language. TESOL states that:

assessments used in many English as a second language (ESL) programs often do not reflect current research findings and best research practices ... For example, research, practice, and standards in ESL indicate the importance of developing academic language, content

knowledge and learning strategies for success in grade-level classrooms. However, existing language proficiency assessments often do not measure how ESL students perform on these diverse skills in mainstream and age appropriate settings which is what teachers and principals need to know.

Another issue raised by TESOL concerning issues of assessment have to do with the state tests used for accountability. Of these tests in addition to issues of test taking and language and content, TESOL notes that:

Very few accommodations have been researched that allow ESOL students with substantial levels of English language proficiency to fairly demonstrate their abilities. Also, very few states have developed alternate assessment systems that capture the linguistic range of ESOL students and are built on what these students can do. Linguistic, content, and cultural factors affect the validity of assessment ...

(Increasingly, Canadian schools are leaning toward state/provincial testing, such as B.C.'s *Foundation Skills Assessment*, and similar issues arise).

- d) *The need for an accountability system that aligns both progress in the English language and progress academically*

A fourth and final issue raised in the *TESOL Advocacy: Position Paper* on assessment and accountability has to do with accountability and ESL students. While ESL students are learning both language and content, state schools have not taken responsibility for ensuring an integrated accountability system where the teaching of language is well coordinated with the teaching of academic content for the benefit of ESL students. As the TESOL document on assessment and accountability puts it:

Outcomes for ESOL students often have not been adequately integrated into the overall accountability systems adopted at the local, state, and national levels. Many ESOL students move through two

separate systems of accountability: one that measures their progress in language development, the other in academic achievement in the content areas (e.g. mathematics, science, social science, and language arts). Too often these measures are neither related nor anchored in content standards. This lack of connection between progress in language acquisition and academic achievement results in less than full accountability for ESOL students.

Among the many problems which the document illustrates, is the notion that:

exit criteria for ESL/bilingual programs and services should be aligned to the academic skills required for success in mainstream classes.

In traditional models for the integration of ESL learners this is not the case but rather exit criteria are based on the results of one or more English test(s) in isolation of content knowledge and other skills needed for success as a learner. In some cases, exit tests include reading tests which have been normed on native speakers of English. These tests similarly reflect a failure to take into account the general language development of ESL students in academic content classes.

In sum, in the new TESOL (2000) Standards for Pre-K through 12 students there are two models for integration, a traditional model of integration, and a new model recommended in the new TESOL (2000) Standards. The former has an emphasis on English language testing and places and moves students on the basis of test scores. The latter, implied in the TESOL documents, is critical of the English test based model and argues for the provision of opportunities for ESL students to achieve their potential academically through being enrolled in school programs that have high expectations for their success by thoughtfully coordinating both language and content instruction. In this model integration is an active ongoing process of support for ESL students, which is provided by both ESL specialist teachers and

content specialist teachers. Student progress is not based on English test scores but is monitored by a strong system of accountability. TESOL Standards offer the practice of integration policies that are both current and visionary because they not only account for student diversity given large numbers of ESL students in urban centres, but also for the coordination of language and content with the expectation that students will achieve their potentials as learners academically.

There is some evidence that more research is moving in this direction. The discussion following examines the use of English tests as a method of inclusion/exclusion for ESL students at universities. The use of English tests are central to the service delivery model and examples of critical research about such testing is pivotal in pointing to the need for alternative directions in ESL integration.

C. English Tests and the Integration and/or Exclusion of ESL Learners in the Mainstream of Universities

At the university level students are often integrated based on scores on the TOEFL test; students are assessed, placed and moved within the university system based solely on measures of their language performance on this test of English. The test does not consider content, culture, or context and notions of language being a resource for learning and achieving academic success. Instead, students are allowed to enter courses in the mainstream of the university only after achieving a certain level on the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language). Students who fail the test often attend language classes to help them pass the test at a future date. These

courses are in general not thought of as part of the university system, but rather are viewed as part of a remedial non-credit program.

The Canadian Psychological Association (CPA) has taken a position on the use of the TOEFL and despite the long-term, well-funded efforts of the Educational Testing Service at making it a sound measure, the CPA warns against its misuse and notes the social injustices that this misuse is likely creating at the university level. In the words of the position statement (Simner, 1999):

In March, 1997 the Board of Director of the CPA approved a position statement that called upon Canadian Universities to refrain from using the TOEFL as a standard for university admission.

This call was prompted by evidence in a report (Simner, 1998), which suggested that the TOEFL was being employed not only in a manner that was contrary to recommendations by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) which publishes the TOEFL but also in a manner that could prove harmful to many Canadian immigrants and refugees.

Briefly stated the evidence showed that in Canada the decision to accept a non-native English speaking applicant is often based primarily on the applicant's overall TOEFL score and only secondarily on the applicant's prior academic performance.

What is both surprising and troublesome about this procedure is that over the years a considerable body of evidence has accumulated which shows that only a weak relationship exists between TOEFL scores and academic achievement at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Because much of the evidence was collected by the ETS itself, ETS has repeatedly advised university officials to avoid making decisions based solely on TOEFL scores.

Despite this advice, however, surveys indicate that since 1982, many universities have increased their TOEFL admission cutoffs. In Ontario, for example, by 1995, ten universities had raised their minimum undergraduate cutoffs from 550 (which is close to the 70th percentile) to scores that ranged from 580 through 600 (which is close to the 90th percentile). Needless to say, these higher cut-offs mean that, whereas previously the top 30% of applicants would have been eligible for consideration now only the top 10 % are eligible. Hence, it is quite

likely that today, large numbers of immigrants and refugees, many of whom may otherwise be qualified for university admission may very well be denied admission to these universities.

The report goes on to recommend that an applicant's readiness to begin academic work be "based on all available information" and "not solely on TOEFL test scores."

A similar warning could be issued in the K-12 public education system (and has been made to some extent by TESOL Standards – see following). Although there has not been a great body of critical research documenting the inadequacies of tests of English in isolation (see, De Rose, 1999 – critical of the Woodcock – a test of English reading) that are/were used to assess, place and move ESL students in public schools, it would be surprising if these assessments were better at predicting academic success, and providing adequate reasons for placing and moving (or integrating from this perspective) ESL students than the TOEFL which has a longer history of use with ESL students, albeit older ones, and a greater body of research and thought behind its use.

In the literature review that follows, integration is first examined in the field of English second language education and it is noted that the social practice or activity of integration has not been recently and specifically dealt with in any meaningful manner either from the point of view of examining the services provided for K-12 ESL integration, or in critically analyzing the emphasis on testing English in isolation as a means of placing and moving or advancing students toward the mainstream (though precedents exist for doing so (see TOEFL and TESOL discussion following). Next, integration as a social practice (activity) is examined

from the point of view of special education, *perhaps* the source of some of the terminology and practices applied to the situation of the ESL learner. Then, literature in multicultural education is considered in relation to ESL education and is critically analyzed – the argument being the need for a more holistic approach. The institutionalized norms, values and beliefs in the larger society are considered in relation to their impact on the social practice (activity) of integration for the ESL learner in public school. Finally, these three approaches are compared and contrasted with respect to their impact on the social practice of integration for the ESL learner, and we look ahead at the *social practice or activity of integration* with a view to leading discussions of integration towards a concept that better coordinates the learning of language with other aspects of one's education, perhaps from the perspective of language socialization which meets the criteria established by the TESOL standards.

D. English Second Language Education and the Integration of ESL Learners

There are few, if any, studies of 'integration practices' in second language research in elementary and secondary school education that deal adequately with the *service delivery orientation* prevalent in many schools. One might argue that studies which mention integration in passing count. However, such studies neither locate "integration" in any discussion of "theory or practice," nor do they examine directly the "social practice or activity" of integration within the organization where it is practiced, most often in public schools. Much of the research that exists (e.g.

Harklau, 1994) is very indirect and appears motivated by the generally accepted notion that ESL students take a long time to learn English as a second/additional language, therefore, issues of assessment, placement, and movement of individuals or groups of students (including entry and exit between /amongst programs based on measures of language in isolation) seem to direct research. The focus in discussions of public education (e.g. see Sheppard, 1994) is presently on service delivery or program arrangements developed through assessments of ESL learners' performance on tests of English with little critical account of this practice and school districts have not as organizations taken on the leadership role needed to move beyond this assessment (test) focus toward making better the activity of integration for ESL learners.

Discussions (e.g. see Thomas and Collier, 1997) often reflect a dichotomy – at one end educators reach the conclusion that mainstreaming is better for ESL students because they are exposed to the language of the classroom, learn more quickly from English speaking peers, and are exposed to more demanding academic language, though it is generally agreed that mainstream classroom teachers without substantial ESL training provide a less than adequate learning environment in terms of effective instructional methods for the ESL learner. At the other end, educators argue for segregated classrooms or sheltered programs to make the transition more smooth by offering, through a competent ESL teacher, curriculum, instructional and socio-cultural support for the learner gradually moving the learner toward content knowledge and understanding – though often these programs are said not to be

challenging enough for the ESL learner, and the gap between the language and content of ESL programs and the mainstream is reported as wide in terms of the academic language of the school curriculum while organizations wrestle at the level of service delivery, program arrangements, or assessments.

The literature lacks studies that directly examine the wider social and cultural context/s informing integration practices either within and/or across institutional contexts, yet evidence exists in many studies (e.g. see Kauffman et al. 1993) that paying attention to the organizations in which integration practices occur may prove fruitful and give attention to theories and practices that are articulated by various interest groups about the integration of ESL learners – one of the points of this study. Also, though it would seem that culture should be central to discussions of integration, ironically it is not (e.g. Constantino, 1994).

This part of the literature review presents examples of the range of difficulties inherent in present discussions of the integration of ESL learners. And, it argues that discussion of the social practice (activity) of integration within an organization of learning needs to move: a) from a focus for ESL integration on service delivery and program arrangements based on assessments of the English language as form, rule or grammatical structures in isolation of other learning as the basis of the integration of ESL learners, to a larger view of integration, and b) toward greater collaboration on the part of researchers in multicultural education, special education, and English second language education so that research is more consistent with the issues faced by ESL learners integrated in urban schools in a modern world.

1. ESL Integration

Issues of movement and placement seem to have originated from a mixture of research in multicultural education, special education, and from ESL education. As stated previously special education used the terminology "integrating" to mean to move toward the inevitable mainstreaming of students. In the early 1980's, Stephen Krashen was one ESL researcher who offered a discussion of matters related to integration. Krashen (see for example, Scarcella, 1990:42-47) advocated language classes for the beginning ESL learner when "real life input" was too complicated. He developed a language teaching program which included general second language teaching, sheltered language teaching, partial mainstreaming, and finally, full integration of the ESL learner into mainstream classes. This program was based on notions of providing students with "comprehensible input" and curriculum in beginning stages of language learning that was not too "cognitively demanding" – language teaching/learning in isolation of content. Often ignored was a suggestion that beginning students take all core subjects in their first languages while learning in English so as to not fall behind in studies in core subjects.

For the past fifteen years, like Krashen's work, discussions of ESL programming have been mainly concerned with moving students into the mainstream (e.g. see Ramirez, Yuen, and Ramsey, 1991). Few researchers on integration practices have viewed them from the perspective of language socialization – the view that language learning, content and culture are learned interdependently. The majority of discussions about integration tend to continue to

view content and culture as separate issues. Not enough attention has been given to whether or not Krashen's suggestions for programming were sound given multicultural policies and practices and movements in special education which found tracking into ability groups easier for managing classrooms but lacking sound pedagogical support (e.g. see Thomas and Collier, 2002). Neither has enough attention been given to examining the philosophical basis for placement and movement, generally English (grammar/form/rule) assessment based. Nor has there been much consideration of pedagogical practices related to integration and of their impact on learning.

2. Mainstreaming and Studies of ESL Integration

Studies of mainstreaming ESL students usually discuss the assessment, placement and movement of ESL students based on tests of English language performance (form/grammar) in various systems of service delivery. Some contrast L1 and L2 learning environments in articulating issues related to ESL student assessment, placement and movement (Schwab, 1995; Harklau, 1994; Liedtke, 1990). Others compare and contrast various models of service delivery (bilingual versus English immersion; early and/or late immersion/exit etc.) with a view to determining how effective/ ineffective they are, or in distinguishing between/amongst them (see, for example, Ramirez et al., 1991 or Kauffman et al., 1993; Sheppard, 1994; Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996). Some have included integration within discussions of culture, though not many have discussed socio-cultural adjustment, an important part of the second language learners academic

success (Thomas and Collier, 1997; Watt and Roessingh, 1996; Menkart, 1993; Liedtke, 1990). If integration is mentioned at all, it is usually mentioned in passing, in spite of the fact that it would seem that any discussion of mainstreaming would imply a discussion of integration. Why discuss mainstreaming except in reference to the successful language socialization of the learner?

3. **Service Delivery (Assessment, Placement and Movement) and the Integration of ESL Learners**

As stated previously, much of the focus in the research literature concerning the integration of ESL learners is on service delivery or program arrangements – the assessment, placement and movement of learners. At the same time, the vast majority of these studies note the inadequacies of service delivery and question the program arrangements made for the integration of ESL learners. Consider a few of the many examples that exist in the literature to show that assessment, placement and movement of the ESL learner is not perceived to operate particularly effectively.

i) Assessment

A number of English second language researchers have long suggested that language assessment in isolation from other learning is ineffective and that assessment must be provided within a context of diversity if it is to be effective for ESL learners (Samuda and Kong, 1989:1; Kline, 1999) and noted that assessments that do not enable learners to demonstrate the knowledge, skills, and attitudes they bring with them (and have had for at least five and upwards to ten or more years) to

school are likely to be inappropriate for ESL students, particularly if the consequences are to place the ESL learner in a variety of school programs created specifically for them and based on their test scores.

Various studies state that educators in school districts continue to determine the ESL learners place in the school through invalid and inappropriate assessments (De Rose, 1999; Thomas and Collier, 1997; TESOL ESL Standards, 1997; Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996; Moodley, 1995; Harklau, 1994; Ramirez, Yuen and Ramsey, 1991; Liedtke, 1990; Samuda and Kong, 1989). They suggest that the consequence of these less than satisfactory assessments has been less than adequate programs arrangements for the integration of the ESL learner.

Harklau (1994:74) in a long term study of ESL learners notes that standardized tests do not given accurate information about ESL students' content knowledge or language abilities. The study recommends alternative assessments that measure the learners' knowledge and understanding of language and content over time. In the same light, Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti (1996:206) note that in spite of language assessments ESL students and teachers continue to overestimate their language proficiency. This results in many students dropping out because they cannot handle mainstream programs. And, Liedtke (1990:80) in a study of ESL learners notes that there is little consistency regarding entry into programs as a consequence of assessments, which are irregular and inconsistent. Also, Sheppard (1994), in a long-term study of ESL practices found that language proficiency tests varied greatly, everything from standardized tests to teachers' informal reactions to

students' abilities, and that consequently there was little justification for entrance into any program, given the criteria used to determine placement.

Lucas (1993) writes about the inadequate assessment of the students' native language and content skills. And, notes that students are often not challenged in school but instead relegated to a narrow range of programs because of their inability to produce English on tests. The integration of ESL learners based only on assessments of English proficiency does not enable the learner to let the school know what he/she is capable of doing. In a similar vein, Kauffman (1993:27) notes that ESL assessment consists of a variety of formal measures but "none of the programs ... assess student achievement in the content areas prior to placing them in ESL programs."

Finally, the vast majority of tests that were/are used to assess the English second language learners' English have not been normed for ESL learners, and researchers have questioned, given the range of variables ESL learners bring to school, whether or not doing so is feasible (see, for example, De Rose, 1999; Kline, 1999; Thomas and Collier, 1997; Samuda and Kong, 1989). A number of researchers (e.g. O'Malley and Pierce, 1996) have noted that educators need to direct their attention to curriculum based, authentic assessments if there are to be fair assessment procedures. They note that the integration of ESL learners should not be based on one shot tests of English language proficiency in isolation of learning content, and that the integration of ESL learners need not be dependent upon their performance on inadequate measures that do not reflect their potential for academic

achievement. Sheppard states that (1994:114-115) in a study of ESL programs in the United States, students had to be integrated from an ESL program of some kind (content, newcomer, sheltered, etc.) to the mainstream. Mainstreaming was withheld anywhere from three to six years or more while ESL learners developed proficiency in English. While some students were placed in ESL content classes, they were still isolated from the mainstream and content instruction was reduced with a focus on language except in two way bilingual programs where ESL learners appear to be offered age and grade appropriate content. Thus a number of studies report that assessment of English language proficiency for its own sake with standardized measures of assessment is not a reliable indicator of the ESL learners potential for achievement, nor should these measures be used to justify placement of ESL learners in models of service delivery.

ii) *Placement*

The integration of ESL learners from a service delivery or program arrangement approach uses the scores received on various assessments to place the learner in an appropriate program to learn English. These program placements range from completely separated or segregated classes, through various models of partial through to full integration. A number of researchers have found little if any justification for placement in an ESL program based on standardized assessments of language in isolation upon arrival at school

For instance, Sheppard, (1994) has found that there was little justification for the manner in which programs were created and students placed in them.

Placement in programs usually included a test of language proficiency (though not always), the tests used varied greatly, and exit criteria was determined in a wide variety of ways – everything from standardized testing through to teacher recommendations. There were few rational reasons for the creation of programs, nor for entrance into these programs. The creation of many ESL programs (some sixty two percent) was motivated by the rapid influx of students into an area, and programs seemed to evolve given the circumstances that existed in the area (situational constraints, available teachers, resources etc.) (see, Sheppard, 1994:92).

Another example of the inappropriateness of placement for the ESL learner is best expressed by Kauffman et al. (1993:31) who noted that:

Comments by parents and students suggest that some students enter these (content-ESL) programs with greater knowledge of academic subjects than they are expected to have because placement is based on their English proficiency skills rather than on their academic achievement in content subjects. As a result some students are misplaced and do not achieve the proper level of instruction in these academic areas.

A number of research studies reiterate the same point, finding little rational foundation for either the creation of programs for ESL learners or their placement in them and indicating that whether students are placed in ESL programs, partially integrated with pull out support, or mainstreamed, the manner in which learners are placed in these programs leaves a great deal to be desired.

Various studies note that it is common for second language educators to accept the notion that self-contained classrooms are of benefit for ESL learners and that many mainstream classroom teachers also believe that ESL learners are the

responsibility of ESL teachers and that ESL learners should be excluded from the mainstream until fully fluent in English. In their minds a disservice is done to ESL students by integrating them into a sink or swim model without support (see, for example, Naylor, 1994; Constantino, 1994; Cummings, 1995). In other studies mainstream teachers will accept the ESL learner as long as some version of pull out support is maintained (Naylor, 1993). However, many studies question the assessment, procedures used to determine placements, the quality of the instruction students receive from inadequately trained ESL teachers, note that ESL students are not challenged in these classes and, furthermore, where instruction takes the form of pull out service several researchers have noted the futility of providing forty minutes of language instruction in a week. (Thomas and Collier, 1997; Collier, 1995, Constantino, 1994; Ramirez, Yuen and Ramey, 1991; Liedtke, 1990; and others). In placing learners in pull out situations educators may be doing more harm than good. Thomas and Collier (1997:54) in their long-term study of 700,000 learners over ten years state that:

Since ESL pull out programs address only ... the Linguistic area (and then only in English) and do not explicitly provide for students' continuing age - appropriate development in cognitive and academic areas while they are learning English, it is instructionally desirable that students have shorter exposure to such programs. Continued exposure to such an instructionally limited program would almost certainly produce larger gaps between English (second language) learners and native English speakers ... since students' cognitive and academic needs would be unaddressed for long periods of time.

At the same time, in a study that interviewed mainstream/regular classroom teachers and ESL classroom teachers, Constantino (1994) discovered that most

mainstream instructors place the responsibility for language development and academic success on the ESL instructor in the school. And, when she interviewed both ESL teachers and mainstream teachers both groups held low expectations for the students and downplayed the importance of prior language and culture as a factor in language and content learning. In this situation, the researchers' note that there appears to be little benefit to being placed in an ESL classroom versus a mainstream classroom – both placements are ineffective. Ramirez, Yuen and Ramey (1991) also conclude that ESL students are better off if they remain in sheltered programs for three or more years and, in contradiction, at the same time note that ESL learners are not being challenged in these classes. Indeed, studies of school effectiveness have found that the pull out model of ESL instruction the least effective model for students' long-term academic success (Thomas and Collier, 1997; Thomas and Collier, 2002).

In sum, the justification for the placement of ESL learners in various programs is often both arbitrary and ineffective at the present time. As Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti (1996:207) have noted, the students themselves neither understand their placement in the organization of a school, nor the lack of challenge the work offers in the early years, nor the subsequent lack of support while still learning English upon full integration or mainstreaming. Many students expressed regret at being placed in lower grades because of their lack of English and felt out of place being integrated with younger classmates. This contributed to their dropping out without high school completion. Other studies note that ESL students remain in

ESL program for three or more years; even content ESL instruction is received outside of the mainstream of the school in separate content ESL classes (see, for example, Sheppard, 1994, Ramirez, Yuen and Ramsey, 1991). Contradictions abound, for example, the above mentioned studies at the same time, note that most content ESL classes "use the same materials as regular classes" and augment them (Sheppard, 1994), and that ESL classes do not challenge learners but ESL students remain in them for a long time – up to five years (Ramirez, Yuen and Ramsey, 1991). Thus the evidence suggests that if this is a model that is designed to support the integration of ESL learners, then it has not done so satisfactorily.

iii) Movement

At the present time the research literature suggests that the integration of ESL learners from program to program is highly unpredictable and founded on very little substantial practice in many situations.

For instance, Harklau (1994) in a longitudinal study of high school students examined ESL and mainstream classrooms in one school to contrast their learning environments in terms of instructional and linguistic value for newcomers. She studied what students lost and gained during the transition from ESL to mainstream classes, compared language learning experiences and behaviour across mainstream and ESL classrooms, and considered the "socializing role" of these classes. Conclusions included the facts that mainstream teachers had many misunderstandings about the nature and purpose of ESL instruction, teachers in

mainstream classes seldom adjusted their input to make it comprehensible, and teacher led discussions predominated in content classes.

Harklau points to the notion of tracking students according to high and low academic achievement – ESL students were typically placed in low track mainstream classes because there was an assumption that these classes would be easier for the learner. She raises the questions: Were the procedures and standards being used to “place” and “move” ESL students fair? Or, were they limiting ESL students and preventing them from reaching a potential as learners? Watt, Roessingh, and Bosetti (1996:207) found that the school organization was not working in the best interests of ESL students – they neither understood their physical movement from class to class, nor their movement between programs. And, even after they have been fully mainstreamed, some ESL learners have been moved backwards into ESL classes or into non-academic programs – a less than satisfactory arrangement that lowers self esteem and contributes to their dropping out of school. Kauffman (1993:30-31) found no consistent procedures for monitoring students after they were mainstreamed, and in some situations difficulties in the mainstream after placement meant being “returned to the ESL program.” There was no suggestion in this process that perhaps the mainstream needed evaluating and fixing to better meet the needs of the students. Instead, the students were moved back. And, in some transitional programs (1993:36) the goal was to move students into the mainstream after three years of transitional services. Given Thomas and Collier’s (1997) findings that ESL learners cannot afford to be left out of the mainstream for

such a long period of time without dooming them to failure, the policies of movement that are in place seem questionable.

In another study of practices in "effective" bilingual programs, Hector and Perez (1995) have noted that the institutional context in which the program occurs has an influence on its effectiveness, and that having high expectations for student achievement is an effective school correlate. In addition, studies of ways to improve the high ESL drop out rate of secondary or high school ESL students who have been isolated in ESL programs and then mainstreamed without support suggest that students need both "monitoring and resource room support programs" for several years after mainstreaming (Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996).

Liedkte (1990:80) found that there was little consistency regarding integrating ESL learners or mainstreaming as a decision making process – entrance and exit criteria and the length of stay before moving between programs did not seem to follow any logical or consistent policy. And it was discovered that (1990:85) ESL teachers "who do not have specialized training" made poor instructional decisions with regard to ESL learners progress. Among many of the recommendations at the end of the study is the idea that district wide policies be established to address these issues, including the point that teachers of ESL learners be trained adequately (i.e. to be specialists).

As another example, Ramirez, Yuen and Ramsey (1991), in a longitudinal study of structured English immersion, and early and late exit bilingual education programs examined the relative effectiveness of these programs by comparing and

contrasting them. They note among other ideas that: 1) the three programs represent three distinct instructional programs differing primarily in the amount and duration of English and Spanish used for instruction, 2) the teachers generally use the same instructional methods regardless of the language used for instruction, 3) none of the teachers in any of the programs teach either language or higher order cognitive thinking effectively, thus limiting student opportunities to produce and develop complex language and thinking skills and, 4) the rate at which students are reclassified from limited English proficient (LEP) to fluent and moved into the mainstream is slow (up to five years) – there is no early mainstreaming because it is felt that LEP students need prolonged assistance to succeed in English only mainstream classes. And yet, in Kauffman et al's research (1993:38) ESL students were kept out of the mainstream from K through 3 in many situations in elementary (this in direct opposition to the findings of Thomas and Collier, 1997, that primary students do not benefit from pull out or separate programs) and had to pass through five or more levels before mainstreaming in secondary. As Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti (1996:218) note "mainstream classroom teachers must find ways to address the language learning needs of ESL students" not in separate programs but "within the academic class setting."

After students enter the mainstream they continue to need language learning support because they are making a transition from conversational fluency to academic language proficiency. It has been shown that there is a tendency for mainstream teachers and ESL students alike to overestimate their language

proficiency and soon both groups “realize their language has not develop sufficiently to meet the demands of the academic classroom” (Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996:206). Given that Mohan (1986, 1990) has identified several instructional methods, and a framework for increasing the mainstream teachers’ capacity to teach higher level cognitive processes and academic discourse to ESL learners. Similar ideas are noted by Early, 1992 and Short, 1991. These researchers argue that it is the curriculum that needs addressing for the learner, and not his/her movement based on tests of English in isolation of other learning.

Thomas and Collier (1997:55) found that ESL learners have significant difficulties with mastery of the curriculum in the long term. In their words:

... significant differences in student performance begin to appear as they (ESL learners) leave their elementary school instruction and continue in the cognitively demanding secondary school years, with drastic differences seen by the end of schooling.

This implies that if school districts focus on the integration of ESL learners as service delivery, as assessment, placement, and movement or mere program arrangements, they are likely to fail to identify and address the differences learners of English face when they are confronted with the language of a cognitively demanding academic curriculum. In other words, if ESL learners are separated from the mainstream for long periods of time, and isolated in ESL programs, which focus on the teaching of language in isolation from curriculum content, their cognitive and academic development is likely to suffer in the long term (e.g. Thomas and Collier, 1997; 2002). At the same time, if they are mainstreamed without monitoring by highly qualified specialists who provide the support needed to master the academic and cognitive

challenges, the linguistic challenges, and the cultural challenges faced, ESL learners have been shown to have a high drop out and limited success rate by the time that they reach secondary (see Thomas and Collier, 2002).

In summary, ESL research on integration shows that there is a current concentration that exists in the literature on the assessment, placement and movement of individual ESL students or groups of students in/out of various programs/models of service delivery based on students' scores on tests of English as form or rule in isolation of other learning. And, there is also evidence of the need to pay greater attention to defining how students experience integration and mainstreaming in two or more languages, particularly in secondary schools with a view to improving the students' potential for academic achievement and school completion.

Many researchers have stated that there exists little ethnographic research concerning ESL versus mainstream classrooms, and have argued for more detailed ethnographic studies comparing and contrasting ESL classroom environments with mainstream classroom environments (Harklau, 1994; Crandall, 1993; Freeman, 1993). Such studies would view language in sociocultural contexts and explore how participants interpret integration. Harklau (1994:241-242) concludes that such studies may serve as a basis for developing approaches to ESL service delivery and might better "facilitate the articulation and transition between ESL and the mainstream."

Finally, this researcher has not been able to locate any studies in ESL research that have dealt with the complexities that might arise when thinking about language as an activity or social practice for the ESL learner and the plurality of perspectives which might be encountered when dialogues take place concerning integration practices with various interest groups interacting in the organizational framework of a large and diverse urban school community. There are neither rich ethnographic descriptions of the social practice (activity) of integration, nor are there any studies that show the complexity of the theory that might constitute decision making around this practice. There is, however, much evidence to suggest that educators need to pay greater attention to the social practice of integration so that it moves beyond the present focus on service delivery (see recent work by Mohan, 2001; Low, 1999; Liang 1999; Beckett, 1999) to one that pays attention to other issues related to the socializing role of language learning.

4. Curriculum and Instruction and the Integration of ESL Learners

Recent studies of mainstreaming have begun to examine various connections between language and content from the point of view of program or curriculum development, or implementation and instruction.

Collier (1995:311-327) notes that much misunderstanding occurs because many policy makers, as well as educators, assume that "language learning can be isolated from other issues." She views this as an "oversimplistic perception" which indicates that those in charge do not realize that socio-cultural issues affect the learner and that the learning of language is interdependent with linguistic,

cognitive, and academic development. In addition, the school district has not understood that the process of "acquiring the language through the school curriculum" is not the same as learning English in isolation as a subject at school, or as learning a foreign language at school. Language, curriculum content across a huge variety of subject areas, and culture must be considered. In Thomas and Collier's (1997:41) words:

... the simplistic notion that all we need to do is to teach language minority students the English language – does not address the needs of the school age (student) ... Furthermore, when we teach only the English language, we are literally slowing down ... cognitive and academic growth and that child may never catch up ...

In a long-term study of ten years, in five school districts, with seven hundred thousand students, Thomas and Collier (1997:34) found that school districts fail to monitor progress once students are integrated fully into the mainstream and as a result do not detect the fact that as schoolwork gets more cognitively complex each succeeding grade, ESL students typically fall behind the achievement of native English speakers. Thomas and Collier have based their assessments on curriculum, instead of assessments of language in isolation as have been traditionally used in discussions of the integration of ESL learners in term of service delivery. Many other studies note that the curriculum and instructional practices in place often do not allow ESL learners access to age and grade appropriate content, given the language learners commensurate ability to work cognitively with challenging academic content (see, for instance, Thomas and Collier, 1997; Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti,

1996; Harklau, 1994; Early, 1992; Ramirez, Yuen and Ramsey, 1991; Short, 1991; Mohan, 1986, 1990; Liedtke, 1990).

Collier (1995:311-327) notes in the same article that in the past, it was believed that teaching English was the first step, prior to the integration of ESL learners in various models of service delivery moving toward the challenging mainstream curriculum. But she points out in her discussion that "postponing or interrupting academic development for ESL learners is likely to promote academic failure." She believes that by far, the best curriculum and instructional situation for ESL learners is to receive uninterrupted academic instruction in their first languages while learning English, so that cognitive and academic growth is maintained and continues, and so that skills are available for transfer to English (see, Thomas and Collier, 1997; Collier, 1995). However, where this is not feasible, the successful integration of ESL learners in mainstream programs seems to depend upon: a) immediate and continued access to academic content that is age and grade appropriate, and b) specialized coordination and support for the language socialization of the learner. A pullout curriculum that focuses on language in isolation is ineffective, as are ESL programs that operate with a language in isolation curriculum, rather than challenging ESL learners with grade and age appropriate academic content. In addition, placements in the non-academic stream, or movement back into ESL classes if unsuccessful in the mainstream as ways of mediating the language gap are highly ineffective (Thomas and Collier, 1997; Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996; Harklau, 1994; Ramirez, Yuen and Ramsey, 1991; Short,

1991; Liedtke, 1990). Mainstream teachers must be better trained and find ways of supporting the language socialization of the learner who needs to be integrated in academic subject areas with monitoring and ongoing support for much of schooling. And, ESL teachers need to become better skilled at teaching academic, cognitively challenging content by working collaboratively with their mainstream colleagues. Harklau's (1994:253) study suggests that when discussing the curriculum, ESL courses serve students well when they "help students learn both academic content and the language of subject matter areas," rather than language in isolation of content. Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti (1996) make a similar comment about mainstream teachers who must develop skills at teaching language with and through content, and at encouraging the learner to use the first language to support the learning of English when needed (see also Watt and Roessingh, 2000).

In sum, some studies have begun to examine the curricular contexts in which students are integrated and experience academic success – research must continue to build in this area and must look more closely at issues of curriculum in reference to situations where ESL learners are the mainstream.

Finally, long-term staff development has been shown to make a difference in terms of improving the quality of curriculum and instruction provided for ESL learners. Studies of staff development with mainstream classroom teachers who were unable to support ESL learners previously has revealed how effective long term staff development programs can be (see, as examples, Thomas and Collier, 1997, Castenada, 1994, Lucas, 1993). Long term staff development and peer coaching

by highly educated and up to date ESL staff developers has facilitated the implementation of scaffolding techniques by mainstream teachers of ESL learners, creating an improvement in curriculum delivery and methods of instruction, thus facilitating the language socialization of ESL students.

5. The Organization and the Integration of ESL Learners

There is much evidence in the literature to suggest that the situational and organizational context should be considered in greater detail in looking at the integration of ESL learners (see, for example, Thomas and Collier, 1997; Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996; Corson and Lemay, 1996; Collier, 1995; Harklau, 1994; Lucas, 1993; Liedtke, 1990). As Lucas (1993) has stated, the larger school context is often overlooked and yet it is well known that the larger school context has an impact on the ESL learner over time, often negatively. The policies of the organization lead and are the example set for the practitioners. And, yet the few studies that have examined the organization indirectly or incidentally, leave a less than satisfactory image of the schooling provided for ESL learners (see, for example, Mohan et al, 2001; May, 2001; Watt and Roessingh, 2001; Thomas and Collier, 1997; Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996; McKay and Wong, 1996; Harklau, 1994; Liedtke, 1993; Lucas, 1993; and many others). Consider a few examples.

Harklau (1994:244) in her study contrasting L1 and L2 classrooms, notes that the teacher in the ESL program was "often skeptical of the administration's motives in selecting teachers" to teach ESL courses. Harklau goes on to discuss the administrations motives as largely political (contractual issues), and notes further

that the mainstream teachers "showed many misunderstandings about the nature and purpose of ESL instruction," and that "curriculum in mainstream subject areas was constrained by many forces outside the classroom" while the ESL program was constantly changing.

Harklau (1994:269) concludes that changes need to be made in the following areas: i) adaptation of curricula and instructional practices in mainstream classrooms, ii) collaborative dialogue between ESL and mainstream teachers, iii) systematic integration of language and content instruction, and iv) realignment of instructional roles, amongst others. These changes would also imply that greater attention needs to be given to the underlying theoretical and philosophical ideas that the participants in ESL education (parents, students, teachers, administrators) bring to the school and articulate in their personal practices concerning this education. Are their ideas convergent or divergent? And, re-examination of the policies and practices at an organizational level needs to take place. What responsibility have the governing bodies, the leaders, taken for organizing policies and practices that are current and effective for ESL learners?

The findings of Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti reported in a study (1996: 199-221) regarding the high drop out rate by ESL students in secondary schools are striking. They found that "ESL students generally give school related reasons for leaving school." ESL students noted in their study that there was a "disjuncture between their experiences of school and their actual experiences within the system." In their view, the organization needs examining, not the students who are often

blamed for their own failures, and who blame themselves for issues beyond their control (see also Watt and Roessingh, 2000).

Similar conclusions regarding situational constraints are evident in other studies (see, for instance, Schwab, 1995; Sheppard, 1994; Kauffman, 1993; Ramirez, Yuen and Ramsey, 1991), Hector and Perez; 1990; Leidtke, 1990). Several researchers (see, for example, Lucas, 1993, Minnicucci and Olsen, 1992) suggest that programs for ESL learners in secondary schools lack cohesive, comprehensive planning, have insufficient offerings of content courses for the ESL learner, as well as materials, and tend to hire inadequately trained teachers. This voices the question – Who (in terms of English second language qualifications) designs the programs, does the hiring, sets up the curriculum and instructional activities that are in place, and makes the decisions that affect the integration of ESL learners? Can this integration be accomplished more effectively?

At the present time, there is a great amount of evidence to suggest that the organization that leads in creating and implementing schooling for ESL learners needs examining because there are still many examples of ineffective program offerings, which are holding back ESL elementary and secondary students, holding back the academic and cognitive growth of the elementary learner, and causing secondary ESL students to drop out without completing school. (As examples, see Watt and Roessingh, 2000; Thomas and Collier, 1997; Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996; McKay and Wong, 1996; Schwab, 1995; Harklau, 1994; Sheppard, 1994;

Liedtke, 1993; Lucas, 1993; Kauffman, 1993; Ramirez, Yuen and Ramsey, 1991, Hector and Perez; 1990; Liedtke, 1990).

6. Culture and the Integration of ESL Learners

In discussing culture and its relationship to the integration of ESL learners, most studies view the learner as charged with the task of adjusting to the cultural norms of the school. Few studies see the ESL learner engaged in an active mental process, which involves at the very least both the creating and encoding of culture, as part of his/her language socialization during the activity of integration in the school.

i) *Culture as External Differences*

In a study of perspectives on integrating ESL pupils into mainstream or regular classes, Liedtke (1990:80) notes that the administrators' motives for integrating students were related to the notion of "unifying" the school as a whole, while the classroom teachers were focused on "broadening" cultural experiences for all learners. Though a study of "perspectives," Liedtke does not examine in any depth these two opposing perspectives. Critical examination suggests that there is a limitation in thinking here – the role of the ESL learner in a school is neither to "unify the school," nor to "broaden the cultural experience for non-ESL learners." This role is in keeping with the policies and practices of the "enrichment" and "enhancement" models of multicultural education of the early eighties. These may be one of many indirect outcomes of integration but certainly should not be the

founding principles behind integration – which should focus on the instructional and academic benefits for the ESL learners who attend school to receive an education and reach their potentials as learners, and who ultimately receive the integration and mainstreaming.

In addition, practices that include cultures in reference to external differences without demonstrating that the groups represented are equally treated can be marginalizing. As an example, consider the findings of Menkart (1993) who noted that schools often had “welcome signs in many languages” but did not treat ESL students equally by encouraging the students to “maintain their native languages,” this in spite of the large body of literature which shows the use of first languages actually helps the learning of English at school because of the continuation of the learner’s superior cognitive development in the first language until English catches up – the socio-cultural support that is necessary for academic success at school involves more than celebrating diversity (see, for example, Mohan et al., 2001; May, 2001; Watt and Roessingh, 2000; TESOL Standards, 2000; Thomas and Collier, 1997; Watt and Roessingh, 1996; Collier, 1995).

ii) *Culture as Closely Tied to the Learning of Language and Content*

Spradley (1980: 89) offers the view that “any description of cultural domains always involves the use of language” because it is language that “gives meaning to and defines parts of the culture” a view which may be helpful in examining the activity of integration of ESL learners. In analyzing the language of traditional service delivery approaches to integration they have tended to ignore the social and

cultural knowledge that participants in various situations have brought to these situations and have conveyed through language. In Spradley's view (1980:07) "by identifying cultural knowledge as fundamental" we merely "shift the emphasis from behavioural artifacts to their meaning." This is important because a "large portion of our cultural knowledge remains tacit, outside our awareness." In other words, culture is more than conscious 'enrichment and enhancement', and the role of the ESL learner more significant than that of unifying or enriching the school by arriving and bringing with one both artifacts and differences – the ESL learner is more active cognitively than these viewpoints take into consideration. Some researchers have long argued that the focus of studies of English second language should not be only language or literacy in isolation, as often is the case in the literature discussing the integration of ESL learners from a service delivery perspective, but rather as interdependent with social and cultural practices (see, for example, Gee, J. P., 1989). Language must be considered within its social and cultural context so that its analysis becomes a more holistic exercise. This notion takes culture from a place of external differences to a recognition that sociocultural processes strongly influence students' access to cognitive, linguistic and academic development (see, for instance, Mohan et al., 2001; May, 2001; Watt and Roessingh, 2000; Thomas and Collier, 1997; TESOL Standards, 1997; Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996; Collier, 1995; Liedtke, 1993; Menkart, 1993; Ogbu, 1992). The learner is engaged in a process of language socialization, learning language, content and culture simultaneously, developmentally, and interdependently. To study integration effectively, the

language socialization of the learner in the organization responsible for ensuring the learner experiences academic success needs consideration.

Thomas and Collier (1997) state that the cultural experience of the ESL learner at school is an active and dynamic process, closely tied to language learning and content learning. What goes on in the learner's head depends upon the experiences of social and cultural process across time – past, present, and future. These processes interact, are interdependent and can strongly affect language development, and the learning of content and culture at school, hence must be considered as part of the shift in thinking that is needed for ESL learners to experience success at school.

And, it has been shown in studies of school adjustment that “ESL students do not find educational and cultural adjustment a smooth or an easy process, in fact “many do not feel included in the broader culture of the school” in “any significant way” (Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996:210). As stated previously, Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti (1996:208) found that ESL students do not find cultural adjustment an easy process, and in fact many feel excluded from the culture of the school, therefore, educators need to pay greater attention to culture and its role in relation to the integration of ESL learners. ESL learners are affected by power relationships in the school, some feel very unsuccessful and excluded, and many drop out because of this. As Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti (1996:209) discovered, the students perceived themselves as the problem; they did not perceive the “school system as playing a role in creating the marginal underclass” in which they found themselves situated. The same study notes the high drop out rate, about seventy five percent after two

years in high school and views this as tragic because the students "see no way out of the predicament and no way of further adjusting for inclusion."

Part of the socio-cultural experience of the English second language learner at school involves the respect shown for his/her first language and culture in the organization of which the school is part. In Thomas and Collier's (1997:49) long term study of a variety of programs and services for ESL learners, they found overwhelming evidence that "language minority groups benefit enormously in the long term from on grade level academic work in first language," this regardless of background experiences of schooling. In addition, where students were registered in bilingual programs and learned English, English was not viewed as remedial, as is the case in ESL service delivery models with separate or pull out ESL classes. In fact Thomas and Collier (1997:51) found that:

the strongest socio-cultural support for new students results in graduates that are amongst the highest academic achievers in each school district The continuation of academic and cognitive development in the first language must be encouraged not discouraged by teachers at school to promote academic success in English.

Many other researchers reiterate the significance of the use of the first language at school (a few examples, May, 2001; Thomas and Collier, 1997; Corson and Lemay, 1996; Collier, 1995; Auerbach, 1993; Menkart, 1993, Lucas, 1993). How this will be translated into practice with large numbers of language groups in schools is another issue.

In sum, socio-cultural processes have a powerful influence on English second language learning. In addition, success at school is closely tied to the extent to which

schools understand the relationships amongst first language, English, culture, the knowledge learners bring to school, and the curriculum. These relationships are likely to appear more clearly if researchers examine the integration of ESL learners from the perspective of social practice (activity). Examining the language socialization of the learner within social practices would closely tie language learning and content to culture and illuminate their interdependence more which some consider fundamental to academic success at school. Given TESOL's emphasis on the importance of considering functional language, and content and culture, a language socialization perspective which views language, content and culture interdependently is a much needed perspective.

E. Special Education and the Integration of ESL Learners

Special education has a long history of research and discussion of integration. Special education students were originally placed in segregated programs and they earned the right to be mainstreamed through acquiring the ability to learn to keep up with work. Special education used *integration* to refer to the selective placement of students in one or more regular classes under traditional thinking about models of service delivery – from segregated programs, to part, then full integration.

1. Segregated Programs

In 1974/5 steps were taken as an outgrowth of the *Education for All Handicapped Children Act* toward including special education learners in regular classes. However, segregated and self-contained programs continued to exist

because "lip service was given to the idea that students would be integrated as much as possible" (see, Kunc, 1992: 26). The new policy articulated in practice that students needed to get skills in self contained or segregated classrooms before they were ready to be integrated into the regular classroom. Skills were the prerequisite for integration and inclusion. The main argument was that segregated and self contained classrooms were a "necessary" option for some students, this in spite of the fact that there was (and is) growing documentation of students who seemed incapable of learning appropriate behaviours and skills in segregated settings but achieved these previously unattainable goals once integrated into regular classrooms (Kunc, 1992:27). And, that the curriculum in self-contained programs consisted of many hours of engagement in largely meaningless skill driven tasks.

2. Mainstreaming

In Webster's (1991:718) to "mainstream" is defined as a term identified in 1974, which meant to place a handicapped child in a regular school class. It would appear that the term was created to deal with the foregoing situation and to encourage movement into the mainstream. In the eighties it was proposed (see, Villa et al., 1992:xvii) that:

... many of the services that were then offered to a small group of students through special education pull out programs might be provided more appropriately in regular classrooms by "regular" teachers.

The idea here was to move away from "lack of program coordination, misclassification, student stigma" and to deal with "children who seep through the

cracks" by creating a blend of the best of both special education and regular classrooms. Some teachers eagerly abandoned segregated programs fully, while others became negative and angry (Villa et al, 1992: xvii-xviii). The new ideas sought a collaborative relationship between regular classroom and special education teachers, and the student now entered the regular class where he/she received support to develop skills. Special education jargon shifted from a focus on entitlement and civil rights where students had a right to access regular classes, to a focus on outcomes where students needed both excellence and equity.

3. Inclusion

More recently, discussions have centred on notions of "full inclusion" – "inclusion" the word of choice to move away from early models of segregation and integration through mainstreaming that did not work effectively because students still received separate treatment (Rogers, 1993). There were two main reasons for inclusion:

- a) segregated programs were viewed as a violation of civil rights and even though there was a move to partial and full integration specialists felt that "some" students still needed skills, while regular classroom teachers expected little of those students who were integrated, and
- b) special education programs have not shown academic or social benefits for the learner. The change was from bringing the student to the services (segregated classes and/or self contained programs, partial integration models) to bringing the services to the child (within the mainstream class).

There has been a considerable number of research reports that share the numerous benefits socially and academically of inclusion (Rogers, 1993; Kunc, 1992). Villa, et al. (1992:xv) state that:

We will not successfully restructure schools to be effective until we stop seeing diversity in students as a problem. Our challenge is not one of getting "special" students to better adjust to the usual schoolwork, the usual teacher pace or the usual tests. The challenge of school remains what it has been since the modern era began 2 centuries ago: ensuring that all students receive their entitlement. They have the right to thought provoking and enabling schoolwork, so that they might use their minds well and discover the joy therein to willingly push themselves farther. They have the right to instruction that obligates the teacher ... to change tactics when progress fails to occur. They have the right to assessment that provides students and teachers with insight into real world standards, usable feedback the opportunity to self assess, and the chance to have dialogue with, or even to challenge the assessor – also a right in a democratic culture. Until such as time, we will have no insight into human potential.

It is the adult routines and rituals that need to be adapted not the students who are subject to methods that need changing and bureaucracies that have not grown.

There has been for a long time in special education an emphasis on the delivery of services pervading because of the bureaucratic public service side of education. This emphasis on the delivery of services has led to the maintenance of old standards with a focus on individual development and remedial instruction which has worked to the detriment of the students (Block and Haring, 1992:17-19). As a result of this focus on service, and the emphasis placed on teaching skills in isolation, special education "specialists" were resigned to the idea that students could not be expected to be excellent. They developed a limiting view of the human capacity for learning. On the other hand, regular classroom teachers felt that

integration produced mediocrity and were unwilling to consider ways of generating excellence in the many. It was evident that reform in special education was needed because somewhere the notion that "different learners can learn amazing things if educators are clear" and teach in a "variety of ways" had been lost (Block and Haring, 1992:18). Kunc (1992:27-29) suggests that perhaps there is a more effective way to prepare to students to enter the community. He suggests that "inclusion" is about "belonging" and that this concept is not new but was advocated in 1970 by Maslow. Maslow's idea was that self-worth could only arise when an individual was grounded in community (Kunc, 1992:29). Therefore, Kunc suggests that given the student's right to "belong in a regular classroom" it is up to administrators and educators to "redefine normalcy," rather than viewing integration as a status the student has to earn. The redefinition of normalcy would focus on the discovery of individual student strengths and on the facilitation of opportunities to excel given these strengths. Teachers would discover individual strengths, teach the students what quality work looked like given these strengths, and expect excellence.

Block and Haring (1992:19) suggest that the emphasis move from service delivery to self-determination techniques, which are designed so that students develop "competence." At the present time they see that research and "current practice in special education seems to offer little opportunity for students to *determine* themselves. Regular education may be even worse." In their view this competence would not be defined individually through skills but rather socially – students' abilities to interact effectively in their life roles. These life roles are

developed in three categories: a) the generic roles society says they must play (e.g. Worker, citizen, and procreator), b) the specific roles within these generics that they choose to play (e.g. Doctor, democrat, parent), and c) the roles that they make up (e.g. Witch doctor, conservative, democrat, househusband). Students would not only develop the ability to interact effectively in these roles (to do things) they would also learn to make the effort (intrinsically to want to do things) to use these abilities. Curriculum reform would involve aligning curriculum, teaching and testing with self-determination techniques. Students would take charge of and participate in their own "inclusion." ESL integration practices have followed a process similar to special education in that students have been (some still are) segregated from mainstream classes, then the movement shifted to part and full integration, and more recently an increased interest in mainstreaming. However, too often in our history ESL was viewed "as special education" to the detriment of many students and it clearly is not. Language learning is a natural not a special education process. This is not to say that a small number of ESL students may have learning issues that arise from learning challenges unrelated to language learning, that is, they are ESL and special education candidates (see Cummins, 1988, Samuda and Kong, 1989) – an area where education has paid scant attention. Before comparing and contrasting similarities amongst multicultural education, special education, and ESL in terms of integration, attention must first be turned to integration as a subject of research within multicultural education.

F. Multicultural Education and ESL Education: The Need for a More Holistic Approach

With the growth of nation-states, and increased emphasis on the political doctrine of nationalism within these states, declaring countries multicultural has become a desirable end since most modern societies are recognizably pluralistic and are struggling to represent the population of which they are comprised (Parekh, 2000; May, 2001). Concomitantly, societies have experienced the unprecedented growth of English as a second, additional or international language, the status of this language being derived as a direct consequence of nationalism or a perceived need for unity in efforts to secure the future stability of the nation-state (Corson and Lemay, 1996; May, 2001). As a result, unity is associated strongly with the English language, which is perceived as providing a commonality of expression for speakers and therefore promoted as desirable and modern. Historically, the emphasis on English was a consequence of the colonisation and power of Great Britain, more recently it is related to the domination of the USA and its focus on English in the international political and economic sphere (May, 2001: 200). At the same time, diversity as expressed in great part through the minority languages represented in the pluralistic population is thought of as undesirable since this multitude of languages and the perceived lack of opportunity for interaction amongst them has the potential to threaten the stability and homogeneity of the nation-state and works against the political doctrine of nationalism that is favoured (May, 2001:200-201). This emphasis on English in nation-states has caused an unprecedented and greatly accelerated loss of minority languages, many lost or marginalized to a point of

minutia in families by the third generation, one of the great contributors to the loss being public schools where English has status and dominates as the language of instruction (Ng, et al., 1995; Corson and Lemay, 1996; Thomas and Collier, 1997; May, 2001). Given these circumstances it behoves the educated to pay greater attention to links that need to be made between multicultural education and ESL education in order to gain a better grasp of what is happening in our English dominated public education system in large urban centres in North America, particularly with respect to the integration of ESL learners.

The need for greater collaboration between the two fields of study, multicultural education and ESL education in order that there be a more holistic approach to the education of English second/additional language learners or language minority students cannot be understated. At the present time, the two fields have operated largely outside each others boundaries in theory, perhaps for academic reasons, and yet in practice when minority language students enter public education institutions in societies in nation-states this is not only impossible; it is also unnecessarily unwise. Where English predominates as the language of instruction in North America, a multicultural education must be responsive to the diverse community of minority languages represented in the public school, while at the same time, ESL educators cannot help but become advocates for the multilingual learners that they represent in schools, since these learners' identities are closely tied to an appreciation and an inclusion of the languages and cultures within which they are embedded prior to entry into school. Moodley (1983; 1992; 1995) has begun the

discussion and raised issues of ESL education in her work on multicultural education. May (2001) has articulated the need for others to follow suit. Consider the dichotomy and the need for advancement in this area.

Multicultural education, while recognizing the importance of bilingualism and acknowledging the need for heritage language programs *after* school, has not dealt in depth with the issues that arise when huge numbers of ESL learners dominate and create plural student populations in large urban school districts. Discussions of ESL education are largely absent from literature in the field and public education systems have been able to ignore issues that are culturally embedded with respect to the education of ESL learners, including the status of minority languages and their role in ESL education, the manner in which students are programmed for instruction, and the issues that arise out of the interaction of multilingual and culturally diverse groups of students forced to learn in English. In addition, integration of ESL learners is not discussed or considered relevant to any great degree.

In contrast, ESL education has tended to focus on issues of language teaching and learning at the expense of issues of multicultural education, (and anti-racism pedagogies), often to the detriment of ESL learners in that critical analysis of the impact of the dominant culture and homogeneity of the public school has been neglected. Although language learning is embedded in culture and ESL students bring with them to school systems of meaning from a plurality of cultures, ESL educators have not involved themselves to any great degree in the dialogue on

multicultural education. As a consequence, public systems of education have been able to situate ESL learners in educational programs in schools in ways that give greater emphasis to service delivery than they do to the cultural and linguistic knowledge and experiences the language learners bring with them to school. This has inadvertently failed to address the low status already given minority languages in public schools, and ESL students lack of access to quality content area instruction, and has not supported the need for a greater focus of issues of culture within the mainstream of education. In addition, ESL students and their minority languages, largely responsible for providing the diversity in public education in large urban centres, are considered as multicultural in that they give expression to diversity through celebrations but are not concomitantly given the status to alter the educational system in meaningful ways that express their linguistic and cultural diversity.

While multicultural education and ESL education have much in common in that both have yet to be optimally considered and implemented in public spheres of education, careful examination of the literature in these areas necessitates the need for a more holistic approach, perhaps the power and status of both fields may rise if issues are amalgamated. There are serious issues of language status and loss being raised by researchers that ought to cause both multicultural and ESL educators to reflect on teaching and learning practices in education systems in large urban pluralistic districts (May, 2001). There is much to be done in terms of critically investigating and advancing language policy and educational practice in public

schools in large urban centres for the benefit of the second/additional English language learner and his/her public education if we are to maintain the languages that second language learners bring with them to school, as well as continue to advance goals of multicultural education. English second language education and multicultural education must examine more closely the social and cultural contexts which surround ESL students in public schools if learning is to truly reflect the notion that it is not only a social process but also a cultural one. Meaningful attention needs to be given by school communities to the plurality of perspectives that are encountered when working with the families of ESL students. Educators who work in today's pluralistic school communities need to reflect on their use of institutional discourse and examine its relevance to actions from a cultural and a linguistic perspective when attempting to act on and/or resolve issues of importance to ESL students in the school community. Today's teachers ought to be able to deal with the language issues that might arise in multilingual, multicultural school communities. They also ought to have developed a refined sense of cultural literacy including the understanding that issues of multicultural education and ESL education are not separate issues as they are often treated in schools – ESL students don't need to celebrate their diversity, they live this diversity daily, instead they need to be given the status and power to influence and sometimes refocus the direction of education in public schools where they dominate.

In order to underline the need for a more holistic approach to the educational work being articulated in the fields of multicultural and ESL education, I will briefly examine approaches to the education of language minority students.

1. Multicultural Approaches and ESL Education

The literature in the field of multicultural education has not paid great attention to complex issues of ESL education and its impact on ESL learners in the large urban school communities in which they predominately attend school. Little attention has been given in multicultural studies to language issues, to the quality of the educational services and programs provided for English second language learners, and to the complexity of the social and cultural situation encountered by the ESL learner who is the subject of the activity of integration in the urban public school.

Efforts in Canada and the United States to include the ESL learner through discussions of multiculturalism have largely focused on "inclusive curriculum" and "heritage language programs" ignoring the linguistic issues that occur when multilingual groups of students interact within a single classroom through many languages, or when ESL learners are the dominant group in a school and English speakers are "the minority," or where one language group (e.g. Mandarin) predominates. There are also many examples of ESL learners having been misdiagnosed as needing learning assistance or special education because of a lack of ESL education and training on the part of well intentioned educators who have not adequately understood linguistic and cultural factors and were impatient with

the learners progress in learning the language of the school. It is easier to fix the learners than it is to examine the organization and its myriad of policies and practices. And, given research that clearly points to the educational necessity of ESL learners being able to use two languages to learn at school for academic success, advocacy to ensure that school districts do so has not been forthcoming in multicultural literature. Links between language learning, and curriculum content, and culture are largely absent from discussions of integration in multicultural education and yet the impact of programs on the ESL learner has been profound.

If one considers the use of the term integration in the field of multicultural education one finds that there is a relationship between the institutionalized norms, values and beliefs articulated through multicultural educational theories in the larger society and the practices that followed with respect to place or position of the ESL learner in the public school. As one example, integration has long been the subject of study in research discussions related to multiculturalism, anti-racism education, equity or equality, and immigration. Although there are a multitude of definitions for our purposes the definition offered by Fleras and Elliott (1992) will be considered.

Discussions in the field of multicultural education with respect to the integration of language minority students have centred around three approaches or models according to Fleras and Elliott (1992) – segregation, assimilation, and integration and the appropriate placement or positioning of minorities along this continuum. Historically, state or government policies in the USA, Canada and other

countries adopted viewpoints of segregation, denying racial and ethnic minorities equal status, sometimes formally in written discourse, other times informally in the public practices adopted and/or in a combination of both. This was followed by the liberal-democratic move toward assimilating and/or integrating racial and ethnic minorities into the mainstream of society. These three approaches of segregation, integration and assimilation are perhaps best summarized and defined by Fleras and Elliott (1992:63):

Each defines a specific arrangement for positioning minority groups vis-à-vis the state, as expressed in terms of government-minority interaction. Assimilation sought to destroy diversity through a process of absorption, conformity and compliance. Integration was concerned with the incorporation of diversity into the mainstream through fusion with the dominant sector to establish a singular cultural identity. Segregation denied the legitimacy of diversity through a process of compartmentalization, maintained by the threat of coercive force.

In an effort to move beyond these approaches, and in response to the need to account for the bilingualism of Quebec, Canada developed its philosophy and policy (Multicultural Act, 1988) of multiculturalism. Similarly, in the United States and in other parts of the world within the context of liberalism, policy makers in education sought reform for the placement or positioning of language minority students through multicultural education (see, Ng et al., 1995). Multiculturalism promoted diversity as the social and cultural norm to be institutionalized in the structure of Canadian society with the hope that Canada's identity would include both cultural diversity and social equality. Systems of public education were one of the main institutions within which this diversity and equality were to take shape.

Fleras and Elliott (1992:64) have compared and contrasted the movement towards the integration of language minority group members and they see similarities and differences between multicultural education and integration. In their view, both have a "common commitment to incorporate minorities into the mainstream" but differ in that "multiculturalism promotes a mosaic of plurality" and integration is "often akin to a melting pot that synthesizes variation to create a new entity." Integration from the point of view of multiculturalism is a "strategy for managing diversity" where efforts are made to "mainstream" minorities or ethnic racial groups equitably. And, mainstreaming involves "the obligation of institutions to facilitate the institutional integration of minorities" in an inclusive and equitable manner (Fleras and Elliott, 1992:316). The general feeling is best summarized by Banks (1995:3) who notes that a major goal of multicultural education was to "reform the school" in order that students from "diverse racial, ethnic and social class groups" would experience educational equality. How is this mainstreaming and integration of language minority students to take place according to multicultural education? And, what specifically is the relationship between mainstreaming, integration and the learner of ESL in literature on multicultural education and/or ESL education?

According to Fleras and Elliott (1992:198), mainstreaming and integration have been addressed in the field through various models or approaches to multicultural education. Approaches to multicultural education in public schools have a chronological arrangement similar to the segregation, assimilation,

integration, continuum previously described. This parallel movement progressed from compensatory, to enrichment and enhancement programs, and finally to empowerment as approaches for realizing multicultural ideals in public education systems (Fleras and Elliott, 1992; Ng, Staton and Scane, 1995). The teacher and the learner of ESL had a different place in each of these models, though this place has not been the subject of any extensive discussion in multicultural education, nor have those involved in ESL education made sure that it was an issue by bringing the marginalization of language minority students forward. These approaches need examining with respect to the need for greater collaboration between fields of multicultural and ESL education.

i) *Compensatory Approaches to ESL Education and Multicultural Education*

Prior to the fifties in education in both the United States and in Canada (see, Fleras and Elliott, 1992; Banks, 1995; Moodley, 1995; Ng et al, 1995; May 2001) the assimilation of immigrants was the dominant force in society. Immigrants were treated as second-class citizens and expected to change to fit into a dominant Anglo-Saxon society.

Assimilation in practice meant getting rid of ethnic traits, Anglo-Americanizing/ Canadianizing the immigrant and the native. In America efforts were made to modify these second-class citizens (the Hispanics, Native Americans, black youth and others) to bring them in line with middle class norms, values and beliefs (McCarthy, 1995:23). In Canada, similar practices were articulated and there are many examples of attempts to change the immigrant (see, for example, Moodley,

1983; Ashworth, 1988). Although these countries may have become pluralistic in composition, and in theory they articulated their newfound liberalism, modern nation-states were assimilationist in practice, particularly when one considers the education provided for ESL or language minority learners.

Compensatory education models of multiculturalism which arose in the fifties and early sixties were meant to improve the lot for the immigrant through compensating in public education for the immigrant's perceived disadvantages but still through this very idea of the need to compensate, they were geared towards assimilation. The assimilation approach, founded on highly conformist practices, cultivating Anglo-Saxon values advocated that all students were to "melt" or assimilate as one unified, single conglomerate – a policy in the USA and Canada which was largely a result of the political doctrine of nationalism in the nation-state, a nationalism needed to consolidate the country as a strong and unified political entity (McCarthy, 1995:22-25; Corson and Lemay 1996; May, 2001).

With respect to ESL education, compensatory programs were to alleviate problems and make up for the ESL students' cultural, economic and linguistic disadvantages. Students from backgrounds other than those of traditional institutional norms were thought to be disadvantaged. Ashworth (1979:58) for example, writes of the formation of a separate school for Chinese and Japanese children in British Columbia in Canada, created solely to segregate students to keep them away from "white children" for the "preservation of the Anglo-Saxon standard of moral and ethical culture." During this time period there was little discussion of

the integration of the ESL learner instead the learner was blamed for using English words "without knowing their meaning" and was segregated from age and grade peers by race. Similar practices were the fate of many immigrant children in Canada (and the United States) from a variety of backgrounds other than English.

The learner of ESL was viewed as "a problem to be fixed" under policies and practices of assimilation. Indeed, in the early fifties and sixties, it was assumed that once ESL students learned English problems with immigration would disappear (Moodley, 1995:804). Stills and Ellison (1996:148) describe this thinking as follows:

When children of diverse backgrounds do not conform to traditional institutional norms and expectations, the hypothesis has been that these children come to the school environment ill-equipped to meet the demands and challenges of the school as a direct result of being either "culturally disadvantaged" or "cognitively deficient."

The direct consequence of this approach in terms of ESL education was the establishment of remedial and separate classes for the education of ESL students in the public system. And, they were other subtle messages conveyed to ESL students about their own value and status as well as the importance of their minority languages in public education, for example, ESL students' names were changed (often by secretaries) or anglicized, and the school did everything possible to remove the language of the home from the education of the learner by enforcing the practice that it not be used either publicly at school or privately at home (see, for example, Ashworth, 1988; Corson and Lemay, 1996). The goal was mainstreaming and integration and this could not be accomplished until the 'handicap' of knowing a language without status was removed from the ESL learner. Monolingualism and

the replacement of the language of the home with English was the vision of a public education for language minority students (Ashworth, 1988). Educational disadvantage was directly associated with minority language use. The ESL specialist teacher in this approach operated in a segregated classroom, often isolated within the institution, frequently in a small space removed from the core of the school (Ashworth, 1988). ESL education meant success when the task of "fixing" the minority language learner through intensive drilling in English was accomplished (Edwards and Redfern, 1992:100). The rapid replacement of the first language with a second was the consequence. And, as Ashworth (1988:27) notes of immigrant students in her discussions of ESL in a historical context, "it was questionable whether the aim was to provide additional help in English or merely keep them (ESL students) apart from white children" through streaming until the English language predominated.

Some advancement was made, albeit a small one with the movement toward an enrichment and enhancement approach to multicultural education and concomitantly ESL education, however, giving status to the minority languages of students and priority to an optimal ESL education was not commensurate with these approaches which still viewed immigrants as different. In May's words (2001:177):

the essence of the multicultural model is the recognition of the right to be different and to be respected for it, not necessarily to maintain a distinct language and culture.

ii) *Enrichment and Enhancement Approaches to ESL Education and Multicultural Education*

Enrichment and enhancement models of cultural understanding and competence followed in the seventies and early eighties in both Canada and the United States, the implicit goal being to celebrate visible differences and promote understanding across cultures (Fleras and Elliott, 1992; Brown, 1992; Banks, 1993; Banks, 1995; McCarthy, 1995; May, 2001). The learner of ESL was seen to enrich the school merely by being present/integrated through everyone celebrating diversity in "foods, festivals and famous people" – prevalent was the notion of the "other." And, recognition was to be given to the role of the learners' background cultural experiences in the classroom, curriculum was to be changed to reflect the ethnicity of the learner of ESL in materials and resources, and to include aspects of the language of the home in curriculum, albeit in a marginal manner (e.g. a welcome sign in many languages hung on the door). Banks (1995:13) describes this as the "contributions approach" to multicultural curriculum reform. Schools occasionally celebrated discrete cultural elements such as "heroes, heroines, holidays and food."

An outgrowth of this movement was the advocacy for heritage language programs as greater (but not equal) status was given to the language of the home. Advocacy existed for improving English proficiency, as well as for bilingual, bicultural and ethnic studies to preserve students' cultural identities through acknowledging cultural and linguistic diversity. Bilingual programs were advocated in many parts of the USA (some only created as transitional), and Quebec while heritage language programs were the focus for meeting the needs of the ESL learner

in many parts of Canada (for a detailed discussion see Corson and Lemay, 1996). With regard to heritage language programs they remained outside of the mainstream of the school. Ontario, for example, permitted two and a half hours of heritage language instruction in schools, after regular hours (Moodley, 1995:804; Corson and Lemay, 1996).

And, where there has been advocacy for heritage language programs after school across Canada, at the same time the programs continue today to exist for the most part outside of the mainstream curriculum of the school. Their relevance in terms of the curriculum of the school and the integration of ESL learners within the school has not been examined in any detail – they remain an add on, this in spite of the growth in numbers of language minority students in large urban centres of education. For instance, while Fleras and Elliott, (1992:157) report that in Ontario there were one hundred and twenty nine thousand students enrolled in supplementary heritage language programs in 1988, and yet this has not translated itself into meaningful language classes as part of the mainstream academics of the school for ESL learners who come to school with languages other than English.

May (2001) argues that there is a precedent for dealing with minority languages in Canada in terms of their promotion. Language policies in Quebec that promote bilingualism do so by delimiting the use of English, perhaps language minorities can enact similar policies in areas where they predominate in an effort to preserve their linguistic heritages and to give public status to their languages (May, 2001). According to May there is a key role for education to play in minority

language maintenance, and given the fact that the nation-state has been able to use public education to advance the ends of homogeneous [English dominant] civic nationalist cultures, it can do the same for minority languages and begin by giving them greater status in public schools.

In addition to issues of language, enhancement programs also focused on improving inter group dynamics through collaboration and cooperation – a focus on similarities amid the differences (see, Banks, 1993; 1995). Relationships between ESL learners, ESL teachers, and learners and teachers in mainstream classrooms became more fluid during this time period, at least that was the theory – the mainstream teacher sought the support of the ESL specialist and the ESL specialist sought interaction with native English speakers in mainstream or regular classes to improve the ESL learners communicative competence. Staff developers were viewed as agents of change who supported desegregation and integration in schools by supporting teachers so they improved practice and student achievement through developing a range of instruction strategies (Brown, 1992:20). There was (at least in theory) recognition that the ESL learner needed some kind of continuing language support in the mainstream and that the “transition to full integration” required the ESL “specialist teacher” to “plan with and work alongside the subject specialist teacher” (Edwards and Redfern, 1992:100-101). An examination of these ideals from the point of view of practice in English second language education research quickly reveals that educators today continue to wrestle with issues of English language learning, curriculum content, and culture. And, greater emphasis is still given to the

teaching and learning of English as a dominant language, rather than to the influence of culture in relation to knowledge, experience and learning in schools.

In sum, research in multicultural education has not paid enough attention to the ESL learner's education and yet there is certainly a need to do so: a) in terms of examining the relationship between the languages he/she uses in public education, b) in reference to their importance for supporting learning in English, c) in terms of the dynamics involved when multiple linguistic groups interact in one classroom, d) in reference to the place or position the ESL learner has been assigned when integrated in the system of public education. Advocacy and research is needed in this area in collaboration with English second language educators.

iii) *Empowerment Approaches to ESL Education and Multicultural Education*

Current models of liberalism focus on various critical perspectives – emancipation, empowerment, social justice, and equity. The movement toward the mainstreaming of the learner of ESL, which began in the eighties, continues today. The focus of discussions of ESL have been on the provision of adequate in-service for mainstream and content classroom teachers, on facilitating the academic achievement of the ESL learner at school, and on the relevance of the discourse used in the context of classrooms given the diversity in family systems and *views of the world* held by all of the participants in public education (see, Corson and Lemay, 1996).

In empowerment models where the focus is on justice, equality, and inclusion, minority students are advanced *in theory* toward reaching their potential

academically and as citizens through educational restructuring (see, Fleras and Elliott, 1992; Banks, 1995; Ng Et al., 1995). The cultural positioning of students, parents and teachers within the organizational structure of public entities are examined from multiple perspectives in an effort to challenge and influence educational practice. Interestingly enough, from this researcher's perspective, the focus has been on class, race and gender as culture, but not on language which defines, creates, and conveys culture – beyond some discussion of and advocacy for bilingual programs, out of school heritage language classes, and a variety of courses in schools that teach languages other than English or French. For example, in his review of multicultural education in terms of historical development, its dimensions and practice, James Banks (1995:3-24) does not mention language, bilingualism, or ESL education as an issue central to the discussion. And yet, there is a great amount of evidence that suggests that the most significant content in the next century will be the relationship between the language of the home and ESL in the classroom.

"Minority" language groups are increasing in number both in Canada and in the United States to a point where by the end of the century they will compose about fifty percent of the total enrolment of US schools (and in Canada a substantial part of the demographics of the country) (Banks, 1993:22-28). And, while May (2001), ascribes a lack of focus on multilingualism to multicultural education, he himself does not deal with the multilingual and minority language issues that arise in and beyond ESL classrooms in public schools in large urban centres.

The main response to demographic changes of educators concerned with culture and "multi" culture has been a focus on content integration in terms of making revisions to curriculum to make it culturally relevant, either by adding to existing curricula, or by transforming it to look at diverse perspectives (see, for example, Banks, 1995:13 or Banks 1993:25. For instance, Banks (1993:25) identifies five types of knowledge that need addressing in addition to the "implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives and biases within a discipline." They are: personal/cultural, popular, mainstream academic, transformative, and school. Though each of these areas of knowledge is discussed in great detail, nowhere does he mention relationships between language (L1 or first and L2 or second) and the content and culture of the school. Instead, the focus is on additive or a transformative experience. While multicultural studies recognize that learners bring to school diverse "world views" (see, for example, Banks, 1995; Stills and Ellison, 1996), these studies have not dealt to any great degree with the relationship between these diverse world views and the interaction between first and second or third languages for the learner of ESL and his/her peer group in a variety of classroom situations, including those where ESL learners form the mainstream and/or a substantial part of the mainstream.

Banks (1995:13) describes an approach to curriculum, which he calls the "action approach" where "students make decisions on important personal, social and civic problems" and they "take actions to help solve them. Given the lack of recognition of languages in curriculum, and the general lack of prestige of minority

languages within the context of the school one wonders to what extent this is truly possible for the ESL student– except perhaps in some bilingual programs where linguistic duality is considered a benefit.

McCarthy (1995:35-43) argues for a model of critical emancipatory multiculturalism because American (the same may be said of Canadian) approaches have tended to focus on ‘boosting self-concepts’ and on ‘transforming white intolerance’ but have not contested the ‘underlying rules of the game or ‘existing structures of exploitation and oppression.’ McCarthy sees a need for links to be made between the ‘microdynamics of the school curriculum’ and ‘larger issues of social relations outside the school’ – we need to take our heterogeneous population more seriously. Given our heterogeneous student population and the large number of second language learners of whom American and Canadian education facilities are comprised, particularly in major urban centres, research must make links in rich detail between language learning, and curriculum content and culture for the learner of English as an additional language.

G. English Second Language Education, Special Education, Multicultural Education, and the Integration of ESL Learners

In the three fields of English Second language education, special education, and multicultural education, the policies and practices of organizations with regard to the integration of ESL learners has followed a similar path with origins in service delivery and program arrangements, inadequate and ineffective policies, and practices that either are created in an ad hoc manner, and become outdated but

remain in place, and/or practices that serve the learner outside rather than inside the mainstream of the school.

While an in depth analysis of the history is beyond the scope of this research, the overlap in the three fields of study must be acknowledged and will briefly be related in terms of the policies and practices in vogue over time with respect to the integration of ESL learners under six recurring themes or topics: 1. service delivery, 2. view of language, 3. view of culture, 4. teachers role, 5. student's role, 6. curriculum and instruction. Each of these will be briefly discussed to show how integration has evolved in educational practice in all three fields of study and has subsequently had an impact on the ESL learner's position or place in the organization of school. This discussion represents an amalgamation of ideas from studies referred to earlier in the literature review and the reader is referred there for details.

1. Policies and Practices

Special education policies and ESL policies have reflected societal philosophies about educating learners in a given time and space, and have followed philosophies of multiculturalism from those with an assimilation bent to current theories of empowerment. There is evidence that in both special education and second language education, integration policies and practices paralleled patterns of thinking in multicultural education. As multicultural education moved along the segregation, assimilation, integration continuum, so did programs for learners. There is a link between the model of cultural practice, which predominated over

time, and the policies and practices in place for learners – segregated, compensatory, enrichment, empowerment.

Both special education and ESL education have followed a similar pattern from an emphasis on the integration of learners as service delivery – the development of the learners' (remedial skills) in a segregated or self-contained classroom or pullout program, through partial to full integration or mainstreaming. As in the case of special education, the trend toward mainstreaming has not entirely worked for the ESL learner but has been subject to a lack of adequate, current, and effective government and school district policies and practices, as well as insufficient specialist support (see literature review above).

However, in recent years, while policies and practices for inclusion have long been in place for special education and learners are being included in schools with specialist support, many ESL policies are still being developed and ESL learners remain in segregated or separate programs and/or are pulled out for periods of time.

2. Views of Language

Neither multicultural education, nor special education have been strong advocates for first language use at school. There is however overwhelming evidence of the benefits in doing so to support to the ESL learners' integration (see literature review). And, ESL educators have not taken the strong leadership role they might assume to ensure that multicultural education and special education focus on significant issues related to language learning and the schooling of ESL learners.

Language has not been dealt with in any detail in special education, this in spite of the fact that under remedial education models with an assimilationist focus, ESL learners were often misdiagnosed with tests for native English speakers and ended up with learning disabilities they often did not have (Cummins, 1988; Cummins and Cameron, 1994; Samuda and Kong, 1989). And, as Lai (1994:126) notes, there are issues of equity and fair treatment of learners to consider: "Assessment instruments in languages other than English are still few in North America after all these years of controversy over assessment."

3. Views of Culture

As stated previously, there appears to be a link between the model of cultural practice that predominated over time and the policies and practices in place for learners – segregated, compensatory, enrichment, and empowerment. If researchers examine the *culture* continuum we find schools "fixing the handicapped learner" through remedial skills based education under models of assimilation. This was followed by a focus on integrating the learner and adapting curriculum content for the learner through in-class and/or pull out support in models of enrichment and enhancement. Both special education learners and ESL learners suffered under this model because the feeling on the part of many educators was still that the learner had to acquire skills to be integrated, therefore, there was an over emphasis on pull out support and teachers in mainstream classes expected little of the integrated learner. Finally, the learner was mainstreamed in the case of special education and there is a move to mainstreaming in ESL education. However, in this situation both

special education and ESL learners are often subjected to inadequate in-class support and inadequately trained teachers, therefore, the benefits remain questionable.

In contrast to ESL research, multiculturalism has typically given attention to the importance of culture such as in the case of reports of negative self esteem, often viewed in the literature as the result of cultural exclusion. This may, according to research, hamper learning as well as social development in situations where the culture learners bring to school is not recognized in a significant way; situations have arisen where lack of adequate interpretation has negatively affected the interpretation of concepts at school for both parents and students, even at a most basic level (see, Lai, 1994:126).

However, multiculturalism has tended to focus more on models of inclusive curriculum (pictures, realia, books) and the provision of heritage language programs during the day at school as significant for the ESL learner, than it has on how the learner was wrestling with his/her language socialization – the learning of language, content, and culture simultaneously and interdependently at school. The main trend in ESL research has not placed great emphasis on language socialization either. Greater work is needed from a collaborative perspective amongst the three fields in the area of culture and the integration of ESL learners to advance the focus of public schools when it comes to culture and the language socialization of the ESL learner.

4. The Teacher's Role

The role of the teacher was largely remedial in both special education and in ESL education under assimilationist policies of multicultural education. Teachers spent many hours of instruction in pull out or separate class situations drilling the learner with rote and often-meaningless tasks. There was little or no collaboration with mainstream teachers and the specialist often had little to do with the curriculum of the mainstream. Mainstream teachers on the other hand, felt that the ESL learner was the responsibility of the ESL teacher and ESL students should stay separated until fluent in English.

With the advent of the enrichment and enhancement philosophy, the teachers' role changed to one where the teacher was charged with helping learners' enrich the school.

For the ESL learner this often meant studying "differences" and celebrations. Some teachers spent time adapting and modifying content for the learner to be used during periods of partial integration. Generally the focus was on the language learners' differences and not on ways that the language learner both created and encoded culture. And, the first languages of learners were acknowledged but were not positioned either in the school or the classroom in a strong relation to curriculum and instruction and the ESL learner.

In the empowerment model the teacher had a role to play in ensuring equality of access and programming for the learner, and (at least in theory) a role as a resource person in the school as a whole. However, this model was often met

without long term staff development initiatives, and highly skilled and trained specialist teacher support, so that student progress was not adequately supported and monitored, and the model was questioned rather than the policies and practices in place to support it.

In all situations, the teacher was charged with moving the ESL learner in and out of programs based on the idea that the integration of ESL learners was closely tied to the delivery of service over time. The importance of hiring more bilingual teachers, of insisting that ESL teachers be optimally trained, and of ensuring adequate pre and in service professional development activities to support the specialist ESL teacher, as well as the mainstream teacher, have all been under emphasized.

5. The Student's Role

Under the assimilation model, the learner both in special education and in ESL education was the passive recipient of "fixing" of various handicaps. Remedial drills constituted the day plan at school, with very little opportunity to experience the mainstream curriculum of the school, and often equally little opportunity to interact with age and grade peers.

With the advent of the enrichment model the special education and ESL learner became a part of the life of the school, and as learners with "differences" they enriched the school and enhanced the curriculum. Learners were more frequently but not always integrated for part of the day and had some although limited opportunities to experience aspects of the mainstream curriculum, not

necessarily at an appropriate age or grade level, often in a manner that offered little challenge cognitively.

With the idea of empowerment, critical consciousness came into prominence and inclusion the term of choice for including special education (and ESL learners increasingly) in the content of curriculum in subject specialties through additive or adapted mainstream curricula. For the first time there was a focus on age and grade appropriate content.

6. Curriculum and Instruction

Best practices at a micro (classroom) level also varied with policy at the macro level. In both special education and ESL education under an assimilation model the learners were subjected to intensive skill based teaching and a curriculum that was far removed from the mainstream, often marginalizing and not a challenge. Workbooks, flash cards and drills were the curriculum and instructional practices had a rote, skill based, repetitive emphasis.

With enrichment the focus shifted to enrichment and adapting content in mainstream classrooms (at least in theory), however, models of adaptations were not always forthcoming and teachers tended to use the mainstream curriculum, or reverted back to tried and true methods of the past. Discussions of adaptation of curriculum and instruction tend to exclude issues related to language socialization – the cultural and linguistic issues that arise for ESL learners and issues of scaffolding to support integration generally remain a need rarely mentioned in the literature (Lai, 1994). In special education learners were still not integrated to any great extent

and the curriculum remained outside of the mainstream, hence the push for inclusion and the full integration of learners.

Empowerment models focused on inclusion – all learners were to be included in the curriculum content. This inclusion meant to a large degree in special education, multicultural education and ESL education, the inclusion of issues of race, gender and class in the curriculum – as yet the language learner and his/her language socialization remain inadequately addressed in most discussions.

This idea is best summarized in the following two quotes. Kline (1999:1) notes that:

Although Federal regulations require assessment materials used in evaluating and placement children with disabilities “be selected and administered so as not to be racially or culturally discriminatory,” culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students continue to be over-represented in programs for children with learning disabilities and under-represented in programs for gifted and talented students (Artiles and Trent, 2000). It is suspected that evaluation and placement practices, which have been ruled to be discriminatory toward some CLD students could be contributing to this problem.

To this, Thomas and Collier (2002:Executive Summary page 1) add the following:

... research from 1985 to 2001 has focussed on analyzing the great educational services provided for language minority (LM) students in US public schools [K-12] ... this demographic group is projected to be forty percent of the school age population by 2030 and most US schools are currently under educating this group.

Table 2 that follows summarizes the various policies and practices of special education, English second language education along with multicultural philosophies as they varied over time. The literature has followed a similar path in the three fields, and points to a great need for re-examination of practices with

respect to the social practice or the activity of the integration of ESL learners in K-12 classes in public schools.

Table 2. Policies and Practices in Special Education and ESL Education That Followed Multicultural Education Philosophies

Philosophies of Multiculturalism (Macro level) →

(Micro level) Assimilation → Enrichment → Empowerment
Policies & Practices in
Special & ESL Education

service delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ segregated classes ▪ pull-out programs or self contained classes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ partial integration or transition ▪ movement along continuum to mainstream 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ mainstreaming ▪ may/may not find support in class
language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ first language – a handicap 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ heritage programs encouraged 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ use of first language to learn the second
culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ a unified whole ▪ “melting pot” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ foods, famous people, festivals ▪ celebrate diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ equality, equity, justice, inclusion ▪ critical perspectives
teacher's role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ remedial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ in class and pull out support ▪ adapt curriculum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ resource for the school collaborator
student's role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to be fixed ▪ handicapped ▪ student to the service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ enhance the school ▪ services to student and student to services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ change the mainstream
curriculum and instruction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ skills based ▪ rote drills ▪ intensive ▪ workbooks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ adapted content with specialist support ▪ compensatory programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ regular teacher changes – through course work and professional development

H. Issues of Language Socialization and the Integration of ESL Learners

As previously stated in the literature review, discussions in multicultural education, special education, and English second language education seem to have progressed in a way that focuses on service delivery in terms of assessment, placement, and movement of ESL learners based on their performance on measures or *tests* of the English language in isolation as the focus of integration. By contrast, Collier (1995) in a long term study of second language learners has found that "much misunderstanding" occurs because "policy makers and educators" maintain on "over simplistic perception about English second language learning, that is they "assume that language learning can be isolated from other issues and that the first thing students must do is learn English."

1. Language Socialization and ESL Integration

Missing in much of the existing research is a more holistic view of integration, as recommended in the TESOL pre-K-12 Standards (2000). This is offered by the perspective of language socialization. From the perspective of language socialization, (as with TESOL), researchers would explicitly raise questions about relationships between language(s) and learning, and learning content and culture in contrast with views that not only fail to do so but treat language learning, and the learning content and culture separately (see Mohan et al., 2001). This was a difficulty with existing research discussions of integration in multiculturalism, special education, and ESL language learning at the time of this study.

The focus of this research, as previously noted was to explore the "big picture" to identify ways in which existing ideas could move forward with respect to integration and the ESL learner. A language socialization perspective of ESL students would recognize that the students were: a) learning language to learn, b) learning language with content, c) learning about and contributing to the culture of the school and the community, d) learning and using language(s) in contexts, and e) learning the language(s), content, culture(s) and context(s) interdependently, and not as independent processes unrelated to learning. In addition, a language socialization viewpoint beyond one solely related to language instruction in isolation of other learning would allow for better understanding of coordination of language learning with the learning of content because other issues would be considered beyond English testing. In this research considering other points of view became particularly important since integration was at the time of this research in conflict in research in second language education, both theoretically and practically and this conflict was related to differing perspectives of the practice by participants. How was ESL integration conflicted as a social practice (activity) in K-12 public education at the time of this study?

a) ESL Integration as a Conflicted Social Practice (Activity) Within Public Education

Integration as a social practice (activity) in public schools was at the time of this study conflicted, both in theory and practice. There were varying conceptions of what it meant amongst the participants in both education generally and in language education, and it was difficult to find consensus on any of the issues. There

appeared in the literature to be evidence of two ways of looking at integration, both arising out of differing theoretical perspectives and concomitant practices in language education. On the one hand, there was an emphasis on assessments of performance in English or testing and on the placement and movement of students through a model or program of service delivery based on results of these assessments, which involved students' performing in English and moving sequentially based on their scores on levelled tests of English. On the other hand there were issues of culture, using languages to learn, mastering content, and using language contextually in schools which though clearly interdependent, were being dealt with separately and /or received less emphasis through they turned up repeatedly both in studies of full/part mainstreaming, bilingualism, or pull out/in class support, and in action research in various schools. The data analysis of this thesis will be alert to these differences when they occur. To explore the language socialization perspective we will examine a functional perspective on language and culture.

2. The Functional Perspective on Language and Culture

Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) centres on the idea that language is functional – that is, language exists in a social and cultural context and is used for learning within this context. And so, the context becomes critical to meaning making in any linguistic event in any language. In Painter's words (1989:19): "language is a symbolic system ... the individual is engaged in making meanings in some particular context."

A functional approach to language and culture brings to discussions of integration, an emphasis on the discourse of social practices (activities) and it offers an opportunity to consider how meanings are expressed by the forms of the language in sociocultural situations in classrooms where language learners are also learning content and culture. The discussion that ensues considers the importance of the language socialization perspective with respect to the public education of the ESL learner and the social practice (activity) of his/her integration at school.

a) *Language Socialization within Language and Culture*

Language socialization involves two processes: a) socialization to use language, and b) socialization through language (Ochs and Schiefflen, 1984). Both of these processes involve both language and culture (Poole, 1992:595); when we learn a language we are socialized into cultural practices, and learning a language involves learning to deal with these practices, therefore the processes are interdependent.

According to Cazden (1988), from a language socialization perspective, language is a resource for making meaning for children, and it is learned about in a variety of different contexts. Language is not only viewed as functional, the forms of the language are also viewed as being closely linked to these functions. Language from the language socialization educators point of view also has content, which is presented in social contexts to children as they are socialized into their families and their cultural and linguistic communities. Cazden and others believe that children are engaged in social interactions in language – language is used and talked about in

social contexts and not in isolation from these contexts. For instance, research on mother tongue acquisition indicates that young children learning their first languages were not only learning the languages but they were also socialized into the cultural practices of the family and community, hence the use of language acquisition was replaced with the concept of language socialization; either primary or secondary socialization – involving language, content, culture and context. In Cazden's view (1988:112) children were learning more than simply grammar from their caregivers; they were also learning a "world view" during what she has labelled their primary socialization. For instance, young children learning a game were not only learning forms of language related to the game from caregivers, they were also learning the rules of the game culturally, contexts for playing the game, and how to interact socially. Language as a social practice (activity) is to be distinguished from language as a formal system existing for its own sake.

b) *Language as a Social Practice*

While young learners of their mother tongues enjoy opportunities for learning language through socialization in their homes and communities with significant others and authentic contexts for learning, students learning English at school are socialized in a different way and the best way to support the socialization of learners at school is less clear. Mohan (2001) and others have argued that language learning should be related to other learning at school, therefore there is a need to better coordinate the learning of language with learning in the content areas in an effort to provide for students more meaningful and effective school

environments for learning. Certainly, this deserves attention given the current multicultural and multilingual diversity in the student population in large urban centres, and given that in many of these centres ESL students represent half or more of the student population. Since the language as a social practice perspective has not been widely discussed in North American second language acquisition literature, let us consider some classroom examples from the researchers own practice in ESL education and mainstream education that point out the need to give greater consideration to language as a social practice (activity): a) Example 1 shows how the increase in student mobility and global cultural understanding has become an issue which needs to be considered by educators in planning for instruction for second language learners, b) Example 2 shows the importance of considering context in assessing the ability of ESL students to accomplish tasks in English and not only their performance in English, and c) Example 3 show why there is a great need for language teachers and content teachers to collaborate or to be trained in both skills to support student learning of academic content at school.

Example 1: The importance of paying greater attention to increased mobility and the advent of a global sense of culture.

Four intermediate students had come to the English language centre for support learning English. The students were sitting around a table having a conversation about differences in their experiences of schools and teachers in their countries of origin. One (student A) was a former refugee from the Sudan who lacked literacy but was fluent orally in English; a second was from India (student B) and was an intermediate learner wrestling with differences between Hindi and

English; a third was from Australia (student C) obviously fluent in English but learning some of the dialectical differences between Canadian and Australian English and adjusting culturally to a different society; the fourth was from Hong Kong (Student D) and fluent in Cantonese with a strong academic background but wrestling with making sense of academic English – certainly not the content.

Clearly, one could not educationally defend organizing a program for these students, all from the same class, based on an assessment of their knowledge of English alone – one could not justify assessing, placing and moving them through a program of studies in English in isolation of the mainstream class of which they were part, and yet they were all working at the same place in an English workbook. Here the teacher was dealing with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds which required different types of intervention beyond the learning of English in isolation of content – refugee issues, literacy, the differences between the culture and the first language in countries of origin versus Canada, differences in understanding of and experience with school culture to name a few – for the mainstream teacher to ignore the diversity of experience which these learners brought with them to the classroom was to inhibit and not enrich their learning.

There was a need in this situation to consciously and intentionally adjust classroom practices to take into consideration the wealth and breadth of educational expertise these students brought with them to school. Similarly, schools in modern urban centres must look at language in terms of social practice (activity) and make instruction suit the diversity (now global diversity) of experience, which students

bring with them to school. The students in this situation were reflecting consciously on social practices (or activities) in education, and they were engaged actively in this reflection; the students were using complex cognitive (compare/contrast/evaluate), as well as linguistic skills (the language of compare/ contrast/evaluate) related to social practices (activities they recalled at schools across countries/cultures/societies).

In the classroom, to accommodate the lack of English skills, students were completing worksheets which offered them drills in English forms – grammar rules, punctuation, correctness of sentence structure and other exercises; in the English language centre they were using language as a resource for sharing and developing their knowledge of the world and of the social practices (or activities) within this world. In this authentic classroom situation, the learners' experiences of language and culture were not only interwoven but were also brought to the task of discovering the culture of the school community in Canada and of contributing actively to this school culture, something that existed outside of a traditional approach to learning language in isolation of the actual context for its use.

Example 2: The importance of considering context

A student who recently arrived from China was enrolled in a mainstream classroom and was being pulled out for beginner instruction in English. As a beginner he was not permitted to take a Ministry Math test. He asked his teacher to try to take the test. The teacher explained the task to him in each section of the test, and he completed the content. The student scored the highest mark in the class,

although the test result was not recorded and reported to the Ministry as one of the 'official' results of the test. Clearly, the student, a beginner in English acquisition, "fully met the expectations for understanding the content of mathematics" – he could use language as a resource or tool for learning once its use contextually was explained, although his English language skills (knowledge of forms and conventions of the language) were "not yet within expectations for learning," according to the education Ministry's descriptors of these skills.

In this situation, it would be easy to conclude that the student was unable to master the content because of his inability to produce or understand forms of the English language; indeed he scored at a low level on the Woodcock reading test and was placed in the beginner category of a matrices being used to place him in a program for English language instruction in isolation of content. But was this the right conclusion and what was the best practice in terms of developing a language-learning situation for this student? Would the student benefit more from a program that moved him sequentially through a series of exercises in English in isolation of content until his English was well enough established to teach content, or would the student benefit more from an educational experience that offered a coordinated approach to teaching him language and content at the same time?

Example 3: The importance of considering relationships between language and content or language in use and not language in isolation that exists for its own sake

A student from Vietnam was immersed in a mainstream science (biology) classroom without additional instruction in English. As a beginner he wrestled with how to use language to express his ideas about the content of curriculum in various

contexts. Consider an example, where the student was required to write a causal explanation on a test. The question was a scientific explanation requiring the student to be able to compare and contrast two kinds of experiments, and to evaluate the use of one kind of experiment with group A versus group B. Clearly, from the response written by the student, there was evidence of some marginal understanding of the content, as well as a need for support putting together the language needed to answer the question. In a classroom situation with only content instruction, there was no back up language support or instruction for the student. The test question and the answer given by the student were:

Question: Explain why double blind experiments are used in human experimentation but not in rat experimentation.

Student Answer: Because human has a smart mind than rats In other words rats don't have the mind of its own. As a result scientist tend to use double blind in human to guarantee the result. Double blind is an experiment where both people – the person, giving the drug. and the person receiving the drug, do not know what the drug is. This is good because they do not know which one is bad or good.

In a classroom situation where integration was considered solely from the perspective of language in isolation of content, or language for its own sake, the student would not be ready for content instruction. On the other hand, clearly the student has some, albeit a marginal understanding of the content and perhaps with better coordinated language and content instruction may be able to express ideas more clearly. In this kind of an environment, the task of the content teacher would be to explain the content, and the language teacher to work with the language learner building the knowledge of the language needed to be able to

compare/contrast ideas, and to evaluate social practices (activities), here experimentation on animals versus humans.

To give another example, the science teacher (chemistry) asked the student the following question and received the answer recorded below. Again, the ESL student was immersed in a mainstream science (chemistry) classroom without additional instruction in English.

Question: Does doubling the concentration of HCL double the rate of reaction – why or why not?

Student Answer: Doubling the HCL does not double the rate. Double the concentration every time the reaction rate increase by different factors because magnesium available for each reaction is same.

Once again there is evidence that the student is not only wrestling to express his subject matter understanding within a content classroom but also with how to use forms of the language to express his understanding of it. A coordinated approach to language and content instruction would offer the student an opportunity to learn the language needed to express his ideas about this science content. Learning the language in isolation of content would not necessarily support the language learners needs in this classroom; learning content without language support would limit the students opportunities to experience academic success by learning to express his conceptual understanding of content. A coordinated approach that consciously and intentionally teaches language and content to this student would be best practice.

c) *Primary and Secondary Language Socialization*

There is general agreement amongst many researchers who have studied child language that young children learn the pragmatics of language through participating in a variety of interactions in their social and cultural communities with adult caregivers (Cazden, 1988; Ochs, 1983; Hymes, 1978; Halliday, 1978; Schiefflin, 1983). While learning in these situations occurs through a process of primary language socialization, in the present study, language functions within what Cazden (1988:63) and others have referred to as "secondary socializations" that is the context for learning pragmatic, syntactic and semantic competence is a planned one within an organization – a public school which has been created for learning.

Some of the constraints imposed by this environment with its secondary socializing agents are: a) the agents of socialization may not be able to provide immediate feedback because of the sheer number of language learners whose education is under supervision, and/or b) the physical, social and cultural contexts for learning and the content of this learning may be unfamiliar or strange, and/or c) the language learner begins the process at a later age with an already developed first or home language and d) already possessing an experience of primary socialization. Methods of providing optimal learning situations for ESL students from culturally and linguistically diverse communities who dominate organizations of public education in urban centres are not clear. As Cazden, (1998: 64) notes:

How secondary socializations can be aided in school is less clear, and educational controversies continue over them as to the most effective

combination of implicit immersion and explicit instruction in public education.

While contexts for learning in situations of primary socialization are comfortable for learners in that they are immediate and familiar (home, family and community gathering places); often cited as the most effective learning environments with hands on and immediate feedback from agents of socialization (caregivers), the contexts provided for learning in situations of secondary socialization such as public schools are less clear. In these situations, teachers must develop a plan for the language socialization of the ESL learner that takes account of his/her expertise at learning language(s) and perhaps at doing school in another cultural and social community, and that at the same time is systematic, conscious and intentional in its outlook.

d) *Language as Culture*

Texts arise in social contexts; they are one mode and perhaps the most pervasive one of manifesting culture. There is a relation between texts and the social factors that shape their meanings, which needs examining. SFL according to Halliday and Martin (1993:23) is concerned with language as a "system for constructing meaning, rather than a conduit through which thoughts and feelings are poured" – language is therefore a meaning making not a meaning expressing system. Language is presented at school to ESL students through the discourse of texts which are removed from experience, organized according to subject specific patterns that are not necessarily sensible or familiar culturally to linguistically

diverse groups of students, and may contain conceptual knowledge that may be socially and culturally new and which may vary from one context to another (e.g. conductor in science versus conductor of an orchestra), therefore, students must be taught to work with the discourse of texts, both intentionally and consciously by their teachers. They also need to be taught their cultural relevance since language is a system for conveying meanings of the school culture and of the culture of the larger community.

e) *Language as Action*

Halliday's (SFL) perspective on language learning "avoids the simplistic view of language learning as skills training" (1989:19, Painter). Language learning is also a social and a cultural process that involves the language socialization of the learner.

Language learning is viewed by Halliday (1975, 1986, 1988, 1993, 1994) as an active, interacting system of meaning making acts, clearly developed to suit both the child and the caregiver and meet both of their needs. Language is instrumental to meeting needs of human interaction and has socio-cultural relevance. From this point of view, language acquisition can only be a social process – because it is interactive, there is ongoing social action, and it is constructed based on reflection on the use of language by the language learner in action, or to put it another way any act is a socially meaningful unit of action produced by the interaction of a number of actors within various situations.

f) *Grammar as Meaning*

SFL is oriented to the description of language as a resource for meaning rather than as a system of rules. According to Painter (1989:20) who concurs with Halliday "grammatical structures are functional; they serve to make meanings" and teaching practices should help learners to see form/function as related. In Painter's own (1989:29) words:

teaching may focus on decontextualized sentence construction exercises, which ignore language as a meaning making system ... mastery of such skills would not take the learner very far since it ignores the use of meaning.

Meanings are social constructs, have semantic potential, depend on circumstances and are contextual. Since from this perspective, grammar exists as part of texts and not for its own sake, SFL is concerned with the discourse of texts rather than sentences as the basic unit through which meaning is negotiated. SFL focuses on mutually predictive relations between the discourse of texts and social contexts rather than on texts as decontextualized structural entities in their own right; meanings are exchanged in interpersonal contexts and as Hasan notes (1992:19):

Each text is an 'individual'; each has a distinct identity in the sense That it is not the replication of any other text a text is interpretable only in light of the systems as the speakers share them.

Texts have socio-cultural relevance – they are an instrument or a tool for communication and their meaning depends upon the context. Language teaching which examines grammar in isolation of the context fails to address these issues.

As previously indicated in the foregoing, multicultural education, special education, and English second language education have not adequately collaborated

to investigate the activity of integration and how it has been evolving as a consequence of educational ideologies in all three fields. The present study began to explore some of the ways in which the three fields overlap and could work together in the best interest of the ESL learner's integration at school. In addition, there are other reasons to consider the socialization of the language learner because schools have changed, the social identities of the second language learner have become important to consider given the diversity of experience culturally and linguistically of any one student, and within the context for schooling and a number of researchers would want to place greater emphasis on the students as active agents.

3. The Changing Face of Urban Schools – The Influence of Global Culture

In the words of Glasser (1992: 61-72) on the provision of quality education – “in order for a school community to change its schooling practices it must first have the will to do so.” The key then for creating change in policies and practices related to the integration of the ESL learner is to have the “will” to change. Why are these changes needed? According to Glasser and others (Kunc, 1992; Villa and Thousand, 1992), there are five main reasons for looking at changing public education systems.

The first has to do with the characteristics of the students themselves. In recent years students have changed dramatically so that there is a great increase in the number of students from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. (to this I would add linguistic diversity, presently absent from the discussion). Not only must education cope with this dramatic change in student demographics but also added to it are an increase in poverty and non-traditional families, that is, families with

other than the two traditional parents. Sheppard (1994) notes that the increase in ESL populations in the United States from the 1980's to the present is massive and continuous. They do not foresee that this will change but rather see the classroom of the future as multiethnic, multiracial and multilingual. Teachers will need to develop skills at dealing with integrating ESL learners.

Next, there is the issue of society and how it has changed. According to Glasser, society is now international in terms of marketplace. As a consequence, demographics will continue to fluctuate with economic market fluctuations, restraint and resources. With an international marketplace comes rapid change, an information based and communication dependent society, and increased interdependence on a worldwide basis. To survive in this changing world education must be different. There will be increased mobility of students and waves of immigration and/or out migration will be the norm. Demographic shifts will necessitate a more flexible approach to education. Students require problem-solving skills, skills at human interaction, self-discovery, higher-level thinking and interest in self-education. In addition, (and of interest to the ESL situation) schools must begin "to model the equity and parity they will be expected to demonstrate with future co-workers of diverse skills, backgrounds, cultures and values" Villa and Thousand (1992:111).

Thirdly, there is a need for the educators who work in our schools to change – they are the "problem to be fixed" not the learner (Villa and Thousand, 1992:111). Teachers and other educators often lack both the *skill* needed to teach diverse groups

of students, and the *will* to learn how to teach more effectively to meet the demands of a rapidly changing school system. Flexibility and openness to learning and change is required of educators today, and will be increasingly required of educators in the future. In addition, the generalist will need more specialist training.

Changes are also needed within the organizational structure, which generally lacks the ability to coordinate ideas and promote teaming but instead thwarts the development of positive interdependence. Until organizations look at the imbalances, which they create in terms of power relationships, and until they realign power to better include diverse families in education, they will not have the necessary preconditions to make progress in educating more effectively.

A fifth condition for change requires that we examine the loss of culture within organizations. With advancements worldwide the "loss of an organizations culture" becomes an "inevitable result of change," culture being a "socially transmitted set of deep patterns of thinking and ways of acting that give meaning to human experiences" (Villa and Thousand, 1992:115). People are emotionally attached to values, mottos, heroes, rituals, ceremonies, and stories, which define for them, culture. When change threatens this emotional attachment they often dig in and resist the change. Given this situation, Villa and Thousand (1992: 115 – 116) see the need for "leaders within the school to envision, create, reshape and maintain a different school culture." We, as educators have failed to understand the complexity of the organization of a school and have lacked the courage to adequately deal with the potential conflict and turmoil this complexity might cause; we need to see the

"big picture" beyond the everyday actions so that due consideration is given to the social, (I would add linguistic) cultural, political and economic contexts of schooling.

At the moment no one is backing off and looking at the school as a total cultural system and at the ways in which the elements of this system articulate and bear upon one another. And, yet there is evidence in research to suggest that we should (Mohan, 1990; Mohan et al., 2001). We are as Eisner (1971:204) states:

... all victims of large scale organization, of the specialization that comes with largeness, of the blindness that comes with specialized preoccupations. And, blindly we try to adapt to the problems of large organizations by creating new specialized roles.

It is time to rethink these roles with regard to ESL integration given the historical origins of the policy and practices related to integration, given what is currently pedagogically sound, and given the need to change education so that organizations become places of learning prepared to change regularly to meet the worldwide challenges of an increasingly mobile, linguistically and culturally diverse student community.

4. The Changing Social Identity of the ESL Learner and ESL Integration

Individuals are socialized into a new society. Most recently, there has been a focus on looking at this socialization of self in relation to others, human beings are more frequently being viewed as agents who take intentional or deliberate actions while pursuing a goal (see, for example, Harre, 1993; Auerbach, 1993; Taylor, 1996; Ng et al., 1995; McKay and Wong, 1996). The self is currently seen as being multiple sited, dynamic, conflictual and both capable of creation and created by social forces.

In line with this there is a need to rethink social roles and positioning in the school and the classroom.

We have long known that language plays a significant role in establishing one's identity because it is closely tied to the social and cultural norms of the community of which one is a member. For example, it is a generally understood fact that segregated schooling with its assimilationist bent had a negative impact on the learner. Language is part of the learner's sense of self and facility in the primary language helped this self evolve. To interfere with the ESL learners' sense of self can only work to the detriment of his/her academic success (see, for example, Thomas and Collier, 1997; Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996). To refuse to view the language learner as one who negotiates this sense of self while learning language and content and culture is to do a disservice to his/her public education. As Spach-Tufts (1997) notes, students have "multiple identities and draw on multiple resources." Researchers need to reflect this complexity in discussions of issues related to language learning and culture.

Teachers have long been known to disagree professionally as they bring to the task of teaching a variety of identities and positions, which affect how they organize and teach curriculum. For example, some teachers may impose the values of the historically dominant culture (e.g. Anglo-Saxon) on all students. Many teachers still struggle with the notion that to learn English one must speak only in English, this in spite of the large body of research that suggests the contrary is the case (see, for example, TESOL Standards, 1997; Thomas and Collier, 1997). Teachers

language behaviours are culturally motivated (see, Poole, 1992) and they too negotiate and hold positions within the school based on theoretical and practical knowledge and understanding. And, parents arrive at school with philosophical ideas about teaching, learning and parenting. Many parents are also excluded from meaningful discussions and decision-making about schools because they lack the language, which has prestige and power within the instructional milieu of which, their children are part.

McKay and Wong (1996:577-578) have begun to examine the ESL learner in terms of self, social positioning and multiple identities and as a result note the need for paying greater attention to the language learner in a "contextualized" sense. For a long time students of ESL were examined in terms of the errors they made and/or the interference of these errors in learning English relative to native-speaker proficiency. Later, the learner came into focus as the emphasis in research shifted to "process" and so studies examined "learner strategy training," retrospective and reflective accounts of the learner. However, while there has been some progress in the area of examining the second language learner – we are getting closer to the learner rather than operating outside of the learner – research has not given adequate attention to the social and cultural identities of the ESL learner. Neither has it explored how the focus on program arrangements and service delivery in terms of integration has placed the ESL learner in opposition to other mainstream learners. There is a need to radically redefine the learner within the context of the "multiple identities" the language learner assumes while negotiating a place in a

complex school culture through language(s), content, culture and social activity (McKay and Wong, 1996:578-579).

When ESL learners learn in English, they negotiate curriculum content in English, cope with peer relationships in more than one language, interact with teachers who have a variety of philosophical positions regarding the "learning of English" and "culture," cope with labels and streaming (assessment, placement, and movement), and assume a variety of evolving roles with parents. All of these complexities influence the *social identities* the learners are negotiating and must be taken into consideration in discussions of "integration" and "mainstreaming" because it is the learner who is actually doing the "integrating" internally. In addition to the language learner wrestling with his/her position in the society, school and classroom, ESL teachers and parents are also involved in negotiating places in the school community. Research that looks at the multiple identities assumed by those involved in integration and mainstreaming, and at the patterns that are internalized as a result of negotiating these roles is needed. In McKay and Wong's (1996:604) words, we need to make an attempt to "understand the immigrant second learner as a complex social being" and the school and the ESL classroom need to be viewed as "contestatory discursive sites," particularly given times of "rapid demographic changes." Research that looks at the multiple identities assumed by those involved in integration and mainstreaming, and at the patterns that are internalized as a result of negotiating these roles under various policies is needed.

5. Exploring Integration as an Activity with Active Social Agents

To facilitate the exploration of integration from a perspective of greater depth and balance in this study the participants in the practice of ESL integration were viewed as active social agents with perspectives of integration as a social practice (activity) in terms of the theories and practices they articulated at various times. It was hoped that this would support greater examination of the social practice (activity) of ESL integration and work toward balancing the present emphasis on service delivery or assessment, placement and movement in public schools (testing) with a viewpoint that also considers equally the relationship between language learning, and the learning of content and culture. Activity theory is behind this process.

a) *Activity Theory – an Introduction*

Activity theory facilitates discussion of context and is an important factor to consider in “illuminating context” because it provides a richer and more meaningful way to look at this context in that both practice (experience) and the application of this practice (reflection/theory/knowing) are considered. This is consistent with Dewey’s (1916) notion that knowledge is derived from a higher source than just practical activity; understanding involves both theory and practice.

b) *The Origins*

Traditional accounts of activity theory may be traced back to Aristotle and Plato who made a distinction in the conduct of human activity between theoretical

knowledge (reason) and practical knowledge (experience). Theoretical knowledge referred to affairs whose existence could be verified – ideals and spiritual reason. Practical knowledge on the other hand, was practiced, material, observable and short lived (Hamilton, 1994: 62-63).

Later, Kant argued for a model of human rationality or knowing. He described human knowledge as more than just the result of experience and discussed the “inside the head processes of the knowing subject.” For Kant there was a distinction between “scientific reason” and “practical reason,” the former a world of “strict causal determinism” (what is), the latter, applied social research aimed toward the application of “moral judgments in the realm of human action” (what ought to be) (Hamilton, 1994:62-62).

Habermas too espoused connections between knowledge, method and human interests (Hamilton, 1994:67). Habermas viewed social research as an “interactive process” between “unreflected consciousness” and “self-reflection” – for Habermas this would lead to a vision that “knowledge and interest are one” (Hamilton, 1994:67).

In qualitative studies of culture Spradley (1980: 5-6) argued that the participants in any situation brought to that situation cultural knowledge and understanding based on individual as well as collective experience. This knowledge and experience affected the interpretation of behaviour in human activities and an understanding of how was necessary in order to understand both the context of the situation, as well as its content in all its cultural complexity.

As an example, Spradley (1980:6) describes an activity in which the police are kneeling over and trying to save a heart attack victim by giving her cardiac massage and oxygen. A crowd of onlookers interpret the actions of the police as beating the woman, therefore, cruel and brutal. In this situation, the social and cultural knowledge the participants have affect their practices – the police are viewed by the onlookers from their past knowledge and experience of police brutality, and the police have knowledge and experience of how to save heart attack victims.

c) *Recent Approaches*

More recently, interest in studying social practice (human activity) from the point of view of knowledge or theoretical understanding, and practice or experience, as well as, the interconnections between the two, has become the subject of research and discussion in both cognitive and social psychology (see, for example, Taylor, 1994; Harre, 1993; Von Cranach, 1992). Increasingly, attention is being given to the connections between social action or practice and its relationship to social knowledge or theoretical understanding, both enacted, given meaning and altered through systems of discourse and its use; from the perspective of Harre and others “cognition lives in discourse” not “in the head” (Harre, 1993:95).

Rom Harre (1993:95) describes all social encounters or human activity as “processes of interaction” with “dynamics.” These interactions or experiences are realized “according to local norms” and are “performed” by “active agents,” active because they have an understanding or knowledge of culturally accepted norms that come into play during the course of “realizing projects” (Harre, 1993:123). In Harre’s

own (1993:107) words, " ... social behaviour is the product of the joint actions of intelligent and knowledgeable agents acting to further some end or another." In examining a social practice, he (1993:95) defines discourse as "a sequence of jointly produced acts," and he (1993:117) makes a distinction between discourse as it is used to accomplish social acts (action/actively) and discourse to "comment on and theorize about" (texts) these social acts. It is the study of the interaction of the two and how they drive each other that is most interesting to Harre.

Recent notions of activity have been considered and applied to the activity under study in this research – integration. Integration practices as social practices were considered from the point of view of activity, having both an experiential component (by individuals and groups as practice) and a knowledge base or theoretical component (cultural norms, values, beliefs, principles, formal/informal knowledge and understanding) from which the experience or action situation could be viewed.

d) *Integration as a Dilemmatic Social Practice or Activity*

Active social agents engaged in a social practice or activity any kind may have either unified and/or differing viewpoints of both theory and practice in any field. Evidence for this notion is found in recent work in social psychology. This research that considers the social psychology of thinking tends to look at the opposing themes that the ideology participants bring to a situation offers; these opposing themes reflecting multiple goals and beliefs (or theories and practices) and serving as alternatives for action (see, Billig, 1987).

Applied in a recent study of cooperative learning and Chinese ESL students, Liang, (1998:11-12) considered cooperative learning as "a potentially dilemmatic situation" in which students held "multiple and conflicting beliefs and goals" and at times as a consequence had "difficult choices to make." Active social agents engaged in a social practice or activity of integrating ESL learners could have unified and/or differing viewpoints about both the theory and practice of integration in a similar fashion.

6. Situating The Present Study

With reference to the theoretical ideologies presented in this review, this study assumes a number of perspectives and views. First, the study views language as a system for constructing meaning in context – influenced by social and cultural situations. Next, the study assumes that integration as a social practice (activity) involves the second language learner in a process of learning academic content, and culture, in addition to learning language in the context of these processes as suggested in the TESOL Standards. In addition, the study views the participants as social agents who act not only purposefully but also as individuals and groups who may hold multiple and conflicted views of the social practice or activity of the integration of ESL learners during public education.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

A. The Methodology

I believe that the process of inquiry in science is the same whatever method is used and that the retreat into paradigms effectively stultifies debate and hampers progress. (Hammersley, 1992:102)

1. Introduction

In his book, "what's wrong with Ethnography?" Martyn Hammersley (1992) argues for a new methodological approach or framework for the conducting and analyzing of research in the social sciences. In his view, the traditional dichotomy used in social sciences research that pits qualitative methodology against quantitative methodology is no longer useful, even in studies where both approaches are used in a complementary discussion. Instead, Hammersley sees the need for a "deconstruction of quantitative and qualitative method into a more complex array of (research) options" (p.202). The reason for this shift or movement away from traditional methodology has to do with the inability of either method to "capture the variety of strategies that one finds deployed in social research" (p.183), in addition to concerns of a philosophical nature – epistemological debate today is more diverse and complex than "a dialogue between only two positions" (p.183).

As Hammersley puts it:

... in doing research we are not faced with a fork in the road, with two well-defined alternative routes between which to choose. The research process is more like finding one's way through a maze. And it is a rather badly kept and complex maze; where paths are not always clearly distinct, and also wind back on one another; and where one can never be entirely certain that one has reached the centre. (Pp. 183-184).

2. Rationale

This researcher adopted this vision, and used a mixed methods framework for the conduct of this research for several reasons. A mixed methods approach:

- i) facilitated the development of a more comprehensive understanding of the research problem and its context from the plurality of perspectives that existed within a diverse school district and community,
- ii) enabled the researcher to circumvent the limitations (data collection and analysis) imposed upon the study if the researcher had adopted either a qualitative approach or a quantitative approach, as traditionally is the case in designing research methodologies,
- iii) assisted the researcher in developing the notion of "activity" as central to the conduct of research studies in the social sciences, education being one of these social sciences, enabled the researcher to deal with the limitations of studies of discourse analysis which have a history of analyzing units quantitatively, missing or omitting vital aspects of the context of the discourse that may be discovered and analyzed qualitatively,
- iv) supported the researcher's exploratory movement beyond the deductive limits of quantitative analysis, to a richer description and illumination of the context of the study, and
- v) provided the researcher with an opportunity to move beyond the inductive limits of qualitative analysis, to increase the generalizability of the study and reduce bias, and finally,

- vi) enabled the researcher to capitalize on the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative methods, and in so doing, creating an exploratory study of greater depth to increase understanding of the problem(s) being researched.

Each of these reasons has been developed in greater detail throughout this chapter. To do so most effectively, it was necessary to discuss the following topics: mixed methods approaches: advantages and limitations, quantitative methodology: advantages and limitations, and qualitative methodology: advantages and limitations.

This discussion of these topics is offered within the context of the present study – *an exploratory and discovery oriented research study*. The researcher used a mixed methods approach with an emphasis on qualitative analysis, to seek an understanding of issues housed in complex and detailed social, cultural and linguistic circumstances.

The purpose of using a mixed methods approach in the present study was to give depth and breadth to the results to increase understanding of complex social practices related to the integration of students learning English as a second or additional language (ESL) in a school district and its associated communities. To conduct this study using only qualitative or quantitative methods would have limited and obscured the complexity of the study and rendered it less effective. This study benefited from capitalizing on the rich description offered by qualitative methodology and from the opportunity to use quantitative analysis in some

situations, as helpful, adding to its detail, increasing its generalizability and reducing the opportunity for bias.

3. Mixed Methods Approaches

Mixed methods approaches have come into popularity in recent years, originally emanating from studies in psychology in the 1950's. Numerous researchers have concluded that qualitative and quantitative methods are best viewed as "complementary" or the ends of the same "continuum" rather than being viewed as "rival camps" or "dichotomous entities" (Jick, 1979, Hammersley, 1992, Creswell, 1994). Arguments for mixing methods are common – usually centred around the strengths and weaknesses found in "single method designs." Mixed methods designs overcome these individual strengths and weaknesses, increasing the validity, reliability, and the depth of the research by exploiting the strengths of individual methods, thus neutralizing the weaknesses – if used effectively (Jick, 1979:602 – 603). Creswell (1994:184) describes a mixed methodological design as one in which the "author collects both qualitative and quantitative data" and presents "both themes and statistical analysis."

a) *Background Information*

In the late 1970's researchers such as Denzin and Jick used the term "triangulation" to describe and define mixed methods approaches to research design, emanating from its use in navigation and the military. The idea in survey research was to locate an object by placing it in a triangle in the centre of its

surroundings. For the research community, this came to be the term used to mean the combination of research methodologies in one study to explore the same phenomenon (Jick, 1979). Janesick (1992:215) describes triangulation as a "heuristic tool" which supports the reporting of research findings in one study, both "inductively in terms of patterns, trends, or themes" and "deductively, so that data can be quantified and analyzed statistically."

b) *Advantages*

Advantages of using a mixed methods approach to research methodology are many, summarized as follows. Jick (1979:608) describes the "overall strength" of the multimethod design as one of allowing researchers to be "more confident in their results." Other strengths according to Jick include: i) opportunities to add new methods to traditional data collection methods to increase understanding, ii) the possibility of enriched explanations due to opportunities to pay more attention to the divergence of results, iii) the synthesis and/or integration of various theories, and iv) opportunities to critically test competing theories (Jick, 1979:608-610). Creswell (1994:184) adds to this list the opportunity for the researcher "to extend the breadth of the inquiry" by "triangulating or converging findings" and by "elaborating on results."

In his discussions of triangulation, Jick (1979:603) concludes that triangulation can be used to "uncover some unique variance," perhaps neglected in a single method design, and at the same time to "capture a more complete, holistic and contextual portrayal of the units under study." From Jick's point of view, this

enables the researcher to use triangulation: i) to examine the same phenomenon from multiple perspectives, and ii) to enrich understanding about the phenomenon under study by extending the depth of the study.

Jick (1979:604) describes numerous attempts to use triangulation to "integrate fieldwork and survey methods" in the social sciences, and gives some "particularly good" examples of studies combining or mixing methods. He concludes that combining methods brings to fieldwork, quantification, that is "systematized observations, sampling and quantifiable schemes for coding data," both increasing the "generalizability" of studies and "reducing bias." In return, qualitative research or fieldwork in combination with the foregoing, offers an opportunity for the researcher to "illuminate context," to "clarify" and "validate" results through "holistic observation" of social practices (Jick, 1979:604).

More recently, Creswell (1994:175) identifies several researchers (Grant and Fine, 1992; Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989; Mathison, 1988; Swanson, 1992) who have argued for a mixed methods approach to research design for several reasons, summarized in Creswell (1994:175) from Greene's work in 1989 as follows:

- triangulation in the classic sense of seeking convergence of results
- complementary, in that overlapping and different facets of a phenomenon may emerge (e.g. peeling the layers of an onion)
- developmentally, wherein the first method is used sequentially to inform the second method
- initiation, wherein contradictions and fresh perspectives emerge
- expansion, wherein the mixed methods add scope and breadth to a study

c) *Disadvantages*

Criticisms of mixed methods approaches come from those whom Creswell (1994:176) describes as the “purists” who assert that methods should not be mixed under any circumstances. Jick (1979:605) states that although there are many examples of studies mixing methods at universities, “this model of research and its advantages have not been appreciated” and tend to be ignored in many articles and journals which tend to highlight and focus on quantitative methods only.

Hammersley’s (1992:161) argument against criticisms of mixed methods approaches adds to the understanding that “a large proportion of researchers (including many that are registered as qualitative) combine methodologies.” He (1992:159) challenges criticisms of mixed methods approaches by noting that single method studies are of “limited use” and carry “some danger” because they tend to “obscure” the complexity of the issues involved in social research. For Hammersley (1992:160-161) a more thoughtful approach requires the use of numerous strategies including the “practicality of the various strategies given the circumstances in which the inquiry is to be carried out.” He (1992:172) goes on to note that a focus on the two dichotomies presented traditionally in research studies has tended to “render our decisions less effective than they might otherwise be.”

Perhaps the “purists” are best addressed by Creswell (1994:178) when he states that the “overall design” of mixed methods approaches to research “best mirror the research process of working back and forth between inductive and

deductive models of thinking in a research study" – something we all do, whether or not we are prepared to admit it.

d) *Rationale*

For the purposes of this research, a mixed method approach offered the researcher an opportunity to delve into the complexity of a large urban and diverse school district and to better represent the multiple perspectives, connections and relationships (parents/ guardians, students, teachers, administrators, district staff, government) that bear on the social practices (here, social practices related to integration) in that district and its related communities. Integration practices for students learning ESL was researched by considering the activity (integration) within the context of the life of the organization and its related constituent school communities. A mixed method approach facilitated examining the issues from multiple perspectives, enabled the researcher to triangulate or converge findings, and gave the study greater depth and detail, capitalizing on the advantages of both statistical method and rich description.

4. Qualitative Methods

According to Denzin and Lincoln's (1994:3) the "separate and multiple meanings of the methods of qualitative research make it difficult for researchers to agree on any essential definition for the field, for it is never just one thing." Given these constraints, Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2) offer the following generic definition:

Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative

researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Other definitions of qualitative research examine qualitative research within the context of its research paradigms and its development and growth over time. In this regard, Creswell (1994:1) offers the following definition:

... an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem based on building complex, holistic picture, formed with word, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting.

He describes related paradigms as constructivist theory, naturalist theory, interpretive, postpositivist, or postmodernism (Creswell, 1994:1). Denzin and Lincoln (1994:1-3) add to these paradigms from later methodology poststructural, cultural and interpretive studies, positivism, hermeneutics, semiotics, phenomenology, feminism and critical theory among others.

Though there is no distinct paradigm with which one may associate qualitative research there is a multiplicity of designs with similar features. And, as Guba and Lincoln note (1994:105), "both qualitative and quantitative methods may be used with any research paradigm" (1994:105).

a) Advantages

The advantages of conducting research with qualitative methodology are many. Qualitative research methodology facilitates the framing and discussion of research problems in situations where the context for the research is multifaceted and complex because there are a number of different interest groups involved

(Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). In the present study this will be of primary importance. Qualitative methods will enable the researcher to get at some of the plurality of perspectives that exist in a diverse school district, operated through the ongoing interaction of numerous interest groups – parents, teachers, students, and administrators to name a few, at an area, district and provincial level.

Qualitative methodology facilitates discussion about situational constraints and enables the researcher to provide rich and detailed descriptions of what is being studied (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Again, in this study, this facilitated the description of a culturally and linguistically diverse student population, learning in a school community under numerous situational constraints, both self-imposed and influenced by others. Not to include these details in the research would be to obscure the complexity of the issues in this research.

Perhaps most importantly, qualitative methods enable the study of issues in all their complexity, including their “multi” social and cultural complexity, and the examination of the plurality of perspectives that is characteristic of today’s research in learning organizations. The researcher is able to identify the meanings people attach to experience and to understanding, hence there are opportunities for the field to define terms and articulate their meanings, rather than the researcher making his/her own assumptions about the field (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). In this research it provided opportunities for the researcher to examine how the field defines, understands and practices integration.

b) *Disadvantages*

Limitations in using qualitative methodology are generally related to the difficulty that arises in replicating research and in ensuring that the researcher's involvement in the situation does not lead to a misinterpretation of what is occurring in that situation. In this situation, there is neither the need to replicate the research exactly – the context-bound nature of the research and its limitations in terms of generalizability are readily acknowledged. Nor is the researcher directly involved in the process (integration) under study, therefore, observations may be included without fear of bias.

c) *Rationale*

Creswell (1994:21) asserts that "one of the chief reasons for a qualitative study is that the study is exploratory" and that in this situation "the researcher seeks to listen to informants and to build a picture based on their ideas." In this study, qualitative research is conducted for this purpose and is used predominately to "illuminate context" to increase understanding. Qualitative methods facilitated the painting of a rich and comprehensive picture of the activity (integration) from multiple perspectives and, hence, are the "glue" that brings this study together.

This researcher adopted Janesick's (1994:216) notion that qualitative research is a necessary part of research conducted with people, in her words, "qualitative research is adapted, changed and redesigned as the study proceeds, because of the social realities of doing research amongst and with the living."

5. Quantitative Methods

Quantitative research has its origins in the natural sciences with studies of nature or natural phenomena. Surveys, laboratory experiments, hypothesis testing and numerical methods have long assisted quantitative researchers in analyzing behaviours. Quantitative research involves systematic measurement. Data is collected and analyzed in an experimental or quasi-experimental way with statistical methods for relationships between predetermined variables. The setting is controlled and the analysis usually deductive.

a) *Advantages*

The main advantage of using quantitative methodology is the consideration that the researcher is removed from the situation; therefore, the research is thought to be free from bias. Guba and Lincoln (1992:106) note that many researchers hold to the notion that "only quantitative data are valid or of quality in research."

b) *Disadvantages*

Limitations are many, perhaps, most importantly the lack of recognition that there is an interaction between the research and the researcher. Quantitative research is valued for its remote, empirical qualities – the researcher removed from what/whom is being researched. Yet, the question most frequently asked is: Is it possible for a researcher not to interact with that being researched? Is it possible to research free of context? Critical researchers would argue that empirical data is

“dependent upon the researcher’s own ideological assumptions” and is therefore never free of the researcher’s perceptions (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1994:144).

Quantitative research has also been criticized for its lack of description. The omission of detail takes away from the richness of the report and may in fact stultify findings. In Kincheloe and McLaren’s (1994:144) words, “the meaning of an experience” is not “self-evident” but will depend on “the struggle over the interpretation and definition of that experience.”

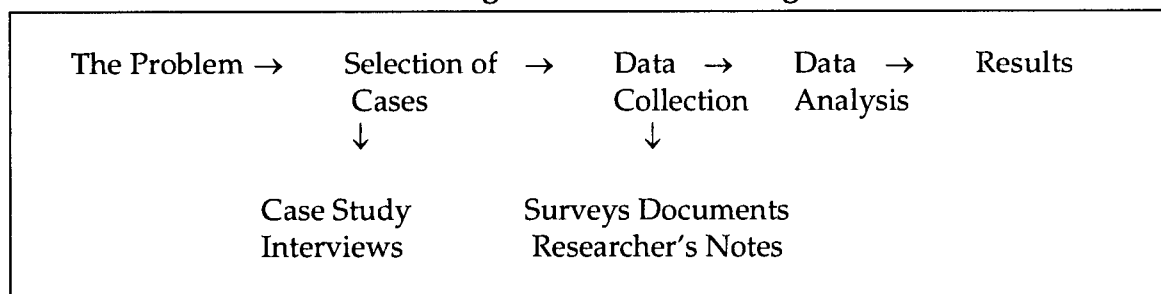
c) *Rationale*

For the purposes of this research, quantitative methods were employed to support qualitative methods, as/if needed, and to provide detail in terms of statistical data analysis as needed.

B. Research Design

This study used a mixed methods approach to research with an emphasis on qualitative method. The following model was used to articulate the research design in this document, adapted from Hammersley’s sketch in “what’s wrong with Ethnography?” (1992:184), figure 1.

Figure 1. Research Design



The development of the model follows. This research was exploratory in nature and scope and was meant to direct further research.

1. Statement of the Problem

In the past ten years, ESL students, grades 4 through 12, speaking over one hundred languages from more than thirty different ethnic groups and a wide variety of countries had arrived in the school district under study (Gunderson, 1995). This had an enormous impact on the district, rapidly changing the student population to one where second language speakers predominated commanding changes in the teaching practices to accommodate the diversity of the student population. Some teachers, administrators and others moved with the change, others continued to resist this diversity and were frustrated with the notion of teaching students with a wide range of interests, abilities, and social, cultural and academic histories.

Traditional practices continue with many ESL students moving on the basis of their English test scores from a sheltered ESL class, into the mainstream, in most cases within two to three years; sometimes a transitional program forming part of this move and delaying the movement another couple of years. The greatly increased number of ESL students in mainstream classrooms made integration a problem frequently articulated in forums where ESL issues are discussed. For example, three recent reviews of the district (the Vancouver School Board ESL Management Review (1995) – an internal review; Cumming, A. (1995) – an external review; and a BCTF survey of teachers – Naylor, C. (1994) conducted by three separate organizations/individuals with different agendas have all found

integration to be a major concern, and yet, when one examines these documents, there is not even agreement on what integration means. In spite of the several reviews that have been conducted and the numerous initiatives that have been undertaken, little progress appears evident in this area in the district. The need for clarity regarding integration practices and ESL students was immediately evident. There was also a need to pay greater attention to recent research and implied concepts of integration such as the one recently developed in the TESOL Standards.

To facilitate this need and to add to the growing interest in program quality and organizational evaluation in the field of second language education, this research was organized to allow description of the wider social and cultural contexts informing integration practices for students learning ESL in this school district. Factors influencing these practices have been explored, both in terms of the evolution of integration practices for students of ESL on an area, district, and provincial level, and the adoption of these practices in the school district.

2. Exploratory Questions

Specifically, this inquiry was concerned with discovering the “big picture” – integration was viewed as a social practice or an activity in an organization. The study explicitly raised the question: How was the integration of ESL learners practiced by various participants in an organization, both actively and in writing (text)? A number of related questions arose out of this central thought:

- a) How did the participants in the organization(s) in this study view the activity or social practice of the integration of ESL learners (surveys, interviews), more specifically:

- i) How did participants define integration?
 - ii) Was there a plurality of perspectives on the part of the participants and was there consensus amid this plurality?
 - iii) What specifically were the integration practices in schools?
 - iv) When did integration begin and/or end?
 - v) What were the theories and practices concerning the integration of ESL learners expressed by the participants and do they (theory/practice) inform each other and how?
 - vi) To what extent, if any, did the theories and practices expressed by the participants to support the integration of ESL learners define and or delimit the integration of ESL learners?
- b) How did the documents produced in the organization(s) concerning the social practice or activity of the integration of ESL learners view integration, more specifically:
- i) What were the theories and practices concerning the integration of ESL learners expressed by the participants and did they (theory/practice) inform each other and how?
 - ii) To what extent, if any, did the theories and practices written in the documents to support the integration of ESL learners define and or delimit the integration of ESL learners?

This study assumed that the participants and the documents in the organization were developed in particular contexts under specific social circumstances that might have existed at the time. As such, the participants involved in the social practice or activity of ESL integration were active agents who knowingly contributed to theories and practices that existed and who could hold either unified and/or dilemmatic perspectives of integration. These perspectives might have both influenced and been influenced by the ideologies that may have prevailed.

3. Selection of Cases

This study combined survey methodology with case study methodology, the former in order to bring to the research increased empirical generalizability, and the latter, greater accuracy and detail, consistent with other studies of a similar nature (see, for example, Gogolin and Swartz, 1992). For the purposes of this study, Hammersley's (1992:185) approach to case study and survey methodology was assumed, that is:

There is no implication here that case studies always involve the use of participant observation, the collection and analysis of qualitative rather than quantitative data, that they focus on meaning rather than behaviour, or that case study inquiry is inductive or idiographic rather than deductive or nomothetic etc. Nor do I believe that case studies display a logic that sets them apart from surveys and experiments ... the same methodological issues apply to all three ... each of these strategies might often be used to pursue the same research problem, though they would have varying advantages and disadvantages, depending on the purposes and circumstances of the research.

He goes on to state that:

Given this it seems to me that our choice of case selection strategy should be determined by our judgment of the resulting gains and losses in light of the particular goals and circumstances of our research, including the resources available. (Hammersley, 1992:185)

In this research, both methods were employed to facilitate study of the research problem in greater depth. These methods were not viewed as competing dichotomies, but rather as tools this researcher employed to enhance the in depth analysis of complex social activities and the language interactions that accompanied these activities.

a) *The Survey*

Systematic survey research has a long history of application in academia, since its use by Paul Lazerfeld in the 1940's and 50's. Recently, researchers have used surveys with case studies to enhance the quality of the research, in Hammersley's (1992:188) words:

... the distinction between case study and survey is a matter of degree, and it involves the trade off between the likely generalisability of the information obtained on the one hand and the detail and likely accuracy of data about particular cases on the other.

In this study surveys were used to give a focus to interview questions, which were developed from patterns and trends emerging in the responses to the survey, consistent with other studies, such as Gogolin and Swartz (1992). It was readily acknowledged that survey research offered only partial insight into issues of the integration of ESL learners, therefore, surveys were considered in conjunction with other data. Survey questions are included in the Appendix. An approximate response rate of sixty five percent was expected and was received in most cases (see Appendix).

b) *The Case Study*

Although used in education in a limited manner for about fifty years, more recently, work with case study methodology in the field of education has grown, largely due to its facility in illuminating the dynamics of human social interaction during various activities (Becker, M., 1990; Schofield, J., 1990; Hammersley, M., 1992; Yin, R., 1994).

Hammersley (1992:189) notes of case study methodology:

Whatever its advantages in terms of detail and accuracy, case study is usually weaker than the survey in the generalizability of its findings ... it is not to say that it provides no basis for generalizations.

Indeed, according to Yin (1989) case studies offer the researcher who plans to use multiple sources of data, the advantage of conducting an empirical inquiry of contemporary phenomenon in complex real life contexts.

In this discovery-oriented study, the integration of ESL learners was viewed as an activity in an organization, or a case, to facilitate a richer description of the context in which integration operates, as Yin (1989) suggests, in all of its complexity.

i) Interviews

Interviews may be structured in a variety of ways depending on the desired outcomes of the interview in the context of the research being conducted. In this research interview questions were structured and subsequent responses were semi-structured. The main purpose for more formal interviewing was to focus the interview on the concepts under study. However, questions were generally open-ended and informants given the opportunity to shape both the activity "integration practices" and the direction of the content.

This was consistent with and has been used effectively in other research studies of a qualitative nature, both ethnographic studies and studies of language education (see, for example, Stainback, S.; Stainback, W.; 1988:52; Helmer, 1995). Interview questions were an expansion of the survey questions (see Appendix) –

ideas, which occurred most frequently in answer to the survey questions, were explored for greater detail.

ii) Setting and Site

This site for this study was an organization – a large urban school district with a culturally and linguistically diverse student population where at least one half of the learners are learning ESL. Two elementary and two secondary schools in the district were the local focus (survey, interview), along with an examination of public documents developed by specialists and leaders at the school, area, district and province level which were collected and analyzed.

iii) Participants

Participants in this study were volunteers who completed the survey and returned it by mail. In addition, five (each) of parents (n=20), teachers (n=20) and students (n=20) were interviewed, and administrators (n=4) in sites as they volunteered to participate.

c) Researcher's Role

Qualitative research has at its core the researcher. In Eisner and Peshkin's (1990:203) words "at the heart of the qualitative approach is the assumption that a piece of research is very much influenced by the researcher's individual attributes and perspectives." In their minds, the goal of the researcher is to "produce a coherent and illuminating description of and perspective on a situation that is based on and consistent with detailed study of that situation."

Although this researcher was not actively engaged in the practice of “integrating” ESL students at the time of the study, it is significant to acknowledge this researcher’s long history with the school district – in the capacities of ESL pilot project resource teacher, researcher, consultant, professional and staff developer, curriculum writer and member of numerous implementation teams, as well as a member of various ESL and multicultural committees at a local and provincial level. It was out of many years experience in a school district that had gone through constant changes that the researcher developed an awareness of the need for this study. Having been positioned in various roles and involved in various discursive “integration practices” in the school district over many years, the researcher brings to this task a direct experience of this social/cultural activity in practice over time, including those contradictions that have existed within the organization.

4. Data Collection

Creswell (1994:Table 9.3:151) presents a detailed description of the advantages and limitations of qualitative data collection types. Ultimately, the data collected in qualitative research should be of benefit to the illumination of rich description, which is the case in this research. In this research, data was collected as follows:

- a) Surveys (distributed and completed prior to the interviews – see attached appendices for questions)
- b) Interviews – audio (completed after the surveys, an elaboration of the survey questions – see appendices for survey questions)

- c) Documents (products/texts collected)
 - locally developed texts describing integration practices
 - district created data and texts describing integration practices
 - documents from the District ESL Pilot Project
 - provincial documents
 - external and internal reviews and reports
 - committee documents and reports – local, area, district, provincial
- d) Researchers field notes and journal entries (used to augment the discussion and illuminate context where helpful)
 - notes regarding on site observation and reflection

5. Data Analysis

Data was analyzed in a manner consistent with a mixed methods approach to data analysis, that is, both qualitative and quantitative methods of analyzing data were employed.

As with all qualitative studies, data analysis was an “ongoing activity” that “occur (red) throughout the process.” Benefits of this method of analysis have been well developed by Stainback, S. and Stainback, W. (1988:64) who note that the ongoing nature of data collection, organization and analysis throughout a study allows its direction to be influenced by the data gathered from the field as the study progresses. The main purpose of data analysis being to “extend and broaden our understanding of cultural and social situations not to critically analyze data and generalize to new situations.” Qualitative and quantitative data analysis was used as needed to add to the generalizability of the findings.

Data was analyzed as follows:

- statistical and non-statistical data as collected in manageable units
- classification and/or categorization of the information collected in the contexts of the situations under study

- search for patterns and themes
- synthesis and further analysis of information as needed, including a rethinking of missing or incomplete parts of the data collected

Consistent with past studies (see, for example, Helmer, 1995; Gogolin and Schwartz, 1992) and with the exploratory questions given previously in this study, the following frequency coding categories were developed and a form created (see Appendix) to code the data collected.

Data was coded on the forms as follows:

Individually

- i) form per participant (a through z) per survey
- ii) form per participant (a through z) per interview
- iii) form per document

Grouped

- iv) one form for all participants per site/category per surveys collected
- v) one form for all participants per site/category per interviews completed
- vi) one form for all documents per site

Overall

- vii) one form for all participants in all sites for all surveys collected
- viii) one form for all participants in all sites for all interviews completed
- ix) one form for all participants in all sites for all surveys plus all interviews collected
- x) one form for all documents collected in all sites

Note: the forms included as follows were modified to exclude columns which are not needed for individual responses but were needed for grouped data, all columns have been included in the sample presented in this document for your information.

6. Internal and External Validity

Internal validity in this study was considered and the following strategies employed as laid out by Creswell (1994:167): a) triangulation of data – data was

collected through multiple sources, including surveys, interviews, documents, and observation data analysis, b) an independent coder served as a check and coded ten percent of the data to ensure consistency in the interpretation of the coding scheme, c) long term and repeated observations were made in the sites under study over time, and document data was collected over ten years, d) the researcher was directly involved in all aspects of the research, and e) the researcher's role has been clarified and the potential for bias acknowledged.

External validity in this study was also considered and the following strategies employed as laid out by Creswell (1994:168): a) the research gives rich and detailed descriptions so that there is the potential for transferability in terms of comparison, b) the contexts from which the data was collected have been described in detail, c) triangulation of data and multiple methods of data collection (survey, interview, document, researcher notes) strengthens reliability, d) data collection coding schemes and analyses were presented in rich and detailed descriptions to provide as clear a picture as possible of the situations under study, and e) a holistic account of integration is provided through giving rich and detailed examples of responses to the research questions, both in surveys and in interview, document, and observation data.

7. Summary

In summary, this inquiry examined the integration of ESL learners in an organization from the perspective of social practice (activity) and raised the question: How was the integration of ESL learners practiced by various participants

in an organization, both actively and in writing (text)? Specifically, the study aimed to get at the "big picture" to establish the focus of the theories and practices of the participants in ESL education, as well as the policies produced by various leaders (texts) in an organization with respect to the integration of ESL learners.

In examining research on the integration of ESL learners in English second language education there evolved a need to bring together the literature in English second language, with that of multicultural education and special education. These three areas seemed to have followed a similar direction in terms of their emphasis and yet the three fields have neither dealt with each other in any detail in a collaborative manner, nor have they examined critically their roles in creating and/or influencing some of the injustices and inequities that currently exist in the integration practices for ESL learners in public schools. Greater attention needs to be paid to the perspectives and programs in place for the ESL learner with respect to integration from a holistic and cross disciplinary perspective which considers the many alternatives and possibilities. This discovery-oriented study began the process. *No attempt will be made to apply these results to any other situation. That remains the task of those who may choose to follow up the study.*

Chapter 5: Results: Findings, Conclusions, and Implications of the Study

The results of the study are presented with a focus on how "integration" as a social practice in the school district "influences and is influenced by surrounding social structures, ideologies and theories" (Stainback, S. and Stainback, W., 1988:70). There was a balance of descriptions, analyses and interpretations used. Results had validity when there was a "fit between what was intended to be studied" and "what actually is studied" (Stainback, S.; Stainback, W., 1988:97). Reliability resulted, "not literally across observations," but rather when there was "a fit between what occurs in the setting and what is recognized as data" (Stainback, S; Stainback, W. 1988:101). As stated previously, conclusions are confined to the sphere of this research and are not generalized beyond it – this remains for future studies.

The main focus here was to influence the direction of research in the field of ESL education – to help researchers and educators in the field gain insight into why integration practices exist as they do, and to note what changes, if any, could take place to improve educational practices and the integration of ESL learners. It was felt that future research in support of the activity of the integration of ESL learners needed to pay greater attention to the organization as a whole to include qualitative data with a "rich description" of context so that the social and cultural aspects of situations for students learning ESL were illuminated in all their complexity.

This inquiry sought to discover the "big picture" regarding the integration of ESL learners – integration was viewed as a social practice or activity in an

organization, a large urban school. The study explicitly raised the question: How was the integration of ESL learners practiced by various participants in an organization, both actively and in writing (text)?

Findings from data were grouped and are discussed as (1.) surveys and interviews, and (2.) document or text data. As noted earlier, integration means different things depending on the view as expressed in the TESOL Standards pre-K-12 which distinguished between *integration as placement* and *integration as active support* for ESL students in the mainstream. These distinctions will be referred to here, as will a wider range of meanings, for example, social interaction between ESL and non-ESL students has also been used in reference to integration by respondents.

A. Findings: Surveys and Interviews

To examine the social practice or activity of ESL integration in the organization, participants in this study were first surveyed and then volunteers were interviewed to determine how they viewed the integration of ESL learners. Survey data was collected, coded for frequency to aid the discussion, and examined the issues (see Appendix for details). Subsequent interviews (same questions) explored the issues and developed them within a richer context of greater detail. Responses to the research questions (see Appendix for details) are discussed in the parts that follow. Headings (a) through (f) on surveys sequentially correspond to the topics of survey and interview questions and were designed to get at the issues relevant to this discussion.

Surveys were distributed and returned as follows (Table III.). The results were fairly high for the schools involved. Parental responses are lower but reasonable given the respondents comments concerning parent involvement in the schools selected, half of which were in lower socio economic areas where parents were less involved. Some administrators did not want to participate formally and this was honoured. Informal discussions were considered. Additional responses to the activity of integration from parents and administrators were collected in the document data and enhanced this discussion.

Table 3. Number and Percentage of Returned Surveys

Group	Number Distributed	Number Returned	Percentage
Teachers	110	102	93%
Administrators	4	2	50%
Parents	114	46	41%
Students	114	103	84%
Totals	342	253	74%

A brief preview of survey results is presented first to provide clarity for the reader, in anticipation of a more detailed discussion presented later in this section. A large proportion of both the written (survey) and oral (interview) discussions from all participants (survey, n= 253; interview, n=64) – parents, students, teachers (both ESL and regular), and administrators concerned discussion of the social practice or activity of integration from the perspective of a traditional ESL service delivery or program arrangements model for integration (66%). Responses were related to the

process of basing the placement and movement of ESL students on their performance on an English test. The dominant focus in the data was that English existed for its own sake in schools, rather than as a medium of learning for ESL students.

A smaller proportion of both the written (survey) and oral (interview) discussions from all participants formally wrote or informally spoke about different views and/or conflicting perspectives of the integration of the ESL learner at school (34%). Their comments raised issues that considered the dynamic interaction between/amongst content, culture, language and learning for the English second language learner. The dominant focus amongst this minority response group was that English did not exist for its own sake in schools, rather English was as a medium of learning for ESL students who had other issues, including those discussed earlier in the literature review related to language socialization to contend with at school regarding their integration. These issues were related to the learning of language and learning in general, culture, and background experiences, as well as to curriculum and instruction.

Before proceeding with a general discussion of the respondents views concerning the activity of integration across sites, it is important to set the context for this discussion of integration across sites, by first commenting on the specific integration practices in each of the school sites under study.

1. Integration practices

Findings indicated that all sites (n=4) in this study had their own integration practices. What specifically were the integration practices (see exploratory question (a) (iii), page 134 and/or survey questions 4 and 5 in the appendices)? The specific practices in each site are described below (see Appendix for further details concerning the sites).

i) *Elementary*

The integration practices in the two elementary schools under study were similar. The schools had reception classes (separate ESL classes) within which there was a range of ESL learners from beginners through intermediate language proficiency. They also had large numbers of ESL students present in the entire school, reflecting the change in the city's population in recent years. The influx of immigrants that had arrived in urban schools over the past fifteen years, meant that a large number of classroom teachers had as many ESL students enrolled as those enrolled in the separate ESL classes, as well, mainstream classes had the same range from beginner through intermediate language learners. Both schools had roughly the same ESL support specialist staff in terms of numbers. Integration was reported as largely practiced in both schools through participation in extra curricular activities.

Site A was in a more affluent area of the city while site B was in an area of generally lower socio-economic status. Although students in both schools had access to tutors and support at home according to respondents, they felt students in site A

were advantaged in this area in terms of support for their integration into regular classes. Site B had a greater number of students unfamiliar with schooling and less parent support and involvement and this was perceived by respondents to be a disadvantage for learning at school.

ii) *Secondary*

Movement in both secondary schools proceeded from separate ESL program to transition classes to mainstream regular classes based on English assessments. However, there were some differences with respect to the programs and the students' placement in and movement between them.

Site C was in a more affluent area of the city while site D was in an area of generally lower socio-economic status. Although students in both schools had access to tutors and support at home, students in site C were described by respondents as advantaged in this area in terms of support for their integration into regular classes. Site D had a greater number of students unfamiliar with schooling (they were new to Canada) and respondents described the situation as one of less parent support and involvement.

In school C, students were grouped heterogeneously and in multi-level classes without layers or levels through which students passed sequentially. Students were enrolled in either/or ESL classes, transitional classes in socials and English and/or into the mainstream. English language centre support was provided for transitional programs only. The teachers believed that students needed to be in

as many regular classes as possible and gave the following reasons for mixed ability grouping – **Excerpt 86:**

older students could help younger students, younger students were sometimes more willing to try activities and older students would follow, and new Canadians were mixed with more experienced students.

Movement in this school could occur four times during the year. At the end of the year each students' status was reviewed. The ESL teachers in collaboration with the counsellor and subject teachers as appropriate initially decided upon integration. The criteria were subjective and included oral competency, research and library skills, success in project work, grasp of concepts, and motivation. Student work was collected in a portfolio to show progress in English. When students were ready for full integration, there was a trial period and the subject teacher had the final say as to whether or not the integration [within mainstream content classes] was working.

The ESL department worked very collaboratively and collegially and had a strong language and content background in terms of ESL training. In addition, they met regularly to discuss student progress. They shared philosophies concerning the need to base assessment on teacher judgment rather than on standardized test scores. They also commented that they preferred to examine ESL students' authentic classroom work and not only test scores in English, and these respondents commented on the need to have students work together in cooperative and heterogeneous groups in support of learning. ESL students were encouraged to speak "only English in classes," and the importance of the first language was acknowledged.

In school D, students were grouped by ability – beginners (Level I), intermediate (Level II) and advanced (Level III) English language learners, followed by a set program of transitional socials and English with English language centre support. The teachers commented that ESL students needed to be grouped by language ability because it was easier to teach them, curricular resources for language levels were readily available and it was not fair to hold back advanced ESL learners by having them mixed with beginning language learners.

Movement here was permitted only twice per year. Integration was initially decided upon by the ESL teachers as students passed through a series of tests – the GAP, CELT, SLEP and composition writing skills were examined as was the learners' background. To exit from the transitional programs students were required to pass the regular class English exam. Integration into subject classes was usually with the consent of the subject teacher. The counsellor worked as a liaison between the ESL department and subject teachers. When students were ready for full integration, there was a trial period and the subject teacher had the final say as to whether or not the integration was working. Students could be (and were) sent back to the ESL program.

The ESL department worked very collaboratively and collegially and had a strong oral language and grammar background in terms of ESL training. They met regularly to discuss student progress and to organize students into ability groups. They shared philosophies concerning the need for standardized assessments to determine placements in programs. They also believed in small classes and shared

an “English only” philosophy at school – the first language was thought to impede not support learning in English.

iv) The quality of integration as a social practice or activity in the sites in this study

Respondents’ comments about the integration practices in schools and the quality of these practices were also noted. One surprise in the present study was the fact that both mainstream and ESL teachers noted that there was little integration in the sense of both social and academic integration during regular class time. They spoke infrequently about integration in regular content classes and seemed to focus their responses concerning integration on social and extra curricular activities – outside the mainstream academic life of the school. Sometimes ESL students were not placed in academic programs at all. Respondents frequently made comments in their survey discourse across sites such as those illustrated in **Excerpt 87**:

S:30 “integration doesn’t happen much during class time”

S:9 “ESL integration doesn’t happen much between our district class students and the regular classes during class time”

S:10 “the district class [separate language class] is rarely integrated”

S:74 “ESL programs gate keep ESL students from high school graduation”

S:29 “We do have a district class and they are rarely integrated.”

S:75 “students who have poor academic backgrounds are rarely integrated and end up in pre employment or alternate programs”

It was apparent in this study that integration [within mainstream classes with active ESL support] was not happening to any great degree in academic areas in the

schools under study according to the respondents across sites. However, there were many recommendations made by respondents about ways to integrate ESL students in extra curricular activities within the schools, and/or socially. The large degree to which respondents' suggestions for "integrating" ESL students involved extracurricular activities was contrasted with the few respondents who commented in surveys that ESL students needed to be actively supported within mainstream classes as a significant part of the academic and cultural community of the school.

The majority of respondents in surveys commented on no role for ESL learners within the mainstream curriculum of the school. When mentioned, the role for ESL learners in the mainstream was described as extra curricular, and the language, cultural, and previous experiences of ESL students were not discussed in the majority of survey responses by these respondents as significant. Examples of some of these comments given in survey discourse data follow. The respondents across all four sites were describing activities within their schools that supported the integration of ESL students, mainly in extra curricular activities outside the mainstream of academic classes within the schools:

Excerpt 88:

- S:10 "The ESL students are integrated in activities like Sports Day
- S:14 "We let the ESL class come to our PE periods because it doesn't involve much English."
- S:69 "All extra-curricular activities support integration, especially sports because language is secondary there."
- S:9 "The ESL class is involved by going on some field trips together with other classes in the school."

- S:20 "The ESL class joins music and physical education, little language is needed here."
- S:25 "we have a party together so they won't feel left out"
- S:304 "We invite some of the ESL kids to our dances."
- S:327 "We perform a dance or singing in a group of four or more sometimes with them."
- S:248 "we involve the ESL class by playing sports with them."
- S:271 "we watch a movie or a video in school with them"
- S:30 "participation of district class students in extra curricular activities such as track, dances, etc. supports their integration"
- S:10 "collaborating in math, library, physical education, at assemblies, multicultural theme nights, and extra curricular activities such as dances, teams and sports"
- S:84 "ESL students join computers because there is not much English."

Finally, when asked to describe the quality of the integration taking place within each/all of the four schools, respondents did not give the activity of the integration of ESL learners a very high rating in the discourse data of surveys as exemplified below. Examples of some of their comments follow in **Excerpt 89** to illustrate the generally accepted view of the quality of the integration taking place across research sites:

- S:43 "Poor."
- S:27 "More could be done."
- S:58 "C at best"
- S:55 "not enough or effective"

- S:109 "no ESL students aren't integrating because they need parallel helping courses to enable them to pass credit courses"
- S:49 "some students do not know how far they are behind and do not have an understanding of the expectations in content classes or evaluation of success in grade level subjects . When they are integrated they become disillusioned and start to fall by the wayside so we put them in alternate programs to restore their self-esteem."
- S:10 "it needs staff support, an ESL coordinator, the support of the administration, the impetus of teachers to do so, and less influence or input from parents."
- S:33 "most teachers are supportive of the concept even if it doesn't always work."
- S:89 "it would be nice to integrate them more because I believe they feel isolated as a group."
- S:77 "it could be dealt with better, especially the way they are integrated into a regular class for subjects."
- S:88 "difficulties arise due to class size limits, reports, timetables"
- S:101 "integrated ESL students who are floundering academically and can't afford a tutor or other support fall through the cracks and stop attending"
- S:75 "parents who have not seen the secondary texts may put unrealistic expectations on their children for achievement"
- S:66 "sometimes students are integrated because of administrator pressure or because of a family's insistence against the recommendation of the ESL teacher and the student flounders badly or is temporarily propped up by an out of school tutor"
- S:102 "the students who are integrating are the students who were successful academic language learners in their home countries"

Again, this was reinforced in interview data and substantiates later discussions made in this research where there were some criticisms of a test based service delivery or program arrangement focus for the integration of the ESL student

because of its narrow emphasis on English performance. Examples from four interviewees follow to bring clarity – **Excerpts 90-93** – (interview data):

- I:26 ... students who have emotional and economic concerns in addition to weak English may not ever be integrated ... or else they are integrated without support ... and often they fail the course
- I:27 on the east side of the city teens with weak academic backgrounds from their homelands and low socio economic status either aren't integrated or flounder when integrated and don't receive adequate support to succeed. They lack the skills to do school and are very much at risk, especially older teens who frequently drop out of school and go to work.
- I:28 refugees, literacy class students, tutorless students and students with a poor previous educational background are at risk for integration.
- I:30 The types of students in the school need to be considered for integration regarding staffing and programs. Support needs to change depending on the students and their needs. If they are for example, refugees versus astronaut families or from war torn countries ... an ESL student is not an ESL student ... there are so many differences between students.

And, lastly, one interviewee – **Excerpt 94** – noted in discourse that the quality of integration was “fairly high – some art, cooking, PE, social activities and math.” – clearly not an academic focus for the learner of ESL, beyond mathematics which is generally thought to be strong in Asian cultures by teacher respondents.

v) *Summary of integration practices*

As stated previously, findings concerning the integration of ESL students were dominated by an English test based emphasis which determined placement and movement of students for service delivery. However, findings indicate that the specific practices in each site also offered other perspectives about integration which

were different and sometimes critical of this orientation. There was some evidence in the discourse data of surveys in findings that teachers were thinking about ESL students' need to achieve academically, though they wrestled with how best to organize for this achievement and these thoughts conflicted with models of service delivery which often mitigated against academics, in that teachers could not put into practice what they might have given no constraints. In addition, there were differences between sites along socio economic lines which affected integration, although the practice of placing and moving students was similar in all sites. In other words, the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration looked similar in all sites, but there were inequities and inequalities that would influence learning in general, as well as language learning and academic success which reflected other views of integration and and/or were critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration. Consider some examples given in the data from respondents, as well as in the data of observations.

First, in the elementary sites, as stated previously, integration practices looked similar. However, in both sites, a large number of classroom teachers had as many ESL students in their mainstream classrooms as those enrolled in separate ESL programs. And, so on the one hand the ESL students in separate classes or programs were to be integrated gradually over time. On the other hand, mainstream classes were full of ESL students that had already being integrated within the mainstream of the schools which were largely ESL. Sometimes due to lack of space in the ESL class, respondents reported that ESL students were moved out of the ESL class after

a short time to make room for new arrivals. The respondents reported that the change in programming had nothing to do with either learning and/or language but rather with financial expediency. This created inequities in schooling for ESL learners and made integration practices inconsistent.

Secondly, there were issues of socio economic status that affected learning and access to academic programs for ESL students awaiting integration into the mainstream of the school and for those already in the mainstream. For instance, in Sites A and C which were in more affluent areas of the city, ESL students benefited from more hours of instruction via tutors and parents who recognized the advantages of schooling. There were far greater opportunities provided as indicated in the discourse data of surveys and interviews and observation data for academic support outside school. In fact, respondents reported that many of the ESL students were enrolled in academic programs outside the school, which increased the number of hours of instruction for their learning, and backed up learning that had taken place at school.

In Sites B and D, the greater emphasis placed in homes on working as soon as possible out of necessity and the lack of financial resources of families to support school vis a vis tutors, made integration more difficult for the ESL students. Education here was disadvantaged in the sense that the students were more unfamiliar with schooling and experienced less parental support – parents needed to work – and there was both less access to tutors and to outside programs to support learning as reported by respondents.

In all situations respondents noted that the learning environment was affected by the circumstances of the students; by their previous academic experiences, by the opportunities economically feasible in terms of providing for additional support out of school, and by the parents desires and interest in academic education.

In sum, the language of the respondents affected the place or position of the ESL learner within the school. He/she was both positioned by the language respondents used, and was placed in reference to something else – the mainstream or regular program based on test scores in English. Integration was viewed largely as arrangements made along a continuum of assessment of English toward full mainstreaming when it was deemed that the students had reached proficiency – when the ESL students passed English tests.

Having set the stage by commenting on specific sites and their integration practices, attention is now turned to a general discussion of responses to surveys and interviews across sites, beginning with the *definitions* of integration offered by respondents in surveys and interviews, grouped as appropriate to the data.

2. Definitions

Surveys and interviews were analyzed to determine how the respondents defined the activity or social practice of integration (see exploratory question a (i), page 134, and survey question 1, appendices). The answer to this question was that respondents presented conflicting viewpoints when asked to define integration,

both theoretically and in practice. These viewpoints are discussed in the sections that follow.

A couple of other points need to be made before proceeding. Of the elementary student responses to the survey, a few (n=9) did not know what the word "integration" meant and said so. There were few or no differences in terms of describing what the activity of integration meant between schools across ages with the exception of the elementary students. There was also little variation in different areas of the city (east/west), as indicated by the respondents, however, socioeconomic status emerged in the data as an important consideration (see perspectives).

For the sake of clarity, this part of the findings is organized as: a) definition(s) reflecting the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration and ii) other views of integration and views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration.

a) Definition(s) reflecting the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration

The following definition(s) from the traditional model for integration emerged:

i) integration was defined with reference to an English language test/assessment and ESL service delivery (from assessment • placement • movement based on English test scores/performance)

Discussion of this dominant and traditional definition of integration by respondents in both surveys and interviews in this study follows under this heading and three sub headings: *integration in reference to assessment, integration in reference to*

placement, and integration in reference to movement; these being categories most frequently used by respondents. Each is briefly discussed with reference to data collected and analysed.

i) integration was defined with reference to an English language test/assessment and ESL service delivery (from assessment • placement • movement based on English test scores/performance)

Discussions of integration in surveys and interviews by respondents were presented as a dichotomy – integration existed as the mere physical presence of ESL students in classes which were “regular/mainstream” in opposition to “ESL” classes – in reference to the assessment, placement and movement of ESL students to regular/mainstream classes dependent upon the results of English tests. The question of active support in the mainstream was not raised by respondents. Because of the frequency of the discourse, in reference to these three categories, the discourse of the respondents was coded and grouped under headings of integration in reference to assessment, integration in reference to placement, and/or integration in reference to movement. Examples from the discourse of the respondents to surveys and interviews make the point succinctly. Integration from the perspective of the majority of respondents existed as ESL students’ presence in the mainstream and was discussed in reference to service delivery or arranging a sequence of programs for ESL learners which situated them outside of the mainstream of the school depending upon their ability to perform on tests of English.

b) *Integration Defined in Reference to an Assessment*

Assessment initially placed the learner within the school in all four sites in this study. An external assessment was done at an off site orientation and assessment centre and paperwork developed during this assessment supported the place the learner was assigned within the school – either separate ESL program (district/reception class for beginners) and/or transitional program (secondary only for intermediate learners) and/or regular program. The activity of integration was then viewed, as revealed in the discourse of the survey data, in reference to this testing, in opposition and comparison to support for learning and socialization in the mainstream or regular classes both in elementary and secondary programs. Integration was defined by comments the respondents made, as examples provided below indicate. **Excerpt 1:** (Data from surveys) Integration means:

- S:41 “ESL students passing English tests to get into regular classes”
- S:73 “ESL students are placed in the regular classroom situation after passing English tests.”
- S:81 “coming directly into a regular class after testing from an ESL programme”
- S:43 “our students (secondary) are integrated based on their reading levels which assessments show a reading range from kindergarten to upper grade three”
- S:17 “people who need more help with English writing or are not capable of keeping up with regular class”
- S:51 “putting students who have reached a certain level of English skills into the regular system”
- S:28 “making the ESL’ s do the same work for marks as regular students in regular classrooms”

S:63 "ESL students working in classes of like grade level for marks"

S:887 "ESL students taking regular courses which give credits to graduation"

The focus of the discourse of the respondents when asked to define integration on surveys was viewed only in reference to a program other than the one he/she was in at the present based on the results of a test of English proficiency. This thinking, on the part of respondents that integration existed only after some assessment, and only in reference to regular or mainstream classes, continued in discussions of the activity of integration in reference to placement and movement at all sites. Integration defined in reference to an assessment was the least frequently mentioned survey category of all service delivery categories (18%), however, it directed the next two categories because ESL students were tested to determine their placement in an ESL program, and their movement between ESL programs and the mainstream. The discourse of interviews elaborated on this emphasis, for example, as one respondent put it:

Excerpt 2 (interview data):

I:26 Integration doesn't happen until after an assessment ... we aren't sure what to use ... a standard one would help ... since there isn't any ... we do the Gap or the Woodcock for reading and we do a writing sample ... if the ESL student is ready, they are integrated ... maybe part time ... or maybe full time but not usually full time ...

Others gave similar accounts of integration as existing only after a test of English in isolation of subject or academic content or of any other learning in reference to the mainstream.

c) *Integration Defined in Reference to Placement*

Integration was also frequently defined by respondents in reference to the placement of ESL learners (n=197) (35%) in programs or language classes within a site in the present study, the second most important integration category. It was surprising the extent to which all participants believed that "integration" was synonymous with entering a "regular class" in the mainstream. Consider a few of the many comments given by respondents in surveys. Integration meant: **Excerpt 3** (Data from surveys).

S:266 "integrating the ESL's into the regular program"

S:15 "ESL students are placed in the regular classroom situation"

S:80 "ESL students are placed in the regular class system"

S:77 "ESL students are placed one subject at a time, English and Social Studies are usually the last because of the high level of English involved"

S:4 "students are placed with reception teachers who work with them to prepare ESL students for integration"

S:230 "different people who go to the same room to take ESL"

Once again, according to the respondents, integration existed as the mainstream and was discussed in reference to a place or a program within a school that the ESL students held, both individually and in groups. This place was assigned based on ESL students' English performance on English tests. This was consistent across all schools in both elementary and secondary. The placement of ESL learners as a reference point for definitions of integration was most frequently mentioned by secondary teachers (n=103) (52%), it was the next most important concern for

students (n=28) (14%), and the least concern for parents (n=20) (10%) and administrators (n=13) (7%). This seems to substantiate findings of others who have noted that these groups (ESL parents, students) did not understand the placement process (Watt, Roessingh, Bosetti, 1996). This was also reinforced in interviews in this study, both formally and informally.

The most frequently mentioned service delivery concerns regarding placement of ESL students for service for integration were as follows: pull out ESL placements (n=58) (29%), separate classes for ESL students with an English focus (n=51) (26%), and movement to the mainstream for integration without any further ESL support (n=49) (25%). And, again – **Excerpt 4** (interview data) reinforced this point.

I:34 Enrolment in regular classes is stable. The number of students placed in our district classes is not ... it changes all the time ... sometimes ESL students are placed in intermediate classes because numbers increase at school and they need the space for new students... it can happen any time ... Reception students may not even be ready for a place in a regular class ... they're integrated ... District classes serve as a holding area for new ESL students ... until room opens up in an ESL class ... in a school. There could be new students at anytime. We place students ... they're integrated in classes when there's space ... as soon as we can ... but sometimes they wait ...

Integration for many respondents was defined in reference to placement in a program of service delivery with the potential for this place changing over time, to another place depending upon passing tests of English. The preferred placements for the ESL learners' integration in this model of service delivery by most respondents were: 1) separate or segregated programs for learning the elements of

the English language, followed by 2) pull out ESL programs which also taught English grammar.

Attention is now turned to how the respondents defined the activity of integration through references in their discourse to the movement of ESL students, the most frequent area of response (n=270) (48%).

d) *Integration Defined in Reference to Movement*

Movement of ESL students was also used to define the activity of integration for many respondents. For one participant in the present study this meant movement from elsewhere to Canada (integration means "to come from another country"), but for the most part respondents defined integration in reference to ESL students' movement within the school. Movement (n=270) for integration was of most concern to teachers (n=129) (48%), and students (n=89) (33%), followed by parents (n=36) (13%) and administrators (n=16) (6%). While discussions of integration at the level of theory, as illustrated by interview data cited below, focussed on partial integration or transitional classes, the bulk of the respondents (n=159) (59%) defined integration here in reference to movement from a separate ESL program to the mainstream. This movement depended upon the ESL student passing tests of English as form/rule or grammar. Examples from various respondents collected from surveys make this point lucid. Integration was defined by respondents as: **Excerpt 5** (Data from surveys):

S:115 "how an ESL student moves from ESL classes to regular classes"

- S:82 "the ESL student moves from ESL classes to regular classes – if the class is full the ESL student could wait for months until a space opens up"
- S:6 "coming directly into a regular class from an ESL programme"
- S:27 "if an ESL student performs successfully he/she is moved into the regular class because the ESL teachers feel he/she is able to cope"
- S:31 "the regular classroom teacher accepts students from the district class"
- S:86 "the top ESL students are moved into transitional and then regular classes"
- S:88 "upward moves for integration are made whenever space permits or when regular teachers make room for ESL students"
- S:293 "when they move to regular classrooms"
- S:54 "the point at which an adolescent ESL student moves into a specific grade level subject which is a requisite for graduation"
- S:284 "when ESL students join our class and work"
- S:314 "becoming part of the regular class"
- S:55 "if there is latitude for movement the ESL students are integrated, if the classes are absolutely full right from the start then there is no movement or integration"

Interview data reinforced the notion that ESL integration was defined in reference to movement, and that movement depended upon the ESL student performing in English on written or oral tests. Examples follow:

Excerpts 6, 7 and 8 (interview data):

- I:31 Integration means moving gradually into regular classes usually at the beginning of the year. It needs to take place not only at the beginning of the year but also later ... as the ESL students' language develops ... Later in the year moving them ... integrating ... becomes impossible.

- I:26 Integration is mainstreaming. But regular class teachers have to exceed class size agreements to integrate. . It's not easy to move ESL students any more to regular classes ... there just isn't room ... not any more ... classes are full.
- I:29 Integration means moving students into the mainstream. Ideally, it is done gradually but this isn't an ideal situation. ESL students are integrated all the time. Sometimes they go directly to a subject class and sometimes they go to a district class. It depends on the school. Here it depends on enrolment and class size. All classes in the school have ESL students now. We all teach ESL students. We have no choice but to ... it's the normal population of the school now. We are all ESL teachers in one way or another.

It was also apparent from data in this study that movement was an issue of concern regarding integration for teachers and students, particularly secondary teachers and students, as well as for parents and administrators, though to a lesser degree.

In sum, in this research, within all school situations, integration was largely housed in the discourse of respondents, both in survey and interview data, in reference to the program arrangements made for ESL students who attended the schools. ESL students were assessed for proficiency in English to determine their initial place within the schools under study here, then they were defined or situated within the school in reference to this place. Respondents noted that ESL students moved from place to place within the school or between schools in relation to the needs of the students and teachers in regular classes within the school – not necessarily in relation the needs of the ESL students. They also reported that movement depended upon performing adequately on a sequence of tests of English.

Integration was defined by most respondents in surveys and interviews in reference to this traditional process of being tested in English, placed and moved based on English test performance, and receiving ESL services in separate programs over time (usually two or three years). To respondents, integration meant being enrolled in the mainstream or mainstreamed.

b) Definitions reflecting other views of integration and views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration

The definitions of a minority of respondents gave other views of integration and views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration. ESL students, according to these views, had more to contend with than to perform on tests of English. Respondents who held these views brought up issues of language learning, curricular content, background experiences, culture, and teaching and learning. These were issues that respondents stated ESL students faced regarding their integration. Once integrated or mainstreamed ESL students no longer received ESL specialist teacher support in most cases, but many of these respondents disagreed with this practice. The following definitions, offered by respondents to surveys and interviews, reflected other views of integration and/or views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration:

- i) integration was defined as the mainstream, therefore, in opposition to movement over time through a traditional program of services,
- ii) integration was defined in reference to content, academic or curricular learning, and

- iii) integration was defined in reference to the students' backgrounds, languages, and/or cultures.

Discussion of these views of the social practice or activity of integration in the organization for ESL students follows under these headings.

- i) *integration was defined as the mainstream, therefore, in opposition to movement over time through a program of services*

Some respondents expressed other views of integration and were critical of the traditional service delivery related definitions of integration in that they viewed integration from a separate ESL class or program into a mainstream class as an activity that was not only impossible but also no longer relevant. They viewed integration as being equivalent to being in the mainstream, as did those respondents who defined integration from traditional views, except that these respondents recognized that the existing system did not make sense because policies and practice that were developed for schools with a few ESL students, did not fit the situation presently existing in schools where ESL students existed in large numbers. Their definitions of integration were often related to this knowledge of the changing school demographic situation. Examples from survey responses in **Excerpt 9** follow:

- S:52 "the idea that ESL students are integrated gradually into classes is contradictory – there is nowhere to put them except in the mainstream and they are already there"
- S:21 "the integration of students into regular classes happens when their English proficiency indicates they are ready but there are many ESL students in classes already. I am not sure about this"

- S:5 "Our whole school is ESL. There are more ESL students than English students even though we don't count them all – they are all integrated."
- S:44 "integration means putting ESL students directly into a regular classroom which is where most of them are already"
- S:18 "every class has integrated ESL students ... that's the way it is ... it isn't a choice anymore"
- S:11 "I'm not sure what integration means my (regular) class is ESL ... at all levels of language learning"
- S:56 "integration means reflecting the true population of the school by not taking out a select part of it and putting them in a room away from everyone else where they feel it and so does the rest of the school"
- S:83 "integration promotes a feeling of well being for ESL students and enhances their self concept because they are no longer a separate part of the school, they are the mainstream"
- S:84 "integration is 'normalizing' the school population so that all ESL students are in the same places and not some in separate programs and some not in separate programs which is dysfunctional"
- S:33 "integration eliminates the stigma of labelling and announces that ESL students are part of the regular life of the school"
- S:85 "my class is all ESL"
- S:89 "target groups can't be targeted or alienated if they are in the mainstream – integration is only a good thing for ESL students"
- S:62 "integration at our school is a 'whole school' philosophy where we continue to work together and try to keep students working well in the mainstream"

These respondents felt that integration as the delivery of services over time which involved gradual entry into mainstream programs from ESL programs based on English test scores did not make sense because ESL students were the mainstream of the student population in their schools. Interview data reflected a

similar thought process, as revealed in the discourse of one respondent – **Excerpt 10**

– (interview data):

I:30 integration has no significance ... how do you address the needs of sixty or more ESL students with a half time ESL teacher? ... you can't ... the students are integrated and you do what you can ... with the support teacher ... mostly help beginners

Respondents wrestled with trying to understand how to define integration given the circumstances that existed in their schools in terms of provision for ESL support and services for integration.

To summarize, these respondents indicated conflicted viewpoints: 1.) they understood and reported that integration meant ESL students entered the mainstream of the school from an ESL class, but at the same time 2.) these respondents expressed, in both survey and interview data, the knowledge that the entire student population of the school was "ESL," therefore, integration defined in reference to assessment, placement, and movement from separate English program or language class to the mainstream organized around testing in English, did not follow logically because there were too many ESL students in schools in the district.

ii) *integration was defined in relation to content, academic or curricular learning*

Some respondents also defined the activity of integration with reference to content curriculum, and they referred to academics and/or learning in surveys and interviews. In these definitions of integration, there was a recognition that ESL students continued to need language support while in the mainstream learning subject content. This was in contrast to the traditional model where ESL support

ceased upon being integrated or entering the mainstream. Examples to elucidate the point follow in **Excerpt 11**:

- S: 109 "integration is when students learning English are mainstreamed and when the teachers of English support them in regular classes by modifying academic materials and helping the teacher"
- S:46 "integration means putting students directly into regular classes where they do subject work and not into ESL classes which works best for students whose families can afford and hire private tutors to support and reinforce school work"
"integration works when you look at language across the curriculum. ESL students need support with language, for example, even when they understand the content, like in mathematics."
- S:96 "while they (ESL students) are learning English in the mainstream they can continue in other areas of study thus not *losing time* learning English first"
- S:24 "ESL students are placed in a regular classroom. They participate in all curriculum and basically do the same work on class academic activities but they may need extra ESL support which may mean the support teacher working in the class and sometimes as a pull out situation"
- S:90 "the integration of ESL students involves putting them all in regular grades which gives the ESL teacher time to work in regular classes and identify and recommend appropriate curriculum resources"
- S:47 "integration involves providing ESL students with lower class sizes, modification of curriculum and a whole language approach to literacy development"
- S:10 "integration involves supporting ESL students in classes at various grades by providing in class adaptation of curriculum as needed to support learning"
- S:57 "integration is supported by research on learning, it keeps ESL kids in school and cuts down on fragmentation of learning for the students"

S:45 "as far as ESL students being integrated in class, I think it is a whole language situation"

Those respondents that made reference to curriculum in surveys noted that integration meant being in the mainstream in academic classes. They also noted that issues of learning English were still to be reckoned with even in mainstream classes and that ESL students needed support to learn curriculum content. The discourse data of interviews made similar points, to give one example – **Excerpt 12** (interview data):

I:38 integration means being in a regular class ... at the appropriate grade ... but we still need to monitor the integration of ESL students because they may be up for a significant challenge ... to meet the demands of content classes ...

In sum, some respondents noted in the data that while integration meant being in the mainstream of the school, ESL students continued to need support for learning English while learning curriculum content during this integration in the mainstream.

iii) *integration was defined in reference to the students' backgrounds, languages, and/or cultures*

Respondents sometimes defined the activity of integration with reference to ESL students' world experiences, and linguistic and cultural diversity. Respondents' definitions of integration as an activity in reference to students' backgrounds, languages and cultures included:

- learners with strong and successful first languages and academic experiences/knowledge of schooling in other countries,
- orientation to school culture, fostering understanding and tolerance, social adjustment,

- cross cultural friendships, and
- the unique situations lived by refugees and trauma victims.

Some examples from the discourse of surveys – **Excerpt 13** – develop this idea in greater detail:

- S:48 “the ones who are integrating are those who were successful academic and language learners in their home countries and languages”
- S:97 “integration needs to involve some kind of orientation to the school culturally as well ... new arrivals from foreign countries could go to an orientation class on site for a period of time, say two or three weeks, with interpreters”
- S:98 “integration offers ESL students the opportunity of becoming functional citizens”
- S:49 “integration means to consider cultural integration, academic immersion or upgrading and the social adjustment of ESL students”
- S:172 “integration means making schools useable by all races”
- S:30 “integration supports students becoming involved in a wider social circle than the separate class, they make more friends across cultures sometimes and they also seem to stay out of gangs or cliques”
- S:22 “integrating all students promotes positive race and multicultural/ethnic relations”
- S:91 “if we look at integration through a regular class lens there is a need for support for classroom teachers in dealing with all the cultures they represent... do they know how?”
- S:200 “integration puts all students in classes at grade level, supports their languages in the school and also fosters better understanding between ethnic groups”
- S:50 “integration has always happened at this school but role models in English continue to be a challenge and knowing what to do when there are no longer role models in a school. The students can communicate with each other but we don’t understand them.”

- S:13 "integration means being in a regular not an ESL class but integration for students in primary who come from families with limited experiences outside their home and neighbourhood is not helpful"
- S:179 "integration gives the school a multicultural atmosphere and helps with cultural awareness because English speakers learn about the different cultures of ESL kids"
- S:58 "integration means different things for different ESL students. e.g. students who are refugees or are from poverty level families have greater ESL needs"

One respondent also noted that integration could either be favourable or cause problems depending on the atmosphere in the school community and the numbers of ESL students. This gave evidence of pressing issues of culture that needed addressing. For example, **Excerpt 14** – (interview data):

- I:30 Integration ... putting all ESL students in the mainstream ... could foster cultural sharing ... like on multicultural nights ... or it can create a backlash and intolerance ... it depends on the situation and the numbers ... and how much they stick together as a group ... there could be trouble ... or it could be positive

In sum, definitions of the activity of integration were frequently focussed on a traditional model for providing ESL support, where ESL students received an English test, were placed based on the test results and were moved according to future English test results. At the same time, other respondents reported definitions of integration from conflicting, different and critical perspectives which tried to make links between learning, language learning, culture and content. These other views also recognized that ESL students were now the mainstream of the school, therefore, the traditional model of assessment, placement and movement for integration was no longer workable. Some respondents also recognized a

relationship between language and culture, in that they defined integration with reference to student diversity (culturally, linguistically and in terms of language and learning needs) and they stated that this student diversity extended into the mainstream and did not only exist in separate ESL programs.

3. Perspectives

Data was analyzed for diversity in the nature of the responses given the role of respondents as: i) teachers (ESL or mainstream), ii) administrators, iii) parents, or iv) students (ESL or non-ESL) in an effort to determine whether or not there was evidence of a plurality of perspectives with respect to the activity of integration and the ESL learner, and/or to search for consensus/conflict on issues related to the activity of integration (see exploratory question a (ii), page 134, and survey questions 2 and 3 in the appendices).

The data revealed that the answer to this question was both yes and no. Notions of ESL students' assessment of English as the focal point for their integration was also dominant in the perspectives part of this research and is discussed following. Differences between mainstream and ESL teachers, and between ESL and English speaking students were also evident. And, while the traditional model for integration dominated, data also gave evidence of perspectives offering other views, including those that were different and/or critical of a vision of integration focussed around an English test based model. Respondents raised issues related to learning through language, and to culture and content. The importance of recognizing and dealing with cultural issues, including linguistic diversity and

bilingualism was noted by respondents in surveys and interviews, as was the need to pay greater attention to the students' background experiences and their relationship to learning. Findings are discussed in the paragraphs that follow under appropriate headings.

a) Teachers' perspectives – (ESL and mainstream)

Teachers perspectives were considered in this research as ESL teachers and/or content/mainstream teachers, these being the words teachers most often used to describe themselves in this study. Respondents who were ESL teachers and content/mainstream teachers dominantly made reference to integration in the survey and interview data in reference to the traditional service delivery model of integration where program arrangements were based on English test performance. However, there was also evidence in surveys and interviews of conflicts, of other views of integration and of views that were critical of a vision of integration focussed around an English test based model. Findings are discussed in the paragraphs that follow under appropriate headings.

i) ESL teachers

Most ESL classroom teachers expressed their concern in these findings of surveys and interviews with getting ESL students integrated into regular classes. ESL teachers reported that ESL students needed to master English tests as soon as possible to move into the mainstream and be integrated. ESL teachers, however, (particularly in secondary) tended to deal only with the ESL students who appeared

in their separate ESL language classes or programs and not in the mainstream of the school except in ESL pull out programs which had an English grammar focus.

ESL teachers with traditional perspectives focussed on integration in reference to English test based service delivery

Although English assessment driven placement and movement of ESL students for integration should have presented no difficulty for ESL teacher respondents in terms of programming, instead findings showed evidence of constant conflict for ESL teachers concerning integration as a social practice or activity within the organization of public schools. These ESL teachers reported, in survey and interview data, spending a great amount of time trying to move ESL students from their separate ESL language classes or programs into mainstream subject classes. ESL teachers also reported being worried about the ESL students' successes or lack of success in the mainstream, and noted many difficulties in trying to integrate ESL students successfully; difficulties with both the organization and with their mainstream colleagues.

Getting ESL students into mainstream classes was reported in the findings by ESL teachers as not easy for a variety of reasons: a) mainstream teachers sometimes refused to take ESL students, b) there were not enough electives in secondary to accommodate ESL students who existed outside the mainstream, c) mainstream classes were full in both elementary and secondary, d) policies existed that did not permit or timed ESL student placement and movement, e) ESL students in the mainstream lacked support unless they could afford tutors, f) some ESL students lacked previous experiences of school and had needs that could not be met because

of lack of adequate programs and staff, and g) mainstream teachers lacked the training and expertise needed to work effectively with large numbers of ESL students. **Excerpt 15**, gives survey examples of the perspectives of respondents who were ESL teachers to illustrate these points:

- S:71 "Difficulties arise in regular curricular activities due to class size limits, timetables and reports."
- S:106 "Integration into a specific grade level subject can only take place if that particular teacher has a place in his/her class for the incoming ESL student. If the class is full the student could wait for months until a space opens up"
- S:10 "some mainstream teachers have reached their integration saturation quotient and won't take any more ESL students"
- S:9 "the challenge of mainstream teachers is learning how to deal with new ESL students surviving in regular classes"
- S:73 "Students who make a point of reading consistently in English facilitate integration but students who are non readers or poor readers find their lack of reading skills hinder integration. Teachers in this secondary school have not had formal training in teaching ESL students to read texts and that is a hindrance to their integration"
- S:74 "ESL students who successfully integrate at the secondary school level have attained a high degree of academic and language proficiency and if they receive support and have a stable home life they tend to do well"
- S:107 "students who have had a good educational background in their home country tend to integrate faster especially if their families can afford a tutor to support their efforts in the mainstream"

These comments were supported and added to by respondents in subsequent interviews – **Excerpts 16, 17, 18 and 19** (interview data) in the samples given below illuminate the point:

- I:36 Mainstreaming happens ... there is no training for regular teachers. There should be school based on site professional training for the classroom teacher ... they can't cope with mainstreamed ESL students. Every support we have is cut back.
- I:32 The regular classroom teacher is untrained and ill equipped to give the special assistance needed by ESL students ... especially beginners ... these students shouldn't be in regular programs unless the majority of the staff train and upgrade in ESL.
- I:21 Many of the benefits of the ESL pilot project have been lost ... because of cutbacks and planning. All subject areas have to be modified to include these students. Intermediate teachers need intensive inservice and help in the classroom to cope with integration.
- I:27 There is not enough space in regular classes to integrate ESL students when they are ready, sometimes they wait for months. It isn't right.

In sum, while ESL teachers dominantly held perspectives organized around the traditional model of integration, they experienced numerous problems with this traditional model of organization for ESL integration.

ESL teachers with other views of integration and views critical of traditional perspectives focussed on integration in reference to English test based service delivery

While most ESL classroom teachers, in contrast to and often in conflict with mainstream teachers expressed their concern in these findings with getting ESL students integrated into regular classes, at the same time in this study different perspectives were reported by some ESL teachers. The discourse of these ESL teachers reflected their understanding that language needed to be taught within the mainstream subject classes of the school, and not only in separate ESL programs with a focus on English, therefore they raised collaboration with colleagues as an integration issue. And, these ESL teachers made reference in the data to issues of

both agreement/disagreement with parents and students, to the backgrounds of the ESL students as significant for integration, and to the relationship of diverse cultural issues to integration. A discussion of these findings follows.

ESL teacher collaboration with mainstream teachers as necessary for integration

Some ESL teacher respondents argued in their discourse in this study for the organization to provide them with time to meet and collaborate with classroom teachers to plan adapted mainstream curriculum for integrated ESL students.

Examples of survey data – **Excerpt 20** – are provided to illustrate this point:

- S:10 "I prefer working in class to support integration. The classroom teacher teaches and I work with the ESL students in the class."
- S:108 "the ELST [English language support teacher working within a mainstream class] model from the pilot project supported some teachers by giving time to make materials for students to take into class with them so they had something to do at their level"
"the quality of collaboration is fair. Staff are open to it – first challenge overcome!"
- S:30 "integration needs to happen in a collaborative manner"
- S:72 "collaboration enhances the different skills of teachers"
- S:9 "co-planning and co-teaching, both regular teacher and ESL teacher seems to work effectively if both are willing to work together"
- S:110 "it is difficult to collaborate because of time constraints but more is needed if we are to meet the needs of ESL students in grade level classes"

Interviews reinforced these ideas concerning integration.. Two examples are given to elucidate the point in **Excerpt 21 and 22** – (interview data):

- I:27 a collaborative approach to unit and theme planning seems to work well ... because classroom teachers share content expertise and ESL teachers share strategies that support students ... we

help adapt curriculum or make graphics and materials ... they know the content they are teaching

- I:21 collaborative curriculum development and implementation supports integration ... some teachers are not willing to collaborate ... finding time during a busy day of teaching to plan is almost if not impossible ... we do it at lunch or before or after school ... time is an issue

Clearly, these respondents felt that there were language issues that needed addressing in the mainstream, and that language learning needed to be coordinated with curriculum Content.

Agreement/Disagreement with parents and the activity of integration

Some ESL teachers reported in surveys and interviews issues of agreement and/or disagreement or conflict with parents concerning integration. Parents neither supported nor always understood, in the view of these respondents, the reasons for offering students ESL support programs and for some an education in general. In the discourse of the data from surveys they noted – **Excerpt 23** – (Survey data):

- S:109 "parents put a tremendous pressure on staff to put their children into the mainstream"
- S:75 "integration is hindered by parents – they need to have the least influence in terms of decision making."
- S:29 "some students are integrated into subjects because of a family's insistence and the outcome is of concern"
- S:106 "If the student is integrated too quickly because of the family insisting they are integrated, then the student flounders badly or is "propped up" by an out of school tutor"
- S:108 "parents who haven't seen the academic course requirements or who do not understand them tend to make unrealistic expectations of their children for achievement"

S:72 “many of the parents program their children so they have no free time. All they do is school work both at school and after school everyday with tutors so that they can get into subject classes quickly and not lose too much school time”

The diverging opinions of parent groups was also noted in the discourse of interviews with teachers, as exemplified below in one response from findings:

Excerpt 24 – (interview data):

I:36 we need to increase the awareness of parents regarding ESL programs and integration so that they will make more reasonable demands of the programs and services at school ... their demands at school are often unreasonable ... they want their children in the mainstream immediately...without recognizing the challenges some parents are not interested in subject courses and as a result their children don't care about school ... they have jobs in services ... serving the public ... for them this represents a better standard of living ... and their children want the same thing ... to work as soon as possible to make money ... academic courses don't mean anything and so they tend to take them ... without seriousness ... we need to work to change this for the students ... so they have role models ... and higher aspirations

ESL teachers also revealed disagreement in the data about their views of parent involvement; parents could be either supportive or demanding, and/or could hold back the integration of their children and/or advance it.

Background experiences as a factor to be considered re: integration

Some respondents noted in the discourse of surveys and interviews that a few ESL students lacked educational opportunities in their background experiences of school, therefore these respondents felt that “learning in general” was an issue, and that these students needed additional support regarding integration. This was noted in the findings to be particularly true of older students and respondents stated it

necessitated a focus on their needs at school. In the discourse of the respondents themselves from survey data – **Excerpt 25:**

- S:59 “[ESL] students who lack the skills to “do school” are very much at risk for integration especially if they are older teens”
- S:64 “some students that I teach have been in ESL already for three years and are not progressing very well. They seem to lack background experiences of schooling”
- S:66 “ ESL students with weak content backgrounds from their home country, and low social status here either aren’t integrated or they fail when integrated because they don’t receive adequate or proper support to succeed”
- S:74 “many of the ESL students in this school have low expectations of themselves. Their role models are all in the service industry and so they aspire to the same thing. There is not enough of a focus on school and academic achievement in their culture”

Findings from interviews made similar points regarding integration and the importance of considering the background experiences of ESL learners for their integration. For example, one respondent noted in findings in the discourse data -

Excerpt 26 (interview data):

- I:28 students who have a schooling experience ... from their home countries ... integrate faster and more easily ... I think they do ... refugees or students with no literacy ... and students without an education or students who are poor ... don’t ... if you can’t afford a tutor you don’t make it ... ESL students drop out ... or end up in non-academic programs like pre-employment

ESL students’ decisions about integration – conflicting with their teachers views

ESL teachers gave evidence in the discourse of surveys and interviews that ESL students sometimes made decisions that teachers did not agree with regarding integration as mainstreaming. While this could be construed as an issue of movement, in fact, it had more to do with the ESL students wanting to be part of the

"normal" life of the school and/or to get on with academics as soon as possible. In addition, there was evidence that the students did not understand how long it took to learn academic English. **Excerpt 27** from the discourse data of four respondents to the survey illuminate this point:

- S:10 "ESL students want to be integrated immediately upon arrival at school, they do not want to be placed in a separate ESL program. There is a stigma attached to the ESL programs in this school" "sometimes the students themselves want to move too soon ... before they are ready to move"
- S:107 "the ESL students who are from strong academic backgrounds just want to get into the subject classes quickly and don't want to wait for a gradual transition into the mainstream"
- S:109 "many ESL students at this school want to write the English test every week to see if they are ready yet for transition classes. They do not understand the length of time it takes to learn the language"

Findings indicated that the respondents to interviews took a similar position on occasions, for example, in the words of one respondent.

Excerpt 28 (interview data):

- I:33 the students I teach do not take ESL seriously sometimes ... they just want to get into the mainstream programs ... they see this ... the ESL program ... as a frill ... but they know it isn't going to get them a grade ... they want support ... but they don't want to waste time with ESL

The data indicated that some ESL students wanted to enter the mainstream immediately and this created an additional conflict with which ESL teachers had to wrestle.

Cultural issues, conflicting views and the activity of integration

ESL teachers commented on cultural and social issues in both surveys and interviews, particularly in reference to conflicts with teachers in the mainstream who were unwilling to understand issues of ESL student adjustment according to the ESL teachers. Also mentioned in the discourse was a need for ESL teachers to check in on ESL students who were integrated in the mainstream classes to ensure their cultural and social successes. In their own words, **Excerpt 29** from the discourse of survey data notes:

- S:9 "sometimes the ESL students are blamed for their own lack of participation in regular classes. There are cultural issues they [mainstream teachers] don't understand."
- S:71 "ESL students are told [in mainstream classes by their teachers] if they need help it is up to them to find it"
- S:29 "there was a supervision aide on the site who could communicate in his dialect of Chinese and found out he spoke a dialect none of the other students in the class spoke. He had no peer support because he couldn't communicate either in Chinese or in English"
- S:73 "the students are told by some teachers that they shouldn't speak their own language but if they don't and they have no English then school becomes an uncomfortable place to be"
- S:74 "translators are an issue. I know the students want to tell me about problems but sometimes they can't because of our different cultures."
- S:10 "I try to bridge the gaps between school culture and home culture."
- S:110 "Culture is an issue in the classroom when students are integrated. Some teachers make ESL students feel as if they have no language and no culture. It's discouraging for the students. There was a suicide."

Interviews also involved discussions of culture. Two excerpts – **Excerpts 30 and 31** – (interview data) make this point lucid:

- I:37 ESL students can't keep the pace of the mainstream classes ... they often get frustrated with this ... plus the cultural changes ... some stop attending regularly ... for some students the challenge is to keep them in school longer ... they need to feel included ... culturally ... and supported
- I:22 if students are fully integrated ... in the mainstream ... they need lots of support ... in curricular areas ... we need to check in with their progress ... both academic and social progress ... meetings are also needed between home and school ... to check in and assess their well being both at school and at home ... here can be cultural issues at home too

The discourse data documented cultural change as an issue of importance to respondents working with ESL students, as well as the need for ongoing support during cultural adjustment to life in school in a new country.

Conflicts and the organization – integration as an activity and school policy

One respondent noted that the school philosophy or theories about integration had a role to play in the practice of integration. In the respondents own words in **Excerpt 32**:

- S:10 "integration is hindered or helped by the school philosophy. Do they believe in it or not?"
- S:71 "We never address issues of curriculum when it comes to ESL teaching just housekeeping, paperwork and testing."

Issues of policy and school philosophy are also evident in the previous discussion in this report of findings. They are discussed later in this thesis.

In sum, ESL teachers exhibited both consensus amongst one another and conflict both within their own group and with other respondent groups with respect

to the activity of integration and the perspectives they brought to the social practice of integration and the ESL learner. Issues raised concerning integration were dominantly made in reference to English assessment based ESL service delivery for integration in terms of number of responses, but there were also numerous issues that were significant in the discourse which were not related to assessment and/or to a model for service delivery. They were instead issues of concern from the perspective of integration related to culture, content, and learning for ESL students in general.

Discussion of the perspectives of mainstream teachers follows.

ii) *Mainstream teachers*

Mainstream classroom teacher respondents, in contrast to and often in conflict with ESL teachers indicated in surveys and interviews they were concerned with the difficulties that ensued when ESL students were placed and/or moved into in their regular classes.

Mainstream teachers who supported the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration stated that:

- ESL students were moved too soon from separate programs to their classes,
- the quality of the classroom academic work went down upon integration of the ESL learner, and
- the process of integrating ESL students was neither fair to the other students (non-ESL) in the class who wanted to learn, nor to the teachers who had to teach this huge split or diverse linguistic group, nor to the ESL students whose needs the mainstream teachers readily admitted were not being met.

At the same time, other perspectives of integration and perspectives critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration were reported by some mainstream teacher respondents. They stated that:

- there were so many ESL students in the mainstream already that having ESL students in separate language classes or programs made little sense,
- they were aware of some strategies for adapting curriculum, as well as the time consuming nature of adapting resources to support ESL integration.
- they appreciated in class ESL specialist teacher support at times which seemed to foster integration, and they missed the additional support for learning provided by an ESL pilot project, and they were aware of the need for their own upgrading and ESL training, they were concerned about having views that were sometimes different than the ESL students integrated in their classes, and
- there were integration issues related to culture that they had to deal with within the mainstream of the school.

Mainstream teacher perspectives from surveys and interviews are discussed under these headings in the following analysis of findings.

Mainstream teachers with traditional perspectives focussed on integration in reference to English test based service delivery

Mainstream teachers who supported the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration raised the issues that follow in their responses to surveys and interviews.

Movement into the mainstream for integration from ESL classes

Survey examples – **Excerpt 33** – of comments made by respondents to facilitate the readers understanding follow:

S:60 “ESL students want to move too soon”

S:92 “students want to be integrated before they are ready”

S:35 “it does take its toll on the teacher accepting them”

- S:99 "When ESL students are integrated the quality of the class/subject goes down."
- S:104 "integration slows the pace of the regular classroom"
- S:65 "the problem with having ESL students in your classroom is that they DON'T have command of the language and it creates a huge SPLIT in your class. One group understands what you're saying and gets much further ahead of the other group that must be taught everything at least twice orally and at least once visually as well. You end up with two completely separate groups which is not the point of integration."
- S:67 "The teacher has twice as much teaching and the English speaking students are resentful of losing their teacher time."
- S:101 it is harder to teach because skills are not present. Greater emphasis must be placed on writing and vocabulary building."
- S:105 "integration is difficult at all grade levels but is often a greater problem in grade 12 examinable subjects."
- S:93 "staff stress due to cutbacks and increased responsibilities with ESL learners has negative effects on the integration process"
- S:68 "some students were not ready for the regular classes"
- S:102 "the regular class teacher workload is too high already for integration"
- S:102 "sometimes ESL students are not ready for regular classes"
- S:37 "it is sure hard on teachers"

The discourse of interview data – **Excerpts 34, 35 and 36** – (interview data)

reinforced these points, for instance three respondents commented:

- I:30 Philosophically, I agree with integration, ESL students should be in regular classes... the concept is excellent ... educationally ... its (integration) not negotiable. But, how do you meet the needs of ESL beginners? Just off the plane? With no English? Beginners need intensive support and they can't get it sitting in a regular grade 10 classroom.

- I:39 We are all confused about ESL integration – does anyone at the district besides us care what happens in our classes? ESL students either move too soon, before they are ready or they don't seem to move at all. There aren't enough electives, and there is no support.
- I:23 I already teach a class of ESL students. My whole intermediate class is ESL. The ESL teacher just has twenty ESL students, I have thirty at all levels. They are all ESL. It doesn't make sense to talk about ESL integration any more – it's the whole school.

At the same time, mainstream teachers in this study noted that integrated ESL learners were no trouble and generally motivated as students, although some teachers in mainstream classes thought ESL students cheated to try to keep up.

Excerpt 37 gives samples of their responses to bring clarity:

- S:67 "Typically, the ESL students are desirable students as far as a pleasant disposition, polite, motivated to learn, etc."
- S:69 "ESL students are as a whole a pleasure to teach – highly motivated."
- S:94 "ESL kids are generally willing to learn, good attendees, and nice kids"
- S:94 "They often cheat to keep up."
- S:100 "Some of my ESL students send their work by fax to Hong Kong or email it to somebody to be corrected before they hand it in – it's hard to know when they've cheated like this. You have to do everything in class."

And, one respondent noted that cultural differences influenced the quality of the teaching, though did not seem to recognize that there were also cultural differences in the mainstream of the school; in the respondents words: "cultural differences make teaching ESL students more difficult."

There was also a couple of mainstream teachers who stated that integration was “completely a non-issue from K-3,” indicating that the students were already in the mainstream, therefore, there was no need to discuss it. **Excerpt 38** gives one of the respondents own words:

S:3 “integration is completely a non-issue in K-3 because the students are already in classes . . they don’t need support.”

Primary students were thought by some respondents not to require ESL support and services because they would pick up the language on their own simply by being in class, a traditional view that has long been accepted as an inaccurate one in ESL education.

Quality of the mainstream classroom academic work and integration

Many mainstream teacher respondents reported that they were unwilling to make adjustments to their teaching to accommodate the integrated ESL learner, and/or doing this watered down courses. Examples of the discourse of comments –

Excerpt 39 – made by respondents on their surveys follow and illustrate this:

S:44 “I can’t adapt everything. It reaches a point where the entire course [academic subject] is watered down.”

S:46 “the vocabulary changes [with large numbers of integrated ESL students in academic classes]and you have to make easier copies of tests”

S:55 “I adapt as do other teachers by offering a variety of approaches and levels of materials. Often materials that I buy because they are recommended for ESL don’t work for a high ESL population with many levels in the class. So, I just use what I have already.”

S:82 “most teachers have learned to adapt out of necessity, teacher generated curricular material with lots of visuals”

Excerpts 40 and 41 from the discourse of two interviewees reiterated teachers concerns regarding the need to adapt programs to accommodate the integration of ESL learners in mainstream classes, and the unwillingness to do so (interview data):

I:25 There isn't enough support in the school. The needs of some ESL students are being met by the LAC (learning assistance centre). I can't create a program in every subject for every ESL student in my class. I don't have time. I don't know where to get resources ... or what works ... often things recommended for ESL learners don't work in my class ...

I:38 If ESL students can attend my classes ... if they can be integrated ... then they need to do the same work ... otherwise it isn't fair to the other students ... the grade isn't real ... it's an inflated mark.

These mainstream teacher respondents had perspectives that reflected traditional views of ESL service delivery where the students who entered their classrooms were no longer ESL and no longer need support.

Mainstream teachers with other views of integration and views critical of traditional perspectives focussed on integration in reference to English test based service delivery

At the same time, other perspectives were reported by amongst some mainstream teachers. Examples of these views are presented in the following discussion of survey and interview data.

Large number ESL students in the mainstream and conflicts between ESL teachers and mainstream teachers

While some mainstream teacher respondents reported their unwillingness to change to accommodate ESL students, the mainstream respondents also noted that

that there were large numbers of ESL students in the mainstream, for example, as

Excerpt 42 from survey data noted:

S:82 "With such a high population of ESL, ESL integration is normalcy around here."

S:14 "the whole school is ESL, therefore, there are no ESL students, they are all the same"

S:5 "95% of my class is ESL and we have a district class[separate language class]. ESL is in the sense of the general population of the school – we all adapt programs and are totally integrated"

Mainstream teacher respondents, because of this, described the integration process as an unfair one. Why? From the perspective of mainstream teachers integration was one way – the class size was reduced for the ESL teacher in the separate ESL language class or program while mainstream classes maintained a larger class size enrolment even though they were also full of ESL students. Mainstream teachers reported resentment of the fact that there were fewer ESL students in ESL classes; they neither commented about the benefits of this in terms of ESL learning, nor of the difficulties encountered by ESL specialists in teaching a class of ESL students of mixed age, ability, background and language proficiency. Respondents indicated that class size should go down in mainstream classes because of the large numbers of ESL students currently enrolled in both elementary and secondary schools in these classes. This occurred in schools in both elementary and secondary and in different locations in the city. Survey – **Excerpt 43** – and interview – **Excerpts 44 and 45** examples from respondents ensure comprehension of this point:

- S:95 "it's a one way situation regarding the integration of ESL students.
- S:6 "the regular classroom teacher accepts students from the district class [separate ESL class] but their teacher doesn't do anything for the regular teacher"
- S:24 "integration needs to be more equally beneficial"
- S:50 "we just keep integrating these [ESL] students into classes that already have needs that we can't meet with the resources available to us. We need to decrease class size in subjects where the greatest integration takes place."
- S:17 "right now the district class teacher [language class teacher] just gets less students for certain periods when they already have only twenty students"
- S:24 "integration isn't fair – the ESL teacher moves kids out and doesn't take any in – without reverse integration its one way!"

Again, this observation was backed up in the discourse of interview data. Two examples from interviewees, **Excerpts 46 and 47** (interview data) make the point most clearly:

- I:24 We need smaller classes. Twenty is the class limit for ESL but with ten or fifteen ESL students in a regular class of thirty, the limit does not go down from thirty. It isn't fair to organize this way.
- I:40 In one class I received five brand new immigrants with not a word of English among them in one day. Keep in mind this is a regular grade 10/11 class. And, no adjustments were made to accommodate this. I am just supposed to take students in with no change in class size and no help. The ESL classes are kept at twenty.

This was a reflection of the fact that the traditional model for integration, which held ESL students in separate ESL language classes or programs, and moved them based on English assessments for integration into the mainstream was no longer viable as a

practice, since the mainstream was also full of ESL students needing service and support.

ESL specialist teacher support in the mainstream and integration

Was there an awareness of the ESL teacher or specialist training on the part of mainstream teachers evident in the responses to surveys and interviews? The value of ESL training in support of student integration into the mainstream was evident in the discourse used by respondents. Consider a few examples of the discourse of survey data given in **Excerpt 48** which comment on teacher training:

- S:48 "most of the students read and write in their L1's but some still have trouble with learning and require ESL support from the ESL teacher while in regular classes"
- S:104 "We need more teaching and staff training and development to learn from the ESL specialists in our school."
- S:45 "the only service in this school comes from someone who has no ESL training, I provide better service in my classroom"
- S:97 "we have students while literate in their L1 still have limited literacy and academic skills and need extra ESL support"
- S:59 "the readability level of some of the texts is much higher than the students reading grade equivalent and makes the classroom difficult without support and adaptations. We need resources and support from the district"

Interviews substantiated the recognition by mainstream teachers of a need for them to have more ESL training. The discourse of respondents also noted the need for more ESL specialist teachers to support the ESL learners' integration. Two interviewees, for example, in **Excerpts 49 and 50** (of several, interview data) noted:

- I:35 Classroom teachers need education in strategies that work for ESL ... ESL teachers know them ... at least most ESL teachers do, if they're trained. I have no training but I'd like to know

more about what works. I don't think I'm helping my ESL students enough ... I could do better with training.

- I:40 The idea that the district had before ... of an ESL teacher working with a regular subject teacher for integrated ESL students was a good one. It worked. We could plan together and I learned from the ESL support teacher. Now there is no one to get help from.

The need for ESL specialist teacher support was also recognized by respondents with views of integration other than traditional ones. Examples of the other side of this position follow from the discourse data of surveys in **Excerpt 51** to illuminate the point:

- S:9 "we received five new non-English speakers in primary in three days – we needed more ESL support"
- S:30 "in class ESL support is needed in primary classes, primary students are struggling but they are ignored" "there are so many intermediate students integrated that this has decreased service to primary ESL students ... and beginners with little or no English"

Respondents also noted the need for specialist support to help them adapt curriculum in the mainstream. One of the difficulties encountered with the integration of ESL students in the views expressed by teacher respondents in the mainstream was the time consuming task of adapting materials and resources, some of which they noted was previously accomplished more easily with additional ESL support. The discourse of the respondents from the survey data stated – **Excerpt 52**:

- S:91 "I adapt curriculum as other teachers try to do by making levels of materials. This is time consuming and not always possible with the large number of students and levels in our population. Shouldn't this be the job of the ESL teacher?"
- S:85 "our model of service delivery is confusing because there is no clear model. Support is what is needed. An English language

support teacher to offer in class support with curriculum adaptation. We used to have this support and it was a help”

- S:13 “intermediate ESL students are fully integrated in music, PE and Art if there is space; later on they are integrated in other areas of the curriculum but finding resources and support remains a problem”
- S:29 “visuals and graphics seem to help the students but I don’t always have time to find them and explain them” “on a personal level each teacher adapts to make work easier. I know modified programs and expectations are used, as well as a lot of key visuals.”
- S:110 “most teachers have learned to adapt out of necessity. They use lots of visuals and teacher generated curricular material. There are too many students not to”
- S:101 “as a teacher I need better access to adapted resources for the range of ESL students in my class”

The discourse of two interviewees are also included to illustrate this perception of teachers in the mainstream that they needed help to adapt curriculum to support ESL integration. In their words from the discourse data in **Excerpts 53 and 54** (interview data):

- I:29 We used to have an ELC ... and extra staff ... an ESL teacher to work with mainstream teachers ... for integrated ESL students. It worked for me. . . we could work together and learn from each other.... I used to have support for the students in my class ... it’s never enough support but some is better than none ... and if I didn’t have resources the ESL teacher helped find them.
- I:25 Integration of ESL students is the same as special needs integration ... the district puts all these students in our regular classes ... they make promises ... and then don’t give us any reduction in the size of the class ... or provide any resources ... teachers need support for the students integrated in classes ... human support and resource support ... the district started to develop modified and adapted units to support us ...

This was consistent with the ESL teachers' awareness, reported earlier in this study that collaboration with classroom teachers to adapt curriculum for learning the language of content classes was important for academic learning during integration.

Consensus – Instructional strategies, specialist support, and the activity of integration

Teacher respondents in mainstream classes indicated in the discourse of surveys and interviews which instructional strategies they found most helpful for working with integrated ESL students. The teachers stated that the use of graphics and visuals to teach integrated ESL students both language and academic content at the same time was very helpful. They also wanted reduced language texts for teaching content and translated materials. From the discourse data of surveys, they made statements such as the following.

Excerpt 55:

- S:62 "I use more non verbal teaching methods, like key visuals for organizing thoughts, ideas and vocabulary"
- S:10 "key visuals and graphics help organize my lessons for the students who are integrated"
- S:83 "use of key graphics and graphic organizers by classroom teachers supports integration"
- S:52 "the texts are written at a level ESL students don't grasp easily. Texts with reduced vocabulary or translations would be helpful for integration."
- S:11 "its on a personal level for each teacher – modified expectations and programs are used as well as a lot of key visuals"
- S:47 "SQ3R a reading attack programme is needed to facilitate better habits for acquiring information"
- S:83 "more use of non-verbal teaching methods like visuals for organizing ideas, vocabulary, etc."

S:62 "the use of key graphics by classroom teachers"

Interview data reinforced the need for specialist ESL teachers both to provide support for learning by adapting curriculum for mainstream teachers, and to offer lessons in using instructional strategies that worked for ESL student learning, in addition to having an ESL specialist teacher to work with integrated ESL students. An example from the discourse of one interview reinforces this finding in **Excerpt 56** (interview data):

I:24 visuals and graphics seem to help with curriculum ... for the integrated students ... but I still have to make them ... there isn't a ready made stock of appropriate graphics ... it takes time to make them ... and I have to make sure they work for all the students I teach ... not just for a few of them ... the ESL teacher helps me with this when she can ... but she has to find the time to keep up with my curriculum ...

Mainstream teacher respondents recognized in their discourse that they could not cope with the large number of ESL students already integrated in the mainstream and they stated that they needed the additional support of ESL specialist teachers, beyond what they had at present, especially in primary classes where there was no support.

Conflicting viewpoints of mainstream teachers and ESL students and the activity of integration

Some mainstream teacher respondents noted in the discourse data of surveys and interviews that the students themselves placed unrealistic expectations on their own learning at times. Some examples from the discourse data of surveys in **Excerpt 57** make this clear:

S:98 "ESL students that are integrated too soon, can't match the pace of my classroom. They want to try but they can't do it."

- S:54 "Why integrate students who can't do my curriculum? Students without English should be in ESL programs. It isn't fair to them to be in my class when they are not ready. They think they are ready but they are not."
- S:90 "students with low or weak academic backgrounds who push to be integrated do not know how far they are behind and have no understanding of the expectations, content, and evaluation of grade level subjects. If they become integrated before they are ready they are unable to cope and they end up failing courses"
- S:59 "ESL students have a hard time keeping up with the workload in my class and some come to school too tired to work because they have stayed up so late trying to figure out the last thing we did"

Interviews backed up this thinking, as indicated in two examples below **Excerpts 58 and 59** (interview data):

- I:38 most ESL students want marks ... we don't give them any... How can they know how they are progressing without marks? ... At the same time ... if they saw their marks they would probably ... mainly fail ... and I don't think this would be good ... for esteem or for learning
- I:40 many of the ESL students in this school come into my class with great expectations ... they want to pass with an A ... or at least with a high mark ... but their English is so poor ... they are lucky if they pass at all ... they become discouraged easily ... but they want to be here ... I can't stop them

Mainstream teachers reported that ESL students who were integrated "too early" made their teaching difficult, and in their views, worked against ESL students in that they worried about ESL students' successes with learning, and on occasion their esteem. At the same time, as reported earlier, these teacher respondents saw the mainstream of the school as ESL, a contradiction in thinking.

Cultural diversity and the activity of integration

A few teachers stated in the survey and interview data that culture was an issue. For example, the discourse of respondents to surveys illustrated the following in **Excerpt 60**:

- S:89 "there are so many cultures represented, it is hard to teach and meet all the integration needs "
- S:48 "the cultural groups at this school do not have high expectations for themselves as academics"
- S:91 "there are strong cultural alliances here amongst certain groups of students who are fairly wealthy and know it. They flaunt their wealth at times."
- S:22 "cultural differences exist between the students and some won't work with others because of where they come from or what they represent culturally"

Although respondents did not develop cultural issues to any great degree in terms of learning or success for integrated ESL students, some respondents commented as follows.

Excerpt 61 (interview data):

- I:40 Culture is an issue in my classroom at times ... if I do group work sometimes there is a problem ... some ESL students who speak the same language want to sit together all the time ... and they don't want to mix with other groups unless I make them do it.

Evaluation of ESL students in the mainstream and the activity of integration

One respondent noted that evaluation was difficult, particularly when trying to determine where to place the emphasis – on the learning of language or of content. While a couple of other respondents made comments concerning the lack of marks for ESL learners in their discourse in surveys and interviews, only one

comment was made concerning evaluation with respect to issues of learning language and content in classes in the mainstream. The discourse, however, was consistent with another study that found a similar issue prevalent amongst teachers (see, Low, 1999). **Excerpt 61:**

S:104 "how do you evaluate fairly when language not understanding is the problem in subject classes"

In sum, while mainstream teachers and ESL teachers' comments in this study indicate that they found themselves in conflict with respect to issues of English testing and programs or models for integration based on this testing, there was consensus reported by ESL and mainstream teachers in the findings with respect to an understanding of the need: a) to collaborate (although many still preferred the pull out model), b) to adapt materials/ resources for the ESL learners who represented a range of abilities in mainstream classes, and, c) to consider cultural issues. In addition, parents and ESL teachers held conflicted views of how/when to integrate their children/students at times because of differing theories. And, ESL students and both mainstream and to a lesser degree ESL teachers sometimes did not agree with respect to the practice of integration and how soon it should take place. ESL students were critical of integration generally and students as a whole were more focussed on issues of language learning, content and culture (language socialization), while teachers generally were more focussed on the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration.

b) *Administrators' perspectives*

Relations between administrators and the staff were generally reported as positive in all four sites. However, there were some obvious differences in perspectives reported with regard to the activity of the integration of ESL learners – both with ESL and with mainstream teachers. The areas of disagreement were related to programs that were arranged for service delivery, and the English testing or assessment, placement and movement of students' in/between these programs within sites. While reluctant to put their names to anything officially, the administrators informally responded to issues of integration. Issues of concern for administrators with respect to the integration of ESL learners varied from elementary to secondary schools. These differences are highlighted in the paragraphs that follow.

i) *Elementary administrators*

Elementary administrators reported that they were concerned with a number of issues in the two sites, again largely related to traditional integration practices based on English assessment driven service delivery. These concerns are listed below:

- Assessments frustrated administrators, particularly the lack of a district wide English assessment or test that all schools could use – one that worked. They felt that existing tests did not give accurate results and both sites developed their own systems of assessment to support the placement of students.
- Comments regarding these assessments of English proficiency were also a concern. Administrators felt that many teachers did not adequately report on the progress of ESL learners with respect to their acquisition of English.

Their concerns were in reference to accountability to parents and for funding.

- The administrator in site A was concerned with the intermediate teachers lack of program adjustments to accommodate the integrated ESL learners received in the regular class. The feeling was that the intermediate teachers wanted the students “fixed” before they were accepted in regular classes. This was not a concern in site B.
- Administrators in both sites had their own ideas concerning how students should be integrated and regularly influenced the decision of the ESL specialists in these sites.

ii) *Secondary administrators*

Administrators in secondary reported that they were concerned with slightly different issues, highlighted below:

- Secondary administrators felt that there needed to be a consistent service delivery model for integration and that this model should be followed in all secondary schools.
- Secondary administrators wanted clear entrance and exit criteria that would be used across the district for placement and movement of ESL students from their ESL classes, through transitional classes to full integration in regular classes.
- Secondary administrators were concerned with a lack of staffing for ESL, which afforded them little room in offering electives in the timetable to support ESL integration, and they as a consequence cut back on the length of transition time from ESL classes to subject classes. ESL teachers saw this as interference in their programs.
- Secondary administrators were concerned with the inflexibility of the ESL department in both sites and they struggled to make changes to get ESL learners into regular programs more quickly. They also saw a need for greater support for integration in subject classes.

Finally, both elementary and secondary administrators shared concerns about integrating ESL learners into mainstream classes with subject specialists or intermediate specialists who were already burdened with the integration of special needs students, untrained and/or unwilling to retrain to meet the needs of ESL students, and/or lacking in adequate ESL specialist support for the ESL student

population of the school. In the words of these administrators – **Excerpt 62** – from discourse of surveys:

- S:112 "The biggest challenge is integrating ESL students into secondary regular classes with teacher acceptance of ESL students"
- S:113 "ESL students move from a trained ESL department to subject classes with teachers who are untrained. This is not always a good situation for them."
- S:113 "Retraining of teachers is needed in the content areas – they struggle with integration."
- S:112 "We would like to integrate all ESL students to lower the class size but training of teachers is needed. There is not enough pro d in this area and teachers are reluctant to accept what there is."
"Even if the whole school was integrated into regular classes, would this provide ESL students with the support and the environment that they need? I don't know."
- S:113 "The regular class teachers lack ownership of the ESL students. Comfort with their integration is not yet all there."
- S:113 "A major issue in this site is that the ESL students live in poverty and all that it brings. ESL here is a secondary concern – there is great diversity"
- S:112 "There is a lack of staff to support integrated ESL students. Also, it is not possible to integrate students when they are ready into classes that are already full. This is the norm in the district."

As one respondent put it in detail – **Excerpt 63**:

- S:112 The integration of ESL students is based on a belief that integrating all ESL students provides the best instructional opportunities for all learners. However, when teachers have not made an adjustment in their thinking to recognize that there will be an increased number of ESL students in all subjects integration becomes less effective. We have the same situation as we did in special education. We were told there would be support for integration through retraining and staffing and it didn't happen. This is the same situation.

The discourse of administrators often reflected their frustration with actions, which they perceived to be beyond their control regarding the activity of the integration of ESL learners, because of constraints within the organization in which they were employed.

While administrators were interviewed informally, there was evidence in this research that they were in conflict with and critical of integration with an English test/assessment based service delivery focus, both due to its emphasis on language performance on tests of English in isolation, and because the present system didn't work effectively. Areas covered in the findings of discourse data included: a) some awareness of some diversity in students backgrounds as an issue for integration in terms of learning, b) an awareness of there being more students in the school than those integrated from the ESL programs into the mainstream, c) an awareness of issues of learning, including the need for ESL support, and adapted curriculum, and d) an awareness of the fact that ESL students and their families wanted greater accountability from teachers with respect to academic achievement in some instances, in others they couldn't get families easily into the school. Examples given below in **Excerpt 64** – illuminated these points made in findings:

S:113 "the emotional support needed for new students from war torn countries is an issue and can seriously affect learning"

S:111 "the ESL students at our school have greater needs. They are from lower socio economic situations and/or are refugees. Integration for some of these students into regular classes is not an option"

- S:114 "the number of students we count in the district as ESL is not the same as the actual numbers of students in the school, there are many more here than anyone acknowledges need support"
- S:112 "it is difficult to understand why so many students who were designated ESL are no longer designated ESL because of an arbitrary system of counting students"
- S:112 "the ESL students in this school want marks and they want to know where they are in terms of learning English. We can't help them because the ESL program has no marks and the criteria are not clear."
- S:112 "there are too many students to integrate with support, many students' needs are becoming the sole responsibility of an untrained classroom teacher"
- S:114 "integration has made some subject class teachers reject what they see as an unacceptable increase in their workload. They see ESL students needing specialized training that they don't have"
- S:111 "the integration of all students has not been commensurate with a level of assistance based on needs. Needs for the burdened classroom teacher are greater than presently provided for integration – LAC, ESL, special ed."
- S:113 "a more flexible model is needed for providing ESL service in schools. The system is presently not equitable in terms of providing services for kids."

These comments suggested that administrator respondents felt that there was more to the activity of ESL integration than merely assessing English grammar and placing and moving students.

c) *Parents' perspectives*

Findings from the discourse of survey and interview data revealed that ESL parents were concerned with the academic success of their children in Canadian schools because of increased opportunities, often opportunities that they did not

have as children. Parents generally recognized the challenges that faced their children in public schools and saw English not in isolation but as a vehicle for access to mainstream programs and advanced learning. (Note: Names of the students have been changed and included are pseudonyms.) Fourteen examples of discourse from survey data illustrating the thinking of parents in their words regarding their children's academic progress and their integration at school.

Excerpt 65 (Survey data):

- S:121 "sometimes he doesn't work hard. I tell him to work hard to get into regular class but he just wants to play"
- S:173 "I want him to be integrated very soon so that he can pass the course"
- S:207 "the ESL class can help my son. Last year he had some help from the ESL teacher but this year there is no one to help him"
- S:203 "She will go to university and so I tell her she must work hard. She must try to improve every day and get into regular programs fast."
- S:174 "he spends too much time in the ESL class and I don't think he will learn courses if he doesn't get into regular"
- S:206 "we want him to go to the regular class right away or he will get too far behind and he will not be serious or work hard anymore"
- S:125 "we get her a tutor to make her work harder because there is not enough homework at school"
- S:127 "my daughter is very lucky to go to the ESL program"
- S:121 "the school does not make students memorize facts, only group work and projects. There are too many projects"
- S:177 "I think the ESL teachers help my son. He is happy at his school."

S:208 "he does not want to go to school sometimes because he says he has no friends and it is too hard but I tell him he has to be strong ... this will change after a time"

S:211 "the school needs to give more tests so my daughter is working all the time and not getting lazy"

S:150 "at home all she does is go up to her room and shut the door. I ask if she wants some help with homework but she just says no."

S:143 "the Social Studies is harder for Tammy than the Math. She can do Math"

Findings indicated that parents were either involved in the school, or left matters of education up to the school, according to the discourse of respondents in the four sites. Of those parents that were involved in schools, many reported that they recognized the opportunities for academic success that they as students were previously not afforded, and in the discourse of interviews they made comments such as the four that follow to illustrate this idea:

Excerpts 66 through 69 (interview data):

I:11 We are glad that our son Nathan has made some progress in English with the help of his teachers. . . Our son is very lucky to have this chance ... to study in the elementary school in Canada ... it will be very important to his future development ... and study.

I:16 We hope that our daughter Theresa will make use of all the resources and opportunities at school ... because her achievements will mainly be determined by her study attitude ... as well as hard work ... we tell her she has to work hard ... even when she doesn't want to ...

I:6 The important thing for David to do is to study English ... as quickly as possible ... so that he will be able to improve his abilities ... and he will take other subject courses ... significantly ... to improve his learning

- I:2 I know Suzie really can do better than that but it just needs some time to show ... I make her show me her homework ... every day if she needs help I will find it ... no matter what I will find it ... she needs school to get a good job to get ahead ...

Conflicts between ESL teachers, mainstream teachers and parents

The discourse of many parents indicated that getting into the mainstream classes to make progress academically was an important aspiration they held for their children. At the same time, as mentioned earlier in this discussion, ESL teachers were sometimes frustrated with parents pushing of their children into the mainstream too soon, and mainstream teachers thought ESL students sometimes held unrealistic expectations of their learning. Conflicting issues and dilemmas regarding integration were apparent.

The discourse of parents expressed concern in findings with movement out of ESL programs. Parents wanted their children to be successful and to get into the mainstream of the school as quickly as possible. They reported that they wanted to know about the ESL course content, about how their children would achieve academically if they remained in ESL classes, about how to exit from ESL programs (which test of English did you need to pass), and many wanted to know how to help their children at school, though some thought this was the role of the school. Many parents expressed concern that their children were placed in the school in an environment [in separate ESL classes] that marginalized them by holding them back from entering the mainstream, rather than supporting their learning. Parents comments indicated that in general they neither understood the practices in the ESL programs or classes that their children were in under the traditional service delivery

model for integration. At the same time, parents' comments indicated that they also did not understand that when their children were enrolled in mainstream content classes, their children would benefit from continued ESL support. Some parents reported the expectation that the school would do a good job of educating their children – to be called to school meant that the school was not doing its job.

Examples of the discourse of parents who illustrate this point follows.

Excerpt 70 (Survey data):

S:116 "To this day I do not know what my daughter is learning in school"

S:217 "What is wrong this year I don't know, my daughter never needed the ESL course before now"

S:121 "I do not want my son in the ESL class because the work is too easy!"

S:126 "The ESL class doesn't give enough homework, all day just easy work!"

S:174 "If they stay in the ESL class then they will get so far behind regular they can't catch up."

S:147 "I asked the school to put my daughter in regular class but they refuse."

S:181 "Every day I ask my son to do homework. He is so lazy, he doesn't like homework. I want him to study to go to regular programs."

S:218 "if my son stays in ESL too long, how will he graduate?"

Interviews reinforced this message. The discourse of the parents indicated that they wanted academic success in the mainstream as soon as possible for their children.

The parents stated that they wanted to know which English test their children had to

master to get them there. Examples from four interviewees bring clarity – **Excerpts**

71 through 74 (interview data):

- I:7 I know it is hard to be in a new school. But he will adjust. It takes time. I tell him to be patient. I want him to go to regular classes soon... so he must work very hard.
- I:12 I want for my daughter a better life ... so she won't have to work as hard as we do ... her father and I ... she must study hard and pass the tests to go to regular class ... to go to good schools and make a life, better than ours ...
- I:1 The teacher is too nice. I asked my son if he has homework and every day he says *maybe*. He doesn't do much work at home. Only computer. I ask him how can he go to regular class if he doesn't study. The teacher needs to give him more work to do ... there is too much time, every week trips.
- I:17 We do not understand why she doesn't get marks ... in the ESL class. There are no marks ... so how can she improve her English? How can she know ...? We want to help but we don't know how ... she studies what ... we do not know.

The split in interest as indicated by survey responses concerning integration and ESL students was clearly along socio economic lines; parents who had more time for expectations of the school in terms of thinking about ESL integration were in the more affluent sites. In the sites in less affluent areas of the city, fewer survey responses were returned and in the words of one teacher respondent the parents wouldn't even "take the time to respond" because "we can't even get them to school," they are "too busy and not interested." These families had, according to both teacher and administrator respondents, issues of a larger importance than just learning a language and doing school to deal with – issues of survival. And, it must be noted that translated surveys made no significant difference in terms of response rate in the *less affluent sites*. The extent to which socio-economic status affects

research in second language studies and/or the learning of English at school has yet to be studied but has already been identified as an area of need in previous research (see, Corson and Lemay, 1996).

Relationship of ESL parents' views of integration to teachers views

When compared with teacher respondents, the discourse of parents was similar in some respects. Both groups were concerned to a greater degree with traditional issues of service delivery and language performance on tests of English for integration. However, while ESL teachers reported wanting ESL students in the mainstream on a path over years to full integration, and while mainstream teachers reported that they wanted ESL students pulled out or separated and integrated only when proficient in English grammar/form, the focus of parents in their discourse was on movement into the mainstream of the school quickly and on helping their children master the English language tests and elements of the English language that would get them there. Parents in general operated outside the debate on integration in that they neither understood the separate ESL classes or programs and how they worked, nor did they understand that placing their children in mainstream content classes without ESL support would make learning more difficult. Table 4 illustrates these different emphases with respect to integration.

d) Students perspectives

Findings indicated that there were differences between English first language and English second language student respondents. The English first language speaking students and the ESL students reported consensus in their perspectives of

Table 4. Frequency of Responses for Parents and Teachers
(see appendices for details about coding categories)

<i>Perspectives of Integration</i>	<i>Parents Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Teachers Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Traditional English test based service delivery issues – categories A+B+C on coding sheet – see appendices	31	56	340	61
Other views of integration and perspectives critical of the traditional model of integration – categories D+E on coding sheet	24	44	214	39
Totals	55	100	554	100

the ESL class as a lesser entity in the hierarchical structure of the school, also as a separate place for people who did not know and/or needed help with English. However, differences existed in that ESL students reported “getting into the mainstream through improving class work” as their primary focus, while the focus reported by the non-ESL students concerned what ESL students could learn from them, and on involving ESL students’ socially rather than academically. And, there was consensus in that the issues of integration reported by all student respondents across ESL and non-ESL groups, were more focussed in the findings than their ESL and non-ESL teacher respondents across groups on issues of learning, content, and culture regarding integration. Students were not as focussed on the traditional model of English test based service delivery as significant, though it was still reported as important to some ESL student respondents. Discussion follows.

i) *ESL students*

ESL student respondents indicated in surveys and interviews that they did not understand their separate ESL classes or programs. ESL student respondents also commented about wrestling with adjustment issues related to culture generally, to content, to parents, and to school culture. A discussion of their main integration issues ensues.

ESL student respondents and the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration

The ESL student respondents stated that they did not understand the process of integration as a whole. The vast majority said that they did not understand how the school based integration plan provided for them worked, even though they were the recipients of it. Findings indicated that ESL students did not understand the logic behind their placement in programs, nor how they were moved between programs or classes. ESL student respondents did report understanding that they had to improve their ability to speak English and in one school noted that they had to pass one of two English grammar tests given twice during the year, though they could not state what would be on these tests. Finally, ESL students stated that they felt inferior to the English speakers in the mainstream of the school given their separation from them. Although there were differences in English tests used and in the way ESL students were placed in programs in elementary versus secondary schools, similar issues of integration were reported. To ESL students integration was difficult to understand, respondents made comments on their surveys which illustrated this difficulty – **Excerpt 75:**

S:286 "some students move so fast, afterwards the regular teacher moves them in ESL again because they can't speak English very well"

S:288 "some students won't say they don't understand the work because the teacher might send them back to ESL class again"

S:317 "I just study hard and try to pass a test in a year. There are two tests in a year."

S:287 "ESL students are very shy and they rarely speak in English but stay in their community"

And, while they could not understand the activity of integration in terms of how they were assessed, placed and/or moved, some ESL students recognized the value of traditional ESL classes, though in a limited way. For the most part, the focus reported by the students themselves was:

- solely on the kind and supportive nature of their ESL teachers,
- on understanding oral English,
- on the manageability of the English they were learning, and
- on the fact that there was help with learning this English.

The following quotes give some examples of the discourse of student respondents as provided on surveys – **Excerpt 76:**

S:294 "I'm glad to have ESL before because it helped me to adjust to regular classes"

S:323 "Integration to me means improving my English"

S:295 "I am happy to have ESL help"

S:256 "the ESL teachers are nice"

S:234 "ESL is a way to study English. It is helpful and has good ideas."

S:316 "I just study hard so I can go to regular class"

S:257 "ESL is an easy way to study English"

S:294 "the English speaking students help us very seldom with integration"

The discourse of students indicated that aside from knowing in elementary that they had to do *better* to move ahead, and from knowing in secondary schools that they *had to pass English tests to enter the regular mainstream program*, ESL student respondents did not understand the process of integration in public schools in this study.

ESL students saw their ESL teachers as benevolent not academic

A surprise in this study was the degree to which most of the ESL student respondents did not comment on the fact that the traditional ESL language classes or programs they were taking helped them achieve academically; ESL students did not see themselves on a path to academic achievement and success. Watt, Roessingh, and Bosetti (1996) have noted that students were not achieving academically with or without support and that greater attention needs to be paid to academic curricula. This would seem substantiated in this study by the students themselves. Perhaps, the English assessment based program arrangements or service delivery focus that organizations have created for ESL learners in schools actually inhibits their learning in more ways than researchers and educators presently have acknowledged. One might also ask if the ESL students do not perceive themselves at school on a path to academic achievement will they end up achieving academically?

The students wrestled with other issues but knew that had to master some *level of English* to move into mainstream academic programs. Some of the discourse data from surveys revealed their comments about the need to learn English:

Excerpt 77 – Elementary ESL Students

S:229 "I need to pronounce with a good accent."

S:231 "I need to work on speaking English because I need to learn more words"

S:239 "I know I need to work on L.A. L.A. is a very important subject. It help you learn more thing."

Excerpt 78 – Secondary ESL Students

S:290 "I need to work on grammar and learn more English words."

S:316 "improve my English."

S:284 "Learn more English words."

S:291 "I could learn more by reading some more books so that it could improve my vocabulary."

S:318 "I need to work on English because I'm pretty behind."

The emphasis was on mastery of the elements of the English language system, in isolation of content, context, culture or learning. The ESL student respondents did not seem to recognize and value their own existing knowledge of the world.

Other views of integration expressed by ESL students including views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration

The ESL students stated in survey data that while on the one hand they wrestled with issues of learning the English language as soon as possible to satisfy both their teachers and parents, on the other hand they tried to deal with an array of issues related to learning, culture, academic content and the interaction of the two or more languages they knew at school. Examples from the discourse of survey data and interview data illustrate this point and reveal the range of their issues:

Excerpt 84 (Survey data):

- S:317 "last year, I can't read a book ... but now I can read a lot of books now ... and I learned how to use handwriting."
- S:287 "I didn't make a lot of friends this year ... I will try harder next year to make friends."
- S:295 "Maybe I would even improve more if I work a little harder."
- S:318 "science is so hard for me. There is so much English"
- S:296 "sometimes I don't know what the teacher wants me to do so I can't do it. Maybe I know the information but I don't know what to do"
- S:232 "something I need to work on is Math because of the English questions they write."
- S:259 "I need to learn English so I will know what other peoples talking."
- S:287 "its sad because once you move all your memories get left behind. I had to leave all my friends. I have to make new friends but it is not easy."
- S:316 "my mother and father doesn't think that I work hard but I work hard"
- S:234 "my mother doesn't want me to go on the field trips because she said it isn't school – just waste time"
- S:298 "Mrs. X says this school is an English only zone ... so I try to learn but I don't know anything except in Chinese. If I talk Chinese she is mad. If I don't talk Chinese I say nothing."
- S:318 "my mother said I am not responsible because I do not work hard enough. If I can't go to the regular class she is not happy"

The findings indicated that ESL students were not only concerned with mastery of English tests and getting into the mainstream, they were also concerned about issues of culture, linguistic diversity, peers, parents, and struggles with curriculum content.

ii) *Non-ESL students*

Non-ESL students shared the vision that ESL students had of their ESL language classes and programs being a lesser entity in the structure of the school. They also revealed in the findings their own views of what it meant to be learning ESL, and how they could help with the process of integration. A discussion of their views in findings ensues.

Non-ESL students did not value the experiences of ESL students academically

The non-ESL students reported that the ESL students had little to contribute to the life of the school. The discourse of non-ESL students reflected a "them and us" approach in terms of multicultural discourses. A few examples from respondents follow to elucidate this idea – **Excerpt 79:**

S:240 "They [ESL students] can learn a lot from us[mainstream students. We can partner them with a regular student."

S:244 "we can let them [ESL students] join in on our activities and games"

S:319 "they [ESL students] usually join after school activities in groups, I guess they [ESL students] think they won't have anyone to be with"

S:324 they [ESL students]are integrating because they join in our activities such as track and field"

S:261 "this [participating in sports] will be fun for them"

S:245 "If the ESL students are involved with our activities they can progress faster."

S:299 "they [ESL students] won't feel left out"

S:235 "if we [mainstream students] always talk to them [ESL students] I think then they can learn English faster"

S:262 "they miss a lot of class when they're in ESL"

S:235 "when their English is better they're tried in normal classes"

S:262 "we can involve the ESL's in school activities by getting them to participate as though they never were in an ESL class"

S:292 "when we get to know them they are no different than us"

Clearly, the ESL class and the students in it were viewed by the non-ESL student respondents in this study as a lesser social entity within the school. The focus was on where ESL students were placed in the school physically, and the program of studies to which the ESL students were assigned, and both of these facts seemed to reflect their lower social status to non-ESL students, and/or non-ESL students assigned the status to ESL students.

The student respondents themselves diagnosed the problem; in the words of one respondent – **Excerpt 80**:

S:300 "No, ESL student's aren't integrating because we put them in their own class and not with other English speaking students."

Some positive comments about ESL peers were noted in the discourse of some of the non-ESL respondents. However, even these comments were given frequently by respondents with a qualifier as evidenced below in **Excerpt 81** (Data from surveys):

S:264 "Their [ESL students] nice but they don't know anything in English."

S:236 "Their [ESL students] nice but ..."

S:267 "I think they're [ESL students] the same as other people in the school."

S:254 "Most of them are nice."

S:287 "They're [ESL students]normal people though they just speak another language."

S:246 "English is your second language if you come from another country. They're nice but they have some problems in English because they speak another language."

S:268 "they're put in the ESL class until their English is better and then they're tried in normal classes"

To help ESL students integrate, non-ESL respondents suggested a number of things, examples of which from the discourse of surveys are given in **Excerpt 82**, revealing the focus of their ideas for offering ESL support:

S:236 "tell them [ESL students]words that they don't know"

S:299 be nice and be kind to them [ESL students]"

S:261 "help them speak better English"

S:235 "be nice to them and help them out if they need it"

S:301 "we help them in work because they don't understand the English instructions"

S:233 "we put instructions in easier terms for them [ESL students]to understand"

S:325 "encourage them [ESL students]to join in and help them by translating"

Non-ESL students' objections to teachers making concessions in mainstream classrooms for integrated ESL students

How did the non-ESL respondents feel about their regular teachers changing assignments for ESL students in support of their movement into regular classes as soon as possible? Comments from the discourse of four surveys – **Excerpt 83** – illustrated the general trend of responses from non-ESL respondents:

S:320 "Why shouldn't they [ESL students]do the same work that I do if they're in my class[mainstream]."

S:237 "I don't really want them [content teachers] to change assignments because then normal students [non-ESL] wouldn't get as much educational value."

S:303 "Sometimes they [ESL students] won't understand something but you shouldn't really do anything about it"

S:262 "ESL students get lots of easy homework in English and on pronouncing words"

Changing assignments was not viewed by non-ESL student respondents in surveys and interviews in terms of its helpfulness for the integration of ESL learners, instead the fact was that ESL work was easy, and that the regular students' mark or course would suffer by becoming of less value if changes were made to curricula to accommodate ESL learners – this finding was the same in all elementary and in all secondary sites.

Non-ESL students lack of empathy for integrated ESL students

The non-ESL student respondents did not give evidence in the data that they were terribly aware of and/or empathetic to issues of importance to ESL students, however they did bring up issues of learning, culture, content and language in their discourse from their own perspectives. Examples from their data in surveys and interviews are given below to highlight the main points.

Excerpts 85 (Survey data):

S:320 "they [ESL students] try to go to regular classes but they don't know English ... so the teacher helps them ... or they have a tutor ... I work hard to get my mark by myself ..."

S:326 "the ESL students just stay together in the school. They don't want to talk to us [non-ESL students]."

S:238 "they [ESL students] don't want us [non-ESL students] to know what they're saying so they just talk Chinese. Then we don't

know. They should talk English at school. It's the language we use."

S:265 "well I know a lot of ESL students, they're like everyone else"

S:287 "I think they're like us [ESL students]... the same as other people in school"

S:302 "sometimes I try to invite them us [ESL students] to a dance or a party or something but their parents won't let them stay out late with a group"

S:238 "their [they're ESL students] just from another culture and they speak another language not English but we us [non-ESL students] try to talk to them"

There were issues related to learning and content, issues of culture and context, and issues of linguistic diversity that affected the activity of integration and are perhaps affected by integration evident in this study.

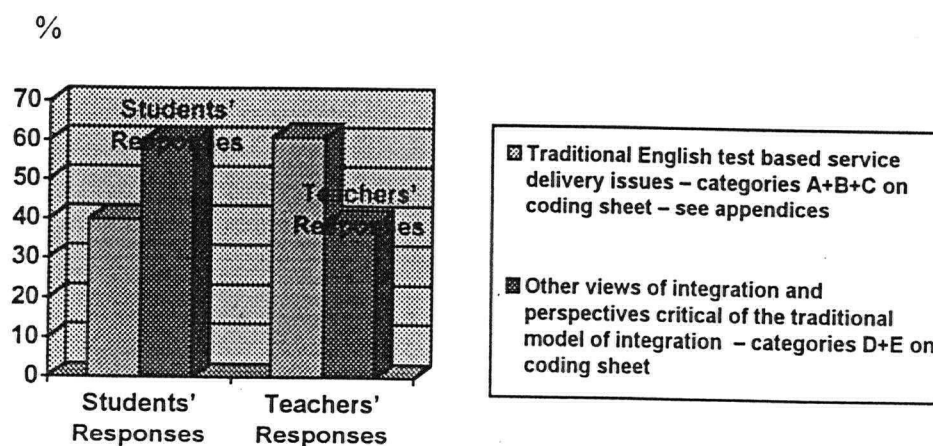
Students versus teachers perspectives and the social practice or activity of integration

When comparing student respondents' and teacher respondents' perspectives about integration in surveys and interview data, an interesting situation arose which should be given greater attention in future research. It was interesting to note that the students as a whole were the only group in this research that expressed less of an emphasis in their responses on English test/assessment based service delivery in terms of frequency of responses regarding integration (n=127) (22%), and a greater emphasis on other issues of integration (n=221) (46%). In addition, teacher respondents focussed on issues related to the traditional model of integration based on English test based service delivery at a rate equivalent to the students' focus on other issues of integration (Table 5; Figure 2, following). At first glance this would seem to make sense given the fact that teachers are more involved in service delivery

Table 5. Frequency of Responses for Students and Teachers
(see appendices)

<i>Perspectives of Integration</i>	<i>Students Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Teachers Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Traditional English test based service delivery issues – categories A+B+C on coding sheet – see appendices	125	40	340	61
Other views of integration and perspectives critical of the traditional model of integration – categories D+E on coding sheet	191	60	214	39
Totals n = 123 for Students and 122 for teachers	316	100	554	100

Figure 2. Frequencies of Responses (Students And Teachers)



at school, however, upon further examination of the discourse of respondents there were differences in thinking at work here.

The discourse of the ESL student respondents indicated in both surveys and interviews that that they did not understand the traditional English test based

service delivery model. In addition, the data indicated that the ESL student respondents faced conflicts and dilemmas of language learning, culture, and the learning of content or subject matter at school. And, these concerns were not, in the discourse of the student respondents, being addressed. Non-ESL students respondents expressed concern with the social and cultural hierarchy of the school, and with how integrating ESL students would affect their own academic achievement and content classes. To support ESL students they described issues of social participation in school activities.

Teacher respondents on the other hand, expressed a focus in the data on English testing and on delivering services; either testing to get ESL students into mainstream programs or testing to get them out of mainstream classes and into pull out programs and separate language classes or ESL programs. The discourse of teacher respondents as a whole (both ESL and mainstream) indicated that they gave less concern to the issues that were important to students than they did to issues of English test based service delivery and gradual integration into the mainstream over time. At the same time, an apparent contradiction was evident in that teachers stated that the entire student population of their schools was ESL.

In addition, when the students' perceptions of their teachers of ESL and the language classes and programs they attended for ESL were considered, ESL students expressed that they saw their ESL teachers as friendly but not academically oriented. This reinforced the discrepancy in thinking that appeared evident in the discourse of

teachers versus students. Future studies could pay greater attention to the discourse of teachers and students in terms of this difference in emphasis.

4. Integration Begins/Ends

When did integration begin and/or end? Respondents were asked to note in both written and spoken discourse the beginning and ending boundaries for the activity of integration (see exploratory question a (iv), page 134 and/or survey question 9 in the appendices).

Integration began in all situations, according to findings, when the ESL student who was placed in a separate ESL program joined the mainstream for some activity – therefore, it began before the students were fully in *regular* classes after having passed tests in English (but in reference to these classes). Integration ended upon full entry into regular classes. Consider a few of the many examples given in discourse of survey data – **Excerpt 95**:

- S:52 "If the student is in grade level classes and the accompanying letter grade reflects the work being done, then he/she is fully integrated."
- S:30 "with a reception class [separate language class]when they [ESL students] join a regular class in certain curricular activities such as math, art, physical education etc."
- S:20 "We know that an ESL student was fully integrated by looking at his/her report card"
- S:25 "We would know that the integration process is complete if the regular teacher is surprised to find out that they [ESL students]were ESL last year or even this year."
- S:77 "He/she [ESL student] would graduate with his/her age-mates."

S::36 "You wouldn't be able to distinguish that student [ESL student] from any one of their peers."

S:109 "Interacts with English speakers, makes attempts to verbally participate, learn vocabulary and structure of English."

S:84 "that decision is mostly made by teachers and the administration"

Sometimes parents were reported as responsible for putting an end to ESL classes and ensuring immediate integration. **Excerpt 96** from the survey data illustrated this:

S:30 "Sometimes students are placed in regular classes because their parents do not want them to go the ESL class."

S:10 "Some parents do not want their children to be propped up in a separate program. They insist that their children are integrated right away and don't seem to care if they fail."

S:36 "Parents put a tremendous pressure on staff to put their child into mainstream classes"

S:75 "Elementary schools seemed to be under a tremendous pressure by parents to put ESL students into the mainstream before they are ready."

For ESL students and parents the focus in discourse was on making it into the regular class, on remaining there, and on not being sent back to ESL. This would make students in their own words "joyful" or "happy" or "just like a regular student." Parents indicated that they would be pleased with this accomplishment and an ensuing success.

A few other issues also arose regarding integration practices. Examples from the discourse of respondents gave evidence of this; some are included below. These

issues were of learning and culture, among other concerns, though they were often overshadowed by tests and the provision of subsequent services for students.

Sometimes, for example, respondents noted that integration practices in the sites did not involve consultation with parents. For instance, one respondent noted in **Excerpt 97** that:

S:15 "integration starts usually at grade four or up. I feel the decision is mostly made by teachers and administrators. Parents are consulted secondary. This is mainly for admitting students into our district ESL class, otherwise, they stay in regular classes"

In this situation integration seemed to begin at grade four, ignoring primary learners and ended when the administrator and teacher decided it should *without consulting the parents of students involved*. This was consistent with other responses, which noted earlier in this section that parents often pushed their children into the mainstream and out of ESL programs before their ESL teachers and/or mainstream teachers felt they were ready. This was also disturbing given that the parents had full responsibility for their own children's learning.

In addition, there was evidence of students being responsible for putting an end to integration practices by demanding to be integrated in the mainstream school program immediately. (Examples from discourse were given previously.)

The discourse of some respondents noted that ESL students had varying integration needs and that some ESL students could be integrated partly into mainstream classes immediately. Although still focussed on movement and separating ESL from mainstream, the respondents seemed to be searching for

answers in a system they recognized was more complex than simply moving students from place A to place B – Excerpt 98:

S:38 “students with little or no English could be advanced in Math and should be integrated immediately ... these students will still need ESL support ... the classroom teacher could have slightly reduced class sizes ”

In sum, integration began in most cases, according to the respondents, when ESL students exited the traditional model of ESL service delivery for integration and entered the mainstream – they lost their ESL label just by being there. At the same time, there were other reasons reported for ESL students entering the mainstream or being integrated that were in conflict with and also critical of this dominant position – for instance, parents sometimes insisted ESL students be placed in mainstream, ESL students were already in the mainstream and not only in separate language classes or programs, and sometimes teachers and administrators made decisions about ending separate placements and moving ESL students into the mainstream, thereby ending integration, sometimes without consulting parents.

5. Theories/practices define/delimit integration

The exploratory questions in this study (see question a (v) and (vi), page 134) and subsequent survey/interview questions (see questions 6, 7, and 8 in the appendices) looked at discourse of the respondents for evidence of their theories/practices with reference to the social practice (or activity) of integration of ESL learners. The idea here was to examine how theory and practice informed each other. It was assumed that theories underlie practices in education, and that they

may vary from respondent to respondent as active agents (see literature review). This exploratory research considered the extent to which, if any, that these theories and practices expressed by the respondents to support the integration of ESL learners defined and or delimited this integration. Responses were discussed under appropriate headings as follows: a) theories and practices reflecting the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration, b) theories and practices reflecting other views and views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration. This was by no means an exhaustive list, but was intended to be limited to this research only, to show the respondents as more than mere recipients of integration policies and practices.

a) *Theories and practices reflecting the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration*

The respondents in this study revealed in both surveys and interviews a number of underlying theories related to integration which both defined and delimited the activity of integration for ESL students in this study. Examples of some of these theories and the practices that went with them reflecting the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration are presented below.

Theory 1: French immersion programs are effective and provide a model that would work better for ESL learning than ESL models

Practice: Promote immersion in English; therefore, limit the use of first languages.

Excerpt 99 – Survey Data Examples:

S:38 “ESL students take longer to integrate and learn English because they constantly speak in their own languages. If schools

had an immersion policy like French programs they would integrate much faster."

- S:16 "intense language instruction is better provided in mainstream classes where there is immersion in the language"

Define/Delimit Integration: Some respondents felt that an English immersion approach would work better in support of ESL student integration because frequent code-switching and first language dominance in their perception of the situation held back ESL student progress.

Theory 2: English only policies work better for ESL learning than those that recognize multi/bilingualism

Practice: ESL students were told not use their first languages at school. Some were asked to write lines – *I will not speak Chinese at school.*

Excerpt 100 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:40 "there should be a district policy that English only is used in schools"

- S:50 "this should be an English only zone, students should refrain from speaking Chinese"

- S:80 "SPEAK ONLY ENGLISH IN CLASS"

Define/Delimit Integration: Some respondents felt that "English only" policies should be adopted by school districts and that the policies in place in organizations for integration were not working because in their perception there were too many multilingual speakers, sometimes with one dominant language group. This did not facilitate but rather hindered integration in their views.

Theory 3: ESL students need to be assessed soon after arrival with a test of English proficiency to determine their placement in school. Subsequently, once or twice a year tests of English will be administered to determine continued ESL programming and/or student movement into academic programs.

Practice: ESL students received tests to determine their English language proficiency soon after arrival, often at a time when they would be experiencing culture shock. After this, tests of English language proficiency determined movement in schools. Integration of ESL learners began upon movement into the mainstream and tests for admission into programs were available in secondary schools on a limited basis, sometimes only twice per year.

Excerpt 101 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:41 "opportunities to integrate are dependant upon mastery of the English language"
- S:28 "ESL students are placed in the regular class situation after passing English tests"
- S:61 "Integration means ESL students passing English tests to get into regular classes"

Define/Delimit Integration: "English only" policies were also reflected in testing practices. Assessment was deemed necessary prior to placement and was used to determine movements for students within schools thereafter. Most often these tests were tests of English in isolation of content. Integration began upon entry into the mainstream.

Theory 4: ESL learning is better in separate ESL programs and/or in pull out programs – students should be integrated into the mainstream only after learning English

Practice: ESL teachers experienced conflicts with mainstream teachers and faced dilemmas trying to get ESL students moved into the mainstream classes; it was most often an either/or, “sink or swim” approach. Pull out services were often preferred by teachers to in class support services and teachers referred students *back* to separate ESL classes regularly which created conflicts for the students and their teachers.

Excerpt 102 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:4 “the ESL student moves from ESL classes to regular classes – if the class is full the student could wait for months until a space opens up”
- S:77 “upward moves for integration are made whenever space permits or when regular teachers make room for ESL students”
- S:27 “many integrated ESL students still require small pull out group work away from the regular classroom”
- S:15 “pull out support is excellent. You can target specific English language needs.”
- S:80 if there is latitude for movement the ESL students are integrated, if the classes are absolutely full from the start then there is no movement or integration”

Define/Delimit Integration:

Some respondents felt that ESL students should remain in ESL programs until they were sufficiently fluent in English to *make it* in a regular or mainstream classroom. ESL specialist teachers pulling ESL learners out of classes for language support services was considered preferable to providing service within the regular

classroom because ESL students' "integration slows the pace of the regular classroom" as one respondent put it.

Theory 5: Mainstream classes offer more opportunities for learning English than ESL programs – mainstreamed students were forced to master elements of the English language faster.

Practice: ESL students were told not use their first languages at school and some respondents thought that mainstreaming was desirable to force *English only*.

Excerpt 107 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:93 "in regular classes ESL students will have better role models and they'll pick up oral language better"
- S:99 "language acquisition is easier in the mainstream – kids pick up language faster"
- S:60 "lack of English role models to force them to speak English is a challenge"
- S:35 "no use of first languages, they're better off in regular class because they're forced to speak English"

Define/Delimit Integration: Some respondents felt that mainstream classes were the only solution to force ESL students to speak English in schools where it was perceived that one language group dominated. There was little recognition that the same diversity in languages also dominated in regular classes not only in ESL classes and, that people who speak the same languages will come together socially and support each others' learning whether or not they are in an ESL class.

Knowledge and awareness of the differences between academic language and that needed for casual social interaction was not predominately evident, hence limited thinking concerning matters of integration. As was the lack of understanding by

most that English monolingual dominance was unrealistic in a large, modern urban school district with great numbers of multicultural and multilingual learners.

Theory 6: ESL students enrich the culture of the school.

Practice: At times, ESL students were expected to share aspects of their cultures at school, particularly for multicultural nights and festivals.

Excerpt 109 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:14 “ESL students add to our school culture, we would miss them if they weren’t there.”
- S:101 “our multicultural theme night supports the integration of ESL students”
- S:5 “ESL students give the school a multicultural atmosphere”
- S:305 “ESL kids can share their culture with the school on multicultural night”
- S:89 “we have a multicultural dinner to welcome new ESL students and their families”

Define/Delimit Integration: Some respondents felt that celebrating diversity was an acknowledgment of cultural diversity within schools. This was a necessary support for ESL student integration. These practices in place in the organization were not only viewed as desirable but also as enriching. The preference was to have more than one culture represented in the school. One school in this study changed the theme of multicultural nights so that the majority group was not viewed as the only culture in the school.

There was much talk in the discourse of this study, as previously discovered by Liedtke (1990:80), of the notion of the ESL students being given the task of

unifying the school as a whole, or of broadening the cultural experience for other learners. There was also an emphasis in the sites in this research on food, festivals, nights and games related to multiculturalism, as supportive of ESL learners.

Once again this created a conflict for the students. On the one hand, their languages were not respected in many situations, on the other hand they were to use their diversity to support school enrichment and multiculturalism.

Theory 7: To integrate successfully ESL students were expected to learn the "common culture" of the school.

Practice: ESL students were taught school culture by others.

Excerpt 111 – Survey Data Examples:

S:305 "they can learn a lot from us – we can partner them"

S:339 "peer helpers show ESL students around the school and teach them about the school and our culture"

S:272 "ESL students don't mix with other students because they don't speak English and they don't know the culture"

S:49 "teaching is hard – especially because they don't understand Canadian culture"

Define/Delimit Integration: Most respondents defined culture in terms of learning Canadian culture. There was not a recognition that all learning was cultural learning in multicultural, multilingual schools in growing urban centres where large numbers of ESL students are the norm and have been for over ten years. There was a tendency in the discourse data of respondents to view the ESL students as needing to learn from others about culture for their integration but not at the same time contributing to culture except in superficial ways (festivals etc.).

Theory 8: English language learning takes place in isolation of (and precedes) all other learning. English language learning existed separately from the learning of academic content and content neither supported the learning of English nor was ESL viewed as part of learning academic content. Integration ceased when ESL students fully entered the mainstream.

Practice: Assessment, placement and movement of ESL students was directly related to their capacity for performing in the English language (grammar, form, rule) at the expense of other factors related to learning in this study. Tests were organized to assess progress and recommend moves for integration into regular classes. After ESL students spent a length of time in the ESL language class or program (which some respondents perceived was too long), and if there was *not* enough room in mainstream classes – full integration was the solution to guarantee integration, irrespective of test results or scores in English.

Excerpt 113 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:73 “ESL students are placed in the regular classroom situation after passing English texts”
- S:86 “if the student passes tests of English orally, and reading and writing, then they move from the ESL program to a transitional program”
- S:10 “the district class is rarely integrated”
- S:30 integration doesn’t happen much during class time”
- S:69 “sometimes a department or a teacher may put a cap on integration or limit the number of ESL students who can be integrated into the subject per block because that’s all the students he/she feels they can cope with in addition to regular students”
- S:44 “I can’t adapt everything. It reaches a point where the entire course is watered down.”

- S:105 "a pass in an ESL transitional course may/may not allow an ESL student to enter a regular program"
- S:29 "the district class set up tends to isolate students so they are viewed as separate"
- S:57 "integration is mainstreaming"
- S:22 "integration means moving students into the mainstream"
- S:24 "integration is completed when ESL students are no longer ESL – they are the same as the English speaking students"

Define/Delimit Integration: Integration was defined (see previous discussion of findings) in terms related to English tests – assessment, placement and movement. This situated ESL learners in all schools even through several respondents noted that "ESL is normalcy here" or "ESL is the norm here" which would imply both in and out of ESL programs (which indeed was the case as recorded in discourse of observation data). Where ESL students could not easily transition into the mainstream, teachers were faced with the dilemma of continuing to exclude them from it, and/or to include them at a point when they did not feel the students were absolutely ready for mainstreaming.

b) *Theories and practices reflecting other views and views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration*

The respondents in this study also revealed in both surveys and interviews a number of underlying theories and practices reflecting other views of integration, and views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration. Examples of some of these theories and the practices that went with them reflecting these views are presented below.

Theory 1: The ESL student population was diverse and there were a wide variety of student needs, therefore, no one consistent organization for integration would work effectively.

Practice: Respondents organized in each site in diverse ways for the ESL learner.

Excerpt 103 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:21 “beginner ESL students who have little schooling in their own language have different needs than students with highly academic education in their home countries”
- S:88 “a more flexible model is needed for providing ESL service to schools. The system presently is not equitable”
- S:27 “ ... different schools have different ways of dealing with curriculum modifications and the length of time spent by ESL students in a particular class ...”
- S:86 “ESL reception, transition, and integration levels should be monitored and refined”
- S:18 “do guidelines need to be created to assist in developing greater consistency?”

Define/Delimit Integration: Participants in this study wrestled with issues of consistency versus diversity. While one organization for integration, one service delivery model based on tests of English for its own sake, one consistent ESL program and/or ESL curriculum was a great part of the discourse, respondents often made comments that contradicted this notion. Respondents often expressed views that implied they considered that there were too many ESL students with greatly diverse needs, culturally, linguistically and in terms of learning to make one traditional model for integration feasible.

Theory 2: ESL students existed both in ESL separate classes and within the mainstream; in both cases the students needed ESL support, therefore ESL specialists must work with the whole school.

Practice: Many teachers in the mainstream wanted ESL support. Most ESL teachers and department heads in secondary schools in this study worked with students outside of the mainstream in separate classes or programs.

Excerpt 104 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:96 “ ... integration is presently not supported at this school ... specialist support is much needed for students who are not in separated ESL classes”
- S:57 “schools with extremely high percentages of ESL students must be given additional support”
- S:49 “an increased number of ESL students have been identified who cannot function in integrated classes”

Define/Delimit Integration: In elementary schools there was little or no support in primary for ESL students who were all integrated. In intermediate classes most of the ESL teachers worked with a small group or a separate class at the time of this study. Only one site had a teacher who offered a small amount of in class support for mainstream teachers. In some secondary schools the ESL department worked with a select number of students who were recent arrivals or beginners, or members of English in isolation levels I, or II. In one they worked with a multi age/proficiency range of beginning learners. In the meantime, administrators and teachers in the school noted that classes in the mainstream were full of the same range of ESL learners because of numbers. This created its own problems and conflicts for all participants involved in integration because of the ideologies related

to the need for separate ESL programs and the large numbers of ESL students in the mainstream. How could one integrate? What was the role of the ESL teacher – to teach a separate class and/or to work with the entire school?

Theory 3: Immersion in English without specialist support did not work, even in primary.

Practice: Many mainstream teachers in both the elementary and secondary sites argued for specialist support. Primary immersion was not working – both mainstream and ESL teachers wanted ESL support.

Excerpt 105 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:39 “ ... recognition must be given to the need for support for primary ESL students”
- S:110 “there isn’t adequate recognition in terms of specialist teacher support of the real numbers of ESL students in this school”
- S:32 “greater support and contact time is needed for these student from the ESL teacher”
- S:108 “ESL students can’t be integrated successfully without adequate ESL teacher support”

Define/Delimit Integration: While many teachers argued for an end to first language use, and/or wrestled with issues of first and second language learning – they were facing dilemmas which arose because of increased linguistic diversity. While a few advocated for immersion or *sink or swim* models in their words, when it came to issues of support most respondents wanted more ESL support for students to support their integration and not a traditional model which provided little or no support to mainstreamed ESL students.

Theory 4: ESL students learned best from ESL specialist teachers; LAC support was inappropriate for ESL students.

Practice: Two sites under study were trying to implement a resource model for integration where all support specialists, learning assistance and ESL worked together and divided up students or classes for support.

Excerpt 106 – Survey Data Examples:

S:64 “ESL students are receiving more support from our LAC program because there is not enough ESL support”

S:40 “some ESL students who are integrated are attending the LAC (learning assistance centre) whose purpose is not to support ESL students ... there are other students who need LAC support ... the LAC teacher is not ESL trained”

S:112 “in mainstreaming for integration we are actually taking students from an ESL trained teacher and putting them in classes with teachers who are untrained”

Define/Delimit Integration: While teachers liked the idea of collaborating there was a recognition that the ESL specialist teacher brought to the students different skills than a learning assistance teacher and some respondents were critical of models that did not make this distinction. Most teacher respondents and administrator respondents seemed to support the desire for an ESL specialist teacher.

Theory 5: Linguistic diversity was a reality and all languages had value for learning. Policies that advanced thinking about language were needed to support integration in schools.

Practice: Most students communicated with their peers in more than one language. In some schools linguistic diversity was great, in others one or two language groups appeared to dominate (although this researcher is aware of no studies of diversity

within an urban school where the perception is that one group dominates – does it? There may be greater diversity than is obvious.) Many teachers objected to the use of first languages by ESL students; many recognized the diversity in schools albeit often in theory and not in practice.

Excerpt 108 – Survey Data Examples:

S:68 “ ... ninety percent of our students use their native language as the operative language in and around the school”

S:94 “English is the minority language in our school”

Define/Delimit Integration: Students were negotiating place within schools and seeking identity in an often-confusing new situation. One important part of this negotiation for place was to please teachers. Where teachers were respectful, languages were a medium of value for learning. Sometimes teachers gave students mixed messages about the use of their first language(s) versus English and/or they created practices that allowed only the use of English. Students learned in which classes they could use which languages and did so and often found themselves in an internal conflict about the value of their own linguistic diversity. The dilemma created for the students was how to continue to value the language of self and community and at the same time please those who objected to the use of diverse languages at school.

Theory 6: Learning in English is also cultural learning.

Practice: A few teachers made extra efforts to include the students' cultural backgrounds in learning and to work from past experiences as a foundation for learning English.

Excerpt 110 – Survey Data Examples:

S:48 "there needs to be support and opportunities for cultural integration"

S:104 "there are not enough resources in the school that support integration. We have only a few translated books in the library and they are very simple books."

S:109 "we use their first languages to teach English – they write stories and then translate and share them with our help and the help of other students"

S:10 "minutes of parent (PAC) meetings and other district documents should be translated for ESL parents who do not know English so parents have access to them"

Define/Delimit Integration: A few respondents welcomed student linguistic diversity and tried to incorporate aspects of this diversity into teaching to support integration. One respondent recognized the need for more translated materials and several recognized the lack of access to adequate translation services. This was in conflict with previously discussed theories that advocated "English only" policies.

Theory 7: Schools are culturally and linguistically diverse discursive sites for learning.

Practice: There were disagreements amongst teachers, parents, and students with reference to cultural issues.

Excerpt 112 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:108 "cultural issues and intolerance amongst some students and parents is a major problem"
- S:72 "parents control the activities of their children in the culture. They have no free time. My ESL students are always stressed"
- S:9 "ESL teachers need to be involved in testing procedures to prevent cultural bias, language discrimination, etc."
- S:107 "the common language and the common culture at this school is not English"

Define/Delimit Integration: Culture varied from site to site and past experiences influenced present ones. Students not only learned culture, they created and recreated it given context and circumstance. In this study, advancement of cultural opportunities for the students was limited by the theories that the respondents carried with them to school.

As a consequence of these theories and the fact that there was not common ground from which to organize practice, students were faced with conflicting theories of how their cultures and languages fit into the school system. This was more apparent because of the interaction amongst residents in an increasingly diverse urban school community, with a stable ESL population.

Theory 8: Academic learning makes language demands of ESL learners and requires explicit teaching of language and content in context. ESL learning cannot be done in isolation of content within public schools with mandated curricular learning outcomes.

Practice: Teachers tried to accommodate the demands of academic learning by creating "key visuals" or graphics to explicitly teach language with content in support of ESL integration.

Excerpt 117 – Survey Data Examples:

- S:91 "ESL students have a hard time understanding the language of academic texts. I try to help them break down the language into key visuals to help them cope with the language demands of the subject content"
- S:72 "making visuals for classroom teachers and showing them how to use language with the visuals across curriculum seems to help students survive in their classrooms"
- S:75 "there is tremendous resistance in content classes to adjusting anything for ESL students who are integrated ... there is a feeling if you make graphics or give them more time, they are cheating and shouldn't get good marks"
- S:30 "we have a collection of visuals in our ESL resource room which we use to help organize language in content classes for ESL students."
- S:9 "since the integration factor is no longer included in our staffing we are unable to provide suitable or even adequate integration for ESL students."
- S:72 "the loss of the integration factor has had a negative impact on ESL program offerings for ESL learners"
- S:10 "the integration factor we lost used to provide for partial integration for ESL students."
- S:108 "the timetable worked more effectively with the pilot project staffing we used to have. We could integrate with support more easily."
- S:9 "in our ESL program we choose themes that we know the classroom teacher will do and we try to give the ESL students a head start by pre-teaching them or parts of them in advance ... both the language and the content"
- S:106 "ESL courses are organized to parallel regular courses. They involve an easier version with less content and more time to complete tasks. Sometimes we co-plan with the department and choose main ideas or concepts ESL students need to know before integrating"

Define/Delimit Integration: Respondents defined language learning with content learning when it came to full integration in the mainstream for ESL students.

There seemed to be a recognition that they needed support and that the way to offer this support was through graphics or visuals. This also became limiting in that the respondents also reported a lack of time and money to create graphics, and did not seem to grasp the idea of having students learn to create their own. And, there was a recognition that past services under an ESL pilot project supported integration by helping mainstream teachers.

In sum, theories informed practices for ESL students' integration and they were both defining and delimiting. A possible interpretation of this variety of theories is that while the student mainstream changed relatively quickly, the theories and practices in place in the organization were slow to change and the conflicted views of the stakeholders in the organization created dilemmas with which adult respondents and students alike continually had to wrestle.

Mohan's (1986, 1990) notion that activity, at the centre of education, has both an underlying theoretical and a practical component, applied to the activity of integration in this situation makes the assumption that the experiences of the ESL learner with respect to integration are influenced by the theories that underlie the practice of the adults who organized for the learner, as well as the theories of the students themselves and their peers. Certainly in this study the practices that were taking place with ESL students in all four sites appeared to be influenced by the theories brought to the activity by the respondents. Practices in the education of the

ESL students in this exploratory research were affected by the theories that underlay their implementation. These theories both defined and delimited integration as a social practice or an activity for ESL learners in schools from both the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration, as well as those reflecting other views of integration and views critical of the traditional model for integration.

Attention is given to findings from the document data, discussed below.

B. Findings: Documents

Documents (n=242), spanning more than ten years at both micro and macro levels were collected and analyzed in this study to find out the views of participants and the extent to which, if any, that documents produced to support the integration of ESL learners defined and/or delimited integration in text(s); these documents considered integration from local, area, district, and provincial perspectives (see exploratory question b (i), pages 134 – 135).

The findings revealed the main focus of a majority of texts of the documents produced to support the integration of ESL learners' defined integration from the perspective of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration in reference to program arrangements developed out of tests of English in isolation of other learning (n=804) (83%). The same focus on testing in English was evident as were the related categories of placement and movement for the ESL learners' integration. Placement was the most frequently noted concern in the texts (n=453) (56%), followed by movement (n=207) (26%) and assessment (n=144) (18%). Texts of the discourse of the activity of integration revealed that there was great difficulty

determining appropriate placements for ESL students and the two areas most wrestled with were: a) separate or segregated ESL classes or programs, and b) pull out ESL programs. Integration existed in the findings typically in reference to a place or a program within which ESL students were held at both a micro (site based) and macroscopic level (district, province). Texts of documents indicated that ESL students were assessed which determined their place initially within a site, then they were defined, labelled, situated and moved in reference to this place over time, usually completed within two to three years.

At the same time, there was also some evidence in text data of other views of integration and/or views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration, (n=169) (17%). These views were significant because issues related to language learning, and content and culture arose, and helped articulate some of the problems, conflicts, and dilemmas related to the activity of integration that existed in the organization.

For the sake of clarity the findings from document data have been summarized under the headings that follow: a) locally developed texts describing integration practices (in and including four sites), b) district developed texts describing integration practices, c) provincially developed texts describing integration practices (Ministry, cross district and provincial associations), d) external and internal reviews, e) documents from the ESL Pilot Project, f) committee documents and reports – local, area, district, province, and g) field notes and journal entries on site participation and reflection and participant observation. In each of

these categories a number of documents were examined in terms of references to the activity of the integration of ESL learners. Again, for the sake of clarity and to facilitate the writing of examples in this study, these documents have been numbered sequentially as Text(s) 1, 2, 3 etc. Each "text" consisted of one or more documents related to integration.

1. Locally developed texts describing integration practices

The documents developed in each of the four sites were examined for examples of how the sites dealt with the activity of integration in text. Findings are presented below.

- a) *Integration from the perspective of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration*

Elementary schools

Text 1 (n=5) included documents produced in the elementary school sites that described the activity of integration and the ESL learner. Findings indicate that the documents produced were few and were largely concerned with descriptors of the service delivery plan (77%). This service delivery plan focus was mainly in the area of placement (n=16) (66%), with assessment (n = 4) (17%) and movement (n=4) (17%) following. Much of the discussion was on the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration and not on academics. A few examples make the point.

Excerpt 119 – Document Data Examples:

- "social interaction with peers of the same age is important"
- "allow your child to interact socially in the community – join clubs"

- “the length of stay in an ESL class is one to two years”
- “the problem with ESL students is they lack common cultural experiences”

The adults in elementary schools also thought that parents needed “parenting classes” because of the cultural differences. And students were first integrated into Art, Music and PE.

Secondary schools

Text 2 (n=17) consisted of documents produced in the secondary schools which were examined for texts about the activity of the integration of ESL students. A focus on integration in relation to service delivery (76%), was evident in the secondary schools in the texts that they produced to describe their programs, and in other documents they produced concerning ESL in their schools. Again the focus was on the three aspects of service delivery – assessment (kind of and how), placement and movement or program arrangements (focussed around assessment) dominated documentation of integration.

Integration was defined in texts in terms of assessment (n=28) (30%) and placement (n=46) (49%). ESL students were positioned in opposition to mainstream students based on various assessments of English proficiency. Examples from some of the texts of findings in this study follow.

Excerpt 120 – Document Data Examples:

- “Students will receive letter grades in this course. These are not the same as in the regular course.”
- “letter grades for ESL students, supplement computer generated comments with 1701 (Ministry funding formula) criteria”

- "classes are designed to meet the needs of students whose limited language proficiency skills prevent them from accomplishing the tasks assigned in mainstream classes"
- "students who are not ready after one year to enter the transitional social studies program can repeat ESL Socials"
- "ESL students are placed in ESL classes when they score below certain benchmarks on language proficiency tests"
- "A student exiting ESL classes is not ready for the expectations of a regular grade class. For this reason we offer transitional classes."
- "to allow for placement of students who couldn't be timetabled because classes were full"

And, finally, integration was also defined and described in reference to movement

(n=19) (21%) in the texts of secondary school documents – **Excerpt 121:**

- "Some students after two years in ESL Science still don't qualify for a regular class however, after two years they will be forwarded to regular science – i.e. some students are LAZY and their English is quite good but academically they are weak, this is not an ESL problem"
- "transitional English is not honoured at post secondary institutions as a prerequisite for English 11 ... therefore grade 12 students who require a complete year in transitional English in order to be prepared for English 11 are to be transferred from Transitional English to English 10 in the last term so that their transcript will record English 10 as a final mark ... the move will be on paper only as it is not considered educationally sound to place grade 12 ESL students in a grade 10 class for one term"
- "after reaching exit criteria in the core ESL courses [passing an English test] students will then move on to transitional courses. After achieving the exit criteria for these transitional level courses, students will be promoted into regular programs. Students who are accepted into a regular course after the end of the second term will not receive credit for the course."
- "Criteria for integration into Science: must be able to do ALL tests/quizzes without the use of a translator, must be able to speak /understand English instructions verbal and written and be able to respond well"

In contrast to the secondary schools which articulated the activity of service delivery for integration in programs in greater detail on paper, elementary texts concerning the integration of ESL learners were both fewer and less detailed.

At a micro level, the texts produced at all sites indicated that ESL students were placed in a program, usually a separate or segregated program, based on an assessment of their English, then they were moved as follows: a) from separate ESL class to regular/mainstream class, b) from an ESL class to transitional in secondary, part integration in elementary, and c) from the mainstream back to ESL classes or pull out programs. Sometimes ESL students moved from a mainstream grade three to an ESL grade four, other times from a mainstream grade seven to an ESL grade eight and the opportunity for ESL students to do so was justified in the texts of the documents at the sites. There were few ESL services in primary classes so students did not generally have access to ESL classes until grade four, and with regard to grade eight, the secondary schools, rather than taking the word of elementary teachers, retested ESL students with a test of English and placed ESL students in separate ESL language classes or programs as they felt it was needed.

b) Other views of integration and/or views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration

While tests of English dominated, the discourse data of the texts of documents also illuminated issues related to integration practices that expressed other views and/or viewed the activity from different and/or critical perspectives; beyond the "test" model. Examples to make the practices clear are given as follows.

English second language learning is not done in isolation but is related to content learning

The discourse of the document data for both *Text 1* and *Text 2* while emphasizing the test model as significant also seemed to present a conflict. These documents also suggested that ESL learning was not done in isolation, but was related to the learning of academic curriculum content, and this content was part of the language learning goals that teachers set for students regarding their integration. A few examples from the discourse of document data in elementary and secondary illustrate the point:

Excerpt 122 – Document Data Examples:

Text 1 – n=5 – Elementary Sites

- “the English language support teacher helps in the regular classroom so that ESL students continue to learn language with content”
- “English language support is provided to give students an understanding of the English demands of regular classes during integration”
- “to improve writing so he/she can be successful in a variety of written tasks in the mainstream classes”

Excerpt 123 – Document Data Examples:

Text 2 – n=17 – Secondary Sites

- “The ESL department has always subscribed to the principle of paralleling the regular school curriculum by teaching language through content subject areas”
- “... because students learn a new language at different rates, they move ahead at different rates and may be ready to integrate into regular classes ... throughout the year”
- “to raise the students writing level to one which will enable him/her to be successful with a variety of written tasks in the regular programme”
- “this course covers aspects of the grades 9, 10, and 11 social studies as these are the courses students will integrate into when they are ready”
- “criteria for integration into social studies and English ... achieves C+ or better in the content areas of ESL science and social studies”

There was also evidence in the discourse data of documents in both elementary and secondary sites that revealed an awareness of issues of learning – content needed adapting according to these texts – and of the need to consider culture as part of a larger process of learning. Although these issues were raised indicating awareness, the dominance of the English testing model placed these issues in the background. Several examples from the discourse data of texts are given below to elucidate the comment.

Excerpt 124 – Document Data Examples:

Curriculum content needs adapting for ESL learners

- “(goal) to organize a learning centre which supports the ESL program in science and socials”
- “greater support is needed for teachers in adjusting and changing their instructional techniques and modifying courses for ESL” “(goals) to work with teachers in English, Socials and Home Economics to develop materials which support ESL learners in those courses”
- “Any work they have been assigned in regular Math class will be clarified.”

Excerpt 125 – Document Data Examples:

Content learning has culture

- “it is also an opportunity to bridge cultural gaps and to address specific problems that individual students are experiencing in the regular program”
- “... offer support to regular teachers in the area of cross-cultural communication”
- “this course is the first step in preparing ESL students to enter the regular social studies program”

Findings from the document discourse data indicated that other views of integration and/or views critical of the traditional model of integration were arising in all sites.

Documents produced in all four sites were sometimes related to learning in general, sometimes to culture, and sometimes to academic content in contrast to the “test model” for integration with its focus on the mastery of elements of English and on tests in English to ensure this was accomplished.

2. District developed texts

The texts of numerous documents produced by the school district were collected and examined for references to integration. Included were documents produced by a variety of stakeholders.

Once again, the vast majority of the documents articulated a concern and confusion over the integration of ESL students in terms of their assessment, placement and movement. It was clear that the focus in this district in this study was almost entirely on the program arrangements (86%) made for ESL learners, and this was to the district the central integration issue. Findings indicate that the discourse of district documents describing the activity of the integration of ESL students (n=117) fared no better than those at the site level when it came to an emphasis on the testing of English in isolation of content as the focal point for organizing services for ESL students.

However, again in contrast there was evidence of district based discourse documents that described the activity of the integration of ESL students from other views and/or views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration (n=14%).

Examples related to integration from the texts of a selection of the many documents analyzed follow. The first part of the discussion focuses on the “English only test model” for integration which dominated the discourse in findings, the second part on other views of integration.

a) *Integration from the perspective of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration*

Text 3 consisted of two documents developed to present ESL concerns regarding integration in the district from the perspective of teachers. The text(s) noted that there was “an urgent need to address the problems surrounding the integration of ESL students in regular program classes.” The documents further noted that “the movement of these students is to be effective” only if steps are taken to “ensure that the conditions into which they move maximize the possibilities of success.” What were these conditions for maximizing success in this text? According to the discourse of the texts they involved the creation of transitional classes “to bridge the gap between the ESL classrooms and mainstream programs” and the creation of “an extended network of ELC ‘s (English language centres).” The text – **Excerpt 126** – of these documents also noted that:

Teachers see the steady rise in the number of ESL district classes; these classes which are often shoe-horned into facilities of debatable suitability. They have no feeling that there is an overall plan for service delivery beyond the placement of new arrivals in their schools.

In addition, the text described two requests regarding integration – the first that a “study be made as to the adequacy of the integration factor” and the second,

that schools be adequately staffed "so that timetables could be structured to ensure the possibility of mid year integration of ESL students."

In sum, the documents were developed to highlight and bring attention to concerns regarding integration and ESL learners. However, the issues presented for integration were based on English testing and subsequent program arrangements were focussed around this testing. They included three issues of movement: i) without enough staffing students move directly from ESL to regular/mainstream classes, ii) with adequate staffing ESL students move from ESL to transitional to regular/mainstream classes which is better for ESL students in terms of success, and iii) most/all ELC's (English language centres) had been closed or cut and therefore there was little support for ESL learners after they were moved into the mainstream.

Text 4 was produced to describe ESL in the district and began by noting that "the goal of the district's ESL program was the full academic and social integration of ESL learners into the regular curriculum." The text of the document described ESL programming in a "three stage process": "reception [separate ESL class], transition, integration [full mainstreaming]." as the answer.

Issues related to this goal of integration were also described in this text. These issues included: a) the need for a common [across the district/schools] scope and sequence for placement/movement of ESL learners, and b) the identification of entrance and exit criteria for movement [consistent] between ESL, transitional, and regular classes. This text focussed on testing and program arrangements and paid

scant attention to the language learner and/or to his/her integration within the situation.

Text 5 consisted of a number of documents produced by the centre responsible for the testing and orientation of ESL learners in the school district. The text of these documents began by describing the function of the centre which was "to provide orientation – assessment, placement, and movement in and out of the district and between schools" for ESL learners. The process was also described – ESL learners new to the district were assessed by being given an English test, and placed within a class which could be a separate ESL language class, and/or partial or full integration into mainstream classes. A few document data examples – **Excerpt 127** – are included to make the point clear:

Assessment and integration

- "... the purpose of our assessment has never been to measure potential success, but rather to determine the level of English acquisition so that receiving schools can place students into appropriate programs based on our recommendations." newly arrived ESL students are placed in regular classes if they are reading within two years of grade level as measured on the Woodcock reading mastery test"
- "How do I know when a student is ready for full integration? Is the student reasonably close to her/his grade level in reading comprehension?"
- "If students are assessed as needing all or some ESL assistance, they are placed in a district class."

Placement and integration

- "choosing the best placement for an ESL student who has been in a mainstream grade three class is not always easy. When deciding to move a student to an ESL reception class ..."
- "any student is entitled to an ESL reception placement if that student needs help"

Movement and integration

- “exit from reception service takes place when there is consensus between the ESL specialist and the grade level teacher on the students’ probability of success in the mainstream class with less than fifty percent intensive support”
- “it is preferable to provide students who are leaving a reception class with transitional/bridging classes, at least in English and the Humanities”
- “Integration of ESL students in regular classes is unique to each school. In some schools, ESL students are placed in grade appropriate PE or Math, upon their arrival at the school, in other schools, students are integrated into these classes after some time in ESL”

Again, there was a clear focus here on integration around English testing which was responsible both for beginning the integration process through placing or positioning the ESL learner in the school based on the results of this English assessment, and for altering or changing this place or position in the school once the student passed the test.

Text 6 was a series of documents produced to describe attempts to come up with a consistent service delivery model to use in the entire district of 50,000 students for the integration of ESL students in secondary schools. Topics that appeared in these texts included: entrance into reception classes, assessments used for initial placement, exit from reception classes, exit from ESL support or service, non supported, non funded students needing assistance, and program descriptions for reception, transition, integration, and movement, including the number of levels of ESL services for English instruction for beginners. Examples of some of these texts are included below in **Excerpt 128 – Document Data Examples**:

- “each student who qualifies for service according to pre determined criteria, but no longer qualifies for funding as a result of the five year limit

will need to be referred individually through school based teams for ongoing service"

- "Services may include district class placement, LAC learning disabled placement or other services"
- "the ELC should not parallel English curriculum but rather support it. It needs to be developed in collaboration with the English department The course should focus on the knowledge and skills students need to develop in order to be successful in a regular English class"

It is interesting to note that the texts separate reception and transitional programs from integration. They also give the ESL learner a place in a number of English levels meaning for some ESL learners delayed entry into the academic stream. And, the English language centre (ELC), which could focus on supporting mainstreamed ESL learners' academic progress, was instead considered a "course" for English instruction that would parallel the English course.

Text 7 was a document developed to describe how the district's general "integration policy" (which was developed previously in 1988 to show the long history of discussion of integration) would apply to the integration of ESL students in elementary and secondary schools in the middle 1990's. The text of the document

– **Excerpt 129** – stated that: "the district passed an integration policy" which:

clearly stated the commitment of the district to provide the most appropriate education for handicapped children in the least restrictive setting, or as some people prefer to say, in the most enabling environment. This in our opinion means education in the neighbourhood school wherever possible.

The text also noted that integration followed a continuum, which varied, from "full time placement in a regular class to full time placement in a separate [ESL] facility."

And, it noted that: "some special classes [special education programs] will always be needed."

This delivery model articulated – **Excerpt 130** (Document Data Examples) for the integration of ESL students was:

- "three models of placement are needed – September placement, mid year placements, and placements during the rest of the year when most mainstream classes are at maximum enrolment and it is often impossible to carry out integration for existing students"
- "an integrated model of service delivery recognizes the need for long term support for ESL students from the time of entry into the school system to integration into regular classes"
- "we subscribe to integration of ESL students into regular classes where the teachers are trained and supportive of the methodology"

The text documented the need for ESL specialist teachers, and for mainstream teacher training to better meet ESL student needs, as well as the need for long term support for ESL learners.

In an effort to integrate ESL students, the documents focussed on the need for ESL students to move away from their segregated programs or classes which were located anywhere in the district – often far from their homes – to the neighbourhood school where the services provided would be "the home school delivery of ESL programs/services." How this would be accomplished given the foregoing was not mentioned.

Text 8 consisted of two documents created specifically to support the ESL learner's integration. They included both elementary and secondary texts. Examples from the discourse of these texts in **Excerpt 131** illustrate how integration was defined and viewed in these texts:

- “Depending on their proficiency with English, students will be enrolled full time in ESL, or receive some form of ESL support and/or be enrolled in mainstream classes.”
- “How can the school facilitate integration? When it is used in the context of ESL, Integration means the involvement of ESL students for part or all of their day in a mainstream class ... in order to maximize students’ success, integration happens gradually and with support.”
- “Ways to facilitate integration include: support efforts to locate ESL classes in the main school, establish a policy between ESL and non-ESL staff members, provide a trial period in the registered school, etc.”
- “Placement into district ESL class prepares ESL students for entry into mainstream classes.”
- Placement in transitional courses offer a bridge between ESL and mainstream courses.”

Once again there was a focus for integration on English test based service delivery.

Integration was not considered in sections in the document on adjustment, inclusion, learning a language, and others. It was a separate section that stood alone, and was focussed on issues of service delivery.

Text 9 was a document created by the local speech language pathologists to report on ESL learners in the district. This text presented other views of integration and/or views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration. They noted in the text of the detailed document among other beliefs that: proficiency/ competency in more than one language is an advantage.” They further argued for first language assessments and for assessments that were culturally relevant. One of their most telling comments with regard to ESL integration and service delivery was the notion that:

Excerpt 132 – Document Data Example: assessment should not be used for placement but to shape intervention and instruction. The appropriate assessment was recorded as “an assessment that

acknowledges the child's abilities, potential, and cultural differences including first language learning and usages. It also recognizes that second language learning is a normal process.

This text considered the impact of culture on learning and language in schools as significant for the success of the ESL student. However, the text had a definite "intervention" and/or "remedial" bent and did not articulate the importance of academic success as the goal for all ESL learners at school.

Summary of discussion of texts of district documents

To summarize, an analysis of the discourse of texts in the school district revealed that these texts largely concerned themselves with the program arrangements that were being made for the integration of the ESL learner. Assessment through an English test defined the place of the ESL learner for integration. This test score placed the ESL learner on a path of integration in comparison to and in opposition to regular students in the mainstream. Entry into the mainstream was determined by performance on subsequent tests of English as form/rule or grammar. And, again integration to many stakeholders in the district was synonymous with ESL students being fully enrolled in a mainstream programme of studies.

b) *Other views of integration and/or views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration*

Other views of integration and views critical of the English test based model of integration were also discovered in the findings. Two of the preceding documents will be discussed individually below because there were separate and distinct issues

raised in these documents – Texts 8 and Text 9. Texts 3 through 7 also looked beyond testing as a basis for integration, and the data of this discourse has been collapsed for discussion under headings because there are repetitions and overlaps amongst them. Each heading has a brief description, followed by examples of the discourse data of documents to bring clarity. Discussion begins with texts 8 and 9, followed by the other headings as previously stated.

Texts 8 and 9

Text 8, specifically created to support integration of ESL students into the mainstream, made comments such as the eight examples from the data that follow in **Excerpt 133**:

- “students can’t wait until their English is completely fluent before experiencing integration”
- “students cognitive abilities must be developed along with their language”
- “teachers have developed a number of units which outline ways of teaching language and content”
- “vast numbers of cultural references need to be incorporated into their background knowledge”
- “students must integrate new information with what they already know”
- “help students make connections between what they already know and what they are learning”
- the role of the teacher varies in different cultures: in some cultures teachers are revered or feared”
- “While not specifically developed for integration Teaching and Evaluating Writing focuses on the development of meaning, culture and content for ESL learners. It was included in the supporting integration document.”

Unmistakably, there were other issues of integration here beyond English test taking; integration included issues of culture in terms of both adjustment and with

reference to learning and interactions with teachers. Also mentioned were issues related to learning content and to bridging with background experiences. Reference to the importance for ESL learners of working with academic content as soon as possible was also made. These issues were in conflict with the previously discussed traditional test based model for integration.

Text 9, as stated previously, a document produced by the districts' speech language pathologists to support ESL learners, gave great evidence of an understanding that integration was for the ESL learner a matter more than simply responding on English tests. For this group language socialization was mentioned as an issue – the findings noted that language was not learned in isolation of content and culture, and that the students' first languages were significant for learning.

Some specific examples from the discourse of this text in **Excerpt 134** show this:

- "proficiency/competency in more than one language is an advantage"
- "the diversity across cultures and the diversity within a culture as well as the uniqueness of the family's world affect the child."
- "use of the culture and language of the child's home and family enhances rather than diminishes his/her learning"
- "intergenerational cultural transmission essential to maximal learning"
- "use culturally appropriate resources"
- "question our own contextual and cultural assumptions"
- "develop multicultural rather than monocultural bases for assessment"
- "advocate for appropriate changes in instruction to promote student empowerment"
- "use culturally and linguistically appropriate instructional strategies"
- "continue to move toward dynamic, ethnographic, descriptive, contextual assessment that shapes instruction ... develop guidelines for culturally responsive L1 assessment that determines and acknowledges L1 competency"

- “an assessment that acknowledges the child’s abilities; potential, and cultural differences including first language learning and usages. It also recognizes that second language learning is a normal process.”

Noticeably, while intervention oriented this document revealed an approach to language intervention that recognized the language socialization of the second language learner – the interaction of content, culture and language within various contexts for learning was considered paramount in this discourse.

Other perspectives that were revealed in the findings as stated previously, have been collapsed under headings, are bulleted, and presented below.

An awareness of the diverse needs of ESL students, student learning and integration

The findings indicated that some documents included a recognition that ESL students had diverse needs for learning because they brought with them to school diverse cultural experiences that could not be separated from their language learning. Five examples from the discourse of texts make this point clearer.

Excerpt 135 – Document Data Examples:

- “our ESL students are mainly from lower economic families and refugees and they have greater integration needs”
- “many refugee students do not have either language skills or social skills for integration and they require an all day program”
- “students from war torn countries who are traumatized need all day ESL programs ... their learning is impeded.”
- “given the backgrounds of many ESL students one could well expect the incidence of problems to be higher among groups such as children from refugee families”
- “there could be sudden surges of new arrivals at any time”

Also noted in the text was the need for a number of different models for ESL learners depending upon both the situation in individual schools, as well as the

needs of particular groups of students. The text too stated that some programs created for ESL students were not acceptable.

An awareness of problems with mainstreamed or integrated ESL students

Data from the discourse of texts suggested that there were issues of conflict within the mainstream as a consequence of the context provided for learning for integrated ESL students. Specific areas of concern follow:

Primary

The documents made reference to the lack of support for primary learners. This was documented as a generally accepted notion that young learners picked up the language quickly and easily, therefore, could be mainstreamed and did not require ESL specialist teacher support. The discourse of texts disagreed with this notion; there was expressed instead a feeling that ESL students did need support to manage the mainstream curriculum, at all grades, even in primary.

Excerpt 136 – Document Data Examples:

- “there is little or no support for our large number of primary ESL students”
- “integration provides a more cohesive program for students”
- “ESL integration puts extra pressure on the regular program”

Secondary

- “the number of ESL students leaving the protection of district programs and entering “mainstream classes” is steadily increasing ... teachers have the problem of adapting their course materials to an ever widening range of student needs; needs which many teachers feel ill equipped by their training to deal with ... there is an urgent need to address the problems surrounding the integration of ESL students in regular program classes”
- “part of the solution lies in facilitating the development of transitional classes designed to bridge the academic gap between the ESL classrooms

and the mainstream programs while at the same time providing one to one and small group support”

- “time needs to be provided for ESL specialists to work directly with classroom teachers”

Elementary and Secondary

There was indication in the discourse of texts that there were too many ESL students to teach in the mainstream, and that models for integration such as the traditional model of ESL service delivery, that moved ESL students through gradual and transitory stages of integration into the mainstream around the passing of English tests needed rethinking. Examples from the discourse data follow.

Excerpt 137 – Document Data Examples:

- “the ESL reception class could function in the morning for students who are beginners and in the afternoon it could work as an ELC delivering services for ...”
- students in classes who need ESL support have grown substantially in number”
- “how do we address the integration needs of large numbers of ESL students with less and less specialists”
- “programs and services must address the true conditions that exist in the schools”

An awareness that ESL teaching was not LAC teaching and should not be the specialist support for integrated ESL students

Discourse in the documents stated that there were differences between ESL teaching and LAC [learning assistance centre]teaching; the former documented as the preferred methodology for offering support for ESL integration, although a couple suggested services be collapsed. Three examples of this discourse follow –

Excerpt 138:

- “good methods are applicable to both ESL and the disadvantaged within enrolling classrooms”
- “some ESL students who are integrated are attending the LAC (learning assistance centre) whose purpose is not to support ESL students ... there are other students who need LAC support ... the LAC teacher is not ESL trained”
- “the most efficient use of resources would be to serve ESL and LAC”

There were issues related to language as a medium of learning with respect to the integration of ESL students in the findings. Although not the dominant discourse, it was nevertheless a significant one.

An awareness of the need for integrated ESL students to enhance esteem and motivation to learn

Issues of motivation, self esteem, and belonging were documented as matters to contend with when thinking about ESL integration. Responses indicated that the ESL students brought “experiences” to the task of learning language(s) and culture and it was noted that there was an interaction between these experiences and the context(s) provided for learning at school. Five examples of discourse data that show this are provided below – **Excerpt 139:**

- “integration reduces damage to student motivation and self esteem”
- “integration provides a more cohesive program for students”
- “integration of ESL students into regular classes gives them a greater sense of belonging”
- “there is less trauma for families when their children are integrated into classes”
- “integration decreases the alienation of target groups and keeps target groups within the mainstream; perhaps fewer will drop out”

An awareness of the need for developing relationships amongst integrated ESL student and non-ESL student peers

The discourse of some documents noted that ESL students needed to develop relationships with peers rather than only socializing with them at extra curricular events. Two samples of this discourse – **Excerpt 140** – exemplify the comment:

- “integration into classes provides opportunities for students to develop meaningful relationships with peers.”
- “student integration is good for both the ESL students and their peers because they can form long term friendships and support each others learning”

An awareness of the need for subject specialists to also be ESL specialists in the senior grades

Although wrestling with the issues, the discourse of one document indicated that the respondents were not clear about the purpose of ESL support in the mainstream from the perspective of teaching senior content/subject areas (e.g. Physics).

Excerpt 141 – Document Data Examples:

- “the ESL teacher may not be able to effectively support students integrated into senior science or math classes ...ESL support teachers at the senior level need to be subject specialists”

This was evidence that language was being viewed from the larger perspective as a medium of learning and not just a discrete entity that existed in isolation of other learning for ESL students. Integration into higher level subject classes required both knowledge of language, and knowledge of the content of the subject, to best be organized for ESL learning. The need for coordination of content and language was

evident, as was the need for collaboration between language teaching and content teaching professionals.

An awareness of problems with large numbers of ESL students in the population

According the discourse of many texts there were much larger numbers of ESL students in the district than ministry 1701 funding counts permitted recognition. Repeatedly in the document data **Excerpt 142** – comments like the following were found:

- “the figures generated for the 1701 do not reflect the true ESL needs in our school ... some students are no longer identified as ESL for funding but are still here”

ESL students who counted for funding affected integration, as did those who were fully integrated into mainstream classes, but according to documents these ESL students received no support.

An awareness of change in the relative numbers of language groups

One text noted that large numbers of ESL speakers of a particular language dominating a school population would change the use of the English language.

- “ESL is a greater problem in our school because of the numbers ... a high proportion of ESL students means that non-standard patterns of speech and grammar can and do become the norm”

The fact that this text indicated awareness of change suggested that greater attention needed to be given to the impact of language change on learning given the integration patterns in schools in urban centres. There were both conflicts and dilemmas created in learning situations where linguistic diversity dominated in the student population, and the language of instruction remained a monolingual one.

To summarize, an analysis of the discourse of texts in the school district revealed that these texts only marginally concerned themselves with other views of integration, and/or views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration. Nevertheless significant points were documented with respect the language learning focus, content learning, and cultural issues and their impact on ESL integration.

3. Provincial Texts

Numerous provincially developed texts were produced to support ESL learners and their teachers in the province by teachers associations, government, cross-district committees, and community groups. These documents (n=18) were examined in reference to the social practice or activity of the integration of ESL students. Findings revealed that the discourse of these texts largely referred to the integration of the ESL student in terms of service delivery (86%); once again from a model using an English test in isolation of other learning as the focus. While not predominant, comments related to other views of integration and perspectives critical of the test model were found in (14 %) the responses. A discussion of some of the issues raised from both perspectives ensues.

- a) *Integration from the perspective of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration*

Text 10 consisted of several documents developed for the province to describe the services provided for ESL students. The discourse noted that these

services must be: “quantifiable, and include an instructional plan, a schedule of services, and evidence of “progress in the acquisition of English.” Evidence was found of an emphasis on a number of issues related to traditional views of integration organized around testing in English. Several examples follow, organized or grouped under headings which most frequently arose in the data.

Excerpt 143 – Document Data Examples:

Assessment and integration

- “The purpose of initial assessment is to identify a student’s need for ESL service.”
- “Any assessment used as a basis for making placement or planning decisions for ESL students...”
- “Subsequent assessments may suggest alternate placements, but generally speaking, research suggests that holding students back until they have better mastery of language is seldom appropriate.”

Placement and integration

- “Placement of students who have been identified as needing ESL services should be determined by an ESL specialist ...”
- “To promote equity and facilitate student placement, there should be consistent provincial language which articulates a student’s place along the ESL service continuum. Consistency is important when students move within and between schools and districts...”
- “When selecting a delivery model factors to be considered include: the number and location of ESL students, the number of trained ESL teachers, ESL resources and materials, availability of appropriate instructional space, and transportation options available to students.”
- “Integration of students in ESL should be viewed as a process which is learner –centred. Factors that affect the amount and rate of integration for an ESL individual should include: the student’s level of proficiency in oral and written English.”

Movement and integration

- "English as a second language will be offered as a transitional ... [service] to ensure the successful integration of these students into regular classes as quickly as possible.'
- "As students are integrated into age appropriate classes [meaning from ESL to mainstream] ..."

Leadership from the top down focused on a "test model" which was the foundation of service delivery or program arrangements, subsequently organized in terms of the assessment, placement and movement of ESL learners as their activity of integration. In addition, ESL students were positioned in an inferior way to non-ESL students in that their placement depended on space, transportation, available resources, and teachers. None of these factors influenced program arrangements for mainstream non-ESL students.

In another part of a document the following statements were made – **Excerpt**

144 – Document Data Examples:

- "[funding required]record of English language proficiency ... annual assessment ... annual instruction plan ... a schedule of services ... evidence of reported progress in the acquisition of English"
- "There should be ongoing monitoring of students' English language proficiency"
- "the problem was not with newly arrived students but with the fact that students did not seem to be leaving ESL programs at the rate which might be expected '
- "[funding depended on]progress in the acquisition of English"

Text 11 consisted of the texts of documents that detailed a number of focus group discussions concerning ESL in the province. Concerns discussed in these focus group discussions regarding integration are summarized as follows. The focus

of discourse with respect to integration was almost entirely on English tests and service delivery. Issues which emerge are highlighted below.

Excerpt 145 – Document Data Examples:

- i) *ESL students were being moved or mainstreamed without ESL support and/or with insufficient ESL support. In addition, in some cases all students in a site(s) were placed or integrated because of district and/or government initiatives or policies – though the research also notes that both groups were vague on the implementation of integration*
 - “In some cases all students are fully integrated because of district policies”
 - “Where district policies mandate integration, then the decision to integrate is clearly made at the district level ...”
- ii) *the manner in which ESL students moved for integration varied*
 - “In others, there are different ways that students are included in regular classes ranging from predominately integrated with a small pull out provision, to integration solely in a number of secondary elective subject areas. Some teachers report that their schools are using placement of ESL/ESD students in electives as the first step toward full integration into all subject areas.”
- iii) *there were significant problems with models of assessment, placement and movement for integration as it existed*
 - “In the view of many respondents, there are significant problems with the integration of ESL students. Respondents see such problems as being largely concerned with the implementation of integration rather than its philosophy. As with the issues of the inclusion of special needs students, teachers are saying that too little thought has gone into the pragmatic of how to integrate ESL students into regular classrooms by those who design government and district policies and that too few resources are allocated to encourage successful integration practices.”
 - “A major problem identified by respondents was that when ESL students were deemed ready to be integrated into regular courses or into regular classes, there was no room.”

The discourse of this text also made commentary about integration in another section that revealed clearly the defining features of integration as separate from

mainstream and in opposition to ESL support. Examples follow from discourse of text data **Excerpt 146**:

- "All districts reported elementary 'pull-out' ESL/ESD classes but some districts appear to be moving towards greater integration and reduced 'pull-out' ..."
- "There seem to be substantial differences in levels of integration between secondary and elementary schools, with the subject-based secondaries [secondary schools] finding integration more problematic in some districts"

b) *Other views of integration and/or views of integration critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration*

While there was an overwhelming emphasis on the English test model of integration in **Text 10** as stated previously, there was also evidence that the document was critical of its own emphasis in that there was following contradiction in the same text in **Excerpt 147**:

- "language cannot be taught effectively in isolation ... The ESL students' program should therefore focus on the acquisition of language, knowledge and cultural understanding that will enable the student to access the provincially prescribed curriculum . . ."

And further in the text of the document the following was noted, which suggested a connection between integration in the mainstream and ESL specialist teacher support for ESL students. **Excerpt 148** noted the following:

- "Service may be provided in a number of ways, including (but not limited to): separate ESL instruction to students, supportive services within a mainstream classroom, ESL specialist support to the classroom teacher."
- "Integration of ESL Students ... Clearly it is in the best interests of students in ESL to integrate into the mainstream as quickly as they are able. This does not mean, however, that these students should be placed directly into a mainstream class without support."

Text 11 noted that integration was influenced by a number of factors related to policy and practice at both a micro and macro level of organization, beyond the previously mentioned test based service delivery emphasis. For instance, the following discourse of **Excerpt 149** made the point:

- "But there is also evidence (in the view of the respondents) ESL is the subject of discrimination in schools. Such discrimination is epitomized by practices such as room allocation and by districts and government in terms of funding. Such discrimination essentially means that, in the view of respondents, ESL/ESD provision has a lower status than most other teaching areas in schools, among district administrators and as reflected in government priorities." (Naylor, 1994)

In addition, the discourse gave evidence of some of the many differing viewpoints and perspectives of those in the school community. Consider a few examples taken from this discourse – **Excerpt 150**:

- "parents wished to be more informed about the ESL programs and students' progress through the different levels from beginners to advanced"
- "classroom teachers felt under substantial pressure with limited support"
- "there are signs of improving relationships with other teachers but some negative relationships persist"
- "reluctance of classroom teachers to take enough responsibility [for integrated ESL learners]"
- "a diverse ability range among ESL students being integrated with minimal ESL support causes concern among teachers who believe that the philosophy of integration and the pragmatics of implementation do not meet student needs"
- "classroom teachers placed a considerable emphasis on the positive though limited collaborations that have occurred with ESL teachers"
- "in some cases participants expressed doubts about the effectiveness of pull out programs, speaking highly of collaboration within the classroom between classroom teacher and specialist. ... in others pull outs were

highly supported as the most effective way of improving students English to a level where integration might work."

- 'there needs to be some development of new and appropriate materials ... time-consuming demands to adapt curriculum"
- "[should there be] one standard [curriculum] or individual [ESL learner]progress"
- "participants [ESL teachers]felt that they were often low on the scale in terms of consideration and priorities within a school"

Areas where conflicting viewpoints regarding the activity of integration were evident in the discourse included: viewpoints of teachers regarding integration as practice, appropriate methods of learning (language/content) and teaching (pull-out/mainstream), parents' opinions that they were inadequately informed about integration practices by teachers in schools, and viewpoints that wrestled with understanding and teaching within culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms. Clearly, there were other issues and some critical of the traditional views of the ESL learners integration organized around sequential tests of English.

4. Texts of external and internal reviews

Several internal and external ESL Reviews were conducted in the school district. These documents (n =11) were examined for references to the activity of integration. Findings indicated conflicting messages about on the one hand the need for a "one size fits all model" for integration based on the traditional assessment of English, and at the same time a recognition that one model would not fit the needs of all ESL students. Given the organization of these texts traditional views of integration as ESL service delivery based on testing in English, and other views of

integration, including those critical of this traditional model are discussed together in the following.

External Reviews

Text 12 was represented by the texts of two documents, which were external reviews (1989, 1995 – see Bibliography) of ESL in the district. The first text – **Excerpt 151** – recommended among other things that:

- “every effort be made to return ESL students to their home schools and also to place new arrivals in their home schools, and that principals be encouraged to use district allocations to create in school ESL programs”

While the recommendation was made to return students to their home or neighbourhood schools instead of having students move to separate English language classes or programs throughout the district, little thought was given to what would happen when ESL students arrived at their home schools. For example, how would these schools organize for this mass integration into the mainstream of a school? Other recommendations from the review were (**Excerpt 152**) :

- “the creation of reception, orientation and assessment centres and the appointment of new district ESL staff to coordinate plans for improving and creating new programs and services for ESL students.”
- “... ESL provision should integrate students into the social and academic mainstream to the extent possible.”
- “there is a recognition that ESL should assume a central position in all aspects of planning and operation”
- “The goal that every student should be able to communicate in more than one language likewise means that not all students will have the same programming needs.”
- “... systems are faced with the task of rethinking their curriculum and organizational structures to plan for the success of a multilingual/multicultural/multiracial student body”

These were noteworthy suggestions made in the discourse of this text; however, none of these suggestions would have happened simply by committing the action – by assessing and moving the students.

The second text of the document consisted of a discussion of integration problems including these in **Excerpt 153** from its text:

- i) students felt stigmatized by the segregation in ESL classes outside of the mainstream – therefore, it was felt that they needed to be mainstreamed
- ii) mainstream teachers were ill prepared for integration and this put them at odds with ESL teachers
- iii) the languages of the students were not respected either by some mainstream and some ESL teachers and by regular students upon integration of ESL students
- iv) difficulties with parents and families after reception seemed to be “acute and ongoing”
- v) while respondents wanted ESL students to receive service in their home schools, many teachers noted that “the right to home school attendance cannot override to right to service.”

Other issues raised in the text of this document were critical of traditional views of integration where English tests were used to place and move ESL students in and out of separate ESL programs. These views saw ESL students as the mainstream of the school and tried to reconcile this perspective with academic achievement, especially standards. Examples from **Excerpt 154** illustrate the point:

- “Many of the problems raised during focus groups concerned the integration of ESL students into academic programs”
- “there has to be recognition that ESL students are the majority.”

- “putting students who don’t speak English in one room together with one another is not effective”
- “get teachers throughout the district to realize that they are all ESL teachers whether they like it or not”

This conflict placed some ESL teachers and mainstream/content teachers in opposing camps; parents with their own theories of practice in education in yet another camp, often reported as pressuring their children and teachers.

Given the frequency of the problems, which the discourse above illuminated, one wonders what could be done? However, the discourse data of this document suggested an approach to rectify the situation; an approach, which seemed to recognize that language was a medium for learning. The focus is summarized in the text below.

Excerpt 155 (Document Data):

- “establish curriculum standards that relate ESL achievement directly to curriculum standards for academic programs across major subject areas”
“the districts entire academic programs would form a fundamental reference point to describe curriculum standards for ESL students to achieve”
- “defining ESL student achievement in reference to norms of the districts academic programs”

In addition, there was a suggestion that assessment be related to curriculum content and not to the English language in isolation of content, or to English forms/grammar for instance:

Excerpt 156 (Document Data):

- “develop instruments and procedures for the assessment of ESL students achievement in terms of academic performance in key school subjects”

And, there was a suggestion that the organization work on improving cultural relations, and support the notion that ESL learners were developing bilinguals.

Excerpt 157 (Document Data):

- “make explicit policies and implement more initiatives to improve inter cultural relations among students within schools and to promote the value of ESL students mother tongues and cultural heritages

In sum, after two reviews findings indicated that integration needed to be viewed from a different perspective because the existing and traditional system of integration was not working. The solutions suggested for problems with integration were directly related toward recognizing that language learning was related to content/academic learning and that cultural issues needed to be dealt with and not simply ignored because they were difficult to deal with and/or not immediately visible. This study saw the same issues reoccurring over time; there had been no change in emphasis in the organization beyond the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration.

Internal Reviews

Text 13 consisted of an analysis of the text of an internal review of ESL in the district. The review established the “test model” where assessment fed a service delivery focus for integration, which dominated further discussion – **Excerpt 158:**

- “Recommendation: that a specific and detailed statement of purpose and definition concerning the teaching of ESL students be established, and that the statement recognize a progression of student needs and teacher strategies on a continuum from reception, through transition to full integration.”

- "While ESL instruction and support is a recognized teaching specialty, the questions of purpose, curriculum, and teacher strategies are less defined than with other instructional areas."

Along similar lines other aspects of integration were acknowledged.

Problems were also described in the same text that revealed dilemmas with which the organization had not adequately dealt, for example – **Excerpt 159**:

- "Without a common core curriculum, accurate assessment and appropriate placement of ESL students, the movement from school to school or from reception and/or transition class to full integration becomes problematic."
- "Recommendation: that student advancement/exit criteria, based on mastery of an ESL core curriculum, be developed for advancement from reception to transition, and from transition to full integration and that these criteria be consistent for the district."

Once again, there was a fixation on the notion that the perfect ESL service delivery model, with clear exit criteria based on English assessment was all that was needed for the successful integration of ESL students. This was substantiated in the glossary, which defined integration as "incorporation into the mainstream society of the school" but made no statement of the range of personal and group variables ESL students brought to this task.

And, finally, the review noted in **Excerpt 160** that:

- "integration of individual students was often dependent on staffing, timetabling, and funding rather than the need of the student, contractual agreements and fiscal limitations dictate classes be filled to maximum in September allowing no room to integrate ESL students later in the year."

The activity of integration, as illustrated in the text of this document was one that focussed on the movement of students from separate programs to mainstream

programs with little regard for the positioning of ESL students within schools as a consequence of test models.

On the other hand, references were made in the goals and purpose to language and content. Consider a few examples of the topics under discussion from the discourse that framed the purpose, and suggested areas under review.

Excerpt 161 (Document Data):

- "curriculum development [for ESL] students in content classes"
- "professional development [for mainstream teachers]"
- "program, student and family support [for ESL students]"

There was also a suggestion that there needed to be better coordination of the learning of language with learning in general, specifically the learning of curriculum, and that the district needed a comprehensive staff development program for retraining teachers and supporting their professionalism in the direction of ESL. A few examples selected from the discourse make the point in

Excerpt 162:

- "That a comprehensive ongoing professional development program be offered to all teachers, support staff, and administrators to assist them in educating ESL learners, and that the district continue to support and encourage staff to undertake advanced studies and professional development in areas relevant to ESL studies."
- "that the district must continue to provide the most current research and experience based models and conceptual frameworks designed to meet the diverse needs of ESL learners in a variety of settings"

However, while there were references to the relationship between language learning, and learning in general in the document, there was also a contradiction; a

suggestion that practices be developed that reinforced the notion of language not as a medium for learning but rather as an end in and of itself and a conduit through which one organized service. Two examples of this tendency are given below in

Excerpt 163:

- "that the district assume responsibility for a common district [ESL] curriculum, advancement criteria"
- "that [ESL] student advancement/exit criteria based on mastery of an ESL core curriculum be developed for advancement from reception to transition and from transition to full integration and that these criteria be consistent for the district"

And so, while the review advocated a change in theory and practice towards goals that offered a perspective of integration based on something beyond the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration based on English tests, the text of the document also recommended that existing structures which viewed language separately and based integration on English testing not only be continued but also be further entrenched as practice.

5. Texts from the ESL Pilot Project

Text 14 consisted of a number of documents (n=6) related to the ESL Pilot project.

From 1989-1994, arising out of the external review, the district created a four year plan for ESL in ten schools – six elementary schools and four secondary schools. Year one was devoted to getting together a district team, while year two began a four year plan to create additional levels of support and improve existing programs for ESL students. Documents from the ESL pilot project were reviewed

with regard to the activity of integration and the plan for the ESL learner in the district. **Excerpt 164** – The early pilot documents noted that:

When ESL students account for the majority of students in a given school, they cannot be fixed in the ESL class and then enter the regular class at an appropriate level ... it no longer makes sense to regard ESL students as a special sub group whose "deficits" need to be remediated before they can enter the mainstream. Hence, a main "goal of the ESL pilot project is to successfully integrate ESL students."

The pilot project adhered to the notion that "teachers who are better able to meet the needs of ESL students in their regular classes" would support rapid integration and "provide quality education for ESL students." Examples follow in **Excerpt 165** of how the discourse data of this text referred to aspects of integration:

- "Historically ESL learners have been surrounded by English speakers, facilitating their English language acquisition. However, the ratio of ESL learners to English speakers has changed. Newly registered ESL students are now being integrated into schools and classrooms where there are significant numbers of other ESL learners and in many cases relatively few speakers of English as a first language"

Findings recognized that there was a need to change practice to better meet the needs of integrating ESL students, as discussed below.

Collaboration between ESL teachers and classroom teachers and the activity of integration

There was evidence in the discourse of the pilot project data of collaboration between ESL teachers and classroom teachers at both elementary and secondary. They tried to adjust the learning environment, by teaching language with academic content. And, there were examples in the discourse data of language being considered as a medium of learning and not merely as performance on a grammar

test. Examples from discourse of the text of the pilot project follow – **Excerpt 166** – (Document Data); examples that illustrate the processes being considered:

- “teachers who are better able to meet the needs of ESL students in their regular classes which will mean that integration will occur more rapidly will provide a quality education for ESL students”
- “the ESL teacher supplied materials that were adapted for students who had difficulty in reading word problems”
- “teaching and learning of content knowledge, academic language and thinking skills [is needed for ESL students]”

Four specific examples in **Excerpt 167** from the discourse are given below to illustrate further the work on language as a medium of learning and not as something that operated in isolation of curriculum content.

The first situation from the data concerned the identification by an ESL specialist teacher of a need for support for integrated ESL students wrestling with a literature 12 curriculum, and involved collaboration between the English teacher, and the ESL specialist teacher to meet a specific need identified by the students themselves.

- “students came on an individual basis to see me because they were having difficulty with stories ... because the same questions were frequently generated ... we created a support block ... discussing the story orally enabled students to understand ... ”

Visuals and graphic organizers were used to reinforce the ideas under study to support the learning of the ESL students by giving the content greater meaning.

A second example from the discourse of pilot project text data involved collaboration with the social studies 11 department and the ESL specialist teacher to support integrated ESL students. Clearly, the two teachers were working toward the

teaching of language with academic content and saw the role of the ESL teacher in relation to this content; the ESL students' language learning was coordinated with the learning of academic content. And, there was collaboration between the content specialist and the ESL specialist teachers. The objective of the interaction was described in the discourse of the text.

- "objective: to provide specific language structures for students while studying content ... to introduce content of government unit ... to improve student marks by teaching both content and language"

The innovation involved creating and teaching ESL students how to work with key visuals and graphic organizers to learn specific language structures, which gave meaning to the content under study. This was consistent with Mohan's (1986; 2001) recognition that language as a social practice could be viewed from the perspective of activities or tasks and that there were knowledge structures on which to base the creation of graphics and to develop language to make academic content have greater meaning and support learning. The evaluation noted in the discourse that students' marks improved as a consequence of the intervention, as had the quality of the answers that students gave in classes; they were "easier to read understand, and mark."

A third example considered not only language as a vehicle for learning academic content, but also saw culture through an educational lens and not as the usual festive add on to celebrate diversity. There was evidence in the discourse of the data of a theoretical awareness of cultural diversity and learning and an attempt to do something to change practice as a consequence.

This involved the gathering of resources to create an Asian Literature package for use by social studies and geography teachers on site. Parents from countries involved were used as resource people to help evaluate the potential usefulness and validity of the resource collected before they were used. Resources were purchased and in serviced to support students integrating into the school:

- "students who come from Asia will be given greater opportunity to study and value the cultural contribution that their cultures have made to this country"

A final example involved the acquisition of resources to heighten awareness of the impact of moving to a new country. Benefits to the ESL students and their peers were described in the discourse data as follows.

- "ESL students have a reading collection which will reflect some of their experiences. Native English speakers will have new resources through which they can increase their knowledge of other cultures."

These were all examples from the discourse of pilot project texts that exemplified the learning of language, content and culture; issues that operated in contrast with traditional perspectives about integration organized around testing.

6. Texts of Committees

Numerous committee documents and reports were created during the time of this study. They (n=63) were examined for their references to the activity of ESL integration to discover the perspectives evident. The dominant discourse consisted of references to the activity of ESL integration in terms of models of English test based service delivery (89%) and other issues arose in fewer cases but were

nevertheless significant in that they dealt with other views of integration and/or views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model of integration (12%). Since these texts raise issues similar to previous documents the contrast is not pursued further but some examples which highlight a variety of specific concerns follow.

Text 15 was established in the school district for consultative purposes. This committee over the course of this study changed to another committee for ESL under another title but with less power and representation. The discourse of texts of the documents produced by these committees was examined in this study for discussions of integration as an activity or social practice. Clearly, once again, findings from the data supported the notion that English test based models of service delivery were significant. **Excerpt 168** which gives examples from document data is presented to illustrate the point:

- "students on average who spend two and one half years in reception classes are integrating, those who spend three or more years tend to have lower grades and there is a plateau between four and five years when no further progress is evident"
- "an increased number of ESL students have been identified who cannot function in integrated regular classes. Reception ESL special needs classes are needed in every secondary school"

Two comments were also made that suggested there were other issues. These are presented in **Excerpt 169** (Document Data):

- "A process should be identified to track primary children who are born in Canada but do not speak English until they enter school. They ... are not counted as ESL and sometimes do not receive the support they require."
- "the generalized curriculum in senior secondary math is making it difficult for teachers because of the mismatch between the ESL students

and the learning resources. The curriculum needs to give examples of modules that are adapted for a range of ESL learners ... ”

Text 16 involved the texts of documents of bi-monthly meetings of ESL specialists. Findings from the discourse data noted some specific cultural issues – although fairly limited ones and negative – lack of participation by some groups, plagiarism and cheating was discussed. In the words of the data – **Excerpt 170** (Document Data):

- “lack of participation in classes by certain cultural groups needs addressing”
- “plagiarism by certain cultural groups and cheating is a problem”
- “some students do not participate in class because of cultural issues, particularly the female students”

Certainly, these were issues of integration from the perspectives of culture and learning.

One committee document **Text 17** reported on the successes (or lack of them) of ESL students in terms of graduation from secondary in **Excerpt 171** noting

Four to eight hundred ESL students leave school and start courses, these students all want to graduate but are too old to attend high school any longer.

The data stated that about seventy four percent of the ESL students graduated, twenty four percent left school and of those that left school, half were ESL students who did not complete graduation requirements. This seems consistent with Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti’s (1996, 2000) study of ESL drop outs in Alberta, and needs further exploration.

Teachers of ESL were stated in the data to be stressed and undervalued; the findings from the discourse of documents indicated that there was a transitory group teaching ESL as a consequence of the stress of the job. This would surely have an impact on learning for the ESL student. **Excerpt 172** (Document Data):

- “teachers are moving through ESL – here for a good time not a long time”

The discourse allowed for the identification of several topics that looked at the qualifications of the ESL teacher suggesting a perceived change – the dilemma of a high turn over, therefore a limited supply of ESL teachers meant that teachers were being hired with insufficient and/or no qualifications to work with ESL students.

Text 18 Acknowledged in the document data was the fact that there existed diversity between and amongst schools in districts in large urban centres. An example from the discourse of the document illustrated this recognition. **Excerpt 173**:

- “as an example of the different situations, district A has seventy eight languages represented in addition to the main six, while district B has a population of eighty percent Chinese”

Text 19 consisted of a brief prepared in relation to the inner city, the text of which was examined for examples of references to ESL students and their integration at school.

While project teams noted that “newsletters, translated materials, and notices were the primary means of communicating” they did not feel that “their schools translation and interpretation services” were adequate. In fact, the study noted that

“all teams listed language barriers and limited access to interpreters as obstacles affecting greater parental involvement.”

7. Texts from field notes and journal entries

Text 20 was developed given regular visits to the schools, field notes (n=5) (completed journals), and on site reflection participant observation formed part of this study. The researcher readily admits the possibility for bias but nevertheless offers these observations in the spirit of this exploratory account with the hope that the observations may support future studies. The bulk of the visits to the schools involved discussions with teachers and administrators concerning the following issues related to ESL integration which arose as areas of repeated discussion and conflict – **Excerpt 174:**

- the inadequacy of assessment procedures and a search for the perfect standard assessment of English
- documentation of service delivery for integrated ESL students in order to meet fiscal criteria (who was serving whom and how often)
- difficulties with placement and movement in the schools: both inappropriate placements and refusal [by teachers and/or administrators] to place students in the mainstream when students were ready for the districts vision of integration
- the mainstream teachers' inability and/or unwillingness to cope with ESL students in their classes, and the untrained or inadequately trained ESL teachers' need for the support of a specialist
- antagonism toward the first languages of the students in the school, in most cases against them in favour of English, except in one case which was a disagreement between ESL teachers in the same site about the value of the first language for learning

The schools shared philosophical positions when it came to the focus on English test based service delivery. A traditional model appeared to prevail in

schools – that ESL learners entered an ESL program separate from the mainstream of the school after some kind of an English assessment, and then exited from it after another English assessment and were automatically part of the mainstream and with no further need for ESL support.

Observation data also indicated many comments about low expectations for students in all sites with the exception developed below. The notion that somehow ESL learners' integration should be centred on social interaction usually in extra curricular activities and not centred on curriculum and instruction was most frequent.

The findings from observation data also indicate in all four sites that schools struggled with how to respond to linguistic diversity. There were no policies in place in schools and students were constantly using their languages. In only one situation (below) did the discourse indicate teachers had considered how to use this to a learning advantage for the students.

An interesting situation arose in one school with respect to the theories and practices of teachers in this situation. The discourse of the data point out that one ESL department was split because of the opposing theoretical assumptions of the teachers with respect to language, culture and curriculum content, and the concomitant practices that were a consequence of these theories. A large group of the ESL teachers in the department viewed language in isolation of content, wanted a gradual integration program from ESL classes to mainstream classes, rejected the usefulness of the first language for learning English, and wanted students grouped

by language proficiency and/or ability. They used resources that were organized for levels of language learning, such as workbooks and grammar texts. Another large group of the ESL teachers in the department viewed language as a vehicle for learning content, wanted integration into some classes immediately and provided additional support for students attending subject classes, advocated for and used actively the ESL students' first languages for learning English, and wanted students in multi-level mixed ability groups to enhance and support learning. They used resources that were related to curriculum, either adapted content materials and/or high interest, low vocabulary novels, drama and video; language learning involved cultural resources and the use of the first language in resources, as well as for creating and sharing tasks.

8. Theories/practices – define/delimit integration

The exploratory questions in this study (see questions b (i) and (ii), pages 134 to 135) looked at discourse of the documents for evidence of theories/practices with reference to the social practice (or activity) of integration of ESL learners in the texts. As stated previously, the idea here was to examine how theory and practice informed each other. This exploratory research considered the extent to which, if any, that these theories and practices of document texts to support the integration of ESL learners defined and or delimited this integration. The discussion was grouped under headings as follows: a) theories and practices reflecting the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration, b) theories and practices reflecting other views and views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration.

This was by no means an exhaustive list, but was intended to be limited to this research only, to show the documents reflected integration policies and practices organized around theory.

a) *Theories and practices reflecting the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration*

A summary of the theories and their related practices follow, including consideration of how they both define and delimit the activity of integration. (see exploratory questions b (i) and (ii), pages 134 to 135).

Theory 1: One standardized English assessment tool(test) is necessary to organize for the provision of ESL services and to facilitate integration..

Practice: The discourse of document data indicated that ESL learners experienced a place in a model of service delivery, which was assigned, based on an assessment completed upon arrival in a new country , a new school district, and/or at a school.

Excerpt 175 – Document Data Examples:

- "assessment has never been used to mean potential success, but rather to determine the level of English acquisition so that receiving schools can place students"
- "districts need to create consistency amongst schools for assessment and placement of ESL students"
- "assessment of English and math precedes placement"
- "lack of standardization in this area [English testing]creates many problems ... ESL students ... find schools which offer the most favourable assessment/placement"

Define/Delimit Integration: The discourse of texts situated ESL learners from the onset in places outside the mainstream of the school. At the same time, the theory assumed that diversity was not a problem.

Theory 2: Entrance and exit criteria are necessary to determine ESL student placement in ESL programs and consistency in movement from one separate language class or program to another within and between schools

Practice: The discourse of many documents devoted time to discussions of consistency and the need for entry criteria into ESL programs and/or mainstream programs and for exit criteria from them. **Excerpt 176** gives examples:

- "there is a need for entry and exit criteria across the district"
- "to promote equity and facilitate student placement there should be consistent provincial language which articulates a students place along the ESL service continuum ..."
- "entry and exit criteria needs to be developed for all ESL programs"
- "district wide standards are needed for entrance and exit from ESL programs and from ESL support"
- "there is a need for cross district standardised entry/exit level and levels of proficiency"

Define/Delimit Integration: Findings from the discourse of the texts of documents at both a micro and a macro level indicated a long term push for the same entrance and exit criteria across schools, districts and the province for all ESL learners. This was of interest because it was in direct conflict with one of the external reviews of the school district under study in this research which noted as far back as 1989 that this would not work as an approach for diverse groups of ESL students in large urban schools.

Theory 3: Language diversity is preferable to one language group dominating unless that group is English speaking, other language use needs limiting

Practice: The document data indicated in the discourse of many texts that theoretically it was better to have many languages in a school than a dominant group and this meant that much time was spent noting a perceived "*danger*" with linguistic diversity.

Excerpt 177 – Document Data Examples:

- "policies that limit the use of first languages in the classroom and halls are needed"
- "in schools with many languages ESL students integrate more quickly"
- "with little or no English language models how hard are we pushing our students to learn English"
- "some schools have such a high percentage of non-English speaking students that English speaking students are suffering ... they do not hear enough English"

Define/Delimit Integration: A situation where one language group predominated (unless English) presented a new dilemma of how to best ensure English continued to dominate and therefore this language was viewed as detrimental to schooling and learning in most cases.

Theory 4: Common cultural experiences are important within the school community; ESL students lack them.

Practice: ESL students were expected to learn the common cultural experiences deemed important at school.

Excerpt 178 – Document Data Examples:

- "the problem with ESL students is they lack common cultural experiences"

- “with large numbers of ESL students there is no common cultural knowledge to draw on”
- “factors that affect the amount and rate of integration for an ESL individual include the degree to which the students home cultures compares to the school culture”

Define/Delimit Integration: Findings from the discourse of texts of documents indicated that schools communicated mixed messages to ESL students regarding the value of their own cultural experiences for integration and the appropriateness of their languages and cultures within the school sites, indirectly assigning the students an inferior place within the school. All schools under study were multicultural and multilingual.

Theory 5: Socializing with peers is important for ESL students’ integration.

Practice: ESL students were encouraged in discourse data of texts to join clubs and to socialize with English speakers.

Excerpt 179 – Document Data Examples:

- “social integration with peers is important”
- “allow your child to interact socially”
- “provision is needed for the social integration of ESL learners”
- “ESL students need to be encouraged to join clubs and participate verbally in activities outside school”

Define/Delimit Integration: While social interaction can assist with language development, and facilitates making friends at school, the discourse of text data seemed to suggest that ESL learners did not learn how to socialize prior to entry into school.

- a) *Theories and practices reflecting other views and views critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration*

Documents revealed a number of theories and practices that reflected views of integration beyond the traditional service delivery emphasis. Discussion ensues.

Theory 1: The ESL student population was diverse and there were a wide variety of students needs, therefore, no one consistent organization would work effectively.

Practice: The discourse of documents noted in many situations that diverse programs were needed for ESL student learning, depending upon background experiences both personal and educational and the population of ESL students within any given year.

Excerpt 180 – Data Example:

- “beginner ESL students who have little schooling in their own language have different needs than students with highly academic education in their home countries”
- “a more flexible model is need for ESL in schools. The system presently is not equitable”
- “ ... making a system wide change in a system that has so many variables in individual school communities is not realistic”
- “there needs to be greater flexibility in meeting ESL student needs”
- “ESL students exhibit the full range of ability as all other students do and have differing needs.”
- “what works for the elementary school may not work in the secondary school”
- “our ESL students are mainly from lower economic families and refugees and they have greater needs”

Define/Delimit Integration: ESL integration was defined in this theoretical discourse as related to learning, to content, culture and context.

Theory 2: ESL students existed both in ESL separate classes and within the mainstream; in both cases the students needed ESL support, therefore ESL specialists must work with the whole school.

Practice: The discourse of documents noted that schools were trying to find ways of supporting ESL learners in the mainstream with content language as noted in

Excerpt 181:

- " ... integration is presently not supported at this school ... specialist support is much needed for students who are not in separated ESL classes"
- "schools with extremely high percentages of ESL students must be given additional support"
- "the ESL department only works with the ESL students in separate classes. This suggests the remainder of the school is not ESL and it is."
- "the ESL teacher working in the classroom supports ESL integration for both students and the classroom teacher"

Define/Delimit Integration: The discourse of documents struggled with the majority (traditional) definitions of ESL programs for learning as separate classes. For example, in some secondary schools the ESL department worked with a select number of students who were recent arrivals or beginners. In others they worked with a multi age/proficiency range of learners. In the meantime, the discourse of documents noted frequently that in practice, classes in the mainstream were full of the same range of learners because of the increase in the urban ESL population. Inequities existed in schools for ESL integration between the separate programs and specialists for some ESL students and the large numbers of ESL students in the mainstream learning without support.

Theory 3: Immersion without ESL specialist teacher support did not work, even in primary.

Practice: In some situations ESL students were immersed in the mainstream for learning and this was not viewed as a favourable method of integration without concomitant ESL specialist support; critical perspectives of integration were noted here.

Excerpt 182 Data Examples:

- “... primary students who register in the school with little or no English remain invisible and receive no support under current models ... many are Canadians who are brought up by non-English speaking relatives and come to school with no English”
- “it is difficult to convince staff that mainstreaming is educationally sound ... with inadequate recourses and without equitable support for students”
- “putting ESL students into mainstream programs without supporting them is doomed to fail”
- “the concept that integration into the subject classes is best done through immersion doesn’t work ... the students fail and/or flounder”

Define/Delimit Integration: The discourse noted that integration as a practice needed support for ESL students whether the model chosen was one of immersion or not. Some discourse was theoretically in conflict with and/or in opposition to immersion as a method of learning for ESL students.

Theory 4: ESL student assessment should be limited and show progress in areas of learning specifically taught and not used as a tool for measuring language in isolation of content and/or for placing and moving students.

Practice: The discourse data of documents indicated that sites were wrestling with issues of evaluation and some were beginning to reject notions of assessments of language proficiency/performance in isolation of content. Issues related to the

giving of letter grades to ESL students and of evaluation of language versus content also arose in the discourse as issues of integration that needed to be criticized.

Excerpt 183 Data Example:

- “ ... Some concern has been expressed with regard to too much time being spent on testing of language and not on learning content ...”
- “do marks evaluate the ability of ESL students to accomplish content assignments or do they reflect the inability to speak in English and write grammatically correct paragraphs”

Define/Delimit Integration: There was evidence in the discourse of documents that issues related to evaluation were being considered. The dilemma was whether to mark content and evaluate ESL students knowledge of content upon integration into subject classes, and/or to recognize that they were still learning the language and to mark for language only first. Teachers had conflicted positions about which method was better.

Theory 5: ESL students learned best from ESL specialist teachers; LAC (learning assistance centre) support was inappropriate for ESL students.

Practice: The discourse noted that in some sites the large numbers of integrated students learning ESL in mainstream classes without support for learning were more successful at school with any support – including that of learning assistance. This was at the same time considered from a critical perspective in the discourse of documents as inappropriate support for students learning in English who were learning a language and not learning challenged.

Excerpt 184 Data Example:

- “ESL students are receiving more support from our LAC program because there is not enough ESL support”

- "some ESL students who are integrated are attending the LAC (learning assistance centre) whose purpose is not to support ESL students ... there are other students who need LAC support ... the LAC teacher is not ESL trained"
- "in mainstreaming for integration we are actually taking students from an ESL trained teacher and putting them in classes with teachers who are untrained"

Define/Delimit Integration: The discourse indicated that schools were wrestling with how to provide support for the large numbers of ESL students in the mainstream. While in practice the data recognized that support from non-ESL specialist teachers was better than none, in theory the discourse also noted that this was an inappropriate choice for supporting ESL learning.

Theory 6: Learning in English was also cultural learning. Schools were culturally and linguistically diverse discursive sites for learning.

Practice: The discourse indicated that in some situations where ESL integration was viewed from a perspective of language socialization, learning in English was practiced with recognition of culture diversity in both resources and accomplishing tasks.

Excerpt 185 Data Example:

- "there needs to be support and opportunities for cultural integration"
- "cultural issues and intolerance amongst some students and parents is a major problem"
- "students have difficulty learning if the classroom and the school has no recognition of who they are culturally or what they know"
- "lack of participation in classes by certain cultural groups needs addressing"
- "there are over twenty linguistic groups represented in the school"
- "students tend to group together and speak their own languages and not in English outside the classroom"

Define/Delimit Integration: The discourse indicated that in theory some situations included issues of cultural diversity in thinking about integration, however, there was little evidence of practices reflecting these theories in the discourse data.

Practice: Discourse data from documents indicated that culture varied from site to site and past experiences influenced present ones.

Theory 7: Prior experiences of language and culture influenced the learning of language.

Practice: The discourse of documents indicated situations where language learning was related to the learning of content and culture – a different perspective of integration than language in isolation.

Excerpt 186 Data Example:

- “students who come from Asia will be given greater opportunity to study and value the cultural contribution that their cultures have made to this country”
- “there is a need for more culturally relevant resources in our library and for translated books”
- “the students in the class wrote stories in their first languages and then translated them into English”

Define/Delimit Integration: The discourse revealed through the data that comments concerning integration practices considered culture a part of learning and acknowledged that prior experiences of language and culture influenced the learning of language. However, in practice there was little evidence of diverse cultural practices in the findings of the discourse of documents, with the exception

of two pilot project examples given earlier and half the department in one site under study, both previously mentioned.

**Theory 8: Academic learning made language demands of
ESL learners and required explicit teaching.**

Practice: The discourse of document data indicated that there was recognition of the need for specific specialist support for academic learning for integrated ESL students. Mentioned in the discourse was the use of key visuals and graphics, language structures, and the knowledge framework. Also some of the discourse mentioned the need for culturally relevant resources and for activities that involved the students own languages as a tool for learning in English.

Excerpt 187 Data Example:

- "objective: to provide specific language structures for students while studying content ... to introduce content of government unit ... to improve student marks by teaching both content and language"
- "key visuals and graphics were developed to support the students understanding of the content in this class"
- "working with the classroom teachers in content areas in secondary ... in-service for classroom teachers ... knowledge framework, resources, strategies ..."

Define/Delimit Integration: Mentioned in the findings from the discourse was the use of key visuals and graphics, language structures, and the knowledge framework in the practice of integration to support ESL students. The discourse of documents revealed that those who practiced using the foregoing were participants in staff development programs as part of a pilot project which specifically taught the theoretical reasons for adjusting practice in this way, and supported the

development of these practices. Beyond these situations, the discourse did not present evidence of others using them to support ESL integration to any great degree.

In sum, the discourse of texts of document data revealed that English assessment focussed service delivery was both a fiscal matter and a matter of informed choice which received considerable attention, both at a micro or a macroscopic level of educational planning and implementation.

C. Summary of Research Findings

As previously stated, in the new TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) Standards K-12 (2000), a set of documents which have been commissioned and endorsed by the TESOL organization which summarize much contemporary literature, two models for the integration of ESL learners can be identified: a) the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration, and b) a new model for integration recommended by TESOL. Research findings in reference to the two models for integration are considered in the subsequent discussion.

1. The traditional ESL service delivery model for integration

As stated earlier in this research, a historical or traditional ESL service delivery model for integration involved ESL learners on a path for integration into the mainstream from English testing, to placement in separate English language classes or ESL programs, to sometimes gradual, and then full movement into mainstream classes, typically without ESL support. Findings, which involved

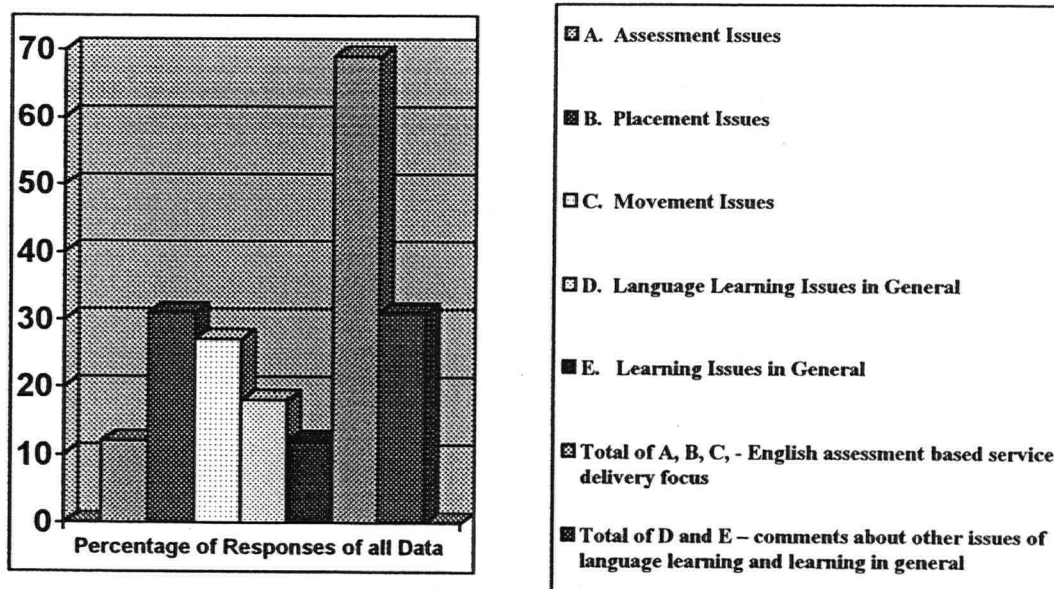
examination in this research study of a very large body of research data – survey data, interview data, and document data indicated that this was the dominant model for integration in practice in this study. This model persisted over time and was both officially and unofficially sanctioned by school district and provincial policy in this research.

Assessment was the criterion from which schools determined the placement and movement of ESL students. Analysis of the data by topics revealed that the focus was largely on two issues of service delivery – placement and movement (see Table 6, Figure 3 following) were the most pressing issues. They occurred most frequently in all data.

Table 6. Frequency of Responses for all Text and all Respondent Data by Topic
(see appendices for detailed coding categories)

<i>Activity of Integration: by topic</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
A. Assessment Issues	248	12
B. Placement Issues	652	31
C. Movement Issues	567	27
Total of A, B, C, – English assessment based service delivery focus	1467	69
D. Language Learning Issues in General	392	18
E. Learning Issues in General	261	12
Total of D and E – comments about other issues of language learning and learning in general	653	31
Overall Totals	2120	100

Figure 3. Frequency Of Responses Comparing all Text and all Document Data



2. Other views of integration including those critical of the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration

This model for integration that focused on English assessment based service delivery was received critically by some respondents – parents, teachers, students and administrators at all levels micro and macro in the education of ESL learners in this study. This criticism indicated that that pressing issues regarding the activity of integration and the ESL learner were ones of program management or organization. Surely there was more to the activity of integration than merely arranging ESL learners for learning social language in a program of service delivery based on performance on tests of English acquisition? Respondents and document data indicated that there were concerns both with the quality of the services delivered under the traditional model and with the traditional model for integration itself. In

addition, practices related to service delivery and tests of English performance as the motivating factor for moving students into content classes were never altered, evaluated for effectiveness as part of an accountability system, or reflected upon.

The problems raised by respondents and in document data with the traditional ESL service delivery, English test-based focus for organizing ESL K-12 education were many. When ESL numbers were small in terms of enrolment, according to respondent and document data, this traditional model could not facilitate movement into mainstream classes because there was neither enough money and/or political will to create spaces for integrating ESL students into these classes, nor sufficient electives to make gradual entry into academic classes possible. Frustrations with assessment and with the system for organizing services based on English test based assessment led, according to respondents, to great difficulty placing and moving ESL students both in separate ESL classes and programs, and between ESL classes and mainstream classes. This difficulty with placement and movement persisted over time. Rather than getting better as the number of ESL students increased in the organization, instead placement and movement for integration became worse because of the continued use of a traditional model originally designed for a few students, with a new situation – a much larger number of ESL students with increased diversity culturally, linguistically, and in terms of language and learning needs.

Of most significance in this study was the change in the urban school situation which made integration as practiced in the past for ESL learners [from test

to separate ESL program to mainstream without support] neither feasible nor logical – how could a district integrate a *majority* of students through a model of service that required transitional movement over time into a *minority* of students? ESL students both in and out of the mainstream formed the majority, and interestingly enough, some respondents felt that there were even more students than those labelled for *timed* [maximum of five years] fiscal funding for the ministry.

When ESL student population numbers were large in terms of enrolment, there was generally enough space and electives for integration according to respondents. However, they also stated that ESL was the mainstream of the student population so it did not make sense to integrate ESL students from separate programs into a mainstream where ESL was the majority. In addition, respondents noted a general lack of understanding of the need for ESL specialists to be teaching ESL learners, and lack of awareness of the interaction of language, content and culture as important for learning ESL. It was erroneously felt that everyone was an ESL teacher [that is they spoke English therefore could teach it] and as a result ESL specialist teachers were not necessary. ESL learners were largely ignored in the mainstream or viewed as they were in the past – as students who needed neither additional support, nor adaptations and accommodations beyond what the inexperienced classroom teacher already knew how to do. Some respondents actually reported that “sink or swim” was the best approach for ESL student integration into the mainstream.

3. Rethinking integration as a social practice or activity – links to TESOL

For a long time this traditional ESL service delivery model for integration was largely accepted in ESL education, and had not been subjected to any critical analysis in research. Recently, there are beginning to be precedents for critical analysis of this traditional model for integration, both evident in the literature on language socialization, and in the new advocacy and position papers of TESOL in their Standards pre-K to 12 (see Table 1, page 26).

Numerous criticisms of this traditional model for integration in this study by respondents and in the text of documents made it apparent that existing social practices for ESL integration needed rethinking. The widespread negative commentary about, and frustration with, the traditional service delivery model on the part of the respondents (teachers, students, parents and administrators) in this study suggested that a model of English test based service delivery was designed for integration in circumstances that no longer existed in the urban schools under study here. Reference to appropriate parts of the table in what follows illustrates this point.

In this research, while most of the responses were related to English assessment driven ESL service delivery critical analysis of the issues as presented by the data were clearly ones related to theory – the respondents had not yet taken on the responsibility at both a micro and a macro level for ESL learners beyond merely making program arrangements for individual ESL students or groups of ESL students for basic communicative language development. The following discussion

in reference to Table I. illustrating TESOL' s focus for ESL education explains this further.

a) *Language learning focus in this study*

In terms of language learning, ESL was viewed (by the vast majority of respondents) at both a micro and a macroscopic level as something ESL students entered as a separate program and exited from. When ESL students' exited respondents in this study no longer considered them ESL students. Language learning was not viewed within the larger context of language as a medium for learning throughout schooling as recommended by TESOL (see Table I). Instead, the dominant language learning focus was one where English was taught for its own sake rather than as a medium of learning. The focus on mastery of basic social or communicative language in a separate program took on average about two to three years. While this approach dominated in this study, many of the issues faced by schools, administrators and teachers who were critical of this traditional approach, and those respondents who gave other views of integration commented on topics related to the view that language was a medium for learning and not something that was taught in isolation of this learning. The contradiction between a traditional model of English test based service delivery for ESL integration that was organized for a few ESL students, and general knowledge that the entire school was diverse, therefore language learning must be examined from a broader perspective was evident in this research – ESL learners were mainstream. One of the significant issues that needed addressing was: How could an urban school change its

organization so that the theories and practices in place for second language learners would address the language, learning and cultural diversity of a large multilingual and multicultural student population with large numbers of ESL students in attendance?

Finally, respondents in this study generally agreed that there was a need for a language policy and/or language policies within schools and across the school district/province, albeit sometimes for the wrong reasons [to promote English only versus bilingualism], since the discourse indicated that the linguistic and cultural diversity in schools presented challenges. In this researcher's view, this might have been eliminated as an issue and/or been less pressing if the discourse had indicated that language was viewed as a medium of learning as TESOL recommends and not in isolation of learning, and if cultural diversity as knowledge of the world was considered by the education system as an intricate and dynamic part of this learning.

b) Concept of integration in this study

The concept of integration as practiced by most of the respondents in this study and emphasized in the document data was one where placement in a mainstream class happened for ESL students after passing an English test or completing an English course/ class in line with the traditional model represented in Table I in reference to TESOL's statements. When ESL learners entered the mainstream or were integrated in accordance with the traditional model, most respondents noted that support services for ESL learners were discontinued. In

addition, some respondents and texts of document data noted that the traditional model for integration prevalent in the school district did not suit the current urban student population in school sites. ESL students dominated enrolment and they felt that both content teachers and language teachers needed to provide ESL support for the large number of diverse groups of ESL learners in schools whose language and learning needs were becoming increasingly complex.

Administrators, as agents of the organization in positions of power, tended to focus solely on program arrangements from a fiscal perspective and on getting staff to accommodate changes in programming due to fiscal restraint and ever changing practices concerning the activity of integration brought about by the organization's evolving vision which largely meant repeating the same model over time though parts were occasionally renamed or shifted. And, at both a micro and a macro level, documents revealed great frustration at the lack of a "one size fitted all" model for ESL education and the perceived lack of control that arose as a consequence. In fact, the organization in this study sought this *one size fitted all* model of ESL service delivery service delivery – the great desire expressed over time in the document and respondent data was to have the one provincial English test, the same ESL program through which all ESL learners progressed, and consistent movement criteria for ESL students between programs, schools and districts. There seemed to be a great deal of focus in this research on coming up with the perfect standardized test for the assessment of ESL learners and for creating and implementing a uniform system of placement and movement, at the expense of the ESL learners' language socialization

[the interrelationship of issues of learning, language learning, content knowledge and culture] throughout education. Critical analysis of the preferred test based model for integration by some respondents and texts in this study indicated that there were too many students in the organization to make the traditional model plausible. In addition, theories the respondents brought to their practices regarding traditionally appropriate ways of delivering services that worked with a small number of ESL students, in their views, conflicted with the reality of an ESL student population that represented in the sites under study here, from over one third to two thirds of an entire school population.

When ESL numbers were small, an ESL teacher taught in a separate ESL program and the focus was on the acquiring of the English language in terms of mastery of the elements of the language – grammar, rules and forms of the language, then the organization of the ESL program centred around the learning of English in isolation of content. Conversely, when the ESL student population dominated the student population in general, and ESL students were enrolled in all classes within a school, then traditional theories and practices about teaching and learning no longer worked. This was the case for a number of respondents in this study. Content teachers wrestled with trying to understand how to teach English second language learners who attended their classes. And ESL teachers tried to remain in their separate programs in many situations, especially in secondary, reporting that they were in conflict with mainstream teachers who taught just as many ESL students and thought the system was not equitable. The two teacher

groups often held perspectives of integration that were critical of one another.

According to a number of respondents, the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration needed rethinking for many reasons, each briefly highlighted below.

- i) *English test based assessment, placement, and movement of ESL students did not take into account a large ESL student demographic in an urban centre*

ESL students have a long history of attendance in public schools in the district and the province in which this study occurs. However, government and school district statistical data indicates that they have been a minority student population group in the past. In the last ten years, immigration went through a period of rapid increase, followed by a gradual decrease and then a levelling off. Concomitantly, this had very rapidly increased an already existing Canadian ESL population, particularly in large urban centres like the one in the present study. This coupled with increased student mobility internationally, amongst other factors has made education systems ones of rapid change; large urban school districts, the one in this study an exemplar, have become characteristically multilingual and multicultural.

The great difficulty noted repeatedly in the discourse of respondents concerning the activity of integration and ESL student placement and movement made it readily apparent that a focus on the activity of integration in terms of service delivery organized around testing of English in isolation was not seen by respondents to be appropriate. Thomas and Collier (1997:74) noted in their study the need in school sites to investigate:

What's not working for English learners as they move through the school years ... and be prepared to change your strategies and practices to achieve better long-term results.

A global and critical analysis of the data in this study indicated that the respondents were in a state of change, currently wrestling with issues of integration not accounted for in an outdated model of English test based assessment. What were the issues identified by the respondents?

- ii) *Traditionally appropriate ways of delivering services for a small number of ESL students did not work with a large and dominant ESL student population*

Numerous organizational difficulties and dilemmas arose as a consequence of trying to make a model for integration designed for a small number of ESL students work in an urban school where the numbers of ESL students were large and sometimes dominant. How could an organization reasonably assess two thirds of a school and move them within one third for gradual integration under a traditional model of integration? How could a school organize one third or two thirds of the population into separate ESL classes? By language proficiency? ability? Numerous problems were caused with assessment, placement and movement simply due to the great numbers of ESL students within urban schools. When the number of ESL students in separate ESL language classes or programs were equalled or dominated in the mainstream (mainstream classes had large numbers of ESL students) then there were bound to be conflicts in an organization which continued to use traditional methods of integration with a focus on the English assessment of a few. There were simply too many ESL students in urban schools for this traditional model for integration to work effectively. Attempts to place ESL students based on

traditional models of ESL service delivery for integration created consistent problems for the participants in this placement and movement process.

c) *Program organization in this study*

For the most part, in the schools in this study, respondents reported that ESL students should be organized into ESL language classes separated from the mainstream – a traditional view repeated over time. Placement and movement of ESL students in schools depended upon their performance on English tests or upon completion of an English program or course, and the learning of English was sequential and linear according to respondents. A few respondents thought that ESL students would benefit from being mainstreamed without ESL specialist teacher support in a "sink or swim" approach.

Placement in ESL programs was noted to be arbitrary in the sites in this study and success for ESL students in achieving academically or making it to the mainstream was not guaranteed. As noted by Sheppard et al. (1994:92) programs for the integration of ESL learners evolved "given the circumstances that existed in the school" – and were influenced by fiscal rather than educational motives. And, as noted by Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti (1996:207) and Kauffman (1993:30-31) even after students were mainstreamed in all sites in this study, they could be moved back into ESL classes, or into pull out situations, or non-academic classes – a less than satisfactory arrangement in terms of motivation and self-esteem. Again, this was true in all sites across elementary and secondary schools with the exception of primary students who were largely ignored and were already mainstreamed. ESL

students in all sites in this exploratory research were also tracked and placed in low track mainstream classes because there was an assumption that these classes would be easier for the ESL learner.

In contrast, some respondents and texts of documents thought that ESL students should receive support beyond these separate programs in the mainstream classes of which they were a large part. Among these respondents there was a call for programs to be better aligned – ESL students they commented should have access to both language classes or support and content classes, and both should be better coordinated for the ESL student. The large ESL student population that dominated urban schools required a program organization that was better aligned with mainstream classes and connected to mainstream curriculum.

Though integration has a long history in ESL education, as previously noted in the literature review, studies of integration viewed through the “social practice” lens as an activity with a theoretical and a practical aspect are lacking. The respondents were considered as active agents in this study and many held views of a traditional model for ESL organization in practice and theoretically, did not appear to take seriously into account language as a medium of learning content. Very few of the respondents held a view of integration as an activity in an organization which recognized the possibilities for advancing language and learning and had a tremendous potential to support both ESL students and their peers. Large urban school districts with high ESL populations must learn to better coordinate the learning of language(s) with the learning of content from a variety of cultural

perspectives, in a variety of contexts throughout schooling. Not to move in this direction was to do a disservice to students learning in ESL and to their peers ESL students could have been positioned for integration as learners with background experiences and previous knowledge of language and of the world; integration could have involved the learning of language(s) simultaneously with content (curriculum) and culture in various contexts for schooling.

Finally, it is worth noting that while the findings of discourse of texts describing ESL service delivery appeared to spend many hours wrestling with and seeking the perfect model for the assessment, placement and movement of students to enhance their second language acquisition, the different viewpoints and/or critical perspectives with regard to these same learners did not receive the consideration due. While still in infant stages in terms of development in this study, other issues were there in the discourse data and offered the potential for making sense of the inadequacies of the English assessment focussed service delivery model. For example, the difficulties with assessment, placement and movement might have been lessened if all were better coordinated with concern for the learning of the academic language of the mainstream curricula of the school. Issues related to language learning and integration that saw students placed and moved from separate programs to mainstream programs causing conflict between ESL teachers and mainstream teachers over integration might have been improved by seeking linkages with views of language as a medium of learning within the larger context of schooling and curricula. Or, by more effectively coordinating language development

in terms of its value for learning content and not for its own sake based on performance on tests of English in isolation. Dilemmas with the learning of English in mainstream classes which caused movement of students from mainstream programs backwards into ESL programs might also have been moderated if movement was not based on assessments of the English language in isolation in the first place, and if schools paid greater attention to voices which viewed learning the English language as a vehicle for learning in general; a vehicle through which ESL students master the language of the mainstream curriculum.

In spite of the words of wisdom found in an external review of the district's ESL program which was completed as far back as 1989, the evidence indicated that the school district in this study continued to seek ways of organizing the same traditional integration practices based on English testing over time. The review noted – **Excerpt 188** – that this was not an educationally sound approach:

A large number of submissions we received highlighted the inadequacy of the present procedures for reception and initial assessment of newly arrived ESL students.

Originally, the English tests were carried out in the schools in which ESL students were placed, however, these services were moved after the review to a central orientation centre. In this research, findings do not show that the difficulties associated with assessment had changed; the documents analyzed noted the same conflicts first articulated in the external review. Why was this so? It seemed to this researcher that the problem was the persistence of the traditional model, as well as the assessment. The external review noted that – **Excerpt 189**:

... no one model of program organization and no one program or set of programs ought to be offered in all schools. Instead, a number of approaches are considered possible responses.

Moving the assessment centre between sites and or to a central centre to manage ESL students more efficiently did not seem to change the problems with English assessment based integration practices and subsequent service delivery.

The dilemma that remained was: Why continue to try to seek one traditional model for delivering ESL services in a characteristically complex, multicultural, multilingual urban school with tremendous student diversity?

i) *What is the position or place of the ESL teacher, the ESL student and the ESL parent in an ESL mainstream in terms of learning and language?*

The discourse data in this study made it apparent that the place of the ESL teacher, the ESL student and the ESL parent in the school often caused conflicting visions of education with respect to student integration. When ESL learners were small in number in a school site, the place of the ESL teacher, the ESL student and the parent were clear because integration was from separate program to mainstream. As numbers increased, this clarity was reduced, and conflicting visions of the integration of the ESL learner within the school were more evident.

As indicated previously, the opposing and at times conflicting visions of integration as service delivery and/or from different and/or critical perspectives placed these participants in different ways within schools for integration. The conflicting viewpoints continued over time and became more pronounced in this study with an increase in the student population for some readily identifiable reasons. In a number of cases a respondent or document recognized the change in

the number of students in the ESL student population, after which the same respondent or document made recommendations to change schooling by using the same traditional model or perspective. Therefore, a reflection of the status quo in that this was a suggestion for change in theory that was already not working in practice. Given these circumstances, how could the situation for the ESL learners' integration improve?

For instance, an excerpt – **Excerpt 190**– from one document, an external review noted that:

The fact that transition courses at the secondary level are designed to introduce ESL students to the language and concepts in core subjects and are usually attended by students after they have spent 1 to 2 years in ESL classes indicates that there may be a considerable hiatus for these students in their academic development.

Here, there seemed to be a recognition that there was a problem with keeping ESL students in programs that were exclusively related to English language learning in isolation of content learning at school. And, one obvious solution would be to coordinate the learning of language better with the learning of content and/or to address issues of integration in relation to the content of the school curricula. While the study recommended that greater attention could be paid to organizing ESL programs in relation to academic programs, there was also a contradictory recommendation. The review stated that a reception centre at the district as well as the school level would render this situation more effective for learners. However, reception and orientation, while they may have a place in some situations, do not support student integration to the mainstream of the school, nor do they support the

understanding and implementation of a system wide approach to language as a medium for learning content. Recommendations as to how to better coordinate the learning of language were not made clear and yet clearly there was much criticism of the existing models. Thus, a recommendation to change practice by altering 'traditional' service delivery at the site level was in contrast to and conflict with another recommendation that in theory supported considering language from a different perspective – as a medium of learning.

d) *Teachers' and students' roles in this study*

Many of the teacher respondents in this study worked separately from each other, consistent with the role for teachers documented by TESOL (see Table I). ESL teachers worked in separate ESL language classes with ESL students, and content teachers reported that they ignored ESL students who were enrolled in their classes. A few respondents who were critical of this model noted the need for collaboration so that ESL specialist teachers worked with the entire student population and not just separate classes, and so that content teachers could collaborate with ESL specialist teachers in the best interest of the ESL students. Some respondents also noted the need for all teachers in the mainstream to have some kind of ESL professional training.

Some of the conflicts and contrasts that arose in the findings in this study concerning the social practice or activity of integration amongst students and teachers reflected issues of power position and place in various roles. They are

worth noting to stimulate further research in these areas. Power positioning was evident at many levels, among them:

- regular students were described by mainstream teachers as better than ESL students in terms of learning, however, ESL students were seen to be highly motivated, hard workers, nice, quiet and a pleasure to teach
- mainstream teachers saw ESL programs as gate keeping – less than of value. They resented in many cases, ESL teachers having smaller workloads to accommodate a large number of new ESL students
- ESL parents saw ESL programs as inferior to regular programs and wanted their children moved as quickly as possible
- ESL parents were viewed as unable to understand and unwilling to respond to the school
- regular students saw ESL students from a ‘them and us’ perspective, they were generally nice but a problem and didn’t know much
- ESL students also saw themselves as inferior to regular students and placed in a position in classes that were separated; they also saw themselves learning English from nice ESL teachers but did not have a vision of themselves as learners on a path to being successful academically
- Some ESL teachers saw their own programs as segregating yet they taught this way rather than being where they wanted to be – in classrooms – because of the resentment and positioning of mainstream teachers

It was noted by a few respondents and texts of documents that there was a need for all members of the school community to collaborate to make the teaching and learning environment a better one for the ESL learners who dominated the urban student population.

Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti (1996:218) have noted that mainstream teachers must find ways to address the language learning needs of ESL students within academic class settings rather than separate settings – indeed, this was a view supported in this research. For a number of mainstream teachers the response to a lack of success [for ESL students] in the mainstream was not to examine ones

teaching in the case of these respondents but rather to move ESL students yet again – to send them back to separate ESL programs and/or to a pull out situation for additional English language instruction, in isolation of content. Why was this the situation? In this research the organization as a whole did not appear to be adequately dealing with the issues. For the most part, integration was not viewed as an activity which required support for the language learner's socialization through language, content and culture over time. Instead, the focus of the organization was mainly on English test based service delivery and the language classes that were created supported this model, fitting into a predetermined idea about how ESL students should be integrated (assessed, placed, moved) without recognition of the variable and diverse needs of the students themselves. Here, as in Collier's (1995) words, the policy makers assumed that "language learning" could be "isolated from other issues ... an over simplistic perception." There was little recognition in the discourse of respondents that as schoolwork became increasingly complex, ESL students dropped out or opted out more frequently. There was also little recognition that support for ESL students while in the mainstream with a full academic load might not only prove useful but it was also a necessity in terms of learning the language and cultural assumptions of content classes, not to mention rules for operating successfully in a content classroom.

As noted previously in the findings, mainstream teachers for the most part were not willing to make adjustments to accommodate ESL learners but instead felt that they were better off in a "sink or swim" model of integration in content classes.

This “sink or swim” discourse with regard to the integration of ESL learners was found previously in a study by Fisher and Echols (1989:93) in the same district. Clearly, there are theories about teaching and learning here that need rethinking but are fossilized and not easy to change. Consistent with findings from Constantino (1994), most mainstream teachers in this research placed the responsibility for language development and academic success on the school ESL teachers. This study also seemed to substantiate her findings that both ESL and regular teachers held low expectations for ESL learners and had many more suggestions for ways of involving them in extra curricular rather than curricular activities. And, in the words of Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti (1996:207) the students did not understand their placement in the organization of the school, nor their program, nor the lack of challenge or subsequent lack of support after leaving a separate ESL class.

- i) *A multicultural, multilingual school community did not suit one similar/uniform model of integration – there were many diverse student needs culturally, linguistically, in terms of educational background, and learning needs generally*

Nation states have been shown to be responsible for the creation of systems of domination and subordination (see, Ng et al, 1995; May, 2001). With respect to minority languages, they have been subjected to domination as nation states advocated for English internationally as a language of prestige and power (see, May, 2001). Educational institutions have for the most part supported this domination, both incidentally and directly (see Corson and Lemay, 1996; May 2001).

Power struggles existed in the organization(s) as indicated in a global examination of the data in this research – a) between some teachers and

administrators that recognized the diversity in school(s), and others who needed to maintain traditional monolingual values and beliefs; b) between some students who were not willing to lose their languages and their cultures and others who thought that they should, and c) between some parents who wanted students to learn English fast and felt it was better if their children spoke only English and those that advocated for linguistic diversity. While issues such as these have perhaps always been in the background, they appear to be currently more pressing and creating more conflicts and dilemmas for schools because of the changes in the character of large urban school districts – they are increasingly diverse linguistically and culturally and enrol students who have greatly increased mobility across and between countries. Numerous questions arise in this new situation.

There were many examples of these struggles around learning and language in this study. These struggles caused difficulties with respect to the place of the ESL teacher, the ESL student and the ESL parent within schools. ESL students, teachers and parents were often placed in opposition to the mainstream of the school and were critical of each other. The discourse data also indicated that there was considerable conflict between ESL and the mainstream with respect to inclusion and access. As far as the school organization was concerned, the standard remediation for such struggles and conflicts with integration was to modify the traditional service delivery model in minor ways. Despite this the same issues recurred over time in this study. There were times and places where ESL students and mainstream students were in opposition, ESL teachers and mainstream teachers who had equal

numbers of students learning English in their classes were in opposition, and ESL parents were not felt to be a part of the mainstream. All groups wrestled with trying to find their appropriate place in reference to this mainstream.

e) Visions of culture and bilingualism (multilingualism) reflected in this study

With respect to the cultural experiences of the ESL learner, while the discourse of language teachers was slightly different from that of mainstream teachers in terms of the activity of integration and the ESL learner, the discourse of most teachers in this study in practice reflected underlying theories of education which were housed in assimilation policies and practices of the past. Support for the developing bilingualism of ESL learners advocated in the TESOL advocacy position papers presented in the literature review earlier was not evident to any great extent. Expressed beliefs about integration included ideas about language and learning that excluded culture. And, when culture was mentioned it was perceived as a dominant culture; the culture of the English speaking community of the school took precedence, even when there were more students who spoke other languages on site.

While this researcher agrees with others who have noted that the purpose of the school is not to disseminate the community cultures of the learners through the school or to reflect multiculturalism through teaching "fragmented, diluted versions of their culture taught second hand" since this may be more appropriately done by the community themselves (see, Moodley, 1995:817), it must be stated that in this study most of those involved in the public education of ESL learners in schools with

diverse language learners at all levels did not appear to be deeply informed concerning the process of integration that language learners were involved in at school – in the sense that this required knowledge of culture, cultural literacy, and knowledge of the relationship of culture to language learning and learning in general. As Thomas and Collier (1997:42) noted:

Central to that student's acquisition of language are all of the surrounding social and cultural processes occurring through everyday life within the student's past, present, and future, in all contexts – home, school community and the broader society.

There is much to learn about the ESL experience in terms of the relationships between "sociocultural, linguistic, academic and cognitive processes," which they view as both "interdependent and complex." Language acquisition at school through the medium of English when one has another language(s) already prior to entry raises complex questions.

Also, in spite of the apparent simplicity of a traditional ESL service delivery model for integration in terms of assessing, placing and moving students based on performance on tests of English grammar, it has been noted that it was still not clear to ESL parents how their children progressed through the system. A part of the problem seemed to be related to the assumption held by those in positions of power in the school district that parents could find someone to translate and culturally explain information for them, rather than schools taking responsibility for sending home translated materials, and for using translators and cultural interpreters on a more regular basis.

Cultural issues of identity and status arose with ESL students who sometimes expressed being embarrassed by their parents' lack of English. And, while they did not understand the service delivery model of which they were a central part, they also felt inferior to and separate from the regular mainstream of the school. The main focus of the ESL students was on getting out of ESL and being *normal or regular*. The degree to which ESL students did not see themselves on a path to academic achievement in this study was discouraging.

This exploratory research suggests that it would be valuable for researchers to raise awareness of culture and its relationship to language learning to reflect on the intricacies of integrations as a language socialization activity. Language, according to Spradley (1980:89) and others, gives meaning to and defines the culture. The role of the ESL learner in a school is much more than enrichment and enhancement of the school culturally, which was the focus of the respondents in this study. Yet, the notion that the learner of ESL was actively involved at a cognitive level in trying to come to terms with the school and its community both socially and academically through culture remained relatively absent in this research. As was the idea that he/she thought about the interaction of cultural experiences, and developed and created a cultural experience of his/her own while trying to reconcile the diversity being experienced at school. And yet, although the participants in this study recognized that there was culture involved in discussions concerning the integration of ESL learners, they were not greatly focussed on its importance and did not discuss the theories regarding this culture that they were articulating in their

discourse about culture and the activity of integration of ESL students. There were few reports that the cultural experience of the ESL learner was far more active and dynamic, and closely tied to learning content and language within the context of schooling, and not merely at the level of food, festivals and games.

An awareness of the fact that the ESL learners in this study did not find cultural adjustment easy, that they felt quite separate and excluded from the mainstream of the school, and that this cultural adjustment was part of the process of successful integration was not much evident here in the vast majority of responses in surveys, interviews, and documents. This is consistent with the findings of others, which were similar (Watt, Roessingh, and Bosetti, 1996:208; Collier, 1997:51; Fisher and Echols, 1989:97).

There was little discussion that ESL students were placed in the sites in this research within a service delivery model in a position of separation socially and culturally. Neither was their recognition that this place was decided upon through English assessments and placements and movements that neither supported the vast linguistic knowledge ESL students brought to school through their first languages, nor the experiences they owned from childhood culturally. When the majority of the respondents looked at the activity of integration and ESL learners, they did not focus on the development of policies and practices that advanced the language learners position in the school on the path to fluent bilingualism – rather they have their theories in relation to the traditional model of integration. In this research, there was little recognition that not only did the language learner encode the culture of the

school community, /she also created it and could have been placed within the school system in a position of equity so that this natural process could evolve.

In addition, there were issues of conflict with respect to cultural and linguistic diversity raised in this study. In models of integration where service delivery was a focal point, ESL students were thought to need to adapt to school culture, and to learn English at the expense of maintaining and increasing their linguistic abilities. Also, it was often assumed by both respondents and the authors of documents reviewed in this study that ESL students had little "knowledge of the world" and/or this knowledge was not considered a priority for learning while at the same time the discourse considered there to be cultural and linguistic issues.

f) Curriculum development and instructional practices in this study

The texts of some documents and some respondents thought that the solution to resolving dilemmas caused by traditional integration practices lie in creating one ESL curriculum through which ESL students passed. Along with the standard assessment tool, and a format for movement through indicators of English proficiency, ESL students would master a standard ESL curriculum.

One ESL curriculum for ESL students?

In schools such as those in this study where ESL students formed a majority, there was little discussion of how the whole school could work through an ESL curriculum. Would only the ESL beginners complete the curriculum? Or, beginners without an academic background? Again, one might ask: Why the need for a standard ESL curriculum? And, how does a standard ESL curriculum fit with the

mandated curriculum of the province? Is there an expectation that ESL learners will learn an academic curriculum on par with age peers, or should they spend several years learning a separate English curriculum first? Or, is there a better way to coordinate the learning of language with the learning of academic content for large numbers of ESL students in urban schools?

By contrast, many respondents in this study in interviews, surveys and in the document data expressed feelings that the education system needed to view ESL learners as the mainstream of the school, and noted that existing structures in place for the activity of integration of ESL learners did not work. They attempted to adapt and modify curriculum in practice in many instances to try to adjust to this change, sometimes unwillingly, however, they did not necessarily reveal in the discourse a deep understanding of the reasons for adopting strategies to alter curriculum and instruction.

For example, although, several teachers reported that they used graphics to help adapt curriculum; they seemed to have some awareness that this was a good thing to do but they did not seem to know how this supported the integration of ESL learners. None developed the usefulness of graphics in any detail, this in spite of several years of implementation of a research project that supported the use of graphics for this reason. This project was consistent with suggestions made in ESL education by Mohan (2001) that:

There has been a failure to relate students' powers of visual interpretation and expression to their powers of verbal interpretation and expression, to relate graphics to words as means of thought rather than to separate them (2001:117)

Graphics seemed to be used as discrete units for individual language lessons and were not viewed as "parts of larger activity or social practice," as Mohan (2001:120) has noted was important. And so, while there was a strategy in place in practice, the theoretical and global significance of adopting this strategy was not fully understood from a theoretical perspective.

In regard to academic subject content of the curriculum, many ESL learners did not see themselves learning academic content until they entered the mainstream of the school, and for that matter in this study neither did anyone else. Somehow content and mainstream had become synonymous, and while ESL teachers were focussed on getting learners into content classes, mainstream teachers wanted them kept out. Most parents and ESL students wanted to get into the mainstream as quickly as possible, in fact, students were more focussed on curriculum, language learning and academic success than other respondents in this study. ESL parents wanted immediate access to the mainstream curricular programs and tried to understand the school and how the activity of integration in terms of placement and movement worked for their children – which was not clear even to the teachers themselves.

The need to manage curriculum more effectively, given the students enrolled, through training teachers to teach language and content both consciously and intentionally in a way that would support the academic achievement of the English second language learner was evident. As was the need for better coordination of content classes and ESL classes given that the main focus of the second language

learner and his/her parents was to get into the mainstream and achieve success at school.

Thomas and Collier (1997:71) suggest that we redefine our studies of ESL education to include a focus on academic instruction. To change the power situation in the school this may be one of the steps, particularly if one asks the same question they pose: "Which instructional practices allow English learners to reach full parity in the long term with native English speakers in mastery of the full academic curriculum?" And, if we recognize that to do this issues using language as a medium for learning are paramount, as are those of knowledge and culture.

With respect to academic instruction, it was not evident that instructional practices such as those found in this study that focussed on grammar worksheets, and sequential oral drills and levelled reading books in separate ESL classes or programs would not support the academic achievement and learning of ESL students in the mainstream of the school. Neither was it valid for the respondents in this study to assess the capabilities and potentials of ESL students based on tests of their English rather than on tests of their ability to use English to achieve academically.

Respondents in this study also saw the need for a scope and sequence through which ESL student could be labelled appropriately and moved for integration through a school. Respondents and the texts of documents suggested this scope and sequence could be tied to consistent *levels of language* checked off by teachers.

In this study it was hard to see how the endless search for levels of language could resolve difficulties with integration in urban schools because the levels dealt with language arts and did not deal with mainstream academic curricula.

The discourse of one document – **Excerpt 191** – in this study noted:

the major problem facing ESL students in Math is an inability to decipher explanatory text. They will unfailingly skip the text and look at the exercises. Sometimes they can figure out the exercises, sometimes they cannot.

ESL students in this situation were wrestling with the mathematics curriculum; they needed to learn the language of the mathematics curriculum – but these particular ESL learners were skilled at computation. This is one of many examples in this study of integration practices that revealed a recognition of the problem with the traditional service delivery approach to integration given a recognition that language learning needed to be coordinated with the learning of content in theory. Practices however, did not follow in this study.

One of the issues raised in this study frequently was a conflict with respect to how to teach language in a school where there are separate ESL programs, and where there are ESL learners also in the mainstream learning English in large numbers. Is the curriculum a language curriculum? Or, does the curriculum view language as a medium for learning in general? While the service delivery perspective of integration focussed on the former in this study, different viewpoints and approaches tried to move forward with the latter. Conflicts arose because the recognition in theory that language was a medium for learning was contradicted in

this study by traditional models of integration where language was taught 'for its own sake' in practice.

- g) *Assessment and evaluation of ESL students for integration in this study assessment based on mastery of the elements of English did not account for the English being learned in mainstream classes*

The data analyzed in this study as discourse of surveys, interviews and documents indicated that one of the pressing issues producing conflict was finding ways of dealing with assessment and evaluation of ESL students. As long as they were in separate ESL classes, then assessment/evaluation could take the form of measurement of progress in English, in isolation of the subject content of curricular classes within schools. However, once ESL students became the mainstream and often the majority in schools, as in this research, then conflicts arose.

The conflicts concerned standards, and the relationships between language learning and the learning of content; in addition to the relationship of learning mainstream subjects as an ESL student or a non-ESL student group. By way of exemplar, consider some of the issues. How did a teacher *grade* ESL students who were integrated into subject classes (e.g. science) and were still learning the language of instruction in the school (English)? Did the teacher grade based on measures of content knowledge and/or did the teacher mark for knowledge of the English language? If he/she marked only content, then was this fair to non-ESL students? If he/she marked language was this fair to ESL students who knew the content but were learning the language? Was this accountable to parents? And, what

motivation was there for the ESL students who were learning content in subject classes, if they were not graded in reference to content standards for the course? In addition, there was concern expressed by mainstream teachers that if assessing and evaluating was not tough, then the standards would go down, and/or the course content would be watered down.

Clearly, the issues that arose in this study with respect to assessment and evaluation were a reflection of the fact that a traditional English test model for integration dominated, and existed in contrast to assessment that was based on ESL students' abilities to use language to learn academically in the mainstream of urban schools where they were dominant. This was consistent with another study (Low, 1999) with similar findings related to evaluation of student learning.

Suggestions were made in the present study that there was a need "to standardize assessment" for the ESL student. This seemed to come out of respondents' frustration with a system of English assessment based ESL service delivery that did not match the circumstances. ESL students could not be moved efficiently because of the sheer number of them. The means of trying to control the large numbers of ESL students in urban schools in this study was through assessment; both respondents and documents repeatedly requested a standardized ESL test, the thinking being that if all students received the same assessment tool categorizing ESL learners would take place more efficiently, and with less conflict, as would placing and moving them for integration. It goes without saying that such

suggestions fail to address the issues of functional language assessment in the mainstream as raised in the TESOL pre-K –12 Standards documents.

In practice, then, in this study, respondents tried to but did not resolve the complex assessment issues which arose in a large urban multilingual school district. The issues related to language learning, to learning in general, and to student diversity (culturally, linguistically, personally) were not adequately addressed by the traditional model of evaluation and assessment for integration. A new model was needed that would address evaluation and assessment within mainstream classes where many of the ESL students were.

In sum, there is much in this study that supports the recommendations in the new *TESOL Pre-K-12 Standards* mentioned previously in the literature review as a model for integration that moves beyond the traditional ESL service delivery model for integration that dominated both respondent and document data in this study. Conclusions and implications of the study follow.

D. Conclusions – the social practice or activity of integration in large urban centres

Any attempt made in the existing study to draw conclusions is limited to this study and is presented in the spirit of exploration with the intention of advancing research in second language education in the area of the study of the activity of ESL integration. Nevertheless, within these confines it is possible to formulate some general conclusions to support existing research and to direct further research.

1. The need for a more balanced view of integration

Perspectives related to language and learning as recommended by TESOL (see Table 1) in this study that were forward thinking were constantly overridden by the heavy emphasis on language performance on tests of form in English as the foundation of service delivery for ESL students. A more holistic analysis of both theory and practice with respect to the activity of integration was warranted. Often, this heavy emphasis meant less than satisfactory program arrangements for the learner of ESL who was relegated to a narrow range of programs because of the inability to produce English on often-inappropriate tests. These same English tests, when used for movement of ESL students often were found to be in error and/or the judgment of those responsible for the move was in error – ESL teachers and/or mainstream teachers, and/or the counsellor sent ESL students “back to ESL.”

McKay and Wong (1996:604) have noted that we need in research to look at the ESL learner in terms of self, social positioning and multiple identities within a particular context of school. In this study, the context of school defined the learner prior to entry into it and labelled the ESL learner along a path of integration neither paying adequate attention to the learner as a student or a person not to the purpose for his/her schooling. The focus seemed to be on assessment, placement, and movement, tracking and streaming the second language learner, without regard for the learner who was actually doing the “integrating” internally, a complex, cognitive process. Within the context of the activity of integration the language learner was acted upon in a manner that was often at best marginalizing and he/she felt

marginalized. How could an ESL student reach a "potential" as a learner academically in this situation?

Kalantz and Cope (1999:269) have stated that:

... cultural and linguistic diversity is a classroom resource just as powerfully as it is a social resource ... this is not just so that educators can provide a better 'service' ... when learners juxtapose different languages, discourse, styles and approaches, they gain substantially in meta cognitive and meta linguistic abilities and in their abilities to critically reflect on complex systems and their interactions.

Integration as an activity in a school situation which reflected this thinking would involve coordination of language learning with education generally, and would consider culture, and knowledge of the world as necessary, dynamic contexts for this learning.

This study was consistent with many others (see literature review) that note that the curriculum and instructional practices in place neither allowed ESL learners access to complex and challenging academic content, nor taught them to see their place in the school academically. The concept that ESL students were "linguistically, academically and culturally deficient" identified by Fisher and Echols (1989:93) has not been eradicated in this study over ten years later.

2. Culture as an issue of language learning and learning in general

In addition, as stated previously, the socio cultural influences at work here were clearly ones that favoured suppressing the first language rather than understanding that a language is part and parcel of the students' lives. This was disturbing given the marginalizing practices of our history in this province with

reference to linguistic diversity and given the widely accepted notion the “students’ first/native languages, especially if they are literate in that language, promotes academic achievement while they are acquiring the English needed to benefit from instruction through English” (Thomas and Collier, 2002; TESOL, 2000; May, 2001; TESOL Standards, 1997:8; Corson and Lemay, 1996).

Greater attention needs to be paid in research to this lack of respect for bilingualism, especially in multicultural and special education. If we consider Auerbach’s (1993:16-19) discussions then clearly this lack of respect for the first languages of learners of ESL beyond a cursory acceptance by a few educators, means educators are in great measure disempowering language learners or in Auerbach’s words educators “may impede language acquisition” by offering learners a place in a disempowering “English only classroom.” This researcher is reminded of the words of Villa et al. (1992:xv) “we will not successfully restructure school to be effective until we stop seeing diversity in students as a problem.” Certainly, linguistic diversity was still viewed as a problem to be righted and not something of value by too many respondents in this study. In addition, while many respondents would readily acknowledge the tremendous diversity in their schools, and they did, there was very little evidence that this diversity expressed itself through the *languages* present in the school sites.

3. The need for understanding and supporting educational change with respect to integration

Change was needed in the practices and theoretical assumptions underlying practices in this study within the organization that offered the activity of integration to ESL students. Mohan (2001:107) has noted that:

Change is needed in assumptions and practices concerned with language as a medium of learning as educational systems become more multilingual and multicultural. This, rather than second language acquisition is the central issue. Since it takes considerable time to learn a second language for academic purposes, to learn to use it adequately as a medium of learning content and culture means that ESL students must learn language and subject matter and culture at the same time. To meet this goal, explicit and systematic integration of language teaching and content teaching is required, a development, which could bring educational benefits to students in general.

Those responsible for the activity of integration in this study needed to move beyond assumptions that there was homogeneity amongst ESL students toward recognition of the unique conditions that needed to exist to improve their integration within education not as a separate entity but as the core of the organization of schooling.

In sum, there is a need in ESL education and research to support ESL learners by pushing organizations to create integration policies and practices that assist the ESL learners' language socialization at school and move integration practices forward so that the teaching of language is better coordinated with the teaching of academic content and culture. Years of emphasis on traditional models of English test based service delivery have neither supported an effective model, nor promoted exemplary practice in the district(s) under study in this research from the point of

view of respondents and document data. From a review of the literature it appears that this is not uncommon in that the traditional model for integration has been critically analyzed by TESOL and a new model for integration recommended. Many of the issues that arose in this exploratory study amongst respondents and in document data that represented other views or views critical of this traditional model lined up with the issues recommended for a new model of integration in the TESOL documents for advocacy and advancing the ESL profession. There is a need to actively move school districts in large urban centres in this direction.

In addition, participants bring theories of their own to the task of integration, which may inadvertently impede progress. It is time to rethink and in some cases challenge these theories, and work toward exemplary practice with colleagues in multicultural education to ensure that ESL students are better situated for their integration in public schools. ESL students deserve to be positioned as members of the mainstream with commensurate ESL specialist teacher support, neither in opposition to or apart from the mainstream. ESL students also deserve to learn language to learn from teachers who not only have high expectations for learning but who also use language both consciously and intentionally to advance their learning. Models for integration that support better coordination of content learning and language learning, and models that recognize the importance of cultural issues need the support of future research studies.

4. The traditional ESL service delivery model for integration made it easy to cut funds for and reduce ESL service for fiscal management – learning English was tied to time

A number of respondents in the study commented in surveys, interviews and documents on the impact of fiscal restraint both at a micro and macroscopic level. Fiscal restraint seemed to arise out of a move towards audits and accountability, and out of funding caps on the provision of services for integrated ESL students, which were arbitrarily tied to time, and not to the development of language and learning.

Respondents were wrestling with how to provide services to large numbers of ESL students with a decrease in recognition of need (ESL students who were capped still needed service) and an increase in workload with inadequate ESL specialist teacher support both for students and for collaboration to support teaching and prepare resources for teaching. A few examples from the discourse data make the point clear – **Excerpt 192:**

S:1 “discrepancies exist because of the funding formula”

S:9 “more funding is needed for ESL programs

S:30 “there is a need for clarification of the funding provided”

S:29 “funding issues are a concern – clarify funding”

S:21 “are services budget driven?”

S:76 “there is a need to monitor ESL students who are not receiving services”

S:109 “small district funding is an issue”

S:8 “changes in funding ... what impact for ESL learners?”

S:2 “tracking of ESL targeted funds is needed”

- S:10 "budget cuts make integration impossible"
- S:106 "our ESL resources are spread so thin that we cannot do an adequate job with any of our students"
- S:71 "without an integration factor class sizes cannot be met nor can an adequate number of elective courses be timetabled for integration"
- S:16 "there are not enough ESL department heads due to cutbacks to organize effectively for integration ... without a department head, how do we organize?"
- S:3 "staff stress and tension due to cutbacks have negatively affected the integration process"
- S:110 "a previously successful, highly effective model has been inhibited by a tight timetable in which the classes are absolutely full from the start and there is no latitude for movement ... students are fully integrated or they don't get a chance to attend regular programs"

There was/is reason to be concerned – in that in another study in Alberta, the impact of fiscal restraint has been examined and has placed large numbers of ESL students at risk of educational failure, particularly those who did not continue to receive ESL specialist teacher support because of funding caps in the intermediate years (see Watt and Roessingh, 2000).

The notion that fiscal restraint has an impact on programs and in many cases leads districts backwards instead of ahead was recently noted in an article in the *Vancouver Courier*, in the district under study in this research. An article was written on the impact of fiscal restraint on ESL resources and programs in the district and the following noted in the article (O'Connor, 2002:5):

When she started working in the centre in the late 80's and 1990's, Eddy says the Vancouver School District's ESL programming was

considered a model by educators around the globe. Eddy recalls receiving more than 40 visiting groups annually from countries including the U.K., Australia, the US and Europe,- all eager to emulate what Vancouver was doing. She believes that 's not the case any longer. "The resources we had in place a number of years ago have been cut through one budget or another" ...

While documents such as TESOL' s advocacy and position papers recommend forward thinking ideologies in terms of ESL student integration, they do not account for the actual situation in school districts where fiscal restraint has impacted negatively on the implementation of progressive policies and practices. Advocacy in this area is also needed to support the achievement of optimal learning conditions for ESL learners.

This district had in place, as mentioned in the document data, a progressive program for ESL education which built upon ideologies such as those of TESOL, however, fiscal restraint and current policies have negated this progress in the school district. It is important to take into account his history of fiscal restraint before working on reorientation in determining and implementing policy.

Dei (1998:307) notes that anti-racism approaches that question the inherent "pathological explanations of family, home environment and culture as sources of the problems that minority youths face in schools" are not acceptable. He further notes (1998:307) that: "such explanations divert attention from a critical analysis of the institutional structures within which the delivery of education takes place." Included in his discussion of anti-racism within a discursive framework are: race, gender, sex and class. To this list this researcher would add first language maintenance and English second language learning from the perspective of the

institutional structures and organizations, which deliver services to students learning ESL. When the same issues arose in organizations in a number of reviews over more than ten years it was time to examine more critically the “institutional structures” within which the “delivery of education” was taking place. Clearly, while traditional models of assessment based service delivery still dominated, this neither made them the only models nor necessarily forward thinking ones. At the same time, there was evidence that a substantial body of respondents recognized a path to change and were willing to take steps to move in this direction, but were not permitted to do so because of fiscal restraint and the lack of the political will to develop and implement progressive policies for ESL students in public schools under study.

E. Implications

This study has numerous implications for future research in the field of ESL education. The research also has implications for the three fields – multicultural education and special education and ESL education in working more holistically to advance policies and practices for ESL students in public schools in large urban centres with increasingly diverse and complex student populations where ESL learners are dominant.

1. Implications for future research in ESL education

Research in the field of ESL education has sharpened awareness of two models for integration articulated by TESOL and reviewed earlier in this study (see,

Table I), a traditional model with an ESL service delivery focus for integration and a new model recommended by TESOL which recognizes the academic needs of ESL students as significant for their successful integration into mainstream academia and the school community. As stated earlier, both of these models were evident in this study and this showed the relevance of TESOL's new work in this area.

However, beyond identifying the models for integration and articulating the details of their respective features as TESOL has in its advocacy documents for advancing the profession, there are other areas of concern raised in this research that need to enter the discussion in ESL education. First, there was evidence that integration was conflicted and that the issues needed to be explored so that the debate between those agents in each opposing constituency could become clearer and could be a base from which to reframe and stimulate change in the direction of social justice and equity for ESL learners in urban K – 12 public schools. Next, identifying more distinctly the plurality of the opinions concerning integration within the school community in an organization could direct some of TESOL's future work in this area. And, finally, while the traditional model for integration was dominant, there was also evidence of change in this study, which presented an encouraging place from which policy makers could begin to move integration practices forward in public schools in large urban centres.

a) Integration as conflicted social practice

Integration was a conflicted social practice or activity in the organization under study here and this contributed to the creation of a dysfunctional and less

than effective system of education for the English second language learner which persisted over time. The two viewpoints of integration explored in this research, as presented by TESOL were in direct conflict with each other in areas of education important to the future success of ESL learners in K-12 public schools. Conflicts arose over integration between ESL teachers and mainstream teachers, between and amongst ESL students and their parents and teachers, between ESL students and non-ESL students, and between administrators and parents and teachers. In addition, there was a power hierarchy evident, which added to the conflicts. Greater attention needs to be given to the conflicted views of agents in organizations with respect to integration so that practices might increase the academic success of the ESL student who is on the receiving end of integration practices for his/her public education.

There were other conflicts and dilemmas evident in this study, which need to be given greater attention in research. Like Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti (1996), this research noted that neither the ESL student nor the ESL parents understood the process of assessment, placement and movement though they were the ones directly affected by the process. How could this process fully serve the needs of ESL students and their parents if they did not understand the process? Additional research is needed in the field of English second language education that directs schools and districts to place greater emphasis on the language socialization of the ESL learner so that a better understanding of interrelationships between language, content and

culture on the part of the participants who form policy and administer practice for the activity of integration is forthcoming.

Then, there was evident a general confusion over understanding the place of *ESL* in the organization as a whole; the *ESL* student was affected by this confusion and often the recipient of conflicting views of what he/she needed to do for his/her public education. Schools and districts need the support of research in language education to direct them toward a better appreciation for *ESL* education. The conflicted views of integration evident in schools situated or positioned *ESL* within a school organization and was likely to have an impact on learning for the language learner.

Next, issues of equality and social justice also arose in this study through they were certainly not the focus of this research. Several respondents in this study raised concerns about treating all *ESL* students the same when it came to the activity of integration. They noted that on an individual level some students needed greater emotional support than others and if this was not received it could impede learning. Clearly the students must be considered at a site level within any given time period to develop programs for integration, and this integration must focus on the language socialization of the learners that attend the particular school. There needs to be greater attention given in research to presenting an image of *ESL* students as diverse individuals who learn in different ways when discussing integration in a large urban and diverse school district. Much of the emphasis had been placed on lumping *ESL* students together in large conglomerates – there appeared to be much

more diversity in the sites under study here, than respondents were aware of at the time of this study. This notion of treating all students in the same way has been observed in the district before in previous years (see, Fisher and Echols, 1989:96): "There is a tendency to treat all the students the same way. Schools tend not to recognize the enormous variety of ESL backgrounds." Why do such indefensible positions continue to be held over time? Research must begin to understand why positions that are outdated persist.

And, there is also a need to pay attention to location and site in terms of socio-economic status, variables within a school, and teacher training as an issue of equity. The location of the sites with respect to area of the city (east/west side) appeared to influence these integration practices in only one significant manner – the socio-economic status of the students meant differences in parent involvement in education and in access to support services such as tutors. As others have noted (Hakuta et al., 2000; Mitchell and Mitchell, 1999) factors associated with school poverty can have a profound impact on language education, including a "lagging behind other groups" of language learners. Researchers need to pay greater attention to this lagging and to the effect that this, plus the diversity that exists in schools where learners are from differing socio economic backgrounds has on their integration.

There are also other issues related to a specific site that need research focus because of the potential for conflict. Research must make clearer the possibilities that exist for huge variation to be present in any one school site to ensure that the

subsequent practices that take place in this site recognize this variation. For example, a school with greater than half of the student population learning ESL is quite a different situation regarding integration than does a school with only ten percent. Or, a school with a large number say thirty percent or more, beginning language learners would have a different integration situation than a school with only five percent beginners. Or, a school with a student population of twelve percent ESL would have different needs if the students were from primary versus intermediate or secondary. Sometimes a large number of students e.g. forty-nine were integrated into a few classes, here nine – quite a different situation than one where the same number of students was spread over an entire school of classes. Then, too there was the backgrounds of the learners to take more seriously, for instance, a school with fifteen percent refugee students would not be the same place as one with eighty percent of the students from a strong school and academic background with intact two parent working families. And, in all situations the low economic status of students in a school in the inner city could mean that on top of language issues, ESL learners and their parents would face issues of basic needs.

At another level, there are language issues – what for example was the critical number of ESL students needed in a school population to make the notion of learning language from English speaking peers impossible? What effects does the family organization have on language acquisition – if the parents are both working, or if non-English speaking relatives rear students or if funds exist for a tutor? What effects did a refugee's background have on language acquisition in terms of time it

takes to overcome culture shock or trauma? ESL programs and services cannot be made equitable or effective until we examine in greater detail the on site conditions that exist in individual schools and the myriad of variables encountered on site.

Finally, the quality and the experience of teacher training emerges as an issue. In Florida it is mandatory for all teachers to have ESL training. In a large urban school district like the one in this study with a diverse student population of which substantial proportions are ESL learners at a wide variety of stages of language development, from many cultural and learning backgrounds, all teachers must be trained optimally to support learning in the situation. Mainstream teachers need to view the situation as one where they have a professional responsibility to learn to structure lessons effectively for diverse groups of ESL learners to ensure they achieve their potential academically. Numbers of ESL teachers as this study implies also need to be optimally educated so that they view second language learners as academic achievers, and not only on a path to acquiring oral skills and participating in social activities. ESL students need to perceive that their ESL teachers challenge them cognitively and are not simply nice and welcoming.

b) Identifying a plurality of opinions concerning integration in the school community

Identifying a plurality of opinions concerning integration in the school community within an organization could direct some of TESOL's future work, with the support of research in this area. Clearly, in this research the respondents as active agents had diverse views, which were not always focussed in the same theoretical direction. Respondents in this study held differing theories of language

learning and the learning of content and culture, as well as related practices that needed exploring.

Educators bring with them to school theories about their practices that influence what they do and how they teach ESL students. Research in language education could pay greater attention to how these theories influence the integration practices to which ESL students are subjected in K-12 public education. In addition, school communities must give more meaningful attention to the plurality of perspectives that are encountered when working with diverse students learning ESL and their families – educators must be moved to reflect on their use of institutional discourse and on its relevance to actions when attempting to resolve and/or act on issues of importance to ESL students in the school community – greater wisdom needs to be evident here. More time must be spent considering the process and the impact of the action on ESL students before completing the action. For example, the students and parents in this study all held differing views of integration, and of the support services that schools could offer for ESL; this could be a focal point of future research so that the diverse views of respondents can be factored into the equation in terms of advancing policy and practice.

c) *Evidence of change – an encouraging place from which policy makers could begin*

Neither ESL education, nor multicultural education has seriously challenged the traditional model of programming when it comes to organizing for the successful language education of the ESL learner to any great degree in research. And yet, there has for a long time been suggestions that it should be challenged,

both in the recommendations of TESOL (see Table I) and even earlier in the external review of the ESL programmes under study in this research, Ashworth,

Handscombe and Cummins (1989:14) noted that:

ESL provision cannot be conceptualized as a separate program that exists apart from the mainstream of the education system. Withdrawal of ESL students from the regular classroom may sometimes be necessary and appropriate in the early stages of learning but it is not a viable option for the length of time that the student may need support in mastering the academic aspects of English.

In this study there was evidence that the traditional views were being challenged in that about one third of the respondents held other views of integration and/or views critical of those found in a traditional ESL service delivery model or integration. While not dominant this can be viewed as an encouraging sign suggesting that there is the potential for change underway, and perhaps this is something that can be capitalized on in terms of advancing policy and practice. Additional research in this area will support this advancement in thinking. The need to create better policies and practices in terms of language learning and the learning of curriculum content, and culture throughout schooling was apparent in this study and this diversity in the response data was a welcome progress sign.

- d) *The need for collaboration amongst researchers in multicultural, special education and ESL education to advance thinking about ESL*

ESL students must be supported with policies and practices that offer them a chance to advance their learning academically in public schools from K-12 so that they reach their potentials as learners and are not supported for becoming only socially competent in English. There is a need for greater collaborative efforts in

research between the three earlier mentioned fields of special education, multicultural education, and second language education, in terms of critically analyzing and advancing language policy and educational practice in public schools in large urban centres for the benefit of the English second language learner and his/her public education.

Multicultural studies need to pay greater attention to ESL students and issues of inequality in schools. We know that "policy discourse" in multicultural education has consistently identified the variable of culture as the vehicle for the resolution for racial inequities and antagonism in schools" (Ng, Staton and Scane, 1997:24-25). It is time to make a stronger relation between ESL education and research in multicultural education. Schools do not presently recognize how language and culture impact on the education of ESL students. They do not show enough respect for and/or wrestle with the linguistic diversity that exists in school sites so that there is universal acceptance of it by educators in schools and so that its value for education is recognized and acted on.

In addition, while multicultural studies raise issues of inequalities, they are generally related to gender, class, race, culture, etc, and do not include ESL. In the words of Thomas and Collier (1997:48) "when students have the opportunity to do academic work through the medium of their first language in the long term they are academically more successful in their second." – it behoves researchers to insist that this becomes the language learners place in schools of the future. As others have noted (Hakuta, 2000; Romaine, 1995) the notion that the use of the native language

delays the acquisition of English is unfounded in the academic literature on bilingualism. One cannot help but ask therefore, why policies persist that arrange ESL learners in timed models of service delivery as methods of integration and form the foundation of their language education in public schools?

Special education has led the way theoretically for practices that have been repeated in ESL education [separate classes and programs toward inclusion without commensurate support] in that ESL education has followed the special education integration and inclusion model without questioning its validity as a practice for ESL students. Special education could link up with ESL researchers and pay greater attention to attempts to parallel practice in these two fields of study [special education and ESL education] with students who are quite distinct from one another [learning assistance needs versus becoming bilingual]. In addition, there is a need for special educators to work with ESL educators to ensure that history does not repeat itself. ESL students should not end up on learning assistance caseloads because of their performance on inappropriate tests of English for its own sake, in isolation of their abilities and other learning generally.

And, ESL education needs to act in concert with multicultural education and special education to address issues of equity and equality with respect to the ESL learner. The extent to which ESL learners dominate life in urban centres is adequate reason alone to insist that these fields of study pay greater attention. In addition, there is a need for advocacy at a political and fiscal level in addition to moving in the direction of standards as in the case of TESOL. If schools and school districts do not

have the human and fiscal resources to increase the quality of the integration practices they offer ESL learners, then there is no reason to think that they will take the initiative and do so. Greater leadership is needed in this direction to better meet the needs of the multicultural, multilingual groups of young people that will form the student population in urban schools for many years to come – to do any less is to do a great disservice to future generations of ESL learners for their integration in public schools.

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Appendix 1: Information Concerning Population of Sites

(Based on Ministry 1701 data and District statistical data collected at the time of this study)

Site	ESL (funded) percentage of student population*	Socio-economic Status
Site A	54%	Higher
Site B	57%	Lower
Site C	32%	Higher
Site D	65%	Lower

* Note: ESL population is probably higher in that funding for service delivery is capped at five years except under exceptional circumstances and these numbers are based on data tracking sheets which have tended to underestimate the ESL student population

*District ESL Student Population: Approximately half of 54,000 students at the time of this study.

*Number of separate/reception ESL classes recorded in 1993 on district documents was 178. This has been substantially decreased with a district push toward mainstreaming. For example, this year there are only twelve separate classes left in elementary schools in the district.

* Main language groups in the schools under study are: Chinese languages, Tagalog, Hindi, Vietnamese, Punjabi, Korean and Japanese – though there are other groups represented.

- The local newspaper, the *Vancouver Sun* Nov. 1996 reported that “English now a minority language in Vancouver” with English representing only 43.96 percent of the “languages spoken at home”

Appendix 2: Activity of Integration Data Frequency Coding Categories for Discourse of Surveys, Interviews, and Documents

<i>Activity of Integration: Coding Categories</i>	<i>Survey Data</i>	<i>Interview Data</i>	<i>Document Data</i>	<i>All Data</i>
<i>A. Assessment Issues: comments about integration and</i>				
▪ English language testing in isolation of other learning/content				
<i>B. Placement Issues: comments about integration and</i>				
▪ separate/segregated English language classes and				
▪ pulled-out of mainstream for support				
▪ sheltered classes outside of mainstream				
▪ transitioned/al classes outside of mainstream				
▪ partially integrated into mainstream				
▪ in class support within mainstream classes				
▪ full integration without ESL support				
▪ mainstreamed/ing without ESL support				
<i>C. Movement Issues: comments about integration and</i>				
▪ from separate/segregated ESL class/program to transition class/program				
▪ from separate/segregated ESL class/program to regular class/program in the mainstream				
▪ from part integration to full integration/mainstreaming without further ESL support				
<i>D. Language Learning Focus: comments about integration and</i>				
▪ first language use/learning at school				
▪ learning in English at school				

▪ ESL students learning in English at school				
▪ the relationship of culture to language learning at school				
▪ the relationship of curriculum content to language learning at school				
<i>E. Learning Issues in General: comments about integration and</i>				
▪ curriculum/instruction within mainstream classes				
▪ language as a medium of learning				
▪ culture/cultural issues as significant for integration/learning in general				
▪ academic content learning and integration				

Appendix 3: Description of Data Frequency Coding Categories

Activity of Integration Data Frequency Coding Categories for Discourse of Surveys, Interviews, and Documents

Used to code discourse data collected from surveys, interviews, and documents.

This is exploratory data and an indication of frequency of occurrence only. Coding for A, B, and C was contrasted with categories D and E.

A respondent was coded as traditional if they: i) mentioned issues related to A, B, and/or C positively but did not comment on D and/or E, or ii) if their main emphasis was on A., B and /or C rather than D and/or E.

A respondent was coded as other/critical if: i) they mentioned issues related to D and/or E positively but did not comment on A, B, and/or C, or if ii) their main emphasis was on A., B and /or C rather than on D and/or E, or if c) they mentioned A, B, and/or C critically.

A. Assessment Issues: comments about integration and English language testing in isolation of other learning/content

- referred to discourse that made specific reference to assessments and/or measures or tests of ESL students' English language performance in isolation of other learning.
 - Example: putting students who have reached a certain level of English skills into the regular system"
- also referred to discourse that mentioned the content of English in a course or program which focussed on helping ESL students learning grammatical forms of the language.
 - Example: "our students are integrated based on their reading levels which assessments show a reading range from K to upper grade 3"

B. Placement Issues: comments about integration and

- placement in classes/programs included any/all of the following: separate/segregated classes, pulled out for support, sheltered classes, transition/al classes, partially integrated, in class support, full integration, mainstreamed/ing
- referred to discourse that made specific reference to programs that placed ESL students within a school based on their performance on assessments or tests of English in isolation of other learning.
 - Example: "students are placed with reception teachers who work with them to prepare ESL students for integration" – "we combine a class of students (together) with the same English level no matter how old they are"

C. Movement Issues: comments about integration and

- movement of ESL students included any/all of the following: from separate/segregated class/program to transition/al class programs; from separate/segregated class/program to regular class/program in the mainstream; from part integration to full integration/mainstreaming
- referred to discourse that made specific reference to the movement of ESL students within the school from one program to another based on their performance on assessments of English in isolation of content, context, culture or for learning in general
 - Example: "when they move to regular classes and make non-ESL friends" – "the top ESL students are moved into transitional and then regular classes"

D. Language Learning Issues: comments about integration and

- statements concerning ESL students language learning in general including first and second language learning, and/or language learning and curriculum content, as well as discourse about the reflections of the students as active agents learning language in the situation, and discourse about the relationship of culture and language learning
- referred to discourse that made specific reference to curriculum and instruction as it related to the learning of language, culture, and content within the contexts provided in the school community
 - Example: "integration needs to involve some kind of orientation to the school community as well" – "I'm not sure what integration means ..."

my class is ESL at all levels of language learning. Integration works when you look at languages across the curriculum."

E. Learning Issues in General: comments about integration and

- statements concerning ESL students learning in general about curriculum and/or the use of language as a tool or resource for learning across the curriculum; also included issues of culture and their significance for learning, as well as discourse about the reflections of the students as active agents
- referred to discourse that made specific reference to using language to learn, or as a resource or tool for mastering curriculum, and cultural learning as significant for learning in general
 - Example: "including the students' languages and cultures in curriculum is important for learning ... they feel included" – "ESL students need support to master the English of their subject classes"

Appendix 4: Survey Questions

Teachers/Administrators

1. When thinking about the ESL students in your school, what does the term "integration" mean to you?

Please comment.

2.a) Describe your feelings about the 'integration' of ESL students at your elementary/secondary school.

b) Do you feel that the ESL students who attend your school are integrating?

Yes ____ No ____

Please comment.

3. What are some of the issues of concern to you regarding the integration of ESL students?

4. Describe the quality of the integration that is taking place at your school.

5. Do you feel that there are decisions made by parents, teachers, administrators or the students themselves that facilitate/hinder integration? Describe these decisions.

Please comment.

6. a) Do you notice adaptations that are being made to curriculum and/or programs for ESL learners ?
Yes _____ No _____

Describe these adaptations.

b) How do you think has this hindered/facilitated integration?

Please comment.

7. Do our models of service delivery in elementary and secondary schools facilitate or hinder integration? How? (e.g. pull-out support, in-class support, district class, etc.)

8. a) Describe any programs or activities in your school that support the integration of ESL students.

b) Describe any programs or activities in your school that hinder the integration of ESL students.

c) Is there an *ESL integration factor* in your school staffing?

Yes _____ No _____

If you answered yes, then answer the following:

d) What percentage of staffing is the ESL integration factor?

e) Is the ESL integration factor presently used to facilitate ESL integration?

Yes _____ No _____

Please explain/comment.

9. Describe how we would know that an elementary or secondary ESL student was fully integrated.

10. I would be willing to be interviewed about the above questions at a later date (to be arranged). I understand that information obtained from this interview will be treated as highly confidential and that my name will not be used in this study.

Yes _____ No _____

Name _____ Phone Number _____

11. Check one of the following:

I am an administrator in this school _____

I am an ESL teacher in this school _____

I am a regular classroom teacher in this school _____

I teach _____ (subject area/areas)

I am a counsellor in this school _____

None of the above _____ Please comment _____

Survey Questions - Parents/Guardians

1. When thinking about the ESL students in your child's school, what does the term "integration" mean to you?

Please comment.

2. a) Describe your feelings about the 'integration' of ESL students at your child's elementary/secondary school.

b) Do you feel that the ESL students who attend your child's school are integrating?

Yes ____ No ____

Please comment.

3. What are some of the issues of concern to you regarding the integration of ESL students?

4. Describe the quality of the integration that is taking place at your child's school.

5. Do you feel that there are decisions made by parents, teachers, administrators or the students themselves that facilitate/hinder integration? Describe these decisions.

Please comment.

6. a) Do you notice adaptations that are being made to curriculum and/or programs for ESL learners ?

Please comment.

b) How do you think has this hindered/facilitated integration?

Please comment.

7. Do our models of service delivery in elementary and secondary schools facilitate or hinder integration? How? (e.g. pull-out support, in-class support, district class, etc.)

Please comment.

8. Describe how we would know that an elementary or secondary ESL student was fully integrated.

9. I would be willing to be interviewed about the above questions at a later date (to be arranged). I understand that information obtained from this interview will be treated as highly confidential and that my name will not be used in this study.

Yes _____ No _____

Name _____ Phone Number _____

10. Check one of the following:

I am the parent/guardian of an ESL student _____

I am not the parent/guardian of an ESL student _____

Survey Questions - Secondary Students

1. a) Do you know what the word "integration" means?

Yes _____ No _____

b) If you answered Yes, then think about ESL students in your school, and describe what the word "integration" means to you.

2. a) Describe your feelings about the ESL students in your secondary school.

b) Do you feel that the ESL students who attend your school are "*integrating*"?

Yes _____ No _____

Please explain your ideas.

3. What are some of your concerns about the integration of ESL students in your secondary school?

4. Describe the amount (how much) and kind of ESL integration that is happening at your school. When do you see ESL integration happening? Where? How often?

5. a) Are there decisions made by **adults** (parents, teachers, administrators) that **help** ESL integration? What are these decisions? Describe your ideas about these decisions.

b) Are there decisions made by other **students** that **help** ESL integration? What are these decisions? Describe your ideas about these decisions.

c) Are there decisions made by **adults** (parents, teachers, administrators) that **do not help** ESL integration? Describe your ideas about these decisions.

d) Are there decisions made by other **students** that **do not help** ESL integration? What are these decisions? Describe your ideas about these decisions.

6. a) Do you see any changes that are being made to assignments or activities for ESL students? Describe these changes.

b) What do you think about changing assignments or activities for ESL students?

7. Do you think that the way the school is organized (classrooms, programs, activities) helps ESL integration? Yes _____ No _____ Please write about your ideas.

8. Describe how you would know when a secondary ESL student was fully **integrated** in your school.

9. Describe what you would do, or have been doing to help ESL students in your school to integrate.

10. I would be willing to be interviewed about the above questions at a later date (to be arranged) if my parents give their permission.

I understand that information obtained from this interview will be treated as highly confidential and that my name will not be used in this study.

Yes _____ No _____

Name _____ Teacher's name _____

11. Please check only one of the following:

I am an ESL student (or was an ESL student) in this school _____

I am not nor ever have been an ESL student in this school _____

Survey Questions - Elementary Students

1. a) Do you know what the word "integration" means?

Yes _____ No _____

b) If you said Yes, then write what you think the word **integration** means for ESL students. If you said No, then stop here - do not answer any more questions.

2. a) Describe your feelings about the ESL students at your school.

b) Do you feel that the ESL students at your school are "*integrating*"?

Yes _____ No _____

Please write about your ideas.

3. How are ESL students integrated at your school? (Who? When? Where? Why?)

4. a) How do adults (parents, teachers, principals) in your school help ESL students to integrate?

b) How do students in your school **help** ESL students to integrate?

5. a) Do you see any changes that are being made to assignments or activities for ESL students? Write about these changes.

b) What do you think about changing assignments or activities for ESL students?

6. Describe what you are doing/would do to **help** ESL students in your school to integrate?

7. I would be willing to be interviewed about the above questions at a later date (to be arranged) if my parents give their permission.

I understand that information obtained from this interview will be treated as highly confidential and that my name will not be used in this study.

Yes _____ No _____

Name _____ Teacher's name _____

8. Please check only one of the following:

I am an ESL student (or was an ESL student) in this school _____
 I am not nor ever have been an ESL student in this school _____