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Vickie L. Farmer

Effective Teaching Practices in the Linguistically Diverse University Classroom

Vickie L. Farmer

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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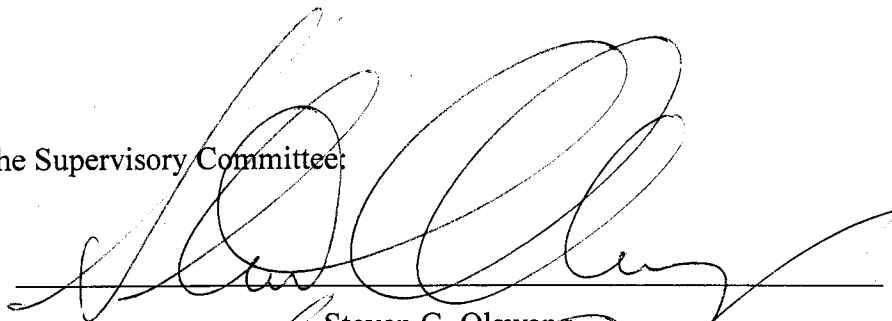
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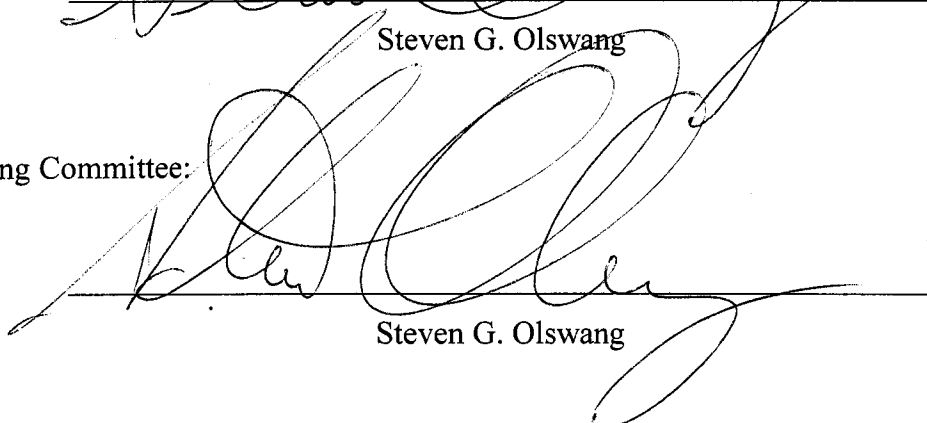
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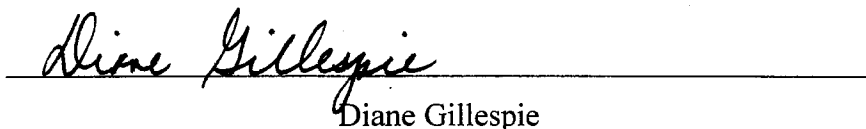


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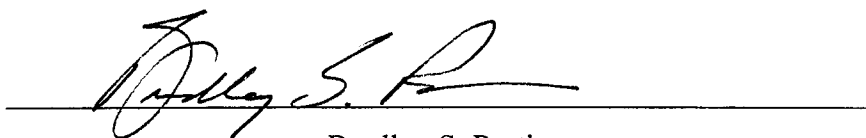
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Abstract

Effective Teaching Practices in the Linguistically Diverse University Classroom

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Students whose first language is not English have been entering postsecondary institutions in the United States in increasing numbers. Most faculty members have not been trained in teaching these students, and when they realize that they have students with differing English proficiencies in their classes, they may search for effective teaching methods that enhance the learning experience for all students. This dissertation assists that search by examining the commonalities, best practices, and unique teaching approaches of distinguished teachers in addressing linguistic diversity among students in the university classroom. This dissertation should also be of interest to administrators who are concerned with the retention of language minority students in higher education. The research for this dissertation entailed a qualitative case study of 11 professors from a number of disciplines at one university who have won awards for distinguished teaching and who have had experience working with linguistic minority students. These professors' insights into teaching methods have been broken into the following categories: techniques for putting students at ease, facilitation of student-to-student interactions, uses of technology, evaluation of student writing, expectations of students, accommodations made for students, awareness of language as an element of cultural identity differences in the classroom, and the benefits of having students in the classroom whose first language is not English. In semi-structured interviews, these distinguished faculty identify strategies that they utilize to bring students with varying degrees of English language ability into classroom activities, thereby advancing the likelihood of their academic success.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents. To my mother, who has always been a model of love, resolve, perseverance, and stamina. To my father, who reminded me whenever I was overwhelmed, "Cinch by the inch; hard by the yard."

It would not have happened without the foundation you provided.

Chapter I: Introduction

To illustrate the role of diversity in society, some have drawn on the metaphor of the mosaic, with individual pieces of vari-colored glass inlaid to form a larger visual image. Ishmael Reed referred to New York as a “salad bowl,” and John Diefenbaker, former Prime Minister of Canada, compared Canadian society to a garden containing the “hardiest and brightest flowers from many lands . . . each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land” (cited in Milliken, 2002, para. 2). In contrast, the traditional metaphor in the United States has been the melting pot, in which the individual differences of immigrants become indiscernible: *e pluribus unum*: out of many—one. All of these metaphors emphasize harmony, yet they also represent differing viewpoints as to how this harmony would best be achieved. Higher education in the United States has often served as a proving ground for the difference of opinion these metaphors represent.

While American higher education originally served an exclusive and homogenous population, there has been a shift over the years as postsecondary institutions have become more diverse. To augment and perhaps complicate this shift, immigrants and international students, many with diverse language backgrounds, have been coming to United States’ institutions in increasing numbers. Colleges and universities have met the challenges of these changing demographics in various ways, but there are practical, philosophical, and legal issues that influence what measures they take. Some universities, for example, electing to designate development of English skills as “remedial,” have decided not to offer these classes, insisting that students should turn to community

colleges for this kind of help. Other universities have set up a variety of English classes and specialized learning centers designed to meet the perceived differing needs of international students, minority students, and mainstream students.

Some faculty members see students with differing language backgrounds as an element of cultural and ethnic diversity and welcome the vibrancy these students bring to the classroom. At the same time, other faculty members feel concerned when they realize that they have students with lower English proficiencies in their classes, and they worry that there may be pressure to change the content and delivery of their course material or to adjust their grading criteria.

Although the literature examining the role of English in public K-12 schools and Adult Basic Education is extensive, there has been a gap in research devoted to language issues in the university classroom. Gray, Rolph, and Melamid (1996) claim that the dominant policy issue regarding immigrant students in postsecondary education is the balance institutions must find in providing access for students while still achieving academic excellence. They feel that institutions may approach this issue in three ways: admit students and then dismiss them if they fail to meet certain standards; provide support to students through tutoring, summer programs, learning centers, and remedial classes; or change the old standards, acknowledging that *changing* standards does not necessitate *lowering* standards.

Sociocultural theorists such as Nieto say that it is important to examine student abilities within a context of social and political realities. Referring to Bourdieu's (1986) concept of "cultural capital," Nieto (2002) describes how ethnicity, language background,

and social status affect students' academic success. As an example of contextuality in education, Nieto explains how bilingualism is valued when a student's first language is English, yet sometimes viewed as a social threat when a student has a less prestigious first language. Nieto exemplifies how it is not bilingualism but the *context* of bilingualism that creates a social positive or negative. Reppy and Adames reinforce this assessment:

Administrators, teachers, students, and the public generally regard the learning of a foreign language and its associated culture (and/or literature) as the learning of a "prestige" language. In contrast, the study of ESL is often compared to remedial instruction in English that is provided to students who do not have the academic credentials to be in college. (cited in Rosenthal, 2000, p. 83)

Reppy and Adames go on to explain that, technically, remediation in college is aimed at students who failed to learn critical concepts in high school, and that therefore students who have first languages other than English are not in a remedial situation because they are learning new concepts. The point of this is that viewing language acquisition as "remedial" may be putting it into a lower status position. Solsken (1993) defines literacy as the "negotiation of one's orientation toward written language and thus one's position within multiple relations of power and status" (cited in Nieto, p. 14). To these theorists, the underlying issues of power are inextricable from language status in the university classroom. Given the existence of a growing number of immigrant and international students in the United States who have varied abilities in English, the relative position of

language and status in education becomes more important as the twenty-first century unfolds.

Stritikus and Garcia (2003) maintain that language policies in place in California's public schools reflect underlying theoretical positions and that consciously or unconsciously, elementary and high school teachers are affected by these theories. These theoretical positions about the best approaches to teaching English language learners in turn lead to specific practices in the classroom. Stritikus and Garcia discuss the structure of "additive" or "subtractive" classroom practices. Additive practices include, among other things, bilingual and bicultural experience on the part of the teachers, development of curricula that address cultural and linguistic diversity, and acknowledgment that student diversity is an asset to the classroom. Among the subtractive practices defined by the authors are those that minimize linguistic and cultural diversity, focusing on assimilation through such vehicles as high stakes testing. Though university and college teachers in Washington State may not be directed by explicit state language policies (as the K-12 teachers are in California), theories about culture and language acquisition influence their attitudes toward student learning. Thus, this construct of additive and subtractive practices applies in some degree to the university classroom and may affect the success of students whose first language is not English.

The academic success of immigrant and international students should be of special concern to faculty and administration interested in equity in higher education, but there has been little discussion over what teaching practices provide the best education for students who have English language issues. Therefore, the research for this dissertation

will involve approaching distinguished professors from a number of disciplines and asking them about their philosophies and teaching strategies when they have non-native English speaking students in their classes. The goal of this dissertation is to address the following question: What are the commonalities, best practices, and unique teaching approaches of distinguished teachers in the linguistically diverse university classroom? The research for this dissertation will be undertaken to assist faculty members who are looking for guidance in developing pedagogical practices with language minority students and also administrators who are concerned with the retention of all students in higher education.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Introduction

The following literature review will first examine the history of diversity in institutions of higher education in the United States, focusing not only on changes in policies over the years, but also on underlying attitudes toward diversity, particularly in regard to language issues. It will then address theories of assimilation and reveal ways in which these theories can shape educational practices. In order to situate the reader in the context of United States' education policies, statistics are provided regarding numbers of students in higher education in the United States with language backgrounds other than English. The text then divides into separate discussions involving international and immigrant students, describing their sometimes unique concerns and attributes. The controversial topic of remedial or developmental education is next addressed, and particular institutions are used to exemplify the variety of approaches that exist in this area. The review of literature concludes with an overview of language issues in the university and discusses how the methodology of this dissertation, interviewing distinguished professors, will address the issues of language diversity in the university classroom.

The topics of the literature review will be discussed in the following order: (1) the history and current status of the diversity of the population attending colleges and universities in the United States; (2) fluency in English language as a criterion in college admission and the practical, philosophical, and legal issues this raises; (3) the particular concerns that pertain to international students and to immigrants, refugees, permanent

residents, or citizens; (4) the approaches some higher education institutions have taken to provide opportunities for improvement or remediation for students with lower English language proficiencies; and (5) the conclusion, which addresses language issues and provides a basis for this dissertation's methodology.

The History and Current Status of the Diversity of the Population

Attending Colleges and Universities in the United States

According to Arthur M. Cohen's *The Shaping of American Higher Education* (1998), there were 1,000 students attending college in the United States in 1790, and all of them were white males. By 1870, the overall number of students had increased to 63,000, and though 20 percent by this time were women, Cohen writes that fewer than 24 African-Americans had graduated from college prior to the Civil War. Institutions such as Lincoln University and Wilberforce were founded in the 1850's, and Howard in 1867, all specifically mandated to educate African-Americans separately from the mainstream institutions.

Admission requirements in 1790 usually included a background in arithmetic, Latin, and Greek, and Cohen says that by 1850 a proficiency in English grammar was made mandatory by some universities. Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, fluency in English was not a stated requirement, probably because universities favored skills in Greek and Latin and assumed the students already possessed knowledge of English. By 1882, according to Cohen, competence in English composition became an admission requirement at Princeton, Harvard, Michigan, Columbia, and Cornell, this usually being determined by submission of an essay written in English. Stanford, at its inception,

specifically required previous coursework in English in addition to 10 more subjects out of a possible 25. Overall, the list of prerequisite coursework necessary for admission grew as the nineteenth century progressed, but colleges badly needed students and frequently overlooked these requirements. In fact, according to Ronald Phipps (1998) at the Institute for Higher Education Policy:

There has never been a golden age in American educational history when all students who enrolled in college were adequately prepared, all courses offered at a higher education institution were “college-level,” and the transition for students between high school and college was smooth. Remedial education has been part of higher education since the early colonial days. Beginning with Harvard College in the 17th century, where tutors in Greek and Latin were provided for underprepared students, and continuing into the middle of the 20th century with the establishment of the G.I. Bill, remediation for inadequately prepared students has been an integral part of American higher education. (p. v)

By 1900, according to Cohen, there were 250,000 students enrolled in American colleges and universities, and by 1920, as pressure for access increased, institutions began to look for “defensible criteria on which to discriminate” (Cohen, p. 117). Some of the colleges did this in a purposeful attempt to limit the numbers of Jewish, southern European immigrant, and African-American students. According to Cohen, these decades saw the emergence of a fundamental issue: whether higher education existed to further a system where people could move up the socio-economic ladder, or existed to reinforce the existing social norms and hierarchies.

As a means of limiting admissions, in the 1920's and 1930's prestigious Eastern universities began to require students to submit personal goal statements and letters of reference. The president of Harvard tried to set quotas on Jewish students, but the faculty objected, so more subjective criteria were put in place in the admission process. This resulted in reducing by half the number of Jewish students admitted. Cohen quotes Geiger (1986) as saying, "Harvard's experience made it clear to other schools that overt quotas could not be publicly admitted; and Harvard seems to have learned from others that discrimination required a cloak of ambiguity" (Cohen, p. 119). Cohen goes on to say that changeable admission selectivity in the history of American higher education has reflected biases for or against certain social groups: "race, religion, gender, ethnicity, family wealth, or social standing—all have been used as admissions screens" (p. 120), but because these characteristics do not reflect the academic ability of the individual, they are viewed by some as anti-egalitarian.

The period from 1945-1975 is defined by Cohen as a period of "mass higher education," when the numbers of college students, funded by state and federal financial aid programs such as the G.I. Bill, increased from approximately two million to eleven million. Ascertaining who was gaining access to higher education and who was not became a critical issue during this time. The doctrine of "separate but equal" had been the educational standard since the 1890's; however, in 1954 in *Brown v. the Board of Education*, the Supreme Court ruled that separate but equal was inherently invalid. Segregation did not end instantly after that ruling, and many states ignored, openly defied, or deviously postponed integrating schools. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 brought

federal power to bear in enforcing equal opportunities in education. In the late 1960's, higher education began to take note that family income and graduation from college were highly correlated, and federal aid was increased to help poorer people. Thus African-American, Hispanic, and Native American students began to be encouraged to enroll as financial aid became available for college. The first year data existed on the status of minorities in higher education was 1976.

[B]lacks, Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans made up 15.4 percent (almost 1.7 million) of total enrollments in higher education. Minorities constituted 16.1 percent (1.9 million) of enrollments in 1980 (USDE, 1989). In Fall, 1988, there were 2.4 million minority students or 18.4 percent of total enrollment in higher education (*Chronicle*, April 11, 1990). (cited in Eaton, 1997, p. 238)

With the great surge in enrollment after World War II, equal access was becoming an ever more serious question in higher education.

According to Cohen, this current era, post 1975, is marked by the emergence of "tribalism," or the alliance of Americans into separate groups: "Practically every public action [is] viewed with an eye to which of the several ethnic or racial groups appear[s] to gain or lose benefits" (Cohen, p. 295). Cohen feels that the government's action of defining racial categories further solidified this trend toward tribalism. He champions the values of meritocracy in education by quoting Henry (1994) as saying: "'self-proclaimed victims of society have lost sight of the proportion of their faith that reflects free will'" (p. 298). Cohen believes that the Bureau of the Census, when it did not provide a check box with a simple "multiracial" category, but allowed people to self-define what racial or

ethnic group they felt they belonged in, led to the “absurd dilemmas” of individuals being counted statistically as one third of a person or as more than one person. Cohen is further concerned with additional groups forming—such as Acadians, Hassidim, gays and lesbians—with the intent of “crawl[ing] under the tent of policies that promise to provide certain benefits” (p. 299). These concerns reflect the perceptions of many Americans that apportioning rights to particular groups is divisive, conceivably resulting in a system that pits group against group—Hassidim vs. lesbians, African-Americans vs. Latinos—for a share of society’s resources. They feel that the traditional system of relying on individual merit is the fairest and most unifying.

While Cohen worries about the divisions created by “tribalism,” other writers view this era as a time when power and privilege are being newly challenged. Sonia Nieto, the daughter of Puerto Rican immigrants and author of *Language, Culture, and Teaching*, disagrees with traditional theories that would explain her personal success in academe as if she had “pulled herself up by her bootstraps,” and had “melted” into the “mainstream” (Nieto, p. 5), as if she as an individual possessed certain psychological qualities that led her to succeed. This would imply that if she could succeed, anyone should be able to, regardless of their environment. Nieto attributes her personal success more to the fact that she was able to attend excellent schools while still retaining her family language and identity.

Nieto prefers sociocultural theories that account for a context of social and political realities in learning. Rather than viewing learning as something that is available to all Americans equally, she says that there are students, especially those who are from ethnic

or linguistic minorities and/or who have been brought up in poverty, who do not have the experiences that prepare them for academic success. She refers to Bourdieu's (1986) description of "cultural capital" and writes,

Cultural capital is evident in such intangibles as values, taste, and behaviors and through cultural identities such as language, dialect, and ethnicity. . . . If this is true, then youngsters from some communities are placed at a disadvantage relative to their peers simply because of their experiences and identities.

Understanding this reality means that power relations are a fundamental, although largely unspoken, aspect of school life. (Nieto, p. 8)

In relation to the metaphor of the melting pot, theorists such as Nieto would be concerned with the loss of identity of someone who comes from a culture, language, or ethnicity outside the mainstream. Nieto uses the example of Linda Howard, a high school valedictorian who had received a full scholarship to an elite university, but who nevertheless dropped out after a few months. The reason, Howard explained later, was because while there she had felt "like a pea on a big pile of rice" (Nieto, p. 12). Howard had the academic and financial skills needed to succeed, but she felt her bi-racial identity did not fit into the university. Nieto says that the sociocultural perspective emphasizes teaching and learning as not being neutral experiences but as taking place in a context.

Nieto uses bilingualism as an example of contextuality in teaching and learning. Bilingualism is only seen as a problem, she points out, when "speakers of a particular language are held in low esteem or seen as a threat to national unity" (Nieto, p. 15). If the children of wealthy parents become fluent in other languages, it is perceived as being

desirable—the status of the child and the language he or she speaks at home influence its acceptability in the culture. It is not bilingualism *per se* that is negative or positive, it is the context of bilingualism

Nieto's concerns seem to echo the same questions that occupied educators at the beginning of the twentieth century when numbers of students first began to outstrip places for them in college: Does higher education exist to further a system to enable people to move up the socio-economic ladder, or does it exist to reinforce the existing social norms and hierarchies? Sociocultural theories also ask about the importance of determining who gets to decide what is considered meaningful knowledge in the academy. This may seem to some a challenge to the standards of excellence in the university. Sociocultural theorists might respond by saying that the melting pot is a metaphor for white hegemony.

A further model, segmented assimilation, is presented by Portes and Zhou (1993) to account for cultural dissimilarities in adaptation among different immigrant groups. Zhou (1997) writes about four models of assimilation. She describes the *melting pot theory* in which newcomers lose their former cultural distinctiveness and blend into a “nonethnic” core American society. Zhou next describes *multicultural theory* which states that the cultural qualities that immigrants bring to the United States need not be “assumed to be inferior traits which should necessarily be absorbed by the core culture of the host society; rather these primordial characteristics constantly interact with the host society to reshape and reinvent themselves” (p. 981). Zhou then goes on to explain the *structural perspective* of assimilation which rejects the melting pot theory and maintains

that American society is “a stratified system of social inequality” (p. 983) in which there is unequal access to resources, and maintains that this system limits the opportunities of immigrants. Zhou then describes a fourth model, *segmented assimilation*.

The segmented assimilation theory recognizes the fact that immigrants are today being absorbed by different segments of American society, ranging from affluent middle-class suburbs to impoverished innercity ghettos, but that becoming American may not always be an advantage for themselves nor for their children (p. 999).

In other words, some immigrant minority groups may move up the ladder of educational and thus economic success, and some may move down. If, for example, second generation children find themselves in an area of lower economic opportunity, if their skin colors are darker, and if they are associating in school with disaffected minority students, their downward mobility in society becomes more likely. This effect can be mitigated, Zhou writes, by a strong home community that does not tolerate behaviors inconsistent with school success. Therefore, Portes and Zhou conclude that the family or ethnic community can determine whether their children become assimilated into an economic underclass.

Ogbu (1992) writes about the evidence that students from some minority groups succeed academically more than others. He says this disparity rises partly from their social status. He divides minority groups into two categories: *voluntary minorities*, those who have migrated to attain more access to economic resources or freedom from oppression; and *involuntary minorities*, those who have been forcibly brought to the

United States against their wills, such as former slaves, or those such as Native Americans who have been formally denied access to resources in the past.

Acknowledging that cultural differences cause problems in assimilation for *all* minorities due to differing world views, assumptions, values, and English competencies, Ogbu states that the *voluntary* minority children are more likely to overcome problems for the following reasons:

First, the cultural differences existed before the minorities came to the United States or entered the public schools; the differences did not arise to maintain boundaries between them and White Americans. . . . Furthermore, because primary cultural differences did not develop in opposition or to protect their collective identity and sense of security and self worth, voluntary minorities do not perceive learning the attitudes and behaviors required for school success as threatening their own culture, language, and identities. Instead, they interpret such learning (e.g., English) instrumentally and as additive, as adding to what they already have (their own language), for use in the appropriate context (Chung, 1992). They also believe that the learning will help them succeed in school and later in the labor market. (p. 9)

Ogbu recommends educators realize that students come from a variety of minority groups with historical relationships, backgrounds, and languages that differ from the dominant culture in the United States, and that these differences will affect their success in school. He recommends teachers take the time to learn about students' cultural backgrounds, especially as these backgrounds might affect attitudes toward schooling. Ogbu also urges

educators to set up programs to advise students, particularly those from involuntary minority backgrounds, to recognize behaviors that may inhibit or enhance academic achievement and also to help them to “accept the fact that they can participate in two cultural or language frames of reference without losing their own cultural and language identity or undermining their loyalty to the minority community” (p. 12).

This relative position of language and status in the culture becomes more important as the twenty-first century unfolds and the definition of minority includes language minorities. One imagines that most immigrants hope their lives and their children’s lives will be made better as a result of immigrating to a new country. Often, education and particularly language acquisition become their first priority. To meet this need, states often provide free classes for adult immigrants to learn survival English. In some states demand for these classes has so outweighed availability that waiting lists have been dropped and a lottery system has been instituted. When these immigrant students complete their basic English classes and wish to continue their education on to a community college or a four-year institution, they face a new set of difficulties because of the high level of academic English reading and writing they are expected to have mastered.

In some countries, education and specifically language acquisition is mandated and supported by the central government. In the United States, the federal government has specific and limited powers over education, and is primarily concerned with money for research projects that are deemed in the best interests of society, with loans and grants available for students to offset the costs of higher education, and with ensuring against

discriminatory practices against certain student populations (e.g., students with disabilities, minority students, etc.). The United States Constitution specifies that certain powers belong to the federal government and then indicates that all other powers not specifically stated to apply to the federal government then belong to the states; hence, most education policy falls under the control of the states. Outside of visa requirements, the higher education of immigrants or international students is not something addressed at a national level. Currently, policies that are concerned with the language proficiencies of immigrant and international students vary from university to university within the state, from college to college within the university, from department to department within the college, and from professor to professor within the department. This situation is partly a result of a lack of consensus in most institutions, legislatures, and in public opinion over the role of English in the academy.

Statistics show that the numbers of ethnic minorities in postsecondary institutions is growing, and the numbers also suggest a link between ethnic and linguistic minorities. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics, between the years 1976 and 1995, the enrollment of minority group undergraduates in the United States moved from 17 percent to 26 percent (U.S. Department of Education, 2000, cited in Horn, Peter, & Rooney, 2002, p. 1). The writers believe that this may be related to the overall growth in numbers of immigrants—between 1980 and 1990, the percentage of United States residents who were born in other countries went from 6 percent to 8 percent, and in the year 2000, one tenth of U.S. residents claimed to have been born outside the United States (Gibson & Lennon, 1999, cited in Horn et al, p. 1). It's been estimated that by the

year 2020, one third of public school enrollment students may be immigrants (Lewis, 2001, p. 1).

Earlier in U.S. history, immigrants came primarily from European countries; however, over the past few decades, immigrants have been mostly Asian/Pacific Islander and Hispanic. In the 1950's, over two-thirds of the 250,000 legal immigrants came from Europe or Canada. The number of immigrants increased to 449,000 in the 1970's, with 40.3 percent coming from Latin American countries, 35.3 percent from Asian countries, and 21.6 percent coming from Europe or Canada. Nearly 600,000 people immigrated in the 1980's: 47.1 percent from Latin America, 37.3 from Asia, and 12.5 percent from Europe or Canada (Borjas, 1995, p. 202). According to the University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute, "Enrollment of language minority students continues to outpace overall enrollment growth. In the ten-year period from 1991-92 to 2001-02, California's public schools added more than one million students, an increase of 20 percent" (Rumberger, 2002, p. 1). Nearly 40 percent of the total enrollment in California's public schools were language minority students in the years 2000-2001. In kindergarten, the number of children whose first language was not English numbered 44 percent in that same time period. Although some states are impacted more than others, the effects of these changing demographics are being felt in varying degrees in all states. For example, in Washington State, the Limited English Proficiency (LEP) program in the public schools served 7.2 percent of the state's students in 2001-2002, an increase from 7.1 percent in 2000-2001. Most (61 percent) of these students have Spanish as their first language (*Educating English Language Learners in Washington State*, 2003, p.16). More

immigrant language minority students are arriving and will be arriving at the doors of postsecondary institutions.

Postsecondary access for minority students has increased; however, undergraduate retention for minority groups other than Asian has not kept up with retention of Whites (U.S. Department of Education 2000, table 265; Sanchez 2000 both cited in Horn et al., p. 2). Hispanic graduation rates have been lower than those for Asian or White students: “for the UC freshman class of 1991, the six-year graduation rate for Latinos was 66.3 percent compared to 78.7 percent for White students and 79.8 percent for Asian Americans” (Paredes, 2000, para. 1). Immigrants as a whole were also “more likely than all undergraduates to attend public 2-year colleges (50 versus 42 percent) and were less likely to attend 4-year institutions (37 versus 45 percent)” (Horn et al., p. 1). In summary, the numbers of undergraduate minority students in the current era has increased to close to one-quarter of all students, possibly as a result of increases in immigration; however, these students are more likely to attend community colleges and, if they are Hispanic, are more likely to drop out prior to graduation. Two common reasons mentioned for the lower retention rate for Hispanic students is that they are more likely to live at home and go to school part time. This may result in fewer feelings of attachment to the college, which many educators believe is one pre-condition for withdrawing, and also may be under more pressure to contribute to the family income by working, which leaves less time for studying (Navarro, 2003).

Immigrant students are also more likely than nonimmigrant students to apply to public institutions for higher education (Hagya & Staniec, 2002, p. 390). Therefore, states

with large numbers of immigrant students such as California, Texas, Florida, and New York, may have to prepare for more students entering publicly financed colleges and universities. “Increasingly, the future of California rests with the state’s will and capacity to effectively educate the growing language minority population” (Rumberger, p. 1). Furthermore, as Jacobi-Gray says, “The weak English language skills of some immigrant students pose the most serious impediment to success within higher education” (Gray, Rolph, & Melamid, p. xiii). If educators hope to prepare their students for success in the modern workplace, provisions for the success of language minority students must be considered in colleges and universities as well as in public schools.

In addition to immigrants, international students comprise another group contributing to the language diversity of the population attending colleges and universities in the United States. According to the Institute of International Education, the 2004 enrollment for international students in United States postsecondary institutions was 572,509, with a 2.4 percent increase in graduate students and a 5 percent decrease in undergraduates from the previous year (*Open Doors 2004*, 2004, para. 3). Many attribute this drop in undergraduate international student enrollment to the events of September 11, 2001, but *Open Doors* posits additional explanations.

The overall decline in international students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities has been attributed to a variety of reasons, including real and perceived difficulties in obtaining student visas (especially in scientific and technical fields), rising U.S. tuition costs, vigorous recruitment activities by other

English-speaking nations, and perceptions abroad that international students may no longer be welcome in the U.S. (*Open Doors 2004*, Fast Facts)

Patricia S. Harrison, Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, says that this is a temporary decline that is related, among other reasons, to the need to keep U.S. borders secure from terrorists. Harrison points out that there was an increase of 11 percent in the issuance of student visas for January through June over the same six-month period in 2003, and comments,

That's certainly a good sign. It suggests that international students understand the very real need we had to put in place systems to screen applicants for entry into the United States, systems that provide everyone—including foreign visitors—with a greater sense of security" (cited in *Open Doors 2004*, para. 6).

Overall, even with the drop in international student enrollments in 2003-2004 school year, the total number of international students in U.S. postsecondary institutions is 572,509, which is 4.3 percent of the total numbers of enrolled students.

Most (79,736) of the international students in 2004 came from India, and the second most originated from China (61,765). The state of California hosted the largest number of international students (77,186), and in 2004 New York was the U.S. city with the most international students (52,424). The U.S. Department of Commerce says that international students comprise the fifth largest service sector export, bringing in approximately \$12 billion per year in tuition and general living expenses, of which 75% is supplied from sources outside the U.S. (*Open Doors 2004*, Highlights).

The breakdown in the top 10 countries who sent students to study at the postsecondary level in U.S. institutions for the 2003/2004 school year is as follows: India—79,736; China—61,765; Republic of Korea—52,484; Japan—40,835; Canada—27,017; Taiwan—26,178; Mexico—13,329; Turkey—11,398; Thailand—8,937; and Indonesia—8,880 (*Open Doors 2004*, Fast Facts). India has overtaken China in the past few years in the number of students they send to the U.S. Although India typically uses English in public schools, their English may have some dissimilarities to English as it is spoken in the United States. While most Canadians speak English, Canada has a high immigration rate of people who are from non-English speaking countries, and about 24% of the population have French as their first language. Combined with a natural distribution in language ability, determining from these statistics exactly which students may need help with their English skills can be complicated.

Fluency in the English Language as a Criterion in College Admission:

The Practical, Philosophical, and Legal Issues This Raises

According to the National Center for Education Statistics, 13 percent of current students in all United States' postsecondary institutions claim that English was not the language spoken in their homes (Horn et al, p. 12). These students are classified into groups: (1) *Immigrants, refugees, permanent residents, or citizens*, and (2) *international students*—students who need visas to study in the United States, can show that they have the finances to pay for their education, and plan to return home when they have graduated. These groups of students, while facing some of the same cultural and language

struggles in their course work, are nevertheless affected by different policies. Most undergraduate university students—immigrant, international, and native—enter primarily on the basis of their test scores and high school grades or they enter as transfer students from community colleges.

International students

International students typically submit their grades, sometimes SAT scores, and more specifically their score on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), the most widely used exam for ascertaining English language proficiency. Acceptable scores on the TOEFL vary from institution to institution. (See Appendix One for a compilation of Washington four-year institutions and their TOEFL admission requirements for international students.) It is easy for institutions to identify international students in the application process because they need student visas.

The TOEFL, administered by Educational Testing Service (ETS), measures the English proficiency of non-native speakers of English. It is offered via three different formats: paper based, computer based, and internet based (available in some areas September 2005). The test is divided into sections that vary according to how the test is administered. The older paper-based test involves listening comprehension, structure and written English, and vocabulary and reading comprehension. The computer-based test covers listening, structure, reading, and writing. The new internet-based test also covers reading, listening, and writing, but includes an additional section on speaking. The structure section was dropped in this newest version because grammar questions are embedded in the other sections. TOEFL scores range from 310-677 (paper based), 0-300

(computer based), and 0-120 (internet based). According to the ETS website, "More - than 5,000 colleges, universities, and licensing agencies in 90 countries accept TOEFL scores" (TOEFL Details, 2005, TOEFL Overview).

Given the fact that 2,400 colleges in the United States and Canada require the TOEFL for admission (Reisberg, 1999, para. 2), ETS could be seen as serving a gatekeeper function to ascertain English proficiency in United States' postsecondary institutions. While the wide use of the TOEFL testifies to the trust placed in its ability to judge a student's English readiness for college and university work, there have been some controversies surrounding the TOEFL, particularly in the some cases of test fraud.

With the stakes so high—gaining access to America, to a job, to an education—there will inevitably be ways people find to achieve these goals though alternate channels. One area of concern regarding the TOEFL is with test fraud. On May 7, 2002, 56 students were arrested for conspiracy to commit wire fraud by having someone else take their TOEFL test for them. Two men, Mahmoud Firas and Begad Abdel-Megeed, were each accused of taking 50 TOEFL exams for others. In all, six imposters took a total of 130 exams (Flores, 2002, para. 3). Daniel Walfish writes for the *Chronicle* about test dishonesty in China:

One taboo technique is to use a "*qiangshou*," or "gunner" -- someone who takes a test in place of someone else. Every day, several messages appear on the New Oriental School's electronic bulletin board with titles like "searching for a male TOEFL gunner." (Walfish, 2001, para. 12)

The New Oriental School is a private company that opened in 1992 in Beijing that helps Chinese students gain access to American institutions. In fact, about 70 percent of mainland Chinese students who attended universities in the United States in 2001 were graduates of the New Oriental School (Walfish, para. 27). New Oriental School's formula is to inspire students and give them intensive lessons on test vocabulary and test taking. New Oriental has been caught in the past pirating tests from ETS: "Materials confiscated in 1996 and 1997 included non-public tests that could only have been stolen from examination rooms or memorized and written down later" (Walfish, para. 33). The method that works for many students is intensive drilling—practicing exam vocabulary and taking test after test after test.

Unfortunately, the students' command of English, their ability to communicate verbally or to write, is not always reflected by their scores on these multiple choice tests. Some schools are cautious, checking to see if a new students' English is proficient before they are allowed to take classes. As a letter to the *Chronicle* points out in response to this issue, "The interview process, emphasizing not only mastery of the English language but also consistency in motivation and credentials, has provided a crucial reference point of quality control for many universities" (Yu, Allmann, & Huang, 2001, para. 2). However, many universities and colleges do not have any structures in place to verify if students' proficiency matches their test scores. It must be acknowledged that with something as comprehensive as language acquisition, there is a limit to what even the most scrupulous multiple choice test can accurately gauge, and college faculty are sometimes left with students whose English language proficiency is less than they would like it to be.

Of course, this is not to suggest that all or even many Chinese students “cheat” on their TOEFL exams. In some ways, this view of testing could be seen as a cross-cultural issue. While most Chinese may agree that hiring a TOEFL gunner is obviously dishonest, there may be some disagreement over the morality of pirating materials or drilling for a high test score: it is just much more accepted in Chinese culture. This is not to imply that Americans should change their ethics, but it should be recognized that in dealing with diversity, cultural mores are difficult to alter. Americans would also view hiring of someone to complete an application essay as dishonest (though many Americans also receive help from others on this part of the admission process). Part of the reason Chinese students would want their essays written for them is to make their English appear better, but another reason is cultural:

Chinese students usually do need help with their personal statements. Unless instructed otherwise, they typically write detailed autobiographies that may begin with their parents, include mottoes about the value of hard work, and emphasize personal qualities, awards, and class rank. They don't realize that many graduate schools also want to hear about their interests, relevant experience, and goals.

(Walfish, para. 15)

There could be some disagreement over whether the universities that judge the essays are imposing valid cultural values—expecting an emphasis on the future in the writing of a student from a culture that emphasizes the value of the past, for example. It's complicated defining the boundaries of multicultural values.

Immigrants, refugees, permanent residents, or citizens

Immigrants, refugees, permanent residents, or citizens *who have a first language other than English* may self-identify in an application essay, or a university may ask students if they have received any of their education in a country other than the United States. When a student has been educated in a country other than the U.S., the next determination that may be made is whether the country was an English-dominant country such as Australia or Canada. The university may also ask which years a student attended classes out of the country. Children under the age of twelve who have native languages other than English and who go to school in the United States, and continue their schooling here, have adult literacy rates comparable to native English speakers in the same racial or ethnic group (Greenberg, 2001, Age Matters).

In order to illustrate the variety of language policies that exist, a few examples from specific institutions will be included here.

The University of Washington, Seattle, distinguishes in its admissions policies between *international* students; *immigrants, refugees, and permanent residents; and citizens*. To be admitted as freshmen to the University of Washington, Seattle (the branch campuses have different policies), *international* students are required to take the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and attain a score of 540 (paper-based test) or 207 (computer-based test). In addition, they also must meet UW's English proficiency requirement. To prove themselves proficient in English, international students must attain a 580 TOEFL score before they graduate, and they are required to take ESL support courses until they reach that score of 580.

The freshman admission requirements for *immigrants, refugees, permanent residents, and citizens* who do not have English as their first language are different from international students at the University of Washington. There is a question on the application form asking students how many years they studied in schools outside the United States. If applicants have gone to school outside the United States, it is made clear that they still must meet the four-year core requirement in English composition or literature required of all students prior to admission. If the student studied in high school in a country where English is the primary language of instruction, specifically Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, or the UK, this requirement is generally met by their high schools' graduation requirements. If students have studied outside these countries, the University of Washington will allow them to meet the English core requirement in various ways such as receiving an AA degree from a Washington state community college with a cumulative 3.0 grade point average in their English composition courses, or in getting an SAT verbal score of 435 in conjunction with a set number of literature courses in English, in literature or composition courses in their native language, or in courses such as drama, literature, public speaking, journalistic writing, ESL, or business English in an predominantly English-speaking country. Immigrants, refugees, permanent residents, or citizens who have been educated in other countries and may or may not have English as their first language are not required to take the TOEFL. Requiring a separate test like the TOEFL for a citizen could be viewed as unconstitutional and discriminatory on the basis of national origin.

The University of California at Berkeley also makes a distinction between international students; immigrants, refugees, and permanent residents; and citizens. International students at Berkeley are required to earn a score of 550 (paper based) or 220 (computer based) on the TOEFL. All freshman entrants are required to complete a university preparation curriculum in high school, take the SAT I and three of the achievement tests in the SAT II—writing, mathematics, plus one more in another content area including English literature, science, social studies, or foreign language (Chinese, French, German, Modern Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Latin, and Spanish). This last admission requirement is particularly interesting. In 2001, the University of California system began assigning more weight to the SAT IIs, which used to be known as achievement tests. Under the new University of California guidelines, each SAT II counts twice as much as each SAT I. Therefore, if students are fluent in one of the languages listed above, they will get a boost in their scores for admission (Golden, 2001, p. A01).

Jefferson High School, which is predominantly Hispanic and regarded as among the lowest-achieving schools in California, can be used to illustrate the practical effects of the University of California system's emphasis on the SAT II. The percentage of students from Jefferson High accepted for admission into the University of California system grew by 50 percent in 2001 after the new policy was instituted (Golden, p. A01). Most of these students had Spanish as their home language. At UC Berkeley, the admissions for Hispanic students grew 14 percent, 7 percent for students overall, and less than 1 percent for African-Americans. This acceptance of a language test is creating some hard feelings

among some African-American groups who feel that with the elimination of affirmative action in California admissions policies and with the new emphasis on SAT II's, they are being given even fewer opportunities. This would tend to support Cohen's assertion mentioned earlier that recognizing separate groups can result in their vying with each other over available resources. Though some professors argue that the second-language SAT II is difficult, others refer to it as a "baby test."

Enedina Sandoval, an entering Berkeley freshman from Jefferson High, admits she's nervous. Although she averaged just 505 on her SATs, she was near-perfect on the Spanish-language exam. "I just walked in and got 790" of a possible 800, Sandoval, a Mexican-American who never took a Spanish course, says with a laugh.

...

Asked if she's academically ready for Berkeley, her smile fades. "I'm going to have to take a course to prepare me," she says. "There's going to be a lot of people who know more than me." (Golden, p. A01)

This personal anecdote also supports the finding related earlier in this paper that access may be being achieved by minority groups, but it does not always equal retention and graduation. According to Paredes, *access* to higher education has been the traditional goal for Latinos, and this has become especially worrisome in light of California's rejection of affirmative action. "But academic *success* . . . is also critical; indeed, without it, access is virtually meaningless" [italics added] (Paredes, Para. 3).

Hispanic students are not the only students benefiting in admissions by the new UC formula. In 2001, Chinese students averaged 761 on the language portion of the SAT II, Korean students averaged 752, and Japanese students 735 (Golden, p. A01).

On the general University of California application form, question 19 asks students to specify the language(s) that they learned first: English only, English and another language, or another language. Question 45 asks students if they completed any part of their schooling past grade nine outside of the U.S., and question 46 asks students who attended school outside the U.S. to explain what language of instruction was used when they were in grades 6-8 and grades 9-12. However, unlike the University of Washington, it is not made clear on their website how this information is used, and there are no specific course requirements listed for non-native speakers or international students to take as undergraduates.

The admission requirements at community colleges in Washington State vary for *immigrants, refugees, permanent residents, or citizens, and international* students. Immigrant students in the community colleges are granted free English. These classes generally cover basic survival English—how to shop, do banking, ask directions, etc.—and English skills that will help them get jobs. The students may or may not be literate in their first language. These classes are often quite large, with students attending inconsistently. Students pay tuition for *academic* English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, which cover skills students need to be successful in “regular” academic courses for credit. These latter classes are usually taken by international students and sometimes

by immigrants, refugees, permanent residents, and citizens who do not have English as their first language.

Admissions policies in community colleges are more open than in four-year institutions. Students basically need (1) a high school diploma, or (2) to have been released from high school, or (3) to have had their high school cohort graduate, or (4) to have passed the General Education Development (GED) test. Students then take various tests such as the COMPASS, which can be used to place ESL students, and the ASSET test, which can be used to place adults who have not graduated from high school. The Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment System (CASAS) can also be used to place adult learners, though it is not intended for ESL students.

Community colleges are interested in attracting international students. The tuition charged for resident students at community colleges is typically under \$700 per quarter for a 12-credit load. For international students, tuition for the same number of credits is around \$2,500. There are, in fact, whole conferences devoted to showing community colleges how to market themselves to bring in more international students. Some colleges in Washington have offered “guaranteed” matriculation to international students after they complete one year of ESL study, regardless of the students’ TOEFL scores.

Skagit Valley College is a community college located in Mt. Vernon, with four satellite campuses and centers located in Oak Harbor, Friday Harbor, and Clinton, Washington. Skagit Valley is interested in recruiting more international students, and prominent on their website is their “No TOEFL” policy. What this means is that international students who wish to attend Skagit do not have to take the TOEFL test;

however, they are required to take an institutional language test that places them in a particular level of ESL classes. Even though they advertise “No TOEFL,” there is still a list of TOEFL scores and the type of classes students with such scores would have to take listed on their website. International students who score 500 no longer need to take any ESL support classes at Skagit. In contrast to this, students at the University of Washington continue to take language support classes until their TOEFL reaches 580.

Some Washington community and technical colleges share a common website called the Web Admissions Center. Students applying online for admission to Skagit Valley and a number of other community colleges are sent to this site. To access the admission form, students must set up an account and password and pass through a number of screens requesting information. There are seldom more than four or five questions per screen. Under the section titled Race and Citizenship information, the first question asks for the student’s race, but answering the question is made explicitly voluntary. (Not all community colleges are careful to mention this.) The second question asks if the student is of Spanish or Hispanic origin, and again it is stated that the answer is voluntary. The third question regards citizenship, and the following options are offered:

- International Student (with F or M visa)
- Visitor
- Temporary Resident
- Immigrant/permanent resident
- Refugee/Parolee or Conditional Entrant
- Other (explain)

The last four categories ask students to fill in their “alien numbers.” It is not made clear in this application process how the above information will be used.

Walla Walla Community College in Washington also requires English proficiency. The college states that it does not have an Intensive English Language Program; however, they list a number of ESL classes in their timetable. Walla Walla requires a minimum TOEFL score of 500 (173 on the computer-based test) for admission, but students may waive the TOEFL exam if English is their native language

There is an expectation at the state level that immigrant students who are taking English classes at the community college should be able to pass through their free immigrant classes in a direct pipeline to academic classes, and this has sometimes led to some community college teachers feeling they have students in their academic college classes who are underprepared for work in English. In other cases, some immigrant students’ English test results are so high that they are beyond the level of the immigrant classes, but since students have to pay tuition for these academic classes, they are kept on the books of the Adult Basic English (ABE) classes but are actually seated in the higher level academic classes. Some of these policies are to the benefit of the students, but some may exist more to serve bureaucratic needs.

Writing about the *explicit* values of a college or university versus the *implicit* values, Alexander Astin uses an example of community college administrators who while explicitly “support[ing] the concepts of equal opportunity...teaching and learning,” implicitly seem to be more interested in enrolling as many students as possible (Astin, 1989, p. 23). The result of these seemingly contradictory goals can be a low retention

rate, especially among students who are not as well prepared for postsecondary work.

As an antidote to this, Astin recommends institutions strive for “excellence,” which he feels should not be ascertained by traditional measures such as reputation or resources (size of the library, student/teacher ratio, etc.) but by the education of the student.

Community college or university administrators who market their programs to bring in more students or who manipulate their numbers to suit legislative expectations need to be sure that they are not neglecting their primary mandate to educate all students.

**Approaches Some Higher Education Institutions Have Taken to Provide
Opportunities for Improvement or Remediation
for Students with Lower English Language Proficiencies**

While the literature examining the role of English in public K-12 schools and Adult Basic Education is extensive, there has not been as much research devoted to language issues in the college and university classroom. Gray, Rolph, and Vernez (1997) say that educational issues regarding immigrants are so contentious that university officials purposely choose not to focus on them, especially when such discussions could bring about damaging publicity that could result in draconian policies, decreasing rather than increasing student success. In 1996, Gray, Rolph, and Melamid conducted a series of case studies of 14 colleges and universities across the United States. The focus of their research was each individual institution with regard to its policies toward immigrants. The researchers claim that the dominant policy issue that rose out of their study is the balance institutions must find in providing access for students while achieving academic excellence: colleges and universities must respond to accusations from business and

government that their students are not graduating with the necessary skills, yet at the same time serve underrepresented groups by granting access for students who may be entering underprepared for college work. Institutions basically have three options: admit students and then dismiss them if they fail to meet certain standards; provide support to them through tutoring, summer programs, learning centers, and remedial classes; or decide that “academic standards that predated [higher education’s] efforts to expand access were unnecessarily stringent or even misguided and that to change them is not necessarily to lower them” (Gray, Rolph, & Melamid, pp. 23-4). All of these options for balancing increased access while maintaining academic standards have advantages and disadvantages, detractors and proponents.

An example of a university that seems to have invested in remediation is the University of Washington, Seattle. As stated earlier, this institution distinguishes in both its admissions policies and in graduation requirements between two groups of non-native speakers of English: *international students* (those students who keep their citizenship in their native countries and plan to return to them when their education is complete) versus *immigrants, refugees, U.S. permanent residents, or U.S. citizens*.

To be admitted as freshmen to the University of Washington, international students are required to take the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and attain a score of 540 (paper-based test) or 207 (computer-based test). They also must meet UW’s English proficiency requirement. To prove themselves proficient in English, international students must attain a 580 TOEFL score before they graduate, and they are required to take ESL support courses until they reach 580. The grades students receive in these

support courses are included in their grade point average, count toward the INS stipulation that they remain full-time students, and satisfy financial aid credit requirements; however, support courses do not count toward graduation requirements and some require payment of a fee of over \$700 in addition to tuition. The ESL support courses for international students focus particularly on academic reading and writing skills such as constructing a short paragraph in response to a test question.

The graduation requirements for immigrant, refugee, U.S. permanent residents, or U.S. citizens are different from those of international students at the University of Washington. Students who do not have English as their native language are exempt from the language proficiency requirement at UW *if* they can show proof of citizenship before their first day of classes. However, if they become citizens after they have begun classes, they still must meet the language proficiency requirement. Non-citizens are required to take five courses in the University's Academic English Program (AEP) and pass them with a grade of B or higher. Students are required to take an institutional diagnostic test (not the TOEFL) which covers grammar, vocabulary, reading, listening comprehension and writing; however, doing well on the test may help them to waive some of the required AEP courses.

In many universities, this is as far as it goes, and students who need help go to various writing or tutorial centers that are geared to the needs of mainstream students. The University of Washington, however, does provide further specific help in academic skills for minority and economically disadvantaged students. First, there are four classes—Eng. 103, Introduction to Writing; English 104, Introductory Composition; English 105,

Introductory composition; and Eng. 106, Practical Forms of Writing--listed in the catalog and designed specifically for Educational Opportunity Program students who have been recommended by the Office of Minority Affairs. English 104 and 105 together meet the university's general education 5-credit requirement in English composition and they are described in the catalog as helping students write for academic purposes. In contrast, English 111, which is directed toward mainstream students, relies more heavily on writing about literature. For example, Hillary A. Gravendyk, an English 111 instructor, describes her class in the following way:

This class is designed to help you learn the fundamentals of college composition through the study of poetry. We will look at several poems, poets, and poetic tools to help us analyze, discuss, and write about poetry. While this class is focused on reading only one genre of literature, the writing strategies we will practice may help your paper-writing skills in general.

If this class were the *only* option for students whose first language was not English, they may not do very well because the understanding of poetry often relies on comprehending subtleties of the language. If the instructor were told to modify her course content to meet the needs of language-diverse students, she might not only feel she has lost some control over her class, but also that she would not be able to teach what she loves and does best. The English department may also resent not being able to use literature in teaching writing skills. Giving students the option to take composition classes with different orientations may better serve the needs of the University of Washington campus community.

There is also academic assistance at the University of Washington for students in the form of the Instructional Center, operated by the academic arm of the Office of Minority Affairs (OMA) Educational Opportunity Program. The Instructional Center is staffed by professional instructors and tutors, and offers help in classes across the curriculum. It also contains a computer lab, offers a course in critical reading, allows students to work collaboratively, and gives help with test and resume preparation.

In contrast, at the University of California at Berkeley, all students need to pass two English composition courses or have them waived through testing or departmental waivers, but there is only one 2-credit class offered for students who are not native speakers of English, it is taken on a self-selected basis, and it does not fulfill the college writing requirement.

There is a program at UC Berkeley for immigrant and refugee students that began in the 1980s. The Immigrant Student Programs (ISP) offers an orientation course for freshmen, but seems more a cultural and social orientation to expose students to resources available on campus, than an academic orientation. According to the program's website, 25.1 percent of students entering Berkeley in 1999 said they were immigrants. The site also states,

In 1982, Undergraduate Affairs established the Immigrant Student Project to address, in part, the issues and recommendations from previous reports. A continued survey of the research showed that the lack of appropriate English language preparation is limiting Asian immigrant and refugee students the choice of majors, careers, and career advancement enjoyed by other UC students.

Immigrant student graduates are locked in entry level positions, despite their technical skills and training. (*The Immigrant Student Program*, n.d.)

Although the immigrant population continued to grow at Berkeley, ISP said that funding was cut back in favor of multicultural programs in the face of anti-affirmative action pressures.

Two institutional systems that are grappling with the balance of access versus maintaining traditional standards of academic excellence are the City University of New York (CUNY) system and in the California State University (CSU) system. Both have curtailed remedial courses. According to the National Center for Education Statistics in the year 2000, specific courses deemed remedial were “precollege mathematics, arithmetic-based business mathematics, remedial writing, remedial speech, basic reading (but not speed reading), business English, punctuation and grammar, English-as-a-second language, and basic academic skills” (*College Remediation and Degree Completion: The Condition of Education*, 2000, p. 1). In November 2003, that definition was changed to “courses in reading, writing, or mathematics for college-level students lacking those skills necessary to perform college-level work at the level required by the institution” (Parsad, Lewis, & Greene, 2003, p. 1). How “remedial” is defined is not always clear cut. Phipps says that rather than “being based on some immutable set of standards, remedial education needs are often determined by the admissions requirements of a particular institution” (Phipps, 1998, p. vi). Remediation, then, may just be based on who got the lowest score on the assessment exam, and may in fact be fairly arbitrary, even in similar education systems

At CUNY, the trustees enacted a plan in 1999 that ended much of its remedial education and raised admission requirements in the system's 11 four-year institutions. Students at CUNY must also pass exit exams before they continue on to their junior year or receive their AA degree. "The test seeks to ensure that students graduate with an acceptable level of academic literacy, including writing and speaking English, but some critics say it is an artificial barrier and undermines students who do not do well on tests" (Navarro, p. 1). There is concern that this change has and will result in a lessening of success in higher education by non-native English speaking students. In a February 2002 report in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, enrollment in English as a Second Language (ESL) programs went down at CUNY 46 percent since 1995-6 (the year these changes were implemented) and down 7 percent since 2000-1 (Hebel, 2002, para. 13). Herbert H. Lehman College, part of the CUNY system, has gone from 718 students enrolled in their ESL program in 1994 to 63 in 2002 (Hebel, 2002, para. 34). It is unknown whether this drop in enrollment could be due to fewer linguistic minority students attending universities overall or whether they are moving to schools that better fit their needs.

On the other hand, with the "raising of academic standards," as many perceive these changes to be, 1992 CUNY freshmen enrollment has increased by 23 percent; the honors program has experienced a 91 percent increase in applications; and more organizations are donating money to the system. Although CUNY claims to have ended their remedial programs, they do offer free summer remedial classes, which have seen a 17 percent increase in participation from 1999 to 2000 (Hebel, para. 24). In January 2003, the *Chronicle* (Hebel, 2003b) reported that since all of these changes have been

implemented, “the racial makeup of CUNY's student body has remained about the same. About 31 percent of students are black, 29 percent are white, 25 percent are Hispanic, 14 percent are Asian, and the rest are mostly Native American” (Hebel, 2002, para. 27). Some educators and trustees worry about the effects of these policies on non-native English speakers. This presents an interesting contrast to the University of California system mentioned earlier in this paper that in effect rewards students for being bilingual by allowing them to take an achievement test on their native language.

In the California State University System, students have been told that they must complete any remedial work they need—judged on the basis of university placement exams—before their sophomore years, or they must leave the university. In the autumn quarter of 1998, 68 percent of the incoming freshmen failed at least one of the exams in English and math (Selingo, 2000, para. 3). There were racial and language discrepancies revealed in the test's outcomes.

74 percent of black freshmen and 65 percent of Hispanic freshmen in the university system needed remediation in math, compared with 40 percent of white freshmen. In English, 64 percent of black freshmen and 62 percent of Hispanic freshmen needed remediation, compared with 29 percent of white freshmen.

(Selingo, para. 28)

The CSU system also instituted a policy in 1996 that would limit the number of incoming freshmen who need remedial work to fewer than 10 percent by the year 2007. The latest report for the year 2002 shows that the overall number of students needing remedial work

dropped from the previous year to a total of 41 percent; however, their English language proficiency failed to meet CSU's target:

Proficiency levels in English dropped for the fall of 2002, with 51 percent of freshmen not requiring remedial help, a decrease of three points from 2001.

Trustees have set the target for English proficiency at 78 percent for freshmen in 2004 (Hebel, 2003a).

Regarding the CSU system, Senator Bruce MacPherson voices one side of the debate when he says, "I don't think it's too much to ask for students to be well-prepared to take on the incoming requirements for math and English. If they're not prepared, CSU shouldn't take on those demands" (cited in Selingo, p. 4). He is voicing the attitude reflected in these policies that the university is not the place for students who need further work on their English, even if they have managed to gain full admission to the university. Other critics of remediation cite its cost, say that remedial work is not the province of the university, and resent paying again for what students should have learned in high school. The following table shows the overall percentage of first- and second-year undergraduates who reported ever taking remedial courses and the ethnic breakdown of those taking such courses in 1999-2000 in the United States:

Table 1: Remedial Courses

Race	Any remedial courses ¹	Taken remedial courses in 1999-2000
One Race		
White	31.9	17.7
Black or African-American	45.9	25.8
Asian	38.5	21.6
American Indian/Alaska Native	44.5	34.9
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	32.3	23.4
Other race	45.2	27.1
More than one race	41.8	21.8
Hispanic or Latino (any race)		
Not Hispanic or Latino	34.3	19.1
Hispanic or Latino	44.8	27.7

¹Refers to National Postsecondary Student Aid students only (Horn et al, p. 132-33).

A viewpoint supporting remediation in the university is expressed by Mike Rose (1989) in his book *Lives on the Boundary*:

The fact is that the literacy crisis has been with us for some time, that our schools have always been populated with students who don't meet some academic standard. It seems that whenever we let ourselves realize that, we do so with a hard or fearful heart. . . . So we look to a past—one that never existed—for the effective, no-nonsense pedagogy we assume that past must have had. Our purpose, finally, is to root out disease—and, too often, to punish. (Rose, p. 7)

Some educators see the end of remedial courses at CSU and CUNY to be just that—a punishment to students who still need help with learning the English language. Wong Fillmore states that there is a “a widespread belief among people who should know better that the new immigrants are resisting the necessity of learning English” (cited in Kouritzin, 2000, p. 1) and that therefore many of these students' difficulties are “self-

imposed.” Kouritzin says, “Countering this, a growing number of scholars have begun to demonstrate that learning English is a more complicated business than such criticisms would have us believe. Learning a second language can take anywhere from two to ten years” (Kouritzin, p. 2). Some critics suggest that remediation was never an issue in this country until it was connected to minority students. Phipps feels that collaboration among high schools, colleges, universities, and charitable organizations is critical in providing remedial education:

It is clear that a piecemeal approach to addressing the problem of remediation in higher education has not worked. Only a systemic design at the state level comprised of a set of interrelated strategies will succeed.(Phipps, p. ix)

Given the existence of a growing number of immigrants and international students in the United States, many of whom still need formal education in English, it seems that universities need a full understanding of which institutional structures, such as remediation, may result in overt or covert language policies.

Conclusion

Much research has been done on the issues of adult literacy, of bilingualism and K-12, on teaching students with disabilities, on teaching ESL; however, research on assistance for faculty members in higher education who teach a language diverse classroom is rare. Perhaps this is because the instruction of language students has been seen as something separate, the purview of ESL teachers and not professors. Nieto claims that multiculturalism needs to be understood in a new way, encompassing language

diversity and “making the education of language minority students the responsibility of *all teachers*” (Nieto, p. 81).

The TESOL organization (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc.) is currently devising standards for English for Academic Purposes (EAP). Although the audience for these standards will certainly be ESL teachers, there has been an interesting study completed reviewing the EAP needs of students done as part of the TOEFL monograph series. These researchers were looking to discover what specific writing, listening, and speaking skills non-native English speakers needed in order to be successful in the university classroom. What they discovered is that English skills students needed were different depending on their disciplines. The researchers used the linguistic term “discourse communities” to define these different areas. They explained that a discourse community has common purposes and accepted conventions for achieving those purposes, and that people within the discourse community share distinctive ways of communicating. The goal of the student, then, is to become proficient at the conventions of their prospective discourse community. If this is true, the researchers say, then the task of preparing English language learners seems to become more formidable, “the picture of needs now becomes even more heterogeneous than before” (Waters, 1996, p. 60). However, the point the researchers wish to make is that each discourse community functions as a learning system that enables the practices of the discipline to be instilled in the students; they aren’t expected to enter proficient in their discipline’s practices.

What the student, therefore, needs to bring to the discourse community is the ability and willingness to learn what the discourse community exists to teachThe student is thus not expected to have already mastered the specifics of the genre. Rather, the student is expected to have the competence necessary to *eventually* master the genre. [italics added] (Waters, p. 59-60)

The implication for this becomes that ESL teachers are somewhat limited in how well they can prepare university students, particularly for upper division work in their majors, which means that this will be the ongoing responsibility of faculty.

Some faculty will feel enriched by the challenge, and some will feel resentful if their students' English is not at an expected proficiency. Maryann Jacobi Gray tells of one institution her research team visited in which a California professor in his lab class gave a "safety test," expressing the concern that if students did not know the safety rules of the lab, there might be injuries. When a student submitted a grievance, it was discovered that the safety test was actually an English test, and it was discontinued. Other professors announced on the first day of class that their class would probably be too difficult for students with limited English skills, a practice viewed by the researchers as a way to screen out immigrants and/or international students.

To tell the minority group member that he must discard the characteristic manifestations of his national identity in order to have a truly equal and fair opportunity . . . is to tell him that his identity has no place in American society. (Cutler cited in Nguyen, 1993, p. 1327)

Teachers who make students feel unwelcome in their classes may be part of the reason some students leave college.

Students whose first language is not English are present on college campuses, but their language status does not unify them into a political group. Students generally do not join together across ethnicities to protest the inconsistent use of prepositions in the English language, even though use of prepositions may influence their academic success. Part of the reason for this is that self esteem can be closely tied to language skills, and people in academe who do not use “standard” English can be stigmatized. Therefore, language is often a hidden problem, as this university professor who has been struggling with her own language issues explains:

As a teacher, most of what I do is through talking, listening, reading, writing, and communication with others. What is problematic is that most of what I say or write is in a language that is still, after more than a decade, foreign to me. I sometimes find myself staring at a blank sheet of paper when I have to write a formal letter or a paper or prepare a presentation. Many writers go through writer’s block, so I am not alone in this struggle. But it is not only writing—I often stumble when I have to speak in public, and I am always scared when I have to voice my opinion in front of those who speak a so-called “Queen’s English.”

...

The point of this story is not, however, to suggest how some in academe lack even basic knowledge of language differences. Nor is it to expose my weakness.

Rather, I am using this narrative to suggest how vulnerable we are when our

work, writings, and thoughts are tacitly judged because of our ethnicity or language backgrounds. (Ernst-Slavit, 2000, pp. 255-57)

Madeline Drexler, writing for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, discusses some of the complexities involved when adults are becoming fluent in another language. She cites linguist Stephen Krashen of the University of Southern California as saying that some people feel very nervous about making mistakes when they are attempting to learn another language, and this nervousness interferes with their learning. Krashen even has a name for it: "'lathophobic aphasia': an unwillingness to speak for fear of making a mistake" (Krashen cited in Drexler, 1990, p. 17.Z.1). Krashen generally believes that when language learners experience anxiety that they lose their grasp of the second language. This ongoing feeling of vulnerability defined by Krashen and expressed by Ernst-Slavit, who has been arguably successful in academia, may explain partially why non-native English speakers avoid voicing concerns to their professors over language policies.

A parallel may be appropriately drawn between the experiences of ethnic minorities in the United States and non-native speakers of English (acknowledging that many fit into both categories). William G. Tierney (1992), for example, discusses the reasons why retention of marginalized groups (in the case he describes, Native Americans) in higher education is so low and posits the theory that the "fault" may not be with the students:

a number of alternative possibilities exists with regard to how one might see minority participation in academe. For example, rather than defining Native Americans as the ones who have the "problem" we might think of the institutions

as having “the problem.” Indeed, the “problem” might be defined not as a group’s lack of “acculturation” but as an institution’s inability to operate in a multicultural world. (Tierney, p. 615)

Thus in order to understand fully the power dynamics in the university, a need exists to examine the fundamental role the English language plays in student success.

Given the paucity of research on language issues in the university, this study is based on the thoughts of reflective practitioners, in part because their strategies might be useful, in part because where they are struggling might signal areas of concern for less able teachers. The practice of asking distinguished teachers about their practices has precedent. Sherman, Armistead, Fowler, Barksdale, and Reif (1987), in order to ascertain characteristics of excellent teaching, interview professors who have been recognized for their distinction in teaching. In her research on teaching excellence, McKinney (1988) asked open-ended questions regarding teaching practices of 12 nominees and recipients of distinguished teaching awards from five universities. McAlpine and Weston (2000), researching the role of reflection on teaching abilities, studied six outstanding professors: “Exemplary teachers were chosen because research suggests that experts tend to exhibit more metacognitive activities than nonexperts and are better able to articulate them (e.g., Chi et al, 1988; Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1986)” (p. 366). Goldsmid, Gruber, and Wilson (1977) in their study of professors who have won distinguished teaching awards, outline the characteristics that go into making an outstanding teacher outstanding: “[F]aculty seen as superior teachers show, above all, concern for student mastery of course materials. They treat their subject matter enthusiastically, and they show genuine interest

in students as persons” (437). These professors were chosen by their winning of awards for their teaching, receiving high marks in student evaluations, and/or receiving recommendations from their peers.

Chapter III: Research Design and Methods

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative research is to uncover commonalities, best practices, and unique teaching approaches distinguished university professors utilize in addressing the needs of students whose first language is not English. These pedagogical practices were identified by conducting a qualitative case study that involved interviewing distinguished teachers at one university who have had experience working with linguistic minority students.

The Qualitative Design

While much research has been completed on the education of children who are non-native speakers of English in public elementary and high school classrooms in the United States, little has been undertaken at the university level. Therefore, this research was exploratory in nature, with the goal of giving educators insights into the thoughts and practices of professors who have earned distinguished teaching awards in higher education. It also delved into theoretical beliefs behind the professors' practices, especially when there was a stated divergence in practices.

This study took a qualitative approach and explored complex questions: Should professors make testing accommodations for students whose first language is not English? How do professors guide interactions between university students when some of them are not native English speakers? How does a professor respond to errors in the writing of non-native students? What are some of their theories behind these approaches? Answers to these questions are inherently value-laden, and thus more suited to a

qualitative analysis. As Patton articulates, "In many instances, more can be learned from intensively studying exemplary (information-rich) cases than can be learned from statistical depictions of what the average case is like" (2002, p. 234). It would be possible to survey professors and discover the most common answers to these questions; however, the most common answers do not necessarily translate to the most advantageous practices. Given the complexity of these questions and the newness of the topic, the goals of this research could best be accomplished with a qualitative design.

This dissertation study utilized open-ended interviews to compile a case study of 11 outstanding professors. Yin says, "One of the most important sources of case study information is the interview" (1984, p. 82). The interviews were open-ended so that the respondents could expand on their thoughts. Questions guided the interview, but respondents were encouraged to talk at length on particular topics. Open-ended interviews are useful, according to Yin, in order for a researcher to "ask key respondents for the facts of a matter as well as for the respondents' opinions about events [and] to propose his or her own insights into certain occurrences" (p. 84). In other words, unlike a survey, this qualitative study searched for the explanations underlying the stated practices of the professors and used their answers "as the basis for further inquiry" (Yin, p. 84).

Case studies are useful, according to Stake, "because they enable detailed probing of an instance in question rather than mere surface description of a multitude of cases" (cited in Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 358). The basic research question in this dissertation asked professors not only *how* they approach the teaching of non-native English speaking students, it also asked *why* they do what they do: "In general, case

studies are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context" (Yin, p. 13). Teachers in this study discussed events that have taken place within their classrooms and offices. As was shown in the literature review section, the appearance of more students in the university who are dealing with language issues is becoming more common. Stake (1998) discusses two basic purposes for conducting case studies. The first is the "intrinsic" case study, where the researcher attempts to understand the nuances of a particular case. The second, which is utilized in this dissertation, is the "instrumental" case study, which provides insight into an issue more than into a particular case. It is not the particular lives and personalities of these distinguished professors that provide the purpose for this research, although the eleven professors at one institution are what bound this as a case study. Rather, their insights into their pedagogical practices regarding linguistic minority students lie behind the formation of the study.

This qualitative inquiry was a single case study with an embedded design. Yin writes about four approaches to the decision of what constitutes the "unit of analysis" (p. 31) in a case study: "(1) the single-case (holistic) designs, (2) the single-case (embedded designs), (3) the multiple-case (holistic) designs, and (4) the multiple-case (embedded) designs" (1984, pp. 41-42). The "single case" in this dissertation was the group of eleven distinguished teachers at one university who volunteered to participate. Miles and Huberman define a case as "a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context. The case is, in effect, your unit of analysis" (1994, p. 25). A single-case

study was chosen because it corresponds to what Yin calls an "extreme case" (Yin, p. 42). In this research, the few professors were selected from among hundreds as outstanding teachers. Continuing with Yin's definition, this single-case study was "embedded" because it included subunits of analysis. The subunits in this case were the interviews with the individual professors with their sometimes common and sometimes unique responses to the interview questions. Yin cautions that a drawback to embedded design is that the researcher may become drawn into these individual units and stray from the original research question. This pitfall was addressed in the data analysis by synthesizing the results of the interviews—professors were not analyzed as individual cases but their responses were grouped according to major themes that addressed the research question, though their pseudonyms were used throughout the analysis to clarify which professor was speaking and to provide a sense of consistency.

In addition to Yin, Patton also refers to studies involving "extreme case sampling" (pp. 230-232), listing as examples Peters and Waterman's (1982) *In Search of Excellence*, in which outstanding companies are studied, and Browne's (1987) investigation into extremes of domestic violence: *When Battered Women Kill*. Patton explains that this type of case study design particularly illustrates the pronounced differences between qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative methods "depend on larger samples selected randomly in order to generalize with confidence from the sample to the population that it represents" (p. 46). Qualitative methods use smaller samples "selected *purposefully* to permit inquiry into and understanding of a phenomenon *in depth* [italics in original] (Patton, p. 46). The purposive-based criteria used in selecting participants for

this study were that the interviewees were all recipients of distinguished teaching awards at one university. Their experience ranges from 14 to 41 years of teaching, with an average of 27 years each. A professor does not receive this award on the basis of teaching one class; the honor is given on the basis of a lifetime achievement and devotion to teaching. "The logic and power of purposeful sampling derive from the emphasis on in-depth understanding. This leads to *selecting information-rich cases* for study in depth" [italics in original] (Patton, p. 46). Since the goal of this research was to reveal commonalities, best practices, and unique approaches, those who have a proven record of teaching performance could be seen as being able to provide "rich information." As Miles and Huberman say, "social processes have a logic and a coherence that random sampling can reduce to uninterpretable sawdust" (p. 27).

Dexter writes about purposeful selection in *Elite and Specialized Interviewing*. In explaining what he means by "elite," Dexter agrees with Riesman who acknowledges that while the term "elite" implies "superiority," it is still a useful way of defining "people in important or exposed positions [who] may require VIP interviewing treatment on the topics which relate to their importance or exposure" (cited in Dexter, 1970, p. 5). Dexter further defines an "elite" interview as "an interview with *any interviewee*—and stress should be placed on the word 'any'—who in terms of the current purposes of the interviewer is given special, nonstandardized treatment" (p. 5). The kind of treatment he describes entails giving much more leeway to the informant to define the situation, to outline what is relevant, and to structure the content of the interview.

Respondents in this case study were also encouraged to tell stories of their experiences. Personal narrative, as defined by Riessman, is “talk organized around consequential events. A teller in a conversation takes a listener into a past time or ‘world’ and recapitulates what happened then to make a point, often a moral one” (1993, p.3). Mishler (1986) writes that including narratives is worthwhile because it moves the interview beyond the traditional approach that closely circumscribes what a respondent may say. Telling stories, he says, “is one of the significant ways individuals construct and express meaning” (p. 67). Compared to traditional survey research, narrative analysis is a relatively new methodology in the social sciences and a variety of analytic approaches exist. The hope in this dissertation was to gather narratives to further understand respondents' "efforts to construct coherent and reasonable worlds of meaning and to make sense of their experiences" (Mishler, p. 118). The case study methodology joined to narrative analysis seemed appropriate because central to this study was the understanding that the findings should evolve "from the participants' perspectives, not the researcher's. This is sometimes referred to as the *emic*, or insider's perspective" (Merriam, 1998, p. 6). Case study methodology has been defined as particularistic. In other words, it focuses on a particular "situation, event, program, or phenomenon" (Merriam, p. 29), which makes it a useful methodology for addressing "occurrences arising from everyday practices" (Merriam, p. 29). The everyday practices here included the insights professors have and the stories they tell about the things that they do in and out of the classroom—assessing students' work, guiding student interactions, responding to writing, addressing cultural concerns.

Design Specifics: Participants; Interviews

Participants

While the participant selection in this case study is homogenous in that all of the professors have received awards for teaching, the backgrounds of these professors are varied. They identified themselves as being of various ethnicities, many volunteered that they were fluent in languages other than English, and some have taught outside the United States, in English and in other languages. No two came from the same discipline.

It seemed advantageous to this research to interview professors who represented a range of disciplines in order to discover the instructional practices that benefit language diverse university classes. Students have ranges of proficiency in both English and in the subject matter of their field, which they may have studied in their first language. Focusing on one discipline would introduce some amount of homogeneity among the professors and those students they teach. However, the consistency that might be gained from interviewing professors from only one major might be lost when it comes to finding appropriate teaching techniques that would work across languages, across disciplines. The unifying principle among all of the students is that English is not their mother language, but it is English that they need in order to be successful in their general required classes, in their majors, and in their graduate studies.

College-level ESL students who are educated and literate in their first language—be it Russian, Chinese, or Spanish—bring to their second language readily transferable subject area knowledge (math, geography, history, science, etc.); knowledge of language structure and function; literacy skills (reading and

writing); and math and problem-solving skills (Baker, 1993; Cummins, 1980, 1992; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Krashen, 1996; Snow, 1990). Although such students still need to learn the English names and terminology, they do not have to relearn the subject matter. In fact, it is their "linguistic transferability" that allows them to succeed in college even when their English language skills are weak. (Rosenthal, 2000, p. 98)

Traditionally, English instruction for international students has focused on the particular skills—reading, listening and speaking, structure (grammar), and writing—that are used across disciplines. The vast majority of courses taught in universities in the United States are taught in English. Researchers who devise the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), the most commonly used vehicle for ascertaining international students' readiness for taking university courses for credit, focus on testing for the types of linguistic encounters students are most likely to face in the college classroom. For example, they examine and try to test students on the English language skills involved in reading scholarly journals and listening to lectures. In their article "Speaking and Writing in the University: A Multidimensional Comparison," published in the *TESOL Quarterly*, Biber, Conrad, Reppen, Byrd, and Helt (2002) write about revising the TOEFL, focusing on skills such as reading web pages, interacting in study groups, and conversing with faculty in office hours. The point is that language skills are often considered to cross the borders of disciplines: "For class sessions and textbooks, we sampled spoken and written texts from six major disciplines (business, education, engineering, humanities, natural science and social science) and three levels of education (lower division undergraduate,

upper division undergraduate, and graduate)” (Biber et al., p. 21). Although recognizing that there are variations among these disciplines, the researchers in Biber et al's study calculate the occurrence of particular linguistic features across many disciplines.

Another reason it seemed advantageous to interview faculty from a range of disciplines was because while admissions offices at universities may have language requirements for entering freshmen or transfer students regarding their language skills—TOEFL scores or other testing devices—there are no institutional policies within separate disciplines that require different language abilities. An English major, for instance, does not need a higher TOEFL score than an economics major. Once undergraduates are admitted, they are students of that university regardless of their major, and freshmen and sophomores usually need to complete lower division classes in a variety of subjects. Although some majors like communications may require more speaking, and other majors like math may require more quantitative skills—the use of English is a common denominator across all disciplines. Given the lack of research on how best to teach linguistic minority students coupled with the complexity of the issue of language in the university classroom, it seemed a reasonable first step to ask major participants in the process—outstanding professors in many fields—about their views and best practices.

Twenty-nine recipients of the distinguished teaching award, the list of which was publicly available, were contacted individually, a few at a time, via e-mail. Only a few professors were contacted at a time so that more options for scheduling could be made available. In this e-mail, they were introduced to the researcher as a doctoral student at

the University of Washington, informed about the research project, told how much time it would entail for them (including the interview and the possibility of reviewing transcripts), and invited to participate (See Appendix Two for Letter of Recruitment). Nearly all of the professors responded immediately, but 18 declined because they said they were either too busy or they felt they hadn't had a large enough number of linguistic minority students in their careers to be able to make a worthwhile contribution to the research. Therefore, participants were somewhat self-selected in that they felt they had something to contribute in the area of teaching students, whether international or immigrant, who were non-native English speakers.

Interviews

The interviews were conducted from August to December of 2004. They lasted from 30 minutes to 90 minutes and consisted of responses to predominantly open-ended, semi-structured questions [see protocol in Appendix 3]. Following is the first question (with prompts) drawn from the interview protocol:

1. Have you thought about language proficiency in your classroom?
 - If not—Have you had any of the following experiences—encounters during office hours, results in tests, essays that caught your attention?
 - If so—What has the experience been like for you?
 - Ask “why?” in order to explore professors’ attitudes about what they do.

None of the professors interviewed responded that they had *not* thought of language proficiency. It is assumed that if professors felt that they did not have anything to share, they would not have agreed to participate in the first place, which some stated directly in

their response to the initial request for an interview. Through a qualitative and flexible interview process, participating distinguished professors shared their experiences and explained what successful teaching practices they deem effective.

All of the interviews took place in the professors' private offices and were taped and transcribed by a professional transcriber. The decision to tape the interviews was made for many reasons. First, much of what an interviewee says may be filtered through the researcher's personal note taking. In other words, the very act of writing down only what is considered by the researcher to be important introduces a bias. The second reason for taping was because concepts that may be overlooked by the interviewer only listening and jotting down notes can gain a more appropriate and balanced significance with written transcripts. Lincoln and Guba say,

[A] tape recorder can be utilized, a mode that has many advantages, such as providing an unimpeachable data source; assuring completeness; providing the opportunity to review as often as necessary to assure that a full understanding has been achieved; providing the opportunity for later review for nonverbal cues such as significant pauses, raised voices, or emotional outbursts. . . . (pp. 271-72)

However, Lincoln and Guba conclude, "these impressive advantages are, in our judgment, more than offset by respondent distrust (the fact that the recording does provide an accurate and unimpeachable record is often more than sufficient to constrain open and candid responses)" (p. 272). It is true that some of the participants' spontaneous and revelatory comments may have been lost due to the presence of a tape recorder. The goal of this research, however, was not to examine distinguished professors in order to

test the efficacy of their expert ideas and insights. Rather, it was to reveal commonalities and unique teaching approaches, with the basic assumption of their expertise. In this case, the tape may have served the further function of influencing teachers to manage carefully what they said since they were being interviewed to provide best practices, not to reveal information that they would later regret. For the type of analysis this research demanded, a transcript of the interview was essential.

Ethical Considerations

At a time in society when demographics are changing and more students with diverse language backgrounds are entering postsecondary institutions, professors look for effective ways to teach them. It is hoped that from these interviews will emerge commonalities, best practices, and unique teaching approaches that could benefit faculty in their own teaching, administrators in setting up language policies in higher education, and students who are trying to navigate their way through higher education in the United States. For this reason, these professors were asked to volunteer their time and share their experience, though they would not receive any material recompense for their participation. However, the participants might have benefited intellectually from this research not only through the act of articulating their own specific pedagogical practices in ways that they may not have focused on before, but also through reading the results of the research and learning what other distinguished teachers are doing in their classrooms. In *Elite and Specialized Interviewing*, Dexter emphasizes that confidentiality is of utmost importance when interviewing and writing about experts:

One threat to experts in being interviewed is that the remarks they make may be used against them in a damaging fashion; whereas the modern opinion poll or market-research study . . . rarely offers any comparable threat to the respondent. (Dexter, p. 92)

In essence, distinguished professors could be seen as having little to gain and a lot to lose through their participation. Therefore, the core values of this dissertation were (1) to ascertain that participation in the project was voluntary; (2) to make the participants aware of the risks; (3) to protect their personal confidentiality by not revealing their names, disciplines, or institution; and (4) to be scrupulous in data management.

First, the participants in this study, who were all tenured faculty, were told verbally and in writing that this was a dissertation research project in which their participation was welcome, but in which they were under no obligation to participate, especially if the subject did not appeal to them or if they were simply too busy.

Second, to make participants aware of the risks in this study, each was given a University of Washington Informed Consent form (see Appendix 3) prior to agreeing to be interviewed [protocol approval granted by University of Washington Office of Research, Grant and Contract Services, Human Subjects Division July 28, 2004. Status report approved July 7, 2005]. Participants knew the topic of the research, and they also knew that the interview would take about an hour of their time, though some of the interviews were shorter (30 minutes) and some longer (90 minutes). The consent form they all signed also stated that they would be willing to answer more questions at a later time. Participants were further told that there was a possibility that they could feel

uncomfortable discussing their teaching practices when they pertained to students whose first language is not English, although their discomfort was in no way the intention of the interview. The intention of the interview was to discover commonalities among these excellent teachers, and gather and relate their pedagogical practices, often using narratives to illustrate. The consent form was e-mailed to professors before the interview so that they would have time to review it and cancel the interview if they wished. At the beginning of the interview, they signed the form and were offered copies, though most declined copies since they had saved the form from the earlier e-mail. From the very first e-mail in which they were introduced to the researcher and invited to participate, interviewees were told that the confidentiality of e-mail could not be guaranteed and that they had the option of communicating by different means. They were given the researcher's home and office telephone numbers and home and office addresses. No one expressed any concern at that point about confidentiality of e-mail, so most communication took place this way. Respondents were all given the opportunity to be interviewed without a tape recorder, both in writing and orally at the beginning of the interview ("So is it ok with you if I use the tape recorder?"). In two of the interviews, participants were offered the opportunity to turn the tape off during part of the interview and also to keep what they were saying off the record, which they considered, but declined.

Third, to protect confidentiality, actual names of the professors and their corresponding pseudonyms were kept in a locked file in the researcher's office. Professors were also invited by e-mail to view transcripts of their interviews and to make

any comments, changes, or corrections. Again, they were reminded that confidentiality could not be guaranteed by e-mail, and the two professors who chose to view their transcripts requested and were sent paper copies. None of the professors offered changes to their responses, though nearly all stated an interest in viewing the final results. In the consent form, participants were also told they could review the taped interview transcript and delete parts or ask to keep parts “off the record.” They were informed that they could withdraw from the interview at any time, or they could ask that information from their interview not be used in the dissertation. Lincoln and Guba emphasize the importance of confidentiality: “Every effort should be made to alter the circumstances of a case sufficiently to protect those who have been promised confidentiality or anonymity” (p. 365). During data analysis, all efforts were made to protect the participants' confidentiality: if a story or a piece of information had the potential to reveal a professor's identity and couldn't be changed without compromising the meaning, it was dropped from inclusion. However, since the goal of the interviews was to determine professors' thoughts and best practices, there simply was not very much revealed that could compromise a participant's reputation.

Fourth, the data, tapes, and transcripts were stored in a locked cabinet, available only to the transcriber, Human Subjects Reviewers (HSR) at the University of Washington, and to the researcher's dissertation committee for review during the study. Except for the tapes, which were destroyed after they were transcribed, the transcripts are available to HSR and the researcher's committee for three years after the study is completed.

Trustworthiness

Introduction

As qualitative methodology has evolved, various terminologies and approaches have been utilized to ascertain whether a study is trustworthy. Although Lincoln and Guba (1985) go to some length to reject the standard quantitative constructs of validity and reliability as inappropriate foundations for ascertaining "truth" in qualitative research, Yin (1984), Merriam (1998), and Creswell (1994) adopt the traditionally quantitative terminology used in ascertaining trustworthiness in their recommendations for qualitative designs. Creswell says, "Qualitative researchers have no single stance or consensus on addressing traditional topics such as validity and reliability in qualitative studies" (p. 157). He then goes on to say, "My perspective is to suggest the importance of addressing the concepts of *validity* and *reliability* in a qualitative plan and to frame these concepts within the procedures that have emerged from qualitative writings" (p. 158). While acknowledging the controversy of blending conventional quantitative terminology with qualitative methodology, this researcher finds the constructs of validity and reliability, under some modification, fit the design of this dissertation.

Internal Validity

Merriam says, "Internal validity deals with the question of how research findings match reality. How congruent are the findings with reality? Do the findings capture what is really there?" (p. 201). All of these questions, she points out, rest on how reality is defined. Quantitative results have traditionally been deemed positivistic; that is, they measure relationships among variables in order to reveal facts. Qualitative research,

however, views reality as "holistic, multidimensional, and ever-changing; it is not a single, fixed objective phenomenon waiting to be discovered, observed and measured as in quantitative research" (Merriam, p. 202). Merriam's guidelines for ensuring internal validity include "triangulation," "member checks," "long-term observation," "participatory or collaborative modes of research," "peer examination," and clarifying "researcher's biases" (pp. 204-205). These were used to verify internal validity in this study.

Triangulation.

Originally, triangulation was defined as "a technique of physical measurement: maritime navigators, military strategists and surveyors, for example, use (or used to use) several locational markers in their endeavors to pinpoint a single spot or objective" (Cohen and Manion, 1989, p. 269). In qualitative research, triangulation has become a means by which a range of observations are used to shed light on what is significant, "verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation" (Stake, p. 97). Cohen and Manion say that triangulation is particularly appropriate in case studies and cite Adelman as recognizing that in a case study, triangulation is at the core because the researcher is obligated to represent fairly the array of viewpoints uncovered within the study. However, Stake points out, "acknowledging that no observations or interpretations are perfectly repeatable, triangulation serves also to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen" (Stake, p. 97). In other words, triangulation involves a variety of approaches, is appropriate to the multiple perspectives offered in case study

research, and proves to be a strength of qualitative research in that it will not culminate in identical results from all perspectives in the researcher's attempt to find meaning.

In this dissertation, triangulation was approached in two ways. The first approach was to interview 11 distinguished professors from 11 different disciplines. By not focusing on the ideas from one teacher or one special interest area, a broader range of viewpoints were heard and commonalities emerged. Another way the topic was triangulated was through this researcher's activities as a participant/observer over a long period of time. Each quarter for the past twelve years, this researcher has been attending and observing freshmen lecture classes with a group of linguistic minority university students preparing to take classes for university credit, and she has also been teaching linguistic minority university students for nearly 20 years.

Still, if the basis of internal validity is defined as matching the congruency of research findings with reality, the meaning of "reality" requires further definition. In this dissertation, it is assumed that reality is socially constructed. In other words, "human perception is not real in the absolute sense, as the sun is real, but is 'made up' and shaped by cultural and linguistic constructs" (Patton, p. 96). This is not to say that everything is equally true and therefore valueless because "What is defined or perceived by people as real is real in its consequences" (Thomas cited in Patton, p. 96). The effects of human perceptions of reality are real. Therefore, in this study, meaning is considered to be formed interactively by both the interviewer and interviewee, by the researcher and the reader:

Enduring meanings come from encounter, and are modified and reinforced by repeated encounter. In life itself, this occurs seldom to the individual alone but in the presence (if not proximity) of others. In a social process, together they bend, spin, consolidate, and enrich their understandings. We come to know what has happened partly in terms of what others reveal as their experience. . . . Knowledge is socially constructed. . . .(Stake, p. 95).

This definition of reality is the basis for methodological decisions in this dissertation. It underlies the decision to make this a qualitative study because it seeks not to prove facts but rather to consider intangibles and further acknowledges that the researcher is not an objective reporter of the information provided by the interviewees but unavoidably filters the information they have provided through her own cultural lens: "Differences in whether and how an interviewer encourages, acknowledges, facilitates, or interrupts a respondent's flow of talk have marked effects on the story that appears" (Mishler, p. 105). In quantitative research, much is done to remove the presence of the researcher because of the potential for bias. In qualitative research, where

human beings are the primary instrument of data collection and analysis. . . interpretations of reality are accessed directly through their observations and interviews. We are thus "closer" to reality than if a data collection instrument had been interjected between us and the participants. (Merriam, p. 203)

The close presence of the investigator to the participants is thus seen as an asset to ascertaining meaning.

Member checks.

A second way Merriam says that internal validity can be enhanced is through member checks, which she describes as "taking data and tentative interpretations back to the people from whom they were derived and asking them if the results are plausible" (p. 204). In this dissertation, member checks were done in several ways. First, toward the end of each interview, participants were asked if there were any questions they felt should be added to the protocol. All participants had questions to add and these were included in future interviews. Next, participants were invited to review their transcripts, and two chose to receive hard copies and read them over, though they did not offer any changes. Finally, participants who professed interest were sent the results of the interview, though none made any further comments. Lincoln and Guba refer to this as a "comprehensive member check" and say its purpose "is not only to test for factual and interpretative accuracy but also to provide evidence of credibility—the trustworthiness criterion analogous to internal validity in conventional studies" (p. 374).

Long term observation. Participatory or collaborative modes of research.

Observation of faculty was not a formal feature of this research; the research question guiding this research did not lend itself to being answered by observation. A researcher could observe a professor teaching for many years and still not state with any confidence what the professor thought. Further, much of teaching takes place outside the classroom: meetings with students during office hours, preparing for classes, grading papers at home. Again, observing, even if possible, may not offer up much useful information when trying to understand what distinguished professors are doing to enhance the learning of

linguistic minority students. Still, a form of observation has taken place. In this researcher's role of facilitating the acculturation of international students into North American university classrooms, she has engaged in participant-observation of students and faculty for twelve years, attending lectures, listening to students' concerns, and helping students with their writing. In many instances, professors have approached her asking for advice in teaching students who are nonnative speakers. Merriam says "participatory or collaborative modes of research," that are "involving participants in all phases of research from conceptualizing the study to writing up the findings" (p. 205) are integral to internal validity. Therefore, in this dissertation study, observation has taken place over a number of years and the questions that guided this research have arisen from the inquiries of faculty members.

Peer examination.

"Peer examination," another of Merriam's recommendations for establishing internal validity, is undertaken by this researcher's dissertation chair and committee.

Researcher's biases.

Yin states that there are many benefits to the researcher being a participant-observer, such as the ability to gain access to an environment, and to provide an "accurate" (p. 87) description within a case study. He notes, however, that "major problems related to participant-observation have to do with the potential biases produced" (p. 87). The first and most obvious bias in this study is that the researcher holds the underlying assumption that a diverse campus is beneficial for the education of all, and that part of this diversity is made up of people who have language backgrounds other than English. Since the topic

of the research was made known to every distinguished professor invited to participate, those who may have felt less than enthusiastic about linguistic minority students may have opted out of the study, perhaps leaving only those who agreed with the underlying assumptions of the researcher. This is in no way implying that nonparticipants felt this way; it is just revealing a possible source of bias.

Since this researcher has been working so many years with linguistic minority university students, she has a further bias that a certain level of language skills are attainable by students and are a necessary requisite for success in the North American university classroom. What these levels of attainment should be and how they should be gauged may be a source of disagreement among participants in the research. Although human objectivity is impossible, in interviewing and in writing up the results of this study, the researcher tried to reveal her opinions as little as possible. Truly, as professors over the years have asked how to assess the writing of non-native English speaking students or wondered about best practices, this researcher has been at a loss to answer because there has been so little consensus over the role of English proficiency at the university level. Therefore, bias is addressed, though not totally compensated for, in this qualitative study.

Reliability

Merriam says that reliability, "the extent to which research findings can be replicated" (p. 205), is problematic in qualitative research because "human behavior is never static" (p. 205). Creswell states that reliability can be increased by clarifying the researcher's biases and values and by ascertaining whether "patterns or events or thematic constructs

are replicated in different settings" (p. 159). In this dissertation, researcher biases are addressed under "internal validity." The appearance of patterns and commonalities among the various professors interviewed are examined in the results section of this dissertation. Yin maintains,

The objective is to be sure that, if a later investigator followed exactly the same procedures as described by an earlier investigator and conducted the same case study all over again, the later investigator should arrive at the same findings and conclusions (p. 40).

To this end, in addition to revealing researcher bias and interviewing a number of teachers until common elements began to appear in their statements, the interview protocol and a detailed explanation of data analysis are also included (See Appendix 4 for Protocol).

External Validity

External validity is the degree to which the results of a study can be generalized to other situations. One immediate limitation in this study regarding external validity was the institution in which this case study was completed. Since the institution does not have a large number of language minority students, generalizability may not be extended to classrooms where a large number or even a majority of the students are non-native English speakers. For example, the amount of time professors have to devote to individual student language needs may be dramatically affected by the number of language minority students they are teaching. The results of this study will be most

generalizable to faculty members who have a small number of language minority students.

In a quantitative probability study, a random sample representing a larger population is studied in order for researchers to make confident judgments regarding the external validity of their hypotheses. Compared to a quantitative study, the sample size in this qualitative study is small: 11 professors. Like Lincoln and Guba, Patton says that the standards for deciding if quantitative research is credible should be different from those of qualitative research: instead of applying "the logic, purpose, and recommended sample sizes of probability sampling" (p. 245), a qualitative study should be "judged according to the purpose and rationale of the study" (p. 245). Since the purpose of the research in this dissertation was exploratory in nature, delving into practices and values of distinguished professors, the choice was made to choose a smaller number of participants and proceed to understand them in some depth rather than to examine a large number more superficially. Dexter discusses the ramifications involved in interviewing "elite" participants: "Obviously, some quasi-independent or independent test is desirable in order to believe what they say rather than what the majority says. This test may, however, be simply that of comprehensibility, plausibility, and consistency" (p. 7). It was hoped that from the participants' answers would emerge a logical pattern of behaviors that would be of interest to other educators. Merriam discusses this type of generalizability:

Called *case-to-case* transfer by Firestone (1993), "It is the reader who has to ask, what is there in this study that I can apply to my own situation, and what clearly does not apply?" (Walker, 1980, p. 34). This is a common practice in law and

medicine, where the applicability of one case to another is determined by the practitioner. Kennedy (1979) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) contend that the researcher is less concerned with generalizing than the reader or user.

Nevertheless, the researcher has an obligation to provide enough detailed description of the study's context to enable readers to compare the "fit" with their situations. (p. 211)

Since assessing students' work, guiding student interactions, responding to writing, and addressing cultural concerns are all basic functions of university teaching, it seems reasonable that the practices of distinguished professors, even if not generalizable to all classrooms, would at least be of interest to other educators.

Data Analysis and Management

"Data analysis is a systematic search for meaning. It is a way to process qualitative data so that what has been learned can be communicated to others (Hatch, 2002, p. 148). In this section, the process of data analysis and management is described for two reasons: to uncover meaning in the case study and to clarify the steps used and the rationale behind them so that this study can be replicated by others. Concurrent to data analysis, the researcher maintained a "log" of reflections through the research process. Miles and Huberman refer to this as "memoing":

Memos are primarily conceptual in intent. They don't just report the data; they tie together different pieces of data into a recognizable cluster, often to show that those data are instances of a general concept. Memos can also go well beyond codes and their relationships to any aspect of the study—personal,

methodological, and substantive. They are one of the most useful and powerful sense-making tools at hand. (p. 72)

During the course of this dissertation, a chronological log with numbered lines was kept as a reference tool. It contained a list of dates when communications were made and copies of the notes sent and replies received. In addition to the log, the program MindManager was utilized to organize and summarize data and to create a visual summary of results. MindManager, with its ability to show visual relationships non-hierarchically, was deemed particularly suitable for a qualitative study.

In quantitative methodology, the line of demarcation between data collection and analysis is unambiguous, but in qualitative methodology: "[T]he fluid and emergent nature of naturalistic inquiry makes the distinction between data gathering and analysis far less absolute" (Patton, p. 436). Analysis in this study began soon after the first interviews were completed. As Merriam states, "the right way to analyze data in a qualitative study is to do it *simultaneously* with data collection" [italics in original] (p. 162). This is done in order to learn from reviewing transcripts and notes whether there are new questions to be asked. In this study, the researcher listened to the tapes while reading the transcripts as soon as they were completed, making corrections while the interviews were still fresh in her mind. This close reading was completed before the next round of interviews (the transcriber was given two tapes at a time). This enabled the researcher to see any additions that needed to be made to the protocol and to critique her own interview style.

When the interviews were completed, more detailed analysis began with the researcher first reading through all of the transcripts. Smith discusses this process of initial coding:

As items appear in the perceptual images, as verbal comments are recorded, as situations appear, as events come and go, one asks a simple two-sided question: How are they alike, and how are they different? The similar things are grouped and given a label that highlights their similarity. The different things are grouped, insofar as possible, and given labels. There always is a large 'miscellaneous' category of items which seem important but which do not fit anywhere (Smith, 1979, p. 338).

Coding of the interviews was begun using hard (paper) copies of the transcripts and a pencil and occurred over the course of four continuous days. This was done in a short period of time to keep the categories fresh in the researcher's mind. First, main themes that related directly to specific questions from the protocol were noted. For example, all of the professors were asked whether they made accommodations for linguistic minority students, and then "A" for accommodations was penciled in the margins. On a separate piece of paper, a list of the categories and the codes was made. After all the responses from all the interviews that related to items in the protocol were marked, a search began for those things that were brought out by the interviewees that weren't predicted beforehand in the protocol. For example, addressing cultural concerns was not in the original protocol but emerged from the interviewees themselves. Therefore, while the process began as a typology search, it tended to the inductive because categories emerged

that hadn't been planned on: "The strategy of inductive designs is to allow the important analysis dimensions to emerge from patterns found in the cases under study without presupposing in advance what the important dimensions will be" (Patton, p. 56).

In addition, as Smith referred to above, some comments, though made by only one professor, opened up a new category. Unlike quantitative analysis, where these may be dealt with as outliers, in this study their importance needed to be retained. For example, one professor explained his concerns with the language preparedness of some of his students in his graduate science classes. No other professors spoke about this, yet it was important information to retain. Dexter writes about the use of these items in an analysis:

Another characteristic of elite interviewing is this: In the standardized interview, the typical survey, a deviation is ordinarily handled statistically; but in an elite interview, an exception, a deviation, an unusual interpretation may suggest a revision, a reinterpretation, an extension, a new approach. (Dexter, p. 6)

As new categories emerged, previous interviews had to be reviewed in order to search for things that may have been said about these new categories. In the initial coding, 28 categories were formed.

After this initial categorization, the information went into the computer to form a "case record." Patton defines this record as the place where the unorganized information gained from research is coalesced into a comprehensible form. "Information is edited, redundancies are sorted out, parts are fitted together" (Patton, p. 449). First, a new file was opened named "Working transcriptions"—the original transcripts remained untouched—that contained copies of the originals. Then a document named "Codes" was

created and the initial 28 categories were typed out. This charting of categories and codes was printed in large font and hung over the researcher's desk for easy reference.

The first attempt to analyze the data resulted in a misstep. The researcher began by looking at each transcript and locating all the information under a particular code, for example, code *A* for "accommodations." Then what each professor had said was summarized, with a few quotations included, into a new document named "accommodations." However, as the analysis became more complicated, it was evident that summarizing at this point was premature. First, it became obvious that many items could be further grouped. For example, "accommodation" went very well with "testing"; "student-to student interaction" could be combined with "group work." Though there were still a lot of categories at this point, it seemed best to uncover as many ideas as possible that were expressed in the interviews. The haste to summarize at this point seemed to lead to overlooking important relationships in the analysis. "As pieces are developed, we keep making tentative outlines that put some larger meaningful and logical order into the interpretation. Invariably the tentative outlines collapse in the face of more complex data and ideas" (Smith, p. 339).

Analysis began again, starting with the working transcripts. In each transcript, professors' responses in certain categories were color highlighted, and then copied and pasted into new documents. For example, if a professor mentioned responses to student writing, *everything* she said about it, not just a summation of it, was copied into a document labeled "writing." Then, parts of the working transcript were color-highlighted—e.g., responses to student writing were highlighted in red—to match the

"writing" document. All interviews were numbered by lines, so in the "writing" document, code names were used, and line numbers were indicated after each quotation to make it easier to go back to the transcripts and verify them later.

Some categories such as "writing" and "groups" overlapped. Since the paper copy was highlighted every time a quotation was moved to a new document, it was obvious when overlap had occurred. Overlapping categories were addressed in one of three ways. First, when one question resulted in an answer that fit two different categories, the parts were separated out, e.g., part went to the "writing" document and part to the "groups" document. Second, a judgment was made over where the best fit for the information would be, usually where it would have the most impact. Third, the comments were simply put under both categories. When this occurred, the paper copy was highlighted with two colors. In the computer document, the font was put in one coded color (red=writing) and then highlighted over in a second color (groups=lime). Coding lists (on the computer and on the printed copy on the wall) were constantly updated. All the parts that had originally been summarized were then revisited. The original summaries remained in the documents, but the exact quoted words of the professors were pasted in at the end so that no information would be lost.

If the same information was repeated by many professors, it was noted. Since this was a qualitative study, not quantitative, the precise numbers of professors relating certain information seemed meaningless: it was deemed to be enough just to say in reference that "many" or "a few" engaged in this practice. Further, sometimes divergences occurred in the explanations for why professors did what they did. In other words, though the

teaching practice might be the same, the pedagogy behind the practice might be different, and it seemed an important distinction to make. Therefore, in the section about student-to-student interaction, different philosophies were held by different teachers, and the basic divisions were shown.

Professors' responses were edited for clarity. In order to make the normal spoken speech read grammatically, repeated words and phrases, and sounds such as "um" were deleted. The tendency most speakers have to connect all sentences with "and, so, or but" was edited into sentences that would sound natural when written. Sometimes speakers would stop before they finished a sentence, and while a listener would know what the implied word is, a reader would not. In these cases, the implied word was added in brackets []. At times, when the professor was speaking on the same topic at different points in the interview, the sections were joined into one statement. In order to ensure the professors' disciplines remained anonymous, some non-critical identifying features were altered about professors and about particular students they discussed in order to safeguard confidentiality.

Outside of the editing mentioned above, the words of the professors were for the most part left intact, a deliberate choice on the part of the writer/researcher. First, when the results were originally written, the words of the interviewees were summarized and paraphrased, but these summaries lost much of the impact of the stories as they were originally told. As John Gardner (1983) says of writing narrative,

The writer. . . should be sure he understands the common objection summed up in the old saw "Show, don't tell." The reason, of course, is that set beside the

complex thought achieved by drama, explanation is thin gruel, hence boring.

(p. 111)

In the interviews, the professors presumably discussed aspects of their teaching that they had not talked about in just this way before. The conversation thus became a discovery process for the interviewees as well as for the researcher: how they worked with students, what techniques they suggested, and what situations revealed about particular students in particular classes. The purpose in this research is to explain teaching techniques and commonalities among professors, but additionally to reveal understandings that professors become aware of when they implement techniques. These understandings are the “metacognitive processes” (p. 366). McAlpine and Weston say that experts exhibit and are better able to communicate than non-experts. Retelling their stories—and unavoidably interjecting the researcher’s own mores and sensibilities and reactions—would have resulted in a loss of authenticity. Gardner writes, “in all major genres, the inner strategy is the same: The reader is regularly presented with proofs—in the form of closely observed details—that what is said to be happening is really happening” (p. 26). If their stories had been summarized, they would have been useful, but they would not have revealed thought processes through “closely observed details,” would not incorporate a whole dimension of perspectives, awareness, and solutions to problems. This is the power that lies behind a narrative approach.

Conclusion

This paper utilized a case study methodology and included narratives that illustrated recurring themes. The proposal question in this qualitative design asked whether there are

best practices in teaching nonnative-language college students that can be understood from studying the approaches of a cohort of distinguished professors. The stories narrated in this research should provide some direction to faculty who are seeking guidance in developing pedagogical practices for educating their linguistic minority students.

Chapter IV: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this case study was to uncover the teaching approaches distinguished university professors employ in addressing the needs of students whose first language is not English. These pedagogical practices were identified by conducting a qualitative case study that involved interviewing distinguished teachers at one university who have had experience working with linguistic minority students. It also delved into theoretical beliefs behind the professors' practices, especially when there was a stated divergence in practices. The narratives included in this chapter demonstrate how experienced teachers reflect on their own ways of teaching.

Eleven distinguished professors were asked to describe their experiences and observations regarding language proficiency in the university. The professors came from a number of disciplines—no two came from the same department. All of the names are pseudonyms and do not reflect the ethnic identity of the speaker.

Although none of the cohort of professors interviewed were specifically asked about their experiences teaching or doing research or living in other cultures, many of them volunteered that information. Many of them mentioned having had experience outside of the United States, teaching or doing research either in English or in another language, though all are native English speakers. Broderick taught for a year in a European country in which he only knew rudiments of the predominant language. He had to begin teaching in that language one month after he arrived. He said that the fact that he was able to do it suggests to him that others can too, though he admits it was difficult and that he was “absolutely crashed at the end of an early day.” Eastham also had to teach a university

class in a language in which he had only received high school instruction. He said that the experience started him thinking about language proficiency early in his career. He still likes to use his language skills when he has students from countries that speak that language, partly to practice and partly show them that the perception that all Americans are monolingual is an outmoded stereotype. Mendelson has taught overseas and is fluent in several languages. He sometimes tells students who are having difficulty writing in English to write in their first language. Warren discovered when he taught in English in another country that he needed to slow his rate of speaking to about 30 percent of normal in order for students to understand him. Professors who mentioned experience in other cultures clearly thought that it sensitized them to the concerns and benefits of international and immigrant students. Since this was not a question asked of them, other professors may have had experiences in other cultures that they didn't mention.

The findings have been broken down into categories that grew out of the accumulated responses of the interviewees. These findings and the professors who responded to them are shown in Figure 1.

1. Putting students at ease
2. Groups and student-to-student interactions
3. Use of technology
4. Student writing
5. Professors' expectations
6. Accommodations
7. Culture
8. Benefits of having a linguistically diverse classroom

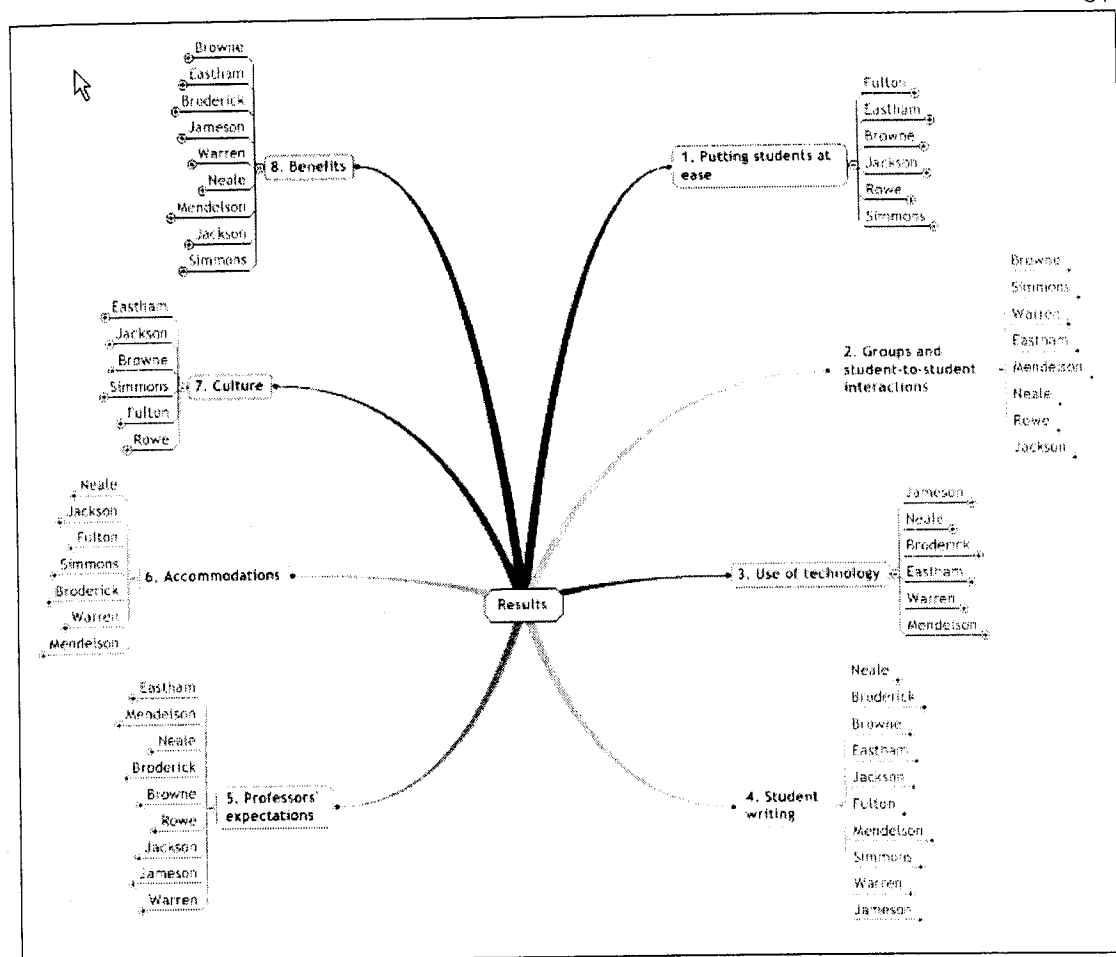


Figure 1. Results

Putting Students at Ease

Professors in this study often cited the need to put their students who are non-native speakers at ease. This practice supports Krashen's theory that people who are functioning in a language in which they are not completely comfortable will sometimes feel an unwillingness to speak. Fulton says that in working with some nonnative speakers, he feels it is important first to address their "shyness." One way he does this is by acknowledging their achievement in attaining such proficiency in language. He then provides them with alternative ways to communicate that take some of the pressure off performing, and leads them gently into speaking publicly.

Fulton: First by acknowledging the fact that they're shy, and then talking about their ambivalence about language. It's not language comprehension. I find it's very interesting that ESL students who have made it to this level know more about English grammar, syntax, paragraph construction, sentence construction than the typical university student because that's what they've been focusing on, and they've had to master this in order to be admitted. It's very interesting, and I point that out to them, and they're often surprised to learn that.

Farmer: Okay, so reinforcing what they know already and acknowledging it.

Fulton: Exactly, what they know already. Exactly. That's the approach I take. I'm very proactive. I focus on their shyness by doing a role play. I say, "In the last class, was there an occasion where you wanted to ask a question?"

"Yes."

"Why didn't you?"

"I'm too shy, I don't want to, you know, I don't know if I could express myself well."

I say, "Okay here's what you do. The next time this happens you write your question down on a three by five card." Then I open up my drawer and I give them one, two, three, four, five. I say, "These are yours." And I say, "If the time comes when you want to ask this question, just read it from that card. Or you could walk up to me after class and say, 'Could you address this tomorrow in class?' and I'll say, 'Well sure I'll do that.'" And then the next day I'll say, "Christina, passed a very interesting question on to me," and I'll ask the question, and I'll say, "Did I get this right?" Sometimes I will deliberately get it wrong just a little bit with the hope that they have the courage to say, "No that's not quite what I meant." And then they rephrase it.

Then, later on, I'll ask them to write a one-page essay on something, and that's when I'll really see how they can capture the essence of this one point, and I'll ask them to talk about. Let's say hypothetically that I get a paper from an ESL student and it needs work, and I need to interject. I do this with just about any student so it doesn't matter, but with an ESL student I'm a little more careful about how I present. I don't want to be overly critical. I say, "I have some questions about your paper. It's interesting, but

there're some things in there that I don't quite understand, so could you come in?" And they're all usually quite apprehensive, but I work quickly to break down that apprehension, by calling attention to the paper's strengths and then going to the weak points.

In some of Eastham's classes he has small student-led discussion groups that meet in separate classrooms. He realizes that speaking in front of others and stating opinions puts at strain on some students. Still, he feels that learning this skill is important, so he requires it, but still tries to put his students at ease by placing them in small student-led discussion groups.

Eastham: Being a non-native English speaker is one reason why people may be afraid to speak, but you know, there are other reasons too. I mean, some people have a speech impediment, some people just have incredible nervousness, and really the only way to get over it is to just start talking, right? I mean it's never as bad as you think it's going to be. [These discussion groups] are as non-threatening as it's going to get. And you realize no one's going to jump on you, no one's going to make fun of you for what you have to say, that your opinion is valid.

Browne eases students' nervousness by using varied methods of communicating with them. When they see that he cares and is trying hard, it makes them less nervous.

Browne: I find that they work hard to adapt, too, because they see that I'm working hard to sort of find ways to communicate with them. Make them feel comfortable. And I think they reciprocate with that.

Jackson points out that the way his department is structured affects student confidence. Undergraduates enter the major he teaches in as a cohort of about 55-60 students who form a support system for each other and work closely with faculty.

Jackson: They're on a first name basis with the faculty. We start each quarter with a retreat, so we spend a lot of time with them. By the time we're in [senior-level classes], the level of familiarity with the faculty and I think the level of comfort and trust is such that their confidence in, or maybe it's the intimidation factor that they may perceive is mitigated by the relationship.

Rowe explains how an important part of teaching for him is to relieve students' discomfort by getting to know them personally. This practice is reminiscent of Ogbu's recommendation that teachers take the time to learn about individual students' cultural backgrounds. Rowe does this by connecting with students outside of the classroom and telling them stories about his life because he feels that sharing stories is a critical component of communication.

Rowe: I think if all the student sees me as is a professor they interact with in class, then I'm not going to be very successful. So I try to connect with students outside of class, in the hallways. We'll eat lunch together, or they'll bring in a meal. I'm thinking of a Cambodian student two years ago. I try to talk to students about life in general and give them a lot of cues so that they can talk to me should they want to, about life in general.

Farmer: So with that Cambodian student you formed a relationship?

Rowe: Yeah, so we were eventually talking about food and he said he was a good cook or he didn't eat breakfast that morning or something, and I said "Well, what would you eat for breakfast?" and he told me, and I said "Can you fix that breakfast?" and he said "Sure." So he came here and fixed me breakfast and we ate breakfast together and then I took him out, him and a couple of his buddies, out to lunch, to a place that I like. The

other thing that's really important, I think, is I tell a lot of stories. Looking back on that I've always done it because I want students to know that I'm a real person, I have a family, my family's always been an important part of my life, and my moods, and my decisions, and that I'm flawed and so it's okay for them to talk about themselves, and their histories, and their stories. Now I look back at that and I say more cultures are probably oral cultures than they are written traditions. Being able to tell stories, and listen to stories, and invite stories is a way of critically important communication. I found both the sharing and the hearing is a way of honoring each other. So it's a regular part of my teaching.

Simmons has addressed students' apparent discomfort with their language skills in her classroom and also at home when she has had foreign exchange students live with her. She thinks it is important to ascertain the way students were originally educated in English.

Simmons: You know, even though I think some of them are fairly proficient, it's just the shyness that comes with trying to communicate in the English language. So you help, and a lot of it is that sort of confidence-building that you have to do with them initially. To feel relaxed enough, and to assess who they are as learners and speakers.

You know, we just recently had a student with us—she just left about two weeks ago—she was here from France. And she was a short-stay exchange student, here with us for only about a month. She was an interesting student, to me, because she came asking us to correct her English. And I told her, I said, “Nicole, I don't really like to correct your English. What you need to do is listen to us talk and if you make a mistake in your speaking then we'll just repeat in the way that it probably should or would be said in the English language.” But she came very much out of the model of the teacher and grammar, you know, the verb, the conjugation of verbs was everything in the mastery of her trying to communicate. And so she would stumble and fumble with the verb conjugations. I said, “Forget that! You know, just communicate, listen to us.”

It took her about a week to get over that. And then after that she was fine. We just established a kind of rapport, and she seemed to have a lot more fun with the language and with us. You kind of have to try to get in the heads of the speakers and what

training they've had in the language. She said to us later that she'd had a teacher in her secondary training who taught her English who was very rigid about the conjugation and corrected her constantly. She hated it!

Now, in my freshman classes, in the seminars where there are only twenty-five freshmen, then yes, I would hear them [non-native English speakers]. And again, you try to give them as many opportunities as possible to communicate and do it in an environment that's supportive and not threatening.

Summary

Professors have differing approaches to making students feel at ease. Professors generally found that giving students lots of chances to talk in a relaxed and supportive setting enhanced their ability to participate. One professor gives students the opportunity to "rehearse" ideas they may be too shy to express verbally by writing them down first and then reading them or by role-playing interactions with him. Another requires that all students participate in small student-led discussion groups, not just by listening, but by talking as well. Sometimes professors indicate that the cohort structure of their program decreases feelings of apprehension among students because they all know each other so well. Observing the professor's enthusiastic attempts to communicate encourages students to reciprocate with similar energy. Professors spoke of the importance of sharing stories from their own lives and meeting with students outside of the classroom.

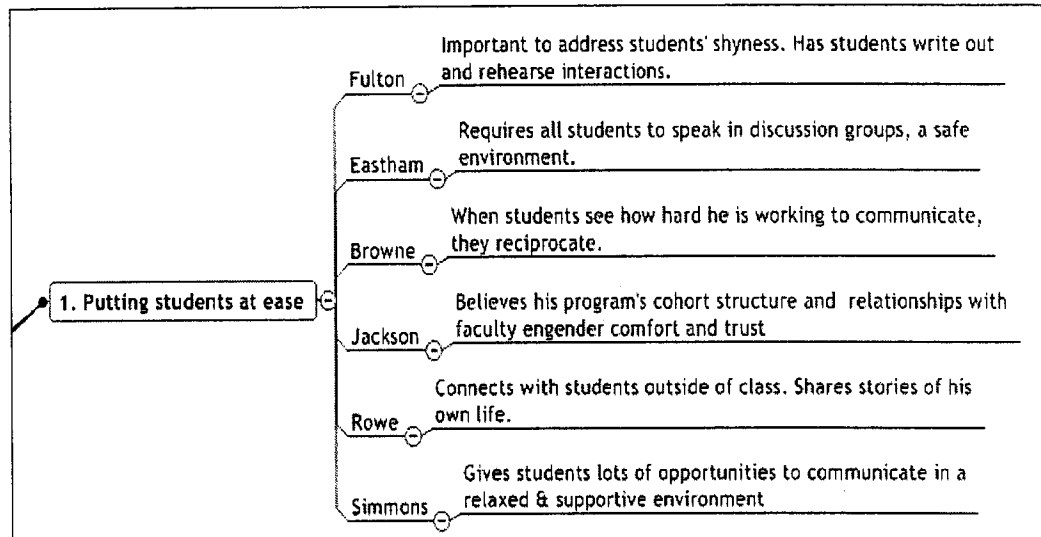


Figure 2. Putting Students at Ease

Groups and Student-to-Student Interactions

Professors have various ways of approaching group work and of observing how language minority and non-native English speaking students interact. Broderick feels that interactions among linguistically diverse students are important to gaining language proficiency: "I think it's easier to get facility in the language where you are if you hang around people who speak that language rather than hang around people who speak your language." Some classes have no groups at all and professors have no particular observations of how students interact. Some programs facilitate high student-to-student and student-to-professor interaction by their structure. Some professors are very hands-on when it comes to student-to-student interactions and carefully set up groups after closely observing the personalities of students.

Browne: Maybe I'm lucky in what we do here because in my program, because the students tend to be real familiar with each other, they become family and they find ways to communicate and break down barriers very quickly. They can be visual if they know that the verbal isn't working.

Simmons puts a lot of thought into the placement of students into groups, especially at the freshman level. She forces a mixture of backgrounds within groups to counteract the tendency people have to associate only with those they are familiar with, or, in the case of some language minority students, not to place themselves among majority students where they might feel nervous about their language skills. Once students are placed into heterogeneous groups, she finds that they work well together. Simmons also highly structures the work that comes out of the group effort.

Simmons: There is probably initially a tendency to try to avoid communicating with students who perhaps aren't as proficient in the English language as the majority of the class, [so there is] maybe a kind of awkwardness. They kind of hang back and don't insert themselves the way they might with native speakers, the majority. It's probably true too for the student who isn't necessarily as proficient in English. I think they hang back a bit too. So you have this dynamic which can easily lead to a kind of isolated experience for the non-native English speaker. It's easier when you have classes that are smaller, like my freshman seminar. I think it was about a year ago I had a student who was from Taiwan, and her English wasn't up to the same par as the students in that class. I know she felt a little awkward with it. But one of the things in a small class it's easier to do is you can put people in learning groups or communities and that really helps a lot. I always do, in the classes where it's possible, a fair amount of collaborative and group learning. Then, once the people get to know each other in the group, there's a kind of a safety in that.

They're forced to complete a task as a group and there's more opportunity to get to know the person as a person, as a peer. I should also point out I never let groups self-assign. I always put people in groups because if I don't do that then people will hang together. People who have language difficulties, if there's two or three of them in a class, they'll hang together. That's not really helping their proficiency at all. So I will mix and match the groups a lot. I assign the groups because left to their own proclivities people tend to affiliate like with like, and so I tend to look through a class roster and kind of get

a sense of where people are at and which groups might have some strengths and some weaknesses and try to arrange people that way.

I've learned enough about group dynamics, and again we're talking about freshmen mostly now that I work with in the smaller class venues, so I'm usually very cognizant of putting together a pretty clear outline of what has to happen. I have even gone so far as to tell the group that there are four or five roles and they need to decide in the group who's going to perform which role—one will be the researcher, and one will be the writer—and that way they all have a task to do, but they have to produce a group product in the end. Otherwise they spend too much time [on organizing themselves], and in a quarter system we don't have enough time for them to sit and figure out what the roles even are and to share those roles, so sometimes is more trouble than it's worth. So I oftentimes tell them what they need to do and help them organize. Sometimes they'll deviate somewhat from that and that's fine, but at least it gives them a structure to begin with.

Looking at twenty-plus years of teaching, too much ambiguity is not good. Students want structure; they need structure. Some of them will be confident enough to deviate a bit from the structure, but I think they're still happier coming in with a fair amount of structure.

Warren is another professor who is proactive with groups and student-to-student interactions. One reason he organizes groups is to enable them to give him immediate feedback on his teaching. This was how he learned he needed to slow down his rate of speaking and provide handouts when he was addressing non-native English speakers. Some of what he describes relates to approaches he has found useful while teaching in other countries. When he was teaching overseas, he became closer to students, socializing with them outside of class. He also relates techniques that can be useful for integrating non-native English speakers into groups.

Warren: One of the things that I use in all my classes is what I call a student advisory council. As I'm teaching a course, early on I solicit usually about three volunteers,

basically to help me in improving my teaching. And I say, “What the three volunteers will do is you will meet with the class for maybe two or three times during the quarter for about 15 to 20 minutes. I may give you a questionnaire to give the class, or I may simply have you break the class into groups or do a general discussion of what’s going well in the class, what is not going well, what you would suggest to improve it.” Then I leave the class. Let them have 15-20 minutes. Then I come back, and then maybe two or three days later I meet with the three members of the student advisory council and get their assessment of what came out as major issues. You may have one student who really hates one thing, but the student advisory council is saying “Yeah, but everybody else thought they weren’t being reasonable, so that’s not a major issue.” Though in course evaluations, somebody may have written that, and you think, “Oh boy!” You know? That way I overcome the limitations of the course evaluation system. When you do the evaluation, when you get it a month after you finish the class, you’re already into teaching the next class—a whole new set of students.

That’s what I’ve done everywhere I’ve taught. I did it in China, I also used it a little bit when I was [teaching in other countries]. In China it worked quite well because there they can speak in Chinese when I’m out of the room, and then I would talk with the advisory council members. It gave me a sense of what was going well in the class.

In China it worked well. They were very good at just opening up to me because they were so fascinated by the United States. I was fascinated about learning about China, so I tended to do far more socially and interactively with my students in China than I do here. I would have a team of students over to dinner once a week, and that was another way to ask, “How are things going?” They all lived together in the dorm as a class, and they took all their classes together, so they were constantly talking. I learned very quickly through those informal dinners as well as my student advisory council what was working, what was not, learned therefore quickly that I had to slow down and I had to do a lot more handouts to give them the English that they could read to understand things better.

In a lot of my classes a lot of the work is done in teams. Nowadays I tend to organize the teams myself so that I can force a diversity of backgrounds. I like to force an inter-discipline team. But then also a lot of times if I want teams formed quickly, I just simply say to students, “You need five people. You need a mixture of backgrounds. I’m going to allow 20 minutes in class for you to work together to determine who you want to

work with and submit to me a team form with four or five members on the teams.” That generally has worked. I’ve been impressed.

Of course, I’ve put into place some, ah, let’s say *ways* to promote cooperation. One is they have to give me a team meeting attendance log where they record every meeting they had, the date, the time it started, the time it ended, and who attended and who did not, and if someone did not, why. Then I have a peer evaluation form at the end in which the team in a joint meeting together must rate everybody and assign points and sign off on it. That forces, hopefully, some accountability.

From talking with team members before when I’ve had a foreign student on a team, I think they tend to be sensitive to that and tend to accept that the English language challenge of this person is difficult and so try to facilitate. Foreign students work very hard. They’re here to learn and experience being in the United States, and while maybe they can’t contribute to the writing they can contribute in some of the analysis because they’re better technically, or they can just read the articles because they’re better at comprehending English, and then sort of synthesize some of that for the team. So maybe they won’t do things like take as much a role in the presentation or putting together the presentation but they’ll take a role in maybe doing things that they’re more comfortable with. Like maybe some of the reading and the writing where they know their writing will get critiqued and then improved.

In Dr. Eastham's large lecture classes, teaching assistants lead small group discussions in break-out rooms, and all students are required to speak in these discussion groups in order to attain points toward their grades. He said that in keeping with the subject he teaches, all of his assistants are required to have some kind of international experience, such as studying in another country, and a few of them have had training in languages other than English. Therefore, he says, they do a good job of "leading by example" and treating non-native students well.

Eastham: [I am] not necessarily putting them on the spot too much right away, just like I don’t put anybody on the spot right away, but eventually get everybody to speak. I think

they've had the attitude that everybody in that class has got something useful and interesting to say.

There were a lot of students who would be quite happy to go, just sort of put in their time, and let someone else do all the talking and then get out after their fifty minutes, and they would feel that they've escaped, another week of not having to talk. But you know, I would listen to the students, to the TAs who made the students all say something, and there would be a person whose body language said, "I don't want to talk, leave me alone." And then once they said something, they were often very articulate, they really had something beneficial to say.

Eastham said that he gauges his own attendance at these groups carefully. He doesn't visit them for the first week or two in order for the assistant and the students to form a relationship.

Eastham: Then when I would go, I wouldn't stay for the whole time. I would maybe go in for ten minutes. In some ways I wanted to do it because I wanted to figure out who was really getting along with the students, who perhaps needed some suggestions with how to get things going more. Even if, frankly, I would start to talk and they would maybe start to defer to me a little bit, I like that it gave me the ability to talk to them and to the students, and get a bit of a connection with the students.

When Mendelson has students in his classes work in groups, he also tries to manage the composition of the group.

Mendelson: If there are groups working on things, I try to make sure that there's a kind of a balance where you have people with a variety of skills put together so there's a good cooperation in the group. Like if there are two people, native speakers of such-and-such language, I would hope that they would work with other people who are native speakers [of other languages], you know, mix around a little bit so you have a variety.

When arranging groups in classes where there are students whose native language is not English, Mendelson assesses students' individual ways of working and their proclivities toward helping others. He says his discipline lends itself to the welcoming of students from diverse language backgrounds.

Mendelson: I'd try to make sure that they were with speakers of English who are native who seem to really like teaching. There are some students who really enjoy having someone who they're helping out a little bit with the English. Other students might not like that as much. I have a good feel for that, I think, and so I have been successful in doing that. I'm real quick at sensing what students are introverted, extroverted, what students want to work on their own, what students want to kind of work together with other people and interact, what students might make good teachers. I think that they interact very positively because someone who has another native language in [this particular] class is something positively special because this is a font of knowledge that's respected; if you're in a math class no one cares.

While Neale does not set up formal groups, she has witnessed interactions among students, and gave the following example of how the majority students benefited from their relationship with an international student.

Neale: Last year I had a student who was in two of my classes, a [Japanese] student, and the other students worked with him. He asked for help from the other students. He sent an e-mail out and then he met with students and really benefited from the experience and the other students benefited from the experience, too, in both classes.

In the Theory class he contributed his own perspective on theory, from his own academic background. And the other class discussed sex and gender, and so not only was he in this group of women students, primarily women students, the male voice, but then he represented a diverse perspective from another culture. The students just loved him. They all got to be good friends. Yes, and connecting with the other students and being able to get feedback from them and ask them questions about things he that might not

have felt comfortable asking me or in class. They *really loved* talking to him, so it worked out so well.

Rowe discusses the influence of culture in groups and student-to-student interactions and describes how he has witnessed a change with newer students coming in with more multicultural experiences. He thinks that students often now have more experience than faculty in multicultural classrooms and social situations. He thinks the university can foster an environment that encourages cross-cultural communication among students, especially when controversial issues are being discussed. Rowe again stresses the importance of putting language-minority students at ease to facilitate their communication.

Rowe: Most of the programs that I've worked in all my career have been cohort programs, where we bring in a group of students and work with them over time. They have all kinds of ways of negotiating with each other. They are much better at it.

I think students [are coming] from a more naturally multi-cultural environment, school systems. They have to deal with students from many different cultures already, and so they learn those negotiation skills, and [a nearby middle school] is much more ethnically and culturally diverse today than it would have been, say, for a student out of my generation going to school there. So the students come more prepared and more skilled at sort of cross-cultural communication than faculty typically are. The same thing with math skills and computer skills. The students, in a way, can be ahead of the faculty. But they also use their social relationships a lot. They find ways to bond with one another, to become friends, to share aspects of their lives with each other, and then they learn what is significant, I think, through that. They learn to look at somebody say as a person from another culture. So if they're French or they're German or they're Laotian, at the same time they learn that this is an individual from that culture, and they build relationships with each other that inform their understanding of each other. Part of that negotiation is in many ways they're more confronted with each other.

Farmer: In a good way?

Rowe: In a good way, right. Exactly. “What do you mean?” or “That isn’t the way I’m lookin’ at it. That isn’t the way I experience it.” Again, its creating a sort of safe environment for them to do that, where the teacher is a facilitator as much as an information communicator. Again, quite often I’ll use a personal story to enter into a discussion of some potentially volatile subject, or to pull out different life experiences and views. I’ll say “This is something that happened to me,” and then I’ll say “Anybody else experience that?”

And maybe students who are comfortable or maybe the majority population students, they’ll tell their stories and I’ll say, “So what do you think? Is that your experience? How would it happen in your experience?” I found too that as students who are minorities because that would be where their language comes from, as they get honored and rewarded by their peers for contributing, they like it, and so they do it more.

Jackson attributes relationships formed among linguistically diverse and majority students in his department as arising in part from the discipline itself, because it tends to attract students who want to assist others, and from the curriculum of the program. He describes interactions among students.

Jackson: Most of the students who come into [this major] are doing it because they have very strong desire to serve. It’s a human service field. They really are supportive of each other irrespective of the situation. We have students in there who are married, or single parents with kids, and they learn about that and they’ll say, “Hey, bring your kids on the retreat. You know, you’re going to have fifty babysitters.” What I’ve observed is that the students who use English as a second language or are from other countries are really adopted even more so.

We talk about diversity in the classroom, and in the broadest of senses, that brings to light the variety of circumstances, including students who are from countries other than the United States who are learning English and some of the challenges that that poses for them. So, you know, it’s that simple thing of awareness. For instance, if that

student is making a contribution—we do a lot of group projects—I think they’ll be more sensitive, for one thing, to not ignoring if the [non-native English speaking students] turn in a paper that is incoherent and has a lot of mistakes. Sometimes students will go, “Well, I’m not going to confront that,” but they realize that there is a situation involved— They say “Boy, there are some problems with that.” I think they’d be more than likely to say, “Let me offer you some help in this. Or when would you like me to take a look at this?” And I think there’s a natural inclination for them to be more attentive to some struggles that the students [face].

Jackson also discusses how he has set up student groups, sometimes allowing them to self-select, and sometimes managing them in order to direct the groups’ dynamics.

Jackson: I set those groups up because of the dynamics: it was very important to have students who I recognize as having stronger interpersonal skills coupled with students who I perceive as having weaker, or again, a range of needs, in the groups. One student who was [shy]—not only in terms of English but also just some other cultural barriers—I can remember placing her in with a group of stronger students, knowing that she would need support. I remember placing her in a group of students that had predominantly females, but also had a male in it., knowing that she’d be more comfortable with the females initially but also allowing her to have [that] experience.

So we look for those sorts of things and sometimes we let them self-select. But again, I think it’s analogous to when we’ve had students with disabilities in class. They go out of their way to really [help], and in fact, some of the students with disabilities will tell me, “Gosh, I wish sometimes they’d quit tripping over each other to help me out.” You know, sometimes they get in the way. There’s that thing [that students with disabilities] want to assert their independence. But I say, “Well, I’d rather them err on the side of that.” We can help them learn how to make the adjustment. I’ve never had an instance, but I can imagine where it might be the case with a student from another country having to tell the other students, “The best way for me to learn is to give me a chance to fail here occasionally, and I don’t want to have to be spotted on each and every time...” Our students are remarkable in that regard.

Summary

Professors have various ways of approaching group work and of observing how language minority and non-native English speaking students interact. While some professors don't use student groups at all, other professors are very hands-on when it comes to student-to-student interactions, and they carefully set up groups after observing students' personalities. Sometimes it is the nature of the discipline that determines whether using groups is conducive to learning. For example, there is more emphasis on team work within business-oriented majors. Some professors deliberately create heterogeneous groups in order to avoid potential ostracism, to broaden students' thinking, and to place students who need extra help with students who like to teach. Some groups are held on-line with little interaction with the teacher; other small groups held within large classes are used by professors as one means of getting to know individual students. Rowe pointed out that as language minority students are able to be "honored and rewarded by their peers for contributing, they like it, and so they do it more."

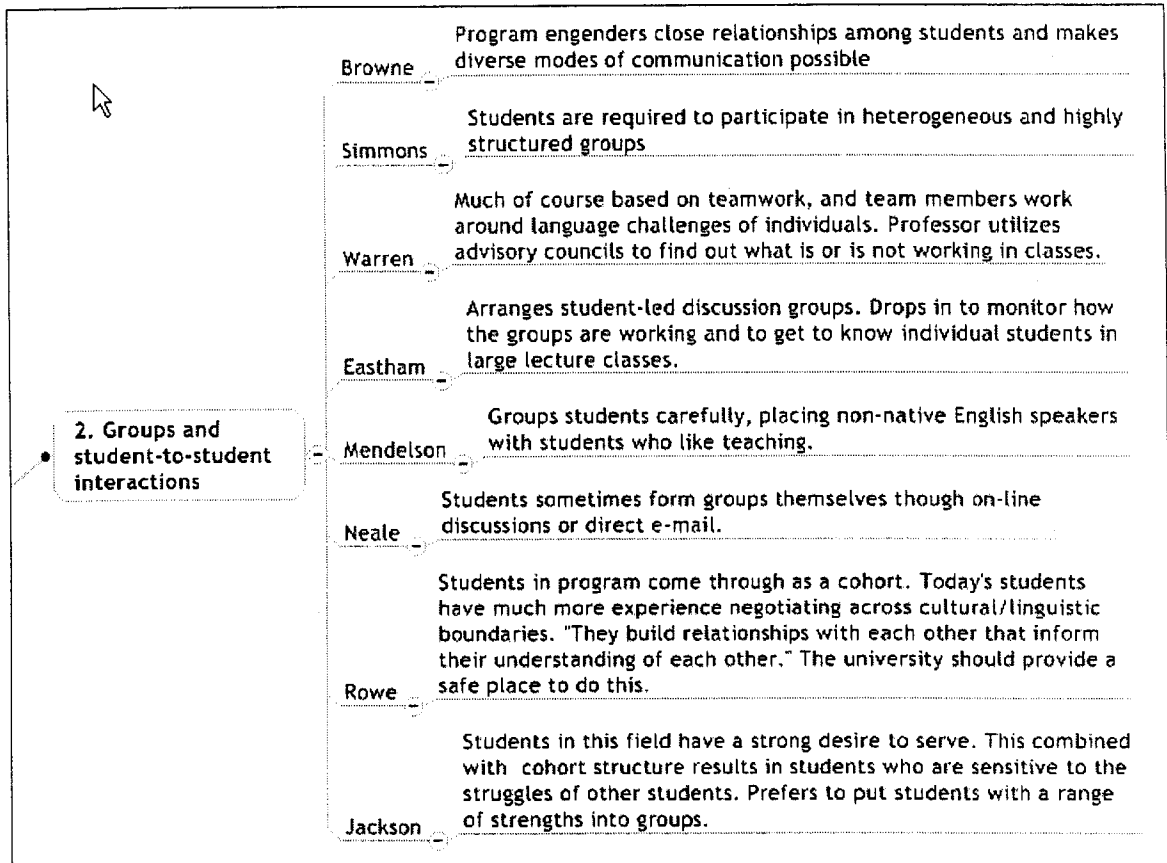


Figure 3. Groups and Student-to-Student Interactions

Use of Technology

Some of the professors interviewed also discussed how they use technology to assist in their teaching and explained how this can be of particular use to students' whose first language isn't English. Jameson points out that he asks students to share their writing and engage in discussions via an online course management system such as Blackboard. He says he uses this as a way to bring the class together. Neale also conducts all of her discussion groups on-line through Blackboard. Broderick utilizes multiple technologies.

Broderick: Over the years I've developed a system where a lot of what I do is on PowerPoint. The images are projected on the screen, and they also are set up on my course webpage. A student can go to the course webpage, actually print out the

PowerPoints ahead of time, and then annotate them as they go along, so that if a person has trouble reading quickly, they have a chance to study them ahead of time, or they can go back and study them afterwards. The other thing I do is I prepare fairly detailed notes for myself just because they're kind of a crutch for me, but anybody who needs them can always photocopy them.

Eastham points out that not all students may be able to listen and take notes on what the professor is saying, so using technology is helpful for every student.

Eastham: I think you can do things that would help people who aren't necessarily hearing everything you're saying: writing on the board or making PowerPoint slides available, making copies of some lecture notes available. That helps *everybody*, I think, in the end. If we can do things that make it better for everybody, [that also] increases comprehension for non-native English speakers.

Warren discusses how using technology, particularly PowerPoint, has helped students who were perhaps not as comfortable with their language abilities. He notes that making information available so that students can read it before class makes information more comprehensible to students who are working on their fluency in English. Students in his classes all make oral presentations using PowerPoint.

Warren: I've always used transparencies and overheads, so in China I always had overheads and the students always had copies of the overheads. I found, in terms of understanding, it definitely helped for them to be able to *read* something and then listen to me.

I've had a number of foreign students, not many but a number, and I've always forced teams. Maybe if they're doing a progress report only a couple of the team members have to present, but in the final presentation, which would be 15-20 minutes, everybody has to present. Foreign students know that they've got to get up. Most business students use PowerPoint, so they do have that to fall back on. I would say I've been impressed with how well the foreign students have done. It can be difficult for them. One,

most people are nervous giving presentations to begin with; two, it's in a second language. But I think with PowerPoint to help at least they tend to get their points across.

The way I educated myself to teach was, again, to use a lot of PowerPoint. Students have the slides before their class, so if a foreign student wants to make sure they can understand what I'm saying, [they can] view the slides, and they'll be much better prepared for class. It's less of a challenge [for them] than if they just walked in and I started talking. They'll be able to say, "Oh, here's this slide which I read and this is what it's about and..." But then, you know, my field can be technical. I've never really had anybody say that they're confused by the language.

Mendelson explains using technology to communicate in multiple formats aids the comprehension of all students, but that students whose first language isn't English avail themselves of these tools more frequently. He points out that having these available is especially helpful in large lecture classes.

Mendelson: I usually have notes available on a computer website, so if they can't catch everything in class, sometimes there is recourse.

I've always had students who, if they had trouble with English, it's because they don't know all the words, or they are a little bit slow sometimes at picking the train of thoughts up because of English being processed more slowly. I've found that that can be solved by having available notes on the one hand and also having available some extra opportunities where they could use a dictionary or something like that. What I do is I tell a student, any student, "You can use a dictionary." Of course, the people who are native speakers aren't going to need a dictionary for my test.

On the computer I have vast amounts of notes, and some students need to print them all out and have them right there with them while I'm talking, and they feel real comfortable with that, and other students don't need to do that. So if they're a little bit unsure of English, they have more ability to use the things I've given to everybody. They probably make more use of that. That seems to work out pretty well in these big classes where I can't really know exactly what every individual student is needing or where they're coming from. I give enough resources where they choose what they need and it's there already available to them.

Summary

Professors explained how technology, especially use of on-line class management systems such as Blackboard, can be of particular use to students' whose first language isn't English. Professors indicated that providing material that utilizes a variety of skills—such as previewing, listening, and reading—helps all students, not just language minority students. Further, being able to preview the lecture beforehand, look up new vocabulary words, and get a feel for the organization of what will be coming is particularly important to students working on their English fluency. Students in some classes share and critique writing on-line and participate in discussion groups, which gives students additional feedback on their ideas and writing to what the teacher provides. Generally, professors feel that access to an abundance of resources that technology makes possible assists all students.

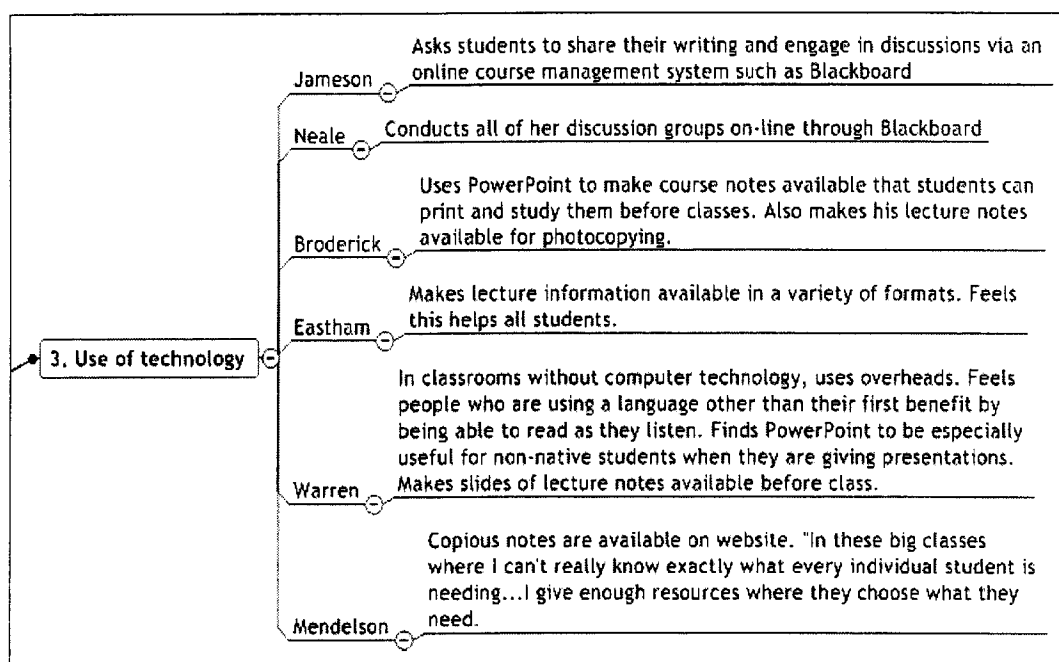


Figure 4. Use of Technology

Student Writing

One of the areas where there was less consensus among the professors interviewed was in the area of writing. Teachers had varied approaches and philosophies regarding teaching writing and dealing with errors in writing. Their approaches differed in terms of allowing students to rewrite papers, addressing plagiarism, and feeling how responsible they were as teachers for the writing proficiency of their students. One of the themes that is discussed in this section is how important professors feel it is to maintain the formal standards of written English, yet at the same time, how they try to provide support for students to meet these standards.

Neale says that when she has non-native English speaking students come to see her during office hours, it's usually because of problems with writing, and she allows them to rewrite papers.

Neale: It's not so much their understanding in the classroom as their writing, and I refer them to the Writing Center and sometimes people also get translators on their own that they work with. I've seen considerable improvement, yes.

Usually what I do is I check the name of the student because I usually don't pay attention to the names when I'm reading the papers, and then I try to get a clue if, by looking at the paper again and the content of the paper, that English might be a second language. And then I'll usually write notes on the paper to the student, either suggesting that the student get someone from the Writing Center to read it over for them and give them some feedback, or that they come in and see me. Usually I make somewhat lengthy comments saying, "This is not a sentence," or something on that order. I usually give students a chance to make it up. I don't believe I've ever taken off points for writing and not given the student a chance to make it up.

Broderick feels that his relationship with students—knowing their individual strengths and weaknesses—allows him to be flexible in his expectations of students' writing.

Broderick: Where a student has difficulty in English and they try to write an essay or some sentences to describe what [something] is, then I usually try to read it and make allowances. I try to be kind of flexible about how particular I get with an answer if they haven't expressed it quite well. I know the student—I try to get to know my students very quickly—so I have a pretty good idea what works and what doesn't. If a student has real difficulty, I can always say, "Okay fine. The test is set for an hour, come in and some other time take two hours to do it."

Browne emphasizes how important it is for him to communicate with students who come from varied backgrounds. He offers help to students with their writing when they need it.

Browne: I think it reiterates to me how important it is for me to find out new ways to communicate with that student, to clarify things. I know that I'm not necessarily there to help them with their writing skills, but with their other communication skills. If they find it hard, have trouble finding a specific word or phrase, I sometimes will help guide them. "Do you mean this? And what does this mean?" Because I'm not grading on grammatical stuff. I may point out to them, "I see you're having trouble with this, can I help you maybe shape this a little bit at some point?" They may not rewrite, but they try to put that in for the next time they have to write something for me.

Eastham teaches classes that have a strong writing component. He reflects on the use of language in the university, recommends a structural change in the way students take their required writing intensive courses, suggests it would be in the best interests of all students if they did more writing in their other university courses, and discusses how he deals with plagiarism.

Eastham: Certainly [non-native English speakers] have had more difficulty when I assign papers. There were parts that were mathematical and required analysis of data and graphs, and that wasn't so much a problem. But there were sometimes turns of phrase that were not quite correct for Standard English. I would correct those in the same way that I would do for a person whose *first* language was English.

I've had problems a little bit in some of the writing-intensive classes we do. Those classes are courses where 75 percent of the grade is supposed to be based on writing, with significant revision—where people write a draft and then I make comments on a draft. I've noticed a couple of cases where I've had students who were non-native-English-speakers, and I've had the impression they've left those courses until their final quarter. Then it puts them in this real pressure situation because they need it to graduate. It worries me a little bit when they get to the point where they're taking their writing proficiency class, particularly if they've left it to that last quarter, and I look at their writing and say, "Look, there's a problem here that should have been dealt with earlier." Certainly for a non-native-English-speaker, it's a challenge too to be able to communicate clearly. I think [it would be helpful] if there were a mechanism to discourage people from leaving it until the end.

One of the problems I've had with students in that class is I'll be reading a paper, particularly the draft, and I can see the person's really been struggling with writing, and then all of a sudden there are like four paragraphs of crystal-clear, articulate prose, and you know what happened. I've had to explain to students that this is going to get them into more trouble than the other stuff is because it's clear what's going on. They'll admit it to me, what they've done. And again it's not necessarily the non-native-English-speakers are the only ones who plagiarize. Sometimes it's easier to detect just because the transition, the contrast, is just so stark. You know these are not the person's own words. At that point, I mean, if it happens in the draft, because the drafts aren't graded, I can give the person advice, but I've really got to explain to them if that happens in the final version, that can get them an F in the class.

Farmer: Has that ever had to happen, have you—

Eastham: No. It's usually been in a draft that this has happened, and I've been clear in that I've told them if it does happen in the final version that that's what'll happen, and they've learned their lesson from that. But I think it's something you have to impress upon people, the importance of not plagiarizing; plagiarism is not a viable alternative.

I've had students tell me that they've gotten through almost to the end of their program and they've had to do very little writing. I mean, I require one of my upper division classes to use blue books for the exam responses, and a lot of students, they might get to my class in their fourth year, and they say, "I've never had to use a blue book before." They've had multiple choice exams their first couple years for their university requirements, and then their third year it's been more exams where it's more fill in an answer in a little blank or put in a number here or briefly write a couple sentences. I think that it does a bit of a disservice [to students]. Again, this is not anything that's particular to non-native-English-speakers. Students in general don't develop their ability to write as clearly if they're always filling in a blank, because in life you're often going to be presented with a blank sheet of paper and you basically have to start from scratch with the answer.

Jackson believes that students have a variety of learning styles, and his role is to set up requirements students must meet and then provide support so they can meet these requirements. Jackson admits that he himself has had to struggle with his writing skills.

Jackson: I try not to change the integrity of the word. I expect them to perform at levels that are commensurate with the requirements of the material and the expectations of what you would have of students at this level.

I don't subscribe to the unequivocal definition of intelligence in a narrow IQ sense. There are different modes of learning, and I try to stay reasonably current with that literature, at least enough so that I can serve them. I say the same thing with students who use English as a second language, that here are the objectives, here are the levels in terms of criteria. Now what kind of supports can I provide? Now, examples of those supports would be reading their papers multiple times with them, referring them to the writing center, giving them more feedback after an exam, knowing that it's an area that they're developing.

With a student whose native language is English, I might do just some grammatical corrections, whereas with a student who uses English as a second language, I might give some more explanations.

I think it's because I was not a good writer myself. I worked very hard to improve it, and in the process of doing that, learned to respect the clarity and the force of good writing, no matter what rules, whether it's from Ebonics, if you're working in that context, well that's fine too. But the context we happen to use is pretty much Standard English.

Fulton assigns short writings early in the quarter to ascertain how he will teach that quarter. It also will let him know if there are students who are less proficient in English in his class. Usually prefers to meet one-on-one with his students when he needs to discuss their writing, and he allows them to write multiple drafts until both are satisfied with the writing. If a student is having trouble articulating an idea, he will encourage this student to explain it in their first language, to arrive at the idea, and then translate the idea into English. Fulton also discusses how impressed he is with students who come from multilingual homes where education is prized.

Fulton: Let me tell you, sometimes the essays I get from ESL students that are far more . . . well, the mechanics are there. They may not have the ability to expand on something, but in a lot of cases the essays I get from non-ESL students are horrible.

Farmer: Okay. So it's an across the spectrum thing.

Fulton: It's an across the spectrum thing.

Farmer: So what do you do, though, when you see English errors?

Fulton: I think it depends on the severity. Early on I strive to get writing samples by using what I call a one or two or three minute essay. I don't know if you know what that

technique is. It's at the end of class. You pass out three by five cards, you say, "What did I say? What was the most important point that I said today? What question would you like to ask about the topic? What additional information would you like to receive or hear or learn about this? Then finally, what didn't you like?" So they put that all on the three by five and it takes two or three minutes and then they pass them in. Then I spend the next couple of days going over them, and then using them as a tool to restructure and reframe future presentations and discussions in the classroom. That exercise often gives me some insights into the competency levels of ESL students. Are they capable of doing that? I guess I'm already confident [that they are capable] in the fact that they've gone through some careful screening before they've been admitted here.

Later on, I'll ask them to write a one-page essay on something, and that's when I'll really see how they can capture the essence of this one point. Let's say hypothetically that I get a paper from an ESL student, and this needs work. I need to interject. I do this with just about any student so it doesn't matter, but with an ESL student I'm a little more careful about how I present. I don't want to be overly critical.

I say, "Um, are there some areas in this paper that you had difficulty?"

"Um, yes."

"Okay, let's just work this through." So oftentimes during these occasions I will say, "How can we rephrase this sentence? What's wrong with this sentence?" And so we'll work on it. But I let them do it.

Then, what I will do, and I admit that this is probably a little unfair insofar as the rest of the students are concerned, but I won't grade them right away. I say, "Now in three days I want to see another version. Would you give me another version?" And I tell them that I won't grade this paper until *they're* satisfied. Some won't do it. A few will say, "Well I'm satisfied with this." And I'll give them a grade and I'll say, "I'm sorry I can't give you as good a grade as I could." Others, on the other hand, will hand me three or four iterations, five iterations of the same paper and sometimes the next day.

Farmer: Okay, so you're seeing learning taking place.

Fulton: Right, and you can see it. You can really see it. And oftentimes what some of these students will do is that they'll talk with non-ESL students that they're friends with—and I encourage them to do that.

I say, “Why don’t you have your friends read this paper?”

And they do—and some of them will come back and say, “Somebody said this was okay.”

“Well, I don’t think it is. And let’s see what’s wrong.”

We’ll talk about it. My goal is to get them to talk about it. My goal is to get them to reflect on it. To just think what it is they’ve composed. And sometimes I’ll say, “Now if you were to say this in Spanish what would you say?” And then they’ll rattle off something. I remember one occasion a student who spoke Mandarin, that was her first language, and I said, “How would you say this in Mandarin?” She’d rattle off, and I said, “Well what did you just say? Now can you translate to English?”

And she says, “Well, it’s awkward.”

I said, “Well let’s try that. Write it down. Now, let’s take a look at what you translated and let’s see if we can use proper mechanics to rephrase this.” Oftentimes that technique works. I don’t use that very often, but—

Farmer: So that they can first arrive at the idea, in their native language. They can decide what they think.

Fulton: Right.

Farmer: And then it’s a matter of them communicating it.

Fulton: Right. Though often I find students who come from bilingual families, for example, and say, mother’s Japanese, father’s American, and so they grew up in a bilingual home where if they spoke to Dad they spoke in English; when they spoke to Mom they spoke in Japanese. I find that these students are really, really gifted because they can shift back and forth almost unconsciously in the language and do it accurately. It is amazing to me to hear that. [This occurs] especially in homes, in families, where education is highly valued and because correctness of usage of language is emphasized.

Mendelson grades writing mostly on its content and doesn’t lower students’ grades when they are non-native speakers because he doesn’t think it is fair or conducive to their learning. He is flexible in the languages students use in their writing.

Mendelson: I assign essays and, frankly, I usually grade on content, although I do mark for the writing and so forth like that. But if someone is a non-native-speaker, I don't take off for the non-native type of mistakes that they would make. I'm not going to penalize them for that because I don't think it's fair for their learning. I just look and see how well they've written with the language ability they have. Since I'm not an English teacher, since it's not my goal to have great improvements in the grammar and writing, even though I pay attention to that and I give some credit, or lack thereof, for it, it's not something that is a major factor in any of my classes. Also I could tell you I'm kind of unusual in this way, I know several languages, so sometimes I tell the student, "Write it in your native language and I'll grade it that way." But I don't have students who I think are getting substantially worse grade because they're non-native-speakers.

Simmons says it takes her more time to work on the writing of non-native English speaking students, sometimes editing papers to demonstrate to the student how the paper would appear in more standard English. She also directs them to writing tutors where they can get support.

Simmons: It's in the writing where you first come to realize that they may be struggling with the language, because [in large classes] I don't always hear them all speaking and communicating. I don't usually, with native English-speakers, spend as much time on the composition and grammar pieces of reading their papers. I'll circle a spelling error or I will say, "Awkward sentence," but I don't thoroughly edit it. Lots of times though, with non-native English speakers, they forget the articles in sentences, and I will actually take the time to spend at least a couple of pages if it's a larger piece, and go through it and actually try to exemplify what it would look like if it were written by a native speaker because I think it's helpful to them to see that. I can't do this on all their papers all the time, but certainly point out that there's a writing center and other places where they can get help. The peer advisors there will do precisely what I'm doing in terms of the composition and other things in those papers. That's one of the things I try to do as an accommodation for students: I give them a slightly different set of feedback on their papers.

Warren structures his classes to work in teams, so team members often review the writing of non-native English speakers in their groups.

Warren: I tend to go through anyone's work and try to make sure it's going to sound good and have a good structure. Generally they submit a paper and I usually give it back for an opinion or a project. Not all projects; most. In a lot of my classes, a lot of the work is in teams. So maybe that tends to balance out the fact that there may be a team with a foreign student. But their writing has already been reviewed and critiqued by the other team members, so by the time I get it, the paper's probably okay, but even then I go over it and I'll make changes and recommendations, and then they go back, revise it, and then submit the final paper to me.

Farmer: So do you correct their grammar problems, like if they miss a *a/an* or *the* a pronoun or something?

Warren: Oh yeah. I mean, as much as I can. Again, most of the papers that I see are from teams. So it's not like I'm going individually to somebody, but I am correcting the paper: this section should go here, wrong verb tense, or wrong word, or this is confusing, rewrite it and so, yeah,. I try to make sure it's going to be a well-written paper.

Jameson has had extensive experience with language diverse classrooms, and he requires a lot of writing in his classes, "around 30-40 thousand words a term." His extensive comments represent a unique viewpoint in this case study about grammatical errors in writing. He thinks his goal for students, since his time with them is limited to one quarter, is for them to become more confident and self-reflective writers. He points out that professional writers use editors, and believes that there is an over-emphasis in schools on error-free standard English. Students become misled into thinking that good writing is about spelling, or grammar, and not about communication. He realizes that his

is often an unpopular stance among parents and administrators, but thinks that issues of language use are also issues of power.

Jameson: Historically [in one particular class], if we have 15 students, you'll probably find that the majority of the students, say at least 10 to 12, have graduated from U.S. high schools, but English is not their first language at home.

With most of my students, it's confidence-building. That's the number one thing—that I want students to be more confident when they end my class. Two, I want them to be more fluent. I want them to begin to become self-reflective writers, in which they say, "Wow, I tried to do this, I didn't quite make it in this one," so that they can revise more. And I've been very pleased. At times, I don't make a deal out of grammar. If it's really individualized, I'll do a lot of work on sentence combining and sentence structure.

Farmer: Well, what would you say then to teachers who get a paper, and the development is good, and the facts are there, but there're all these errors in it, so—

Jameson: I would say those errors are telling you something very important about that student now, where that student is. And one of the things that I would want them to do is I want them not to perceive errors as individual incidences, but as large patterns.

Let's suppose I have a paper that has twenty-five spelling errors in it. Okay? I would want to know the context of those spelling errors. I would want to know, did those spelling errors occur initially, medially, or in the final part of the work? I would want to know more about that before I get upset about it. And I'm not going to subject a class to something which may be very individualistic for one student.

Usually what I do is I go through and I'll hunt for patterns. Say, a student might have 30 errors and I might see five fragments, and I might see 20 comma splices. I'll bring the student in and I'll say, "Can you explain to me what's going on here?"

And they'll say, "I've always had a trouble with comma splices."

And I'll look and I'll go, "That's really great because you always have a comma where something else goes. The fact that you recognize that is a wonderful thing. Let's not worry about it right now. Let's worry about the meaning, whatever."

I will also look and see when those comma splices occur. Usually I find a pattern. It always occurs, maybe with one student, it's always four typed lines. I tell the student, "Look, when you revise your work, [this error occurs] any time you've punctuated something that's four lines or longer, think about that. Think about that in your reader." The students then will come to grips, "Gosh, this is too long." Or, "I haven't fixed it in such a way that a reader can read the subjects."

We do subject streams where I'll go through and we'll find the subjects of sentences in a paragraph and we'll lay them out in a chart and I'll say, "Okay let's look at these. These are called topic streams. What does that mean?" Then here's something that's got Mom, Dad, Mom, Dad and then here's my left tennis shoe. And they'll go, "That doesn't fit."

And I go, "Right! So what do we have?"

"Well, maybe that's a different part of the paper."

I'm using grammar and syntax in a different way than I was taught which was where you go in and diagram sentences and everything. Now I'm really interested more in how language works for them, and I want to know about those errors. Why is this an error? That's what I look for, and that tells me something about that student. It doesn't tell me the student is stupid. It doesn't tell me the student is dumb. Doesn't tell me the student can't master English. What it tells me is under certain circumstances, this student has a certain language behavior. And what does that tell me as a teacher? And can I create other language behaviors so that the student can practice and make a determination which one is effective for him or her at that moment, for that audience?

Farmer: Do you think history teachers, political science teachers should be similarly responsible for. . . .

Jameson: That's a very good question because I've taught a great number, in my lifetime, of writing across curriculum workshops. I mean, I've had parents write nasty letters to presidents about me because they found errors in their child's paper that I didn't correct. I'm getting the student to move on; I'm trying to build up confidence. I mean,

Farmer: There was just a little study done, and I don't know completely what the results were except the person who did it said, preliminarily, said that the students she polled who were ESL students *did* want that focus on grammar and correction of error.

Jameson: Mina Shaughnessey says the same thing in 1977, that if you ask students what they want, what they do is they default to a very static view of language. So what comes out is "If I can spell better, if my handwriting's better and I know grammar, I will be a better writer." Well, that may also reflect the teaching they've had and what people have told them, "Your grammar's bad, your spelling's bad." Therefore if you say that enough to a student, that student is going to think, "Gosh, that's what language is." Not that language is communication. Not that language is presenting myself against a world or within a world in a culture. And that's not what they see; they see what you've told them: grammar, grammar, grammar, grammar, grammar, grammar.

I'm hoping to get people into the use of language and how language works rather than how grammar works, so it'll get people off proscription, into description, and figure out ways for students to understand inductively and learn how language works. We have to do something about it. It can't happen just in my classroom. I mean it's got to happen other places. Other people have to say, "Wait a minute. You know, there are some difficulties. Here's how I'm seeing this paper. The judgment I'm making on the paper is you don't care about this," or whatever. And I think in classes we can slowly, and it's an incremental thing, begin to show students what this means, and how they present themselves with language. What that means if you present yourself this way. I'll give you a perfect example. Last May I got a phone call from a former student from a few years ago who had just been offered a job for one of these groups that takes corporate executives out into the wilderness. He'd been offered the job and he called me and said, "Can I send you an e-mail? I just want you to look at my acceptance for this job." He said, "I can't afford to blow it." He said, "I've looked at it, my roommate's looked at it, my girlfriend's looked at it. We think it's perfect, but I would feel so much better if you took a look at it."

It was perfect; it was perfect. Because he'd captured his real feelings about how happy he was to get this job and what he was going to bring to it.

If we really start looking at those mistakes that students are making, we learn a lot about the student, a lot about the language situation in which that error surfaces. We may find that this is only a temporary error; it's only an error in this draft. When we get the next draft, we may see that that error has gone. If I spent all my time teaching to eliminate this error that's in first drafts, now what I've done is I've valued that over everything else. If I wait and look at the second draft, and then compare the second draft to the first draft to see what's disappeared, I might find that I didn't need to have done that in the first place, and I've sent the wrong signals about language.

But you're ultimately right, ultimately in the real world out there, error does matter; it's going to matter. The catch is, how much error? Joseph Williams' famous piece, "The Phenomenology of Error" in which he embeds one hundred errors and you read over it and you don't even see the errors because you're so interested in the content, also tells us something.

It's hard to negotiate the incidence of error, what that means in our culture. It's very difficult, it's a hard one, because you have your colleagues and you have parents and you have administrators all looking at you, saying, "What does this mean?" With error comes responsibility and the catch is, what is that responsibility? What is the error and what is responsibility? Both terms are contested. And that seems to me worth spending the rest of my professional life, trying to figure that one out.

Summary

Professors had varied approaches and philosophies regarding teaching writing and dealing with errors in writing. Some mentioned that it is with writing that they first realize they have students who do not have English as their first language. Some professors make allowances for students who are struggling with English, assuming that they have a basic competence in the language, and don't base grades on errors in the language, feeling that it isn't fair and that it doesn't facilitate the student's learning. Some professors utilize student groups to peer edit each other's writing, so the professor does not see the writing until it has been reviewed by others. Some professors edit a language-

minority student's paper thoroughly and then have the student rewrite it. One professor allows students to write in languages other than English since he is fluent in many languages. Many professors recommend students seek out writing tutors provided by the university and have found them to be helpful. Problems were mentioned regarding students committing plagiarism and putting off taking required writing courses until just before graduation. One professor feels that errors in writing need to be viewed as a pattern of language behaviors, and that it is unrealistic to expect students not to make errors in writing. He feels students need to understand that professional writers have their work read and edited by many people, and they need to realize the power implications of language errors.

Neale	Makes more explanatory comments when the student's first language is not English. Always allows rewrites when points have been taken off for writing. It has worked well to refer students to writing tutors.
Broderick	Makes allowances for students he knows are struggling with English. Permits more time for in-class writing.
Browne	Helps students with communication skills in addition to writing. Offers guidance in writing by asking questions.
Eastham	Students who are uncomfortable with their writing skills put off these writing courses until they are about to graduate, which puts pressure on the professor. Feels there should be a mechanism in place to prevent this. Has seen some plagiarism in first drafts from non-native students (though realizes that when native-English-speaking students plagiarize, it isn't as noticeable). Points out plagiarism to students, explains the ramifications, and has the student rewrite. Has never had to formally reprimand a student for plagiarism.
Jackson	Acknowledges students have differing forms of intelligence. Makes his standards clear, and then provides appropriate support such as reading multiple drafts, referring to writing tutors, etc.
Fulton	Tries to identify students with writing problems immediately with 5-minute essays. Works closely with students and their writing to identify problems. Allows them to write multiple drafts.
4. Student writing	
Mendelson	Grades mostly on content and doesn't lower students' grades for writing when they are non-native speakers. Flexible in the choice of languages students use in their writing.
Simmons	Gives non-native English speaking students slightly different feedback on their papers. Spends more time explaining the composition and grammar when marking their papers. Sometimes edits a few pages to show students what the paper would look like if a native-speaking student had written it. Also refers students to writing tutors.
Warren	Since much of the writing is done in teams, papers have usually been peer-reviewed a number of times before he sees it. Then he edits all the papers thoroughly before students rewrite.
Jameson	Has experience with many students who have a first language other than English. His first goal is to instill confidence; his second goal is to make students more fluent and self-reflective writers. Feels that errors in papers need to be analyzed as patterns of language behaviors, and then he tries to "create other language behaviors so that the student can practice and make a determination which one is effective for him or her at that moment, for that audience." Feels it is unrealistic to believe error can be eliminated. Students begin to believe that good writing is all about grammar and spelling. "It's hard to negotiate the incidence of error, what that means in our culture. It's very difficult . . . because you have your colleagues and you have parents and you have administrators all looking at you, saying, 'What does this mean?'"

Figure 5. Student Writing

Professors' Expectations

Professors' expectations vary for what they require from students when they come into the class and what their skills should be as they develop through the class and as they leave. Some divergence in professors' opinions occurred, similar to the ones about writing, when they discussed their expectations. Some of the variance occurred in the level of language ability the professors perceived and in their ability to make a difference in students' language and in what difference it made in the lives of students. In other words, when students graduate from the university, what is that diploma saying about their English abilities?

Eastham referred to a film he showed to his class about native Chinese speakers in an elementary classroom where English was the predominant language and the teacher knew no Chinese. The teachers were interviewed, and one said, "We're having to slow down too much," meaning that to make things intelligible to the Chinese speakers, the teacher felt the majority group was being held back. Eastham pointed out that this was not happening at the university level, "I mean, I'm not having to teach English at the same time." However, since he teaches a writing proficiency class, he feels a responsibility for preparing students for work in their field, and therefore sees a link between a college degree and some assurance that a student possesses certain skills in that field.

Eastham: In some ways, it's sad to say, I actually find that the native speakers don't write as well as people who have English as their second language. Communication skills aren't necessarily really great for a lot of our native-English-speaking students.

We put this requirement in, we've said that person getting a degree from this university has to write with a certain standard level of proficiency, that we don't grade on a curve depending upon [proficiency], because otherwise, what are we going to do? Give

them a degree that has kind of an asterisk beside it, saying, “BA, Non-Native-English-Speaker”? I mean it’s just like anything else, when you have people who have weak math skills who come into your class and they realize they’re going to have to do more work to bring their math skills up: the onus is going to be on both the instructor and on the student to do that extra work. I think it’s going to be the same thing for a non-native-English-speaker in a class.

Farmer: So do you think it’s more work on the part of the teacher then, also?

Eastham: Yeah, it is. Certainly, you know, if a person really requires a lot of help to get it right, clearly it’s more work. Sometimes it’s very hard to read and grade what a person’s doing just because you lose the train of thought. Communication is just so poor that you’re going to have to spend more time to correct the writing, but you also have to spend more time just to figure out what the person’s saying within the context of the field. And the whole point of this writing proficiency class is actually it’s supposed to give the person experience writing in their field. They’ve got English 101 which is sort of basic communication and this writing course is writing as an accountant or writing as a mathematician. I try to give them a scenario of writing reports for someone.

Certainly for non-native-English-speakers it’s a challenge too to be able to communicate clearly, and I think [it would help] if there were a mechanism to discourage people from leaving it until the end. They know why people do it. We have people who leave the mathematical classes until the end because people will always leave until the end the thing that scares them the most. Those skills you develop two years before, they might not be there when you need them and it could jeopardize your graduation, and it puts people in a really uncomfortable position—I don’t react well necessarily to feeling that someone is putting kind of a blackmail on you, you know: “My whole career’s going to fall apart if you don’t just kind of let me slide by in this.” Again, you have to pass those classes with a C; I mean, you don’t have to get an A in those classes. Some people don’t write at an A level and that’s true regardless of their native language.

Mendelson discusses how he has the expectation of a certain level of English proficiency among students in his classes. He feels it's important to teach students as individuals, which is more easily done in smaller classes.

Mendelson: Just as long as you have this very basic level of ability in English--if you don't have that level, you couldn't participate in any class very effectively. I think students know that and everyone knows that and [there are] entrance exams to get into university—they seem to be working for me, basically. I've never seen a problem in that regard at all.

There is, I think, a bottom line where you have to have a certain basic ability to understand in the language or you're just not going to make it in the classroom no matter if the professor is empathetic and receptive, and I think that's why it is good we have programs like English as a Second Language, for students who need to improve their English, and there's probably a need to have a minimal proficiency in English for students to come into classes because there's only so much a professor can do with students who are not speakers of English. They have to at least be able to follow a basic conversation. I've never had one who could not do that. I've always had students who, if they had trouble with English, it's because they don't know all the words or they are a little bit slow sometimes at picking up the train of thought because of English being processed more slowly.

Things get more individualized as you get into the higher levels in general, so the native speaker ability from this or that language would become a factor in how I would connect with the student. But the basic pedagogical principles are not that different from student to student to student. I find the pathway for them learning new things is based on the old things they know, and when I'm in an upper division class I'm more aware of the differing types of old things that students already know and I can work from there. If I have a class of 150 freshman, it's really hard to do that. It's a lecture class, and everyone is taught the same way. But you have all these resources and that means that students can use these resources a little bit differently depending on their needs. Individual styles are more important than native and non-native proficiency in the language.

Neale explains that expectations in the use of the language have to be different for non-native English speaking students. She feels that in the work world it is more and more common for native English speakers interact with non-native speakers. She also expresses concerns that language minority students feel comfortable in the community, and worries that they may not be.

Neale: I'm always concerned that students are both challenged by the language used in the classroom but not so challenged that they feel lost and disconnected from the subject. It seems to me that the subject should come first and they should be paying attention to the subject and learning with the language only spurring them on. I do allow students to use a dictionary [in exams] if English is their second language.

I think that it is just expected of anyone in the business world or in the academic world that not everyone is the same, and I think in the business world as well if someone has an accent or if their language is perhaps not standard American but it is grammatically correct, it isn't a question of not being able to understand the meaning, but just perhaps struck by an idiosyncrasy in the pronunciation or the words that are used. That should not keep someone from paying attention to the non-native-speaker. That's my opinion.

It worries me when I have ESL students in the classroom, I sometimes am worried for them in [this city]. You know, because I don't get to know them too well. I hope that they're happy. I hope that they have good experiences, not just on campus but in the community as well. I would like to know that they feel comfortable, and I would like them to feel that the instructors on this campus are welcoming, and that the instructors' expectations are legitimate and the community's expectations are welcome. This is my own personal pedagogy, but all students should have a chance to fail, and they all should have a chance to say whatever they want to say and improve or change their mind or express themselves in ways that are valued. Even if the instructor has to pay a lot of attention or if the instructor has to go out of their way from what the instructor is used to.

I can't imagine that anyone would expect a student who came from another country who didn't have English as a first language and came to [this university] would be expected to be the same in every way as if they were a standard American student from a privileged upper-middle-class background as are the majority of students here. I would just be ashamed.

When asked about how she feels the university is preparing students for the working world after graduating from the university, Neale responded:

We have standards and if they meet the standards for graduation, then it's really not my job to worry about what happens to them in ten years, or to assume that they're not going to continue to grow and improve.

Broderick discusses how he sometimes has problems with the English language proficiency of students in his classes, particularly in graduate school, and questions their preparedness for work in the university. He was asked if he sometimes sees work from his students that crosses a line past which he cannot go.

Broderick: I don't think there is. I mean, that's part of what you pay me to do, is to make those kinds of decisions. When I'm reading an answer I'm looking for certain keys, and if the person has said the things that I'm looking for, then I pretty well conclude they know what they're doing. If the student understands the material then they will have made the points that I'm looking for. How they make the points is not as critical as whether or not they've seen the things they're supposed to see and identified them.

The most common problem [with language proficiency] that I've seen are people who are from Asia, and they're the people who show up in my classes the most often. I've seen the spectrum. [I] have seen Asian students who are very careful and work really hard and they seem to overcome this. And others who don't. But it's the most common conflict that I get; that's where the most common encounter with people for whom English is not their first language, is people who are Asian. I'm not sure that we do a very good job of checking their English language skills when they come. There's a TOEFL test, I'm not sure how good a filter that is, because I've seen students,

particularly who come as graduate students, whose English facility isn't very good in spite of the fact that they passed that test. I have some questions about that test.

Browne sees language proficiency as another variable in his interactions with students.

Browne: I don't think twice about when I get a student who has challenges, whether physical—I've had students who are wheelchair-confined and it's easy to teach a class where we do stuff on the floor—and I say, "Well, we'll just find a way to include you and make you go through something that will be similar." So I just sort of rise to the challenge each time.

Rowe discusses how expectations of students must remain high, but that it is incumbent on professors and the university to provide supports so that students can meet these expectations.

Rowe: I found that from the beginning of my teaching that there were teachers who lowered their expectations of poor kids, ethnic minority kids in that way, weren't serving, in fact, it was racist and it didn't serve those kids for their future to have the expectation lowered for them. In trying to struggle with that and find a way to put words on that dynamic that goes on, I think I've read that one plan about providing students with the proper mix of challenge and support. You challenge students but you provide them the means to succeed within the context of that challenge. You don't lower the bar of expectation for a student's ultimate performance, but that means a different pathway for each student in a way. The mechanisms that you use to help a student become skilled or competent or learn what they need to learn can be different from student to student.

I know a student that did have that issue, and it was not about English as a second language, it dealt with learning disabilities. My son, he's as European as one can get in terms of his heritage, and he was a landscape architecture major. He did wonderful drawings and renderings, but his explanations on these huge boards that they work on, there were a lot of misspellings.

I think that idea of not lowering the bar for students—it might be because of English as a second language, it might be because of learning disability, it might be because they come from a socioeconomic class and they've never had any experience in another social class. Yet every student in that class probably has barriers of some kind to being as powerful and effective as they can be, so identifying those [is important]. And then it's important to share with a student, for instance with my son, when a landscape architecture faculty said, "Your spelling and the errors on your workboards aren't going to make it professionally."

But you don't leave it there, in other words to lower the bar and say it's okay, he's dyslexic, we won't expect him to—it won't serve him professionally. But at the same time once you've pointed that out, you sit down and strategize with people about whatever their barrier is. Ways to compensate for that, to rise to the level that they need to be at professionally. It's incumbent upon the teacher to provide both the honest feedback and the support. I think that faculty who say, "I teach subject 'A' and I'm not a remedial teacher," and make it incumbent completely upon the student to get the resources they need is. . . I would like to take that faculty member and drop them down in another part of the world and see how they do, how they function. And maybe they'd become a little more empathetic toward the support side.

Jackson believes that achievement and student self-esteem are joined, and considers that his job is both to challenge and to support students. He points out that it is not only linguistic minority students who have trouble with the English language, but he acknowledges that students who are becoming more fluent in English sometimes need to have a test question clarified for them.

Jackson: I've found that the few students we have had who speak English and use English as a second language, some of them have been more proficient in their English compared to students whose native language is English. I think part of that speaks to the dedication and diligence that they commit, and also maybe some of the resources in order for them to be successful in an American university they have to be able to achieve some level of mastery and it's interesting that I have seen that with a few students. So we're

dealing with language proficiency all the time because I've found that in general, including students whose first language is English, proficiency is standard at best. One of the glaring weaknesses in our schools is being able to use the language with proficiency.

I expect them to perform at levels that are commensurate with the requirements of the material and the expectations of what you would have of students at this level. Within that though, supports are built in to enable them to achieve at what I think is a very reasonable level. I don't think I have draconian standards by any means, and my bar is not on the floor either. I think that that is a very simple, almost common-sense principle of achievement and self-esteem, is being able to accomplish tasks that require the use of our capacities in such a way that we can see growth in ourselves.

The context we happen to use at the university is Standard English. I will offer [non-native English-speaking students] more feedback in terms of some of the basics of syntax and grammatical structure. And with a paper, having them come in and go over it and asking them, "Do you understand?" Also asking—and this applies to all of my students, again I don't think I have a special set of rules for students who use English as a second language, it's just that they have some different circumstances that I apply some basic principles of support to—is there anything in the exam question or anything in the instructions that you find confusing? I'll rephrase and clarify.

Jackson refers to a requirement he has that his students give oral presentations because in their field they will be required to do that frequently.

Jackson: They're being asked to verbally profess and stand, and that's tough. That's why I do the exam is because they're going to have to stand in front of doctors and nurses and administrators one day, so it's not going to be, "What's the multiple choice question, here?" You're going to have to stand and deliver. So I have to work with most of them to help. It was Socrates who described himself as a midwife to help deliver the ideas, you know, verbally. And part of it is to assess them on their oral command of the concepts and of problem solving. But also I use it to help build their confidence that they can orally attest to what it is that they do, why it's important, and be able to deal with issues and problems. It's not unusual for me, not only to be the questioner but the person who helps to facilitate, and all that does is open up to them being able to deliver what they've

prepared for. And I haven't seen a marked difference between students in terms of their mastery of English.

I see my work fundamentally having two pieces to it. One is to challenge them. Because I don't think you grow without being challenged. And the second one is to support them in order to do that. Whether it's using English as a second language, if it's a learning disability, whether it is single-parent mother, or whether it's a student who... I had a student who came to see me the other day and had been on athletic scholarship. All school had been to him was just to keep his athletic scholarship, but now he wants to get serious about his life, at 30, and there are some real deficits there. So the conversation is, okay, how do we make up, quickly, for this, because you're going to have to have a foundation in which to be able to be successful with this work. Again, it's the matter of support. We're not going to remove the challenge; there are no free passes here. But we can provide you with supports. Then the other side of it I have just found to be awareness of the resources and then a good dose of common sense.

You know, students who come from blue collar backgrounds, which we don't get much, here at this university, sometimes have struggles themselves with the language. And that's always culturally sensitive too because in a fashion it's no different than Ebonics, that it's a, I dislike the word 'subculture,' but it's used that way. What I want is to make students effective and multicultural. The fact of the matter is, one day if they have to go into a boardroom, or if they go into a counsel room, or go into a meeting with parents, I want them to be able to use the language that's going to be most effective in communicating to achieve the objectives of that setting. So, without discounting, because I grew up in Middle Atlantic States and I still say "y'all" and I can drop back into an "ain't" and some of the Southern colloquialisms I grew up around in a second. In fact, when I'm back there, that's just the way we talk. It works. I also remind them that, in an environment like this, this is how the rules were created. They may change tomorrow. But to be the most effective in writing and orally in an academic setting, and also a lot of the settings that academia feeds, this is what we need to learn.

Jameson's expectation for students is that they become more confident and fluent. He talks to them about how errors in language may be perceived as less egregious in the business world than in the university. He discusses the relationship with them of error

and power in society. Jameson thinks that what an individual professor can accomplish is limited by the quarter system.

Jameson: I'm introducing students to a college community; modes of thought that are different from the thoughts that they had. I'll give you a perfect example. On the first day of class I usually get a writing sample from my students. Most students would write a page, maybe a page. When they would turn in their first papers to me, it was supposed to be a paper, a paper that's three or four pages. I would get a page and a half. By the end, I would try to get students producing four to six pages as an essay, and most of them could do it. I mean, they'd become so fluent because we write around 30- to 40-thousand words a term.

There's wonderful research done by Maxine Hairston back in the '80s in which she did all this research on how the business world perceives error. It was a little different from how[university] professors perceive error, or at least the level of egregiousness was somehow diminished. And so, who's going to perceive that error? What are they going to do? I do tell students that ultimately that they have to know the power differential here too, and how people can use it. We talk very honestly about error and what that means in our culture. Then my course ends. Now it's somebody else's time to take them somewhere. I've had them ten weeks. That's all I can do in ten weeks: get them asking questions, feeling confident, being more fluent, and now beginning to take control of the shape of the language for their audiences.

Warren feels it's part of his expectation for students graduating in his discipline to gain confidence in their ability to write and speak professionally. They have experience working with companies while still in college, and they are told the work they submit to the company reflects on the university.

Warren: Sure, a foreign student from China or Japan or Korea is always going to have probably a little bit of an accent. But if they want to work in the world of business either within the United States or use that English skill back in their native country, I think they've got to have the confidence in the language and the ability to write and give presentations. I mean, so many of my American students find they do so many

presentations when they graduate, and they're so glad they did that here so they could work out some of their fear. I think part of what we teach our students is not only the language of business but the professional manners and behavior of business which means being able to network, write a good report, be effective in a presentation.

Farmer: So when you get the students' first draft of their writing, you're marking it to show them, this is what you need to work on.

Warren: This is what you need to work on, thought you had a great paper with good ideas, but you need to revise this. Many of the reports that my students write do go back to the company with whom they work. I'd say the majority of my students are working with a company and so their report is reporting back to me an analysis they did at the company. I always say, one, you have to provide me with a thank you letter that you wrote to the company; two, invite the contact person to come to your final presentation; and of course, three, send a copy of your final report to the company. I would say, "You represent the university as well as yourselves, and this can go into your portfolio. You can go out for a job and you can say, 'I worked in a team and we produced this.'" So I say, "You want to make sure it's high quality." And I would say that should be true for any student.

Summary

Professors' expectations vary for what they require from students when they come into the class and what their skills should be like as they develop through the class and as they leave. Some professors accept that Standard English is the language of the university and believe that students need to be reasonably competent in the language in order to receive a degree from the university, much as they have to prove competence in other areas such as math. Even with the most receptive teacher, says one professor, students must have a basic proficiency in the English language. Some teachers feel this competence is exhibited at this university, but others are not so sure. Professors identified the combination of making course material challenging for students but not so

overwhelming that they get lost, and further, pointed out that it is incumbent upon the teacher to make sure that students know how to avail themselves of the support that is available. Some professors feel students need to demonstrate competence in writing and speaking skills for the future when they become professionals in their fields. Other professors assume that students will continue to grow, and that those who don't have English as a first language shouldn't be expected to "be the same in every way as if they were a standard American student from a privileged upper-middle-class background, as are the majority of students here (Neale)"

Eastham	Feels that expectations of students with less proficiency in English should be similar to those of students who have weak math skills. Those students are going to have to do more work to bring their skills up, and the onus is going to be on both the instructor and on the student to do that extra work.	
Mendelson	Feels there must be a basic English proficiency for a student to be able to function in university classes, even if the professor is receptive, but has not had any problems with basic proficiency in this university. The basic pedagogical principles are not that different from student to student.	
Neale	Wants students to be challenged by course material, "but not so challenged that they feel lost and disconnected from the subject." Believes professors should not expect a student coming from another country who didn't have English as a first language would be expected to be the same in every way as if they were a "standard American student from a privileged upper-middle-class background, as are the majority of students here."	
Broderick	Feels it is more important that students in their work identify key points of the subject matter. "How they make the points is not as critical as whether or not they've seen the things they're supposed to see and identified them." Feels that some students, especially Asian students at the graduate level, are sometimes not adequately prepared in their English.	
5. Professors' expectations	Browne	It is common to have students in his classes who have challenges. "Well, we'll just find a way to include you and make you go through something that will be similar."
Rowe	Believes the bar of expectation should not be lowered for a student's ultimate performance, but that means a different pathway for each student. The mechanisms that professors use to help a student become skilled or competent or learn what they need to learn can be different from student to student. "And maybe they'd become a little more empathetic toward the support side."	
Jackson	Requires oral presentations from all students so that they will be confident in standing and speaking before peer professionals. "I want them to be able to use the language that's going to be most effective in communicating to achieve the objectives of that setting." "We're not going to remove the challenge: there are no free passes here. But we can provide you with supports."	
Jameson	Talks openly with students about what error means in their writing, how it will be perceived, and what the power differential is. "That's all I can do in ten weeks: get them asking questions, feeling confident, being more fluent, and now beginning to take control of the shape of the language for their audiences."	
Warren	Feels students who are not native speakers need to have confidence in their ability to write and make presentations. Students in class interact with real companies, so their work is a reflection of the university as well as themselves. They should have a strong portfolio and experience working in teams.	

Figure 6. Professors' Expectations

Accommodations

Professors accommodate non-native English speaking students in various ways. Most teachers mentioned allowing students to use their native-language dictionaries during

tests, although there was some concern about programmable electronic dictionaries that could contain more information than basic word definitions. Other accommodations mentioned were allowing extra time for exams, defining student success by ascertaining the student's growth as an individual rather than comparing him or her to the general group, reading drafts of student writing, offering tests in different forms, and presenting material in varied formats,

In testing, Neale said she offers tests in different formats to all struggling students.

Neale: If a student feels that they knew the material and it wasn't reflected on the exam, [I ask them] to please come and see me. And if it's a multiple-choice exam and they feel they don't do well in the multiple-choice exam, I make up an essay exam for those students who want it.

Jackson says he allows all students, not only ESL students, extra time if they need it.

However, before he allows more time, he ascertains their reasons for wanting it. Being tired from partying the night before does not constitute a good reason. But if something serious is happening in their lives, he will accommodate them.

Jackson: I design my exams so that, generally speaking, [they fit] in the standard period that we're allotted, 50 minutes, 100 minutes for a final exam. Over the years I've tried to design exams for the majority of students who've prepared for them, and I can detect persons who have special circumstances like learning disabilities, or obviously persons with English as a second language, and I think more time is warranted in those situations. So much of it is, I think, just about good judgment. And, of course, there are always situations where it is a little bit tougher to discern, but as I tell my students, I'm always open to what case they need to present, though that doesn't mean the answer's always going to be, "Yes." But certainly the challenge of mastering English, lack of words [qualifies].

Fulton spoke at length about his views on accommodation and said he, at times, uses grades as a means of encouraging students. Though he realizes that this may be seen as an unfair practice, he feels the greater educational good that results is his goal. He relates a story here about one particular student.

Fulton: I had a student several years ago. Hmong was his first language. And his grandparents refused to speak English. His parents really were not well educated, so they didn't really care how well he learned English. He just learned English so he'd be able to function in the community and get a job and so on. When he came here, he didn't speak with an accent, but if you listened very closely you could hear it. He also came with all this cultural baggage and here we get back to culture again. And for that reason, and perhaps others—I don't like the label 'ESL' because they're also students from another culture.

He was on [a sports] team and he had a small stipend. I was helping him make his way through school and he studied his brains out. I mean he worked and worked and worked. He had some significant adjustment problems, social adjustment problems that he had to make here and he was dealing with a lot of racism in addition to being the first of his entire extended family to go to college. He struggled. He struggled on his exams, he struggled on the essay portion of his exams. And I intentionally graded him up from where I would have normally put him because I knew he needed the encouragement.

He came with the understanding that he was not going to make it. 'I'm not going to, I'm not good enough, I got in here probably because I play [sports], but I'm really maybe not good enough to graduate from the university.' So he already had that negative stereotype, that bit of self-fulfilling prophesy that 'I'm not good enough.' But I purposely graded him up.

One day he came in, there were many other incidences that occurred with him on campus where he'd been in fights and then sought me out, but anyway he came up, he says, 'You know I've taken a look at this, and I didn't think I did that well.'

I said, 'Well let's talk about it. Let's put your paper aside. So what was the first question?'

He told me what the first question was, and I said, 'Let's talk about it.' And so he would. It was clearly a lot different than what he had written. Much more accurate. Went to the

second one, went to the third one, the fourth one. Said—'You provide me with a very reasonable explanation, a description, in answer to those questions and somehow or other you're saying that you don't know? That you, that your answers are not worthy?'

He said, 'But what I just said is not necessarily—doesn't really reflect what I've written.'

I said, 'Well, how can we work on that?'

And anyway, to make a long story short— one technique I've used—rarely— is to grade up. For the sole purpose of giving the student the encouragement that they can do this. I don't do that arbitrarily because I know that underneath all of this is a lot of baggage that derives from culture and life experiences. So what happened? He graduated in four years and he's been a member of a police department ever since. Four years, goes right into a career, he's an artist as well and will be retiring from the police force in a number of years and going back to art full time. Did I do the wrong thing? No, I did the right thing.

Farmer: That makes you think about grading, doesn't it?

Fulton: Of course it does. I think about it all the time. "Oh, I got a D. I am dumb...after all. And this college professor just told me I was." That's not really encouraging. And we made them feel just like they want to feel. So yes, the answer to that question is, that's one technique that I use. And I didn't always feel good about it because I know it's unfair. But I'll tell you what, I would do the same for any other student where I had the same sense.

Fulton also says that at the end of the quarter if a student has a very low grade, he will ask the student if that is the grade he or she wants. If it is not, Fulton will give the student an incomplete and negotiate with the student regarding how they will work together to improve certain areas.

Fulton: Yeah I say, "You know, if I give you this grade, is this what you want?"

"No. What do I have to do?"

I say, “You and I have to work together and improve these areas of either knowledge deficiencies or skill deficiencies, and. . . let’s negotiate.” And so I will do that.

On occasion he has also given non-native English speaking students the chance to take tests separately from the class and have as much time as they need.

In response to the question about accommodation, Simmons says she offers students who are not native English speakers the opportunity to take tests in alternative formats, though she acknowledges that they don’t often take her up on her offer.

Simmons: I have often made the offer to students in large lecture sections—where so much of their grade was based on the multiple-choice exams—that if English was not their first language, that I would be willing to consider other forms of testing for them. I leave it up to them. Usually my first recourse is to do an essay exam instead of the multiple-choice. I think [an essay test] is actually easier with the nuances of the language, which is what a lot of a multiple-choice test is all about. And so I’ll say, “Well, I can redraft this and give you an essay exam. If you still don’t feel comfortable, I’ll even consider doing an oral exam. Okay?” I don’t think I’ve ever had a student offer to do that; oral exams just freak them out. But there’s that opportunity.

The bottom line, I think, is that you want students to be successful in their learning, and I don’t want the mode of assessment, if it’s testing or paper-writing or something, to be such a barrier that, you know, the Bat-shields go up and they won’t try or they can’t work. That’s not the objective of what a classroom environment should be; it’s about maximizing somebody’s learning, and they don’t all start in the same place. Whether or not I can write an essay exam that’s reliably the same as the multiple-choice, that’s not really the issue in many ways. It’s raising the bar for that student and getting them to learn, and giving them a grade, I think, that reflects that.

Broderick thinks it would be a helpful accommodation to have someone who could take notes for a language minority student. He thinks that this would be especially helpful in graduate school where non-native speakers have a tough time and sometimes drop out.

Ideally, Broderick thinks this person would be fluent in the same languages as the student, yet since he teaches in a highly technical field, he realizes it probably isn't a practical suggestion.

Broderick: In science, I think it's going to be hard, but if you had somebody who had language difficulties and they had somebody who acted as a scribe, much like the hearing-impaired person, and then they could work on the notes. But it would be really hard to find somebody who could do this in a competent way in a highly technical class. I'm particularly thinking the biggest problem that we've had has been at the graduate level because we're dealing with things in a pretty hot, heavy way.

The way that Warren says he accommodates students is to offer his class materials in various formats. He said that non-native English speaking students have diverse language strengths and he tries to make materials available that meet these strengths. For example, some students read and write well but cannot speak well and do not have very good listening skills, and others may have strong oral skills but a weakness in reading. Therefore, he tries to have things available that they can read before class, listen to during class, read while they are listening, and review after class, though he also admits when he teaches in other countries that his rate of speaking slows way down.

Warren: It depends on the student. I'm always willing to sort of accept the fact that it may be tougher for them. I find a lot of my exams tend to be more problem-solving, so it's more numerical. It's less reading and writing as much as analyzing and solving mathematical problems. I think for a foreign student it's a little easier because they can manipulate the numbers and figure things out rather than having to read a long situation and write an essay in response to that situation which definitely would be more challenging.

Mendelson accommodates linguistic minority students first by realizing that non-native speakers are a bit slow sometimes at picking up the train of thought, often because their English is processed more slowly. He says that any students may use dictionaries, but that native speakers don't need them for his tests. He also makes his class notes available on a website. Since Mendelson is fluent in other languages, he has sometimes told students that they may write in those languages. He says all these things seem to satisfy any problems completely: "I don't think I have students who are getting substantially worse grades because they're non-native speakers." He summarizes this way: "In general in all of my classes I have very clear goals that I want students to reach but multiple ways that they can get to those goals that satisfies the widest number of learning types and abilities, and that means native and non-native students are accommodated pretty well."

Mendelson: Non-native-speakers, of course, are a lot more challenging because you can have all levels of proficiency in basic English from a non-native-speaker, and sometimes I have non-native speakers in the class. I encourage them to let me know if they're having problems following something. What I've done is let some of them use dictionaries or other aids that have nothing to do with the subject that I'm testing on but help them with the basic language medium that the test is in. That has been successful.

Summary

Professors accommodate non-native English speaking students in various ways: allowing students to use their native-language dictionaries, agreeing to more time for exams, permitting rewrites of essays, writing exams in a variety of formats, accepting work in other languages, and realizing that English is sometimes processed more slowly for linguistic minority students. One professor says it is important to make sure the

method of assessment does not prove to be a barrier to learning. Another professor says he tries to have materials available that students can read before class, listen to during class, read while they are listening, and review after class.

Neale	Offers tests in a variety of formats to all students, e.g., allows students to write essays rather than take multiple choice tests.
Jackson	Allows students to have more time for tests or papers if they have good reasons.
Fulton	Sometimes uses grades as a means of encouraging students, especially students who are convinced that they are going to fail because they feel outside the mainstream. Negotiates with students over their grades, working on an individual basis.
Simmons	Offers tests in alternate formats. Thinks that essay writing may be easier for non-native students because multiple choice testing is so often based on nuances of the language. Does not want the method of assessment to be a barrier to learning. "That's not the objective of what a classroom environment should be, it's about maximizing somebody's learning and they don't all start in the same place and so whether or not I can write an essay exam that's reliably the same as the multiple-choice, that's not really the issue in many ways. It's raising the bar for that student and getting them to learn, and giving them a grade that reflects that."
6. Accommodations	
Broderick	Believes it would be helpful for linguistic minority (especially graduate) students to have note takers, similar to those for people who have hearing impairments, though he acknowledges it would be difficult to find people who are bilingual and who could do this.
Warren	Believes that non-native English speaking students have diverse language strengths and he tries to make materials available that meet these strengths. For example, some students read and write well but cannot speak well and do not have very good listening skills, and others may have strong oral skills but a weakness in reading. Therefore, he tries to have things available that they can read before class, listen to during class, read while they are listening, and review after class
Mendelson	Realizes that English may be processed more slowly for non-native speakers. Allows them to use dictionaries, makes class notes available, accepts work in some languages other than English. Makes class goals very clear and provides a number of ways for students to reach those goals.

Figure 7. Accommodations

Culture

When discussing non-native English speakers in the classroom, many professors state that proficiency in the English language is less a classroom issue than is culture. Culture is the nonbiological part of what we are and encompasses, among other things, morals and values, a sense of how to behave, and a sense of right and wrong. Our culture acts as a necessary filter that helps us organize our world view, and our sense of culture is taught to us within the microsystem of our family and the macrosystem of our society, which includes our educational institutions. We are not born with a sense of culture; it is

something we need to be taught. As we are learning our culture, we are also learning our individual place in the culture, and we are being educated in what is appropriate for someone who is “like us” to do.

Eastham feels professors need to know that the cultural values students hold can affect their ability to do well in their classes. He describes a study that shows how the context of a situation can make people more willing to be open to diversity.

Eastham: You also need to be aware about potential cultural issues; it’s not necessarily language issues. Some people from some cultures are more shy about asking questions, more shy about challenging authority. Those aren’t necessarily language issues, *per se*, language or culture—they’re inseparable. You’ve got to be concerned if you’re doing a project that’s taken a debate structure where someone is supposed to take a contrary position or a position that perhaps contradicts the one that we’ve been taking in class. People from cultures where there’s supposed to be more deference to authority might feel less comfortable with doing that, [where there is more emphasis on] harmony, a consensus, on not criticizing, particularly anybody older than they are.

Farmer: So what do you do in that kind of case?

Eastham: We haven’t done that many debates in my classes. On written projects, if it becomes clear, say in a draft or something, that a person is feeling reluctant to take up a contrary position or to disagree, I’ll try to encourage them to do so. Again, this is something I do to everybody, try to make it clear that it’s okay to disagree, that part of what we’re doing in the university is really trying to go from different views of things but then come to some consensus or something approaching consensus in the end. I don’t think it’s really been a big problem, and again, I try to be aware that it could be a problem.

There’s an interesting issue here about whether or not people are more open to international things if the context that they’re dealing with is international. When I was a graduate student, I had a student—she was from Singapore—and her roommate was a business student. I don’t know whether she was a PhD student or whatever in business.

She was actually looking at this question, whether or not having kind of a more international context makes people more open to international things. The way she was doing this, we got invited to participate in an experiment, myself and a few other students. And the experiment was—we sat around in a room, it was a bunch of people from around the university, mainly students, graduate students, and we had a meal. And then after the meal, we discussed, I think it was a situation in a company. The thing we didn't know about this was that there were two kinds of meals. One group of people got a meal that was an international meal, in our case we got this great Singaporean food. Other people got a meal where it was basically more stereotypical North American food. And the question was to see whether or not the people who have a meal that was more international were more global and international and diverse in their discussions when they got to this business case study. I think the answer that came out was “Yes,” that subtle sort of background issue made people more open.

Jackson notes that students with language barriers may also have some cultural barriers that may influence their ability to take advantage of the opportunities that are (or should be) available at the university.

Jackson: And typically [a cultural issue has occurred] with Japanese females who are more reluctant in approaching, I would suspect, a professor to begin with, but especially a male professor. One student who was [shy]—not only in terms of English but also just some other cultural barriers—I can remember placing her in with a group of stronger students, knowing that she would need support. I remember placing her in a group of students that had predominantly females, but also had a male in it, knowing that she'd be more comfortable with the females initially but also allowing her to have experience.

I think, if there is an impediment, I see that as maybe the major impediment is the reluctance to be more assertive and to simply claim the opportunities that I think are built in or should be built into the system. I can remember having a conversation with a couple of our majors who were from Japan about understanding that, respecting it, working with them, wishing for them to acculturate themselves, so they can take advantage of that. But just being cognizant of it.

Browne tells a story of crossing a cultural boundary, and how he dealt with a sensitive situation with a student.

Browne: One day [one of my Japanese students] had a really bad day. He was having an extremely bad day and he was crying, and I said, I went up to him and said, "I'm going to do something that I know is culturally not appropriate for you." And I said, "I'm going to give you a hug." And he took the hug. Which was real nice. He just was devastated by something. I think he appreciated it but was, it was, I could feel him cross over, going, "I know that this is not culturally quite right but, I need it, so...."

It was interesting to me because the emotional expression that a Japanese person traditionally expresses is so different than what we do. It was interesting watching him. He was willing to adapt to it. More than willing to adapt to it. I'm sure that he struggled in ways unknown to us. You know, I respected that very much.

It was interesting for me to have to learn to communicate in different ways. I was thinking about with the Japanese students more cultural understanding [is required]. Psychological space--what the expectations were from him and me together because we do a lot of hands-on kind of stuff in the class. And the other thing is, I said, "I understand this might not be appropriate for Japanese because they're not as demonstrative as we are in Western culture."

Simmons is also aware that students who are not native speakers sometimes need help navigating the university system.

Simmons: Working with those students, you can't assume that they understand the systems the way your native students do. Some of the things that seem quite obvious to people who've been educated through the K-12 system and into college here aren't so obvious to international students. I've had international students, non-native English-speakers in particular, not understand things like what a credit means, not understand how financial aid works, it's just tons of stuff. You just can't assume. You have to ask the questions for them because they don't even know what questions to ask.

Fulton speaks at length about cultural values and particularly the shyness that is sometimes present with students. He shows specific techniques he uses to guide students

in skills they can use to talk to a professor about a grade, for example. He particularly wants students to understand that their cultural backgrounds are valued in the classroom. Central to his approach is his emphasis on connecting with students, both inside and outside the classroom. His approach is reminiscent of Tierney (1992) who suggests that it is the responsibility of the institution to make minority students feel welcome. Once students are accepted into the university, Fulton feels it is incumbent on the university community to engage the students in a positive learning experience.

Fulton: I do work on the shyness aspect, and part of it is, it's not just language, it's their cultural values about status and authority. In many cases the Asian students are, especially very reluctant to say anything openly in class to a college professor for fear of [being] insulting. There's a *value*, so oftentimes the shyness discussion deals with it: it is okay in this classroom to ask a question or to make a point, and that I'm not going to be insulted or in any way offended by what they say. I will often focus on that. Even though language or oral expression is often the problem, there are many other cultural factors that surround this, and shyness is often one of them. Second is deference to authority, and saying anything in class is showing disrespect for an elder or authority person. So I often times get working with the shyness. I'll give you an example. I had a student from the Philippines. She speaks with a slight accent. She's very conscious of it. She was extraordinary deferent. She came to me one day, we visited every day, and I said, "What's going on? You're not very talkative today."

She said, "Well, I have a problem with my professor in chemistry."

And I said, "What is it?"

And she said, "Um, well, we got back our tests the other day, and I missed one problem." And she said, "I knew I got the problem right."

"Do you still think it's right?"

She said, "Yes, but I don't know what to do about it."

So I said, "What would you like to do?"

She said, "Well I'd like to go up and talk to the professor."

"Why don't--?"

“I can’t! I’m afraid. I might not be able to phrase the question right.”

So what will we do? Out came the three by five cards. We wrote it up and I said, “All right, I’m that professor and let’s do some role playing.” So we did. I said, “Now next week in class, go up to the professor at the end of class and say, ‘Is it okay if I come in and talk with you during your office hours?’” Okay.

So she went in and she said, according to the script, “You know, this test,” she said, “I’m sure I got this answer right.” And so she gave the paper to the professor, and the professor looked down and she said, “Uh, what makes you think you got it right?” And [the student] explained, which she had done already role playing. She had rehearsed it, so she went through the calculation procedures, and the professor listened and the professor looked at her and she said, “You’re right. I made a mistake.” And I knew that was going to happen because I know the professor, see. But she didn’t know that I knew that.

Farmer: Had you talked to the professor about that?

Fulton: No, not at all. I just knew. It was a great learning experience for her because it opened her up and she feels much more comfortable now going up to certain professors and not challenging them but asking questions. So that’s sort of a long-winded way of saying how I start off.

Language is contextual; it’s the embodiment of one’s culture and, in many ways, it’s the medium through which one expresses their culture. I think it’s incumbent upon me, and us, to pay attention to culture at large in the individual because they’re coming with a different set of belief systems, a different set of values, a different set of customs and many of the students are embarrassed about and oftentimes feel they’re obliged to put those in a drawer and lock the drawer and quote unquote “become American,” become white, become Anglo, whatever the case may be. I’ve often argued that you are at a distinct *advantage* because of that other cultural value, and therefore you bring another perspective to the classroom.

As I said, this was obliquely related to this question of how you engage the ESL student, the student from another cultural background into the community. How do you get them into conversation with the community, because this is a community. You do that by forming partnerships with them, and that’s my whole approach: to establish a

And I said, "Because you have got a talent and if no one has ever said that to you, I'm astounded."

He said, "No."

He said, "You really think I could become a journalist?"

The point I'm getting at is that no one ever connected with this young man. As a senior. For him to get that far in four years and no one could make that. . . .

So I'm saying we don't have the architecture and I don't think we create the culture here that fosters that connection. I think some departments more so than others do everything that they can to *not* to [forge that connection]. That's how we can influence ESL students is to establish that connection. As partners in learning and in taking the extra effort to help them work through some of their problems that they know they have. It's not a secret.

[Referring to freshmen.] And [it's] new in so many ways. It's the first time they're away from home, separate from their extended families, away from that network, establishing new friends, and for many it's a very lonely experience. About six years ago, a group of us decided to eat lunch together at least once a week in the [dining hall] in one of those rooms that were always available, when it was much more user-friendly. And the purpose was to meet exclusively with Indian and Native American students. There were four or five of us. We would go down there and we would say, "All right. This quarter it's going to be Wednesday at noon. And we're going to. . . whatever." And we'd be there. The word got out, some students would come, and they came slowly. One or two at a time. And we would sit there and we would talk about academics. We would talk about personal and social adjustment. We would talk about life's problems. We would talk about fun things; whatever came up. And we encouraged them to bring a problem that they were experiencing as students with them so we could all discuss it, and it got to the point where that's all we were doing.

That was the purpose. That was the purpose. First of all to create that sort of surrogate family where students felt comfortable talking about problems: problems with a certain professor, problems with non-Indian students and how do you deal with that and so on and so on. There were times when we had 15-20 students there.

We created, as I said, that surrogate family, that community. And the students felt very comfortable coming in, to the point where, "Well next quarter when are we going to do it?" You know? I mean, they started to take charge because they wanted it so

much to happen. And we salvaged a lot of students' experiences here because of that. Which gets me to the point that it was a group of us, not one but a group of us, who set this in motion. And we abided by it, we stuck with it. And then, you know, the [dining hall] was remodeled and that opportunity was just taken away. And students were very upset and they're trying to resurrect it again, I might add.

What do we have to do to this end? Not just in terms of style, but I think in terms of the way we structure our curriculum, the way we structure our experiences for our students. Learning doesn't just take place in the classroom; you know that. It doesn't take place in a library, it takes place all the time. How do we create an atmosphere where that learning is constantly occurring, being stimulated by discussion, by discourse, by challenges? I don't think we do a very good job of that.

For an ESL student, it isn't their responsibility; it's our responsibility because we've admitted them to this institution on the basis of certain TOEFL scores and so forth. We have a responsibility to create an engaging learning environment for them so that they come away feeling like they've been involved in a true educational experience, that they're connected with this community in some way.

Rowe reflects on how important it is to understand the layers of cultural complexity that exist in the classroom, and that negotiating this often requires teachers to leave their comfort zone and be willing to become vulnerable to students. He speaks of his experiences as a teacher and as an administrator, and says the modes of communication among the faculty serve as models and are reflected in students' behavior.

Rowe: So at some point there's an awareness that there is a student or there can be students in class where language is a concern. The more I get involved with it, and the more I think about it, and the more experience I gain, it goes so far beyond that to be a cultural question, and not a language question, language being one element of culture. What I've realized over time is that if I simply respond to a language question, or a problem understanding language, then I'm missing all kinds of other things that are going on and really understanding that that student is perceiving everything that's happening in that classroom differently than I am, or differently than the other students are, and so

there has to be a growing awareness on my part that there are a multitude of cultural pieces in a classroom that I need to prepare for and be attentive to. A good example of that is it probably wouldn't be consistent with culture for a Japanese student to come up and ask a question. So, I've got to be prepared. It's not just knowing that there is a student; it's knowing the cultural context that that student is invested in, imbedded in.

And culturally. . . if you considered Ebonics a language or not, because I taught a lot of Black and Hispanic kids in public school, in California. I can remember going around the group and having the kids introduce themselves, and I remember one time we were going around and a sixth grader, sharing names, said "Chars."

And I said "Excuse me, I didn't quite get your name, what did you say your first name is?"

And he said "Chars."

And I said, "You know I still don't get it. I'm not with you on this."

And the young lady sitting next to him looked at me, and she was also African-American, and she said, "He. Said. His. Name. Is. Charles."

From the very beginning I learned that you have to negotiate, which requires that you leave your comfort zone and your place to move out into their world, the students' world. And that's one place I think I learned to do it, started to think about it. I always say if you're a liberal Democrat you think you're culturally aware, multi-cultural, but that's not really what it is. I work with a very diverse faculty here, and over time there is just this growing awareness that this is a much deeper contextual aspect of teaching and learning than you would ever begin to conceive—that people really do experience the world differently. The other is that in being an administrator, I feel like I've learned over time, and it would probably be true of language too, that much of what I would teach in classes and much of what I would do as an administrator had a very male perspective to it, or were male responses. In order to be a more effective administrator, I've had to learn more about gender-related issues, identities, and responses, and ways of dealing with conflict for example. You have issues of culture, you have issues of socioeconomic class, you have issues of gender, and personal history, and then you eventually look out at a class and see it for what it really is.

Vickie: Sounds like what you're saying too, for a teacher, a lot of it is self-examination, constant self-examination, yourself in relation to . . .

Rowe: Right. If you take any class, its going to wind up having layers of complexity to it. Then if these complexities are interrupting communication and understanding, what is it that starts to bring or bind or create bonds of communication and understanding. So you start to work through those

Farmer: How did you do that with that first class that you said his name was Charles?

Rowe: I said "Thank you for clearing that up for me." I try to use my schema on myself a lot rather than take it away from the persons that I'm interacting with. Even now I'll say I don't hear things, or I'll say, "White people really have a lot to learn about language," or actually, what I did in the beginning was, when working with upper age elementary age students or middle school students, is I listened to the music that the kids listened to and became more skilled at learning the language that they were communicating with.

Farmer: So, if someone did say "Chars" you could hear it.

Rowe: I could hear it. And I could speak it too.

Vickie: Did they enjoy that?

Rowe: I think they respected it. Which is more difficult with a Cambodian student, to speak Cambodian to them. But there are ways that you show that you care about what they're saying and what they're experiencing.

Farmer: As I'm listening though, thinking of the stress that a student who is working with the language has when they are in the university, and they have to write this paper, and the teacher says the language is all bad. Is that stress gone in your department?

Rowe: No. It's stressful. I think what is more typical here is that the stress is shared by both the professor and the student. I think the professor says, how do I more effectively communicate to this student, what I want him to experience or write about, or the

mechanics of something, rather than saying it's totally the student's responsibility. How do I become a better communicator and teacher myself? And they share that.

So you'll find faculty talking to each other a lot, like, "What works for you? What strategies do you use?" Or "This happened to me in class, how do you handle that?" Also, I would like to think if you talked to the faculty, they would agree with this, that we work to create an environment for faculty, a very diverse faculty, to speak about very important things, where they wind up educating each other. For example, when I was here in 1994, there was a huge conflict around the term "white privilege." It just broke people apart. If you came here now and brought up "white privilege," first of all there wouldn't be any debate over it, but second, an example of the depth to which the faculty can communicate with each other without flying out of the room or being angry, that we were talking about our core curriculum revisions and a faculty member of color raised a question, they said "Why do we enter in to every subject through a white window? Through European windows, through Western history. There are other windows." And one of the white faculty said, "Tell me more, tell me what you are talking about here." And this was actually a course that dealt with economics, so they were able to talk about that. Then we were able to talk from a perspective of saying okay, lets find those other windows. We're all responsible, collectively, for helping each other find those windows.

Farmer: It extends to the students

Rowe: It extends all the way around. But if the faculty aren't doing it, why we would expect the students to do it?

Farmer: So you've got to model it to make it work.

Rowe: Absolutely. And the students are very astute about that.

I want to know from the feedback that comes in from students how they're feeling. So the first thing I think that you've got to ask and talk to students and not make assumptions of any kind with them, about how they are feeling. One of the first things I talk about is if you go into another neighborhood and you don't see any representation of yourself in that neighborhood, and you're invisible in that neighborhood, how welcome

are you going to feel? So I begin by looking at the campus environment and seeing how it represents the world to students who come. And then you get into the sort of the mechanics of classroom environment. There are so many facets to that. And I think it ends with multiple levels. Like here you see art from all over the world. How much of it reflects or represents diverse societies? How much of it represents our local indigenous populations? Where are they honored, respected? How much more do we want? We're starting to have more students who are from Latino communities here, how much do they see around them? How are they treated as they walk across campus by everybody who's part of the community, and what kind of food is served? It starts at a macro level and then moves to the micro level, and I think at the lowest or most definitive micro level it's the faculty member who has to have a willingness to be vulnerable to students.

That's repeated over and over again as you meet new students, [for example] in how to pronounce names. Part of that vulnerability at the college level is not pretending that you understood that name, and saying, "I don't understand what you just said, could you repeat it for me again?" The balance there, when the student feels like they have to repeat everything 20 times and everybody is looking at them, then you're doing a violent thing, but at the same time its also okay to say, "I didn't understand."

There is an African student here who just graduated. So this student came to graduation and I know his name is Mudavadi. Cinque Mudavadi. But that's a short name, and he had a third name from his culture and at this point I can't recall the order of his names but he had Americanized his name for the benefit of the people here, but when it came to graduation, you're up there pronouncing names and the student hands you the card. Cinque walked up and he handed me his card and smiled at me, and I looked at the card, and there was a third name. I had practiced Mudavadi, Cinque Mudavadi, but not only was there a longer, third name, but they were in a different order. I just looked at it and said it and just almost by accident got it correctly.

Later he comes in and we talk, and he bought a video of graduation, and he said his children loved to watch him walk across the stage and give me the card, and we look at each other, and smile, and like he's waiting to see what I'm going to do, and then when his name is pronounced correctly they applaud and cheer and they are so proud of their father. That's what's invested in a name. And at least if you are graduating from college your name should be pronounced correctly.

Summary

When discussing non-native English speakers in the classroom, many professors state that language proficiency should be viewed as inextricable from culture. Culture needs to be addressed in designing a course and in communicating with students. Professors should not assume that students with differing language/cultural backgrounds understand how the university system works—professors should always ask questions and be willing themselves to be vulnerable to students. Students who are arriving at the university with different values, beliefs, and customs should not feel obligated to shut away those things about themselves while they are at the university. Instead, it is the responsibility of the university to make them aware of the value of their unique contributions. Professors need to attend to the fact that not all students are perceiving things in the same way and that in addition to culture, there are socioeconomic class, gender, and personal history to attend to, “and then,” as Rowe says, “you eventually look out at a class and see it for what it really is.” The campus environment—the art, the architecture, the food served—should represent diverse societies in order to welcome, to honor, and to respect them.

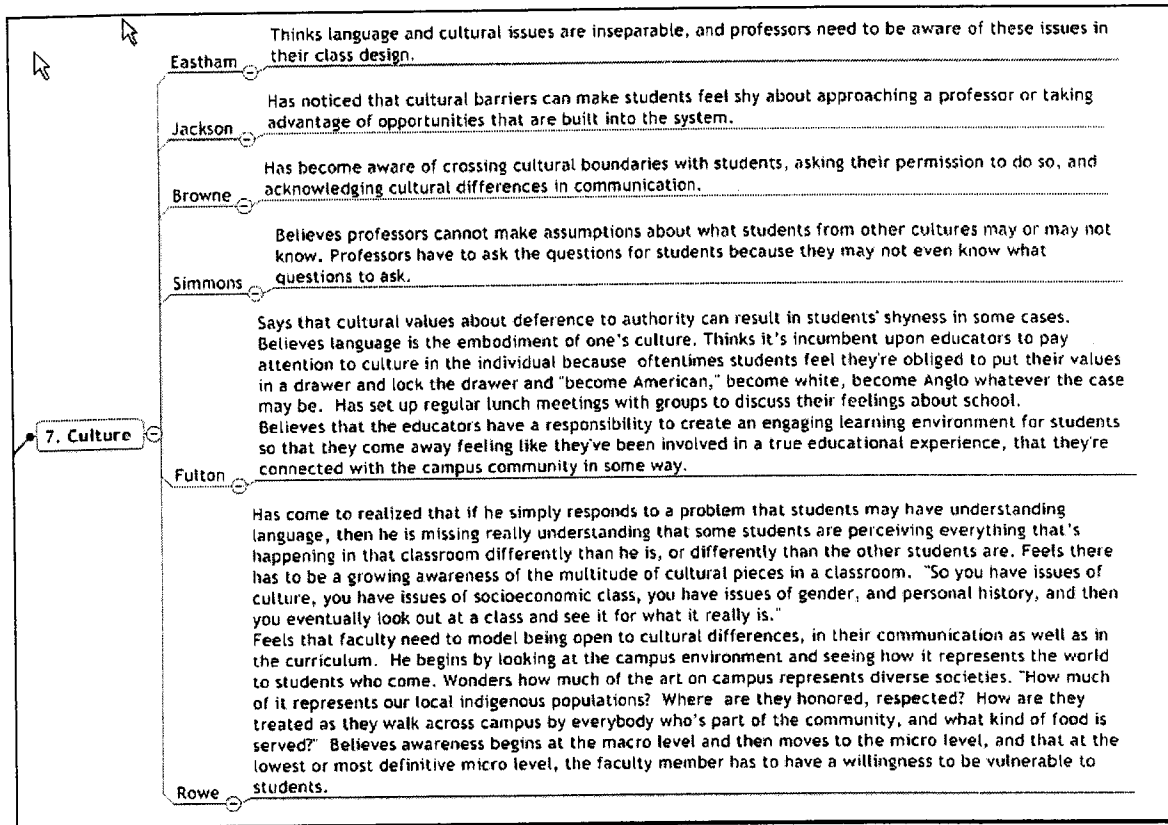


Figure 8. Culture

Benefits of Having a Linguistically Diverse Classroom

The eight areas covered in this Results section up to this point represent what professors and administrators can do to assist language minority students to succeed in the university. This last section focuses on what benefits the professor and the university receive from these students. While some professors in this case study admitted that having students who are not native English speakers created extra work for them, no one said that the workload had ever been unduly burdensome. Professors, without being asked, generally volunteered that there are benefits in having a language-diverse class. Sometimes the benefit was to the particular professor. Browne noted: "It was interesting for me to have to learn to communicate in different ways." Eastham feels that mainstream

university students need more exposure to other cultures, and having a language-diverse class provided critical benefits. He is concerned that with enrollment pressures, State policies might limit the opportunities for students from other countries to study here.

Eastham: Students whose first language isn't English aren't necessarily foreign students. I mean, they can be people from here, but often they do go together, people being from outside of the United States or from somewhere else in the United States and not speaking English as their first language. I do think that one of the things that our students here need to be exposed to more, to be honest, is people from other countries and other cultures because we are somewhat more provincial because we don't have as many people from other places. So I think we have to get a little more out of the people we do have from other places. Again, that's one reason why I am quite happy to have students from elsewhere in the class. When I was [working in a bank] most of the people I was interacting with there were from other places, and so I think our students aren't well served because they're not exposed to that.

A student was here this morning. He and another student, a Russian MBA student, were telling me they went back and they took two students from here back with them. I mean, what an incredible opportunity, to get to go back see these people are starting up businesses in Russia, and the experience they got in international businesses was just incredible. So I think it really does them good, and it enriches our program so much having people from all over. That's why it worries me sometimes when we focus too much on just how many students State residents [are willing] to put through [this university] We might squeeze out some of these students. I think some of the Russian students now have been here long enough they count as state residents, but we hate to think you'd lose that kind of experience, that opportunity for our own students.

Broderick comments on how Americans are generally monolingual, and that lack of exposure to other languages and cultures is problematic.

Broderick: I wish Americans learned other languages. I think it's a terrible thing that we don't. We don't go to other countries enough and we don't understand other languages and other cultures. It gets us into big trouble.

Jameson explains that with globalization and the internet, it is important for students to become aware of cultural nuances in their work, using the example of creating websites that show sensitivity to cross-cultural perceptions. Having students from other cultures in the classroom can reveal diverse perspectives.

Jameson: One of the things we're becoming more and more concerned about is globalization in technical writing. That means that as you enter a global economy, what you may have considered as humor here is not going to work somewhere else, and what does that mean? So we're learning to write in different ways and think about other cultures and colors. What might a color mean if you're going to use this color in your website, how might that be offensive? How might it be insignificant, or overly significant by that culture's values? You need to think about these things.

Warren feels that the university needs to admit more students from outside the United States.

Warren: I guess probably one of the things I wish we had more of here at [this university] is more foreign students in our classes. It doesn't seem like we have as many as our number, and maybe we do, it's just now I'm teaching 400-level I see fewer of them.

I guess with my own experiences overseas I feel Americans have a very myopic view of the world. Maybe it is particularly the Northwest because we live in such a nice area and all the students say, "Well this is one of the best areas of the country and everybody tells me that so why should I go anywhere else?" And it just seems that when you've been overseas and you interact with students like in China who know so much about America and then you come here and hardly any American knows anything about China. I think we really need to develop a global mentality, and I think a lot of our students don't have it here because they don't have exposure to foreign students. They

don't really get that interaction on a personal level which broadens their perspectives of the world and allows them to grow as people too.

Neale, Mendelson, Jackson, and Simmons have witnessed positive interactions among students that contribute to their personal enrichment and to their educations.

Neale: Yes, I think students love linguistic minority students. I think they love to meet students from other cultures, and they love to work with them and talk with them. I think they'd like to do more. I think they'd like to go places together and hang out. I think they'd like more interaction.

Usually the non-native-speakers are so well integrated into the class that there's no need to distinguish [among them]. If anything, I ask for feedback and I will ask for perspectives from other cultures. It's so welcome.

Mendelson: They would seek those other [non-native English speaking] students out as a font of new information that they couldn't get from another native speaker of English. It's actually an asset. I've seen that happen *regularly*. Sometimes they help me with the language. They help bring examples and something in their native speaker proficiency in the classroom to prove a point, so it's a good resource to have in [my] classes. I never look at it as a negative. Even in, say, a history class or something, it's just interesting to have more of a variety of students.

Jackson: There is this student from Bulgaria, and the most interesting thing about her is, first of all, her English is better than most of the native speaking students. She's quite bright, she works hard, is quite articulate. And she still struggles for some of the--there's just the mapping in the head that goes on with anybody because of the cultural differences, linguistic differences. But, she takes them to task all the time for their cultural imperialism and capitalism, which is just great, real great, talk. Takes me to task all the time for that.

We had a couple of students years ago from France, and the students were just, it was just remarkable, I mean it was really touching. I'm sure students would be able to describe far more of what they talked about. Not only in the classroom, but probably in

the bar rooms, and the restaurants, and because they really spent a lot of time with each other outside of class. But we would talk about the cultural differences between France and the U.S. You know, for instance, in the difference between the work ethic between the two countries. The French, they feel they work for the sake of leisure, rather than in America we feel we need a little bit of leisure to refresh so we can go back to our work. In France, they're ready to revolt if their thirty-five hour work week or if their vacation time of a minimum of a month is threatened. I can remember both of them very puzzled, bewildered, bemused by American work habits. Like, "What is up with you all? What's the point of all this?"

That was good, too. Most of the students said, "Hey, you're right. What is up with all this? What is up with this obsession with work?" I can remember the students from Japan would talk about—you know, the only country that has a work ethic that exceeds ours pathologically is Japan. And I remember one of the students' main aims was, in fact, to go back to Japan and work with the Japanese to deal with the problem of overwork there, where they actually have a word, *karoshi*, which is death by overwork, and is considered to be a serious social problem there. That's been invaluable in our program, having the cultural comparisons.

Simmons: I think that having students, international students, whose language may be not quite up to par, the benefits far outweigh the costs.

The benefits are tremendous because what I've watched in the classroom environment where there are students who've had experiences in—and it doesn't even have to be international, even non-native-English-speakers in America who bring a kind of richness and a vitality, a different set of lived experiences into those classrooms. Oh boy we need that desperately here at [this university]. They can bring to a classroom setting [a way of] talking through issues, providing different insights, seeing things in the context of what they're learning in ways that perhaps the more mainstream students don't see. It's really good for the other students. Really good. And it gives the other students things that I can't provide as a teacher. And it makes the kind of peer-to-peer learning much, much richer and much deeper. I love to hear the kind of dialogue and debate.

We had a student who wasn't actually in my class but this was a girl who used to ride with me. This was a girl from Ukraine who was going to school here taking political

science classes. All the way on the commute here she would be telling us about what she and her peers were talking about in these political science classes around things like potential stuff around war in Iraq. One debate that she got into with her peers—and the professor—had to do with the role of the UN. She had really worked hard to try to put together a very articulate argument about how she felt about the UN as a student from a former Soviet country. You know, a perspective that those students wouldn't ordinarily get. So she was sort of practicing; every day she would practice her disagreements and her arguments and her perspectives with us in the car. And sometimes we would play devil's advocate to kind of get her to think about how the other students might see what she had to say. I learned a lot just in those conversations with her in the car, and I can imagine in the classroom what she brought into those political science classes—what better place to have conversations in that international perspective? So, I've always loved having students in classrooms who come in with a different set of lived experiences. This is a place that's about seeking out difference and learning from it and dialoguing about it. It's a rare place that you get to do this in. So the more we can support students who are not necessarily proficient in the language, the richer we are as a campus community.

Summary

Regarding the benefits of having students in the classroom whose first language isn't English, many professors agreed that Americans in general and students in their university in particular need more exposure to the people and ideas of other cultures. This exposure benefits students by broadening their perspectives, and often augments material relating to the particular discipline. Both students and professors may learn firsthand, for example, that colors they use in their websites can have unexpected connotations when viewed in a global context, or that politically how Americans are viewed abroad may not be the same as they see themselves. Professors also welcome the

chance to communicate in new ways. There was general consensus that a language-diverse campus enriches the university community.

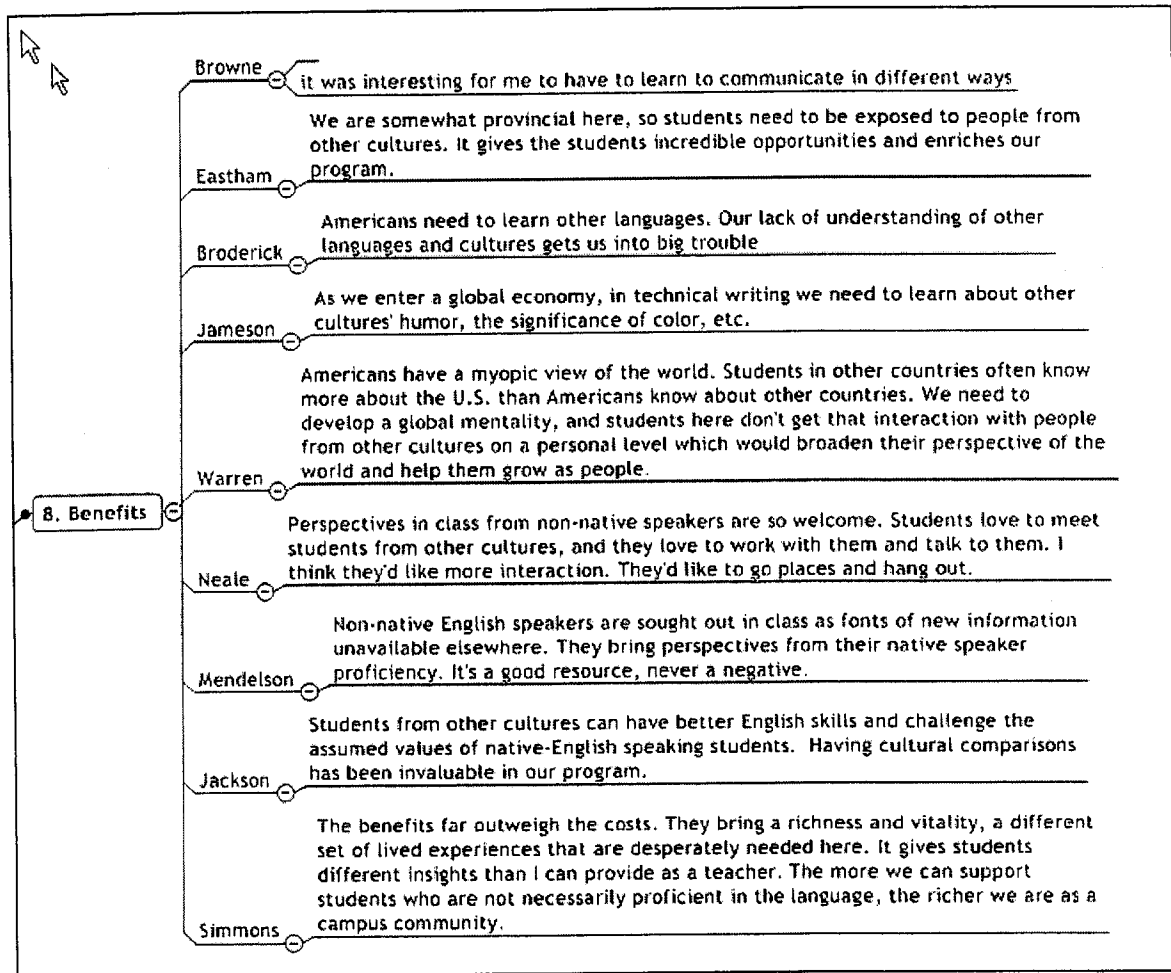


Figure 9. Benefits

Chapter V: Discussion

There is a “magic door” theory of language acquisition. This theory posits that in childhood there is an open door that leads to the part of the human brain that acquires language. After a certain age, usually around puberty, the door closes, and learning a new language becomes much more difficult. Given the fact that children who have passed a certain age with no exposure to language will never become competent in any language, there is probably a biological basis to language acquisition, but that does not tell the whole story because adolescents and adults do learn additional languages. When students with first languages other than English who acquired English at an older age go into a university class, despite years of work on their acquired language, they experience a certain amount of vulnerability over language obstacles they may face such as miscomprehension, incorrect word choices, and mispronunciation. Furthermore, immigrant students who have learned English at a young age, yet who come from a home where the family speaks a language other than English, may still face language and cultural issues having to do with minority status even though their English sounds unaccented. Therefore, in order to succeed best in the university environment, language minority students need to trust that the experience of education will not prove humiliating to them. The professors interviewed for this study seem to realize this:

When the pupil’s confidence has been won, his resistance against being educated gives way to a singular happening: he accepts the educator as a person. He feels he may trust this man, that this man is not making a business out of him, but is

taking part in his life, accepting him before desiring to influence him. (Buber, 1947, p.106)

These distinguished professors have described the many ways they undertake to make linguistic minority students feel comfortable, such as acknowledging the benefits of having them in the class, learning how to pronounce their names correctly, learning about their backgrounds, and while not expecting them to be all-knowing ambassadors of their cultures, acknowledging that they may contribute a refreshing perspective. Some professors also emphasized the importance of relating to students outside of the classroom, of sharing lunch or having problem-solving sessions. Professors need to experience some amount of vulnerability as well, since they themselves may mispronounce names or commit social gaffes when discussing culture. Professors may also feel vulnerable when they make themselves available to students outside of class, perhaps worrying that more will be asked of them than they can give. In her book *Respect*, Sarah Lawrence-Lightfoot (1999) interviews Harvard Law professor David Wilkins, and talks to him about his relationships with students. In his final commentary on his own teaching, Wilkins says, “You can’t show respect for someone else unless you are prepared to make yourself vulnerable. You can’t give respect unless you have the courage to say what you need from the other person” (cited in Lawrence-Lightfoot, p. 194). The discussion between Lightfoot and Wilkins is about the professor’s ability to draw the line separating giving and giving too much, between “intimacy and distance” (p. 193). As Rowe in this research says, “And so from the very beginning I learned that you have to negotiate, which requires that you leave your comfort zone and your place to

move out into their world, the student's world." Particularly in the linguistically diverse classroom, both students and teachers have to place themselves in worlds in which they may feel socially awkward. The alternative to this vulnerability is not taking risks: for teachers to maintain their traditional distances from knowing students as individuals, for students to remain silent.

One situation that often occurs in college classroom discussions, especially in small groups, is that many native English speakers talk at a fast rate, use slang, and hurry to get to the point. The student who takes a little longer to process English can be ignored and feel isolated in these circumstances. The native-speaking students are probably not aware of how to involve the non-native English speaking students, and in fact may wonder why they don't get involved. The students themselves probably wish very much to be involved, but either can't follow the rapid discussion or, even with fairly advanced language skills, don't have the ability to interject smoothly into a fast-paced and perhaps aggressive conversation. Students take their cues from their professors. This is an awareness that became obvious among these distinguished professors repeatedly: they were always cognizant of the messages they were sending to the majority students in the classroom. This is why Simmons made sure that students worked together in groups that she carefully selected to be heterogeneous without leaving cultural and language minority students isolated. This is why Mendelson placed students who loved to teach with students who needed assistance with their English, and why Jackson placed a shy Japanese female student into a group with other females and only one male so that she would feel more comfortable and yet still learn to interact with a male student. If teachers

have not modeled how to interact, the native students may be learning it is acceptable to marginalize and make invisible this student, and the non-native speaker is left that much more discouraged.

Another important theme that can be extracted from the interviews is the idea of maintaining standards while providing support. Earlier in this research, Gray, Rolph, & Melamid say that institutions have three basic options regarding opening access to formerly under-represented groups: admit students and then dismiss them if they fail to meet certain standards; provide support to them through tutoring, summer programs, learning centers, and remedial classes; or decide that changing standards does not necessarily mean lowering them. Professors in this study weigh in heavily on the support option. They use technology to make information more accessible; they utilize majority students to work with language minority students in teams and through cohort programs; they allow rewrites of essays, sometimes working themselves with students on their papers and sometimes directing students to campus tutorial centers; they offer tests in a variety of formats; they allow dictionaries and more time in exams. As Jackson says to his students, “We’re not going to remove the challenge; there are no free passes here. But we can provide you with supports.”

Professors consistently mentioned “fairness,” meaning that they did not want to give more to one group to the detriment of another group. Eastham spoke of how *all* students need to write more in their classes, *all* students should learn to participate in discussions, *all* students would benefit from having lecture materials available in a variety of formats. Even when Fulton explained how he raised the grade of a student who held the belief that

he would never succeed in school, Fulton added that he would do the same for any student he talked to who was in the same situation.

At the same time, these professors agreed that teaching students who are struggling with English takes more of their time. Both Eastham and Rowe say that when a student's skills need more work in a certain area, it is incumbent on both the student and the teacher to do the extra work necessary to raise those skill levels. Simmons says that having linguistic minority students in her class takes extra effort but that "the benefits far outweigh the costs." And Jameson says, "And that's why teaching is so hard and so much fun and just wears me out." Having lunch with students and role-playing interactions with them, as Fulton describes, also takes time. Kouritzin is cited earlier in this research as saying that learning a second language can take anywhere from two to ten years, yet learning subtleties of a language and a culture can take much longer. Gaining fluency is an ongoing process, and the professors in this study seem to realize that they are all teachers of language and culture.

Professors in this study describe excellent strategies for teaching language and teaching students how to interact among themselves. Much depends on the professor paying attention while keeping an open-minded curiosity and a sense of humor. If the linguistic minority student's body language shows that he is aware of the discussion and can't get into it, the professor should call on the student, enunciating clearly, and ask his point of view. Then the professor needs to wait a little—perhaps counting to ten silently. Most Americans do not feel comfortable with prolonged silences in group discussions, and often after asking a question and not receiving a prompt answer, proceed almost

immediately to ask the same question again in new words or to ask a new question.

While the student is trying to process the first question, he must then deal with subsequent questions and their possible answers. Instead, after a long pause, if the student doesn't answer, the professors could repeat the same question, perhaps in simpler language, unless it seems obvious that the student is nonplussed (and has suddenly forgotten every word of English he ever knew), in which case the professor could smile and say, "You think about it, and I'll get back to you," and then keep checking back with the student (visually) or talking to him after class. Fulton, in this research, gives some excellent suggestions for role-playing these kinds of situations with students before they have to face them. The point is that linguistic minority students' intellects are probably above average when they get into the university because they have to learn what everyone else has to, only in a different language. However, in a tense situation, those hard won language skills can desert them. The more they feel comfortable in class, the more they will participate, the more everyone will learn not only about the subject matter under discussion, but also about being inclusive.

Nieto, a sociocultural theorist, stresses the importance of realizing that education takes place within a socio-political context, and that language status in the classroom is related to issues of power. Tierney says,

The task of conceiving different theoretical horizons will enable us not only to offer alternative strategies for developing multicultural environments, but such horizons also will enable us to reconfigure the social conditions of power that give voice to some and silence others. (p. 616)

Although they are referring to K-12 classrooms, Stritikus and Garcia discuss *additive* and *subtractive* theories and practices that particularly influence the success of language minority students. These theories and practices include, but are not limited to, bilingual and bicultural experience on the part of the teachers, development of curricula that address cultural and linguistic diversity, and acknowledgment that student diversity is an asset to the classroom. In referring to the *subtractive* theories and practices in some classrooms in California, Stritikus and Garcia conclude they seem to imply “that the primary role of schooling is Americanization” (Conclusion). In other words, subtractive practices follow the expectation that all students will subsume their identities into the melting pot

The distinguished professors interviewed in this research do not follow one particular theory, and certain things work well with some teachers because of their personalities and talents, with some students because of their interests and motivations, and in some situations given the discipline and the group dynamics. However, one commonality shared by all professors interviewed in this study is the determination to dedicate themselves to meeting the needs of students as individuals. “So you have issues of culture, you have issues of socioeconomic class, you have issues of gender, and personal history, and then you eventually look out at a class and see it for what it really is” (Rowe). Being able to see a class “for what it really is” has implications for educators. Perhaps rather than viewing a class as a homogeneous group who can be taught the same way each quarter, professors need to find ways to learn about students’ backgrounds. The best place to introduce the concepts regarding teaching language minority students in the university

might be in the orientation of new faculty or in the training of graduate teaching assistants. This training should include ways of creating a classroom environment that models inclusiveness to linguistic minority students.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research

Ideally, this conversation with distinguished teachers would have taken place in more than one campus and in more than one area of the country. Admittedly, the numbers of linguistic minority students at the university in this study are comparatively small, and results from universities where language is more a part of the everyday cultural horizon would have provided an interesting balance. Future research could take place among distinguished faculty at universities along the southern border of the United States and in New York. Given the fact that Canada has been managing complex language issues for many generations, a comparative study of English policies in a Canadian university could be undertaken. Of further benefit would be a study of linguistic diversity in terms of discipline. In this study, an issue arose regarding a professor's discipline and subsequent feelings about language issues. A professor in theatre and a professor in computer science have different goals, and this could not be brought out in this study since the professors' identities were being kept confidential. There are fields that attract fewer linguistic minority students—like education—and therefore though many professors in education received distinguished teaching awards, none were interviewed for this paper since they felt they had not taught enough linguistically diverse students to offer any insights. Also missing from this study are the voices of the students themselves and their estimations of the campus climate regarding their English skills. A structural

analysis of the university programs that affect the lives of students who have a first language other than English would also have been of benefit to this study, but again would have impinged upon confidentiality considerations. It is the hope of this researcher that as the 21st Century unfolds and the definition of minority also includes “language minority,” more studies will be undertaken to examine the role of the English language in higher education.

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Appendix One

English Proficiency Requirements for Undergraduate Admission to Universities in Washington State

- Completed February 15, 2003. Updated October 5, 2005
- Does not include alternative tests such as Michigan English Language Assessment Battery (MELAB) , MLT (Michigan Language Test), APIEL (Advanced Placement International English Language), English Language Proficiency Test (ELPT), TWE (Test of Written English) because they are used less frequently.
- There may be additional requirements (such as high school grades, SAT scores, application essays, and letters of recommendation) that are required of all incoming students.

Name of Institution	TOEFL Score Required		Additional Information
	Paper	Computer	
Antioch University, Seattle	600	250	TOEFL score is considered in conjunction with interview and writing test
The Art Institute of Seattle	500	173	Alternatively, may show proof of successful completion of a minimum of two quarters of postsecondary coursework at an accredited institution in which English was the language of instruction
Bastyr University	550	213	Alternatively, successful completion of two quarters or semesters of liberal arts courses taught in English
Central Washington University	525	195	Alternatively, a 3.0 (B grade) in each of two college level English composition courses from an accredited United States college or university. OR- Recommendation from CWU's UESL Program after successful completion of their highest level. CWU also offers Conditional Admissions to students who meet all of the requirements other than English proficiency.
City University	540	207	Alternatively, submitting proof that the student has successfully completed at least one year at an accredited or City University-recognized college in an English speaking country, where the language of instruction was English, and

			has made satisfactory progress (cumulative GPA 2.0), or Having successfully completed level 6 of City University's ESL program (or the appropriate level of a City University-recognized ESL program
Eastern Washington University	525	195	Alternatively, recommendation from the English Language Institute, or one course in college level English composition with a grade of 2.0 at a U.S. or Canadian institution
Evergreen State College	525	197	Alternatively, will be a recipient of the Designated Transfer Degree from a Washington State community college, and completed English 101 and English 102 with a grade of "B" (3.0 GPA) or higher in both courses.
Gonzaga University	550	213	Alternatively, completion of Freshman Composition & Speech classes equivalent to Gonzaga ENGL 101 & SPOC 101 with a B or better grade point average or satisfactory completion of Gonzaga University's English As A Second Language Program
Henry Cogswell College	525	195	Proof of successful completion of an ESL program through the intermediate level or the successful completion of two full-load quarters or semesters of post secondary coursework where English is the primary language of instruction.
Heritage College	500	173	Alternatively, completion of an English as a Second Language (ESL) Program reflecting satisfactory progress
Northwest College of the Assemblies of God	500	not listed	Website down
Pacific Lutheran University	na	na	Although PLU requires the TOEFL, minimum scores are no longer listed on their website

St. Martin's College	525	not listed	Concurrent status: Students who have achieved TOEFL scores between 490 and 524 enter with concurrent status and are allowed to enroll in one or two regular courses in addition to ESL courses.
Seattle Pacific University	550	213	Students who graduate from and receive a full recommendation from SPU's ACE Language Institute do not need a TOEFL score.
Seattle University	580	237	Undergraduates with TOEFL scores between 190/520 and 237/580 are required to complete Culture and Language Bridge Program during their first quarter. This may be waived based on the results of a Placement Essay Test.
Trinity Lutheran College	na	na	Although TLU requires the TOEFL, minimum scores are no longer listed on their website
University of Puget Sound	550	213	
University of Washington	540	207	Below 580, students must take English support classes.
University of Washington, Bothell	580	237	Required: Overall GPA of 3.0 plus completion of two English courses with cumulative GPA of 3.0
University of Washington, Tacoma	580	237	Required: Minimum cumulative GPA of 3.00
Walla Walla College	550 (600 for Nursing School)	not listed	Students with TOEFL scores between 550 and 600, including students transferring from an English medium secondary school, are required to take Walla Walla College's English Placement Test, which includes a writing sample. If students do not qualify for College Writing courses, they will be placed in an appropriate reading and/or writing class.
Washington State University at	520	not listed	Alternatively, students who

Pullman, Spokane, Tri-Cities			complete level 5 of Intensive American Language Center with a "B" average and meet all other eligibility requirements will be considered for admission. The TOEFL requirement will be waived if students have (1) attended a U.S. high school for at least two years or (2) if they have earned at least 40 quarter (27 semester) hours of transferable credits with grades averaging 2.0 (or above) from a regionally accredited USA college or university.
Washington State University at Vancouver	520	190	
Western Washington University	550	213	Conditional admission for students w/ scores 520 & above. Before enrolling in their first credit class at Western, conditionally admitted students typically attend the Intensive English Program full-time for at least one quarter and take Academic English classes. After successfully completing Academic Preparation and scoring at least 520/190 on the TOEFL, these students begin to take university credit classes, in addition to a lighter load of Academic English classes.
Whitman College	560	220	
Whitworth College	Not listed	195	Applicants scoring between 140-194 are considered for conditional admission to Whitworth through the English Language Program. Students with a score of 195 or better are considered for regular admission.

Appendix Two
Sample Letter of Recruitment

Date _____

Dear Professor _____:

Hello. My name is Vickie Farmer and I am a doctoral student at the University of Washington in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies. I am writing to ask if you would agree to be a part of a qualitative research study I am undertaking for my dissertation. I would like to interview you for about an hour. I would like to come to your office, if that is convenient for you, and ask you questions about your experiences working with students in your classes who do not have English as their first language.

You have been selected for this study because you have won an award for excellence in teaching. At a time in this society when demographics are changing and more students are entering colleges and universities with diverse language backgrounds, professors look for effective ways to teach them. I hope from these interviews to discover commonalities among distinguished faculty, to learn about your teaching approaches, and to hear your stories of your experiences with students. Taking part in this research study is voluntary.

Please write back to tell me whether or not you think you will be able to participate, or if you have any questions about any aspect of the project. Please understand, though, that confidentiality of information sent via e-mail cannot be assured, so if you would prefer to communicate further outside of e-mail, my home phone number is (360) 734-8114.

Sincerely Yours,

Vickie L. Farmer

Doctoral Candidate
Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
University of Washington

Appendix Three

Protocol

1. Have you thought about language proficiency in your classroom?
 - a. If not—have you had any of the following experiences—encounters during office hours, results in tests, essays that caught your attention? (writing, research conventions, oral presentations, group work, testing)
 - b. If yes—what has the experience been like for you?
2. Do you have any observations on how other students in the class interact with the linguistic minority students? [prompt: Have you found any particular ways you have assisted in these types of interactions?]
3. If you make accommodations for linguistically diverse students, what sorts of adjustments do you make—alternative testing procedures, etc.?
4. Do you find the way you teach non-native English speakers is different depending on the level of the class, for example, a typically freshman class as opposed to a graduate level class?
5. What types of helpful services does the university provide for professors and for students whose first language is not English? Is there anything you would change or add?
6. One professor thought that I should add this question: What could Western do to make students who are from diverse backgrounds, including language backgrounds, feel more welcome?
7. Overall, the only split I've noticed in my interviews so far is that some teachers say that they feel they need students need to prepare themselves for speaking and writing in the work world. Other teachers say that to expect that of an ESL student is unrealistic. Do you have any opinions on this?
8. Are there topics we should explore that I haven't asked you about? Do you have any suggestions about these interviews?

Appendix Four
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON CONSENT FORM

Effective Teaching Practices in the Linguistically Diverse University Classroom

Investigator: Vickie L. Farmer
 Academic Affiliation: Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
 College of Education
 University of Washington
 Telephone: (360) 734-8114 (h)
 (360) 650-4855 (w)
 E-mail: Vickie.Farmer@wwu.edu

Investigator's statement

I am asking you to be in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether or not to be in the study. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what I would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called 'informed consent.'

PURPOSE AND BENEFITS

I want to better understand effective teaching practices in linguistically diverse university classes. I would like to interview you as a distinguished faculty member about your experiences with students whose first language is not English and discover what teaching approaches you have used and found to be effective. At a time in society when demographics are changing and more students are entering public schools and universities with diverse language backgrounds, professors look for effective ways to teach. It is hoped that from these interviews will emerge commonalities, best practices, and unique teaching approaches that could benefit faculty in their own teaching or in setting up language policies in higher education. You may not directly benefit from taking part in this research study.

PROCEDURES

If you choose to be in this study, I would like to interview you about your experiences in the classroom. The interview will last about an hour and will focus on your experiences with linguistically diverse students. For example, I will ask you, "Have you ever thought about language proficiency in the classroom?" "What has the experience been like for you?" and "What types of helpful services does the university provide for students whose first language is not English? Is there anything you would like to see changed or added?" You do not have to answer every question.

I would like to audiotape your interview so that I can have an accurate record. Only the research team will have access to the audiotapes, which will be kept in a locked file cabinet. We will transcribe your interview tape within four weeks of your interview and destroy the tape. Please indicate below whether or not you give your permission for me to audiotape your interview.

RISKS, STRESS, OR DISCOMFORT

Some people feel that providing information for research is an invasion of privacy. I have addressed concerns for your privacy in the section below. Some people feel self-conscious when they are audio taped. The time commitment may also be an inconvenience.

OTHER INFORMATION

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You can stop at any time. Information about you is confidential. I will code the study information. I will keep the link between your name and the code in a separate, secured location until June 2005. Then I will destroy the link. If the results of this study are published or presented, I will not use your name. If you have any questions about this research study, please contact Vickie Farmer at the telephone number or e-mail listed above. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the University of Washington Human Subjects Division: 206-543-0098.

Signature of investigator

Printed Name

Date

Subject's statement

This study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later on about the research I can ask one of the investigators listed above. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I can call the University of Washington Human Subjects Division at (206) 543-0098. I will receive a copy of this consent form.

I give my permission for the researcher to audiotape my interview.

I do NOT give my permission for the researcher to audiotape my interview.

I give my permission for the researcher to re-contact me to clarify information.

I do NOT give my permission for the researcher to re-contact me to clarify information

Signature of subject

Printed name

Date

Copies to: Investigator's file
 Subject

Vita

Vickie L. Farmer was born on Clark Air Force Base, Philippine Islands. Being the daughter of a military family, she grew up in many places around the world. She attended California State University at Humboldt, the University of San Francisco, and the University of Wyoming, before receiving her BA in English from Western Washington University in 1986. She received her MA in English with a concentration in Composition and Rhetoric in 1988. She is currently an instructor in the Intensive English Program at Western Washington University, but also taught English composition classes at Whatcom Community College for nine years. In the Summer 2005 edition of *Innovative Higher Education*, she published the article “Diversity Flashpoints: Understanding Difficult Interpersonal Situations Grounded in Identity Difference” along with Joseph E. Garcia and Karen J. Hoelscher. The article was based on two presentations at the 16th Annual National Conference of Race and Ethnicity in Higher Education (NCORE) in San Francisco, California, May 2003.