

EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND LITERACY LEARNING IN AN ESL CLASSROOM:
CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Elementary Education
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2012

Urbana, Illinois

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Abstract

This dissertation was a qualitative case study of an educational program for English Language Learners (ELL) at an elementary school in a small city in the Midwest. This case study investigated how language ideologies influence the constraints and opportunities for the planning and execution of this educational program. The findings evidenced that multiple and contested language ideologies mediated the design and implementation of the program, which in turn ignited power struggles among school district leaders and the local school teachers. The findings also demonstrated that multiple and conflicting language ideologies affected the expectations of teachers, parents, and students themselves, regarding the school performance of ELL students. The findings of the study also manifested that multiple and contradictory language ideologies influenced the social interactions of ELL students with their native English speaking peers and teachers. Future research could focus on program evaluation, principalship and leadership role, and professional development.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

[The program] is pretty stable now. It's pretty stable in terms of self-contained Kindergarten through 2nd grade... The general model of the [language support] program [for English Language Learners] is the same. It's **only**¹ different in who's delivering and whether or not it's within the classroom or going to a different classroom, but **it's all in a classroom.**

As evidenced by Mr. Norman's explanation, quoted above, for the continuous changes that had occurred in the program of language support services for English Language Learners (ELLs), especially during that fiscal year at the institution he directed as school principal, educators' ideologies about second language teaching and learners are enacted in programs for ELL children. Indeed, views and beliefs about language and related practices with language and towards language users- language ideologies²- affect the manner in which teachers and administrators work with second language learning students at schools.

How would then a school principal's, or teachers', ideologies facilitate or hinder meeting the educational needs of second language learners, especially older students who receive instruction inside just any classroom, since "it's all in a classroom," for that matter?

¹ See Transcription Conventions in Appendix B.

² Language ideologies are defined in this dissertation as, "Beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states. These conceptions, whether explicitly articulated or embodied in communicative practice, represent incomplete, or 'partially successful' [sic], attempts to rationalize language usage; such rationalizations are typically multiple, context-bound, and necessarily constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speaker" (Kroskrity, 2006, p. 192).

How are reductionist and dismissive ideologies at a local school towards ELL children and families reproduced from larger institutional contexts? How are such ideologies contested and transformed in the classroom smaller context?

These issues become even more relevant when considering the growing number of ELL students to be educated in schools throughout the nation. In fact, the number of children who are considered ELL children enrolled in American schools grew from 4.7 million in the year 1980 to 11.2 million in year 2009. In particular, the percentage of school-age children (ages 5 to 17) who speak a language other than English at home rose to 21%, more than double, of the population in this age range (U. S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2011). According to the Condition of Education Report 2011, Hispanic and Asian (terms used in the report) are the top ethnic groups that account for such linguistic diversity (U. S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2011). In addition, from the total children in the 5-17 age group, 61.5 % are classified in poor and near-poor poverty status, and also 78.9% of this age range live in urban communities (U. S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2011). These demographic data are not only alarming at present, but also indicative of the linguistic, cultural, and socio-economic diversity that is expected to increase in large and small cities schools in the near future.

However, diversity in itself is not the cause of difficulties at schools. Diversity is not an epidemic that we need to eradicate from our locale; we would have to stop globalization effects in the world if we attempted to change the increasingly diverse face of American schools. The real issue is that schools historically have not appropriately responded to the individual needs of linguistically and culturally diverse students. The marginalization of

diverse students and their needs have been perpetuated in society through ideologically laden practices taking place in schools and in the actual day-to-day classroom life of these children. In the words of Bartolomé (2008) we need to unmask the “trap” of educators’ “neutrality”; we need to envision and work towards more equitable and just schools.

Personal and Critical Experiences with Ideologies of English Language Learning

The self-assumed “neutrality” of educators became more apparent to me when visiting schools with ELL students in small and large cities in the Midwest. Some of these schools had well-structured ESL classes or bilingual education programs, others did not. I happened to observe some teachers’ low expectations and racialized attitudes towards their Latina/o Spanish-native speaking and working-class ELL pupils. In particular, I recall Mrs. Turner’s (pseudonym) belittling comments about Juan (pseudonym), one of her Latino and low-income students in her ESL classroom. Mrs. Turner had very low expectations of Juan’s literacy development. She believed that Juan’s reading difficulty in English “run in the family” and so, how could she ever “fix it?!” as she commented. Mrs. Turner believed this young child’s lack of progress in learning English was a direct cause of the poverty conditions in which Juan and his family lived, and of the interference of Spanish spoken at their home. Mrs. Turner never questioned her own instructional materials and methods, or tried to improve them, she neither was aware of the ideologies she held about Juan and other Latina/o children that she lumped into a seemingly “homogeneous” group of racialized children. In addition, Mrs. Turner considered herself as “understanding” and “not prejudiced” towards her ESL pupils.

Witnessing recurrent situations like this sparked my interest in furthering my knowledge about ideology and power issues enacted in the schooling of second-language

learners. I became interested in conducting research about teachers' language ideologies, despite their self-proclaimed neutrality, instantiated in their teaching and relations with Latina/o second-language learners particularly in ESL programs.

At the same time, I became more aware of my own linguistic ideologies regarding bilingualism and biliteracy. These ideologies had been initially influenced by my personal experiences of becoming bilingual in a foreign country, and later by witnessing teacher-student interactions in Midwestern schools as a university graduate student and researcher myself.

My own experiences of becoming bilingual seemed a stark contrast to those of the children I was observing in American schools. I was first exposed to the English language at home in El Salvador, with my father buying books and cassette-tapes for us to learn English. Later I was gradually introduced to more language vocabulary and grammar while attending after-school classes to learn English as a foreign language (EFL), and subsequently while taking English classes twice-a-week in a Catholic private school from 7th to 12th grade. These English classes were not optional, and neither were any of the other subjects at our school. A "tracking" system similar to that of American high schools did not exist in the Central American country where I grew up. Also, during those years this school followed, and surpassed, the national curriculum and its own enriched curriculum, for example, for literacy, science, math, and foreign language instruction.

Growing up in a middle-class family, having both professional parents (my mother is a nurse and my father is a lawyer with a Juris Doctor degree) allowed me to participate in several extracurricular activities and attend private schools since first grade. Within this historical, social, and cultural context in which I grew up being bilingual was conceived as an

asset, not as a liability, and was neither structured in subtractive schooling practices and educational policy, such as the repressive context in which Latina/o bilingual children like Juan are being schooled under the tutelage of teachers like Mrs. Turner, in my previous anecdote.

Coming to the United States as an university student, young adult, and having witnessed unfair treatment and prejudiced attitudes of some mainstream teachers towards their ELL students, has made me more conscious of the pervasiveness of power hierarchies and inequalities affecting the education of children being racialized at schools, and so, as to how language (non-standard varieties of English and non-English languages) becomes a “marker” for race and social class, and importantly, also becomes a marker for assumed intellectual abilities, academic achievement, even moral attributes.

These interconnections became clearer to me after reading Professor Antonia Darder’s books (Darder 2011; 2012; Darder and Torres, 2004), in which she underscores the process of linguistic racialization in the conflation of language, race, social class, and “reified interpretations of the character of individuals” (Darder, 2011, p. 147). Especially, in her book *A Dissident Voice: Essays on culture, pedagogy, and power*, she affirmed that,

Linguistic racialization ...is implicated as part of a larger and more complex system of economic and political oppression that positions English-language learners and their families as disposable, second-class citizens (Darder & Torres, 2004) [sic]. This encompasses a process of racialization that often distorts the ability to see working-class minority-language communities in the United States as worthy of full educational rights. The

consequence is the perpetuation of a culture of failure and educational neglect that relegates these communities to a politically invisible neverland – aided by the politics of the labor market, ill representations of the media, and the increasing incarceration of poor working-class men and women of color (Gilmore, 2006) [sic]. (Darder, 2011, p. 238)

Because of that, I believe that we need to unmask “the trap of teacher neutrality” (Bartolomé, 2008) in their work with English Language Learning children. We need to work hand-in-hand with teachers, parents, and students towards more equitable and just schools.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to investigate how language ideologies mediate the constraints (controls, restrictions, and exclusionary practices) and opportunities (possibilities, strengths, opening of new venues) for the design and implementation of the educational program for ELL students at Parks, a small city elementary school. The study also explores how language ideologies mediate the expectations of administrators, teachers, parents, and children themselves, about the literacy development and achievement of English as a Second Language (ESL) learning students (see definitions of terms in Appendix A). Finally, the study examines how these language ideologies influence the social interactions between, and among ESL students, their non-ESL classmates and teachers.

Specifically, this dissertation is a qualitative case study of an EPELL in an elementary school in a small city in the Midwest. When the data collection for this dissertation took place, this school, Parks Elementary School (pseudonym), had a large population of Spanish-native speaking children, especially older students, enrolled in some type of ESL classes and

sheltered English classes (see Appendix A for definition of terms). Actually, these children qualified for a Transitional Bilingual Program up to 5th grade, but such program was implemented in a modified, and limited, fashion. This situation will be further explained later in this Introduction chapter and also in Chapter 4. Hence, because of the particular characteristics of this program, it will be addressed as the *Educational Program for ELL students* (EPELL) at Parks school, in this dissertation. Details about the study design, data collection and analysis, as well as other aspects of the study's methodology, are included in Chapter 3.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant, first, because it yields insights into how to improve educational programs for English Language Learners, by illuminating how language ideologies inform educators' expectations, instruction, and relationships with ELL students, which in turn support or hinder these pupils' learning. Educators should be more aware of the mediating power of language ideologies in order to work more effectively with their pupils.

Moreover, this study should prompt insights from policy makers about the implications of educational policy regulating programs for non-native English speaking students in American schools. The study of language ideologies affecting a local educational program for ELL students reveals how state and federal policies are embedded with ideologies that inform the language socialization of these children. Thus, an ideological lens could be used to indirectly analyze the effects of educational policy regulating the literacy instruction of this growing linguistic minority in urban communities.

Finally, the study is significant because English language education for English Language Learners may become some form of short-term transitional instruction, such as the

design analyzed in this dissertation, in the future. Transitional programs are not created by law to support the native language of students per se, but, rather, target fast assimilation. Institutional resources and political decisions may restrict any form of bilingual education for English learners. Short transitional programs then might become the quick-fix solution for the growing numbers of non-English speaking immigrant children across the nation. It is imperative to understand the political workings and implications of these programs that will pervade American schools, especially in large and small cities, and what we could do before such impending reality.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of the study relate to the scope of the case study, time of data collection and relocation of the researcher. First, the case study of the educational program for ELL students at Parks school provides information about a particular case. The findings apply to this particular program. The case study does not provide for a basis for “grand” generalizations but for particularizations that may prove useful to others seeking to understand particular school programs (Stake, 1995). Also, based on the purpose of this study, I chose to center my analysis of what and how language ideologies influence the intersection of certain social categories (language, race, and social class) instead of also including several domains of power struggles such as, religion, gender, and sexual orientation, among others.

Second, the data collection took place three years ago. Some key participants that were observed and interviewed then retired immediately or some months after my last conversation with them. This situation made further communications with them difficult. Also, my relocating to another state complicated accessing certain local documents later; relocating to a

different place from the state I collected data did not make it impossible to obtain some information, but it delayed the process of my research completion and dissertation write-up.

Clarification of Terms

In this section I clarify relevant terms that I use throughout the dissertation with a particular meaning (several other terms are defined in Appendix A). Some of the terms I clarify in this chapter have a theoretical connotation and others have been coined by scholars in the past, such as “additive bilingualism” (Lambert, 1977). Other terms have a unique tone in the context of my study, such as the EPELL at Parks school. Several other terms included here originated in the context of legislation, such as “transitional bilingual education.”

First of all, I use the term *English as a Second Language*, or its acronym ESL, for classes or programs that center on the English language development of non-native speakers of English. ESL is also used as an adjective to refer to the classroom where these classes take place, the teachers in charge, and students served. An added note is that, even though my focal students referred to themselves as “bilingual,” throughout this dissertation I refer to them as “ESL” students, because this is the term employed by their English teachers especially in the 5th grade classroom, the “regular” classroom where I conducted some of my observations at Parks school. These teachers commonly addressed their pupils as “ESL” and “non-ESL” while talking about them. They would say, “ESL students” or “ESL children” and “non-ESL students” or “non-ESL children.” Also, when giving directions for class work I witnessed these teachers saying to their pupils, “find your ESL partner(s) or non-ESL partner(s)” to work in pairs or small groups. The significance and implications of the use of such labels are thoroughly discussed in chapter 6.

Related to, but different from, English as second language learning students, is the term *English Language Learners*. This is an umbrella term for native speakers of other languages that are learning English in American schools. The term “English Language Learners” or its acronyms “ELLs” or “ELL” students or children, when used in this dissertation is a more encompassing term than “English as a Second Language” or “ESL” students or children, because English is not necessarily the second language, but an added language among other languages for native speakers of non-English languages; in reality, for some individuals English could be their 3rd or 4th language. I also use the term *English Learners* or its abbreviations “ELs” or “EL” students or children, interchangeably with “English Language Learners”.

Another important term is *Language Proficiency* considered as the level of listening, speaking, reading, and/or writing abilities in any language. In particular, *English Language Proficiency* is currently determined by a standards-based test specially designed for ELLs. Each state has developed its test of English language proficiency in a manner that meets federal law criteria (at present the No Child Left Behind Education Act of 2001). In this manner, federal and state legislation uses the term *Limited English Proficient* (LEP) to refer to English Language Learners who have not yet achieved English language proficiency, although the term has a deficit orientation. In contrast with the LEP classification, an English Language Learner could be denominated *Fully English Proficient* (FEP). According to federal and state legislation, an LEP student becomes FEP based on the scores obtained in a standards-based test of English language proficiency. Thus, based on this test score, FEP students are no longer deemed as LEP. The particularities of the assessment of English Language Proficiency in the state where my study took place are explained in Chapter 2.

In addition, in this dissertation I employ the terms biliteracy and bilingualism. *Biliteracy* refers to the ability to read and write in two languages, which could be developed to varying degrees (Dworin, 2003; García, 2000). Nancy Hornberger (1989) refers to it as a “continua of biliteracy”. *Bilingualism* denotes the ability to orally understand (by listening) and use (by speaking) two languages; this ability could be developed into different degrees and types, including into forms of biliteracy. As such, *Additive Bilingualism* is the process by which individuals learn a second language (L2) without losing their first language (L1) (Lambert, 1977). *Subtractive Bilingualism* refers to the process by which individuals lose their first language and replace it with a second language (Lambert, 1977).

Moreover, in this study the term “bilingual education” is used with a generic undertone. I use more specifically the terms “transitional bilingual education” and “transitional program of instruction” in the manner they have been circumscribed as teaching modalities available for ELLs per state law.

Bilingual Education is an umbrella term that encompasses different types of programs that use two languages for instruction. The amount of instruction per language (first language/second language) varies in different percentages. For example, these percentages could be 90/10, 80/20, 60/40, 50/50. The last combination of 50% instruction in the first language of students and 50% instruction in the second language of students, refers to dual-language or two-way immersion programs. Importantly, when bilingual education becomes “transitional,” as per regulated by educational policies, it is linked to certain ideological issues.

In this manner, *Transitional Bilingual Education* (TBE) is the term found in state legislation referring to bilingual education programs supported with federal grants. These

programs are usually funded for a maximum of three years, yet ELL students may need specialized language instruction for more years. The goal of these programs is to prepare ELLs as quickly as possible to enroll in an all-English classroom. TBE programs are commonly classified in early-exit and late-exit (Ramírez, 1992; Ramírez, Yuen, Ramey, Pasta, & Billings, 1991). In an early-exit TBE program students receive initial content instruction in their native language, and are introduced to initial reading skills in their native language (L1), all other instruction is delivered in the second or target language (L2). In a late-exit TBE program students receive a minimum of 40% of total instruction time in their native language (L1) including language arts and other content area subjects. Students in a late-exit TBE usually remain in this program through 6th grade, regardless of when they are classified as Fully English Proficient (FEP), determined by a standards-based test score as previously explained. An added note is that, according to this typology of TBE programs (Ramírez, 1992; Ramírez, Yuen, Ramey, Pasta, & Billings, 1991) the educational program for ELL children at Parks school was actually implemented as a modified, limited, late-exit TBE program. The intricate reasons why such situation happened are thoroughly explained in Chapter 4.

Furthermore, *Transitional Program of Instruction* (TPI) is the term used in state legislation referring to ESL (see definitions of terms in Appendix A) programs supported with federal funds. These programs do not use two languages (first and second languages) for instruction. These programs use specialized strategies and resources for the teaching of English. According to state law, this English instruction can be accompanied by native language instruction, although the law does not establish it as a mandatory requirement.

Historical Review of Bilingual Education

Language ideologies undergirding educational policy, assessment and teaching practices with ELL children, and relationships with these students at schools, are socially constructed and have changed over time. These changes have been correlated with fluctuating social, political, and economic factors. As James Crawford (2000) affirmed,

Ideologies, which take an autonomous life of their own, do play a significant causal role in intergroup conflicts. Yet it must be remembered that conceptions of race, ethnicity, and language are hardly universal, transcending time and circumstance. They are socially constructed. How we think about them is grounded in material realities- demographic patterns, political alignments, economic conditions- which are ever changing. (p. 9)

Considering changes in these factors prevent us from taking an “ahistorical approach to language policy” relying on “free-floating ideologies (the melting pot, racism, ‘linguicism’) [sic] rather than on social, economic, or political factors to explain events.” (Crawford, 2000, p. 9).

Because of that, in this chapter I consider it relevant to include a historical review of the development of bilingual education in the United States. Such review helps us to understand how language ideology and policy have shifted, and have even been contradictory at times (Ovando, 2003), rather than sustaining a stable course (Crawford, 1989, 2000; Wiley, 2002).

Historical events have been analyzed in different manners. Some scholars analyze the history of bilingual education by dividing it in four periods, which are permissive, restrictive,

opportunist, and dismissive (Baker & Jones, 1998). Other scholars divide this history in short periods detailing multiple changes that occurred during the late 1800's and early 1900's (Fitzgerald, 1993; Pavlenko, 2002). Some other researchers divide this history in two major periods, pre-World War I and post-1960 (August & Garcia, 1988; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

Importantly, more than different classifications of periods in the history of bilingual education, scholars have used different theoretical interpretations. For example, Shirley Brice Heath (1976) takes on a libertarian tradition of the country's formative years. Heinz Kloss (1977/1998) uses a tolerant view of linguistic pluralism for the languages of White European immigrants. Thomas Ricento (1998) uses a deep-values theoretical approach that highlights the pervasiveness of assimilation over ethnic and linguistic pluralism.

For the purpose of my dissertation, I consider the history of bilingual education in the United States and in the Midwest (where this research took place), in permissive, restrictive, opportunist, and dismissive periods as characterized by Baker and Jones (1998). Also, in the following sections of this chapter, I will pinpoint the major changes in socio-economic and political factors that influenced shifts in language ideology and policy. This brief review will also show that ideological shifts have been repeated in certain patterns throughout history, with perceived threats to "national identity" and "national security" affecting the schooling of linguistic minorities in the country.

Permissive period: 1700s-1800s. At the dawn of the nation, bilingual education was not uncommon. Linguistic pluralism was acknowledged and at times encouraged (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). With the issues of territorial expansion during the 18th and 19th centuries, "multilingualism with regard to colonial and immigrant languages was, if not promoted, then at least tolerated" (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 169).

While different groups of various countries, ethnicities, and languages settled in U. S. territory, a general sense of geographical and psychological openness existed (Ovando, 2003). Some settlers communities were agrarian based and self-sufficient; other communities were ethnic pockets in urban areas (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). Several immigrant enclaves, mostly from Northern and Western Europe, maintained their native languages using them beside English for diplomatic, religious, intellectual, and cultural purposes (Pavlenko, 2002).

Also, many schools used immigrants' languages as medium of instruction. Gradually, a number of states passed laws that sanctioned bilingual education. According to Kloss (1977/1998), by the middle of the 19th century bilingual instruction or instruction in a non-English language in some form, was provided by many private and public schools; as an illustration, German was used for instruction at schools in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, Colorado, and Oregon; Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish in Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Washington; Dutch in Michigan; Polish and Italian in Wisconsin; Czech in Texas; French in Louisiana; and Spanish in California and New Mexico. Historical records show that in 1900, about 600,000 children in the United States, approximately 4% of the elementary school population at the time, were receiving part or all of their schooling in German (Crawford, 1999; Kloss 1977/1998).

During these times of increased immigration from Northern and Western Europe and territorial expansion in the United States, no uniform language policy prevailed. Bilingual education was somewhat accepted or tolerated in areas where language minority groups had influence, and was likely to be rejected where they had none (Crawford, 1989). Also, the use of languages other than English was considered necessary for “national unification” and

bilingual practices became a “temporary necessity, rather than a desired state of affairs” (Pavlenko, 2002, p.167). Permissive bilingual instructional practices were not established to actively uphold bilingualism, per se, instead ideological assimilation without coercion prevailed (Ovando, 2003). Finally, at this time “Americanization was not yet fully synonymous with Anglicization and some immigrant children were ‘transformed into citizens’ through their native tongues” (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 174).

Restrictive period: 1880s-1950s. After a period of relative linguistic tolerance, the 1880’s saw the emergence of several restrictive language policies. For example, indigenous languages were disdained and Native American populations were subjected to “civilizing” efforts through English instruction (Pavlenko, 2002; Spring, 2007). Pavlenko (2002) explains,

From the very beginning of the colonization process, English colonists exhibited the desire to assimilate and ‘civilize’ [sic] Native Americans and, in order to do so, established bilingual mission schools. Starting in 1868, the government created off-reservation boarding schools in which American Indian children were forcibly Anglicized, in an attempt to ‘civilize’ [sic] them and to replace their ‘barbaric tongues’ [sic] with English. (p. 171).

With repressive Indian language policy, Anglicization (speaking Standard English) became synonymous with civilization, schooling, and Americanization during this historical period. Indian language policy according to Ovando (2003) became a linguistic and cultural genocide and was part of a political and military strategy. Yet, even more destructive laws were aimed at the linguistic and cultural decimation of African peoples brought to the country

for enslavement (Schmidt, 2000). During this time, education was forbidden for African Americans; most Southern states had laws prohibiting the teaching of reading and writing to enslaved Africans (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Schmidt, 2000; Wiley, 2002). Specifically, “Not only were the slaves prevented from mastering the dominant language of their new land, however, but they were also typically punished severely for speaking African languages, practicing their native religions, or following other cultural traditions of their forebears.” (Schmidt, 2000, p.108-109). In this manner, for African Americans, contrary to the experiences of Native Americans, schooling and Anglicization did not become synonymous with the ideology of Americanization; but a similar pattern of ideological domination and exclusion was repeated.

During the restrictive period other limiting language policies appeared in Midwestern states. In 1889 the Bennet Law of Wisconsin and the Edwards Law in Illinois, specified that all subjects in schools, including parochial schools, must be taught in English (Ovando, 2003; Pavlenko, 2002). These laws, although repelled in 1893 (Crawford, 1989; Pavlenko, 2002), equaled schooling with the English language, and language conflict and English hegemony moved to the foreground of the public mind.

Moreover, at the turn of the 20th century, language ideologies of Americanization and Anglicization became solidified with the threat of new groups of immigrants entering the nation’s shores. During “The Great Migration” (1880-1924) about 24 million immigrants came mostly from Southern and Eastern European countries (e.g., Italy, Greece, Russia, Poland; although several hundreds of individuals also came from Ireland in Northern Europe during this migration movement). These “new immigrants” who were mostly Jewish or Catholic, lower-class, poorly educated, and settled in urban areas, created a strong xenophobic

reaction among the “old immigrants” who became increasingly worried about the changes in their urban communities (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). Also, the fear of importation of foreign political ideologies resulted in a demand for all immigrants to assimilate into a common linguistic and cultural mold (Ovando, 2003). Because of those reasons, Congress approved a major change in naturalization policy; the *Nationality Act* was passed in 1906 requiring aliens seeking citizenship to speak English (Pavlenko, 2002). The new laws and practices ideologically equated Anglicization with citizenship and promoted the hegemony of English.

In addition, this dominant language ideology allowed politicians and educators at the time to position English as a language of high intellectual and moral value, and to equate the lack of English proficiency with inferior intelligence and lower moral values. These ideologies then inspired psychological testing and studies that ““proved” the “feeble-mindedness” of the ‘new immigrants’” [sic] (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 180). Under such circumstances, language was ideologically linked with individual traits and differential status in the societal hierarchy.

Moreover, the Americanization-Anglicization campaign was on the rise during the restrictionist period for several reasons. First, with the movement for the Common School and compulsory education, schools were charged with the task of assimilating the children of all immigrants in the “American” language and culture (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). Second, humanitarians supported mandatory education as they considered it a solution to end child labor in immigrant children, and promoted the teaching of English and American values through schools (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Ovando, 2003). Third, large-scale English instruction was imparted to adult immigrants and out-of-school youth. Service organizations like the YMCA provided evening classes to assist in the new-

immigrants' poverty and difficult working conditions (Crawford, 1989; 2000; Fitzgerald, 1993). Fourth, several industrialists and employers, like Henry Ford, required foreign-born workers to attend classes in English and in American "free-enterprise" values; these measures were considered a remedy for political and labor unrest (e.g.: strikes were considered to be organized by "un-American agitators and foreign propaganda") (Kellor, 1916 in Crawford, 2000, p.21). Fifth, American society had started a major economic transformation, from being predominantly agricultural and low-skilled labor to becoming more urbanized and industrialized; English literacy was indispensable in major sectors of the new work force (Fitzgerald, 1993).

Furthermore, restrictionist language policies and practices increased from xenophobic sentiments ignited during World War I (Crawford, 1989; 2000; Ovando, 2003; Ovando, Collier & Combs, 2003). The war in Europe heightened the sense of American nationalism and underscored the ties with the Old World, among them language, in the European-born. Learning English was no longer enough to assimilate immigrants, they had to discard all other allegiances but to America (Pavlenko, 2002). Speaking languages other than English and providing instruction in foreign languages, especially German (the foreign language that was predominant in "bilingual" schools of the previous historical period), became to be considered un-American and unpatriotic (Pavlenko, 2002). James Crawford (1989) explains,

After the United States entered the war in April 1917, anti-German feeling crested in an unprecedented wave of language restrictionism. Several states passed laws and emergency decrees banning German speech in the classroom, on the street, in church, in public meetings, even on the telephone. In the

Midwest at least 18,000 persons were charged under these laws
by 1921. (p. 23)

Importantly, the analysis of these historical events and related sociopolitical factors demystifies a harmonious “melting-pot” ideology assumed to have been prevalent during the late 1800’s and early 1900’s (Pavlenko, 2002). A historical-critical analysis also debunks the myth that all earlier immigrants accepted the English language and Anglo-Saxon cultural modes, gladly and quickly (Villanueva, 2000). While this situation may have been true in some cases, several foreign-born new Americans did not assimilate willingly; actually they did not have much of a choice (Pavlenko, 2002). In many ethnic communities, for instance, German-Americans were subjected to threats, intimidation, and beatings, while German books were removed from schools, university libraries, and even churches, and publicly destroyed or burned (Willey, 2002).

Importantly, suspicion towards speakers of foreign languages broadened during the post-war era. Similar attacks, for example, were undertaken against Japanese-language schools in Hawaii and California and Spanish-English bilingual programs in the Southwest; Yiddish was forbidden in schools in New York (Pavlenko, 2002). Hence, during and after the years of warfare and political and economic instability, an ideological link was established between speaking the English language and being a “good American” (Crawford, 2000, p. 21). Schools ensured that immigrant children, like Native American children in the 19th century, would not speak their mother tongue (Pavlenko, 2002). Again, then, Anglicization became synonymous with Americanization and schooling; a pattern of language ideologies repeated from the previous decades.

Numerous states banned the teaching of other languages in both private and public schools under laws that carried criminal penalties (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). By 1923, for instance, 34 states had authorized laws for English-only instruction in private and public schools (Fitzgerald, 1993; Kloss 1977/1998; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Ovando, 2003). Interestingly, restrictive immigration laws followed. In 1924 the U.S. Congress passed laws creating a national-origins quota system that discriminated against Eastern and Southern Europeans and excluded Asians (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003; Pavlenko, 2002). As we can see, laws supporting English-only instruction in several states equaled schooling with the English language and strengthened its ideological and hegemonic power. Also, the ideologies of domination and exclusion, along with stereotyping, of certain linguistic minority groups were upheld by immigration laws; such patterns of language ideologies repeated during this period, and later again in the 21st century (e.g., Arizona's immigration law SB 1070 passed in April 2010, enabling police officers to require personal documentation under "reasonable suspicion of immigration status").

An important legal case to mention as an indicator of the climate during the restrictionist period in regards to bilingual issues is *Meyer v. Nebraska* 1923. In this case "a parochial school teacher was charged with the crime of reading a Bible story in German to a ten-year-old child" (Crawford, 1989, p. 24). The U. S. Supreme Court declared that the old *Nebraska's Norval Act*, which prohibited instruction in non-English languages, was unconstitutional on the basis of the 14th Amendment (Ovando, 2003). Although with this decision the Court limited the power of individual states to proscribe the teaching of foreign languages in private schools, it established that the United States is an English speaking country and specified that schools could require the use of English (Malakoff & Hakuta,

1990). According to Ovando (2003) this case had little or no effect in stopping the demise of bilingual education; even foreign-language study drastically diminished in high schools and disappeared completely in elementary schools across the nation during the first half of the 20th century (Crawford, 1999).

Opportunist period: 1950s-1980s. As a result of the past historical pattern of repression of non-English languages among the American general population, the inadequacies of foreign language instruction became evident during World War II and the Sputnik/Cold War era (Ovando, 2003; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). Foreign languages, along with math and science skills, were considered indispensable for military, diplomatic, and commercial purposes during this historical period (Ovando, 2003). The *National Defense Education Act* was established in 1958 to provide federal moneys for the development of science, mathematics, and foreign language teaching (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003).

However, little attention was given at this time to the educational needs of foreign-language speaking children already enrolled in American schools. These students had to “sink or swim” in English monolingual instruction, while their own linguistic and cultural resources were being destroyed (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Ovando, 2003). This ideological trend has re-emerged in some instances in the 21st century (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003) (for example, some Southern states place certain emphasis on French and Spanish foreign language instruction starting in elementary schools, but yet have laws that prohibit bilingual education programs for ELL students).

Continuing with the analysis of sociopolitical and economic factors that influenced the history of bilingual education during the opportunist period, I will focus on specific laws that aimed to advance the education of linguistic minorities in the United States. I will briefly

highlight the benefits as well as shortcomings of these decisions and policies. I begin with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954. I then underscore educational policies that were passed during these decades pertaining to speakers of non-English languages in schools. These policies are Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Bilingual Education Act of 1968, Equal Education Opportunities Act of 1974, *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court Decision of 1974, *Castañeda v. Pickard* Supreme Court Decision of 1981, and the Reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act of 1974. The historical conditions in which these laws were passed, and the laws themselves, set the foundation for the political and ideological macro-level contexts encountered by the participants of my dissertation study.

Brown v. Board of Education decision of 1954. The *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision is considered the touchstone case for educational equity and equality in American schools. In 1954 the *Brown* decision reversed the legacy of the “separate and equal” doctrine established by *Plessy v. Ferguson* since 1896. *Brown* applied to public schools, *Plessy* pertained to segregation in all public places. *Brown* plaintiffs argued that racial segregation caused educational disparities. The Court affirmed that “separate” educational facilities violated African-American students’ constitutional right to equal protection under the 14th Amendment (Gutiérrez & Jaramillo, 2006).

The *Brown* decision signaled an extraordinary shift in educational policy for linguistic minorities. An important legacy of *Brown*’s is that judicial intervention is currently one of the main mechanisms to transform schooling in K-12 grades and in institutions of higher education. This law has demonstrated its capacity to redefine access and redistribute resources in issues of affirmative action, school funding, and in the implementation of equal opportunity to learn standards (Gutiérrez & Jaramillo, 2006).

Civil Rights Act of 1964 Title VI and Equal Education Opportunities Act of 1974.

The civil rights movement in the United States also started an important era of changes in the education of linguistic minorities. Specifically, with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, U.S. Congress set a minimum standard for the education of bilingual students. This act forbade discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in programs or activities receiving funding from the Federal government (Garcia, 2005). This law broadened the scope of *Brown* and extended it to different language groups under the national origin provision (Gándara, Moran, & Garcia, 2004).

Later, the passage of the Equal Education Opportunities Act (EEOA) of 1974, made Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act applicable to all educational institutions (Garcia, 2005). Both Title VI and EEOA brought attention to issues of educational equity and access. However, as shortcomings these laws did not define “equality” for policy makers; these laws did not prescribe a specific remedy, as the solution would be different from case to case, creating controversies (Garcia, 2005), controversies that continued thru several years later.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and Bilingual Education Act of 1968. In addition to the Civil Rights movement, national concern was directed towards battling poverty and improving the education of linguistic minority children. During these years, “cultural deprivation theory” and “culture of poverty theory” were on vogue; instead of genetics, lower-class values and culture were considered responsible for the low academic achievement of the children of these families (Crawford, 1989; Garcia, 2005) (according to San Miguel and Valencia (1998) these theories have repeated and re-emerged in the 21st century). With President Lyndon B. Johnson’s “War on Poverty” the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (ESEA) was passed in 1965 increasing federal intervention in funds

allocation to improve the education of language minorities (Crawford, 1989; Garcia, 2005; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

Along the same lines, President Johnson signed into law the *Bilingual Education Act* in 1968. This act signaled for the first time the commitment of the federal government to meet the educational needs of students with limited English skills (Crawford, 1989). The Bilingual Education Act (BEA) though was not an independent piece of legislation; it was an amendment added as Title VII of ESEA. It functioned to legitimize bilingual education programs, to assign federal, modest, funds for experimental programs, and for research on bilingual education (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

BEA was a relevant addition since it recognized the educational problems encountered by students' inability to speak English and it assured federal support to improve their education (PL 90-247, Legislative History, 2779). BEA also suggested that "equal education" was different from "identical education" with the same teachers and within the same classrooms (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990, p. 32). However, BEA was a "remedial" effort to overcome children's "language deficiencies" that encouraged subtractive bilingualism (ideological pattern that has re-emerged in current federal law regulating the education of ELL students) since native languages and cultures were deemed barriers to overcome not resources (Garcia, 2005) under the umbrella of cultural deprivation theory.

H.E.W. Memorandum and Lau v. Nichols Supreme Court decision of 1974. Despite a renewed interest in bilingual education at the time, BEA had no power of enforcement. The U.S. Department of Housing, Education and Welfare (HEW) revealed a number of practices occurring at schools that had the effect of denying equality of educational opportunity to Spanish-surnamed children (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). The HEW Office for Civil Rights

decided in 1970 to send a memorandum reminding school districts of their civil rights (Title VI) responsibilities to national origin minority students (Castellanos, 1983). The HEW published Title VI regulations and guidelines for the schooling of language minority students. These interpretive guidelines stipulated that “school systems are responsible for assuring that students of a particular race, color, or national origin are not denied the opportunity to obtain education generally obtained by the students in the system” (33 Federal Register, 4956, 1970). The guidelines specified that “where inability to speak and understand English excludes national origin minority group children from effective participation in the educational program...the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency” (33 Federal Register, 11595, 1970).

In this manner, as a benefit for the equal education of national origin minority students, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) required effective instruction (including non-placement in special education programs for the mentally retarded based on their English skills) for children of foreign ancestry (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). Yet, as a shortcoming, it did not specify what this instruction should be and it did not mention native language teaching (Fitzgerald, 1993; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). Importantly, though, the HEW 1970 regulations and guidelines became the basis for subsequent court action (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

The legal obligation of districts to provide effective instruction for non-English speaking pupils was put to test in 1974 with the *Lau v. Nichols* case. The *Lau* case was a lawsuit brought on behalf of 1,856 Chinese-American students attending San Francisco schools (by 1970 the district had identified 2,456 limited-English and native-Chinese speaking students, so, more than half of these children were not receiving any specialized

instruction) (Garcia, 2005). The suit claimed that the schools made no efforts, or did not take “affirmative steps,” to meet the instructional needs of these students, and thus they were denied of equal access to education (Garcia, 2005; Gándara, Moran, & Garcia, 2004). A lower federal court denied the Chinese-American community’s claim and ruled in favor of the district who refused to address the instructional needs of these children; the lower court argued that these students had already arrived to schools with “different advantages and disadvantages caused in partial by social, economic and cultural background, created and continued completely apart from any contribution by the school system” (Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563, 1974). The Supreme Court later overruled the lower court decision, affirming that in this case the Californian schools had violated *Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act* and the *HEW 1970 regulations*. The Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglass affirmed that,

There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education...Basic skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful. (Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563, 39 L. Ed. 2d 1, 1974)

As we can see, a relevant benefit of the Supreme Court *Lau v. Nichols* decision is that it defended the rights of non-English speaking children to have an education equal to that of their native English-speaking peers. This case is considered the major legal precedent on language rights in the United States, such as the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of one's membership in a language minority group (Crawford, 2000; Schmidt, 2000).

As a shortcoming though, the *Lau* decision did not endorse particular educational services, it did not order a specific remedy (e.g., bilingual education programs, ESL programs, or some other possibility) (Fitzgerald, 1993; Garcia, 2005; Gándara, Moran, & Garcia, 2004). Consequently, lower courts followed the guidelines set by the Supreme Court in the *Lau* case; they tended to select a remedy "case by case," to consider the numbers of minority students involved, and to rely on the "discriminatory effect" upon children's education (since "discriminatory intent" was not addressed by the high court) if schools violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and HEW guidelines of 1970 (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

Lau Remedies. After the *Lau* decision, since the Supreme Court did not prescribe a remedy for the conditions found unlawful, the HEW convened a panel of bilingual experts to develop guidelines implementing the Court decision. These guidelines, not mandates, known as *Lau Remedies* were issued in 1975. (Castellanos, 1983; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). According to Gándara, Moran, and Garcia (2004) the *Lau Remedies* advised schools to afford bilingual instruction when possible to elementary school children that did not speak English; the default program became Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) that would usually mainstream these children into regular classrooms within 2 to 4 years. Gándara, Moran, and Garcia (2004) added that English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) was proposed for

older pupils and for those with some understanding of the English language, leaving the option for schools to develop other approaches as well for older students.

Furthermore, Ovando (2003) asserted that the legacy of Lau Remedies is that they required suitable pedagogical strategies and moving students into mainstream classrooms in a timely fashion (over the sink-or-swim previous practice of schools), professional standards for bilingual teachers, and specifically the implementation of bilingual education in school districts when a minimum of 20 students representing the same native non-English language are enrolled in the same school building.

Equal Education Opportunities Act of 1974. After the *Lau* decision had been made by the high court, the U. S. Congress codified it into the *Equal Education Opportunities Act* (EEOA) in 1974. EEOA extended the *Lau* Supreme Court's ruling to *all* public school districts, not only those receiving federal funds (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). The EEOA required districts to "take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs" (20. U. S. C. Sec.1703f) (<http://uscode.house.gov/download/pls/20C39.txt>). Failure to take "appropriate action" even when no "discriminatory intent" was found, was a violation in itself of EEOA. Yet, as a shortcoming, EEOA did not establish what this "appropriate action" was, leaving its interpretation to the courts with the case by case remedy approach that had been used in past court cases (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

Castañeda v. Pickard case of 1981. The *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981) case provided more specific guidelines to determine if school districts were in compliance with EEOA, and meeting the spirit of *Lau* in that schools cannot ignore the special language needs of non-English speaking students (Garcia, 2005; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Ovando, 2003). In this

case, in 1981 the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals found the school district in Raymondville, Texas in violation of students' civil rights under the EEOA of 1974

(www.stanford.edu/~kenro/LAU/IA Policy/ IA1bCastanedaFullText.htm.)

The court then formulated three criteria for evaluating school programs serving these students. These three steps were: 1) The school program must be based on “sound educational theory”; 2) the program must be implemented effectively, with adequate resources and personnel; 3) the program must be evaluated and determined to be effective, not only in the teaching of language, but also in access to the full curriculum- math, science, social studies, and language arts (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003, p. 66). These three criteria are commonly referred to as the “Castañeda test” (Ovando, 2003), or “Castañeda Standards” (Garcia, 2005), and are so important that the Office for Civil Rights have used it as a template for compliance with the *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court Decision, and have been used in further court cases regarding the rights of LEP children in schools (Ovando, 2003).

Reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act in 1974. The *Bilingual Education Act* (BEA) of 1968 (or Title VII of ESEA) went through different revisions and re-authorizations during the following years. The first reauthorization represented progress in addressing the educational needs of non-native English speaking students. In 1974 Congress encouraged “the establishment and operation... of education programs using bilingual education practices, techniques, and methods” (BEA, 1974, Sec 702 [a]). This was an important change in educational policy distinctive of the Opportunist period, since it specifically included language and culture to provide equal educational opportunity to ELL children in public schools (Castellanos, 1983; Garcia, 2005). This reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act also included a definition of bilingual education; for the first time in

language policy, bilingual education was defined as “instruction given in, and study of, English, and, to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system, the native language” (BEA, 1974, Sec. 703 (a) (4) (A) i).

The incorporation of native language instruction in this definition of bilingual education appeared to have been influenced by the success of bilingual education programs in Dade County, Florida. In fact, the country’s first bilingual program in the 20th century was established in Coral Way Elementary School in Miami in 1963, created to meet the needs of refugees that had migrated from Cuba’s emerging communist regime at the time. The accomplishment of this and other bilingual programs in Dade County, led to the creation of bilingual education programs throughout the United States (Garcia, 2005; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). Interestingly, the feat of the Florida bilingual programs, was in part shaped by different factors. Some of these factors were the middle-class status of the first wave of Cuban immigrants who were also well-educated professionals, the passage of the *Cuban Refugee Act* that provided special training and jobs for these exiles, the presence of trained teachers amongst the arriving Cubans, and a lesser degree of racism towards these light-skinned Latinas/os (Crawford, 2000; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003, p. 55). Hence, ideologies about specific linguistic and cultural minority groups influenced legislation and practice, once again.

The Bilingual Education Act (BEA) was reauthorized several times in the following years. Changes in BEA varied in tone and substance with new administrations, but most of them undercut bilingualism, which became characteristic of the Dismissive Period in the history of bilingual education in the United States.

Dismissive period: 1980s – to present. Language ideology and policy shifted again with changing political, economic, and socio-historical factors. Politicians, and the general public, reacted defensively against racial, cultural, and language diversity brought by increasing levels of immigrants since the mid-1980s, mostly from Latin American and Southeast Asian countries. Several laws were passed for the “legal protection of English” and the restriction of instruction in other languages (Crawford, 2000). The politics of language education provided the context for anti-bilingual initiatives that started in the 1980s and continued during the 1990s (Ovando, 2003).

In the following section of this chapter I will briefly review these laws, and their benefits and shortcomings. These laws shaped the political context for the education of EL children at Parks school, the site of my research. I will begin with the different re-authorizations of the Bilingual Education Act (or Title VII) in 1978, 1984, 1988, and 1994. I will then review the changes incorporated with the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.

Reauthorizations of the Bilingual Education Act in 1978, 1984, 1988, 1994. The reauthorizations of the Bilingual Education Act in 1978, 1984, and 1988 had the effect of weakening support for native language instruction and increasing funds for English-only programs; emphasis was placed on achieving competence in the English language (Garcia & Wiese, 2002). The 1978 reauthorization stated that native language would be used solely to transition into English. The 1984 reauthorization assigned funds to Special Alternative Instructional Programs (SAIPS) that used no native-language instruction. The 1988 reauthorization went even further to undermine bilingualism; students could be enrolled in bilingual education programs for no more than 3 years (Fitzgerald, 1993; Gándara & Rumberger, 2009).

The 1994 reauthorization of BEA returned the focus of the legislation, albeit with limitations, to the development of bilingualism. This reauthorization focused on the development of “proficiency in English, and to the extent possible, their native language” (BEA, 1994, Sec. 7111 [2] [A]) and gave “priority to applications that provided for the development of bilingual proficiency both in English and another language for all participating students” (BEA, 1994, Sec. 7116 [I] [1]).

This optimistic change in BEA seemed influenced by the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* and the *Improving America's Schools Act (IASA, formerly ESEA)* of 1994. These legislations promoted equality and quality education for all children regardless of their linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). Also, such initiative made possible, in part, the establishment or continuation of maintenance (or late-exit) bilingual programs and two-way bilingual (or dual-language) programs (Ovando, 2003).

However, beyond Washington, interest groups that opposed bilingual education began to emerge. Political activist groups such as U. S. English, English Only, and English First, influenced by nativist and melting-pot ideologies that tend to demonize “The Other,” pressured schools to return to sink-or-swim ideological practices. The pressure against bilingual education programs was more palpable in states with large numbers of linguistic minorities in the public school system; states such as California, Arizona, Colorado, Washington, and Massachusetts passed laws favoring English-only immersion programs or banning bilingual education up to present (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Ovando, 2003). Hence, patterns of ideologies of domination and exclusion, similar to those enacted during

“The Great Migration” years of 1880 to 1924, repeated once again in the last decades of the 19th century.

The promissory shift in federal language policy brought by the 1994 reauthorization of BEA was short-lived. With the pressure of activist groups and a new federal administration, educational policy for linguistic minority students changed once again. The new education act was included in the *No Child Left Behind* legislation. This is the federal policy that regulated the schooling of EL students at Parks school, at the time of my research study.

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Under the administration of President George W. Bush, the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was signed into law the year of 2001. NCLB replaced the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII) with the *Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students* (Title III of NCLB), and the name “bilingual” was totally removed from legislation and all federal offices and programs (Wiley & Wright, 2004). The purpose of Title III became “to ensure that children who are limited English proficient, including immigrant children and youth, attain English proficiency” (NCLB, 2001, Title III, Sec. 301) (www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/107-110.pdf). The instructional emphasis of NCLB for non-native speakers of English in schools, thus, is the acquisition of English instead of bilingualism (Spring, 2007); yet NCLB allows for “instructional use of both English and a child’s native language” (NCLB, 2001, Title III, Sec. 301) (www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/107-110.pdf)

Essentially, NCLB requires greater “accountability for results” in the form of “higher academic standards” and annual testing in grades three through eight, and increasingly severe sanctions for “failing schools.” NCLB Title III allocates funds for school programs based on “formula grants” administered by state education agencies (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003).

According to some scholars, NCLB has both benefited and hindered the education of English learners in American schools. On one hand, NCLB's benefit is that it "protects" ELL students more than some state laws actually do. Gándara and Rumberger (2009) view this "protection" in that NCLB highlights the educational needs of ELLs and in the feasibility of having some academic testing in their native language. First, as part of the greater "accountability for results," states have to disaggregate achievement data by different groups of students. The specific progress of the group of ELL students must be included in the state reports; this requirement makes more visible the educational needs of these pupils. Second, NCLB recommended, where operable, the assessment of ELLs in their native language for the first 3 years that they are in the United States, up to 5 years with review.

On the other hand, NCLB has hindered the education of ELL students in different ways. The "accountability" configuration built under NCLB is inflexible to the distinct challenges that ELLs encounter. This Act requires developing and attaining Annual Measurable Achievement Objectives (AMAOS) for "English proficiency" that Wiley and Wright (2004) deem "strict, complex, and questionable" (p. 157). In addition, NCLB requires districts and schools to demonstrate Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) for all students including ELLs, in order to meet state proficiency standards, by the year 2014. If schools fail to make AYP, they risk losing their accreditation; ELLs could be stigmatized as the "source of problems" for failing schools (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009). Within such political context, when these students are blamed for problems at school, ideologies of victim-blaming and exclusion are enacted. Patterns of dominant ideologies about linguistic and cultural minorities repeat once again.

Summary. This historical review of bilingual education in the United States explains how changing localized political, economic, and social factors have shaped the nation's response to linguistic diversity. These factors have influenced changes in ideologies about linguistic minority groups and their education. Thus, language ideologies and policies have not sustained a stable course. Also, relevant ideological patterns have repeated throughout history, in the face of perceived threats to national identity and security.

Patterns of language ideology and policy re-emerged with changes in geographic (e.g., territorial expansion) and demographic factors (e.g., rise in immigration). Xenophobic attitudes surfaced in the dominant majority of the time, with increased migration of certain groups who were wrongly perceived as racially, culturally, and linguistically inferior (e.g., immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe in the late 1800's, and immigrants from Latin American and Southeast Asian countries since the 1980's). These peoples with their different traditions, values, languages, and semblance have been deemed a threat to the "American identity."

Ideological patterns of exclusion and marginalization of the strange "others" also repeated in times of political turmoil and warfare. During World War I suspicion grew towards German-Americans because of assumed possible ties with the European enemies. Several members of this linguistic minority (common civilians unrelated to the ongoing war) were penalized for speaking German even in their churches and homes; they were unfairly chastised and marginalized. Similarly, during World War II, several Japanese-Americans were confined to concentration camps in southern states, because of their assumed possible alliance to the land of their ancestors; they also became ostracized and excluded.

Many decades later, this ideological pattern re-emerged at the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11 in New York City. Analogous suspicion and mistrust was directed to Arab-Americans and other people of color who were “profiled” as the enemy. Thus, patterns of ideologies about linguistic and cultural minorities repeated at the perceived threat to “national security.” These patterns of language ideologies towards the strange “other” had also reemerged in the political, socio-economic, and demographic macro-level contexts where the micro cosmos of Parks Elementary School’s ESL program was nested. These issues will be explained later in Chapter 4.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter 1 is the introduction. This chapter contains the statement of issues, personal and critical experiences with ideologies of English language learning, purpose of the study, significance of my approach to the study, limitations of the study, clarification of terms, historical review of bilingual education, and overview of chapters. Chapter 2 is the background. This chapter encompasses the theoretical framework, legal requirements for the schooling of ELL students, and the literature review. Chapter 3 is the methodology. This chapter includes descriptions of the design of the study, the site of research, the participants, research questions, data collection procedures, and data analysis procedures. Chapter 4 is a findings chapter about the historical development, past and present, of the educational program for ELL students at Parks school. Chapter 5 is another findings chapter. This chapter presents the expectations of different participants about the school performance of ELL children at Parks school. Chapter 6 is the last findings chapter. This chapter presents and analyses the social interactions that occurred among ELL students in the ESL classroom, and between ELL students and their English native speaking peers and teachers in the 5th grade

regular classroom. Chapter 7 contains the summary of findings, discussion and conclusions, and educational and research implications.

Chapter 2

Background

The background chapter includes three major sections. The first section is the theoretical framework which includes conceptions of language socialization, critical perspective on literacy, language ideology, cultural production, and linguistic racialization. In this first section I underscore the interconnections between these constructs and power hierarchies, agency, resistance, and schooling in the classroom life of ELL students. The second section is a review of the present, at the time of my data collection, legal context at federal, state, and school district levels. In this section I underline the specific legal federal and state, and also local district and school, requirements for the assessment and instruction of ELL students. In the third section I describe and examine research studies that have used the frame of language ideologies. The reviewed studies included focus on issues of identity, social interactions, and parents' and teacher's ideologies, as they relate to the purpose of my study. I proceed now to elaborate on the theoretical constructs guiding my research.

Theoretical Framework

In this dissertation, in order to understand the constraints and opportunities of the educational program for ELL students at Parks Elementary, I use conceptions of language socialization, critical perspective on literacy, language ideology, cultural production, and linguistic racialization to construct the theoretical framework. I proceed to briefly review conceptions of language socialization, and in particular of second language socialization, as it relates to this study.

Language socialization, power, and schooling. Language plays a pivotal role in the socialization processes. Socialization, as a set of intertwined and intricate processes, “is realized to a great extent through the use of language, the primary symbolic medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated and instantiated” (Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 339). That is, language is the medium by which individuals learn a sociocultural group’s ways of “being” and “doing” (Zentella, 2005). These cultural ways, though, are not merely internalized by group members; they are negotiated and contested, and can be reproduced and transformed (Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002).

Traditionally, language socialization has been concerned with how children, or other “novices,” are socialized by caregivers, or other “experts,” *through* the use of language, simultaneously as they are socialized *to use* language in their community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; 1989). More recent studies in language socialization have focused on the particularities of the language processes that take place in sociolinguistically and culturally heterogeneous communities. Some of these studies have centered on the phenomena of language change, shift, and loss (e.g., Field, 2001; Garret, 2000). Other studies highlight the language maintenance and contestation of community boundaries (Fader, 2001), alongside with language preservation and revival (Bayley & Schecter, 2005; Pease-Alvarez, 2002). Also, other studies have underlined the construction of ethnic and cultural identity (e.g., Baquedano-López, 2000; He, 2001) and the language myths (Zentella, 1997) or ideologies of language that intersect with identity and language choice (Farr & Barajas, 2005) in multilingual and bilingual settings.

Importantly, social conflict surfaces with the coexistence of two or more languages, or language varieties, in heterogeneous communities. Garret and Baquedano-López (2002), explained that,

The coexistence of two or more codes within a particular community, whatever the sociohistorical circumstances that have given rise to them or brought them into contact, is rarely a neutral or unproblematic state of affairs; it tends to be a focal point of cultural elaboration and social conflict with complex linkages to other, equally contested issues. Language differences (either real or perceived) [sic] may map onto and index, or may be used to constitute and reinforce, the boundaries of other social categories and divisions based on such notions as ethnicity, nationality, race, class, gender, religiosity, and generation. (p. 350)

The language conventions, practices, and behavioral expectations in linguistically heterogeneous contexts are grounded on underlying beliefs and views about languages and their speakers. Different languages and language varieties are invested with contrasting amounts of cultural capital, mirroring the unequal power and status of their speakers within particular contexts. Research on African American Vernacular English has produced the most advances in this field (e.g., Labov, 1972a; 1972b; Perry & Delpit, 1998; Smitherman, 1999).

Moreover, localized notions of what is a valid language, of who is regarded as an acceptable speaker, and of what can (and cannot) be done with (and done to) particular languages vary substantially and may originate far outside the immediate local context (Garret

& Baquedano-López, 2002). These notions reflect ideologies of language that radiate from larger societal contexts; ideologies of the macro-level milieu radiate onto micro-level spaces. Thus, the language ideologies of practice enacted in the local context of a school's classroom, may reflect, and in some cases reinterpret, the ideologies that mainstream society holds about linguistic minority groups. For example, in my dissertation, the influence of these ideologies of language can be examined through the expectations held by teachers and school administrators about the learning and achievement of ESL children and expectations about their parents' support for education.

Furthermore, recent language socialization research has questioned the verticality emphasized in expert-novice relationships. Particularly in second-language socialization, scholars have pointed to the horizontal direction of expert-novice socialization and identity formation (Foley, 1990; Jacoby & Gonzales, 1991; Meador, 2005). These studies unveiled the socially situated co-construction of novice (second language learner) and expert (teachers and classmates who are native speakers of the target language) identities and the interactions between them. This co-construction of someone's status (for example, I would say, ESL students in my dissertation) relative to others' (for example, I would say, non-ESL students in my dissertation) knowledge and identity can be achieved, in collaboration (Jacoby & Gonzalez, 1991), or in opposition (Meador, 2005), during social interactions. In this manner, second-language status can be used in daily interactions to try to enforce, or resist, stigmatized identities (Rymes, 1997). Within this frame, then, resistance and agency can take place. These constructs are further developed in a critical perspective on literacy.

Critical perspective on literacy. A critical perspective on literacy addresses the link between the literacy practices of classrooms and larger ideological processes (Lankshear & McLaren, 1993; Street, 2003). Literacy practices are embedded in power relations, they are always contested; they are ideological (Street, 2001). Literacy teaching and learning are indeed political acts (Willis & Harris, 2000). In this manner, even though research has shown that using the linguistic and cultural resources of ELLs would facilitate and enhance their literacy learning (McCarty, 2005; Moll & González, 1994; Moll, 2000, 2001), such as those valuable resources of other linguistic and cultural minorities (e.g.: Carol D. Lee's (1995; 2000) "cultural modeling" and Gloria Ladson-Billings' (1992; 1994) "culturally relevant teaching" with African-American students), dominant ideological views on literacy tend to devalue and overlook these diverse students' learning resources (Bernier & Street, 1994).

Moreover, a critical perspective informs critical literacy and critical pedagogy which intend to develop voice and seek to enable transformative action in pursuit of social justice for ELLs and marginalized students at schools (Freire, 1970; Freire & Macedo, 1987). Pennycook (2001) believes that for North American critical literacy the voices, ideas, cultures, and languages of marginalized students are silenced by dominant curricula and teaching practices in mainstream schools. The focus of this perspective is, then, on the notion of "voice" or the opening up of a space for disenfranchised students to speak, write, or read in ways that transform their lives and the social system that rejects them (Pennycook, 2001). Henry Giroux (1988) argued that voice "constitutes the focal point" for critical literacy, because "the concept of voice represents the unique instances of self-expression through which students affirm their own class, cultural, racial, and gender identities" (p. 199). Voice, then, refers to a battle for power to express oneself when that form of expression is devalued and ignored by

mainstream social and cultural practices. Voice refers to “our own articulation of agency” against structures of exclusion (Pennycook, 2001).

Furthermore, Paulo Freire (1970) affirmed that literacy teaching was always political whether it was domesticating (banking education) or liberating (liberatory education, critical pedagogy). Literacy learning is about learning to read the world, as Freire explained,

Reading the world always precedes reading the word, and reading the word implies continually reading the world... In a way, however, we can go further and say that reading the word is not preceded merely by reading the world, but by a certain form of writing it or rewriting it, that is of transforming it by means of conscious, practical work. For me, this dynamic movement is central to the literacy process. (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 35)

Freire (1970) also considered literacy learning as a form of “conscientization” that allows marginalized individuals to understand that the conditions in which they live are not natural, but a system against which they could take cultural transformative action. In this manner, Lankshear and McLaren (1993) explained that learners must learn how to actively make connections between their living conditions and being, and the making of reality. Learners need to consider the possibility for “new makings” of reality, of the new possible beings that emerge from those new makings, and commit to shaping a regenerative history. These new makings are a collective and shared enterprise in which all participants exert their voice and transformative action.

Indeed, ELL students, their parents, and teachers can exercise agency and resistance against hegemonic and oppressive language ideologies. These ideologies are explicit in educational policy and others are implicit in school practices (Manyak, 2006; Saldaña & Mendez-Negrete, 2005; Shannon, 1995). Overcoming the hegemony of Standard English in the literacy teaching and learning of ELLs, creates a classroom environment in which different linguistic and cultural resources become valuable tools for learning. Marginalized ELL students can be liberated and empowered; they can be active participants enriching their own and their classrooms' educational experience (Shannon, 1995).

In short, a critical stance on second language socialization and on literacy bring arguments about ideologies of language (Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004) and their mediational role in the literacy teaching and learning of ELL students. Volk and Angelova (2007) affirmed that “language ideologies are mediating discourses between social groups and the ways [or practices] in which they use language” (p. 179). The literacy learning of ELLs is considered to be mediated by language ideologies through social interactions in the many contexts in which learning takes place (Hawkins, 2004). Language ideologies are enacted in the context of power struggles among different interest groups (Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004). Hence, language and literacy learning for ELL students cannot be understood apart from classrooms, programs, and school contexts, as well as the social and political conflicts in which programmatic and educational policy decisions take place (Edelsky, 1991). In this manner, the construct of language ideologies is relevant to understanding the literacy teaching and learning of the ESL students at Parks Elementary School.

Language ideology. Conceptions of language ideology also comprise my theoretical framework. Language ideology can be considered a “newly coalescing field of linguistic inquiry” (Woolard, 1998, p. 5). This field developed from linguistic anthropological research (Gal, 1998; Kroskrity, 2000, 2006; Woolard, 1998), and has been employed as an analytical frame by investigators in other social sciences as well, including education (e.g., Bartolomé, 2008; Darder, Torres, & Baltodano, 2003).

The definitions of “language ideology” have changed over time and have emphasized distinct aspects of such a construct. The pioneering work of Michael Silverstein (1979) underlined the role of ideas about perceived linguistic structure and use. Later, the work of other researchers highlighted its loading of cultural, moral, and political interests (e.g., Irvine, 1989). More recent approaches to language ideology emphasized its pragmatic aspect as “construed social practice” (Woolard, 1998, p. 10) and in the ways in which it is “expressed and lived out by individuals and groups” (McLaren, 2002, p. 205).

In this dissertation, I use the term language ideology encompassing different aspects of this construct. I will also use interchangeably the terms “language ideologies,” “ideologies of language,” and “linguistic ideologies.” Language ideologies, then, are defined in this study as,

Beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states. These conceptions, whether explicitly articulated or embodied in communicative practice, represent incomplete, or ‘partially successful’, attempts to rationalize language usage; such rationalizations are typically multiple, context-bound, and

necessarily constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speaker. (Kroskrity, 2006, p. 192)

This definition points to four relevant features, or layers, of language ideology that could help us to understand the literacy teaching and learning in the educational program for ELL students at Parks Elementary School. First, language ideology represents and supports the interests of different social groups. Second, language ideologies are multiple and in conflict. Third, group members have different levels of awareness of enacted ideologies. Fourth, group members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk. I continue to explain each one of these features and how they are helpful to understanding the experiences of ESL students at Parks school.

The first feature of language ideologies is that they represent the perceptions of language and discourse that support the interests of sociocultural groups, as Kroskrity's (2006) definition suggested. Language becomes the site to promote, protect, and legitimize economic and political interests. Different groups' interests are supported in notions of truth, morality, and worth, as evidenced, for example, in the privileged discourse of standard languages (Kroskrity, 2000) or in a nation-state official language policy (Errington, 2000).

Pierre Bourdieu (1991) discussed this relationship by highlighting important links between linguistic ideologies and political and economic activity. He directed attention to the production of dominant linguistic ideologies through "symbolic domination." Bourdieu proposed that the language ideology of dominant groups requires complicity on the part of other interest groups. Bourdieu (1991) explained this complicity not in the form of passive submission or free agreement with dominant ideologies, but in the form of a "slow process of acquisition" that occurs "without consciousness and constraint" (p. 50-51). In this way,

Bourdieu's notion of "symbolic domination" is problematic; it assumes a social determinism in which the language of dominant groups is unconsciously or inevitably accepted by lower social classes. His approach to language ideology denies individuals' agency and willful resistance, which can defiantly take place even in the midst of firmly entrenched educational policies (Manyak, 2006; Pennycook, 2001; Relaño Pastor, 2008). Even though Bourdieu's symbolic domination has been criticized for its determinism, his work pointed to meaningful connections between language ideology and political and economic activity.

Furthering the idea that language ideologies represent the interests of different socio-cultural groups, Susan Gal (1998) affirmed that the power of dominant language ideologies resides in their ability to constitute social positionality; that is, to valorize a social group or position and its language practices and knowledge over those of other groups. This ideological power ultimately legitimizes the formulation of some possible forms of action and the exclusion of others. The construct of language ideology is helpful to understand, in the context of the literacy teaching and learning of ESL students, which literacy practices are legitimized, which are not, and why.

The second feature of language ideologies is that they are multiple and in contestation. The multiplicity of language perspectives in the members of social formations, have the potential to produce conflict and contestation. Language ideologies create alternate realities (Gal, 1998). This view on the contention of language ideology is not a systemic reproduction of ideological domination per se (Bourdieu, 1991; Willis, 1977), but an intricate juxtaposition of divergent ideologies (Kroskrity, 2000; 2006). The notion of juxtaposed ideologies debunks the myth of a unique, stable, and monolithic dominant ideology. This notion also undermines a simplified view of a dichotomy of rival ideologies, dominant and subordinate. Indeed, the

language ideologies of elite groups are neither homogenous nor always stable (Briggs, 1998; Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998). Gal (1998) argues that “hegemony is never absolute or total. Rather, it is a process, constantly being made, partial, productive of contradictory consciousness in subordinate populations, therefore fragile, unstable, vulnerable to the making of counter-hegemonies” (p. 321). Finally, multiple language ideologies, within and across social formations, can also be juxtaposed resulting in conflict, confusion, and contradiction (Kroskrity, 2000; 2006). Second language literacy learning can be understood as influenced by multiple language ideologies. The juxtaposition of different language ideologies can create tensions and contradictions in the classroom life of ESL students.

The third feature of language ideologies is that group members have different degrees of awareness and expression of ideologies. A language ideology is explicit in educational policy, for example regulating school programs and placement of ESL students at schools. Policy makers, and users, though, have different degrees of awareness of the ideological content and purpose of legislation about language. Other local language ideologies are not explicit and must be read from actual usage (Kroskrity, 2000; 2006). They are implicit in practice and their users are probably oblivious of their enactment. In fact, when ideological practices have been naturalized, or relatively unchallenged, the level of awareness appears as minimal (Bartolomé, 2008; Halcón, 2001). When ideologies have been naturalized, they are unconsciously internalized and manifested at the individual level. Darder, Torres, and Baltodano (2003) explained that,

[Ideology must] be understood as existing at the deep, embedded psychological structures of the personality. Ideology more often than not manifests itself in the inner histories and

experiences that give rise to questions of subjectivity as they are constructed by individual needs, drives, and passions, as well as the changing material conditions and social foundations of a society. (p. 13)

Teachers' language ideologies may be reflected in their beliefs, attitudes, expectations of EL students in their classrooms; teachers' ideologies may also influence their social interactions with and teaching to EL pupils (Bartolomé, 2008; Bartolomé & Balderrama, 2004). These personal ideologies reflect societal ideologies about EL children and their families, which change over time and circumstances.

Moreover, different levels of expression of ideologies of language extend from discursive to practical. Different levels of expression of ideologies may be manifest in the literacy development of ESL students. Varying degrees of awareness and expression of local language ideologies are discernible from the relationships amongst macro and micro levels of social phenomena (Cleghorn & Genesee, 1984; Gal, 1998) and sites of ideological social practice (institutions, interactional ritual, activities) (Goldstein, 2001; Hill, 2001). Degrees of awareness and expression of language ideologies are also apparent in words (nouns, pronouns) used with an "indexical meaning" (Koven, 2004; Kroskrity, 2000). For example, the pronouns "we" and "they" can be used to indicate group membership. This language use with an indexical meaning is actually tied to individuals' sociocultural and historical experiences; this function is further explained in the following feature of language ideology.

The fourth feature of language ideologies is that group members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk. Language ideologies bridge people's sociocultural experiences with their linguistic resources by tying them to certain features of

their sociocultural communities (Kroskrity, 2000; 2006). Language ideologies can link people's forms of talk, such as language varieties and different native languages, to the experiences lived as members of particular sociocultural and historical communities. This mediational role of language ideologies is manifest in group membership and a person's constructed identity. As illustration, Jim Cummins (2000) considered that people's uses of language ideologies can signal who are insiders and outsiders in dominant and minority groups. Dominant language ideologies may portray members of minority groups as not entitled to the same rights as the majority. These assumed rights, or absence of rights, could be explained from a coercive-collaborative continuum of language ideologies of practice. Cummins (2000) explained that,

Language ideologies represent statements of identity. They range along a continuum from coercive to collaborative in nature. In the former case, they are articulated as an expression of discursive power by dominant groups with the intent of eradicating, or at least curtailing, manifestations of linguistic diversity... These ideologies and policies express who belongs and who does not belong; who is an insider and who is on the outside looking in. They communicate clearly an absence of rights to those who do not conform to the codes of belonging. By contrast, language ideologies and policies that cluster along the collaborative end of the continuum emphasize what Richard Ruiz (1984) has termed *language as right* and *language as resource* [sic] orientations. (p. ix)

Furthermore, statements of identity and group membership are apparent in dominant language ideologies that support the assimilation of ESL students in schools (Crawford, 2000; Tse, 2001). ESL students are expected to be assimilated to the mainstream culture of schools by conforming to the “codes of belonging” expressed in their language and behaviors. Also, language choice in peer interactions of ESL children can be influenced by the indexical function of language ideologies (Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004). For example, ESL children can learn to use different languages for specific purposes in order to identify with different sociocultural groups and their values and norms of belonging. ESL children can also shift to a dominant language, and disregard and even lose their heritage languages, in order to identify themselves with the dominant majority, and not with the linguistic and cultural minority that is often marginalized in mainstream school culture. I proceed now to provide different definitions of the term culture; I emphasize the construct of “cultural production” as it is used in this dissertation.

Schools are sites of cultural production. Culture has been conceptualized in many different ways in education research. A limited and static view of culture conceptualized it as a set of pre-existing features that can be acquired or transmitted between generations that, in turn, promote or hinder learning in educational settings. This conceptualization of culture looks at appropriate behaviors, attitudes, beliefs, and values in order to achieve certain goals (Eisenhart, 2001). Since the “appropriateness” of cultural forms depended on who was considered the “normative” group, research with this static view of culture focused on the differences or mismatch between mainstream teachers’ and minority students’ cultures (Heath, 1983; Phillips, 1972). This perspective of cultural mismatch overlooks the fluidity and dynamics of culture and individuals’ resistance and agency.

A more recent and broader conceptualization of culture accounts for its ongoing production in social interactions (Eisenhart, 2001). This notion of culture is explained by Levinson and Holland (1996), who define culture as a set of meaningful practices produced through relations between groups that, in a particular context, become dominant or subordinate. In that context there is possibility of change arising from the active expressions of groups in communication with each other. In this manner, culture is actively produced and transformed by different actors. Such an expanded view of culture recognizes possibilities for the resistance and agency of group members while they negotiate different ideological meanings.

Indeed, cultural production assumes that social agents are actively involved in the continual process of creating meaning. This process is bidirectional in which agents socialize one another. According to this view, the production of cultural practices is not considered a unilateral process where only schools socialize students and mainly replicate ideologically-laden cultural practices from larger societal contexts, as opposed to cultural “reproduction” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990/2000; Freire, 1985). Instead, according to cultural production students are not considered passive receptors or bearers of cultural practices. They actively appropriate, reject, transform, and create new cultural practices and identities in a continuous and bidirectional process that also shapes schools (Foley, 1990; Meador, 2005).

Levinson and Holland (1996) argue that schools as sites of cultural production account for the practices of a variety of actors. These actors include students and teachers, as elucidated before, and also hegemonic groups, bureaucracies, and states. Levinson and Holland (1996) assert,

Like all aspects of hegemony, schools must appeal to popular demands and popular consciousness, articulating them to dominant projects in novel ways. Teachers play a crucial role in enforcing such models of the educated person, though they may in practice challenge or ignore the models bequeathed them by policy makers and politicians. And just as schools discourses and practices specify the properly “educated person,” they may also reproduce inequalities by defining and producing the “uneducable person”...Finally, students and their families exercise agency in responding to the practices and discourses of the school. They, too, engage in the cultural production of practices and discourses of the educated person. (p.24)

The construct of cultural production is appropriate for my dissertation. This construct helped me to understand how the participants in the educational program for ELL students produce cultural practices. It also helped me to comprehend how participants exercise resistance and agency while negotiating different cultural and ideological meanings. For example, the construct of cultural production helped me to understand how the ESL focal students in my dissertation research challenged the identity imposed by LEP labels in the political and ideological contexts of the state, district, and school.

Linguistic racialization: conflation of language, race, and social class. Conceptions of linguistic racialization also comprise my theoretical framework, since ideological discourse on language often has a racializing function (Hill, 2001; Lippi-Green, 1997; Shuck, 2006; Schmidt, 2002; Urciuoli, 1998). Shuck (2006) explained that,

Public discourse surrounding the use of non-standard varieties of English and non-English languages in the United States, for example, is *racialized* [sic] - that is, expressed with indirect or direct reference to racial categories or using rhetorical patterns most often associated with discussions of race and ethnicity, so that an undercurrent of racial distinctions runs through discourse about linguistic difference. (p. 260)

In this manner, racialization, yet not a novel construct (see Robert Miles, 1982; 1989; 1993), has gained emphasis in education research to “interpret more lucidly the conditions faced by Latino populations” and to advance “our understanding of exclusionary practices that give rise to structural inequalities (Darder, 2011, p. 312).

Racialization is defined by Darder and Torres (2004) as “a process by which populations are categorized and ranked on the basis of phenotypical traits or cultural signifiers” (p. 13) in which “economic and political power is implicated because of its explicit (or implicit) [sic] purpose of legitimating the exploitation or exclusion of racialized groups” (p. 13).

Moreover, symbolic links between language and race are also associated with economic, national, and moral categories, as if those features were part of a social group’s inherent nature (Darder, 2011; Gal & Irvine, 1995; Urciuoli, 1998; Woolard, 1998), and also despite the fact that minority communities are never monolithic (Darder, 2011). Language figures into a conflation of race and social class in several ways (Urciuoli, 1998). For example, non-English languages spoken in the homes of English Language Learners are perceived not only as an inherent liability of racialized groups, but also as a barrier to class

mobility (Urciuoli, 1998). This barrier is wrongly perceived by the general public as permanent language interference in the development of English proficiency, thus, bilingual education for ELL students is viewed as a menacing millstone, and as an unnecessary expenditure, at American schools.

In the case of Latina/o Spanish speaking ELL students, Urciuoli (1998) explained,

Hegemonically, Spanish itself is regarded as a barrier to class mobility because it displaces English. Accents, “broken” English, and “mixing” [sic] become signs of illiteracy and laziness, which people are morally obliged to control through education. Not controlling language results in “bilingual confusion.” Bilingual neighborhoods are equated with slums, an equation familiar to people who live in them. (p. 26)

The conflation of language, race, and social class is useful in this research study to better understanding power issues and ideologies underlying historical inequities (e.g., historical and current development of the educational program for ELL students at Parks Elementary school) and interpersonal inequities (e.g., expectations of teachers regarding the academic achievement of ESL students; contested social interactions between ESL and non-ESL students in the 5th grade regular classroom of Parks school). Such intersectionality is unveiled by developing a “critical consciousness” (Willis et al., 2008) of the myriad power issues that permeate teaching and learning in schools; especially power issues that underlie historical, societal, and interpersonal inequalities and inequities that intersect with notions of race, class, linguistic background, and immigrant status, among other social categories (Willis

et al., 2008), for instance in educational programs for Latina/o Spanish-native speaking ELL students.

Politics Surrounding the Schooling of ELL Students: Legal Requirements for Assessment and Instruction

At the time when this dissertation work was proposed and data were collected, Parks Elementary school, its school district, and the Midwestern state where Parks was located, were under the accountability structures set by NCLB act of 2001. In this section of the chapter, I analyze the assessment and instruction of ELL students, as per regulated by current federal and state educational policy, as well as by local district and school requirements.

Assessment for placement. Within the policy context of this research study, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) federal law, with its focus on high academic standards and high expectations for all students (U.S. Department of Education, 2001), required the assessment of non-native English speaking children in the accomplishment of academic standards earlier and more widely than in past decades (García, McKoon, & August, 2008).

NCLB required that all states evaluate the English proficiency and literacy of all entering ELLs to determine which students needed educational services to ensure their achievement of high academic standards (P. L. 107-110, § 301, 3102, 2) (<http://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/107-110.pdf>). This federal policy also specified procedures for states and schools to apply for Title III funds (English proficiency growth) that helped implement these educational services (<http://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/107-110.pdf>)

To accomplish its goals, NCLB established that EL students newly registering in all states should be given a home language survey to indicate the language spoken in the

household. This survey should indicate if these children speak any languages other than English. If the survey showed that the students may be English Language Learners, then school districts were required to evaluate these students with a standards-based language proficiency test to establish if they were “Limited English Proficient” and, thus, in need of specialized instruction (P. L. 107-110 § 3121, (d), (1), p. 1702)

(<http://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/107-110.pdf>)

In the state where Parks Elementary school was located, the placement of ELLs in language support programs included using the home language survey and the ACCESS standards-based test (www.isbe.net/bilingual/htmls/access_background.htm). The home language survey was given to all ELL students newly registering in the school district in pre-K through grade 12. The survey included two questions that were answered by the student’s parents or legal guardians. The questions were: 1) Does anyone in your home speak a language other than English? 2) Does your son/daughter speak a language other than English? According to the state board of education, if the parents or legal guardians of the child answered yes to either or both questions in the survey, then this student was supposed to be evaluated for English proficiency with the standards-based test ACCESS for ELLs® to determine placement in specific programs providing language services (www.isbe.net/bilingual/htmls/access_background.htm).

Also, according to the state board of education, ACCESS for ELLs® stands for “Assessing Comprehension and Communication in English State-to-State for English Language Learners.” The test manual found in the same website described ACCESS as a “large-scale test of English language proficiency” (p.5). The test was designed based on the WIDA (World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment) consortium (a group of of

professionals acting as consultants for 16 states in the country); the consortium wrote standards for English language development in their approach to teaching and evaluating ELLs in grades K-12 (www.isbe.net/bilingual/pdfs/access_admin_manual.pdf).

In addition, based on the information of the test manual, ACCESS was divided into 4 areas: Listening, reading, writing, and speaking. The first 3 areas were group-administered and centrally scored. The speaking section was given individually to each student and scored by the school tester. The teachers administering the ACCESS test at the school had to be trained and certified by the state in order to be able to administer the test (www.isbe.net/bilingual/pdfs/access_admin_manual.pdf). Based on the results of the ACCESS test, ELs could be classified as “Limited English Proficient” (LEP) if they obtained a composite score less than 4.0/6.0 as stipulated during the fiscal year 2008-2009 when my study took place. These LEP students then were eligible for language support services or Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) or Transitional Program of Instruction (TPI) (www.isbe.net/bilingual/htmls/tbe_tpi.htm).

Importantly, the transitional nature of these support services did not focus on bilingualism. Bilingualism was not the desired educational outcome of such support programs. Instead, it was deemed a passage to English language dominance, or even to monolingualism, for ELLs in elementary schools.

Assessment of academic achievement and progress. At the time of this research study, the state board of education website said that the standards-based test ACCESS (also established by the state to be used for placement of ESL children, as explained in the previous section) and the standards-based test ISAT should be used to assess the progress of ELL students (www.isbe.net/assessment/pdfs). These state requirements responded to the NCLB

mandates to assess the level of English proficiency attained by ELs in programs supported with Title III federal funds and to evaluate their achievement of academic standards (P. L. 107-110 § 3121, (d), (1), (2), p. 1702).

Following federal requirements, ISAT (the state Standards Achievement Test) began to replace the test IMAGE (the state Measure of Annual Growth in English) used in previous years with ELL children in the state and district schools. IMAGE, normed on ELL students, was the standards-based test administered to these children who were not yet ready to participate in regular assessments. IMAGE was used to measure the progress in reading and mathematics of ELs in grades 3 through 8 and 11 (www.isbe.net/assessment/pdfs/2007_IMAGE_guide.pdf). ISAT, a standards-based test normed on native English speakers, replaced IMAGE because the latter instrument did not meet NCLB criteria; it was not tied to state standards. This change took place in March 2008 (Ricklefs, 2008).

In addition to standards-based tests, other instruments were used in the school district to assess the academic achievement and progress of EL students. These instruments were the test DIBELS (Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills) (<https://dibels.uoregon.edu/measures.php?iframe=true&width=100%&height=100%>) to assess reading fluency, the ThinkLink computerized achievement tests in reading and mathematics (http://www.discoveryeducation.com/aboutus/newsArticle.cfm?news_id=472), and the DRA (Developmental Reading Assessment) test for reading comprehension (<https://knowledgebase.pearsonschool.com/index.php?/DRATEchnicalManual.pdf>)

An important note to add is that, all these assessment instruments, except for replacing the DRA with Rebecca Sitton Spelling Program tests (www.sittonspelling.com), were employed at Parks school to evaluate the academic achievement and progress of EL pupils.

The test DIBELS

(<https://dibels.uoregon.edu/measures.php?iframe=true&width=100%&height=100%>) was used three times a year to assess oral reading fluency. EL children at Parks who obtained low scores in DIBELS were assigned to work with Title I English teachers in a pull-out format, which sometimes occurred during the Spanish class.

Assessment for exiting from language support services. According to the state board of education website, following NCLB requirements, the definite criterion to determine English proficiency seemed to be the composite score in the ACCESS standards-based test. At the time of this research study, that is, during the fiscal year 2008-2009, the composite score in the test was supposed to be ≥ 4.0 on a scale where the maximum score was 6.0. ELL students with a composite score $\geq 4.0/6.0$ (during the same fiscal year 2008-2009) were then considered English proficient and no longer Limited English Proficient. This website clarified, though, that school districts could add other indicators to determine whether EL students were ready to exit TBE or TPI programs for language support (www.isbe.net/bilingual/htmls/access_background.htm).

Instruction of ELL students. According to state law, which in turn responded to federal mandates, the students identified as LEP with the ACCESS test used to assess English proficiency could be enrolled in two program options. These options were a Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) program and a Transitional Program of Instruction (TPI). These programs were intended to meet the needs of LEP children, and to facilitate their move to regular public school curriculum (www.isbe.net/bilingual/htmls/tbe_tpi.htm). In this section of the chapter I will explain the requirements for creating and implementing such programs.

State law set requirements to create a TBE program within the same school building.

The state Administrative Code 228, section 25, determined that,

When an attendance center has an enrollment of 20 or more limited English proficient students of the same language classification, the school district must establish a transitional bilingual education program for each language classification represented by those students. A further assessment of those students to determine their specific programmatic needs or for placement in either a full-time or a part-time program may be conducted. (www.isbe.net/rules/archive/pdfs/228ARK.pdf)

As we can see, 20 was the minimum number of ELs from the same language group attending the same school, to be enrolled in a TBE. These children did not necessarily have to be in the same grade level. This was the preferred option, when the number of ELs per grade allowed it. But state law also permitted that children of different grade levels could be combined in a TBE program within the school, as long as each EL student received appropriate instruction to the level of educational attainment. The progress of each child in a TBE program, of the same grade level or in a combined grade level, was also to be recorded (105 ILCS 5/14C1-6). (www.isbe.state.il.us/bilingual/htmls/legislation_rules.htm).

State law also set requirements to create a TPI within a school building. The state Administrative Code 228, section 25, determined that,

When an attendance center has an enrollment of 19 or fewer students of limited English proficiency from any single non-English language, the school district shall conduct an individual

student language assessment to determine each student's need for native language instruction and may provide a transitional bilingual program in the non-English language common to such students. If the district elects not to provide a transitional bilingual program, the district shall provide a locally determined transitional program of instruction (TPI) for those students.

(www.isbe.net/rules/archive/pdfs/228ARK.pdf)

State law also stipulated, yet in general terms, the content of instruction in a TBE program. This content should include 3 main components: 1) academic courses required by state law and school district, given in the native language of the LEP students and also in English. 2) reading and writing in the native language along with instruction in oral comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing of English. 3) history and culture of the native country, or geographic area, of their parents, and also in the history and culture of the United States. (105 ILCS 5/14C1-2, f) (www.isbe.state.il.us/bilingual/htmls/legislation_rules.htm).

State law stipulated, also in general terms, the content of instruction in a TPI program. Such program may include “instruction in ESL, language arts in the students’ home language, and instruction in the history and culture of the country, territory, or geographic area that is the native land of the students or their parents, and in the history and culture of the United States” (IAC 228, p.14-15) (www.isbe.net/rules/archive/pdfs/228ARK.pdf). Yet a TPI could provide “content area instruction in a language other than English to the extent necessary to ensure that each student can benefit from educational instruction and achieve an early and effective transition to a regular school classroom.” (105 ILCS 5/14C1-3) (www.isbe.state.il.us/bilingual/htmls/legislation_rules.htm).

In short, legal requirements from the state were very detailed about the assessment of LEP students, but they were more generic about their instruction. The information about assessment was prolific and had clear procedures and deadlines. The guidelines for teacher's instruction were flexible but nonspecific, in particular more for the expected instruction of EL children in a TPI program, than for a TBE program. This lack of specificity may enable schools to implement different types of instruction, even ineffectual ones, to the detriment of ELLs the very students these programs are supposed to help.

Literature Review: Relevant Research on Language Ideologies and ELL Students

Studies using the construct of language ideology to study literacy experiences of ESL students constitute a recent area of research in the field (Volk & Angelova, 2007). Literature suggests that this type of research has focused on children's interactions and language choice in bilingual settings (Volk & Angelova, 2007), gender and identity development (Farr & Barajas, 2005; Hruska, 2004; Relaño-Pastor, 2008), parents' ideological discourses (Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004), teachers' instruction supporting biliteracy (Manyak, 2006; Shannon, 1995), teachers' instruction in bilingual and ESL settings (Hruska, 2000; Saldaña & Mendez-Negrete, 2005), teacher ideology (Bartolomé, 2004; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2008), and teaching and educational policy overseas making the pervasiveness of language ideologies in teaching an international linguistic phenomenon (Bekerman, 2005; Heller, 1999; Pacini-Ketchabaw & de Almeida, 2006).

In this section of the Background chapter, I review studies using language ideology for theoretical frame. I divide these studies in four areas, according to the research emphasis of the authors, and also in alignment with the purpose of my dissertation; that is, according to how these studies relate to the specific purpose of my dissertation. These four areas are:

identity construction, social interactions, parents' ideologies, and teacher ideology. Also, in this literature review I include research studies in which the participants were 10-12 years old, or enrolled in upper-elementary and middle school grades. These participants' age and grade level resemble those of my focal ESL students. However, when no studies have been done in a particular area of emphasis with children in the same age-range of my focal ESL students, I use studies with younger or older students. All the studies reviewed too are focused on Latina/o Spanish-English bilingual children. Studies whose participants have other linguistic and cultural minority backgrounds will be referenced in the dissertation when appropriate.

First, the research studies focused on identity construction demonstrate the presence of multiple, and sometimes ambivalent, language ideologies. Most of these studies have been conducted with participants in kindergarten in a school context (Hruska, 2004), and in an after-school community program with 4-5 years old children (Relaño-Pastor, 2008). The study conducted with families in which younger and *older* children were participants was Farr and Barajas' (2005). I will describe in detail and analyze this latter study because it was the only one including older children as participants, closer in age to my focal students.

Marcia Farr and Elías Domínguez Barajas (2005) conducted an ethnographic study about the influence of language ideology in the socialization and identity formation of Mexicans and Mexican-American adults and their children, young and older. The participants in the 15-year ethnography, which the authors used for some of the data for the 2005 report, were 3 generations of *rancheros* [small property ranchers-farmers] (p. 46) living in Chicago. These families lived in a "transnational network" (p. 47) where some members traveled often to their ranch in Mexico to oversee their avocado orchards and visit with relatives. Farr and Barajas described two distinctive ways of speaking Spanish in which children are socialized

into *ranchero* ideologies. These two ways of situated language use are a “serious” or regular talk contrasted with a more playful and poetic one. Both ways of speaking are embedded in the cultural and linguistic practice of *franqueza* [frankness, candor, and directness, including earthy, rough talk] (p. 48); a practice that historically developed in frontier regions of Mexico where *rancheros* lived and learned how to *defenderse* [defend oneself] verbally (p. 48). By speaking with *franqueza*, adults and children constructed their individualistic and self-assertive identity. These findings had two important implications. First, the study undermines common stereotypes of Mexicans as being non-assertive, especially women. Also, the *ranchero* identity, expressed and constructed through their unique ways of speaking Spanish, debunks the assumed dichotomy between American individualism and Mexican communalism. Second, the study showed the presence of multiple, and even ambivalent, language ideologies toward bilingualism and bilingual education. These *ranchero* families wanted their children to speak Spanish, but they were aware that their Spanish dialect was marked by non-standard features. Also, they recognized that English is the language of upward mobility, and were concerned that bilingual education would delay their children’s English acquisition.

Second, the research studies focused on students’ social interactions demonstrate that young children’s language ideologies were contradictory and evolving. Also, children’s language choice, even in bilingual settings, was influenced by a dominant English ideology enforced by state legislation (Relaño-Pastor, 2008; Volk & Angelova, 2007).

Dinah Volk and Maria Angelova (2007) conducted an ethnographic study exploring how language ideologies mediated social interactions and the language choices of young bilinguals in literacy group activities. These activities were carried out in the Spanish and

English first-grade classrooms of a dual-language (DL) program in a large Midwestern city. The program enrolled children whose home language was either English (to learn Spanish as second language) or Spanish (to learn English as second language). The findings of the study showed that the children were influenced by both an English dominant language ideology and the DL program's alternative ideology supporting bilingualism. The children negotiated who had the power to decide which language to use in the classrooms. For example, in the English classroom, the Spanish dominant girls tried to comply with the rule of only speaking the language of the classroom. But sometimes they assisted each other in Spanish and gradually preferred more English in their interactions (p. 188-189). In the Spanish classroom, the English dominant children often engaged in negotiations about using the language of the classroom. Sometimes, they complained about having to use Spanish and tried to speak English in their peer interactions (p. 189-191). Also, the findings showed that the children had contradictory attitudes toward Spanish. Some English dominant girls approached Spanish as a problem and others began to see it as a resource. These children's language ideologies though were "embryonic and evolving" (p. 194). Overall, Volk and Angelova's (2007) study showed how multiple language ideologies were present in the classrooms' language life of a DL program having together ELLs and native speakers of English. These children had to negotiate between different contending language ideologies, depending on what classroom they were attending and who was talking. They did not just copy the dominant English ideology of the larger society and the alternative bilingual ideology of the DL program either. Instead, they exerted agency and actively appropriated specific aspects of these ideologies and used them in their peer interactions. Interestingly, a dominant ideology of English seemed to prevail at times over the bilingual ideology of the DL program, in which both languages were

assumed equally valuable resources for literacy learning. Nevertheless, the study concluded that the children's language ideologies were not fixed but rather evolving. Importantly, the study demonstrated that these young children were not passive bearers of language ideologies but they played an active role in the process of constructing them in the classrooms' language life.

The third area of my reviewed studies focuses on parents' language ideologies. These ideologies were influenced by larger societal contexts. These ideologies influenced, in turn, the embryonic ideologies of children toward bilingualism. In particular, Carmen Martínez-Roldán and Guillermo Malavé (2004) conducted a study about parents' language ideologies mediating the literacy learning and identity development of children in a Dual-language classroom. Specifically, the study focused on the evolving ideologies of children as influenced mainly by those of their parents. The study was conducted in a context of a mass media campaign against bilingual education in Arizona and in the midst of controversies over immigration. Martínez-Roldán and Malavé conducted a qualitative case study of Steve, a seven-year old Mexican American boy, dominant English speaker, and his parents. They examined the child's emergent ideas about language (as evidenced in bilingual literature discussions), and his parent's language ideologies regarding the use of a minority language for instruction in public schools. The findings of this study revealed that Steve's parents had not developed the language ideologies and home literacy practices that would completely support the DL program's goals of bilingualism and biliteracy. The findings also showed that the child's emergent concepts, beliefs, and values about language were "*embryonic ideological discourses* [sic] on language, bilingualism, and speakers of minority languages" (p. 177). Finally, the study provided "insights into the competing ideological discourses in

homes, schools, and the larger community, which may have an impact on the development of literacy in two languages” (p. 178). The study of Martínez-Roldán and Malavé (2004) showed how multiple and contending language ideologies were present in the Dual-language (DL) program. Like in Volk and Angelova’s (2007) study, Steve the focal child, had to negotiate between competing language ideologies. These were the dominant language ideology of English, highlighted in the media campaign going on at the time, and the DL program’s alternative language ideology. The dominant ideology of English was also enacted by Steve’s parents at home, particularly by his father a recent immigrant from Mexico. Steve exerted agency in his negotiations of language ideologies while discussing children’s books with his peers, but seemed to devalue Spanish and its speakers. The identity and group membership associated with Spanish speakers, for Steve, was negative (“less smart”) and undesirable. The classroom life for this ELL child seemed strongly mediated by the language ideologies of his parents, especially his father. Home language ideologies were more influential, than the DL program’s ideology, in the embryonic language ideologies of the young ELL student in this study.

Fourth, research studies focused on teacher ideology suggest the convergence of multiple language ideologies in school contexts (Hruska, 2000; Manyak, 2006; Shannon, 1995). These studies show that teachers and children’s language use was mediated by an on-going process of negotiation of multiple ideologies. These findings were evidenced even in states with firmly entrenched educational policy prohibiting bilingual education (Manyak, 2006). I proceed now to review in detail these studies.

Patrick Manyak (2006) conducted an ethnographic study describing the biliteracy instruction of teachers challenging Proposition 227 that banned bilingual education in

California. Manyak's study focused on two Caucasian bilingual English-Spanish teachers working with Latina/o native Spanish speaking children enrolled in a first/second-grade and a first grade English immersion classrooms. The findings of this study showed that both teachers' instruction was guided by an ideology of language that conceived of Spanish as an important sociocultural resource and pedagogical tool deeply tied to their students' identities. Also, Spanish was held in equally high esteem as English in these classrooms. The findings also pointed to the isolated nature of the teachers' resistance to the educational policy. Institutional pressures to apply the English-only mandate curtailed these teachers' possibility of collaborative group agency. The teachers doubted that their bilingual/biliterate instructional approach had really prepared their ELL students for mainstream classrooms the following year. These teachers' efforts had been short-term and would not be continued by other educators at the school.

Overall, Manyak's (2006) study shows how a dominant ideology of language was made explicit in the educational policy regulating the literacy instruction of ELLs, and how it was resisted and actively challenged by two teachers who enacted different language ideologies of practice. The dominant ideology of language, expressed in Proposition 227, legitimized the use of English-only for ELLs' classroom instruction. This dominant ideology excluded the possibility of using the native language of these students as a valuable sociocultural resource for literacy learning (Halcón, 2001; Moll, 2001). Indeed, the power of dominant language ideologies resides in their ability to legitimize the formulation of some possible forms of action and the exclusion of others (Gal, 1998). Also, the assumption that English-only instruction is the most effective teaching for ELLs is informed by the myth about bilingualism and biliteracy as problems and impediments for literacy learning

(Crawford, 2000; Tse, 2001; Zentella, 2000). This myth perpetuates a subtractive approach to the teaching and schooling of ELLs (Garza & Crawford, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). Instead, the classroom instruction proposed in Manyak's article is an "additive approach to the schooling of culturally and linguistically diverse children that embraces and extends such students' existing cultural and linguistic resources while simultaneously providing for rich instructional contexts for students to acquire English language and literacy skills" (p. 261). This additive approach could be adopted in after-school and non-school settings (p. 262). With this proposal, Manyak wants to invite whole communities to resist and transform the subtractive effect of educational policies that squander the bilingual/biliterate potential of ELLs. Finally, as we can see from Manyak's study, dominant ideologies are challenged and contested by the multiple language ideologies held by marginalized social groups and their advocates. Dominant language ideologies are not monolithic, absolute, or unchangeable; hegemonies are unstable and vulnerable to the making of counter-hegemonies (Gal, 1998).

Sheila Shannon's (1995) study showed how teacher ideology can challenge and resist dominant ideologies. This resistance not only used the native language of students as valuable resources for learning but also actively tried to transform language inequality. Shannon conducted an ethnographic case study of a fourth-grade dual-language classroom in which teacher and students challenged and resisted the hegemony of English. This classroom included children dominant in either Spanish (learning English as second language) or in English (learning Spanish as second language). Mrs. D, the teacher in this classroom, was of Mexican origin, bilingual/biliterate, and was regarded at the school as an "excellent bilingual teacher" (p. 186). The elementary school was located in a working class predominantly Latino neighborhood in Colorado. The findings of the study revealed seven elements of resistance to

English hegemony that were present in the bilingual classroom. These elements were part of Mrs. D's literacy instruction. Some of these elements were as follows: thinking language when preparing every activity and interaction of the day (being a language developer), not allowing materials in Spanish without the same quality as the English counterparts, working hard to convince people (students and school staff) that Spanish is fun and beautiful, not allowing racist comments from anybody, and consciously talking to children in their second language (whether it was English or Spanish) (p. 196-199).

Shannon's (1995) study of Mrs. D's bilingual classroom showed how the hegemony of English was resisted so that the status of Spanish, a "marked language" in American mainstream society (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003), approximated the status of English. In this manner, the bilingual classroom, which was not described as dual-language in the study even though it seemed to function in that manner, became truly bilingual. The ideology of language of the fourth-grade classroom supported bilingualism and biliteracy as its goals. This ideology did not prevent the development of English proficiency for the Spanish native speakers, or ELL students in this case; but it was facilitated in an additive not subtractive manner (Garza & Crawford, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). The counter-hegemonic efforts of the teacher were appropriated and continued by all her students, so that dominant-language speaking children in the classroom also learned and used the minority language (p. 188-189). Bilingualism was perceived as an asset not a liability (Crawford, 2000; Tse, 2001) for all students. Finally, recognizing, challenging, and resisting society's English hegemony in the fourth-classroom "was based on a belief that the use and maintenance of languages other than English is right and just...if one is to take on this challenge, one must be prepared to defend

the view that humans have linguistic rights that ensure that they use languages and language varieties liberally and not restrictively” (Shannon, 1995, p. 197).

Barbara Hruska (2000) conducted a study demonstrating how language ideologies are manifest in the context of language support services available for ELs at schools; specifically, Hruska examined how Language ideologies influence the placement of EL students in English as Second Language (ESL) and Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) programs and their related literacy practices. Hruska conducted an ethnographic study about the language ideologies evident in the ESL and TBE pull-out programs of an elementary school in a New England college town. In this study, Hruska analyzed the institutional decisions and implications for the placement of these students in the mentioned programs. Also, as the ESL teacher at the school, Hruska introduced a new “clustering model” (p. 20) as alternative placement for ELLs to better address their needs. This model involved grouping of ESL/TBE students in the same regular classroom instead of having them distributed, for example, across the three 2nd grade classrooms of the school (p. 23).

The findings of the study showed that prioritizing the needs of the ELL students challenged dominant school practices, and revealed their underlying ideologies and issues of power. These language ideologies included, for example, the negative meaning and low value of bilingualism at the school (p. 12). The native languages of all ELLs were treated as “stepping stones” to English proficiency instead of assets or resources to be developed (p.7). Also, TBE teachers and their instruction had lower status in comparison with the mainstream teachers (p.12-13). The findings of the study also revealed issues of power and tensions that arose when implementing the clustering model for ELLs. Specifically, several regular classroom teachers felt they were at risk for losing control of placement, planning, instruction,

materials, and authority. They were also nervous about White parents' reactions about their children being deprived of a "multicultural experience" (p. 24). Analyzing the study of Hruska (2000) we can see that multiple language ideologies were apparent in the placement of ELL students in the language support programs of the school, in two different ways. First, the transitional nature of the ESL/TBE programs evidenced a dominant language ideology that supports a short-cut approach to learning English for ELLs. This approach regards progress in learning English by these students as a problem and as a matter of urgency (Crawford, 2000; Tse, 2001). This ideology of language may radiate from larger societal contexts that regard being bilingual or multilingual as a social liability and as anti-American (Garza & Crawford, 2005; Tse, 2001). This dominant ideology of language also devalues ELL children's home languages and positions them in a lower status in the education system while being placed in "transitional" programs. This lower status was extended to the ESL and TBE teachers at the school. Second, the regular classroom teachers' view of multiculturalism privileged the needs of the mainstream majority population of students. Dominant views on multiculturalism and equity manipulated the presence of ELLs through the ESL and TBE placements, to serve the needs of "non-diverse" students. The goal of the clustering model to meet the needs of ELLs challenged and problematized these views. ELL students would not be responsible to racially or linguistically diversify the regular classrooms at their own expense anymore. The framework of language ideologies was indeed helpful in this study to understanding school placement decisions and implications for the literacy instruction and learning of ELLs.

Teacher ideology studies have also focused on how the classroom life of EL children is shaped by the "ideological clarity" (Bartolomé, 2001), or lack thereof, of teachers that informs their teaching with ELL students (Bartolomé 2004; Cadiero-Kaplan, 2008). Lilia

Bartolomé (2004) conducted an ethnographic study describing the ideologies about education held by four exemplary high school teachers working with ELLs in a Californian community close to the Mexican border. Bartolomé's article described how these teachers were aware that teaching is not an apolitical act and developed classroom strategies on behalf of their ELL students to curtail potential inequalities. The findings of the study showed that these teachers, although to different degrees, questioned specific dominant ideologies (e.g., meritocracy), and they rejected deficit views of their ELL students. These teachers also resisted a White supremacist ideology, and considered themselves "cultural brokers" (or advocates) for their students.

Bartolomé's study used the framework of language ideology to analyze teachers' understanding about factors, beyond the technical aspects of teaching, which affect the learning of their ELL students. Some of these teachers' ideologies challenged and contested dominant ones. For example, these teachers did not believe in the validity of meritocracy (p. 103). According to this myth, it is commonly believed that people get ahead simply by virtue of their hard work and talents. The school failure of diverse students, then, is assumed to be the result of their lack of hard work or abilities. This dominant ideology, as the other side of the coin, is linked to a "deficit theory" and "culture of poverty" (Valencia & Solórzano, 1997), by which linguistic and cultural minorities are considered responsible for their own disadvantages. The teachers in the study challenged this dominant ideology by asserting that for their ELL students, "racism and economic factors often assume greater importance than pure merit and ability" (p. 105). These teachers also questioned the dominant ideology that romanticizes White middle-class culture as the ideal for the assimilation of ELLs. Instead, they believed that students should maintain many positive aspects of their cultures and see

themselves in a “positive light” (p. 105). Finally, the four teachers in the study acted as advocates for their students’ learning. They believed in the need to be “cultural brokers” or mentors and advocates for their ELLs. They believed in their role to help students to “more effectively navigate school and mainstream culture” (p. 112).

In short, the ideologies about the learning of ELLs in mainstream American society that the exemplary teachers enacted, informed their teaching and relationships with these students. Having ideological clarity about the political, social, and economic factors that affect these students’ learning helped the teachers to become caring and effective.

Karen Cadiero-Kaplan (2008) studied a teacher’s self-inquiry process examining the possible connections between her language arts teaching practices and her ideologies of literacy and effective pedagogy for linguistically and culturally diverse students. Cadiero-Kaplan conducted a qualitative case study to describe the reflective praxis of a Latina Spanish-English bilingual teacher working with high school beginning ELLs in an English Language Development (ELD) program in southern California. The findings of the study pointed to the complexities of the teacher’s ideologies and pedagogical practices related to bilingual education and development of English language in her ELL students. The teacher struggled with competing language ideologies. For example, she believed in the importance of bilingualism and biliteracy. She also believed in the importance of native language support to successfully transition to English instruction. But her teaching focused on developing her students’ ability to use English, not their first language Spanish as well. Also, the goal of the ELD program where she taught was to transition students as quickly as possible into English mainstream classrooms. This situation conflicted with her ideology of bilingualism and biliteracy as well.

In short, based on my literature review, except for Hruska (2000), no other research studies have been conducted using the construct of language ideology to address the literacy teaching and learning in specific educational programs for ELL students for upper-elementary school students. There is a dearth of research studies in this area; my dissertation seeks to make an important research contribution. My dissertation serves as an example of how a case study of a school's Educational program for ELL students for older elementary school students can be used to analyze the presence of language ideologies in the literacy teaching and learning of ESL students. Further, it serves as an indirect tool for educational policy analysis.

Chapter 3

Methodology

My dissertation study used qualitative research methodology. In contrast with quantitative research, qualitative research does not attempt to control or predict variables. Qualitative research tries to describe and understand naturally occurring phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Merriam, 1998). Thus, a valid reason to conduct qualitative research concerns the characteristics of the phenomenon itself under investigation (Mertens, 1998). The fundamental nature of qualitative research matches the type of the phenomenon, focus, and research questions guiding my study. Specifically, my dissertation is a qualitative and ethnographic case study of the Educational program for ELL students at a local elementary school. The particular focus was the features (constraints and opportunities) of this educational program for ELL students as mediated by language ideologies.

These features were analyzed using conceptions of language socialization, critical perspective on literacy, cultural production, and linguistic racialization, included in the theoretical framework. The methodology of this dissertation, as well as the whole study, was theoretically framed by interconnections between these constructs and power hierarchies, and issues of agency and resistance. The research was also framed with these conceptualizations in order to understanding the linguistic racialization manifested in the conflation of the social categories of language, race, and social class, in the schooling and classroom life of English learning students at Parks school.

Specifically, this chapter describes the qualitative methodology used in the dissertation. First, I include descriptions of the research site and participants. Next, I state the

research questions. After that, I explain the procedures employed for data collection and data analysis. Lastly, I conclude the chapter with my role as researcher.

Research Site

The community. The site of the research was a small city in a Midwestern state. According to the last census the city's population is 41,250 residents (U. S. Census Bureau 2010). The five top racial groups in the city are 60.4% White persons, 16.3% African-American persons, 17.9% Asian/Pacific Islander persons, 5.2% Latino origin persons, 3.1% two or more races (<http://census.gov/qfd/states/17/1777005.html>). A relevant feature of the city is that it houses a public university with a large population of international students. During the school year of my data collection, there were 6,562 internationals enrolled at the university. This number comprised 15.7% of the total students. From this group, 80% came from Asian countries; the top countries represented were China, South Korea, India, and Taiwan (www.iss.illinois.edu/form_downloads/forms/f1258062700.pdf). Several of these foreigners brought their families along to live with them during their stay at the university. Their children attended different schools in the district, mostly Howard Elementary; this issue will be thoroughly explained in Chapter 4.

In short, the population of this community was formed by a majority of White individuals, a large group of African-American persons, and a large group of Asian persons (<http://census.gov/qfd/states/17/1777005.html>). The White persons (college-age students, and other adults and their children) and international adults, some of them with children, (who mostly came from Asian countries) were associated with this local university.

The school. The specific school building where my study took place was Parks Elementary, a K-5 grade school. At the time of the study, Parks school's student body was composed by a total of 399 students, and included a large group (41.4 percent) of ethnic minorities. The enrollment by race was: 45 African American students; 2 American Indian/Asian students; 6 Asian students; 112 Latina/o students; and 234 White students (nces.ed.gov/ccd/school/search/school_detail.asp). Parks Elementary also had more than half (56 percent) of its students that qualified for the state nutrition program; that is, 201 children were eligible for free lunch and 27 were eligible for free-reduced lunch (nces.ed.gov/ccd/school/search/school_detail.asp). In addition, Parks Elementary was the repository building in the district of the largest group of English learners who were Spanish-native speakers; Parks had 112 of these students which represented 27% of the total student population, this number was also confirmed by the school principal.

Participants

The participants in the study were the ESL teacher (as she was named at the school by students and teachers) of Parks elementary school, focal ESL students and their parents, and other teachers and school and district administrators. The ESL teacher Ms. Mary Gipson was an Anglo-American woman in her 60s and a native English speaker. She did not speak Spanish (the first language of the ESL students at the school) but reported to "have learned some words in Spanish" from interactions with students throughout her years of teaching. She had been working with ESL students for more than 25 years. The year when the study took place was her seventh year at Parks school. She had worked with ESL students in southern

states for several years before moving to the project state, where she had completed her ESL teaching endorsement, as she reported.

The ESL students were children who worked with the ESL teacher, some for reading and writing support, and others for science content based instruction. They worked in the ESL classroom in a pull-out format. These ESL students were enrolled in 4th and 5th grade. From these ESL children working on different days and times with the teacher in her ESL classroom, I chose four ESL students from the 5th grade as focal participants for the study (see characteristics of the focal students and their families in Table 3.1). The work of the ESL teacher with these four students shed light on the constraints and opportunities in the Educational program for ELL students at the school, and on how these constraints and opportunities were mediated by language ideologies at different contextual and institutional levels. I chose, then, these four focal ESL students for the following five reasons.

First, these children represented “successful” elementary school-age ESL students according to federal and state requirements for language proficiency. They had obtained the highest scores in ACCESS, the state’s standards-based test for ESL students’ language proficiency, the previous year, as Ms. Gipson explained. Having obtained the highest scores in this test allowed students to exit or “graduate” from the educational program for ELL students as “English proficient.” But Ms. Gipson preferred to work one more year with these students in order to “better prepare them for middle school next year.” The ESL teacher believed that these children would benefit from continued specialized ESL instruction.

Second, these focal students had participated in the educational program for ELL students for 1-3 years with the same ESL teacher at the school. Having the same ESL teacher consecutively year after year may have influenced these students’ performance at the school.

They seemed articulate and confident enough to often ask and answer questions in the ESL classroom, but usually remained quiet in their mainstream classrooms, as I observed during the opening visits to the site.

The third reason was that the ESL teacher referred to these focal students as “bright” and “hard working.” During the opening visits to the site, I observed that Ms. Gipson often praised them and seemed to have high expectations of them. (These four children had also obtained average and above average grades and scores in several assessments employed at Parks school, see Appendix F). As I will illustrate, the ESL teacher’s language ideologies were enacted in her teaching and interactions with these students.

Fourth, these students used the textbook and workbook for Language Arts determined by the school district for 5th grade students, when working with Ms. Gipson in the ESL classroom. Ms. Gipson explained that she decided to try this new initiative of using the same books that their English native speaking peers used, because she felt confident that these ESL students could “understand the text and benefit from it” with her help. However, Ms. Gipson also expressed her concern about not being “familiar with these books.” This was the first year she used the district mandated textbooks for language arts with ESL students, she expressed feeling “more comfortable with science content-based ESL curriculum” that she had developed and implemented for several years when working with ESL students. The use of a pre-specified curriculum with accommodations for the ESL students would also influence the constraints and opportunities in the educational program for ELL students at the school and district levels.

Fifth, these ESL students were Latina/o children whose native language was Spanish. These focal students were members of the largest subgroup of English learners in the current

schools in the state. These children also represented a growing population of linguistic and culturally diverse students in large and small urban schools throughout the nation.

Other participants in the study were the 5th grade homeroom teacher of the focal students, the school principal, the language arts school district coordinator, the director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the school district (see characteristics of these participants in Table 3.2), and parents of the focal students (see characteristics of these participants in Table 3.1). These individuals were considered key participants and provided information about the literacy assessment, teaching, and learning of the ESL students at Parks elementary school. These key participants provided further information about the constraints and opportunities in the educational program for ELL students at Parks school, and how these constraints and opportunities were mediated by the language ideologies of different participants and contexts.

Research Questions

The overarching research question guiding the dissertation was: How do language ideologies mediate the literacy teaching and learning experiences of ESL students at Parks Elementary School?

The specific research questions were divided into three subsections, as follows:

A. Past and Current Design of the Educational Program for ELL Students at Parks Elementary School.

1. What were the constraint and opportunities in the past historical development of the educational program?
2. How did institutional and personal politics affect the creation of the educational program?

3. What are the constraints and opportunities in the current design and implementation of the educational program?
 4. How do language ideologies influence the current design and implementation of this educational program?
- B. Expectations about the School Performance of Students in the Educational Program for ELL Students at Parks Elementary School.
1. What are the expectations of the school educators for the school performance of ESL students in 5th grade?
 2. What are the expectations of the parents of ESL students for the school performance of their children currently enrolled in 5th grade?
 3. What are the expectations for the school performance of the ESL students themselves currently enrolled in 5th grade?
 4. How are language ideologies related to these expectations?
- C. The Enactment of Ideologies in the Social Interactions of the Educational Program for ELL Students, with Teachers and Peers at Parks Elementary School.
1. What are the purposes of social interactions between ESL students and native English speaking peers in the 5th grade?
 2. What are the purposes of social interactions among ESL students in the 5th grade?
 3. What are the purposes of social interactions between ESL students and ESL teacher and mainstream classroom teachers in the 5th grade?
 4. How are language ideologies evidenced in these social interactions?

Data Collection Procedures

The data for the dissertation varied in type and sources. The data types included observations, samples of students' work, interviews, and documents. The data collection procedures included various sources of data such as teachers, focal students and their parents, school and district administrators. This variety of data and sources ensured a comprehensive and trustworthy data set, to answer the research questions (see Appendix C).

The data from observations included observations in the ESL classroom and in the mainstream 5th grade classroom (language arts class period) of the focal students. These observations provided information about the literacy teaching implemented by the teachers participating in the study, and about the literacy learning of the focal ESL students. Other observations facilitated information about the focal ESL students' social relationships and interactions with teachers and peers in different school contexts (reading-writing group in ESL classroom, reading tutoring with community volunteers, classes in mainstream classrooms (mathematics), specialized classes (fine arts, Spanish, physical education, music/strings group), and in other settings of the school, such as lunch and recess areas, school bus drop-off and pick-up areas. Observations outside of the school grounds took place in the homes of the focal ESL students while the interviews with their parents were being conducted (more details about the interviews are included later in this chapter).

The observations in the ESL classroom were completed twice a week for about 45 minutes during the reading-writing class period of the focal ESL students working in a small-group format with the ESL teacher. These observations took place over a 5 month-period (from late January to early June).

The observations of the focal students during the language art class period, which lasted 45 minutes, were completed once a week in their mainstream classroom. These weekly observations took place throughout the latter half of the school year, starting from late January and continuing until early June of the same year. The observations of the focal ESL students in specialized classes and in other settings of the school were completed while shadowing these pupils on different occasions so as to complete two whole school days per focal student. All classroom observations were audio-recorded. I transcribed the audio-recorded observations and wrote detailed field notes, which were also complemented with the notes that I typed while observing students and teachers. After conducting the observations, I also jot down notes and wrote memos to myself in a notebook, for further inquiry

The data from samples of students' literacy work was collected from the four focal ESL students. The samples of students' work were collected after concluding observations in the ESL classroom and mainstream 5th grade classroom (see transcription conventions in Appendix B). I made copies of the literacy work (from students' notebooks pages, textbook and workbooks pages, posters, essays, worksheets, graphic organizers, letters) that the focal students had been working on during the observed classes. Data about the literacy learning and school performance of the focal students also included copies of informal assessment instruments (unit tests, special projects) used with the ESL teacher during the reading-writing support class-time, and with their 5th grade homeroom teacher during the language arts class period. Other data about the school performance of the focal students included assessment results. These documents were copies of scores obtained in standardized tests (ACCESS, ISAT), scores of district's online examinations (ThinkLink), and copies of their grade report cards and of language arts unit tests.

The interviews were conducted with the ESL teacher, the 5th grade homeroom teacher of the focal students, the director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the school district, the director of language arts in the school district, the superintendent of the school district, the school principal, parents of the ESL focal students, and the focal ESL students themselves. These individuals were interviewed because they were considered key participants to provide information about the literacy assessment, teaching, and learning of these ESL students at Parks Elementary.

In particular, the interviews with these key participants shed information about how values and beliefs about language (i.e., ideologies) were articulated through the formal and informal assessment of the ESL students' literacy progress. The interviews also provided information about how language ideologies were expressed in these key participants' views and expectations of the literacy learning of ESL students. The interviews additionally provided information about how language ideologies were expressed in the parents' support for the literacy learning of the ESL students. The interviews were semi-structured and included open-ended questions about these issues (see Appendix C).

The number of interviews varied, depending on the need for their information, after the initial interview of a key participant. Two interviews (initial and follow-up) were conducted with the school principal, 5th grade homeroom teacher, and some school district administrators. Three interviews (one initial and two follow-up interviews) were conducted with the director of bilingual education and ESL programs for the district schools. Two semi-structured interviews (initial and last) and several informal follow-up interviews were conducted with the ESL teacher.

Two interviews (initial and follow-up) were conducted with the ESL students and their parents. The interviews lasted approximately 30-60 minutes, depending on the availability of the interviewees. The interviews were conducted on school grounds or in the location chosen by the participants (in particular by parents of the ESL focal students). All interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants. All interviews were transcribed in detail, which were also supplemented with the notes I wrote while interviewing participants.

The data collection also included documents downloaded from the district, state board of education, US Department of Education, and city newspaper public websites to supplement the information obtained during the observations and interviews. These documents included information about federal, state, and district requirements for educational programs for ELL students in terms of assessment and language support services, literacy curriculum suggested for teachers, and the historical development of the educational program for ELL students at Parks school.

Data Analysis Procedures

Data were inductively analyzed to construct themes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) about participants' language ideologies and how they were manifest in different nested institutional contexts of the educational program for ELL students at Parks Elementary School. These contexts included federal and state educational policy for educational programs for ELL students, district and school administrations' requirements for ELL students' literacy learning, and teachers and parents' views on ELL students' literacy learning and progress. The themes that emerged from the data were informed by conceptions of second-language socialization, critical perspective on literacy, language ideologies, and of cultural production (see Chapter 2) as they became relevant to the literacy teaching and learning in the

educational program for ELL students at Parks school. Initial samples of possible themes were the hegemony of Standard English, the determination of “language proficiency” for ELL students, and the nature of bilingualism and biliteracy. Themes were revised as data were studied and were gradually redefined and synthesized. The final version of the succession of themes is summarized in Appendix E.

Specifically, the data analysis procedures included analyzing data of different types and from different sources. First, I used open coding or initial sorting of data. I read the field notes of the observations and transcribed scripts of the interviews trying to identify major patterns of data. Such qualitative coding of field notes “was a way of opening up avenues of inquiry; (in which) the researcher identifies and develops concepts and analytic insights through close examination of and reflection on fieldnote data” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 151). This inductive analysis of data, also allowed me to identify documents and additional information I had to collect from public websites and from local district and school officers.

Next, I used analytic or focused coding; a fine-grained analysis of the notes and initial sorting of patterns and codes. The categories that developed from this detailed analysis were further developed into themes. That is, focused coding involved “building up and elaborating analytically interesting themes, both by connecting data that initially may not have appeared to go together and by delineating themes and subtopics that distinguish differences and variations within the broader topic” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 160). The themes and subthemes (see Appendix E.) that emerged from the data helped me to understand the literacy teaching and learning of the ESL students, according to all participants’ views, voices, and multiple perspectives; since it was a qualitative case study, I tried to understand how

participants made meaning of their experiences in particular contexts (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). The analytic work was thus helpful in answering the main and specific research questions guiding this study (see Appendix D).

Role of the Researcher

Through the dissertation research I gained a richer and broader perspective on the different language ideologies present in educational programs, especially those that include speakers of non-standard varieties of English and of other languages. By analyzing the political workings of a program for English second-language learners I increased my understanding of how language ideologies intersect with social positioning and what we can do as educators to advocate for linguistically, culturally, and racially diverse students marginalized in the school mainstream culture.

This analysis was relevant to me since I did not grow up in a racialized neighborhood and school, in the same manner it occurs for a lot of Latina/o children in some American schools where the conflation of language, race, and social class, permeate interactions among individuals. I am certainly aware, though, that the history, past and present, of Latin American countries is not devoid of linguistic racialization and social injustice. Also, I am conscious of my family's past that allowed me to group up under more favorable circumstances. I was fortunate to grow up in El Salvador, in a middle class family with both professional parents, living in the suburbs, situation that influenced our status in our small and particular Salvadoran society. I consider myself fortunate as well for having received the influence of a local education system in which *Mestizaje* [mixing of races] was part of my Social Studies curriculum at elementary and middle schools. During my childhood I learned about *Mestizaje* as the history of merging of various ethnic and cultural groups, especially in Central

American countries, that took place during several centuries in Latin America, since the European conquistadors invaded the land. At schools we understood that this phenomenon became the source of our new created race (although, I also learned that this historical phenomenon had been accompanied with the massacres of the *conquista* and terminal diseases during pre and post-colonial times, which nearly exterminated the indigenous peoples in this region); racial differences and boundaries merged creating a new identity which was ratified with the independence war from Spain in the early 1800s.

In addition, at school I learned to speak about my Salvadoran nationality and other people's nationalities (e.g.: Venezuelan, Mexican, Costa Rican, Russian, Chinese, etc.) in history classes, not in terms of people's race and ethnicity. I was never required either to choose a race or ethnic group in surveys and forms. Coming to the United States as a university student though, has made me realize how perceptions of race and of someone's race, often stereotypical, seem to pervade in a lot of social interactions. Having had this insight, I found myself sharing similarities and differences with the Latina/o ESL focal students in my dissertation. I shared similarities with these students because I could identify with them as being of Latina/o descent. They were Spanish native speakers like myself and represented a linguistic and cultural minority in the urban community where my study was conducted. Also, I had the opportunity to volunteer working with ESL students in the Spanish class when the Spanish teacher asked me to help in monitoring small groups' work and in providing feedback for their written assignments. For these reasons, I could not really see these ESL students as the strange "Other" and myself as the outsider. However, differences became apparent since I came to the United States as an adult, professional woman, bilingual, and an international university student. I felt that I had more educational and psychological

resources than what some immigrant young children might have to cope with societal discrimination and marginalization. Although not always easy, I can recharge energy, refocus on my goals, and move on.

In addition, understanding the pervasiveness and complexity of language ideologies present in educational policy and teaching practice helped me to better recognize that teachers are also struggling while trying to accommodate the needs of several ESL students. The increasing diversity of pupils requires teaching materials and methods adequate for ESL students, which teachers may have difficulty implementing with little time, prescribed curricula, and insufficient administrative support, which was the case at Parks Elementary School. Indeed, having assessed and taught bilingual Spanish-English students for several years in my home country El Salvador, and having observed several classes with bilingual Latina/o students in the state's schools, I understood that teachers' difficulties were aggravated by the urgency to complete standardized assessments and bureaucratic paper work. I could not simply see teachers as the strange "Other" and myself as a complete outsider either.

Therefore, in this dissertation research, I found myself shifting positions in the Insider-Outsider continuum. On one hand, as an insider my own language ideologies and past personal experiences might have influenced and biased myself with the choice of topic, site, and participants. However, as an insider I had the advantage to be able to empathize with the struggles and frustration of both students and educators. On the other hand, as an outsider, I had to assume the role of a critical ethnographer (Levinson & Holland, 1996). I had to articulate data collection and analysis from a specific theoretical and methodological qualitative framework. I also collected different types of data trying to ensure a

comprehensive and trustworthy data set. In conclusion, I believe that my role as researcher was both challenged and enriched through this dissertation work.

Table 3.1.

Characteristics of the Focal ESL Students and their Parents

Name ³	Lorena	Manuel	Patricia	Alicia
Gender	Female	Male	Female	Female
Age (years)	11	11	12	12
Place of birth	USA	Mexico	Costa Rica	USA
Years in USA education system	6 (from K)	6 (from K)	6 (from K)	9 (from age 2.5 in day care center)
Ancestry	Mexican	Mexican	Costa Rican	Mexican
Race	Latina/o	Latina/o	Latina/o	Latina/o
Siblings	1 younger brother	2 older brothers	2 younger brothers	1 older sister
Family in USA ⁴	Extended	Nuclear	Extended	Nuclear
Mother's educational level ⁵	Elementary school (3 rd gr.)	Elementary school (5 th gr.)	High school (9 th gr.)	Master's degree student
Father's educational level	Elementary school (1 st gr.)	Middle school (6 th gr.)	High school (12 th gr.)	Master's degree student
Mother's occupation	Hotel housekeeper	Hotel housekeeper	Housewife	Elementary school teacher
Father's occupation	Mechanic	Factory worker	Janitor/Electrician	Graduate student
Student's desired future occupation	Teacher	Medical Doctor	Medical Doctor	Lawyer

³ Names of the focal ESL students used throughout the dissertation are pseudonyms.

⁴ "Extended", as opposed to "nuclear," family refers to the children's relatives in addition to their parents and siblings.

⁵ School and grade (gr.) levels listed for both parents are the equivalent ones for the USA education system (e.g., 9th grade is included in "secundaria," not in high school, in Costa Rica).

Table 3.2.

Characteristics of Other Key Participants.

Name ¹	Ms. Gipson	Mr. Allen	Mr. Norman	Mrs. Miller	Mr. Davis
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Female	Male
Age	Early 60s	Early 30s	Early 50s	Early 60s	Late 40s
Race	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian
Native Language	English	English	English	English	English
Bilingual	No	No	No	No	No
Current Job/Position	ESL Teacher	5 th Grade Homeroom Teacher	School Principal	District Director of Bilingual and ESL Programs	District Coordinator for Language Arts
Current Work Place/Office ²	Parks School	Parks School	Parks School	Howard School	Central Office
Yrs. Current Job ³	7	4	5	13+	5+
Endorsement	ESL Certificate	Elementary Teacher Certificate	Elementary Teacher and Administrator Certificates	Elementary Teacher and Administrator Certificates	Middle/High School Teacher and Administrator Certificates
Education level	Master's degree	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Doctoral degree	Master's degree

^{1 & 2} Names of all participants and schools are pseudonyms.

^{3 & 4} Information completed at the time of the study.

Chapter 4

Politics Surrounding the Educational Program for ELL Students at Parks Elementary School

Several constraints and opportunities were evident in the design and implementation of the educational program for ELL students at Parks Elementary School at the time of my dissertation study. These constraints and opportunities are the result of forces of political and language ideologies emanating from different hierarchal institutional levels. These levels could be visualized in an inverted pyramid (see Figure. 4.1.) in which the top levels, larger and more complex, exert pressure in the lower levels, which are seemingly smaller and less intricate. In this chapter, I analyze how pressures from the community, district, and school's higher or macro-levels influenced the design and implementation of the educational program for ELL students' lower or micro-level.

First, I analyze how institutional and personal politics affected the historical development of the educational program for ELL students from its origin, a few years before my research study began. This program originated when Latina/o Spanish-speaking ELL students were transferred between schools within the district, generating conflict between different interest groups (see Figure 4.2.). Next, I inquire into the constraints and opportunities in the plan and execution of this program at the time of my data collection (see Figure 4.3.). Also, I examine the influence of multiple and contradictory language ideologies. Some ideologies revolved around the ideal of integration for all the student body. Other ideologies related to the process of second language learning, and to what is considered quality ESL instruction (see Figure 4.3.). Finally, I analyze how these ideologies also

generated power struggles among the teachers working with ESL students. I proceed now to analyze the program's historical development.

“Politics at its finest”: History of the Educational Program for ELL Students

Conflict is palpable in the historical development of the educational program for ELL students at Parks Elementary School. Power struggles were manifested throughout its 10-year existence. The educational program for ELL students first began when the ELL students, who were Spanish native speakers, were transferred from Howard Elementary School (another school in the same district) to Parks school (see Figure 4.2.). While at Howard, these Spanish speakers were part of a multicultural program that had received praise and recognition for several reasons.

The multicultural program at Howard provided several benefits to all students at the school. On one hand, the multi-cultural program provided good quality instruction for ESL children. The local school board and district affirmed that it had been “hailed as a model educational program for the entire country. (Howard) operates much like a magnet school for children needing English as a Second Language instruction.” (Background Information for City Council document, April 2002, p. 1.) On the other hand, the multi-cultural program augmented diversity and learning opportunities for non-ESL pupils. School board and school district members asserted,

We are committed to the internationally-based multi-cultural program at [Howard] School and to providing ESL services at that school. Having this program based at [Howard] is beneficial for the neighborhood children, as it brings an international flavor to the educational program, offers some

language learning opportunities for English-speaking children, and provides opportunities for individualized instruction for English-speaking children during the portions of the day that other children are receiving language services in other parts of the buildings.” (Background Information for City Council document, April 2002, p.1)

Local authorities desired to continue executing this quality ESL language model; they also wanted to provide enrichment opportunities for the rest of students. However, maintaining all those benefits was like trying to achieve mutually exclusive goals. The conflict originated because the student population in the building had grown. The city School Board and district considered Howard to be “overcrowded” as a result of increased enrollment during the last 5 years. Explaining this situation, they provided data depicting growth in terms of “international” student enrollment (from “Attendance and Boundary Report” discussed during the Work Session of the Board of Education on April 6, 2002), as follows: (see Table 4.1 as directly copied from its source)

Table 4.1.

International Enrollment Trends: Fall Housing Report Data

Year	Enrollment			[Howard] Total
	Asian or Pacific Islander	Hispanic	Asian-Hispanic Total	
1996-97	165	50	215	374
1997-98	139	38	177	344
1998-99	130	34	164	329
1999-2000	139	51	190	396
2000-01	132	45	177	399
2001-02	116	52	168	390

...There are currently [sic] 90 students from outside of the (university housing) complex that attend (Howard) Elementary School for ESL services. The total number of students that attend (Howard) Elementary School from (university housing) is 109 students (City School Board Information Request: Attendance and Boundary Report. April 2002, p.1-2).

The data on Table 4.1. show the decreasing number of “Asian” students and the increasing number of “Hispanic” (terms used by the school district and school board in their communications) children at Howard school. The explanatory note added at the end of the document with enrollment trends, focuses on the area of residence of these two groups of students. The students residing in the local university’s housing complex were considered children of international students at this university, mostly Asian families. The students living outside this university housing complex were considered the children of foreigners not related to the local university, mostly Latino families. These latter students were bused to Howard, as the city school district and school board highlighted “native Spanish speakers...are presently bused to (Howard) school” (Background Information for City Council document, April 2002, p. 3.) These ESL students came from families not representing the vicinity. Members of the school Board did not perceive these children as belonging in Howard. School board members believed other children should comprise this school population. They affirmed, “The children attending (Howard) school come from the surrounding neighborhood and the (local) university apartments” (Background Information for City Council document, April 2002, p. 1). As such, recent increased enrollment trends at Howard school showed students being bused from other neighborhoods. These were the ELL children that, these local authorities believed, made Howard overcrowded.

Options were considered to solve the overcrowding problem. Community members asked for an expansion of facilities; this option would allow Howard to continue hosting the multicultural program without incorporating changes that would affect its ELL students. School board and district members, though, did not consider this option as sufficient; they addressed the overcrowding problem and solution as follows,

Compared to our other elementary schools, [Howard] is overcrowded: its present population is 390 students in a building that, with our curriculum, will serve 320 students well. We have been asked by the community to seek all possible options for expanding the school, and specifically that we seek city funding for an addition to the building. Having studied the issues extensively, the school board is united in trying to assemble funding for a \$1.5M expansion of the school to provide a new gymnasium and to add four classrooms. Even with this addition, however, we believe that some students will need to be moved to other buildings to provide a good educational environment. (Letter submitted jointly from the school district and school board to the city council, April 26, 2002)

The increased student population at Howard and the current size of its building interfered with the desire to provide for a “good educational environment.” Specifically, local authorities considered that Howard was lacking four classrooms and a gymnasium for community assemblies. The superintendent of the school district and the president of the city school board explained that,

At its [Howard’s] present size and with the current number of students, the building does not:

- Provide dedicated classroom space for our fine arts curriculum. (The National Arts/Education Council recognizes

our elementary school fine arts curriculum as one of 32 outstanding programs in the nation) [sic]

- Provide enough space for all [Howard] students to attend assemblies together.
- Allow space for a dedicated computer lab, which we see increasingly as an essential piece in integrating technology into the curriculum [sic]. (Background Information for City Council document. April 2002, p. 2)

Essentially, what the school board and district believed was that using the school's resources to teach the new students who had been enrolling at Howard during the 5 previous years, restricted the use of space in the building. Following their line of thinking, if the student population was reduced, school resources could be used to better serve the majority of the student body. An article of the city newspaper from May, 8, 2002 stated that "the building [Howard school] has about 70 more students than ideal and is not able to have classrooms for fine arts or a computer lab" (<http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/InfoWeb>). All these comments evidence power and ideological issues at the community, district, and school levels of the perceived overcrowding problem at Howard school and of its perceived solution. Were the 70 more students than ideal "disposable"? Were these students deemed transferable to other buildings because they were members of a linguistic and socio-economic minority?

Indeed, the solution proposed by the school district and city school board focused on moving out of Howard school a group of students who were a double minority. They proposed moving low-income and ESL native Spanish speaking children attending the multi-

cultural program at Howard, to reduce this school overcrowding. The school district and city school board explained,

As part of our current redistricting...we are considering moving children who are native speakers of Spanish to [Parks] school to help alleviate the overcrowding at [Howard], to utilize available spaces across the district, and to minimize the number of moves that will be required as the local Latino/Latina population continues to grow. We do not believe that this will adversely affect the quality of the multicultural program at [Howard].

(Background Information for City Council document, April 2002, p. 1)

According to the previous comment, the group of ESL children from Latino families was expected to continue growing in the city. They were also expected to continue enrolling at Howard's multi-cultural program. Because of that, district and school board authorities chose to move Spanish speaking ESL children out of Howard. The director for Language Arts in the district recalled that school district and school board authorities said,

We can move the entire ESL population, or we can take this population that we knew was growing. We had projection data that said that it was going to continue to grow and so that's how the decision was made and actually it was a fairly controversial decision, a lot of people reacted very strongly.

According to the comment of the director for Language Arts in the city, the school district had projection data that showed that the Spanish speaking population at Howard was

expected to continue growing in future years (City School Board Information Request: Attendance and Boundary Report, April, 26, 2002). These data showed that for the last 5 years the Hispanic (this was the term used in the Report) student population had increased from 38 to 52; these numbers of students represented a 36.8% increase (see Table 4.1., this chapter). The data also showed that for the past 5 school years the Asian (this was the term used in the Report) student population had decreased from 139 to 116, a 16.5% decrease (see Table 4.1.). Hence, the school board and district tried to provide a good rationale for their decision; after all, this change was part of the redistricting taking place at that time.

However, when asked about this situation, Mrs. Susan Miller, the director for bilingual education and ESL services in the district, shared interesting details. The school board and district did not suggest moving ESL Asian children out of Howard school, even though they were greater in number than ESL Latina/o students, she said. In Mrs. Miller's opinion,

When they [ESL Spanish speaking students] first went there [Howard school] there were about 40 Spanish speakers, and then Howard was very crowded, so the district decided that they had to move some of the kids out of Howard; and they chose the Spanish speakers because, uh, we tried to get them to do other things, we felt that the Spanish speakers were better off at Howard because they have their own kind of needs, you know. We had many more, uh, well, if you really wanted to be feisty about overcrowding at Howard, we had a lot of Chinese speakers. We had about 80 Chinese speakers and 8 Korean speakers then. So, you know, it wouldn't have made a big

difference. But they decided, that no, that the Spanish speaking population was growing, and so, that would be the one, and they [Parks school] didn't have enough low-income kids to get Title I there; and the Chinese speakers weren't low income and the Korean speakers weren't low income, they said. So, they wanted Title I, so they had to move the Spanish speakers [to Parks]. So, that's where they came from.

According to Mrs. Miller's view, even though there were more ESL Chinese and Korean students at Howard, more than double the number of ESL Latina/o pupils in the year 2002 (when the redistricting was taking place) these Asian children were not chosen to leave the school. Mrs. Miller believed that members of the school board and district did not perceive ESL Asian children attending Howard school as low socio-economic status. At the time, these Asian students were mostly children of graduate students at the local university. Usually, these parents worked as teaching or research assistants on the local university campus, Mrs. Miller added. The jobs held by these Asian parents had stipends not comparable with those of U.S. citizens with average or better annual incomes.

Nevertheless, international students at this university had to prove that they had sufficient funding, in the form of bank account and statements, to finance their first year of university studies, which included tuition and fees, housing, meals, and other expenses (www.grad.illinois.edu/admissions/apply/begin/international). Internationals also had to show proof of continuing funding for their university studies in the form of letters from sponsors, employers, or personal savings (www.grad.illinois.edu/admissions/apply/begin/international).

Interestingly, some parents of the Latina/o ESL children enrolled in the multi-cultural program at Howard school were also graduate students at the local university. These Latina/o parents were international students who worked as research assistants on the university campus, with stipends similar to those of the Asian parents of children at Howard School who were not considered low-income families. I had personally met some of them while being enrolled at the same university. These Latino parents, with comparable jobs and stipends as the Asian parents, were lumped into a group of working-class families, and their children were moved out of Howard school as well.

Moreover, transferring poor students out of Howard Elementary School would balance low-income ratios in other schools. These students “would meet the Board’s plan to balance resources across the schools and balance the number of children receiving free and reduced lunch, which would allow more schools to receive funding for Title I services” (<http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/InfoWeb>, May 7, 2002). Another article from the local newspaper detailed,

The board moved fewer than 80 children from their current schools next year to balance low-income ratios and reduce overcrowding at [Howard]. Four changes were approved: Spanish-speaking students now enrolled at [Howard] would be moved to [Parks]. The new [Red Maple]¹ development would be assigned to [White Oak]. Students who live in the neighborhood surrounding [Cypress Park] and now attend [White Oak] would move to [Parks]. The few students living

¹ All names are pseudonyms.

south of [Hill] street who now attend [Howard] would move to [Parks]. (<http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iwsearch/we/InfoWeb>, May 8, 2002)

The arriving groups of low-income students would allow Parks school to apply for Title I funds, which they did not have the previous years. This rationale was made clear in a letter from the school Board and district sent to the city council members on April, 26, 2002. According to this document,

This move, in conjunction with the move of the Spanish program, will contribute to improving the balance of SES population across our schools and contribute to assuring that [Parks] school meets the 35% requirement for Title I funding...it should bring [Parks] to the 35 percent threshold for Title I funding. (Background Information for City Council document, April 2002, p. 3)

Redistricting in this city included balancing low-income ratios across schools. This balancing also allowed Parks school to receive Title I funds (Improving the academic achievement of the disadvantaged) (P. L. 107-110, § 1001). During the FY 2002 Parks school only had a 30.29% of the student population eligible for free and reduced-cost lunch. Howard school had a 60.05% eligible population that same year (http://www.isbe.net/nutrition/htmls/eligibility_listings.htm). Hence, with the incoming low SES and Spanish speaking ESL children coming from Howard, Parks could meet the State 35 percent minimum student population required to apply for Title I funding under provisions of the No Child Left Behind education act (www.isbe.net/construction/html.qzab.htm).

However, families of Howard did not want the Spanish speaking ESL students to leave the school. An article from the local newspaper described that “most emotional has been the crusade of [Howard] parents who hoped to keep the multicultural program housed at [Howard] intact by adding classrooms to the building” (<http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/InfoWeb>. May 8, 2002). Also, according to comments of some community members, the children of these families benefited from Spanish foreign language instruction. The majority of these families were African-American and low-income groups, who disagreed with the decision of the school Board (mostly comprised by White higher-income professionals) of transferring Latina/o ESL students. In fact, the newspaper article reported the attitude of Howard school’s African-American parents regarding this move, as follows,

On Tuesday, parents made one more plea, including accusing the board of not listening and not caring about the children, to keep the Spanish-speaking children at the school. “The affluent want to strip the less affluent of the resources they come by naturally,” parent [name] said, “That’s politics at its finest.” (<http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/InfoWeb>, May 8, 2002)

Different ideologies were enacted in this move which devalued the linguistic resources of perceived low-income children and served to legitimize the actions that benefited the locally more powerful groups. The education of underrepresented minorities (African-American, and Latina/o Spanish speaking ELLs, and low-income) was subordinated to the interests of other groups (White, higher-income) in the district. These Latina/o students that the school Board moved from Howard, then, became the pioneers of the Educational program

for ELL students at Parks school. As we can see, from its origin, this Educational program for ELL students was surrounded by “politics at its finest,” conflicting ideologies and power hierarchies, which unequally positioned in the city different linguistic and cultural groups of children and their families.

Furthermore, some members of the school board limited the configuration of the multicultural program that was going to continue at Howard school. According to the school board, this multicultural program was created for international families affiliated with the local university. This requirement was alluded to by the vice-president of the school board, whose comment was found in the city newspaper of May 8, 2002, as follows,

I’m listening to those families who have already left [Howard school] because it’s overcrowded...I’m listening to those who are not being served well at [Howard]. It was not designed to serve immigrants. [Howard]’s nationally acclaimed multicultural program began as a way to serve children of foreign students at [university name], who would only be in this country for a few years before returning to their homes.

(<http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/InfoWeb>)

Again, these comments underline the ideological nature of the perceived problem and solution. According to the vice-president of the school board, the ESL students that were children of the university’s international students were expected to be the only ones served in the multicultural program of Howard school. The neighborhood where Howard was located hosted a large research university with hundreds of foreign nationals who mostly came as

graduate students, and some came with their families. The ESL children with an assumed “immigrant” status, instead, were not wanted in this program.

The previous comments shed light about a dualistic conceptualization of “The Other,” prevalent among some members of the city School Board. On one hand, the “children of foreign students” at the university were the intended “Other” in Howard’s multicultural program. On the other hand, the children of “immigrants” were the unexpected “Other.” The vice-president of the Board did not think that these “immigrants” were suitable for Howard; they were not perceived as suitable for attending a school with a “nationally acclaimed multicultural program.” But how “multi” cultural really was this program? Were multiple cultures included? Ironically, some specific cultures, and thus, particular groups of children, were perceived as undesirable by the Board’s vice-president, and were not included in the “multi”-cultural program. In the social and ideological hierarchy in this district, according to the views of members of the School Board, unwelcomed children were forced out.

In addition, according to the Board’s vice-president, the specialized program for ELL students at Howard was designed for temporary foreign students. This program served families and children “who would only be in this country for a few years before returning to their homes.” How truthful, though, was this statement? Based on my personal experience, several foreign graduate students that I had met, not of Latino origin, wanted to live permanently in the United States. They were taking steps to secure a job, usually in another state. They were not planning to stay in the United States just for a few years before returning to their home country. I am aware, however, that my appraisal could be biased because of some of the classmates I happened to have in graduate school at the same local university. Perhaps, if I had had other classmates my experiences would have been different.

Nevertheless, questions arise about broader ideological issues alluded to in the comments of the vice-president of the school Board.

Power struggles and contested ideologies were evident not only among the city school board, school district, community members, and the families of ESL children enrolled at Howard school, but also among the personnel of the district itself. I continue in the following section to analyze these issues beginning with issues associated with the administrative status of different staff in central office.

“They see her not as equal”: Power Struggles Within the School District

Other power struggles at the district level were related to the non-administrative position of the director for bilingual education and ESL programs in the district. This director Mrs. Susan Miller had a non-administrative position that tied her hands and prevented her from enforcing state law that regulated the instruction of ELL students in the city schools, including Parks Elementary. The position of this director was a teaching job which placed her in a powerless status before the administrators at central office. Interestingly, her job title was that of Multicultural Program Director and her office was not located in central office. Her office was located in Howard Elementary School which served a large population of ELL students who were not Spanish native speakers. At the time of this research study, Howard school hosted approximately 100 ELL students from various nationalities and 11 different language backgrounds. Within this context Mrs. Miller was the supervisor of 6 ESL teachers working at Howard but could not supervise teachers working with ELL students at other schools in the same district, as she reported. Mrs. Miller was merely able to make suggestions in central office about the education of ELL students. Ms. Mary Gipson, the ESL teacher at Parks school, expressed her opinion about this issue as follows,

I just feel like with the people that are in there [central office] now, that's the only way is going to happen, they see her not as equal, and unless she has an administrative position, even though she has the administrative certificate, they still don't see the director of the multicultural program as equal. She had an administrator certificate before they did. However, she doesn't have an administrative position. So, she is actually powerless. She can make suggestions, but the final decisions go to the administrators. That's been a real issue.

When Mrs. Miller was asked about this situation, she recalled an incident when she felt powerless to influence central office's decisions. Central office administrators did not accept her input about a problematic situation happening at Howard with ELL children. They also disregarded her ideas for possible solutions. Mrs. Miller explained,

I had told the district, "we are not in compliance, the way we are now, we are not in compliance" and they didn't believe me. They just said, "well, we have budget cuts, you gotta take your share," and I said, "that may be, but I'm telling you the way we have this set up, we could do with less money if we go to self-contained bilingual classes, so, that the kids, you know, we just take it out of our daily attendance money, but the way we are now, we are not in compliance" and they didn't believe me. So, the state came out and had a big meeting and said "you are out of compliance."

This problematic situation related to the need to change the instructional model for the ELL Spanish speaking children, even when they were still enrolled at Howard school. These students had been receiving ESL instruction and separate native language instruction, like the other groups of English learners at Howard. The problem was that the Spanish-speaking group of ELL children was supposed to have a bilingual education model (TBE) at Howard, because they totaled more than 20 students in the same building (see Table 4.1., this chapter). Per state law when there were 20 or more students from the same language background in a school building, the district was required to provide the students with a Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) program. In a TBE program the English Learners are to be taught by a certified bilingual teacher. These students are initially provided with literacy instruction in the native language along with ESL instruction, until they are considered to have the requisite level of English proficiency to perform in the all-English classroom. Howard did not provide such TBE model for these students, which put the school out of compliance with state law.

As we can see in the previous comment from Mrs. Miller, she did propose a TBE model for these ELs. But her solution was dismissed. Holding a teaching job placed Mrs. Miller in a lower and powerless status in the hierarchy of district leaders. She added,

Here at Howard, when they were saying “we can’t have more ESL teachers,” I took to the district a plan that said, “ok, if we did self-contained bilingual at K, 1, and 2, those kids would just be in a classroom all day with a bilingual teacher, and then you can do pull-out, because pull-out is the most expensive program, ‘cause those kids, you are paying twice for them during the day; you are paying for the classroom teacher and the

ESL teacher now.” So, I said, “If you were to make self-contained, you could save a little money here.” But they [central office] said, “We can’t do that because we would have an all African-American school at Howard, and we can’t have all African-American classes.” Then I said, “well, then you can’t cut services for English Language Learners, because you want them to integrate classes for African-Americans, because you are already making a decision based on the needs of African-Americans.” But my saying that did not sway them.

Again, the powerless status of the director of bilingual education and ESL services made her opinion subject to being ignored by central office. In Mrs. Miller’s opinion, district leaders did not accept her proposal to provide TBE for Spanish-speaking ELs at Howard, because they wanted ELLs to “integrate classes for African-Americans.” She believed that central office administrators were making a decision to benefit a certain group of students at the expense of these ELs’ educational needs. According to Mrs. Miller’s view this “integration” was the real issue being dealt with at Howard.

Significantly, the imposed lower status on Mrs. Miller in the power hierarchy of the school district ignited in her ideological discourse as her way to negotiate the system. In response to central office’s rejection of her suggestions, Mrs. Miller situated herself in “I” versus “them” relationships. Mrs. Miller’s oppositional use of pronouns denoting group membership and status occurred in 42 instances during this interview with her. For instance, in the previous quotation Mrs. Miller identified herself with the pronouns “we,” “I,” and “my” (see the underlined words in Mrs. Miller’s comment on the previous quote) when explaining

her view of the problem and to signal her proposed solution. Mrs. Miller used the term “the district” and the pronouns “you,” “they,” and “them” (see the underlined words in Mrs. Miller’s comment on the previous quote) when referring to the leaders in district that disagreed with her. This language use with indexical meanings revealed the frustration and efforts of Mrs. Miller to negotiate unequal power relations and ideologies of practice with her own colleagues.

In summary, several power struggles were evident within the workings of the school district to solve the perceived problem of increasing numbers of Spanish-speaking English Learners at Howard school. The solutions proposed by different constituencies to solve this problem were influenced by contested ideological and institutional pressures. These forces formed the context in which the educational program for ELL students at Parks Elementary originated several years prior to collecting data for my dissertation. Several political and ideological tensions also continued to influence the design and implementation of this program, at the time when my study took place.

Power Struggles in the Current Design and Implementation of the Educational Program for ELL Students at Parks School

The instructional design for Spanish-speaking English learners at Parks included a combination of different modalities. Each specific instructional modality, location, and teachers assigned to these services, varied while being influenced by conflicting ideologies on second language learning and teaching (see Figure 4.3.). I continue in the following section of this chapter to explain each of these issues. I start with the description of and rationale for this instructional design, as it was implemented at the school.

Mr. Norman, the school principal at Parks, had a particular plan of language support services for English learners which combined different instructional models. Based on my classrooms observations and interviews with teachers, I learned that the design for the instruction of older English learners (e.g., my focal ESL students in 5th grade) focused on English as a second language pull-out instruction (2 class-periods, 90 minutes) and on native language instruction (1.25 class-periods, 60 minutes.) His plan differed for younger English learners. When I asked Mr. Norman about the instructional program for these students, he named it as the “ELL program” and described it as follows,

Self-contained Spanish for primary kids up to 2nd grade, and at the intermediate they have ESL as warranted pull-out or within their grade level, and separate native language instruction pull-out for that.

Mr. Norman referred to the instruction of English learners in K-2 grade as “self-contained Spanish.” When I asked him to explain what he meant by that, he replied “we have the Spanish bilingual program for [city name] elementary schools... and provide native language instruction in reading and language arts. We have our reading series in both English and Spanish.” Actually these students in Kindergarten, 1st and 2nd grade had a bilingual education modality (TBE) in which native language instruction was gradually reduced in higher grade levels, and English instruction gradually increased in higher grade levels. For example, in TBE programs children could receive instruction as follows: in Kindergarten 80% in Spanish and 20% in English, in 1st grade 60% in Spanish and 40% in English, in 2nd grade 50% in Spanish and 50% in English, in 3rd grade 40% in Spanish and 60% in English (federal and state funding for TBE programs usually is provided for only 3 years).

ELL students in 3rd and 4th grade at Parks school had a modality that was referred to as sheltered instruction (this issue will be explained in detail later in this chapter). Yet it was unclear how the principal really understood and monitored its implementation, since Mr. Norman added that,

Sheltered instruction is the instruction of English for English Language Learners that is presented with techniques and strategies that facilitate their acquisition of English. For example, I'm drawing a blank here, oh, cognates. For example, using cognates, which have similar roots and meanings in both languages; there are quite a few words that are similar in English and Spanish because a lot of English comes from Spanish, and so, that's one example; whereas just in a regular class, an English class would not concentrate on those types of strategies and techniques.

The English learners in 3rd and 4th grades received all content-area instruction in English in the regular classroom. Mr. Norman explained that “3rd and 4th have ESL instruction in the classroom because the teachers are ESL certified.” These students also had language arts and social studies in a pull-out Spanish class (60 minutes) every day. The English learners in grade 5 received instruction in content areas in English in the regular classroom, social studies and language arts in a pull-out Spanish class (60 minutes), and science in an ESL pull-out class (90 minutes). Since Spanish-speaking ELLs at Parks school received some type of native language instruction, there appeared to be an emphasis on this type of language services in the plan delineated by the principal. This focus on Spanish instruction, shaped the

educational program as a modified, limited, late-exit TBE program for the English Language Learners in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grades, was evidenced again when the school principal discussed the exiting criteria from support services. Mr. Norman stated,

Even if they score 6 in the ACCESS test, for consecutive years, if we feel they need, they **still** receive instruction in Spanish to some extent. We don't have an exit criterion for our program, we don't push them out.

The design outlined by the principal appeared to emphasize native language instruction as separated from a TBE modality. He expressed that students were not exited from the program, even if they had met state criteria for exiting the program, since “they still receive instruction in Spanish to some extent.” The rationale for this design was first to provide for a firm foundation for English academic skills. Mr. Norman explained that “having strong academic skills in the native language will facilitate acquisition of those skills in English, and in the long run provide them with a much firmer foundation as they progress to middle and high school where it becomes more difficult.” Certainly, research shows that strong literacy skills in the first language aid in second language literacy learning (Field, 1996; Jiménez, García, & Pearson, 1996; Nagy, García, Durgunoğlu, and Hancin-Bhatt, 1993; Valdés, 2004). Research also shows, though, that these literacy skills do not stop developing in 2nd grade. They continue developing throughout upper elementary and middle school years (García, 1998; 2000; Jiménez, 1994; 2000; Nagy, McClure, & Mir, 1997). However, the principal's understanding of what ages this foundation is developed seemed limited to the primary school years, since he supported self-contained bilingual education classes for children in Kindergarten, and 1st and 2nd grades, only.

This understanding may have been influenced by the principal's past teaching experience with ELL students. He commented that when he was doing his student-teaching in the 5th grade of a school with a large number of ELLs, he happened to teach "ESL students" in his classroom. He recalled, "I had several students in my class that were ESL students, some from Europe, some from Asia, and one Spanish native speaker." He recalled that a student from Denmark could transfer reading skills from her first language to reading in English as second language. This Danish student, according to the principal, seemed to progress quite fast in her English reading. He explicated,

I had one student from Denmark comes speaking no English in September and was in a regular English group by January. She was a good student in Denmark, knew how to read, you know in Danish, used those same skills to acquire English reading, and it was just a matter of vocabulary at that point. So, it transferred; and that's why I'm confident in the model we use providing a solid foundation in primary, in those skills, those students are able to transfer those for use at higher levels.

The comment of the school principal sheds light about his ideologies about second language learning. As noted earlier, he believed that skills for reading in a first language can transfer to reading in a second language. He perceived this skill transfer as helpful and desirable. He also believed that ELLs who have been schooled in their countries of origin, and have been good students, could do well in American schools particularly in terms of reading performance. These ideologies of the principal about second language and literacy learning align with expert literature in the field supporting language transfer for reading

comprehension skills and strategies (García 1998; 2000; Jiménez, 1994; Jiménez, García, & Pearson, 1995, 1996). These ideologies also align with research in the field about educational factors influencing the learning of reading in a second language, such as previous schooling and previous successful academic experiences in the native language (Samway & McKeon, 1999).

However, in his example the school principal compared ELL students with very different schooling experiences. This situation raises questions as to how well he really understood how that “solid foundation” in primary grades is developed for ELL students. Like comparing oranges with apples, the principal used in his example an older student whose grade level and reading experiences probably did not match those of the majority of Spanish-speaking English learners in Kindergarten, 1st and 2nd grade at Parks school. These young ELL children may not have had the same previous schooling and reading instruction in their first language in the same way the Danish student may have had, since she was older at the time she became an ELL student in the U. S., based on the comment of Mr. Norman. This Danish student instead came already with 5 to 7 years of schooling in her first language. The ELLs in grades K-2 at Parks school were less likely to be mature readers in their first language, as opposed to the older Danish student. The school principal’s inappropriate comparison of ELL students from different social circumstances, age, and grade level, led me to question how well he understood the concept of linguistic transfer and the relevance of specialized instruction for the learning of English for ELL students.

In addition, the comment of the principal alludes to conflicting ideologies about second language literacy. On one hand, he believed in the benefits of native language instruction and linguistic transfer to aide in the development of second language literacy. This

belief is evident when Mr. Norman said that the Danish student, the he used in his example, “was a good student in Denmark, knew how to read, you know in Danish, used those same skills to acquire English reading...so, it transferred.”

On the other hand, he oversimplified the complexity of the teaching and learning of second language literacy for ELL students. Mr. Norman believed that ELL students can learn to read in English in a short period of time by sole virtue of their good reading skills in their native language. This language ideology is evidenced when he said that a Danish student who “comes speaking no English in September and was in a regular English group by January;” according to Mr. Norman this Danish student could learn to read in English in just 5 months (from September to January), and even perform at the same level of a “regular English group” in the 5th grade. This language ideology of the school principal resonates with myths about the education of language minority students in American schools. One of these myths is that learning English does not necessarily take a long time; ELL students can learn to communicate in English in a short period of time. According to this myth ELL students only need “to learn enough English to be able to succeed academically” (Samway & McKeon, 1999, p.34) However, research on second language learning and literacy shows that even though minimal survival skills in English can be achieved in a short time, the ability to use English for academic purposes, for school success in English, takes much longer to develop (Cummins, 1989; LaCelle-Peterson & Rivera, 1999). Also, children without prior schooling and without native language support may take 7 to 10 years to develop academic skills, such as reading comprehension, in the second language in school contexts (Peregoy & Boyle, 2005).

Another ideology of the school principal concerning second language learning also views reading progress for ELLs as “just a matter of vocabulary.” This ideology is evident in his comment about the Danish ESL student in his regular classroom, when he affirmed that, “she was a good student in Denmark, knew how to read...in Danish, used those same skills to acquire English reading, and it was just a matter of vocabulary at that point.” This ideology oversimplifies language, not to mention the process of teaching and learning English reading for ELL children. English reading is a multi-system and complex process even for young native speakers of the language. The multiple and conflicting language ideologies of the school principal about second language learning raise questions as to how well informed and equipped he was to arbitrarily plan services for English learners at Parks school.

Moreover, the design of language support services created by the school principal did not include bilingual education for older ELL students. Ms. Gipson, the ESL teacher assigned to the school, commented that the principal “does not understand bilingual education.” According to Ms. Gipson, the principal was knowledgeable of several good things as the leader of the institution, but did not know enough about instruction for ELL students. In her opinion, the principal

Has great knowledge of many things, special ed, and discipline, and curriculum, he knows that, the law, he knows all of that, but he doesn't know ESL and bilingual programs. He thinks he does, but he doesn't. He doesn't know enough.

Along the same lines, the director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the school district agreed, saying that this school principal “does not understand instruction for English Language Learners, he does not know the research literature about second language

acquisition and what works for English Language Learners.” When I asked the principal himself about the rationale for his plan of language support services for ELL students, he responded,

We think we are doing what should be done, hehe ((chuckles)),
uhh, are there other ways we could approach? We could
certainly have self-contained classes up through 5th grade, but
that has ramifications for other things. Well, it’s not only
expensive, but it’s not that necessary, you know, you lose that
school wide sense of community.

Apparently, with limited knowledge on second language learning, the school principal believed that bilingual education programs are undesirable expenditures; he said “We could certainly have self-contained classes up through 5th grade...is not only expensive, but it’s not that necessary.” This comment by the principal alludes to myths or ideologies that throughout years have been attached to the education of language minority students in American schools. For example, bilingual education, especially for older ELL students, may look like the instructional myth that “bilingual education is a luxury we cannot afford” (Samway & McKeon, 1991, p. 13). In reality, “the actual cost of bilingual education is largely unknown” because the analysis of “differential costs” in bilingual education programs is a complex task and varies with districts and by specific program type (Samway & McKeon, 1991, p. 13). Different myths or language ideologies were instantiated by the principal’s plan of classes for Spanish-speaking EL students at Parks school.

Furthermore, the principal believed that his design would maintain that “school wide sense of community” that he wanted to accomplish at his school. The director of bilingual

education and ESL programs in the school district expanded this idea by saying that “when he (Mr. Norman) was hired, he said, “I want Parks to stay the same as it always has been.”” The principal’s design to meet the educational needs of the minority EL students at his school, was actually responding to his good intention, and that also matching the desire of the majority at the school, to remain the “community” they had been. Paradoxically, this “sense of community” was not being accomplished; this community was actually marginalizing and excluding a growing population of ELL students, a linguistic and cultural minority group at the school, this situation will be explained thoroughly later in this chapter.

Similarly, according to the principal, providing bilingual education for older ELL students collided with the school ideal of integration. When asked why the ELL students in 3rd, 4th, 5th grade did not have bilingual education classes, like the younger ELLs in Kindergarten, 1st, and 2nd grade, he argued that these classes conflicted with the integration of all students. He affirmed,

We don’t have enough students and that’s not necessarily an objective for the school, **we have competing interests** in that, you know, a firm grounding in the first language helps students acquire the second language. However, we are also a school, and we are not looking to create a school within the school, and have the bilingual students essentially separated from the rest of the population. So, we feel an important component is at the intermediate level, like in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade, is to have those students mixing with the English peers, **integrating** as much as possible, and that will prepare them for what happens in the

middle school and the high school where the bilingual programs are more limited.

According to the principal's comment, with his design of language support services for ELL students he prevented the creation of "a separate school within the school." He wanted to have the older ELLs and older native English speakers "integrating as much as possible." This ideal of integration was paramount for Mr. Norman as the leader of the school, which indeed as a whole was his basic unit of administration. Hence, as the building administrator Mr. Norman struggled with competing and conflicting ideologies about second language teaching and about integration. Questions arise though if such model of integration conflicted with how the school could best meet the educational needs of both groups of students, ELL and native English speakers. This issue will be analyzed later in this chapter.

Moreover, the principal's comment about avoiding a "separate school within the school," created by separating language minority students from the rest of the student population, could also resonate with segregation. "Integrating as much as possible" would then be the best way to avoid segregation of any group of students. Trying to explain this situation, as it looks to her, the director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the district, Mrs. Miller commented that "at Parks there's so much emphasis on integration. So, if the Spanish speakers are not integrated with the English speakers all the time, they are not integrated" and then she added, "just having kids together does not integrate them." This director suggested the complexity of integration. An oversimplified interpretation of integration may have hindered the teaching and learning of the very students it was supposed to help at Parks school. In fact, Mrs. Gipson, the ESL teacher at Parks commented that, in her opinion,

Just throwing the Spanish speakers in with the English speakers is not integrating, and what happens is the Spanish speakers don't learn as much as they could, or as officially as they could by being in Spanish and then transferring to English.

Once again, the principal's design of classes for the ELL students at Parks school alludes to myths or ideologies that have pervaded the education of language minority students throughout several years. As an illustration, a programming myth considers that "it's against the law to segregate students, so we don't offer special classes for L2 learners neither bilingual nor ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) we don't want to be out of compliance with the law" (Samway & McKeon, 1991, p. 83). In reality, ELL students may need to be placed in specialized instructional programs in order to address their unique language and learning needs. Samway and McKeon (1991) assert,

When discussing the education of L2 students, many educators become confused by what constitutes segregation. The segregation of African-American students in the United States was intended to keep African-American students separate from White students. It was not a carefully designed program to enhance the learning of African-Americans. In the case of L2 students, some of the program options for L2 learners separate these students for at least part of the school day from native English speakers (eg.: bilingual education, pull-out ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages), SDAIE (Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English), and newcomer

centers). In contrast with segregated education, these programs are designed not to keep students of different races apart, but to act as a temporary measure to ensure the academic achievement and English language development of L2 students. (p. 83)

In short, the school principal's ideologies about second language learning and program integration for ELL students shaped the language support services for these pupils at Parks school. Were these services ensuring the English development and academic achievement of these ELLs? Was the school principal's design for these services providing quality teaching for these students? Indeed, when considering the school's design for serving Spanish-speaking EL students, relevant questions arise about what is appropriate ESL instruction? What is the best way to address the educational needs of these EL students? The director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the district responded to these last questions with the following comment,

If what you are interested in is them [ELL students] knowing principles of science, principles of social studies, sheltered English is appropriate, and sometimes we are looking at what is appropriate in specific contexts. What is **not** appropriate is **not having**, I think, **targeted instruction** for the English Language Learners. So, the teacher could take time to make the content comprehensible, yes, but also do ESL instruction at the same time, you know, embedded, the language instruction into the content instruction. What happened in Megan [the 3rd grade teacher at Parks school] and Heather's [the 4th grade teacher at

Parks school], I think, was that the content instruction was there, but what was missing was the embedded language instruction because most of the kids don't need it. The problem is that it didn't take care of the language instruction that the English Language Learners needed. So that's why, I think, then, over time, these kids will lose out, if we had an opportunity to check that.

The words of this director raise questions about how much “sheltered instruction” and “embedded language instruction,” as she commented, really occurred in the ESL teaching of these two classroom teachers at Parks Elementary. Also, with the school principal's design of language support services for ELL children, how much “content instruction” was indeed learned by these students? How would this situation affect these ELL students' current and future learning and school performance? These and other questions will be addressed later in the discussion chapter.

Power struggles among the school teachers. The plan of the school principal to comply with the state requirements for language support services to meet the educational needs of Spanish-speaking EL students, ignited power struggles at Parks Elementary. These struggles involved teachers' professional competence, differential status of teachers, and lack of professional cooperation (see Figure 4.3.). I proceed to explain each one of these issues.

Disparate teachers' professional competence. A design with an assortment of instructional modalities for ELs at Parks, incited power struggles about the professional competence of the teachers working with these students. On one hand, two regular classroom teachers were empowered to devise their own ESL instruction assuming that they had the

required qualifications for the task. On the other hand, the ESL teacher of the school was appraised as having a remedial role and gradually her professional expertise was deemed unnecessary.

Two homeroom teachers were supported by the principal to teach the English learners in their classrooms by implementing their own ESL instruction. These educators did not request the guidance of the director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the district, or of the school ESL teacher either. These homeroom teachers were supervised by the principal who did not really know how second language learning works, as previously explained in this chapter.

The principal's design, which did not include bilingual classes or ESL pull-out teaching for 3rd and 4th grade EL students, was compatible with the desire of these educators to conduct their ESL instruction. These two teachers had taken classes in an on-line master's program with courses on ESL education, and had taken other classes at a local university.

The director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the district was aware of this teaching arrangement at Parks school. When I asked her about the endorsement of these educators, Mrs. Miller explained that Heather the 4th grade teacher "had completed most of her courses on-line and was just missing a course...and now she is done, she finished maybe in February, something like that" and Megan the 3rd grade teacher was "fully ESL certified and a few of her courses are on-line but some of them are from the university." Mrs. Miller added that on-line certification programs were acceptable for employment. She elucidated that,

It is acceptable to the state and then it is acceptable to the district, and she [the 4th grade teacher] was already an

employee. So, let's put it that way. If I were interviewing somebody for a new hire, I would look at, as I do now, where they got their degree, how well they did in school, I mean, it's just what we do here, you know, and I would probably take that into consideration if all courses were on-line. I would probably ask that. I think we are going to have to ask that more. I wouldn't want to use that to just absolutely rule out people, because I don't think that's fair. But I think I would ask them, "how did you feel about the on-line coursework? Did you feel like you got some in-depth knowledge? How was interaction in order to..." because I do believe that interaction deepens knowledge. So, you know, I would ask, "how did that happen for you?" and see what the answers are.

Having considered the comments of this director, questions arise about the expertise of these teachers for ESL instruction in their classroom, with their own methods and materials, without previous related work experience, and without proper supervision. Why was the ESL teacher, with an already completed ESL certification and with more than 25 years of experience in the field, not considered adequate to teach these students in her ESL classroom at the school? She had been hired to do that job anyway. The ESL teacher's professional competence was ignored, underemployed, and wasted.

An added point to note is that both homeroom teachers were already employed at the school and members of the teachers' union. Giving these teachers the opportunity to teach their ESL classes was easier than hiring a new teacher to replace Mrs. Gipson who was

retiring, to my surprise, at the end of that school year. According to Ms. Gipson, she felt apprehensive after hearing comments about the principal offering her job to one of these teachers. But she was unsure about this situation since her input had not been required in finding the new teacher to replace her once she would retire; no new teachers had been hired at the time of my study.

Differential status of teachers. The school's plan of language support services for ELs also encouraged differential status of teachers. The homeroom teachers, who had obtained the approval and support of the principal to implement their own ESL instruction, acquired a higher and more powerful status. The ESL teacher was gradually forced into having a lower and powerless status. She expressed feeling like a "remedial teacher" by the homeroom teachers gradually taking away her students, and by other school staff excluding her from meetings. I analyze these issues in the following section of this chapter.

First of all, without documented guidance and supervision ESL instruction was changed several times, becoming unstable. The original design was that the homeroom teachers in 3rd and 4th grade would teach their ESL students for all class-periods. Ms. Gipson disagreed with this plan; she told them that in her opinion this was not the best arrangement to meet the needs of the students. She complained about it to the school principal, who ignored her and went above her. The ESL teacher explained, "He [the school principal] won't listen, he doesn't listen when I talk to him, he interrupts and then he shuts me up "I gotta go now.'" Ms. Gipson added that this arrangement was a "done deal" between the principal and these other teachers. Because of that, Ms. Gipson "had nobody to teach all morning" during the first couple months of the previous fall semester.

Second, after some experimenting with their own ESL instruction, the two classroom teachers made changes to release the ELL newcomer students to Ms. Gipson's ESL classroom. They sent 3 newcomer students in their classrooms that had no English (one student from 3rd grade and 2 students from the 4th grade) to work with Ms. Gipson. She believed that these teachers could not work with them in their classrooms because "they did not know what to do with them." Facing this situation, Ms. Gipson felt like being put in a lower remedial status. Ms. Gipson elucidated, "I **felt** like I was **a remedial teacher** because I was meeting with one kid at a time in here, and we actually gave up that model, many years ago, as ineffective, and yet he [the school principal] decided that without me, I had no input on that."

Third, Ms. Gipson recalled that sometime in October Heather, the 4th grade teacher, re-designed her arrangement for ESL instruction again. Heather decided to share students with Ms. Gipson. Heather split her class in 4 groups, the English native speakers were divided in two halves and the Spanish native speakers were divided in two halves as well. Heather took one half of each group of students and let Ms. Gipson work with the other half of each group of students pulling them out to the ESL classroom. Ms. Gipson explained,

What she wanted to do, and we did, was to take half of English speakers and half of Spanish speakers, and do like the 2nd grade teachers did. The **problem** is by the time they are in 4th grade, the English levels are **so disparate**, and there are two kids with no English and then we have all the gifted there, she has a gifted class, **I had a great deal of difficulty** teaching no English speakers and gifted English speakers in 45 minutes, giving them

everything I thought they needed. My whole job all these years has been to assess what the kids need and give them exactly what they need. I couldn't do that. It was driving me crazy! ...So, I had a mixed group, 45 minutes, and I was supposed to be teaching reading English, spelling, writing, science to English speakers, gifted English speakers, and there are gifted Spanish speakers as well, but they don't know any English at all. So, they went from them needing to learn English to gifted English speakers, **I couldn't do it. I didn't feel comfortable doing it.**

From Ms. Gipson's perspective, Heather's arrangement for ESL instruction did not meet the educational needs of any students; it was also uncomfortable and frustrating for her. But because of the higher and more powerful status of Heather in this current state of affairs, Ms. Gipson had to compromise and follow along. Ms. Gipson with a lower and less powerful status had to work against her beliefs and what many years of ESL teaching experience had taught her about how to effectively work with ESL students.

In fact, Ms. Gipson added that with this re-design of the 4th grade teacher the ESL children were not getting enough English reading and writing instruction. Ms. Gipson complained about this situation as inappropriate for the education of ELL students. Ms. Gipson expanded,

I kept complaining to her, I kept complaining to her, I kept complaining to her, and she said, "well, I'm doing fine" I said, "then you don't know what you are doing, I don't think..." Uh,

I really believe in her heart she did feel like she was doing fine, but, I said, “what are they doing for reading?” Her answer was “they are getting their whole reading curriculum in Spanish class” I said, “but they are not getting English reading.” So, it turned out that they were not getting any English reading. They were given silent reading time in the afternoon, and she read to them in the afternoon, that was it... They were getting stuff, like their core curriculum, they were getting like poetry, and characters, and setting, and perhaps they were getting all of that in Spanish class, I don’t know. But they were not getting any of that in English, and so, and what they were writing, it wasn’t an organized writing program, it was just like every Monday for half an hour you write something kind of thing.

According to Mrs. Gipson, this latter change of ESL instruction within the 4th grade classroom did not seem to meet the educational needs of the very EL students it was supposed to serve. The 4th grade teacher assumed that her ELs were getting the reading curriculum in the Spanish pull-out class. In their 4th grade English reading instruction these pupils had silent reading and read alouds by the classroom teacher. In their 4th grade, writing instruction was a time for free writing for these ELLs. The 4th grade core curriculum for Language Arts was somewhat covered, but, in Ms. Gipson’s opinion, it did not include specialized language instruction for EL students embedded in the teaching of core content.

Fourth, Ms. Gipson recalled that in November, Heather the 4th grade teacher re-designed her ESL instruction once again. Heather did not continue dividing in halves the

groups of English native speakers and Spanish native speakers in her classroom. Instead, Heather let Ms. Gipson work with all the ESL students in a pull-out format during the language arts period. Ms. Gipson elucidated, “as it ended up, I was taking 2nd quarter from the 1st of November until Christmas. She (Heather) agreed to let me have only the ESL kids.” Ms. Gipson added, “then after Christmas I never let her have them back, oh, that sounds mean, but she never found a way to teach English reading, so I still have them (in the Spring semester)” In this manner, Ms. Gipson could teach another group of ELL students at the school as it was her desire, and assigned job in the district nonetheless.

Finally, a last change occurred in ESL instruction and in the schedule of Park’s ESL teacher. By the time I was observing classes in the ESL classroom during the Spring semester, Ms. Gipson was teaching only a few of the EL students at Parks school (one group from 4th grade and two groups from 5th grade) and was free the rest of the morning. Because of that, and because another school in the district had suddenly increased their group of EL students in 2nd grade, she was called to teach these 2nd graders early in the mornings. In this manner, Ms. Gipson would arrive to Parks school 3 hours later than her usual arrival time. This change in her schedule seemed to be a compromise between her working hours as a full-time teacher in the district and the design of the principal for the instruction of EL students at the school.

As we can see, the constant changing of instruction in the 4th grade classroom appeared as if the homeroom teacher, on her own and with good intentions, was experimenting with different arrangements for her ESL teaching at the expense of the ESL students, the very students she claimed to be helping. Certainly, favored by the school principal, this teacher acquired a higher and more powerful status that allowed her to proceed with this continuous re-designing of ESL instruction. Ms. Gipson, who indeed had been hired

as the ESL teacher for the school, was forced to a lower and less powerful status when her comments and complaints were ignored by the principal and other teachers. Her input and expertise were disregarded. She was forced to compromise and yield to other peoples' decisions, yet she continued to speak out and confront them at times. She tried to exert agency and resistance while submerged in a spiral of power struggles.

The irregularity in instruction for these EL students at Parks also goes back to the principal not understanding what was the best teaching for these students (at least at the time of this research study). The district director for bilingual education and ESL programs explained that,

I just think he [the school principal] doesn't really understand how it works and what is going to work. I think he doesn't understand that it takes **years**. You can't do one thing this year and another thing next year, and another thing later, it keeps changing, and that's why we said to the district, "you've got to decide on a program and then have that program," you know, "what that program would do is this, and really support it." But what we have been doing is just, "we'll do this for a little bit, and then this for a little bit," and in the end, it doesn't work that way...I think that to be effective you have to have a program, and not stick to it lineally, but you got to stick to it and see if it's gonna work, you know, how do we know what would work if we keep changing it, you gotta put some money in it, you

gotta put some support to it, and parents and children have to know what's expected throughout.

Time, stability, and various resources, including qualified teachers, are required to develop an effective program of instruction for ELs. Such requirements were not always met at Parks for these pupils; during several months the "ESL program was in flux" as Ms. Gipson asserted, particularly for older EL children.

Furthermore, the differential status of the ESL teacher was also reinforced by a gradual exclusion from school meetings and activities. Ms. Gipson recalled how she had been gradually excluded from the "conveners" meetings at the school for the past two years. The conveners meetings were held monthly to discuss issues affecting the entire school. If the ESL teacher was not present, she was supposed to have a representative in these meetings. But that situation changed during the last two years. Ms. Gipson recalled,

We have the "**conveners**" and that's kind of like a congress where each grade level has a representative that meets once a month after school, and they talk about things about the school and whatever, and so, each convener has a representative group, you know what? I didn't have a convener last year or this year, nobody represented me... I did before, the librarian. It was like half way into last year, I said "I don't know anything that's going on at conveners!" "Well you are not on our list, you are not a classroom teacher" "Well, I don't care, I still need to know what's going on, I still have an opinion" and so, somebody is supposed to report to me. No, they never put me

on the list. So, I would go, after conveners meetings, I would go talk to somebody to find out...I said “you always reported to me before, or you could have me on the email list” but they didn’t.

Ms. Gipson had a lower and powerless status at the school, not only because her professional competence was disregarded by the principal and the teachers he supported, but also because she was not a “classroom teacher.” She was not in the list of classroom teachers to attend the “conveners” meetings and was not assigned a representative in these meetings. She was not informed via email correspondence about the decisions made in these meetings that pertained to the whole school, and to which she wanted to express her opinion, to exert some agency. But as in a self-feeding cycle when Ms. Gipson’s professional competence was disregarded, she was forced to a lower professional status, a powerless position, which in turn allowed other staff to gradually exclude her from school decisions and activities.

The differential status of teachers at Parks was also accentuated by the fact that teachers’ salaries originated from different sources. The salary of the two homeroom teachers implementing their own ESL instruction came from the district classroom teacher fund. The salary of the school ESL teacher came from the district multicultural fund. The ESL teacher felt like this was another reason why she was not perceived by other school staff as a “real teacher” and thus with lower hierarchical status and less power. She explained,

Megan [3rd grade teacher] is a classroom teacher, she is part of the district teacher fund, and Heather [4th grade teacher] too.

The people who are paid by the multicultural fund are the ESL teachers like me and Carmen [Spanish teacher] in this building

only...and we are not real teachers. We are **teachers of convenience**, we are teachers when they want, when they say how many teachers we have per child then I'm a teacher, for all the other stuff I'm like on the periphery, or, "yeah, take my kids, do something with them, I don't want them here" you know, "take them, take them!" I don't have the same **prestige** as a classroom teacher, even though I have taught in the classroom **more years** than any of them, that doesn't matter.

Ms. Gipson felt like a "teacher of convenience" whose presence was accounted merely for student-teacher ratio statistics; the school profile would look better with more number of teachers per students. Also, the school "would get an extra FTE" (Full Time Equivalent) the district director commented. As a "teacher of convenience" Ms. Gipson's work was acknowledged to pull-out the EL students when some teachers did not want them in the classroom. Her professional experience of many years was not appreciated and used to the fullest of her potential because she was not a "real teacher." Her salary did not come from the "district teacher fund." This "convenience" role of the ESL teacher at Parks school, along with her perceived remedial role described before, is compatible with the ideology enacted with the principal's design to meet the needs of Spanish-speaking EL students, whose educational needs had been overlooked in the past as well.

This situation could help us understand better why the school principal considered ESL instruction "as warranted" for EL children in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade. The instruction of a "teacher of convenience," not a "real teacher," was not deemed as essential at the school. The instruction of a "remedial teacher" was not necessary to meet the educational needs of these

students at Parks school. Also, these EL students were the Spanish native speakers who had been forced out of Howard school several years ago. For the city school-board these children were the undesired “others” to move out of Howard school, and apparently also became the undesired “others” at Parks. In short, the principal’s design for serving the ELs, informed by his ideologies on second language learning, English teaching and learning, and program integration, created differential power status among teachers working with EL pupils.

Lack of professional cooperation. The plan of the school principal for the instruction of EL students also ignited power struggles that reinforced lack of professional cooperation between teachers at Parks. Ironically, the principal’s design to “integrate” Spanish-speaking EL students with their native English-speaking peers, supported lack of cooperation towards “integration.” Mrs. Miller, the director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the district, explained,

The state says that they [ELL students] should get appropriate instruction but they should be integrated for fine arts, P.E., and stuff like that. But the fine arts teachers didn’t like being the only place where they were integrated, and other teachers refused to integrate them, most of all in P.E...and P.E. would have been the best way because they would want to play together. So, the teachers didn’t want to do that and Norman didn’t make them. Norman said “that’s not how I read the law.” He said, “I’m a lawyer and that’s not how I read it. It says you can do it if you want to.”

In Mrs. Miller's view, the school principal did not understand and apply correctly the State requirements for the integration of ELs. The state Board of Education website establishes instructional specifications for EL students. In terms of "program integration" the state Administrative Code Section 228.30 establishes that,

In courses of subjects in which language is not essential to an understanding of the subject matter, including, but not necessarily limited to, art, music, and physical education, students of limited English proficiency shall participate fully with their English-speaking classmates.

(www.isbe.net/bilingual/htmls.tbe_tpi.htm)

As the state law suggests, fine arts, music, and physical education are classes that involve a lot of motor, sensory, hands-on, and imitation activities that facilitate the participation of EL students in joint activities with their English-speaking peers; thus, integration could easily occur during these class periods. Being a lawyer, the principal's first occupation before becoming a school administrator, made Mr. Norman act like entitled to interpret and apply state educational law at his own discretion. Then, the teachers in charge of fine arts and physical education classes for the upper elementary grades, could easily refuse to collaborate for that "integration" of EL students. This reluctance from other educators profited the two homeroom teachers who wanted to conduct their own ESL instruction. Mrs. Miller, the director of bilingual education and ESL services in the district, commented,

They want the kids integrated throughout the day, but teachers don't want to integrate for P.E. So, they don't want to work it in

any other way, it's just "put them [ELL students] in my class,"
you know, Megan and Heather, "I'll deal with them."

Lastly, lack of professional cooperation was also evidenced when school-wide activities promoting integration were only supported by a few people working directly with EL students. For example, the Spanish teacher of Parks Elementary recalled that the school had a "multicultural night" which was put in place by herself with the help of a few teachers only. The educators that assisted in the program were the three bilingual education self-contained K-2 classroom teachers, Mrs. Gipson the ESL teacher, and the school social worker (a native English speaker who was married to a Mexican-American man.) The Spanish teacher commented that most of the regular classroom teachers did not even attend this event. The Spanish teacher added that the parents and students participating in this event basically represented the Spanish-speaking EL population of Parks Elementary. In contradiction to the school principal's attempt for integration at the school, the very extra-curricular activities that were supposed to promote such integration were not supported by the majority (White, middle-class, Standard English speakers, and neighborhood families) of the school staff, parents, and student population.

In summary, the design of the Educational program for ELL students at Parks school historically originated and continued being implemented, under the influence of pressures from different institutional and ideological contexts. These pressures radiated from the community, city school board, school district, and administrators and teachers working with the Spanish-speaking EL students. Intricate and conflicting language ideologies were played out in a world saturated by power struggles.

Figure 4.1. Contextual Levels of the Educational Program for ELL Students at Parks School.

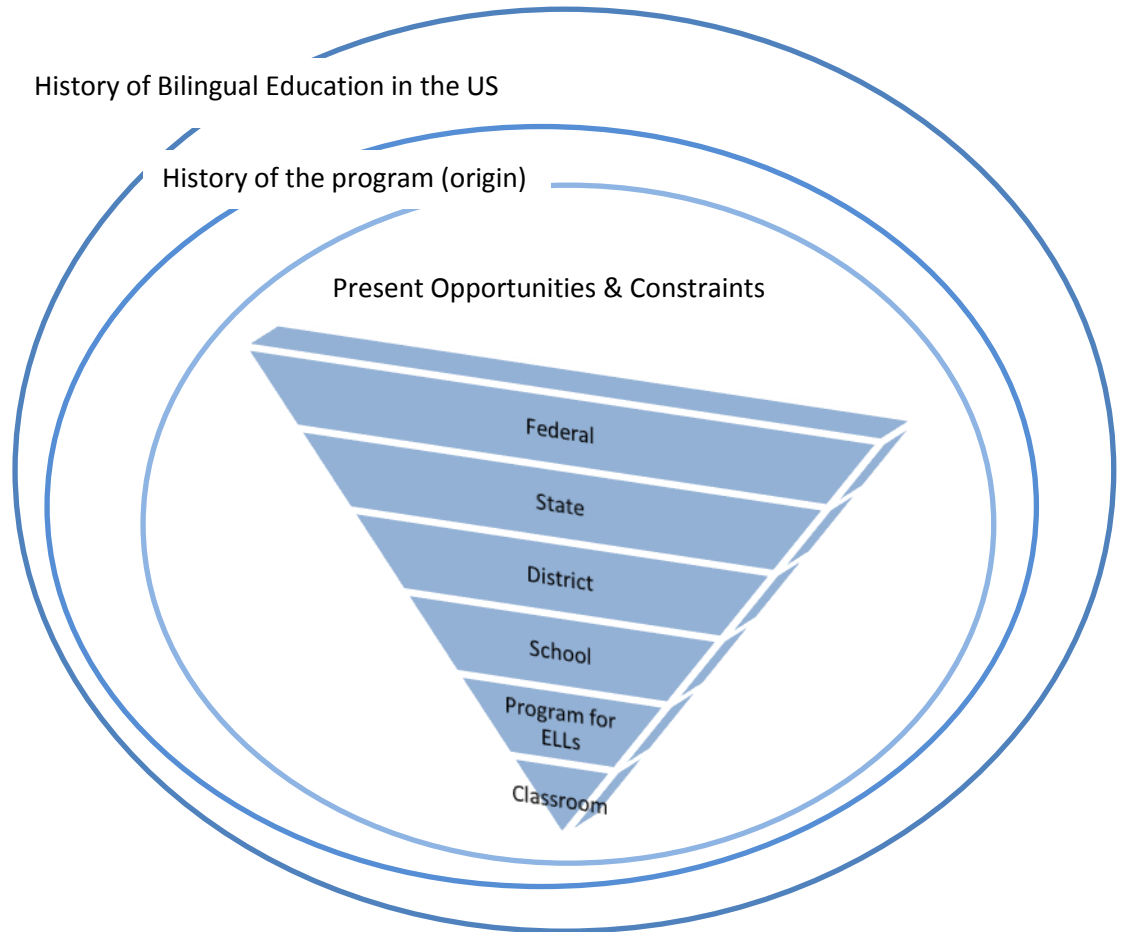


Figure 4.1. Schematic of macro-levels (ovals and upper levels of inverted pyramid) and micro-levels (lower levels of inverted pyramid) of influence of language ideologies in the past history and current execution of the educational program for ELL students at Parks Elementary School.

Figure 4.2. Past History of the Program for ELLs: Move from Howard to Parks school

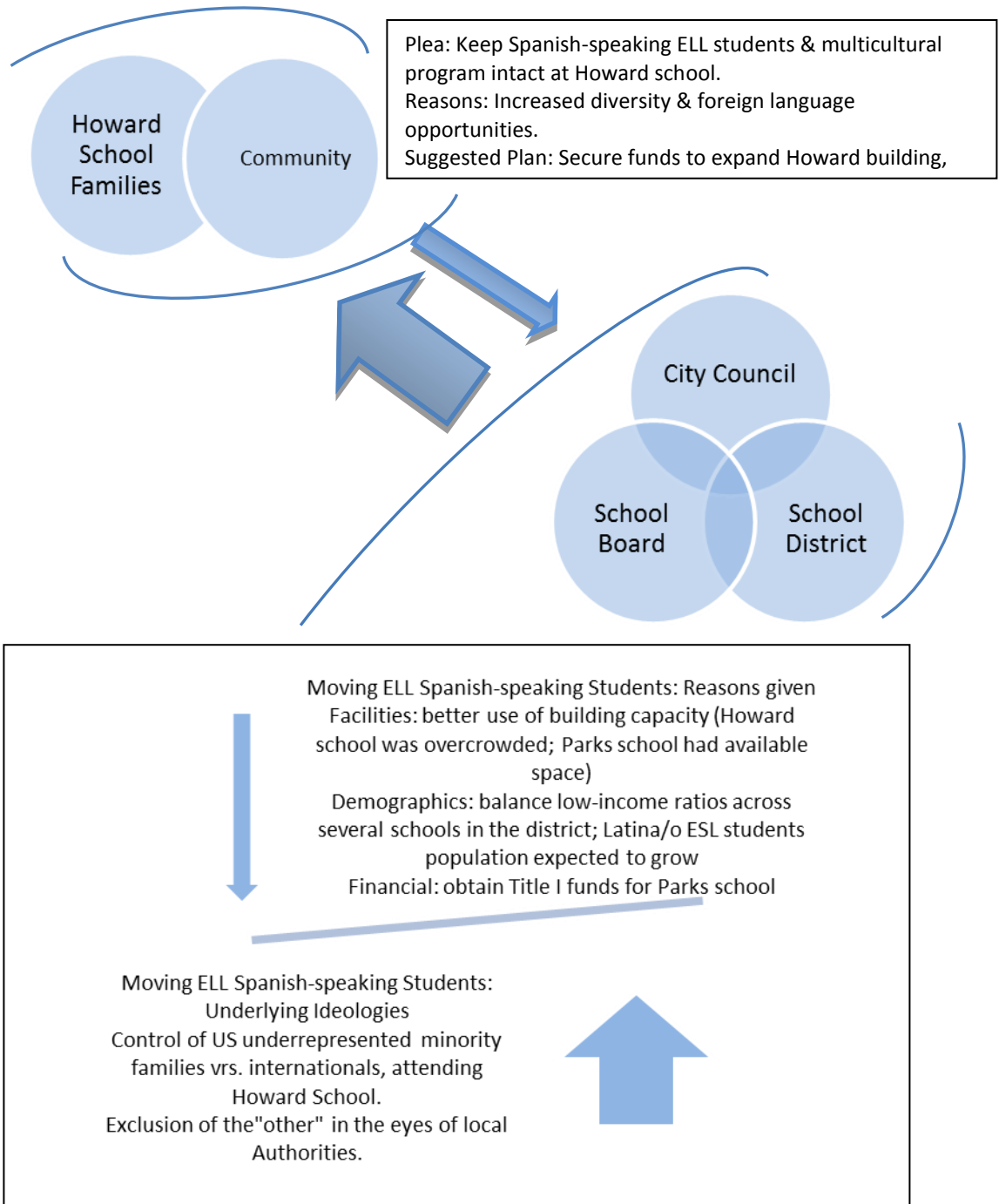


Figure 4.2. Schematic of the reasons and underlying language ideologies for moving Spanish-speaking ELL children out of Howard Elementary to Parks Elementary School.

Figure 4.3. Present Design and Implementation of the Educational Program for ELLs at Parks School.

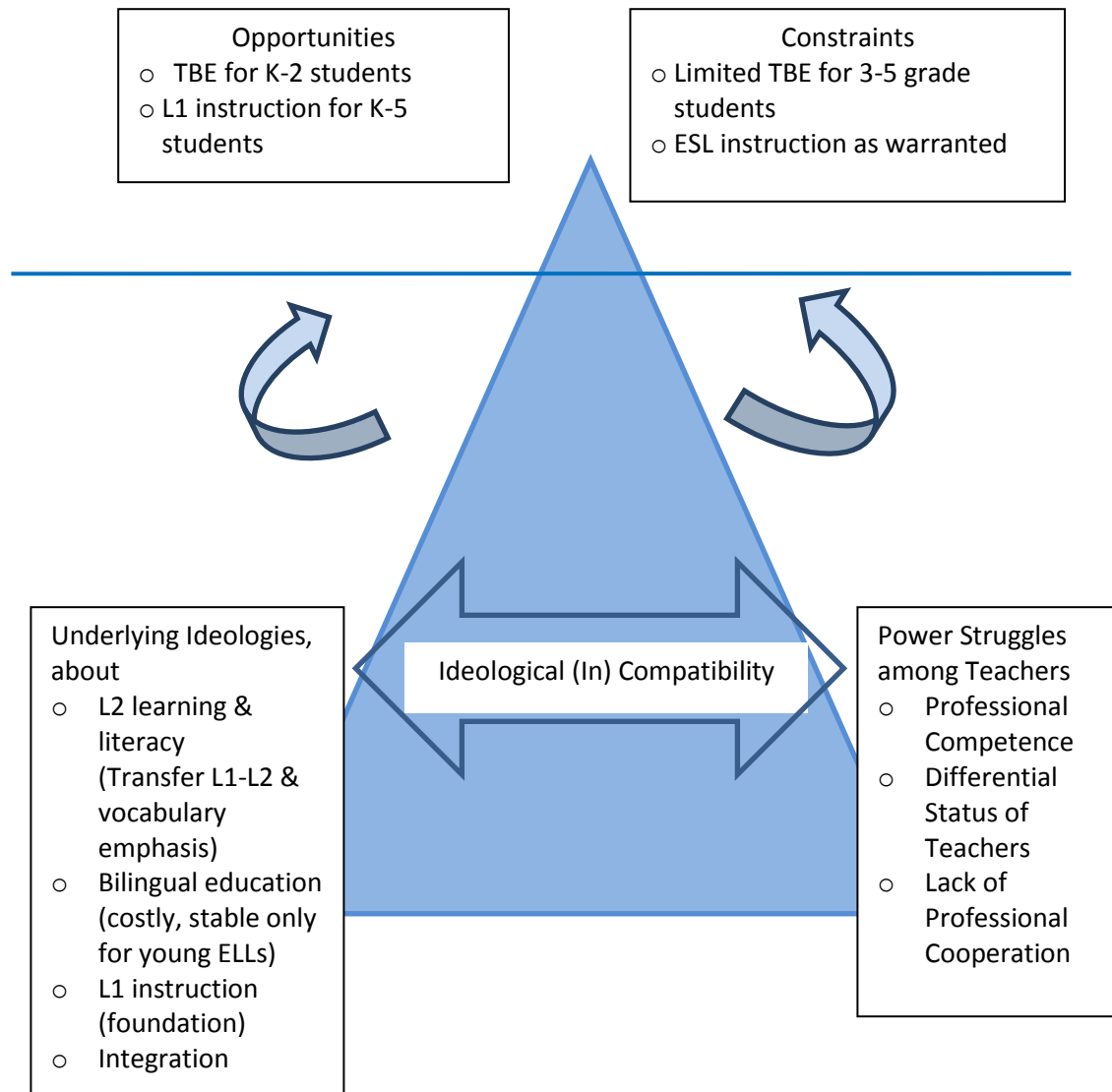


Figure 4.3. Schematic using the iceberg analogy to illustrate how major ideologies and power struggles underlie the surface of opportunities and constraints for the current design and implementation of the educational program.

Chapter 5

School Performance Expected of ESL Students

Educators at Parks Elementary, parents of ESL children at the school, and ESL children themselves had different expectations about their school performance. These expectations were related to multiple and contested ideologies of language. In this chapter, I explain these expectations and underlying ideologies in three major areas. These areas are literacy development, intellectual abilities, and academic achievement. Throughout the chapter, I use a compare and contrast format between the expectations of the school educators (reflecting deficit theories) and the expectations of parents (empowering, re-defining their own identity).

Expectations for Literacy Development

Educators and parents held disparate expectations about the literacy development of ESL children. The homeroom teacher of my focal ESL students and the school principal anticipated of these pupils an English dominant literacy (see Figure 5.1.). The parents of these ESL children wanted them to strengthen their bilingualism and biliteracy instead. (see Figure 5.2.). In the next two sections, I analyze this contrasting expectations beginning with those of the school educators.

“I have the same goals for literacy”: Educators’ views. The teacher of the regular 5th grade classroom expressed that he expects ESL students to achieve the same literacy as their non-ESL peers. This teacher, Mr. Allen, explained that he has the same academic standards for all his students. He said,

I have the same expectations for my ESL students as my non-
ESL students. I think that my expectations as teacher, uh, is to

give them more support to get to that point. But I have the same goals for literacy and, you know, for everything.

Mr. Allen's comment was unclear about what type of literacy he expected of his ESL pupils. When I asked him about it, Mr. Allen replied, "I want them to hit the same literacy standards, the same benchmarks, you know, to do everything they are supposed to do in 5th grade." Although, Mr. Allen spoke in unbiased terms about ESL students, his comments may also reflect unawareness about the implications of his assertion. These implications regard the manner in which the school evaluates whether ESL students have met literacy standards, usually using state mandated standardized tests such as the ISAT. The decision to use this test with ELL children was controversial in the state; the accuracy and usefulness of this test to evaluate ELL students had been questioned by the director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the district and by the ESL teacher at Parks school.

Other educators at Parks also expected similar literacy outcomes. Mr. Norman, the school principal, expected the same English literacy skills of ESL and non-ESL students. He explained that since these ESL children

are students at Parks school, the expectations are not different than if they were, you know, a native English speaker. We are just having them master those skills, those early literacy skills in Spanish first, and then gradually introducing those literacy skills in English. But the goals are the same, the expectations are the same.

Based on this comment, we can see that Mr. Norman considered Spanish literacy as a foundation to develop English literacy. He did not make comments about the bilingualism or biliteracy of the ESL children; the school focus was English literacy. Mr. Norman added, “We’ve worked out a program that will prepare our ELL students to be indistinguishable from native English speakers” Like Mr. Allen, the school principal also appeared benevolent and impartial. He did not have lower expectations of English learners. His comments, though, were not neutral or devoid of ideological content. Probably, unaware of this situation, Mr. Norman spoke based on his underlying language ideologies. These ideologies deem Spanish literacy as a mere bridge to English literacy and bilingualism as subtractive, and at best as transitional, not as additive.

“I want her to continue learning both languages”: Parents’ views. On the contrary, parents of ESL students and the students themselves expected the development of bilingualism and biliteracy. The parents of all my four focal ESL students wanted their children to continue developing their first language at the same time they would continue learning English. For example, Lorena’s mother affirmed¹,

Pienso que ser bilingüe vale por dos. Aprender y hablar inglés es bueno, como hablar su idioma natal. Aprender a escribir y a leer los dos, de las dos formas es bueno...Yo pienso que es para superar más a los niños, porque, como le digo, si todos los niños estuvieran sólo en Inglés, perderían el español. Entonces yo pienso que es para superar, que no pierdan su español.

Lorena tiene su clase de español y de inglés. [I think that being

¹ See transcription conventions in Appendix B

bilingual is having a double benefit. Learning and speaking English is good, like learning and speaking your native language. Learning to write and read in both ways is good... I think that this is to help the children to be better, because, as I said, if all children were only in English, they would lose their Spanish. So, I think that this is to be better, that they do not lose their Spanish. Lorena has her Spanish and English class.]

Lorena's mother expected that her daughter would learn to read and write in both languages, Spanish and English. She did not want her daughter to lose her native language. The language ideologies of this Latino parent held both languages with an equal status. Also, for this parent bilingualism and biliteracy were assets, not liabilities.

Manuel's mother, another focal student in my research study, agreed with the previous view. She also wanted her child to develop bilingualism. She asserted,

Pues para nosotros los Latinos, bueno, al menos en lo personal, yo estoy muy interesada en que mis hijos no pierdan su idioma materno que es el español. Entonces, a mí me gusta mucho ese programa y les ha ayudado mucho también, porque a pesar de que su clase de ESL es en inglés, ellos hablan un buen español también. [I think that for us Latinos it is important that our children speak Spanish. Well, at least personally, I am very interested in my children not losing their mother tongue that is Spanish. So, I like that ESL program very much. It has helped

them in both languages, because they are learning English in the ESL class, and they are learning Spanish well in the Spanish class too.]

The language ideologies underlying the comment of Manuel's mother deem bilingualism as desirable and attainable. She views bilingualism as an asset not a liability. Her ideologies also point to additive bilingualism, not transitional or subtractive.

Another parent of my focal ESL student agreed with the previous ones. Patricia's mother expected her daughter to develop biliteracy, particularly spelling skills in both languages. She commented,

Yo quiero que ella lleve los dos lenguajes, que los lleve bien, las ortografías. Ella maneja ya el inglés, ella lo escribe y lee, y ella lee muy bien en español; lo que no es que, ella escribe el español como si fuera inglés. Entonces le digo yo, muchas cosas no sabe todavía, no sabe de español. En la escuela me la corrigen en cuanto a la ortografía. Sí, yo quiero que ella los lleve bien los dos. [I want her to continue learning both languages, to continue learning, very well, spelling in both languages. She can use English well, she can write and read in English, and she reads very well in Spanish. But what is not good, is that she spells words in Spanish like in English. Then I tell her, "there are many things that you do not know yet about Spanish spelling; you need to learn more." They correct her

spelling in the Spanish class at school. So, yes. I want her to continue learning both languages.]

Patricia's mother expected her to continue developing her writing in both languages. She had noticed an influence of English spelling in her Spanish spelling, which is common in children in the process of developing their biliteracy skills. This comment evidences underlying language ideologies which value additive bilingualism and biliteracy. This parent also believed that biliteracy does not develop automatically; but it is a complex process that needs specialized instruction from school personnel.

Another parent of a focal ESL student, Alicia's mother, agreed with the previous parents. She expected her child to become a "balanced" bilingual, yet she was unsure how much of that balance Alicia had obtained. She explained,

No sé hasta qué punto mi hija es bilingüe balanceada. Pues ella empezó a aprender inglés desde los dos añitos y medio en el programa Head Start; me parece que tuvo toda esa exposición inicial con el lenguaje inglés, aun cuando en la casa siempre se le habla en español. [I do not know to what degree my daughter is a balanced bilingual already. She has been exposed to both languages for several years. She began to learn English in the Head Start program when she was just two and half years old, and we have always talked to her in Spanish at home.]

This comment manifests the influence of language ideologies in this parent's attempts to foster balanced bilingualism in her daughter. This mother believed that such balance could

be attained with several years of exposure to both languages. She made sure that Alicia would begin learning English at a very early age, before going to kindergarten. She made sure that Alicia would also learn Spanish simultaneously at home. Regardless of the fact that she and her husband were bilingual themselves (and highly educated professionals), they chose Spanish to communicate with Alicia. I want to clarify here that the use of Spanish as the home language did not mean that Alicia's mother only expected instruction in the English language at school. She wanted Alicia to continue developing academic Spanish at school too, since she had her enrolled in the Spanish class at Parks Elementary, as she commented later.

“Those that speak two languages can get a better future”: Children's views. All the four focal ESL students themselves also expected to develop bilingual and biliteracy skills. They believed in different benefits of being bilingual and biliterate. These benefits were communicative, financial, and linguistic (see Figure 5.2., bottom half). These focal students made their beliefs and views apparent during my interviews with them. As an illustration, Lorena one of the focal students, commented on the financial and communicative benefits of being bilingual. She said,

Es muy bonito ser bilingüe porque puedes tener más trabajos en el futuro, puedes hacer más cosas en la vida, y tienes más poder que uno aquí solamente de una lengua; porque como he dicho, en los Estados Unidos están buscando personas bilingües, que hablen dos idiomas, y eso nos va a servir en la vida, para poder ser, para poder encontrar trabajo más rápido... También me escribo con mi tía en Méjico, me comunico por medio de la computadora con mi familia de Méjico. [It is very nice to be

bilingual because you can have more job opportunities in the future, you can do more things in life, and you have more power than someone who only speaks one language. In the United States they are looking for bilingual people, that speak two languages, and that is going to serve us in life, to be able to find a job faster...I also write to my aunt in Mexico, I communicate with my family in Mexico through the computer.]

In the previous comment Lorena referred to the financial benefit of being a bilingual person in terms of more employment opportunities. She also referred to a communicative advantage, since being biliterate allows for inter-generational communication exchanges.

Interestingly, this 11-year old girl alluded to the issue of power. She believed that being bilingual and biliterate gave her more power (or “cultural capital” in terms of Bourdieu) than what a monolingual person might have. Lorena’s comment evidenced an underlying language ideology that supports additive bilingualism, not subtractive or transitional. She believed that Spanish-English bilinguals had a better status, than what mainstream society commonly does, in a power hierarchy of socio-cultural groups. This ideology was manifested in Lorena’s relationships with her classmates, situation that I will explain thoroughly in chapter 6.

Similarly, Manuel believed in the financial and communicative advantages of being bilingual especially in business jobs. He viewed his mother as an example of a business person whose success derived from the fact of being bilingual. He said,

Te pueden dar más trabajos si eres bilingüe. Sí, los que hablan dos idiomas pueden agarrar un mejor futuro, porque ellos van a poder comunicarse con las otras personas, porque si viajas, y puedes leer, y a ellos les gusta tu producto, empezarán a comprarlo. Pero si no sabes el idioma, no sabes que andan diciendo. Mi mamá vende productos de perfume y cremas y habla en el trabajo en inglés.

...Es bueno ser bilingüe porque así puedes comunicarte con los que hablan inglés y con los que hablan español. También te puedes comentar con tus abuelitos en español, no más les hablo por teléfono. [They can give you more jobs if you are bilingual.

Yes, those that speak two languages can get a better future, because they will be able to communicate with other people. If you travel, and can read, and they like your product, they will start buying it. But if you do not know the language, you do not know what they are saying. My mom sells products like perfume and lotions and she speaks in English at work.

...It is good to be bilingual because in this manner you can communicate with those that speak English and with those that speak Spanish. I can converse with my grandparents in Spanish; I talk to them on the telephone.]

Manuel believed in the financial and communicative benefits of being bilingual.

According to Manuel, his mother was a real and practical example of a bilingual and biliterate

entrepreneur. Being able to speak and read in two languages allowed his mother to sell cosmetics to different types of costumers. Also, by not losing his native language, Manuel could talk in Spanish with his older relatives in another country; he could continue with such inter-generational communicative exchange. As we can see, this boy's comments shed light on an underlying ideology of language that positions bilingualism and biliteracy as assets, not as liabilities. His ideology encourages additive, not subtractive or transitional, bilingualism and biliteracy.

Likewise, Alicia, another focal ESL student, believed in the communicative and financial benefits of being bilingual. Particularly, while learning English, she does not want to lose her first language as a cultural identity marker. She said,

Me gusta mucho ser bilingüe. Me gusta el español porque es parte de nuestra cultura, y el inglés porque te ayuda a tener más trabajos. Yo pienso que es importante ser bilingüe porque para trabajos de superintendente, y cosas así, quieren una persona bilingüe porque pueden hablar los dos lenguajes. Al tener dos maestros, se gasta más dinero, en vez de na'más tener una persona. Y si na'más habla inglés, pues como se comunicaría con otras personas que son Latinas y no pueden entender inglés? Así que quieren tener personas bilingües. [I like to be bilingual very much. I like Spanish because it is part of our culture. I like English because it helps you to get more jobs. I think it is important to be bilingual for jobs like being a superintendent. They want to hire bilinguals because they can

...speak these two languages. They spend more money by hiring two teachers, instead of hiring only a bilingual teacher. Now, if he only speaks English, how could he communicate with Latinos that cannot understand English? So, they want to hire bilingual people.]

Alicia, like the other focal students, wanted to be bilingual. She viewed speaking Spanish as part of her culture; she did not give a specific name to her culture, but I think she related it to her family, since her mother had commented earlier that they speak Spanish at home (even though both professional parents are fluent in both languages). Alicia also believed in the communicative and financial benefits of being bilingual; to facilitate communication between different parties in the work place, and for saving money. It would be more economical to hire a Spanish-English bilingual person to work with Spanish speaking Latinos, apparently for translation and interpretation purposes, than hiring two individuals who only spoke either language. This comment evidenced an underlying language ideology that regards bilingualism as an asset, not as a liability, and support additive bilingualism.

Finally, Patricia, another focal student, believed in the financial and linguistic benefits of being bilingual as well. Particularly, she alluded to the importance of linguistic transfer for reading comprehension. She said,

Es bueno ser bilingüe porque hay algunos trabajos en que se necesita que se hable español e inglés, y no hay tantas personas que hablen inglés también y no solo hablen español, y hay más variedad de trabajos así...También porque hay algunas

palabras en inglés que se pueden escribir casi lo mismo que en español, entonces me ayuda mucho para escribir y para entender unas palabras. [It is good to be bilingual because there are some jobs in which you need to speak Spanish and English. There are not that many people who speak English too, and not only Spanish. So, there is greater variety of jobs... It is good to be bilingual also because there are some words in English that you can write almost in the same way as in Spanish. So, this helps me a lot to write and to understand some words.]

Patricia referred to the financial benefit of being bilingual. She believed that a Spanish-English bilingual could have access to a wider variety of jobs than a monolingual person. She also believed that being biliterate helped her to learn words in English the target language; she alluded to the benefits of language transfer, and implied the use of cognates, that facilitated her reading comprehension and writing. As we can see, Patricia's comment manifests an underlying language ideology that deems bilingualism and biliteracy as assets.

In summary, multiple language ideologies influenced the expectations about the literacy development of ESL students at Parks Elementary School. The language ideologies of educators at Parks school and of the parents of ESL children were in juxtaposition and in contestation. On one hand, educators expected the same literacy of ESL and non-ESL students, focused on English literacy. This expectation appeared unbiased and impartial. However, when considering the historical and institutional contexts in which this research study took place, the expectation of educators at Parks school may relate to a dominant

language ideology that aligns with federal and state literacy standards. In this manner, the homeroom teacher of my focal students had the same literacy expectations, 5th grade literacy standards and benchmarks, for his ESL and non-ESL pupils. In addition, the principal at the school considered that literacy in Spanish, the native language of most ESL students at Parks, served as a foundation to develop English literacy. Native language literacy was a bridge to attaining the English literacy required by educational policy as measured with standardized tests. Bilingualism, then, becomes subtractive and transitional. Bilingualism becomes a means to an end, not a goal in itself. On the other hand, the parents of my focal ESL students expected their children to continue developing Spanish-English bilingual and biliteracy skills. The expectations of these parents revealed an underlying language ideology that values additive bilingualism and biliteracy, as desirable, attainable, long-term goals in themselves; they did not value these skills as a short-term passage to English literacy. Finally, the four focal ESL students agreed with their parents. These children valued additive bilingualism and biliteracy as desirable and attainable goals. These children also valued the communicative, financial, and linguistic benefits of being Spanish-English bilingual and biliterate. The presence of multiple and contested language ideologies were evident in all these literacy expectations.

Expectations about Intellectual Abilities

Multiple ideologies of language also influenced the expectations about the intellectual potential of the ESL students at Parks school. In this section of the chapter, I explain the expectations about the intellectual potential or intellectual abilities for school success of these students. I use a compare and contrast format between the expectations of school educators

and of the parents of my focal students. I continue now to explain the expectations of the homeroom teacher of my focal ESL students.

“She has worked sooo hard”: **Teacher’s views.** Some educators at Parks school appeared to have low expectations regarding the intellectual abilities of EL students. Specifically, Mr. Allen, the teacher assigned to the 5th grade classroom where my focal ESL students were placed, was one of these educators. Mr. Allen believed that some English learners could work hard but could not become the best students in the classroom. He commented about his nomination of Lorena, one of my focal ESL students, for a school award based on her “hard work” and not because of her academic achievement, nor her possible intellectual abilities. He explained,

I nominated her! ((smiling)). They were just looking for a 5th grade student that they just wanted to be recognized. It doesn’t have to be, you know, the highest academically or anything like that! ((chuckles)). Lorena is someone who came here in 3rd grade with not a lot of English and she has made great gains, and she has worked **sooo hard**, and I just wanted to recognize her for that, an ideal student for her hard work.

Mr. Allen recognized the progress that Lorena had accomplished in a few years at the school. He credited this progress to her hard work. He did not seem to credit her progress also to her intelligence or potential. This issue was manifest when he explained that Lorena was not “the highest academically or anything like that!” He chuckled after making this statement, as if he had used mock voice. In addition, Mr. Allen emphasized the fact that he nominated Lorena for the school award. He raised the volume of his voice and had a smile on his face.

He looked pleased, proud about his benevolent action. The award that Lorena received appeared more like the result of Mr. Allen's benevolence than of her true merit. Others could argue that this might have been the case of Lorena, since she was not the highest academically performing student in the classroom, when compared with her native English speaking peers. Lorena, based on her grades report though, was an above average student.

However, while analyzing the whole situation of the nomination of an ESL girl for the 5th grade award, we can see that it was not purely altruistic, neutral, or devoid of ideological content. The reasons given by Mr. Allen to explain his decision about nominating Lorena, probably unaware of them, manifest underlying ideologies about linguistic minorities associated with deficit thinking; that is, Lorena an ESL Latina student could improve her school performance by working hard ("sooo hard"), but not by virtue of her intellectual abilities or innate potential too. I want to clarify here that I believe that working hard is an excellent quality for all students. I think it is commendable and desirable that all students work hard at school. I argue, though, that the homeroom teacher of my focal students focused on the hard work of Lorena to do well at school; he appeared to overlook or ignore Lorena's intellectual abilities that would also help her to succeed at school.

"She is very intelligent": Parents' views. The parents of my focal ESL students believed in their children's intellectual potential. They also believed in their children's capability to be responsible and do their best at school. They supported them in numerous ways as well. As an illustration, Lorena's mother affirmed that her child is intelligent and wants to succeed at school. She added that Lorena also cares about playing the violin very well. Lorena's mother said,

Ella es muy inteligente, y cuando de trabajo se trata ella es muy, cómo lo explico? Es una niña que le gusta mucho colaborar y compartir; lo que si es que es una niña un poco tímida y como que no hace muchos amigos. Pero ella se enfoca mucho en lo que le gusta hacer, en sus tareas y en el violín.

[She is very intelligent, and when it's about work she is very, how can I explain it? She is a girl that likes a lot to collaborate and share; but she is a little shy and she does not make many friends. But she focuses a lot on what she likes to do, on her homework and violin.]

Lorena's mother, one of my focal ESL students, believed that her daughter was intelligent and could excel at school. She believed that her daughter could commit to performing well at school also based on her interest and determination, an aspect of Lorena that her teacher Mr. Allen did appreciate. Violin classes were offered at the school after lunch for students interested in joining the "strings" group. Lorena had signed up for these classes. Someone could argue that this mother was unrealistic or simply naïve about the expectations of her daughter's abilities. Lorena's mother may just have an elevated view of her beloved child, like many of us parents could think highly of our loved children. But I think that this parent was aware of the limitations of her daughter as well; she did not believe that her daughter was flawless or perfect. In addition, Lorena's parents believed in her intellectual potential and encouraged her to do her best academically. The family commented that Lorena had received 17 certificates throughout the school years, up to 5th grade, and for different areas such as perfect attendance, mathematics, reading, and violin. Her family also talked

about the last certificate, that I saw posted on the wall of their trailer home, for being an “outstanding student” from Parks school; this is the award for which Mr. Allen had nominated her, as I explained earlier. Lorena’s mother commented that, “*yo le digo que ella es inteligente; tiene de todo un poquito*” [“I tell her that she is intelligent; she has a little bit of different abilities”]. This mother believed in her daughter’s intelligence and different aptitudes that had helped her to obtain all those awards, including the one for outstanding student. Lorena’s parents added that they advised their daughter and encouraged her to do her best. Her mother said, “*Yo le digo, demuestra que tú puedes, que no te quedas atrás*” [“I tell her, show what you can do, that you do not lag behind”]. The mother continued, “*Yo le digo a ella que no se baje de sus nubes, lo que sea, que sus compañeritos se burlen, no importa, ignóralos*” [“I tell her, do not to give up on your dreams, whatever happens, even if your classmates make fun of you, it does not matter, ignore them”], and the father finished saying that he also encouraged her “*que siga adelante!*” [“keep it up!”].

Similarly, another parent of my focal ESL students believed in the intellectual potential of her child to do well at school. This parent provided specific examples that supported her beliefs and expectations. She spoke of the academic awards that Patricia had obtained at school. Patricia’s mother said,

Ella puede, ella siempre ha sido buena estudiante. Allá en la otra escuela que títulos y que certificados, y que por muy buena estudiante, y que todo eso; y del estado, cuando les hacían un examen del estado, ella estaba superior a los del área local, ella estaba entre los puntajes más altos. [She can excel. She has always been a good student. At the other school, she received

several awards and certificates because she was a very good student. When they were given a test from the state, her scores were better than those of the children living in the neighborhood. She was ranked among the highest scores.]

This parent believed in her daughter's intellectual potential to excel at school. She based her beliefs on the numerous awards that Patricia had received at the school she attended the previous years, when they lived in another state. They had been living in their current home for approximately one year. We could argue that this loving parent, like Lorena's mother, was unrealistic and naively enthusiastic about her daughter's abilities; that these awards were probably not that many, and that she misinterpreted her child's school performance. However, Patricia had been performing at the above average level at different times at her new school, Parks elementary, especially in mathematics.

Importantly, this Latina mother's belief in her child's intelligence contradicts the myth of deficit thinking that pervades in mainstream society about linguistically diverse families and their assumed lower intellectual abilities and academic achievement (Valencia & Solórzano, 1997), and about working class and immigrant Latino families in particular (Halcón, 2001; Valencia & Solórzano, 1997; Villenas & Foley, 2002). These deficit beliefs – these ideologies - about language minority children are reflected in teachers' expectations of these students' achievement, since schools are sites of cultural production that account for the practices of different actors (Levinson & Holland, 1996).

However, parents are dynamic actors too; they are not just passive observers in this scenario. These Latino parents exercised agency and resistance while forming their own positive expectations of their children. These parents engaged in the cultural production of

discourses that re-defined Latino ESL children's academic potential and achievement. These parents also re-defined their identity (theirs and that of their children) in the midst of antagonistic pressures from different institutional and ideological contexts that were reproduced in teacher's low expectations of these pupils.

The parents of the other focal ESL students also believed in their children being capable of doing well at school. For example, Alicia's mother affirmed, "*Yo creo que ella es muy inteligente y muy positiva, también pone su esfuerzo en completar tareas, en investigar, pregunta mucho a sus compañeras o a los maestros, y trata de buscar información por ella misma.*" ["I believe that she is very intelligent and very optimistic. She also works hard to complete homework and to do investigations. She often asks questions to her classmates or teachers, and she tries to look for information by herself"]. This mother believed that Alicia had the intellectual abilities and attitude, to help her succeed at school. Again, the underlying language ideologies of this Latino parent debunk the "deficit theory" and "culture of poverty" that are prevalent in schools regarding the achievement of Latino ESL children as working-class and linguistic minorities (Halcón, 2001; Valencia & Solórzano, 1997; Villenas & Foley, 2002). The parents of my ESL focal students also supported them in practical ways to excel at school. This latter issue is explained in the following section.

Expectations About Academic Achievement

Multiple language ideologies influenced the expectations about the academic achievement of the ESL students at Parks school as well. In this section of the chapter, I will explain the expectations about the academic achievement of my focal students and expectations about parents' support and school involvement. I again use a compare and

contrast format between these expectations held by school educators and parents. I start analyzing the expectations of the educators. I continue examining the expectations of the parents. I proceed below to explain the expectations of the homeroom teacher of my four focal ESL students.

“A recurring pattern”: **Teacher’s views.** The assigned teacher to the 5th grade regular classroom believed that Latino parents did not care much about academic achievement. Mr. Allen, this 5th grade teacher, said that he had detected a “recurring pattern” in Latino parents towards their children’s achievement. This recurring pattern consisted of focusing more on behavioral outcomes than on academic ones. When I asked Mr. Allen about the support that these parents provide at home for their children’s school learning, he responded,

I’ve seen a lot of support at home, when they want, the main issue that they want to know about, is the behavior. I kind of feel like, that’s a main focus for them, “How is my kid doing behaviorally?” I mean, I can do all the academic things, we show them that, they care about us doing that. But what they really want to know is “How is my kid behaving?” I kind of find that to be a recurring pattern; and some parents go “This is my cell phone number, if this kid is messing around, give me a call, we’ll take care of it at home, ok?” Great, and they follow through.

This homeroom believed that parents of his ESL students did not care about academic outcomes the same way they really cared about behavior. He did acknowledge, though, these

parents' subsequent actions; he said, "they follow through" at home to make their children behave at school in the coming days. I could argue that this situation was probably true in Mr. Allen's classroom at the present time. I could also argue that this situation might have repeated in Mr. Allen's classroom for all the Latino parents of his ESL students during his four years of teaching at Parks school. Mr. Allen would have no choice but to hold lower expectations of ESL students and their parents in terms of academic achievement.

However, the comment of Mr. Allen was not devoid of ideological content. His comment evidenced underlying ideologies about school expectations of linguistic and cultural diverse students and their families. Perhaps unconsciously, he had a lesser view of ESL children, relative to the view of the families and students themselves. Mr. Allen interpreted these parents' concern with behavior as unconnected and dichotomous with academics.

Interestingly, the rest of the conversation about this issue, revealed more about the views and beliefs of Mr. Allen regarding the culture of his ESL students and families. I asked Mr. Allen how these parents "take care at home" of their children's "messing around" at school or how "they follow through," as he had affirmed earlier. See the excerpt of the conversation as follows,

Mariana: What do you mean? What do the parents do to "follow through"?

Mr. Allen: What they are doing I don't know! ((chuckles)) But they'll be doing something.

Mariana: Would they use some form of punishment like time-out?

((Mr. Allen laughs more and a little bit louder))

Mariana: You laugh?

Mr. Allen: No, I don't think, uh, I don't know what they are doing ((laughing but softly and less now. Then he looks down to the floor)).

Mr. Allen: What's the next question?

The comment of Mr. Allen is suggestive of underlying language ideologies which positioned Latino ESL parents as authoritarian. In this local institutional context the Latina/o ESL students and their families were subject to socially constructed notions about race; “the Latino-as macho stereotype, casts Latinos as hot-tempered and prone to violence” (Yung Lee, 2000, p. 208). These notions are also grounded on what San Miguel and Valencia (1998) consider a “re-awakening” of the culture of poverty discourse. Historically, such discourse originated with Oscar Lewis’ (1965) portrayal of the urban poor. According to Lewis (1965) poor Mexican families living in New York City, passed from generation to generation a lifestyle characterized by fatalistic, violent, and unproductive values and attitudes. Later Richard deLone (1979) argued that homes labeled as culturally deprived, such as those of working-class parents, were perceived as having rigid and authoritarian childrearing styles. Mr. Allen was inadvertently reproducing the low expectations that dominant interest groups hold for Latina/o ESL students and their parents. His comments alluded to the re-awakening of mainstream ideologies of “deficit theory” and “culture of poverty” (Halcón, 2001; San Miguel & Valencia, 1998; Valencia & Solórzano, 1997; Villenas & Foley, 2002) as responsible for the parenting style in these families, and also related to their assumed dichotomous concern with behavioral and academic outcomes.

Likewise, the school principal at Parks school Mr. Norman, also believed that the support of these parents was evident when he focused on behavioral outcomes, not academic outcomes. Mr. Norman appeared to consider the culture and socioeconomic status of the parents to be responsible for this situation. See the following excerpt of my conversation with him about this issue:

Mariana: How do you see the support of parents of ELL students at the school? I mean, how do you see them supporting their children's learning and academic achievement?

Mr. Norman: Fantastic! Ok? They know that a good education is the key for their children to have a better life than themselves. They are a fantastic population to work with, extremely supportive of our efforts here; and **their major concern** is that their children are, the term is "well educated" but to them that means they are behaving.

Mariana: "Well educated"?

Mr. Norman: Yes, being polite and behaving; and they believe that if their kids are doing that, **we** would be able to **teach** them and **give** them **what** they need; we would take care of the rest.

Mariana: What do you mean?

Mr. Norman: You know, academic skills; and there's a difference between social English and then English that allows for more cognitively difficult tasks, you know, the

academic English, and most parents, you know, **trust us** to build those skills in the native language and introduce them in English as it goes.

Mr. Norman, the school principal, believed that the parents of ELL students at Parks school cared about education. He understood that these parents viewed education as the key to economic advancement, to a better lifestyle for their children. Mr. Norman commended the support provided from these parents to collaborate with teachers and to aide in their children's school performance. However, Mr. Norman added that the "major concern" of these parents was not academic outcomes, but the behavior of their ELL children.

In addition, Mr. Norman said that these parents trust the school to build "academic skills" in English the second language, and in Spanish their native language. The principal seemed to assign little, or no, agency to Latino parents for the academic achievement of these ELL students. In his view, Latino parents do not focus on academics; they rely on schools to do the entire job ("we would be able to teach them and give them what they need; we would take of the rest.")

According to these remarks of the school principal, he might have had conflicting language ideologies about the parents' value of and support for their ELL children's education. These conflicting ideologies simultaneously praised ("Fantastic!...They are a fantastic population to work with, extremely supportive of our efforts here"), and patronized "(their major concern is that their children are, the term is "well educated" but to them that means they are behaving...being polite and behaving") these Latino parents' support. We could argue that Mr. Norman's beliefs resonate somewhat with Guadalupe Valdés' (1996) depiction of the school involvement of Mexican families in her book *Con respeto* [With respect]. However, Valdés (1996) explained that her book was part of a larger study

conducted from 1983 to 1986 (more than 20 years ago), with newly-arrived immigrant families in Las Fuentes, a small town close to the U.S.-Mexican border. In Valdés' ethnographic account, the circumstances of the children (who were 4 and 5 years old, at the beginning of the study) and their families were very different (younger students, newly-arrived immigrant families, living close to the Mexican border) from those of my focal ESL students and their parents.

Finally, Mr. Norman considered the educational values of the ESL families, a mismatch with those of schools. Mr. Norman considered that these families did not work with their children to assist in their achievement. He affirmed, "they believe that if their kids are doing that (being polite and behaving) we would be able to teach them and give them what they need; we would take care of the rest...academic skills." Parents were viewed as uninterested in, or detached from, academic achievement and success. Again, this situation reverberates with the myths of "deficit theory" and "culture of poverty" (Halcón, 2001; Valencia & Solórzano, 1997; Villenas & Foley, 2002). Thus, in this local context, the dynamics of victim-blaming served to absolve schools from responsibility for the underachievement of minority children (Darder, 1991; 2012).

"Good grades": Parents' views. Contrary to educators' beliefs and views about Latino working-class families, parents of ESL students cared about education and academic outcomes. The parents of my focal ESL students did not only care about behavioral outcomes. These parents expected and supported, not in limited ways, their children to succeed academically at school. As an illustration, Patricia's mother explains that education, in terms of academic achievement, not in terms of being well-behaved and polite, is very important to her family.

She affirmed,

Para nosotros lo primero es la educación. Le digo, si usted no va bien en la escuela, no hay paseos, adiós paseos... Yo le digo, primero va a hacer las tareas, todo lo que sea de la escuela es primero. Le digo, los paseos después. [Education is a priority in our family. I tell her, "if you are not doing well in school, you cannot go out with your friends, no more fun... I tell her, you are going to do your homework first; everything about school is a priority. I tell her, going out with your friends is less important.]

Also, Patricia's mother often made references to academic achievement and success, during my interviews with her. Contrary to what school personnel believed about the parents of Latino ESL students, this mother did not care only about behavioral outcomes; she cared about academic outcomes as well.

Similarly, Manuel's mother, another focal ESL student, values academic achievement. She expected Manuel and his siblings to get good grades at school. She also hoped that her children continued their education at the university level. She commented,

Yo eso se los digo mucho a ellos, que tienen que mantener buenos grados. Porque eso es lo que más les va a ayudar, su, cómo se dice? sus calificaciones. Pues es lo que les va a ayudar a, si quieren conseguir becas. Bueno, he escuchado un poco a compañeras que tienen hijos que ya van a la universidad. [I tell my children that they have to keep good grades. That is what is

going to help them more; that is going to help them to obtain scholarships in college. Well, I have heard a little about that from some of my coworkers that have children going to the university already.]

Manuel's mother often exhorted him and his brothers to obtain good grades at school. She believed that good grades were a requirement to apply for scholarships that would help finance their college education. This mother, working two jobs, and raising three boys in a trailer home, wanted her children to obtain a university degree. Contrary to the expectations and beliefs of some school personnel at Parks Elementary, this Latino parent highly valued academic achievement; she did not care only about behavioral outcomes.

Finally, the parents of all my focal ESL students encouraged and supported their children to excel academically at school in multiple ways. These parents encouraged their children to improve their handwriting and redo homework when it did not look clear or nice. They bought low cost materials to help their children complete special projects or assignments. They also recalled taking them to the public library to use computers and internet to do homework when needed. Sometimes they also took them to the public library to read books for pleasure. In addition, they had books in Spanish and English for pleasure reading at home. Some of these books had been given to them as presents from friends and relatives. Still other books were bought at low cost in garage sales. Other books were bought from a catalog they had received in their home mailbox. As we can see, in myriad ways the parents of these ESL children demonstrated that they cared about academic achievement, not only their good behavior. These findings resonate with more recent studies on the school

achievement expected of Spanish-speaking ESL children, by their parents (e.g., Delgado Bernal, 2001).

Summary

The dissimilar sets of expectations between educators and parents revealed underlying conflicting ideologies about second language learners, and in particular about Latina/o ESL students and families. Multiple and juxtaposed ideologies influenced the expectations about these children's school performance. These pressures radiated from various institutional and ideological contexts.

First, the expectations of school educators about the literacy development of ESL students were different from those of their parents. The homeroom teacher of my focal ESL students and the school principal expected the same literacy standards for all students. This expected literacy aligned with federal and state policy focused on an English dominant literacy for ESL children as measured with the state standardized tests. In these policy and ideological contexts, bilingualism and biliteracy become subtractive and transitional as mere bridges to English literacy. Second, the expectations of school educators were also contradicting about the intellectual abilities and academic achievement of ESL students. They appreciated the hard work of these students, but overlooked their intellectual potential. Third, educators commended the support for school performance provided by their parents, but limited it as focused on behavior (being polite and behaving) and not on academics.

Conversely, the parents of my focal ESL students, first, expected additive bilingualism and biliteracy as desirable, attainable, and long-term goals. Second, they believed in the intellectual abilities and potential of their children to perform well at school. Third, they encouraged and supported their children, in numerous ways, to excel at school. These parents

valued education and academic achievement; they did not care only about their children having good manners and being well behaved at school.

<i>Figure 5.1. Expectations about the Literacy Development of ESL Students</i>		
Federal & State Laws	School Principal	5 th Gr. Teacher
English Literacy		
<p>NCLB Expected Outcome of Language Support Programs for LEP Students: “to ensure that children who are LEP, including immigrant children and youth, attain English proficiency” (http://www.2ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/Esea02/107-110.pdf)</p> <p>State Expected Outcome of TBE and TPI programs for LEP Students: “to achieve an early and effective transition to a regular school classroom” (http://isbe.state.il.us/bilingual/htmls/Legislation_rules.htm)</p>	<p>“We have worked out a program that will prepare our ELL students to be indistinguishable from native English speakers”</p>	<p>“I want them (ESL students) to hit the same literacy standards, the same benchmarks”</p>
Native Language Literacy		
<p>NCLB allows for “instructional use of both English and a child’s native language” (http://www.2ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/107-110.pdf)</p> <p>State requirements for TBE instruction: Academic courses in L1 (and L2); reading & writing in L1 (along with L2 oral comprehension, speaking, reading & writing); L1 instruction of history & culture of the native country of parents (and L2 instruction of US history and culture) (http://isbe.state.il.us/bilingual/htmls/legislation_rules.htm)</p>	<p>“We are just having them (ELL students) master those skills in Spanish first, and then gradually introducing these literacy skills in English” “Self-contained Spanish for primary kids up to 2nd grade, and at the intermediate they have...separate native language instruction pull-out for that”</p>	<p>“It’s ok if they use Spanish, whatever is comfortable”</p> <p>“The Spanish teacher grades the ESL students’ reading”</p>
<p><i>Figure 5.1. The expectations of educators at Parks Elementary regarding the literacy development of ESL students at the school match federal and state law expectations.</i></p>		

<i>Figure 5.2. ESL Students' and Parents' Expectations about Literacy Development</i>			
Expectations of the focal ESL Students' Parents (Developing bilingualism & biliteracy)			
Lorena's Mother	Manuel's Mother	Patricia's Mother	Alicia's Mother
L1 & L2 equal status: "I think that being bilingual is having a double benefit...Learning to write and read in both ways is good"	Not losing L1 & improving L1 (not only improving L2): "I am very interested in my children not losing their mother tongue...they are learning English in the ESL class, and they are learning Spanish well in the Spanish class too"	L1 & L2 writing, spelling emphasis: "I want her to continue learning both languages very well, spelling in both languages. She can write and read in English and she reads very well in Spanish...they correct her spelling in the Spanish class"	Balanced L1 & L2: "I don't know to what degree my daughter is a balanced bilingual already. She has been exposed to both languages for several years"
Expectations of the focal ESL Students (Specific benefits of being bilingual & biliterate)			
Lorena	Manuel	Patricia	Alicia
Financial & Communicative (+L1 power): "You can have more job opportunities in the future...You have more power than someone who only speaks one language...I communicate with my family in Mexico through the computer"	Financial & Communicative (+L2 entrepreneurial): "They can give you more jobs in you are bilingual...my mom sells products...and she speaks English at work...you can communicate with those that speak English and with those that speak Spanish. I can converse with my grandparents...on the telephone"	Financial & Communicative (+ L1& L2 linguistic transfer): "There is greater variety of jobs...there are some words in English that you can write almost in the same way as in Spanish. So, this helps me a lot to write and understand some words"	Financial & Communicative (+L1 cultural identity): "I like to be bilingual...I like Spanish because it is part of our culture. I like English because it helps you to get more jobs...if he only speaks English, how could he communicate with Latinos that cannot understand English?"
<p><i>Figure 5.2. The sets of expectations of parents of ESL students and of the students themselves about literacy development, align with each other, but are in contrast with expectations of Parks school's educators.</i></p>			

Chapter 6

Social Interactions of ESL Students

ESL students at Parks Elementary engaged in different types of social interactions at school. In this chapter, I analyze the social interactions between ESL students, their native English speaking classmates and teachers, and the language ideologies underlying these relationships. I argue that ideologies, enacted through different forms of language use, served specific purposes related to issues of identity and power.

Researchers have proposed that multiple and contested language ideologies are intertwined in various forms of human interaction (Gal, 1992; Kroskrity, 2000), especially in the classroom discourse of second-language teaching and learning contexts (Jaffe, 2003; Street, 2001). According to Aria Razfar (2005) literacy practices and language use are “inherently embedded within contentious histories of status, legitimacy, authority, and power (which) mediate interactions” (p. 405).

First, in this chapter, I examine the interactions between ESL students and their native English speaking peers, or non-ESL students, in the 5th grade regular classroom. Next, I elaborate on the interactions among my focal ESL students in the ESL classroom. Then, I compare the interactions between ESL students and their 5th grade homeroom teacher, fine arts teacher, and ESL teacher (see Figure 6.1.). These interactions positioned children differently in the social hierarchy of the classroom.

Importantly, the examples I use to illustrate the distinct types of interactions represent patterns of my data set. These patterns emerged from observations data, through open coding and focused coding (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995), which I previously explained in detail in the Methodology, Chapter 3. These patterns highlighted the presence of categories and

subcategories of social interactions and their purposes (see end of Appendix E). These themed groupings of interactions helped me to interpret participants' views, beliefs, meanings, and practices –ideologies- regarding language use and users.

Interactions Between ESL Students and Native English Speaking Peers

The social interactions between ESL and non-ESL students served to wield power. During these interactions non-ESL students tried to exert dominance over their ESL classmates, and these ESL children tried to create their own “counterhegemonies” (Gal, 1998) as well. Language use became a site used to promote and legitimize particular social groups' interests and beliefs (Irvine, 1989; Kroskrity, 2000).

In this section of the chapter, I discuss four different sets of interactions among these groups of students and the language ideologies of practice that were enacted through them. The four sets of interactions are to repair pronunciation, to establish the legitimate source of knowledge, to disqualify a linguistic minority, and to exclude hostile classmates.

Repairing pronunciation. The first set of interactions that evidenced students' language use as an opportunity to wield power had to do with repairing speech perceived as defective. These interactions occurred when the children were working in small groups completing worksheets provided by the homeroom teacher in the 5th grade classroom. Native English speaking students corrected their ESL classmates when they perceived a mistake in English pronunciation. As an illustration, Bryan a non-ESL student initiated interactions to repair the pronunciation of Manuel and Lorena, two of my focal ESL students. They were working in the same small group completing a sheet about “Structural Analysis: Changing

Final y to i”. Bryan emphasized some phonemes contained in these words. See Transcript 1 for an excerpt from this conversation among the children¹.

Transcript 1

((The children are talking about finding words in which a “y” changed to “i” before an ending or suffix was added. The suffixes listed on the page were: -ed, -er, -es, -est, -ful))

Manuel: Where is that?

Bryan: Families.

Manuel: Wait.

Bryan: You don’t have to read it. Families. Just figure it out.

Manuel: Wait. You have to read all the suffix::es.

Bryan: Uhh. No, I think you just circle them. Don’t you?

Manuel: ((reading and pointing to different words on his page)) beautiful, worries...

Bryan: Look at this.

Manuel: Oh, yeah. Loveliest.

Bryan: It’s loveli:**e:s:t**, lo:ve:li:**e::s::t**: ((looking at >Manuel; Bryan emphasizes ending “est”, then enunciates slowly each syllable in the word and emphasizes “est” again.))

Manuel: *Ya encontré el otro*. [I found the other one.] ((looking at > Lorena)) *Es* [It’s] loveliest.

Bryan: It’s lo:ve:li:**e::s::t**: ((looking at >Manuel; Bryan enunciates slowly each syllable in the word and emphasizes letter sounds in ending “est”))

Manuel: Huhh?

¹ See transcription conventions in Appendix B

((working independently and quietly))

Manuel: *¿En cuál estás ahora?* [Which one are you doing now? > Lorena]

Lorena: *La cuatro.* [Number four.]

Manuel: *Es* [It's] lucky, *pero una "i", y una "e" y una "erre."* [but an "i", and an "e" and an "r."]; luckier.

Bryan: It's luckier:: so, luckier:: ((looking at >Manuel; Bryan emphasizes the ending "er" and the soft sound of "r" in English))

Manuel: *Te equivocaste aquí; te voy a circular ésta.* [You were wrong here; you have to circle this one.] ((circling a word in > Lorena's page))

((reading and writing quietly on their pages))

Lorena: Hey, *¿y ésta?* [What about this one?] ((turning toward > Manuel)) Observer.
¿Esta no va ahí también? [Doesn't it go there too?]

Manuel: Ob:ser:ver? ((struggling to say this word; Manuel pronounces "v" like Spanish "b" and pronounces "r" like Spanish tapped "r"))

Bryan: Obser:ver:: It's obser:v:er:: ((looking at >Manuel; Bryan enunciates slowly the soft "r" sound, the "v" sound, and the ending "er"))

Manuel: *No, esa no va ahí.* [No, that word doesn't go there.]

Lorena: *Oh, sí, sí, sí.* [Oh, yes, yes, yes]. That's right.

Lorena: ((turning pages)) *¿Y tienes que poner el* [Do you have to write the] meaning *en esta otra* [in this other one?]

Manuel: *No, creo que no.* [No, I don't think so.]

Bryan: It's mea::ning:: we::: say mea::ning:: ((frowning, looking at >Manuel and Lorena. Bryan enunciates slowly the "ea" phoneme, and emphasizes "we" and the ending "ing"))

((reading quietly on their pages again))

Lorena: *Pues yo creo que sí.* [Well, I think we have to do it.]. Look!

Manuel: ¿En cuál? [In which one?] Meaning? Oh, yes. Es [It's] ((reading)) to seek, ((continues reading)) to request information by asking questions.

Bryan: **We** say to see::k ((looking at >Manuel; Bryan emphasizes pronoun "we" and the "ee" phoneme in the word "seek"))

In the previous transcript, Bryan, the non-ESL child, emphasized the pronunciation of the endings and of short and long vowel sounds of the words that he identified as mistaken in his ESL peers' pronunciation. Bryan corrected the pronunciation of several words used by Manuel and Lorena. These terms were: loveliest, luckier, observer, meaning, seek. Manuel and Lorena pronounced these words with sounds similar to Spanish phonetics. Bryan repaired the perceived errors. In his last two repairs, Bryan added the pronoun "we" ("we say meaning," "we say to seek"). His use, and emphasis in tone of voice, of the pronoun "we" with an indexical connotation alluded to a monologic view of English pronunciation. In this manner, Bryan, possibly unconsciously, used the practice of repair as a symbolic tool to wield power and positioned himself, and others like him ("we"), in a better status in the hierarchy of this classroom.

In addition, other non-ESL students seemed to have a mocking attitude to repair the English pronunciation of their ESL peers. They laughed at their ESL classmates and then said, "duhh!," not speaking with them for other reasons even when being assigned to work together

in the same small groups. These attitudes (tone of voice, frowning, laughing, and silence) looked hostile.

I could argue that the previously depicted interactions are common among 5th grade children, regardless of their language background; that children normally tend to compete with one another and try to prove themselves right by proving others wrong, especially in the context of school activities. I could argue that those children were actually caring and helpful by trying to correct and assist in their peers' mispronunciation; these peers were not native speakers of English the target language in the lesson and in this classroom.

In the case of Bryan, I could also argue that Bryan's correction of his ESL classmates resulted from trying to participate in the small group work, yet without understanding what Manuel and Lorena were saying to each other in Spanish. These two ESL children used a lot of code-mixing in this conversation, as depicted in Transcript 1. Bryan's actions, then, resulted from being confused, feeling left out and frustrated. Under such circumstances, Bryan's repair was normal and innocent.

However, the ideological nature of the interactions between non-ESL and ESL students was not completely neutral, naïve, or benevolent in the context of this 5th grade classroom. The non-ESL students' attempts to repair pronunciation perceived as defective in their ESL classmates served to promote and legitimize certain forms of action (e.g., hostile attitudes) and to exert dominance (Gal, 1998; Irvine, 1989) over their peers. Repairing defective language was probably done unconsciously to establish who the more powerful and hegemonic group was, despite demographics. In fact, the group of non-ESL students in this classroom happened to be small in number. There were 8 non-ESL students and 12 ESL students in this class. Apparently, this small group of non-ESL children tried to exert

dominance over the larger group of ESL students. Non-ESL peers may have found subtle ways to try to establish themselves as the hegemonic faction in this classroom. Underlying language ideologies created social positionality (Gal, 1998) and power hierarchies in this classroom (non-ESL students felt entitled to evaluate and correct their faulty ESL peers) and in the context of the school (the ESL teacher had a lower “remedial” status, in contrast to other teachers, while providing ESL instruction as “warranted”), and in the larger context of the district (the Spanish-speaking ESL children were the others that were sent to Parks school out of Howard Elementary, by the decision of the city School Board against the desire of minority parents of Howard and surrounding community, as previously explained in Chapter 4. Hence, non-ESL students in the micro-cosmos of the 5th grade regular classroom enacted dominant language ideologies situated in the educational macro-system. Local language ideologies are discernible from the relationships among macro and micro levels of social phenomena (Cleghorn & Genesee, 1984; Watson-Gegeo, 1988).

Nevertheless, hegemony is not absolute, total, or stable (Briggs, 1998; Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998); it is susceptible to the making of “counterhegemonies” (Gal, 1998, p. 321). ESL students in the 5th grade classroom created their own language counterhegemonies. ESL pupils exerted agency and power by initiating interactions in which they in turn repaired the Spanish language perceived as defective in their non-ESL peers. For example, as shown in Transcript 2, Lupe, an ESL student and native Spanish speaker, corrected the Spanish pronunciation she perceived mistaken in Molly, a non-ESL classmate. Lupe and Molly were working in the same small group. Molly was reading a sentence from a worksheet provided by the homeroom teacher.

Transcript 2

Molly: Ok, now, ((reading)) “Elena did not expect that poncho vanilla...”

Lupe: *Pancho.*

Molly: What? ...poncho vanilla...

Lupe: You can't say poncho! It's *Pancho.*

Molly: Whatever.

Molly: Vanilla...v...villa...would ask for a sombrero...

Lupe: *Villa.*

Molly: Whatever.

Lupe: *Sombrero.*

Lupe: I know how to say it!

Molly: Who cares?!

This incident shows how the interaction initiated by an ESL student was to exert agency and to wield power, grounded in an ideology of the importance of Spanish and ESL students' competence. Lupe the ESL student tried to repair the Spanish pronunciation that she perceived as defective. Molly, the English native speaker, was reading aloud a sentence with some words from the Spanish language. These words were *sombrero* [hat] and the proper name *Pancho Villa* (a famous revolutionary leader during the civil war in Mexico in the year 1910.) Molly used similarly sounding words in English (“poncho” or a type of raincoat, and “vanilla” a common ingredient in cookies and desserts), that may have been familiar to Molly. Lupe interrupted Molly trying to repair pronunciation based on her knowledge of Spanish diction (and not necessarily of Mexican history, per se). Spanish happened to be Lupe's first language. Lupe, the ESL pupil used her cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) to exert agency and

power over her peer. Lupe tried to position herself in a powerful status (“I know how to say it”). Seemingly, in a setting where English is more highly valued (the target language for ESLs, and the language of instruction in this classroom) than ESL children’s native languages, Lupe the ESL student tried to create her own language counterhegemony. Knowledge in her mother tongue was also valuable to this ESL girl. On the other hand, Molly, the non-ESL child, exerted resistance and tried to wield power as well. Molly ignored Lupe’s corrections and regarded them as unimportant. Molly said “whatever” and “who cares?!” in reply to Lupe’s attempts to repair her diction. Molly considered that she could pronounce those words anyway she wanted. Thus, language became the site of a power struggle; that is, the coexistence of two linguistic codes (English and Spanish) during this interaction became a focal point of social conflict (Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002.) Both girls, based on their respective knowledge of English and Spanish, tried to exercise their own agency and resistance about language competence and language worth. Probably unconsciously both students used this interaction to legitimize certain forms of action (Gal, 1998; Irvine, 1989), such as each girl’s own pronunciation and native language, and ultimately to exert control and power over language issues (Razfar, 2005). This incident demonstrates that different language ideologies promote and legitimize groups’ interests and beliefs (eg.; these ESL and non-ESL students’ views and beliefs about language competence and language worth.) Multiple language ideologies were in juxtaposition and in contestation (Kroskrity, 2000) during the interactions between ESL and non-ESL children in this 5th grade classroom.

Establishing the legitimate source of language knowledge. The second set of interactions between ESL and non-ESL students was undergirded by different conceptions of the legitimate source of language knowledge. This set was related to the previous one of

repairing language that was identified as mistaken, but it was distinctive in itself. The difference resided in who was perceived as the competent person for providing information. That is, the difference, was about who was deemed to be the adequate person to provide accurate answers for questions regarding language. This person would be the legitimate source of language knowledge. In this manner, situated notions of accuracy, correctness of language, and its users or speakers assume the possession, or lack thereof, of linguistic rights and authority (Razfar, 2005). The interactional purpose to establish the legitimate source of language knowledge, with its situated and ideological nature, was evidenced during interactions between ESL and non-ESL students in the regular 5th grade classroom during the language arts period. As an illustration, Patricia, one of my focal ESL students, was working in a small group format with another ESL student (Lupe) and a non-ESL student (John). They were completing the worksheet “Dictionary Entries” to learn about word roots, derivative words, and their meanings. Some answers and clues were included on the same page from which they were reading and answering questions. Transcript 3 contains an excerpt of the conversation among these students.

Transcript 3

John: Meaning? ((reading a question from the worksheet))

Patricia: To look at. ((speaking softly))

John: What did you say? Away? ((looking at Patricia’s page))

Patricia: ((shaking her head)) To look at.

John: Huhhh? Nooo.

((John continues reading))

John: An observer of an event. ((reading the next item in the worksheet))

John: Uhhh...inspector.
(Patricia shakes her head)

John: All right, **you** do this one.

Patricia: I don't think that's it.

Patricia: It's spectator. ((speaking softly and pronounces the beginning of the word spectator like "es" in Spanish))

John: Huhh? Nooo. ((He shakes his head))

John: I have no idea.

John: Mr. Allen? **We** need help with this one.

Teacher: Which one?

John: This one. **We** have no clue.

Teacher: Oooh! Ok, that's a good one.

Teacher: So, what would the root word be here? ((pointing to the clue in the worksheet))

John: Uhhhhh. Oh! ((looking at Patricia's worksheet)) S:::pect-ta-tor?

Teacher: There you go!

Lupe: That's what **she** said! ((pointing to > Patricia))

John: You were right?! ((looking at > Patricia))

This example of communication between non-ESL and ESL students in the 5th grade classroom demonstrates the ideological nature of their interactions. They competed to establish the legitimate source of language knowledge for English. Patricia, the ESL student, provided answers to the questions in the worksheet that John, the non-ESL student, was reading aloud. Patricia used clues from the same page they were reading to answer these questions. Patricia's answers were correct, confirmed by looking at the worksheet's clues and

later by listening to the teacher's comment. But John did not think that Patricia could be right. While analyzing this incident, we can think of different reasons why John may have reacted towards Patricia in the ways he did. The first reason could have been that Patricia's voice was difficult to hear (she spoke softly). The second reason could have been that Patricia's pronunciation was hard to understand (she pronounced words with a Spanish accent). Another reason could have been that children who are 11-12 years old tend to challenge, and compete with, one another in school settings; in this case during the language arts class period. We could argue that all these are plausible "neutral" reasons why this interaction took place.

However, I think that this incident was not entirely neutral; it did point to the ideological nature of the interaction. Language knowledge became the site of a power struggle and social conflict again. Repeatedly, John the non-ESL student regarded his ESL peer as inadequate to solve problems about language, specifically about the English language. Patricia the ESL student was not regarded as a legitimate source of knowledge about the language task at hand. Patricia tried to exercise agency and resistance by insisting on her answers. Then, John also exerted resistance and agency; he called on the teacher for help. John established the teacher as the ultimate legitimate source of language knowledge that could definitely solve this problem. When John spoke to the teacher he said "We need help with this one" and "We have no clue." His use, and emphasis, of the pronoun "we" indicates that even though Patricia had already provided the correct answers, he dismissed her opinion. John believed that if he did not know the answers then Patricia could not know them either. Next, John provided the correct response with the teacher's assistance and by looking at Patricia's page. Lupe, another ESL student in this small group, intervened trying to give merit to the person ("that's what she said!") who had previously arrived at this correct answer. Lupe, then, also tried to establish

who the legitimate source of language knowledge was in this situation, Patricia, her ESL partner. John's response showed his disbelief, surprise, and perhaps disapproval ("you were right?!"). Again, John could not consider his ESL classmate as a legitimate source of knowledge for the English task at hand. Yet, Patricia and Lupe exerted their own resistance and agency. They attempted to establish that, indeed, an ESL student could be the legitimate source of knowledge for an English assignment such as the one previously described. As we can see, in this incident students' different views and beliefs about the English language and about the source of English language knowledge were in contestation.

Power struggles among these students competing to establish the legitimate source of language knowledge also involved the use of Spanish. English native speaking children not only questioned and disapproved their ESL classmates' knowledge of English, but they also appeared to censure ESL students' knowledge of Spanish. The non-ESL students did not deem ESL children as a legitimate source of language knowledge even when speaking in their mother tongue. As an example, in Transcript 4 Lorena and Manuel, two of my focal ESL students, were censured by Parker, a non-ESL boy, for what he perceived as a misuse of a Spanish verb conjugation. These children were working together in a small group during the language arts period in the 5th grade classroom.

Transcript 4

Lorena : Hey! ((looking at Manuel)) *¡Ya acabé! ¡Ya acabé!* [*I'm finished. I'm finished!*]

Manuel: *¡Ya acabé!* [*I'm finished!*]

Parker: Did you guys just say you're done in Spanish?

Manuel: We said that we are finished, in Spanish.

Parker: Isn't it "done," the way it's supposed to be, like in English?

Lorena: *¡Terminé! ¡Ya terminé!* [I'm done. I'm done!]

Parker: I don't think it's supposed to be like that.

Manuel: Well, who cares?!

Lorena: I don't care.

In this instance, both ESL and non-ESL students tried to establish themselves as a legitimate source of Spanish language knowledge. First, and probably excited or happy, Lorena addressed Manuel, her ESL peer, in their shared native tongue saying *¡Ya acabé! ¡Ya acabé!* [*I'm finished. I'm finished!*]. Manuel responded similarly. Parker, the non-ESL child, guessed the meaning of what his ESL classmates had said in Spanish probably by using contextual clues; yet he asked for verification when he asked about the translation. Manuel offered a brief explanation (“we said that we are finished”). Manuel looked calm and confident. But Parker did not believe that Manuel's response was accurate. Parker considered that the Spanish sentence should literally mirror its English equivalent; he said, “Isn't it “done,” the way it's supposed to be, like in English?” Lorena tried to win power over the situation and to exercise agency by providing the alternative sentence in Spanish, *¡Terminé! ¡Ya terminé!* [I'm done. I'm done!]. Parker probably did not understand what Lorena said, but still disapproved of her anyway; he said “I don't think it's supposed to be like that.”

Now, analyzing this interaction, we could argue that Parker's comments were naïve and derived from mere ignorance of Spanish grammar, or from lack of personal experience learning a second language (or, at least, not at the same level his ESL classmates were at school.) However, I think that this incident underlines the ideological nature of the communication among these non-ESL and ESL children. Again, language became a site of power struggle. Apparently, in this power struggle Parker positioned himself as the

knowledgeable authority for a foreign language, despite the fact that Parker was not taking any Spanish classes, at least at the time of this research study. Questions arise about Parker's underlying assumptions about himself and his ESL peers that fueled his comments. Why did he validate himself as the authority about something he probably was not sure about? Why did he feel entitled to voice his judgment toward his ESL peers' knowledge of Spanish their mother tongue? What are the underlying ideologies about an assumed "superiority" on his behalf (a native English speaker, middle-class, White, male) and for the marginalization of the "others" (ESL children, low socioeconomic status, Latino male and female)?

Continuing with the analysis of the power struggle in this interaction, I noted that Manuel and Lorena resisted Parker's attempt at control and domination. They regarded Parker's input as irrelevant. They said to him "well, who cares?!" and "I don't care". They seemed to sabotage Parker's attempts to position himself as the legitimate source of Spanish knowledge.

Interestingly, Parker's dominant language ideology may replicate those of larger societal contexts. Perhaps Parker censured the Spanish speakers' use of their mother tongue, based on his knowledge of English, his native language. His comments appeared to replicate a mainstream English monolingual stance towards foreign languages. This stance regards foreign languages (and for extension their speakers as well) as bizarre, inappropriate, undesirable, or erroneous when contrasted with English, this idea will be further developed in the next section of this chapter.

Inadvertently, Parker's appraisal of Spanish, shown in Transcript 4, may have cascaded down from the school's ideological context (ESL instruction was provided "as warranted" to a minority group of students), from the district's ideological context (the

Spanish speaking ESL children that moved to Parks school were the “others” that from the perspective of the city School Board, not from the perspective of the community and minority parents, were making Howard Elementary overcrowded several years ago), and from society’s macro-level ideological framework about linguistic minorities.

In short, during the power struggles described in these incidents, both ESL and non-ESL students seemed to behave according to their own unconscious ideas, beliefs, and values about how languages work and about who is the legitimate authority to judge language knowledge and competence. ESL and non-ESL children’s comments shed light about the underlying language ideologies influencing their interactions with one another. Students’ multiple ideologies of language were juxtaposed and contested in their interactions.

Disqualifying a linguistic minority group. The third set of interactions between ESL and non-ESL students that evidenced conceptions of language and social structure had to do with disqualifying people identified as members of a particular social group. This set of interactions was related to the previous one of competing to establish the legitimate source of language knowledge, but it was different in its coverage. The distinction resided in the evaluation of a group of individuals or “a people” (instead of just an individual recognized as a fellow classmate) as disqualified knowledge sharers. This ideological manifestation was evidenced in the interactions between ESL and non-ESL students in the 5th grade regular classroom during the language arts period. For example, in Transcript 5, Jack, a non-ESL student, disqualified as language knowledge sharers the persons that resembled his ESL peers. Jack included me, the researcher, in the group of disqualified people. I happened to look like Lorena and Manuel, two of my ESL focal students; I was also a non-native speaker of English.

Transcript 5

Manuel: ((reading from a worksheet)) A pair of eyeglasses? Uhhh. *¿Lo tienes en tu* [Do you have it in your] workbook? ((turning to >Lorena))

Lorena: *¿Aquí?* [Here?]

Manuel: *¡En es:::e:::!* [In that on:::e!] *En tu* [In your] practice book; *no más no me acuerdo.* [I just don't remember.]

Lorena: ((reading)) A pair of eyeglasses.

Manuel: ((reading again)) A pair of eyeglasses.

Jack: Let's just skip that one 'cause **we** don't know.

Lorena: *¡No! Le vamos a preguntar a Mariana.* [No! We are going to ask Mariana.]

Jack: Skip **you!** ((making a hand gesture like saying "go away"))

Lorena: *¡Vente!* [Come!] ((grabbing Manuel by the arm))

Manuel: By-bye Jack.

Jack: ((speaking softly)) I'll kick your butt, this is ridiculous!

((Lorena and Manuel came to me asking for help. I told them that the answer was "spectacles." Then I looked for an English dictionary in their classroom. I showed them how to use the dictionary to answer this type of questions. Manuel and Lorena went back to their desks where Jack was sitting nearby. They were all in the same small group.))

Manuel: Spec::ta::cles::

Jack: What?

Lorena: You need to ask her. ((pointing to me standing near their desks))

Jack: No::: I think we should be serious about this.

Lorena: **We value education.**

Manuel: Spectacles. ((reading his own answer))

Jack: We have to work as a group.

Lorena: If you want to, you have to believe us because we talked to her. ((pointing to me again))

Jack: Ughhh! ((scoffs))

This example of a power struggle regarding language knowledge between the groups of people involved in it helps us to understand how children's underlying language ideologies positioned each other in superior, inferior, or equal status of knowledge inquirers and sharers. A closer analysis reveals ideological issues on many levels. First, Manuel seemed to remember having seen the word in question in Lorena's workbook. But she did not remember or understand what he was talking about. Jack suggested skipping that question because they did not know the answer. Lorena disagreed with Jack and spoke in Spanish to Manuel; she invited Manuel to go ask me for help. By acting this way, Lorena resisted Jack and exercised agency trying to solve the language problem without his input. Jack, in turn, tried to wield control and power over Lorena by disregarding her comment. He said, "Skip you!" and raised his voice to emphasize the pronoun "you" while waving his hand like saying go away. Lorena continued trying to wield power over the situation by grabbing Manuel her ESL peer by the arm and continued speaking in Spanish. After being singled out, Jack made threatening and complaining remarks.

Once Lorena and Manuel came back to their desks, the power struggle continued between Lorena and Jack. Manuel said slowly the word that he was writing, the answer to the question they had asked me, "spectacles". This time, and later in this short conversation, Manuel said the answer out loud without looking at Jack, probably reading his own writing.

Lorena continued exercising resistance against Jack and agency and power over the situation (“You need to ask her.”) Jack, then, tried to coerce Lorena into telling him the answer by belittling her, and possibly including myself, too. (“No. I think we should be serious about this.”) Lorena defended herself and perhaps me, since she had asked me about the answer to this item on the worksheet, by saying “we value education.” Next, Jack changed his strategy. This time he used a more affable, and almost persuasive, manner; he said, “We have to work as a group.” Lorena continued exerting resistance and agency; she tried to negotiate the terms in which they would work together by replying to Jack, “If you want to, you have to believe us because we talked to her.” Finally, Jack tried to wield resistance and power over his ESL classmate again by expressing his disagreement and disapproval with a scoff.

Again, language became a site of power struggle and ideological contestation. Both Jack’s and Lorena’s comments not only demonstrate their employment of resistance and agency against one another; they shed light on the language ideologies underlying their behaviors; that is, language ideologies may have fueled their attempts to position groups of people differently in a social hierarchy. These ideologies created social positionality regarding language knowledge and what social groups are deemed competent to share it. On the one hand, the ideology of Jack, the non-ESL student, appears to replicate a mainstream ideology toward linguistic minorities. This ideology regards linguistic and cultural minorities as disqualified knowledge sharers, particularly about the English language. Jack did not seem to believe that his ESL peers nor me, all members of linguistic minorities, could solve the English task at hand. He marked all of us as the “others” (non-native English speakers, Latinos/as), as a group of individuals who are incapable, unreliable, and thus deserve a lower social status in the context of this classroom, and for extension in the institutional context of

the school. On the other hand, the language ideology of Lorena, the ESL student, appears to be counter-hegemonic. Diverging from Jack's dominant language ideology, Lorena placed herself and "others" like her (non-native English speakers, Latinos/as), in the position of competent and trustworthy knowledge inquirers and sharers. She attempted to elevate herself and individuals like her to an equal standing in this classroom social hierarchy. Importantly, these children's language ideologies may represent the beliefs and interests of different sociocultural groups. Their ideologies served to justify unequal and discriminatory (in the case of Jack) social positionality or to defy it and transform it (in the case of Lorena). Finally, the particular language ideologies of these children may have cascaded down from larger institutional contexts. The interactions among ESL and non-ESL students in the micro-system of this classroom may parallel and expose the contested relations among different factions of individuals (eg.: mainstream White middle-class groups of people versus racialized, linguistic, and socio-economic minorities) in the school, district, and state larger contexts, and ultimately in the societal macro-system.

Excluding hostile classmates. The fourth set of interactions between ESL and non-ESL students involved excluding classmates perceived as hostile. Language and conceptions of language use and social order became a site of power struggle. This set of interactions also took place in the 5th grade classroom during the language arts class period.

Sometimes ESL students would use their native language to exclude non-ESL classmates that appeared antagonistic. For example, as shown in Transcript 6, Lorena and Alicia, two of my focal ESL students, seemed to speak in Spanish to each other when some non-ESL peers were hostile towards them and interrupted their work. One day, both girls were practicing their speeches for the "Animal Book Fair" project. For this project they made

posters and were using them to say their speeches, which were based on the storyline and characters of different fiction books of their choice. Other students were also working together in pairs and located themselves in different areas of the classroom. Three Non-ESL classmates came, at different times, to look at Lorena's poster and to listen to her speech.

Transcript 6

Alicia: ((reading the end of her speech)) ...He does this because he's mad at her for telling Josh that he had been stealing the chicken's eggs. Semolina is finally found, but she's injured. The fox had hurt her!

((Choi comes to the corner where these girls are standing))

Alicia: ((continues reading)) Fortunately, she recovers and finally talks to someone other than Josh, Josh's dad! I bet he believes Josh now!

Lorena: All right. You got it!

Alicia: Now it's your turn ((looking at > Lorena)). I'll check the time.

((Lorena gives Alicia back her watch))

((Choi gets closer to Lorena))

Lorena: ((reading)) After Chester, a cricket, arrives in the Times Square subway station via a picnic basket from his native Conne:ctic-

Choi: ((pointing to a picture in Lorena's poster)) That's not nice.

((Lorena waves her hand "go away")

Lorena: ((continues reading)) Connecticut, he takes up residence in the Bellini's news-

Choi: ((pointing to another picture in the poster)) That's not nice.

((Lorena frowns and waves her hand "go away." Choi leaves))

Lorena: ((continues reading)) in the Bellini's news-stand...

Lorena: Ughh! I'll start again.

((Alicia nods yes and looks at her watch))

Lorena: Now? ((looking at > Alicia))

Alicia: Yeah. ((looking at her watch again)) Three, two, one. Go!

Lorena: ((reading)) After Chester, a cricket, arrives in the, in the Times Square subway station via a picnic basket from his native Conne...Conne:cticut

((Tyler and Jack come to the corner where Lorena and Alicia are standing))

Lorena: ((reading)) he takes up residence in the Bellini's news-stand. There, the tiny creatur-

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Tyler and Jack: ((looking at Lorena and her poster)) That's not right.

Alicia: What? ((stops looking at her watch))

((Lorena turns her back on them))

Alicia: Ughh! Just start again. But, wait... I'm, I need to, let's get ready

Ok?...((looking at > Lorena))

Lorena: ((nodding her head))

Alicia: ((looking at her watch)) Three, two, one!

((Tyler and Jack stay quietly behind Lorena))

Lorena: ((reading)) After Chester, a cricket, arrives in the Times Square subway station via a picnic basket from his native Connecticut, he takes up residence in the Bellini's newsstand. There, the tiny creature is lucky enough to find three good friends: A little boy named Mario whose parents run the suc-

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Tyler: That's not right

Lorena: ((reading)) ...successful newsstand, a fast-talking Broadw-

Jack: That's not right.

((Tyler and Jack move closer to the poster))

((Lorena folds the sides of her poster and moves closer to Alicia))

Lorena: ((reading)) ...way, Broadway mouse named Tucker and his pal, Harry the Cat.

Throughout their escapades and their ups and downs in New York City,

together they somehh-

((Tyler and Jack chuckle))

Lorena: hhow, manag::e...

Lorena: Tsk! Alicia, *¿Por qué no comenzamos otra vez para contar bien el tiempo?*

¿Cuanto tiempo tenemos para el speech? [Why don't we start again so that we can count the time correctly? How much time do we have for the speech?]

Alicia: *Dos minutos.* [Two minutes]

Lorena: *Yo creo que ya me he tardado más de dos minutos. ¿Tú que crees? A lo mejor*

¿Si? [I think I have spent more than two minutes. What do you think? Most likely, don't you think so?]

Alicia: *Sí::, talvez.* [Yes::, maybe]

((Tyler and Jack leave))

The non-ESL classmates (Choi, Tyler, Jack) were not supposed to come out of their small groups and check on Lorena's or other classmates' practice of their speech. All children were supposed to work in pairs with their chosen partner, as the teacher had indicated earlier. Lorena, one of my focal ESL students, looked annoyed at these peers. She tried to exert control and power over the situation. As shown in Transcript 6, repeatedly, Lorena used

different strategies to exclude these classmates that seemed antagonistic to her. She frowned, waved her hand like saying “go away”, and turned her back on them. Then, she covered her poster by folding its sides so that only Alicia, her ESL partner, could see it. She blocked the view of the other children that had come to see her poster and listened to her speech. Finally, she used her native language as a tool to push away those who were bothering her. Lorena addressed Alicia in Spanish to talk about her poster. The non-ESL classmates left when this happened and stopped coming near these two ESL girls.

I could argue that there might be different possible reasons why this interaction took place, regardless of the language background of the parties involved. One reason could be that, as normal curious children, the non-ESL students were innocently prying on other classmates’ book projects. Another reason could be that the non-ESL students were genuinely interested in helping their ESL peers, especially considering that the drawings in the posters were not beautiful and that Lorena did make some pronunciation mistakes with reference to Standard English. Finally, one more reason could be that Lorena may just have wanted to use this time to practice her speech without interruptions from anybody; it did not matter to her if the perceived intruder was an ESL or a non-ESL classmate. All these are plausible “neutral” reasons that could explain the behaviors of ESL and non-ESL children in this interaction.

However, this example demonstrates the ideological nature of the interaction among these students in this classroom context. Language use was not neutral; language became a site of power and ideological struggle. On one hand, the non-ESL children felt free to comment on Lorena’s work, even though they were not partners with her in the same small group. These children’s beliefs and views about language and their speakers (eg.: English spoken by ESL peers) may unconsciously have influenced their intrusive and antagonistic

behaviors. On the other hand, Lorena the ESL student also used her native language to protect and promote her own interests. Lorena did not want to be bothered by uninvited critics. She strategically used body language to keep them out, but these strategies failed. She then used Spanish as a strategy to exclude non-ESL classmates from her conversation with Alicia, to protect herself, exercise resistance, and wield power over the peers that she perceived as hostile. As we can see, language became a tool to rationalize or justify hostility (in the case of the non-ESL students) and to protect (in the case of the two ESL girls) the interests of different socio-cultural groups.

Interactions Among ESL Students in the ESL Classroom

Unlike the social interactions initiated between ESL and non-ESL students in the 5th grade classroom with the basic purpose to wield power, the interactions among ESL students working in the ESL classroom served other purposes. Two major purposes were to construct the self as competent and to show camaraderie. In this section of the chapter, I analyze these sets of interactions and the underlying ideologies influencing them.

Constructing the self as competent. Notions of self, or identity, are affected by underlying language ideologies (Farr & Barajas, 2005; Hruska, 2004; Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004). The interactions of students in the ESL classroom evidenced different ideological beliefs regarding their own self. One of these beliefs was in the students' own competence. This competence was often displayed by participating in class when the ESL teacher asked questions. For example, in Transcript 7 Alicia and Manuel, two of my focal ESL students, quickly and enthusiastically responded to the teacher's question. They were working in the ESL classroom with the ESL teacher Ms. Gipson.

Transcript 7

Ms. Gipson: ((reading from the workbook)) Barge, b-a-r-g-e? ((spelling the word)) Do you know what that word means?

Alicia: Yeah, I know what it means! ((raising her hand quickly))

Ms. Gipson: What?

Alicia: Like when you are going to the door, you barge through the door.

Ms. Gipson: Oh, ho, ho! ((chuckles)) I didn't even think of that! That's great! You're right. Actually, here it comes from, uh, a "barge" is a kind of boat, it's just like a big flat boat, they put lots of stuff on, and they push it down the river, or they pull it down the river.

Manuel: Yeah, I've seen that.

Alicia: Oh, I only think of that other word. Is it the same "barge"?

Ms. Gipson: Yeah, right, well, if you barge through it, it means you are pushing your way through ((moving to the edge of her chair and pushes it hard)) like they **push** a barge. I didn't even think of that, good!

Alicia: I didn't even think of the boat.

In this incident we can observe how the ESL students attempted to use their second language to show personal competence. They used their knowledge of English to respond to Ms. Gipson's questions. Alicia provided a meaning different from what the teacher expected. The teacher recognized the accuracy in Alicia's response and praised her. Then, Ms. Gipson expanded the answer by giving them another meaning for the word "barge," the meaning alluded to in the context of the reading. Manuel also showed competence by confirming that he understood what the teacher was talking about ("Yeah, I've seen that"). As we can see, in

this example, the ESL focal students evidenced underlying language ideologies, in that they perceived themselves as capable students and language users. They constructed their selves as competent knowledge sharers even in a language that was not their mother tongue.

Importantly, ESL children constructed this identity within a school context where they were perceived as language deficient, and within the NCLB federal policy context that considered them LEP, term that in itself is derogatory. The focal ESL students exerted the right to define themselves (Halcón, 2001) as competent, in opposition to deficient and derogatory views of English learners within the current ideological and political larger contexts.

Moreover, my focal ESL students not only individually viewed themselves as competent to learn a second language they also appreciated and relied on each other's strengths in their native language for learning English. Their knowledge of Spanish was involved in the ideological construction of the self as competent; their native language was not perceived as a liability, it was perceived as useful, not as interference, for learning English the target language.

During several short interactions, these children shared vocabulary words to help one another in understanding the readings from the language arts textbook and workbook, while being used with Ms. Gipson in the ESL classroom. A joint construction of the self as competent occurred during these interactions. As an illustration, during a group discussion of a story, excerpted in Transcript 8, Lorena relied on Alicia's knowledge of English vocabulary to help her understand the meaning of a word she did not know. Lorena also relied on Alicia's, and her own, knowledge of Spanish to aid in understanding new vocabulary words in English.

Transcript 8

Ms. Gipson: ((reading)) “For two years I wrote stories and sent them out, but back they came. This was humiliating.” Do you know what “humiliating” is?

Alicia: Yeah.

Ms. Gipson: It’s more than embarrassing.

Lorena: ¿*Humilde*? [Humble?] ((turning towards >Alicia))

Alicia: *Humillante*. [Humiliating.]

In this incident, Lorena asked Alicia, her ESL peer viewed as competent learner and knowledge sharer, for clarification and confirmation. Lorena used a false cognate (a Spanish word that was phonetically similar to the English term, but it did not have an equivalent connotation); she wrongly used the term *humilde* [humble]. Alicia responded to Lorena with the true cognate, or correct semantic equivalent in Spanish. This example demonstrates that both focal ESL children perceived their identity as competent knowledge sharers of English, the target language in this instructional setting. This ideological construction of the self as competent aligns with these ESL children’s and their parents’ beliefs in the intellectual potential of these students (these issues are thoroughly explained in Chapter 5). Importantly, this incident shows an ideological conception of the native language as useful, not as an interference, for learning English. Both girls relied on their strength of L1 vocabulary knowledge. They used language transfer, in the form of cognates, and translating strategies to aid in their reading comprehension. The ideological conceptualization of L1 as helpful for learning English aligns with the view of additive bilingualism as desirable, attainable, and long-term goals (which I already explained in Chapter 5). Finally, unlike the perception of ESL students as non-legitimate source of language knowledge by their English native

speaking classmates, previously explained, this example demonstrates that the focal ESL students viewed each other as competent language learners and language knowledge sharers.

Camaraderie. The interactions among my focal students in the ESL classroom sometimes involved the use of their native language to express camaraderie. They spoke Spanish with one another to communicate their opinions and feelings about a language or learning issue. For instance, as shown in Transcript 9 Alicia and Lorena demonstrated this camaraderie while dealing with Lorena's difficulty in pronouncing an English word. The ESL students, including Manuel, were sharing their answers to a homework assigned by Ms. Gipson the ESL teacher.

Transcript 9

Manuel: I know what my animal would be...the sloth.

Ms. Gipson: The sloth, huh?

Lorena: A slosh? ((mispronouncing it))

Ms. Gipson: A slug?

Alicia: ((shaking her head)) A sloth.

Lorena: *No sé cómo decirlo.* [I don't know how to say it.] ((softly > Alicia))

Alicia: *Sí, es difícil.* [Yes, it's hard.]

This incident evidences the use of L1 to protect the social interest of camaraderie. After Manuel had read his answer to the assignment, Lorena tried to repeat it in an inquiring manner, but mispronounced it ("slosh"). Ms. Gipson did not understand what Lorena said. Alicia intervened and assisted her by correctly enunciating the term "sloth." Lorena then turned to Alicia her ESL peer, speaking in Spanish to confide in her and share her difficulty. Alicia responded with empathy. These ESL girls chose to use their native language as a tool

to identify with each other's self, and to share in their efforts of learning a second language. This situation, though, does not negate these students' ideological construction of the self as competent. They viewed themselves as capable learners, and they were also aware of their own limitations as learners of a foreign language, and shared them in an attitude of comradeship. Native language use enhanced this social contact. Unlike interactions of ESL children with their non-ESL classmates in the regular classroom, the ideological conception of Spanish and its use in the ESL classroom was not of a power struggle but of identification, mediation, and solidarity.

An important note to add is that social interactions between the focal students in the ESL classroom were not always completely amicable. Sometimes their interactions served to compete with one another in providing answers to Ms. Gipson's questions. But, these competition-laden interactions did not have a dismissive tone. See Transcript 10 for an illustration.

Transcript 10

Alicia: Ms. Gipson, 1998 is when I was born, and here it says 1992 ((pointing to a paragraph in the story)). So, I was wondering when she was born?

Ms. Gipson: Here? Oh, look. It says she was twelve years old in 1992. So you can figure out when she was born. ...

Alicia: She was:: she was sixteen, sixteen, when I was born, and that was 1998!

Ms. Gipson: Well, you figure that out. ((smiling))

Manuel: She was born in 1980! ((raising his hand at the same he shouts the answer))

Ms. Gipson: She was born in 1980.

Alicia: Oh, yeah.

Ms. Gipson: She was born in 1980, and in 1992 she was twelve ((reading)). So, how old is she now? ...

((Alicia, Manuel, and Patricia count softly in Spanish in their desks))

Manuel: Twenty eight!

Alicia: Wait! 1980, 1990...

Manuel: Ms. Gipson! ((raises his hand and waves it quickly))

Ms. Gipson: She is what?

Manuel: Twenty eight years old!

Ms. Gipson: Twenty eight years old.

Alicia: Yeah. That's what I was going to say.

The previous incident shows how my focal ESL students competed against each other during interactions in the ESL classroom. Manuel and Alicia competed in providing the right answers to Ms. Gipson's (the ESL teacher) questions. This behavior aligns with their conceptualization of the self as competent, previously explained in this chapter. However, such type of interactions did not encompass belittling commentaries. Unlike the interactions between ESL and non-ESL students in the 5th grade regular classroom, the competitive interactions that took place among children in the ESL classroom did not have a dismissive tone. In short, most social interactions among my focal ESL students in the ESL classroom were characterized by a more constructive or positive tone.

Interactions Between ESL Students and Teachers

The social interactions between teachers and ESL students were also influenced by language ideologies. In this section of the chapter I analyze how teachers' underlying

ideologies positioned language users in different strata of a power hierarchy. Particularly in the 5th grade classroom, where my four focal students were enrolled, educators appeared to assign less merit to the contributions in class of ESL students; these children were perceived as less competent than their non-ESL peers. These teachers then elevated non-ESL students to a higher and more powerful status. On the contrary, the ESL teacher perceived ESL students as capable language learners and acknowledged the relevance of their remarks in the ESL classroom. In this section, I contrast the interactions of ESL students with teachers in the 5th grade regular classroom, against those interactions with the ESL teacher in her classroom.

Interactions with teachers in the fifth grade classroom. During social interactions between teachers and ESL students in the 5th grade classroom, teachers focused on the form of language (pronunciation and grammar), and not on meaning, when evaluating ESL students' responses. Teachers overlooked the content and relevance of these pupils' contributions in class. Hence, teachers' feedback attributed less worth to the comments and answers of ESL students than to those of non-ESL students. This type of feedback looked like a form of preferential treatment towards the non-ESL children and biased against the ESL children. As an illustration, Ms. Bailey, the school fine arts teacher, and Mr. Allen, the assigned classroom teacher for the 5th grade, provided feedback focused on form, and not on meaning, to ESL students' oral answers, as shown in Transcript 11. That day, the fine arts teacher had come to teach inside the regular classroom, she was in charge of the class. Mr. Allen was collaborating with her. They were implementing a joint activity, writing and representing their best memories of Parks school. Both teachers provided preferential treatment to Steve, a non-ESL student, as opposed to Sandra, an ESL student. These teachers were working with all the students in a large group format. They were standing in front of the class.

Transcript 11

Mr. Allen: Ok, what do you guys think? What is “memories”? What does that word mean, Sandra?

Sandra: Things ((mispronouncing the “th” sound in this word) that ((mispronouncing the “th” sound in this word)) you remember...really... nice.

Mr. Allen: **Things that** you remember...?

Sandra : Really...good.

Mr. Allen: Really well.

Mr. Allen: Steve, what were you going to say?

Steve: Things that you keep in your brain for a long time.

Ms. Bailey: ((smiling)) I like that! That’s beautiful, that’s a **very creative** answer!

Mr. Allen: So, what Steve says is, this word “memories,” uh, is... things that you keep inside **your brain**. That’s a **really creative** answer!

((Ms. Bailey nods her head in agreement and smiles.))

Mr. Allen: Yeah, I like that Steve!

((Some of the ESL children chuckle loudly and in a mocking way. Mr. Allen frowned but did not stop them or ask what that was all about. Ms. Bailey frowned but did not address them either.))

Mr. Allen: Ok, anybody else? Who has a b- uh, another, a different definition of “memories”?

((Several students raise their hands, including several ESL students.))

Mr. Allen: Lupe? ((She is one of the ESL students who chuckled))

Lupe: Something in your memory book.

- Mr. Allen: What does that mean? What's a memory book?
- Lupe: Uh, you write something, uhh, you take pictures and write about what's there, And what is it about, like you remember.
- Mr. Allen: Well, we talked about all the different ways that we have memories and traditions, and how we keep track of that. But, what is a **definition** of "memories"? Uh, remember Ms. Linda had a memory **box**, and inside that memory box she had...? ((writing the word "souvenirs" on the whiteboard and pointing to it)). What's this word?
- Students: Souvenirs. ((some ESL students look a little bored and slurred the answer))
- Mr. Allen: Souvenirs from different places where she had been, to help her remember her time there.
- Mr. Allen: Who can tell me what is this word? ((pointing to word "souvenirs" on the whiteboard)) What is a "souvenir"?
- ((Several non-ESL and ESL students raise their hands))
- Mr. Allen: Tyler, what is a "souvenir"?
- Tyler: A souvenir is something like a picture of where you have been and you send to your girl-friend.
- Mr. Allen: Perfect.

These teachers evaluated ESL students' answers based on their pronunciation and grammar as deemed inappropriate for Standard English, regardless of the significance of their responses. Sandra, the ESL student depicted in this incident, had difficulty pronouncing the phoneme "th"/θ/ in the word "things." She pronounced it as /t/ similar to the Spanish sound for the letter "t". Sandra also had difficulty pronouncing the phoneme "th" /ð/ in the term

“that.” She pronounced it like the phoneme /d/ similar to the letter “d” sound in Spanish. Mr. Allen repeated the beginning of her answer and emphasized the Standard English pronunciation of the words, “things” and “that.” Then he left the sentence incomplete as a cue for Sandra to rephrase it. Sandra completed it with “really good.” Mr. Allen rephrased her ending of the sentence by saying “really well.” The sentence that Mr. Allen was re-structuring for Sandra was “things that you remember really well.” Mr. Allen corrected Sandra’s language based on his interpretation of what she was trying to say. Sandra, though, might have tried to say that (“things that you remember really well”) or something else. She might have tried to say “really nice things” or “things that you remember, things that are really nice.” Nevertheless, the feedback provided by the teacher did not focus on the content or meaning of the ESL student’s answer, which overall was acceptable. This teacher did not acknowledge the worth of her answer. Thus, Mr. Allen’s feedback centered on Sandra’s pronunciation and grammar.

Later, Mr. Allen and Ms. Bailey praised the response of Steve, a non-ESL student, based on the form (Standard English pronunciation and grammar) of his language. These teachers did not only find Steve’s response correct, but also aesthetically appealing; they assigned it more merit. However, several ESL students disagreed with these teachers’ evaluation of Steve’s oral answer. They disapproved and disregarded the superior value assigned by the teachers to Steve’s response. Next, both teachers used body language to show their discomfort. Then, Mr. Allen challenged the students who had questioned, and disapproved of, his indirect and favorable evaluation of the non-ESL student.

After that, Mr. Allen called on Lupe, an ESL girl, who had shown her disagreement with a mocking attitude (she chuckled). Lupe did not answer the teacher’s query. She did not

provide another definition of “memories.” She did not articulate a complete sentence either. Lupe offered an example instead (a memory book). Mr. Allen overlooked the communicative meaning of this ESL student’s comment; which in terms of content did fit in the overall discussion of what is “memories”. Mr. Allen moved on to asking for a definition of “souvenirs.” The students, actually, were going to craft a souvenir of their best memories at Parks school. Several ESL and non-ESL children raised their hands; Mr. Allen called on Tyler, a non-ESL boy who had his hand up, to answer his question. Tyler defined “souvenirs” by providing a complete sentence while pronouncing all words following Standard English phonetics. Mr. Allen praised Tyler’s response.

During this social interaction between teachers and students, we could argue that both educators were caring and interested in their ESL students’ learning; these two educators merely provided the immediate feedback they deemed appropriate. Following this line of thinking, we could consider several reasons for the behavior of both teachers towards the students in this particular context. One reason could be that Mr. Allen, the homeroom teacher, focused on correcting the pronunciation and grammar structure (although this is a dubious method) that he perceived as defective in Sandra, the first ESL student corrected during this incident, because he cared about this child learning Standard English. Along the same lines, later, Mr. Allen ignored the relevance and appropriateness of Lupe’s response, the second ESL student depicted in this incident, because she did not structure a grammatically correct and complete sentence. Mr. Allen cared about this other ESL girl learning Standard English too.

Another reason for the behavior of these teachers towards Steve could be that, since Ms. Bailey was an expert in plastic arts, automatically and unconsciously found the response

of Steve picturesque and innovative, regardless of the language background of this non-ESL student. Mr. Allen then agreed with Ms. Bailey after recognizing the “artistic merit” she assigned to Steve’s response, after all, Ms. Bailey was the fine arts teacher of Parks school. Regarding the reaction of Mr. Allen towards Tyler later in this interaction, I could argue that, possibly unconsciously, this teacher focused on the suitability of Tyler’s answer based on his use of Standard English grammar and diction. I could argue, then, that these teachers possibly acted in the best interest of the students. These educators provided the feedback that they thought was most appropriate; their interactions with ESL and non-ESL students were “neutral” and “normal.”

However, I think that this incident evidences teachers’ underlying ideologies about second language learners. The reactions of these two teachers were not neutral or devoid of ideological content. They, possibly unconsciously, placed children as language users with different status in the social hierarchy of this classroom. Mr. Allen positioned the ESL students (Sandra and Lupe) in a non-privileged, powerless status. On the part of Ms. Bailey, the fine arts teacher, she praised the remark of a non-ESL boy (Steve), an answer that was not necessarily superior in meaning when compared with the previous comment of the ESL girl. Ms. Bailey also positioned the non-ESL student in a higher and more powerful status. Later, Mr. Allen praised another non-ESL boy (Tyler) and positioned him in a privileged status as well.

These findings resonate with literature in the field of classroom discourse with ESL students, which shows that when teachers’ corrections of ESL students’ answers focus on linguistic features (i.e.: spelling, pronunciation, syntax, word choice), those corrections

suggest the prevalence of ideologies that focus on structure and form instead of on meaning and communicative competence (Razfar, 2003; 2005).

Moreover, the interaction described earlier became a site of “cultural production” (Levinson & Holland, 1996) as well. Teachers and students jointly produced the “proper” culture in this classroom; that is, in a bidirectional process, teachers and students produced the ways of behaving and reacting towards each other in the battle for social status and personal worth. In this manner, some ESL students looked in disagreement and exercised resistance towards the unequal standing of the ESL and non-ESL children in this classroom created by Mr. Allen and Ms. Bailey. These ESL pupils laughed and had a mocking attitude towards the praise of the teachers for Steve’s answer, the non-ESL student.

An added note is that the incident depicted in Transcript 11, was both representative of my data set and unique, at the same time. On one hand, it was representative of patterns of behaviors that occurred during social interactions in the 5th grade regular classroom. This incident was a prototype of many others that took place between Mr. Allen and his ESL and non-ESL students. On the other hand, the incident was unique in the corpus of data, because Ms. Bailey was co-teaching with Mr. Allen in the classroom that particular class. When I approached Ms. Bailey, she explained to me, that Mr. Allen and she had worked together in similar fashion in the past. She had actually done it the previous day. This was the only time though I observed her co-teaching in the 5th grade classroom.

Finally, when the homeroom teacher of my focal students, Mr. Allen, was asked about the school performance of ESL students, he believed that these children and their parents cared more about behavioral outcomes than academic ones (see Chapter 5). Mr. Allen believed that these parents’ greater interest in behavioral outcomes was caused by the usual

active and disruptive behavior of their young. Mr. Allen considered that such misbehavior was the result of cultural differences. As an illustration of Mr. Allen's appraisal of his ESL pupils, he commented that children were "more rambunctious." He said,

I've noticed over the last 4 years my ESL students, seem to be, well, they are more rambunctious, and I don't know if it is a cultural thing, you know, where they are more hands-on and tend to express their feelings by using their hands.

Mr. Allen had perceived his ESL students as more active, noisy, unruly than his non-ESL pupils. He was not sure if different behaviors were an aspect of their minority culture. Based on this comment, initially Mr. Allen did not value this personality trait of his ESL students as something negative, just different; their being rambunctious was probably related to their foreign-origin culture. But he continued saying that some of his ESL pupils were "not focused." He then related these children's more active traits to undesirable results in the classroom. He affirmed,

I've had the same issue, I've had 2 or 3 fourths of the class on task, and doing it explicitly, and then you have a group of ESL boys, or a group of ESL girls, or a mixture of kids, just talking about recess, and it's just not focused, and I don't know if that is an specific ESL issue, as well as an all-student issue, 'cause I have noticed that when I've had ESL students it's the same problems. There are some individuals that happen to be ESL students that pop up in my head right now, that, unless I'm right there with them, they are not focused.

When I observed Mr. Allen's classes I did notice that some ESL children, as well as some non-ESL children, were not always talking about the work at hand when placed in small groups. I also noticed that Mr. Allen did not stop them from doing this. Instead he would usually go check the work of the students who had been on task or had gotten up to ask him questions. This teacher was confused about how to approach this issue ("when I've had ESL students it's the same problems.") Uncertain about the nature of this problem ("I don't know if that is an specific ESL issue, as well as an all-student issue"), Mr. Allen would let the students continue being off task. We could argue that Mr. Allen behaved in this manner with the desire to be understanding and flexible; he was benevolent and "neutral." However, his comments shed light on underlying ideologies that influenced his behavior. I think that his comments revealed deficit thinking regarding the cultural values of ESL students and their families. Since being more active and unruly was appropriate for the Spanish-speaking ESL families' culture, possibly unconsciously, he could not expect these children to behave better at school. Thus, he had low expectations about the school performance of these ESL students. His comments resonate with the "deficit theory" and "culture of poverty" that have been prevalent in schools, regarding the academic achievement of Latino ESL children (Halcón, 2001; Valencia & Solórzano, 1997; Villenas & Foley, 2002). These issues were thoroughly analyzed in Chapter 5 about teachers' expectations of ESL students at Parks school.

Interactions with the ESL teacher in the ESL classroom. Social interactions between the ESL teacher of the school and ESL students were also influenced by underlying language ideologies. Unlike other educators, though, Ms. Mary Gipson, Parks Elementary ESL teacher, focused on the meaning of the remarks made by my focal ESL students. Ms. Gipson did not overlook the content and relevance of these pupils' contributions in her

classroom. For example, on one occasion Ms. Gipson recognized the suitability of the content of an ESL girl's answer. The teacher had brought an additional book with more information about a topic in the language arts textbook. At this moment, the teacher was talking about the pictures included in both books. The ESL teacher, Ms. Gipson, asked a question about new vocabulary. As shown in Transcript 12, Lorena, one of my focal ESL students, provided a suitable answer that was not overlooked by Ms. Gipson.

Transcript 12

Ms. Gipson: The pictures in your reading book are much better than the ones in this book, some are, well, that's a real photograph, this is one an artist drew, a composite of a lot of different things, ...what would **composite** mean?

Lorena: Like there's a lot of things, and she copied, and she, like, uhm, put together ((mispronouncing words "there" "things" and "together"))

Ms. Gipson: Right, you would never see this picture, actually, where there's a girl standing on the moon without an astronaut suit, next to an astronaut with a flag, and a comet, and a spaceship, **all these things together** ((making a funny face)).

Lorena: Right. Hehe ((chuckle)).

Ms. Gipson: Yes, that's what "composite" means, good!

Lorena: Right.

((Alicia chuckles))

Ms. Gipson: Right, that's not a possibility. But all of those things ((pointing to the smaller pictures)) have something to do with her, and this is ((turning pages)) just a little bit more about her. It's biographical, it's not autobiographical. What's the difference?

Patricia: A biography is something that somebody else wrote about them.

Ms. Gipson: Right, about a real person.

Patricia: And autobiography is when that person wrote the book.

Ms. Gipson: About herself?

Patricia: ((nods her head))

Ms. Gipson: Right ((smiles)). So, the word is **biography**. Did you hear the accent?
Biography. Now if, but if I say, if I want to change biography to an adjective, is not **biographical** ((making a funny face when mispronouncing the word by putting the stress in the first syllable))

Students: ((chuckle))

Ms. Gipson: It's **biographical** ((pronouncing the word with the stress in the second syllable)), the accent changes to the syllable in front of the suffix, **biographical**.

Students: ((repeating, imitating ESL teacher)) **Biographical**.

Ms. Gipson: Uh-huh, **biographical**. Good.

Ms. Gipson: So, is this **biographical** or **autobiographical**?


Students: **Biographical**.

Ms. Gipson: Did she write it about herself?

Students: No.

Ms. Gipson: Or did somebody else write it?

Alicia: It's **biographical**-...

Manuel:  Because it says right here ((pointing to the book's front cover)) "By Gail Zacharia"

Ms. Gipson: Ok. So, that gives you a clue right there too. Great!

This interaction demonstrates that Ms. Gipson focused on the significance and accuracy in meaning of ESL students' comments in class. In the previous incident, Lorena, one of my focal ESL students, did not offer a complete coherent sentence. Lorena too mispronounced words with the "th" phoneme /ð/ as in "there" and "together" and with the phoneme "th" /θ/ in the term "things." However, the ESL teacher did not center on the grammatical structure of Lorena's answer or on the pronunciation mistakes that she had made. Ms. Gipson focused on the content of her answer. Also, the teacher expanded the girl's comment and modeled Standard English pronunciation, without having a demeaning attitude towards Lorena.

Then, Ms. Gipson continued with introducing the book, a biography, she had brought to the classroom. She asked the students what the difference was between "biographical" and "autobiographical". Patricia, another focal ESL student, answered without providing a complete and well-structured sentence. Ms. Gipson both provided and elicited more information, and recognized the suitability of Patricia's response. After that, during the group discussion, Ms. Gipson used teachable moments to briefly explain differences in genre, parts of speech, and pronunciation. This ESL educator taught mini-lessons in the context of the discussion and without a censorious attitude towards her ESL pupils. Finally, Ms. Gipson went back to the initial issue at hand. She wanted to make sure that the children knew what the difference was between "biographical" and "autobiographical." Without expecting a "definition," she acknowledged Manuel's, another focal ESL student, competence and the suitability of his answer.

Underlying language ideologies influenced this ESL teacher's reactions towards ESL students. Unlike other educators, and other English native speakers like herself, though, Ms. Gipson's underlying ideologies about second-language learners positioned the ESL students as competent language learners and knowledge sharers. This conceptualization aligned with, and affirmed, these students' self-constructed identity (this chapter) and it was congruent with the expectations of their parents (see Chapter 5) about these children's school performance.

Summary

The social interactions occurring between ESL students, their English native speaking classmates and teachers, served specific purposes particularly in the classroom context. These purposes related to issues of identity, legitimacy, authority, and power. The interactions between ESL and non-ESL students in the 5th grade regular classroom served to wield power. Power struggles, use of resistance, and expression of agency, were evident in four sets of interactions between students. These interactions were initiated to repair pronunciation, establish the legitimate source of language knowledge, disqualify a linguistic minority, and to exclude classmates perceived as hostile. The interactions among ESL students in the ESL classroom served meditational and solidarity purposes. These purposes were manifest in two sets of interactions. These interactions were initiated to individually construct, or as a group co-construct, the self as competent, and to share in camaraderie. The interactions between ESL students and teachers positioned these children in different strata of capable learners and of communicators of language knowledge. Particularly, the interactions with ESL pupils and teachers in the 5th grade regular classroom placed these children in a lower status, contrasted with that of their non-ESL peers, in the social hierarchy of this classroom. Underlying

ideologies about linguistic and cultural minorities, and specifically about Spanish native speaking second-language learners, influenced these various social interactions.

Figure 6.1. Social Interactions of ESL Students and their Peers and Teachers

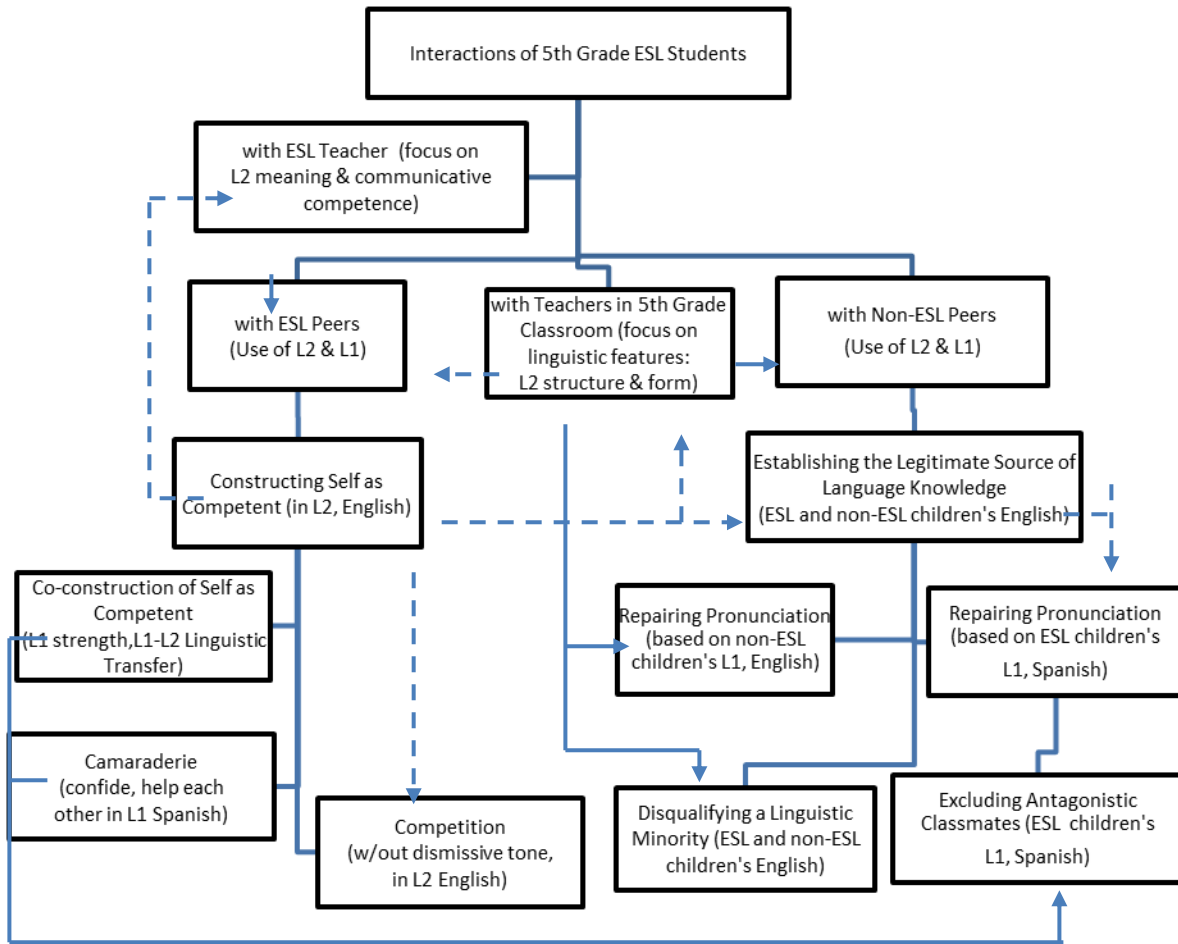


Figure 6.1. Chart of categories, and interconnections, of social interactions of 5th grade ESL students among themselves, with the ESL teacher, and with their English native speaking classmates and teachers.

Chapter 7

Summary, Discussion, and Implications

In this chapter, I summarize the dissertation study by explaining its purpose, and including brief descriptions of participants, data collection and analysis procedures, research question and limitations. Next, I synthesize and discuss the findings and elaborate on conclusions, in relation to the historical and theoretical framework and literature review. Last, I deliberate on educational and research implications.

Summary

The purpose of this dissertation was to investigate how language ideologies mediate constraints and opportunities in the design and implementation of the educational program for ELL students at Parks Elementary School, and how language ideologies mediate expectations about and social interactions with ESL older students at this school. The participants in the study were the ESL teacher assigned at Parks by the city school district, four focal ESL students in 5th grade and their parents, other teachers and school principal, and district administrators and personnel. Data collection procedures comprised different types and sources of data, such as observations, interviews, samples of focal students' work, and documents. Data were inductively analyzed through open coding and focused coding to construct themes about participants' language ideologies and how they were manifest in different nested institutional contexts of the educational program for ELL students at Parks school. The major research question guiding this study was: How do language ideologies mediate literacy teaching and learning experiences of ESL students?

Several other specific questions were addressed in the dissertation as well, detailed in Chapter 3. The limitations of this study relate to the scope of the case study and its particularities and relocation of the researcher (see Chapter 3).

Discussion

The major findings of my dissertation evidenced that multiple and conflicting language ideologies influenced different aspects of the educational program for ELL students at Parks Elementary School. These aspects included: its historical development with emphasis on its origin; the expectations of different participants in the study in regards to ESL students' literacy development and their parents' support; the social interactions among ESL students, and between ESL students, their classmates and teachers who were native speakers of English.

Conflicting language ideologies and power struggles in the historical development of the educational program for ELL students. Forces from different institutional and political contexts created opportunities and constraints for the historical development of the educational program for ELL students. The findings of my study showed that there were several issues that could be classified as three types of “opportunities.” These three types were: possibilities, strengths, and openings. The possibilities dealt with improving the schools in the district in terms of, their facilities (expanding building capacity of Howard Elementary), demographics (balancing low-income ratios in schools), and financial resources across schools in the district. The strength was the existence already of a well-structured educational program for ELL students at Howard, with benefits for the non-ESL students as well (exposure to diversity and to foreign languages). The opening of financial venues was to acquire Title I federal funds for Parks Elementary. There were also opening venues for a new

program type in the district for a growing population of ELL children (language support services for Spanish-speaking ELLs). These opportunities were used as some of the reasons to move Spanish-speaking ELLs to Parks Elementary. The city school Board gave these reasons. We could argue that these reasons were realistic and practical, considering that re-districting was taking place at the time, and the group of Latina/o Spanish-speaking ELLs was expected to grow in the city in the near future.

However, the stance of the city school Board was not completely neutral. Minority parents from Howard Elementary and community members viewed the Board as ideologically-laden in their decision to transfer Spanish-speaking ELs out of their school. Interviews and documents showed that the Board's decision created constraints in the historical development of the Educational program for ELL students at Parks. These constraints related to underlying issues of control and restriction of opportunities. By moving Spanish-speaking ELs, the school Board controlled who should be, in their opinion, the participants in Howard's multi-cultural program. The vice-president of the Board affirmed that this program "was not designed to serve immigrants" (<http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/InfoWeb>). Hence, by excluding a particular linguistic and cultural minority, the Board did not facilitate the inclusion of "multiple" cultures in the so called "multicultural" program. Also, by controlling the demographic composition of this program, and consequently of the entire school population, the Board members could control which "foreigners" they wanted to enroll at Howard in order to, in their opinion, integrate classes for African-American students, since its community and the school population itself were composed predominantly by African-American persons and by individuals of low socio-economic status. Thus, with their decision the city school Board avoided making Howard a

predominantly African-American and low-income school. An ideology of control and domination over language minority and low income students was instantiated in the decision of the school Board. Also, the decision of the school Board evidenced racialized formations (Darder & Torres, 2004) in which language, race, and social class were conflated. Symbolic links between language and race were made other social categories, such as socioeconomic status, national origin, and moral categories, as if all those features were always part of the Latina/o Spanish speaking ELL students at Parks school and their families, as if these traits were part of the social group's inherent nature (Darder, 2011; Gal & Irvine, 1995; Urciuoli, 1998; Woolard, 1998).

In addition, other restrictionist issues lied beneath the Board's decision of transferring Spanish-speaking ELLs out of Howard school. The school Board limited access to certain educational opportunities (eg., limiting exposure to Latino culture and to Spanish as foreign language) for African-American and other students at the school. The Board appeared to favor some social groups (e.g., university international students) over other groups (e.g., U.S. under-represented minorities). An ideology of language restriction and exclusion was enacted, as well, when Park's Educational program for ELL students was created several years ago.

These language ideologies of practice also reflect conceptualizations of the strange "Others". The ELL children and families perceived by the city school Board as the "others" were dominated and excluded. These local ideologies (control, domination, restriction, and exclusion) toward Latina/o Spanish-speaking ELL students also reflect macro-level ideologies (of the city, state, and country) regarding linguistic and cultural minority groups.

Importantly, these ideologies have repeated throughout the history of bilingual education in the United States. Darder (2006) asserted that,

To ensure that the “Other” was (and is) [sic] kept in line with the system of production, a variety of racialized institutional policies and practices have been implemented during the nation’s history –policies and practices that have led to the widespread deportation, assimilation, incarceration and even genocide of minority populations. (p. xxi)

Thus, patterns of ideologies and policies dominated and excluded linguistic and cultural minorities who were perceived as the strange “Other” at different times; these groups were “racialized” so that assumed links were made about their language, race, and social class; processes of “linguistic racialization” was evident in this history (Darder, 2001) . For example, starting in 1868 the “Other”-Native Americans were confined to off-reservation boarding schools, where they could be “Anglicized” (through English-only instruction) and “civilized” (Pavlenko, 2002; Spring, 2007). A few decades later, during “The Great Migration” years (1880-1924) views about the “Other”- immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe- inspired psychological testing that “proved” their lack of English skills, and thus, their assumed “feeble-mindedness” (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 180). At the aftermath of World War I, the “Other”-German Americans, and of World War II, the “Other”- Japanese Americans were controlled, dominated, and excluded because they were linguistic and cultural minority groups that were assumed by the majority of the time, to have possible ties and allegiances to a foreign enemy (Crawford, 1989, 2000; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Pavlenko, 2002). Similarly, in this 21st century, the “Other”- Latina/o Spanish native speaking ELL children - were first controlled and excluded from Howard school, and years later were controlled, and their needs were overlooked, at Parks school.

As we can see, current views and beliefs about and teaching practices with these ELL students at Parks Elementary, are grounded in the past historical development of the Educational program for ELL students in the city and in the larger historical context of bilingual education in the country.

Conflicting language ideologies and power struggles in the current design and execution of the educational program for ELL students. The Educational program for ELL students at Parks had been influenced by language ideologies not only in its origin, but also in the years to come. These ideologies were juxtaposed and in contestation. The findings of my study demonstrated that these multiple language ideologies created opportunities and constraints in the current (at the time of my data collection) design and implementation of this program.

The current design included “opportunities” for native language instruction and some specialized English instruction. Young Spanish-speaking ELLs participated in self-contained classrooms for bilingual education (TBE). These ELLs were in Kindergarten, 1st and 2nd grade. Parks school partially followed state law with its K-2 bilingual education classrooms. This law determined that “when a center has an enrollment of 20 or more limited English proficient students of the same language classification, the school district must establish a transitional bilingual education program” (www.isbe.net/rules/archive/pdfs/228ARK.pdf).

Older Spanish-speaking ELLs also received native language instruction (60 minutes, daily) in a pull-out format. Yet, as “constraints,” these older ELLs received ESL instruction only “as warranted.” From these older ELL students, the 3rd and 4th graders remained in their regular classrooms with the homeroom teachers implementing their own ESL instruction. The ELLs in 5th grade received ESL instruction (90 minutes, daily) in a pull-out format with

the ESL teacher assigned to Parks school. These ELLs in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade could have had a non-limited TBE program as well (www.isbe.net/rules/archive/pdfs/228ARK.pdf). The number of ELLs in each of these grades allowed for other TBE classrooms, either separately or in a multi-grade format. However, the principal's design did not include such option for these older ELL students.

Indeed, the design of language support services for Spanish-speaking ELLs was influenced by the school principal's own language ideologies. The findings showed that these ideologies revolved around second language learning and literacy, bilingual education, native language instruction, quality ESL instruction, and integration. Most of the principal's ideologies (e.g., cost of bilingual education, integration of non-ESL students with ESL students) reflected myths that have permeated the education of language minority students in the U. S. throughout several years (Samway & McKeon, 1991; Zentella, 1997) (for example during the "dismissive period" of the history of bilingual education, see Chapter 1).

However, the principal's ideology on native language instruction for ELLs was both consistent and inconsistent, at the same time, with research literature. The principal affirmed that he wanted to provide a strong foundation in his ELLs' native language in order to facilitate English learning. This ideology was consistent with research concluding that strong literacy skills in the first language aids in second language literacy learning (Field, 1996; Jiménez, García, & Pearson, 1996; Nagy, García, Durgunoğlu, & Hancin-Bhatt, 1993). The principal, though, emphasized this language foundation in young ELL children, since he allowed self-contained bilingual education (TBE) only in K-2 grades. In this manner, his ideology was inconsistent with other research studies concluding that such literacy skills do not stop developing at an early age (like in 2nd grade). They continue developing for ELL

students in upper elementary, middle and high school years (Jiménez, 1994; 2000; Nagy, McClure, & Mir, 1997).

Moreover, the findings in my study demonstrate that teachers' ideological (in) compatibility with the school principal's language ideologies ignited several power struggles.

These struggles centered on teachers' professional competence, the differential status of teachers, and the lack of professional cooperation. Specifically, the differential status of teachers placed Ms. Gipson, Parks' ESL teacher, in a lower and powerless standing at the school. Ms. Gipson "felt like a remedial teacher." She explained, "We are teachers of convenience. We are teachers when they want, when they say how many teachers we have per child." She continued, "I don't have the same prestige as a classroom teacher." Because of this gradually imposed lower status, Ms. Gipson's professional competence was disregarded and wasted. Contrary to the homeroom teachers implementing their own ESL instruction, Ms. Gipson had completed her ESL certificate requirements, and had also accumulated more than 25 years of teaching experience with ELL students. These findings are consistent with studies showing the influence of language ideologies that position ESL and TBE teachers and their instruction in a lower status in comparison with mainstream teachers (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2000; Hruska, 2000).

As such, the findings of my dissertation uncovered the assumed "neutrality" (Bartolomé, 2008) of educators' practices. The underlying ideologies about ESL students and the teachers working with them, enacted perhaps unconsciously, were not neutral. The design of various teaching modalities encompassing the current Educational program for ELL students at Parks, and the choice of different teachers assigned to their implementation, with their repercussions in terms of power struggles, were influenced by ideologies regarding the

education of ELLs; in particular of Spanish-speaking and low income second-language learners in this community and school, since teaching is about the “specificity of place.” Henry Giroux (2001) affirmed, “pedagogy is always the outcome of particular struggles and how the production of school knowledge, values, desires, and social relations are always implicated in power. Pedagogy is always about the specificity of place: how power shapes and is reinvented through the prisms of culture, politics, and identity” (p. xvii).

Conflicting language ideologies influencing the expectations about the school performance of ESL students. Findings of my study evidenced that educators’ expectations about the school performance of ESL children were different from the expectations of their parents, and of these children themselves. Based on interviews with several key participants, data showed that these expectations could be classified into 3 categories. The categories were: expectations about literacy development, expectations about intellectual potential, and expectations about parental support for academic achievement.

Expectations about literacy development. Bilingualism and biliteracy were not the expected outcomes for the literacy development of ELs, from the point of view of educators at Parks school. Educators expected an English literacy of ELL students, in the same manner they expected it of native English speaking children. Mr. Allen, the homeroom teacher of my focal ESL students expected of them the same grade level literacy standards and benchmarks. This teacher’s expectation aligned with federal and state law literacy requirements. The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) federal law required strict and rigid “accountability for results” in the form of “higher academic standards” and annual testing in grades 3 through 8 of all students including ELLs (P. L. 107-110, § 3102, 2). For this annual testing, state law required the use of ISAT (a standards-based test normed on native-English speaking students) with

English Language Learners ([www.isbe.net/assessment /pdfs](http://www.isbe.net/assessment/pdfs)). Thus, the expectations of Mr. Allen for the literacy development of ESL children in his classroom were influenced by larger federal and state institutional and ideological levels.

Importantly, legislation and education reform, such as NCLB, justifies initiatives that tend to homogenize and unify the “experience” of a seemingly diverse student population. Within this macro political context, standardization becomes the great “equalizer” in the schooling of disenfranchised linguistic and cultural minorities. McLaren and Jaramillo (2006) explained that,

When the “Latina/o experience” [sic] is viewed against these statistics [achievement gap, school drop-out], it provides the fuel and impetus for policy makers to create and implement educational initiatives to reverse the trend of so-called Latina/o failure. Such is the rationale behind increased standardization (as a way to equalize educational inputs and outcomes) [sic] of curriculum, testing mechanisms, and instructional techniques.

(p. 81)

Moreover, Mr. Norman, the school principal, expected of ELLs an English literacy “indistinguishable” as he reported, from that of English native speaking students. This expectation also aligned with federal law. NCLB required initial testing (for placement purposes) and annual testing (to determine progress) of the English proficiency growth of ELL students (P. L. 107-110 § 3121, (d), (1)). State law, following federal mandates, established the use of ACCESS (a large-scale test of English language proficiency, based on WIDA standards) for this purpose (www.isbe.net/bilingual/pdfs/access_admin_manual.pdf).

Also, following NCLB mandates, state law stipulated (during the fiscal year 2008-2009, when my study took place) that ELL pupils who obtained a composite score $\geq 4.0/6.0$ in the standards-based test ACCESS were considered “Fully English Proficient”. With such a score, then, these students were no longer deemed as “Limited English Proficient”; they were assumed to be ready to “exit” TBE or TPI programs for language support (www.isbe.net/bilingual/htmls/access_background.htm). They were considered to have attained the requisite level of English proficiency to perform in the all-English classroom. Therefore, the expectation of Mr. Norman regarding the literacy development of ELLs in the school was also influenced by larger institutional and political contexts.

Federal and state funding for TBE and TPI programs usually is provided for only 3 years. The short-term and transitional nature of these programs, reflect and maintain a dominant language ideology about bilingualism. Spanish-English bilingualism, in the case of my focal ESL students at Parks school, was not the expected outcome of language support services. Instead, bilingualism was a mere passage to English language dominance, or even English monolingualism. In this policy context, bilingualism becomes subtractive and transitional; bilingualism becomes a means to an end, not a goal in itself. This subtractive approach to bilingualism has also been evidenced by other researchers (Garza & Crawford, 2005; Hruska, 2000; Valenzuela, 1999).

Significantly, this dominant language ideology, as expressed in federal and state laws, privileges English competence over any other form of linguistic skills. The power of this ideology creates a language inequality that lowers the social positioning of bilingual children, or native speakers of non-English languages, in American schools. This language inequality is more evident when the native language of bilingual children is a “marked language” (Ovando,

Collier, & Combs, 2003). A marked language has less prestige than other languages because it is associated with non-normative societal features. A marked language is then considered to be spoken by non-White or poor people, which seems to be the case of a lot of working-class immigrant students across the nation (and it was indeed the case of several ESL children, and of my focal students, at Parks Elementary). In this manner, processes of “linguistic racialization” (Darder, 2011; Darder & Torres, 2004) took place as well.

In contrast with the expectations of educators at Parks school about the literacy development of ELLs, which in turn were influenced by federal and state laws (as I have already explained), the parents of my focal ESL students expected their children to continue developing Spanish-English bilingual and biliteracy skills. The expectations of these parents were influenced by an underlying language ideology that values additive bilingualism and biliteracy as desirable, attainable, long-term goals in themselves. These parents did not value bilingualism just as a short-term passage to English literacy. They also believed that biliteracy does not emerge “automatically” they viewed it as a complex process that requires years of specialized instruction from school personnel.

As we can see, these parents had a well-developed ideology about native language maintenance and biliteracy competence. This ideology ran against the political, legislative larger context where Parks school was immersed. These findings are consistent with research about language (L1) maintenance, in that Latino parents, even those without extensive formal education, may have well-developed ideologies about the roles of home and school, in language socialization and maintenance (Bayley & Schecter, 2005; Farr & Barajas, 2005).

The focal ESL students agreed with their parents. These children also valued additive bilingualism and biliteracy as desirable and attainable goals. In particular, they appreciated

the communicative (inter-generational and international), financial (i.e., the possibility of applying to more jobs and a variety of jobs), and linguistic (cross-linguistic transfer between L1 and L2) benefits of being Spanish-English bilingual and biliterate. The language ideologies of my focal ESL students reflected those of their parents. The findings of my dissertation are both consistent and inconsistent with Martínez-Roldán & Malavé's (2004) study. The findings are consistent in that parents' ideologies influence their children's views and beliefs about languages and their speakers. The findings are inconsistent in that my focal ESL students' language ideologies were minimally, or not at all, affected by ideologies about bilingualism and bilinguals of the school, state, and federal contexts; my focal children's ideologies were more influenced by those of their parents.

Expectations about intellectual abilities. Multiple and juxtaposed language ideologies influenced the expectations of teachers about the intellectual abilities of ESL students and also those of their parents. On the one hand, Mr. Allen, the homeroom teacher of my focal ESL students, believed that they could improve their school performance by working hard ("sooo hard"), but not by virtue of their intellectual abilities; he overlooked these children's potential.

On the other hand, the parents of my focal students believed in both children's hard work and intelligence. These parents believed, and encourage their children to believe, in applying oneself with interest and determination to perform well at school. They also believed in the intellectual potential of their children and encouraged them to do their best at school.

The beliefs of these Latino parents contradicts the myth of deficit thinking that pervades in mainstream society regarding linguistically diverse families and their assumed lower intelligence, abilities, and dispositions towards schooling and education (Valencia & Solórzano, 1997), and especially about working-class and immigrant Latino families (Halcón,

2001; Valencia & Solórzano, 1997; Villenas & Foley, 2002). Also, the parents of my focal ESL students engaged in the “cultural production” (Levinson & Holland, 1996) of discourses that re-defined their children’s academic potential and school achievement. By being dynamic actors in the scenario of cultural production, these parents re-defined the school expectations and identity of their own children, and of themselves, in the midst of antagonistic pressures that radiated from different institutional and ideological larger levels.

The findings of my dissertation are consistent with Farr and Barajas’ (2005) study on language ideology that evidenced Latino families’ exercise of agency in defining their own discourses and identity. These *ranchero* families, by speaking with *franqueza* [frankness, candor, and directness, including earthy, rough talk] (p. 48), constructed their own individualistic and self-assertive identity. These parents, like those of my focal ESL students, engaged in the cultural production of discourses that re-defined their identity; they were not passive bearers of externally imposed low expectations and lesser inferior identities.

Expectations about parental support for academic achievement. Multiple and conflicting language ideologies also influenced the expectations about the support that parents provided to ESL children, in order to achieve academically. On the one hand, educators at Parks school believed that these Latino parents were more interested in the good behavior of their children, than in their academic achievement. Mr. Allen, the homeroom teacher of my focal students, believed that the parents’ concern with behavior was unconnected and dichotomous with academics. The school principal, Mr. Norman, also believed that Latino parents cared about their children being educated, but in terms of being polite and well-behaved, not in terms of academic achievement and school success.

These beliefs, partially resonate with Valdés' (1996) depiction of Mexican families' interest in raising well-educated children. However, as Valdés (1996) explained her study was conducted more than 20 years ago particularly with newly-arrived immigrant families living in a small town near the Mexican border. The circumstances of the Latino families in my dissertation (explained in chapter 3), and of the Mexican families in Valdés' long ethnographic study are very different. The educators at Parks school essentialized ESL Spanish-speaking students and families by lumping them into a homogeneous sociocultural group; such ideological practice tends to solidify negative stereotypes (Gimenez, 1997) and it is also influenced by the "politics of erasure" that conceal and de-emphasize both similarities and differences across Latinas/os groups (McLaren & Jaramillo, 2006).

On the other hand, parents of my ESL focal students did not only care about behavioral outcomes. These parents expected, and supported in numerous ways, their children to succeed academically at school. They also expressed their interest in a college education. They exhorted and encouraged their children to learn, to do their best at school, and to earn good grades that might help them apply for college scholarships in the future. The findings of my dissertation are consistent with more recent research studies on the academic achievement expected of Spanish-speaking ELL students themselves and by their parents (e.g., Delgado Bernal, 2001).

Conflicting language ideologies influencing the social interactions of ESL students. ESL students engaged in different types of social interactions at Parks school. I analyzed these interactions as they occurred with various parties, and how they positioned ESL children unequally in the social hierarchy of the classroom. The findings demonstrated that such social interactions were mediated by multiple language ideologies.

Interactions between ESL students and non-ESL students. Conflicting language ideologies, enacted through different forms of language use in social interactions, served specific purposes related to issues of power and identity. Data analysis yielded four sets of such interactions between ESL and non-ESL students in the 5th grade regular classroom. These four sets were repairing pronunciation, establishing the legitimate source of knowledge, disqualifying a linguistic minority, and excluding antagonistic classmates.

The first set of interactions, repairing pronunciation, revealed language use to wield power (Razfar, 2003; 2005). On the one hand, Non-ESL students corrected their ESL peers when they perceived a mistake in Standard English pronunciation. Such repair was accompanied by hostile attitudes (tone of voice, frowning, laughing, and silence). Repairing pronunciation evaluated as defective served to promote and legitimize certain forms of action (hostile attitudes) and to exert dominance (Gal, 1998; Irvine, 1989). Repairing defective language, conducted by the non-ESL students, perhaps unconsciously, re-established that the non-ESL students considered themselves as the hegemonic group in this classroom. Language ideologies undergirded these interactions creating unequal social positionality (Gal 1998) and a power hierarchy in this classroom.

On the other hand, ESL students corrected their non-ESL classmates when they perceived a mistake in Spanish pronunciation. These ESL children created their own “counterhegemonies” (Gal, 1998, p.321), grounded in an ideology of the importance of, and competence in, their mother tongue. They used their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) to exert agency and power over their peers. Hence, language use became the site of a power struggle. The coexistence of two linguistic codes (English and Spanish) during these interactions

became a focal point of social conflict in terms of language socialization in heterogeneous contexts (Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002).

The second set of interactions between ESL and non-ESL students related to issues of power and identity. These interactions established the legitimate source of language knowledge by referring to the person perceived as capable of providing accurate answers for questions regarding language. Observed non-ESL students dismissed the input given by their ESL classmates to solve an issue regarding the English language, even when the answer was accurate. These non-ESL students showed disbelief, surprise, and disapproval. ESL students then were positioned as the *illegitimate* source of language knowledge. In these social interactions situated notions of accuracy, correctness of language and its speakers, assume their possession, or lack thereof, of linguistic rights and authority (Razfar, 2005).

The third set of interactions between ESL and non-ESL children also implied issues of power and identity. These interactions disqualified people, as possible language knowledge sharers and inquirers, when considered members of a particular linguistic and sociocultural minority. Underlying ideologies about the “others” (non-native English speakers, Latinos/as) influenced non-ESL students to identify us, individuals with similar features, like a group of people who are incapable, unreliable, and thus deserving of a lower status in this classroom’s social and power hierarchy. In turn, ESL students employed resistance and agency; they used language to elevate themselves to a better or equal status. ESL pupils positioned themselves as competent and trustworthy English language inquirers and sharers. Again, language ideologies served to justify attempts of domination and exclusion (belittling, dismissive attitudes on the part of non-ESL students) and to legitimize certain forms of action (defiance, agency, transformation on the part of ESL students) (Gal, 1998; Irvine, 1989).

The fourth set of interactions between ESL and non-ESL children served to exclude hostile classmates. ESL students used their native language, when previously employed strategies (body language) had failed, to repel non-ESL peers that were intrusive and antagonistic. Again, language use became a site of power struggle. Language ideologies mediated social interactions to rationalize certain behaviors (unsolicited criticism from non-ESL students) and to protect the interests (ESL girls wanted to practice their speech, stop interruptions) of different sociocultural groups (Gal, 1998; Irvine, 1989).

Interactions among ESL students. The findings of my dissertation demonstrate that, unlike the social interactions between ESL and non-ESL students in the 5th grade regular classroom with the basic purpose of wielding power, the interactions among ESL students served other purposes. Two major purposes were to construct the self as competent and to show camaraderie. These two sets of interactions were also undergirded by language ideologies.

My focal students in the ESL classroom used their second-language to show personal competence while participating in class. They asked and answered questions during discussions of readings with the ESL teacher. These interactions manifested underlying language ideologies, in the way they perceived themselves, and behaved accordingly, as capable students and language users. They constructed their selves as competent knowledge sharers even in a language that was not their mother tongue. These children exercised the right to positively define their own identity (Halcón, 2001), and they engaged in the cultural production (Levinson & Holland, 1996) of ideological discourses responding to, and in contrast with, deficient and derogatory views of ELLs within the current political, legislative, and institutional larger contexts.

My focal students not only displayed their own selves as competent, but also engaged in a joint construction of their affirming identities, while appreciating and relying on each other's strength in their native language for learning English. They used linguistic transfer (García, 1998; Nagy, McClure, & Mir, 1997) in the form of cognates (Nagy, García, Durgunoğlu, & Hancin-Bhatt, 1993) and translating strategies (García, 1998; Jiménez, García, & Pearson, 1996) to facilitate their English reading comprehension. Also, a positive attitude toward Spanish, their mother tongue, along with knowledge and strategies in their first language, facilitated the linguistic transfer (García, 2003) of my focal students. Significantly, the ideological conception of Spanish (L1) as useful tool for learning English (L2), not as interference, is compatible with their beliefs and expectations, and those of their parents, about additive bilingualism and biliteracy skills as desirable and long-term goals.

The second set of interactions among my focal ESL students served to show camaraderie. They used their native language with one another to communicate their opinions and feelings about a language or learning issue. This type of social interactions did not annul their ideological construction of a competent identity, though. These interactions showed that they were aware of their own limitations, and of the difficulties, of learning a second-language and shared them in an attitude of camaraderie. They identified with each other's self and circumstances by using language as the medium to learn, activate, and reproduce their sociocultural group's ways of being and doing (Zentella, 2005); thus language socialization processes also took place through these interactions (Baquedano-López, 2000; Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002).

Interactions between ESL students and teachers. The findings of my dissertation evidenced that language ideologies also mediated social interactions between ESL students

and their teachers. Teachers in the 5th grade classroom perceived ESL children as less competent than their non-ESL peers. They were observed assigning less merit to the contributions of ESL students. Conversely, the ESL teacher perceived them as capable learners. She was observed consistently acknowledging the relevance of the comments that my focal students provided in her classes.

Specifically, the interactions of teachers in the 5th grade regular classroom focused on the form of language (pronunciation and grammar), and not on meaning, when evaluating English learners. Teachers' feedback assigned less worth to the answers of ESL students than to those of non-ESL students. By doing so, these teachers placed ESL children in a non-privileged and powerless status in the hierarchy of this 5th grade classroom. These findings are consistent with other studies on classroom discourse with ELLs, which demonstrated that when teachers' corrections of these children's answers address linguistic features (e.g.: spelling, pronunciation, syntax, word choice), these corrections suggest the prevalence of ideologies that focus on language structure and form rather than on meaning and communicative competence (Razfar, 2003; 2005).

The social interactions between the ESL teacher and my focal students were also influenced by language ideologies, but in a different manner. Ms. Gipson, the ESL teacher, did not overlook the content and relevance of these students' questions and answers. When appropriate, her feedback corrected these children's grammatical and pronunciation mistakes; yet, she did not do it in a decontextualized manner, nor with a demeaning attitude. The ESL teacher's interactions aligned with her views of the ESL students, and those of their parents and children themselves, as capable and motivated learners who cared about education and academic achievement not only about behavioral outcomes. As such, educators' views and

beliefs about second language learners influenced their feedback to, and relationships with, these pupils.

Implications

Educational implications. The findings of my dissertation study suggested relevant issues to consider for educational implications. These issues relate to the formation of pre-service teachers and training of in-service teachers and school administrators. Educational implications also deal with increasing awareness of non-ESL parents and students about the challenges of learning a second language for academic purposes, and in empowering ESL parents and students to envision and continue working towards educational endeavors and for a better quality of life overall (these issues, though, could also be addressed in future research).

Fostering a “critical consciousness” in teachers working with ELL students. A critical consciousness allows for the understanding of power issues that permeate teaching and learning in schools. Power issues underlie historical, societal, and interpersonal inequities that intersect with notions of race, class, and gender (among other social categories) (Willis et. al., 2008). In-service and pre-service teachers need to develop such critical consciousness; they need to be aware of how ideologies and power issues undergird teaching and assessment practices nested in different institutional contexts. Teachers also need to realize that local ideologies of practice enacted in the day-to-day life of their classrooms can reproduce or challenge and transform inequalities, especially in regards to the achievement of ELLs and other linguistic and cultural minorities in American schools. In particular, teacher education programs should include an ideological component, in the quest for critical consciousness, and to enable future teachers to envision and work towards more just and equitable schools.

Pre-service teachers must realize that even “best practices,” methods and resources, are inefficient in the hands of teachers whose ideologies about second-language learners merely solidify and perpetuate negative stereotypes, low expectations, dismissive attitudes, uncaring relationships, and reductionist teaching. Future research, too, could address how such “critical consciousness” could be developed with the pre-service teachers.

Strengthening professional development (PD) programs for in-service teachers. PD programs for in-service teachers could be strengthened by incorporating a “critical consciousness” (Willis et.al., 2008) component as well. In addition to the basic underpinnings of second-language literacy teaching and learning, in-service teachers need to become aware of how their own ideologies and specific practices influence the dynamics in their classrooms. Long term PD programs may facilitate ongoing self-evaluation and self-reflection processes of in-service teachers working with ELL children and their families. In-service teachers (e.g., Mr. Allen in my dissertation), even well-meaning educators, also need to understand the dangers of deficit thinking about, and essentializing of, ELL students especially ESL Latina/o children; these teachers may also need to implement new models of parent-teacher conferencing in which both parties could better communicate their concerns and goals. Future research, too, could address how long term and sustained collaborations between universities’ faculty, district administrators, and schools’ staff could strengthen PD programs.

Increasing awareness in mainstream students about the various complex challenges their ELL peers face in American schools. Majority mainstream children, who have not dealt with the same challenges encountered by ELLs, could benefit from having “a taste” of being a second-language learner. For example, through age-appropriate simulations, schools could provide for opportunities to experience having to adjust to different cultural traditions, school

routines, and language learning for academic purposes. Students could also participate in “grand conversations” and discussions about books narrating the adventures and toils faced by children growing up in a foreign country; older students could read and discuss the experiences of children growing up in perilous circumstances (e.g., *The Diary of Anne Frank* and *Zlata’s Diary: A child’s life in Sarajevo*) in order to gain different perspectives and insights on children’s lives, trials, and hope. Such experiences could increase awareness, understanding, and empathy in mainstream students towards other linguistic and cultural minorities as well.

Increasing awareness in mainstream parents about the various complex challenges their ELL children face in American schools. Have guest speakers (e.g., universities’ faculty, district experts, ESL and bilingual teachers) share in PTA meetings brief presentations about second-language learning difficulties and advantages. Organize activities in which parents of native English speaking children and of ELL children could participate in cultural understanding and integration programs.

Empowering ESL children and their parents to advocate for their education. We need to consult with ESL students and parents about what types of programs (including talks, demonstrations, filling-out of documents, etc.) could help them learn how to request information and participate in school activities. Engage these families in the design and execution of programs that also facilitate parental involvement and student advocacy. That is, create family programs, more than sporadic visits with the outreach coordinator-liaison, in which ESL families’ culture, needs, concerns, and strengths are at the center, and not at the margins, of program implementation. Future research, though, could also address how we could actually empower ELL students and their parents.

Research implications. The findings of my study were useful in answering the research questions. The findings evidenced how multiple and contested language ideologies influenced the past historical development, and current design and implementation of the Educational program for ELL students at Parks elementary. The findings also demonstrated how multiple and conflicting language ideologies mediated expectations about, and social interactions with, ESL students in 5th grade at Parks school. Future research could incorporate a larger corpus of data; future research could collect data during a long term multiyear ethnography (e.g., ethnographic studies carried out by Valdés (1996) and Soto (1997)). Future research could encompass a longitudinal study with the same participants, especially the focal ESL students, in order to investigate how their ideologies about second-language learning have evolved, and how educators can better support their learning and overall development.

The findings of my dissertation also certain raised questions that could be undertaken in future research. The research implications regard questions of leadership styles and quality instruction for ELL students. Since principals are responsible for overseeing the work of teachers in their schools, their basic unit of administration, future research could use an organizational systems approach to studying “principalship,” the principal’s role, and leadership styles, and their impact in educational programs for linguistic and cultural minorities. This type of research could address questions such as, what are the strengths of these educational programs? What problems emerge? What can schools and their leaders do to facilitate, and not hinder, meeting the needs of diverse students through these educational programs?

Also, since the focus of my study was not on program evaluation, but on the mediating role of language ideologies, future research could center of evaluating the quality of

instruction of the educational program for ELL students at Parks elementary, and in other schools as possible case studies allowing for comparisons and contrasts in a multiple case study design. Future research then could address the following questions: What are effective literacy instruction practices for ELL Spanish-speaking children, particularly older students? What are effective literacy assessment practices? How can we continue implementing, or change and improve, these practices?

Future related research could also examine how ideologies are inscribed in curriculum (principles that guide the selection and organization of curriculum, form and content of classroom materials) and in culturally-loaded (whose culture, why) artifacts in such programs with “specialized” English instruction for ELL children.

Finally, future research could focus on the hegemonic power of English in the United States, and internationally. For example, in terms of “English language proficiency” expected of ELL students in American schools, what approach and criteria could be used to define English proficiency in ways that do not devalue the linguistic and cultural resources of ELL children, and do not support subtractive bilingualism? How could such approach inform educational policy regulating the education of ELL students in the United States? In regards to globalization and the international power of English as “lingua franca,” how are language ideologies manifest in North-South and West-East countries economic and commercial exchange and political relationships? These other questions could be examined in broader scope future research.

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Appendix A

Definition of Terms

Native Language	First or primary language, sometimes called mother tongue, usually abbreviated as “L1”.
Second Language	Language acquired and/or learned after, or simultaneously with, the native or first language, usually abbreviated as “L2”.
Bilingual	A person who speaks two languages.
Monolingual	A person who speaks one language.
English as a Second Language (ESL)	Classes or programs that center on the English language development of non-native speakers of English. ESL is also used as an adjective to refer to the classroom where these classes take place, the teachers in charge, and students served
Bilingual Education	Umbrella term that encompasses different types of programs that use two languages for instruction. The amount of instruction per language (first language/second language) varies in different percentages.
Sheltered English	Content instruction that is modified to meet the educational needs of English Language Learners. When using Sheltered English instruction, teachers carefully attend to the language demands of assignments and texts in order to modify its delivery and make instruction comprehensible, by using different strategies. Some of these strategies include the use of body language, visual aids, real objects, hands-on materials and activities. Scholars (e.g.; Commins & Miramontes, 2005; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003) argue that this type of instruction can benefit all students not only ELLs.
English-Only	School program in which all instruction is in English, without modifications to meet the needs of English Language Learners. English-Only programs are also called “English Submersion,” or are colloquially referred to sink-or-swim approaches. David Ramírez (1992), and Ramírez, Yuen, Ramey, Pasta, and Billings (1991) addressed them as English Immersion programs.
Hispanic	Essentializing term commonly used in media and demographic statistics, referring to various heterogeneous linguistic and cultural groups of individuals living in the USA, whose ancestry


could be traced to Latin American countries formerly conquered by Spain in the 15th century, and thus, share, to a certain degree, a common historical and linguistic background, yet not identical. I prefer to use the term Latina/o and Latinas/os.

Mainstream

Term used to refer to non-minority (e.g.: because of language, culture, or race) students and teachers. Term also used to denominate classrooms in which no modifications are made to instruct ELLs. Term used by extension to refer to the middle-class population that dominates American society.

Appendix B

Transcription Conventions

Symbols	Meaning
:::	Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter; the more colon marks, the more stretch.
-	A dash indicates a sharp cut-off of the previous word or sound.
bold	Bold words and letters indicate speaker emphasis.
...	Ellipses indicate speaker digression.
(())	Double parentheses indicate non-verbal behavior.
>	Arrow indicates if speaker is addressing a specific person. For example: Lorena: How do you that? ((turning head > Alicia)) Alicia: I'll show you.
hh	An "h" indicates speaker out-breath; the more "h"s the longer the out-breath.
*hh	An "h" preceded by an asterisk indicates speaker in-breath; the more "h"s the longer the in-breath.
	A broken line indicates overlap of speech.
<i>italics</i>	Italicized words and letters indicate speech or text in foreign language, usually Spanish.
[]	Brackets indicate the English equivalent translation of speech in foreign language. For example: Patricia: ¡ <i>Vamos a decirle!</i> [Let's go tell him!]

The transcription symbols used in this dissertation were taken, with some modifications, from Woofitt (2005) which are common to conversation analytic research.

Appendix C

Sample of Questions for Interviews

Interview with the ESL teacher

1. What are the literacy goals of the Educational program for ELL students? How do you know when the goals are being accomplished?
2. What are the different components or areas of the ESL literacy curriculum? How is the ESL literacy curriculum designed (scope and sequence)? How is it implemented in the ESL classroom? (content and materials)
3. How would you define literacy? How is the literacy progress of ESL students assessed both formally and informally?
4. What are the literacy activities that you implement with the ESL focal students? How often? Why? How can you describe the ESL focal students' participation in these activities?
5. How do decisions at the federal, state, district, and/or school levels influence the Educational program for ELL students' teaching and assessment?

Interview with the District Director of Bilingual Education and ESL Programs

1. What are the goals of the ESL programs in the district? How do teachers know when the goals are being accomplished?
2. What are the different components or areas of the ESL literacy curriculum? How is the ESL literacy curriculum designed (scope and sequence)? How is it implemented in the ESL classroom? (content and materials)
3. How is 'literacy' defined in an ESL program? How is the literacy progress of ESL students assessed both formally and informally?

4. What is required for the literacy learning of ESL students, and why?
5. How do decisions at the federal, state, district, and/or school levels influence ESL programs' teaching and assessment?

Interview with the School Principal

1. How many students are enrolled in the bilingual education program (grades K-2) and in the educational program for older ELL students (grades 3-5) at the school? How are these students placed in these programs?
2. How does the busing system/route works at the school? How many ESL students use the school bus? How would you describe the community(ties) where the ESL students live?
3. How is literacy defined for ESL students? How is the literacy progress of ESL students assessed both formally and informally?
4. What is required for the literacy learning of ESL students, and why?
5. How do regular classroom teachers and ESL teacher coordinate work for the literacy learning of ESL students?

Interview with Mainstream Teacher of the Focal Students

1. How would you define literacy? What are the different components of the 5th grade literacy curriculum? How is the literacy curriculum designed? (scope and sequence)
How is it implemented in the 5th grade classroom? (content and materials)
2. How is the literacy progress of ESL students assessed in the 5th grade classroom?
3. What is required for the literacy learning of ESL students, and why?

4. What are the literacy activities that you implement in the 5th grade classroom? How often? How would you describe the ESL students' participation in these literacy activities?
5. How would you describe your work with the ESL teacher? (in terms of communication, coordination, planning, etc.)

Interview with Parents of the Focal Students (these questions were asked in Spanish)

1. What do you think about the educational program for ELL students at Parks school?
2. What are the goals of the educational program for ELL students at Parks school? How do you know if the goals are being accomplished?
3. What do you want your child to learn in the educational program for ELL students? And at school? Why?
4. What do teachers (ESL teacher and classroom teacher) do to help your child learn? How does your child respond to that help?
5. What do you do to support your child's learning? and why?

Interview with Focal Students (these questions were asked in Spanish)

1. What do you think about the ESL classes? What do you like about them? What is something you don't like?
2. What are you learning in the ESL classes? What do you want to learn? Why?
3. What do you think about being bilingual? Why?
4. What are you learning in the language arts class with Mr. Allen (the 5th grade mainstream classroom teacher)?
5. What would you like to do when you grow up? Why?

Appendix D

Alignment of Specific Research Questions with Data Collection and Data Analysis Procedures

Specific Research Questions	Data Collection	Data Analysis
A. Past and Current Design of ESL Program at Parks school.		
1. What were the constraints and opportunities in the past historical development of the ESL program?	- Initial and follow-up interviews with district director of Bilingual and ESL program, director of Language Arts, school principal, ESL teacher, and community members, inquiring about the past history of the ESL program.	Thematic units of analysis developed through open coding and analytic coding with relative emphasis on values, beliefs, and practices about language and language users: Recurrent themes about issues influencing the creation and early historical development of the ESL program.
2. How did institutional and personal politics affect the creation of the ESL program?	- Documents (meetings agendas & minutes, reports, newspaper articles)	
3. What are the constraints and opportunities in the current design and implementation of the ESL program?	- Initial and follow-up interviews with district director of Bilingual and ESL program, director of Language Arts, school principal, ESL teacher, and community members, inquiring about the present plan and execution of the ESL program.	Thematic units of analysis developed through open coding and analytic coding with relative emphasis on values, beliefs, and practices about language and language users: Recurrent themes about issues influencing the present development of ESL program.
4. How do language ideologies influence the current design and implementation of the ESL program?	- Documents (meetings agendas & minutes, reports, newspaper articles; federal and state laws regarding ELLs education)	

(continued)

Appendix D (*continued*)

Specific Research Questions	Data Collection	Data Analysis
B. Expectations about the school performance of ESL students		
1. What are the expectations of educators for the school performance of ESL students?	- Initial and follow-up interviews with school principal, 5 th grade homeroom teacher, and parents of focal ESL students about their expectations.	Thematic units of analysis developed through open coding and analytic coding with relative emphasis on values, beliefs about language and language users: Recurrent themes about expectations.
2. What are the expectations of the parents of ESL students for their school performance?	- Documents (focal students' tests scores, report cards, informal assessments; federal and state laws regarding education of ELLs).	
3. What are the expectations for school performance of the ESL students themselves?	- Initial and follow-up interviews with focal ESL students about their own expectations. - Documents (focal students' tests scores, report cards, informal assessments).	-Thematic units of analysis developed through open coding and analytic coding with relative emphasis on values, beliefs about language and language users: Recurrent themes about expectations.
4. How are language ideologies related to these expectations?	- Initial and follow-up interviews with school principal, 5 th grade homeroom teacher, parents of focal ESL students, and focal students themselves about expectations. - Documents (focal students' tests scores, report cards, informal assessments; federal and state laws regarding education of ELLs).	

(*continued*)

Appendix D (*continued*)

Specific Research Questions	Data Collection	Data Analysis
C. Social Interactions of ESL students at Parks school		
1. What are the purposes of social interactions between ESL and non-ESL students?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations of focal and other ESL students, and non-ESL students working in 5th grade regular classroom during language arts class period. - Documents (copies of focal ESL students' work completed during the classes observed) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sociolinguistic units of analysis: Types of interactions, based on their purposes, between ESL and non-ESL students, and among focal ESL students. - Thematic units of analysis developed through open coding and analytic coding with relative emphasis on values, beliefs, and practices about language and language users: Recurrent themes about initiated, continued, or interrupted interactions.
2. What are the purposes of social interactions among ESL students?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations of focal ESL students working in the ESL classroom. - Documents (copies of focal ESL students' work completed during the classes observed) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sociolinguistic units of analysis: Types of interactions, based on their purposes, between focal and other ESL students and teachers in 5th grade room, and between focal students and ESL teacher.
3. What are the purposes of social interactions between ESL students and teachers?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations of focal ESL students working with the ESL teacher. - Observations of focal and other ESL students working with teachers in the 5th grade regular classroom. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sociolinguistic units of analysis: Types of interactions, based on their purposes, between focal and other ESL students and teachers in 5th grade room, and between focal students and ESL teacher.

(continued)

Appendix D (continued)

Specific Research Questions	Data Collection	Data Analysis
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Documents (copies of focal ESL students' work completed during the classes observed). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Thematic units of analysis developed through open coding and analytic coding with relative emphasis on values, beliefs, and practices about language and language users: Recurrent themes about initiated, continued, or interrupted interactions.
<p>4. How are language ideologies evidenced in these interactions?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Observations of focal and other ESL students, and non-ESL students working in the 5th grade regular classroom during the language arts class period. -Observations of focal ESL students working in the ESL classroom. -Observation of focal and other ESL students working with teachers in the 5th grade regular classroom. -Documents (copies of focal students' work completed during the observed classes). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Sociolinguistic units of analysis: Types of interactions, based on their purposes, between ESL and non-ESL students and teachers in the 5th grade regular classroom, and among ESL students, and between focal ESL students and ESL teacher in the ESL classroom. -Thematic units of analysis developed through open and analytic coding with relative emphasis on values, beliefs, and

(continued)

Appendix D (*continued*)

Specific Research Questions	Data Collection	Data Analysis
		and practices about language and language users: Recurrent themes about initiated, continued, or interrupted interactions.

Appendix E

Summary of Themes

Analytic Coding: Categories and subcategories of themes about conflicting ideologies and power struggles. The themes emerged from the data as framed in conceptions of language ideology, second language socialization, critical perspective on literacy, and cultural production.

Historical Development of the ESL Program (Chapter 4)

- I. Past Ideological and power struggles: City & Community level
 - A. Past Perspectives of District and City School Board about changing demographics in the city:
 1. An overcrowded school (i.e., "Compared to our other elementary schools (Howard) is overcrowded")
 2. Re-districting (i.e.: "As part of our current redistricting we are considering moving children who are native speakers of Spanish")
 3. Balance of low-income population across schools (i.e: "The board moved fewer than 80 children from their current schools next the year to balance low-income ratios")
 4. Multicultural program for local university's internationals (i.e.: "We are committed to the internationally-based multi-cultural program,"
"...program...to serve children of foreign students at the university of [name]")
 5. Conceptualizations of "the other" (i.e.: "It was not designed to serve immigrants")
 - B. Past Perspectives about Howard Elementary School
 1. Needed more space (e.g., for a gymnasium, fine arts classroom, computer lab)
 2. Portable rooms needed replacement (e.g., they were considered inappropriate for teaching and learning)
 3. Wanted Integration (i.e., "you want them to integrate classes for African-Americans")

C. Past Perspectives of Minority Parents and Community Members about Howard School

1. Keeping multicultural program un-changed at Howard school (e.g., not sending any group of students out of Howard, including the ELL native Spanish speakers)
 - a. Increased diversity (i.e., “it brings an international flavor to the educational program”)
 - b. Foreign language learning opportunities (i.e., “[it] offers some language learning opportunities for English-speaking children”)
2. Need to assemble funds to expand Howard school building (i.e., “We [School Board] have been asked by the community to seek all possible options for expanding the school”)
3. Community members viewed School Board as ideologically laden (i.e., a minority parent of Howard school said to the Board, “The affluent want to strip the less affluent of the resources they come by naturally”)

D. Past Perspectives about and from Parks Elementary School

1. Wanting to secure Title I funds (i.e., “[The move] should bring [Parks] to the 35 percent threshold for Title I funding”)
 - a. Majority student population was middle-class and upper-middle class
 - b. Need to bring in more low-income students
2. Parks was a bigger building and was being remodeled (e.g: Parks school had more space and was available to receive new groups of students)
3. Spanish-speaking student population was expected to grow (i.e., “[the Board] decided that the Spanish population was growing,” “projection data said that it was going to continue to grow”)

II. Current ideological and power struggles: District Level

A. Differential status of program director

1. Teaching position versus administrative position (e.g., the director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the schools district had a teaching job, she was not an administrator)
2. Power hierarchies among district staff (“she is actually powerless. She can make suggestions, but the final decisions go to the administrators”)

B. Avoiding conflict with the union (e.g., director of bilingual education and ESL programs in the district was a member of the teachers’ union)

III. Current ideological and power struggles: School level

A. Parks Elementary: School principal’s own ideologies about:

1. Second language learning and literacy (e.g., oversimplifying this process as if it was “just a matter of vocabulary”)
2. Bilingual education (i.e., “it’s not only expensive, but it’s not that necessary”)
3. Integration (i.e., “integrating as much as possible” and “at Parks there’s so much emphasis on integration”)
4. Quality instruction (i.e., “we have competing interests” and “we think we are doing what should be done”)

B. Teachers’ ideological (in)compatibility with school principal:

1. Professional competence issues (e.g., two homeroom teachers were implementing their own ESL instruction without proper guidance from the district)
2. Differential status of teachers (i.e., the ESL teacher “felt like a remedial teacher”)
3. Lack of professional cooperation (e.g., school-wide activities promoting integration were only supported by a few teachers)

Expectations about School Performance (Chapter 5)

- I. Expectations about the Literacy Development of ESL students
 - A. Educators views: English literacy (i.e., “I have the same goals for literacy,” “I have the same expectations for my ESL and non-ESL students,” “[ELLs to become] indistinguishable from native English speakers”)
 - B. Parents views: Bilingualism and Biliteracy (i.e., “I am very interested in my children not losing their mother tongue that is Spanish,” “I want her to continue with both languages, the spelling of both languages”)
 - C. ESL Students’s views about being bilingual and biliterate:
 1. Financial advantage (i.e., “bilingual people have more opportunities to get a job”)
 2. Communicative advantage (i.e., “you can also converse with your grandparents”)
 3. Linguistic Transfer advantage (i.e., “there are some words in English that you can write almost in the same way as in Spanish”)
- II. Expectations about the Intellectual Potential of ESL students
 - A. Educators’ views:
 1. Condescending (i.e., “I nominated her! [an ESL student] They were just looking for a 5th grade student that they just wanted to be recognized. It doesn’t have to be... the highest academically or anything like that”)
 2. Contradictory (e.g., having apparent “high” literacy expectations for all students, including ESL students, but attributing ESL children’s achievement in middle school mostly to the design and implementation of Parks Elementary “ELL program”)

B. Parents' views:

1. Dignifying (e.g., ESL children can work hard to do well at school but are also intelligent and that contributes to their success)
2. Encouraging /Assuring (i.e., "I tell her, show that you can, that you do not lag behind!")

III. Expectations about Parents' Support for the Academic Achievement of their ESL children

A. Educators' views:

1. Behavior outcomes are unconnected and dichotomous with academic outcomes (i.e., "the main issue that they want to know is the behavior" and "they follow through")
2. Conflicting views (e.g., school principal simultaneously praised and patronized the support provided by Latino parents for their children's academic achievement)

B. Parents' views:

1. Academic achievement is a priority (i.e., "For us education is first...I tell her if you are not doing well in school, you cannot go out, no more trips")
2. Value college education (e.g., parents encourage their children to obtain good grades which they believed would help their children to apply for university scholarships).

Interactions of ESL Students (Chapter 6)

I. Interactions between ESL Students and non-ESL Students

- A. Repairing pronunciation (e.g., students corrected each other's pronunciation, depending on what was their first language)
- B. Establishing the legitimate source of language knowledge (i.e., "that's what she said" and later, "you were right?!")
- C. Disqualifying a linguistic minority (i.e., "you need to ask her" and "nooo, I think we should be serious about this")
- D. Excluding antagonistic classmates (e.g., ESL students using their first language to make non-ESL peers stop saying or doing something that was annoying for the ESL children)

II. Interactions among ESL students

- A. Constructing the self as competent (i.e., "I know what it means" and "I have seen that")
- B. Camaraderie (e.g., ESL students used their first language to confide on one another or to help each other)
- C. Competition (e.g., ESL students competed against each other in providing answers and participating in ESL class, without using a dismissive tone)

III. Interactions between ESL students and Teachers

- A. With teachers in 5th grade classroom (e.g., teachers' feedback focused on form, not on meaning)
- B. With the ESL teacher (e.g., ESL teacher's feedback focused on meaning)

Appendix F

Test Scores obtained by the Focal ESL Students

Student	Patricia		Manuel		Lorena		Alicia	
Test Result	S/P ¹	PrL ²	S/P	PrL	S/P	PrL	S/P	PrL
ACCESS Test	6.0/ 6.0	FEP	5.8/ 6.0	FEP	6.0/ 6.0	FEP	6.0/ 6.0	FEP
ISAT Test (Reading)	247	E	217	M	239	M	297	E
ThinkLink Test (Reading)	83%	E	72%	M	83%	E	83%	E

¹ Some tests provided the final result in a score (S), others in a percentage (P) of correct answers.

²PrL = proficiency level established in the test. For ISAT, M= meets standards, E=exceeds standards. For ACCESS, FEP= fully English proficient, with score ≥ 4.0/6.0 established by the state during the year of my study.