THE LINGUISTIC ECOLOGY OF A BILINGUAL FIRST GRADE: THE CHILD'S PERSPECTIVE

by

Howard Leslie Smith

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE, READING AND CULTURE

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

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As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Howard Leslie Smith

entitled The Linguistic Ecology of a Bilingual First Grade: The Child's Perspective

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Teresa McCarty	6/9/95 Date
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	Date

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Dissertation Director
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STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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SIGNED: Howard L. Smith

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DEDICATION

To God, the Father,

who gave me the strength to finish this journey.

To my wife, Wanda-Lee Nickerson,

who lovingly accompanied me along the way.

To my mother, Elvia Smith,

who sacrificed so that my dreams

could become realities.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents the *linguistic ecology* of a Spanish-English, bilingual first grade classroom. The term *linguistic ecology* refers to the communicative behaviors of a group, as well as the physical and social contexts in which their communication occurs. In addition, a linguistic ecology includes the reciprocal influences of persons and environment on each other. Two questions guided this study: (1) *How do the children interpret the roles of English and Spanish in their classroom environment?* and (2) *What resources, human and material, are made available to support the development of both languages in this bilingual classroom?* Three over-arching categories were used to describe and analyze the linguistic ecology as viewed by the children: (1) the materials available in the school to support Spanish development; (2) the staffing for bilingual instruction; and (3) the dynamics of language use within the school, especially within one first-grade classroom.

The results of this inquiry study strongly suggest that children of bilingual classrooms discern that (1) more time is devoted to English instruction; (2) more communication occurs in English; (3) few teachers have high levels of Spanish proficiency; (4) the personnel of bilingual schools utilize more English than Spanish in the school environment; and (5) Spanish language resource materials are fewer in number and often less appealing than their English-language counterparts.

In effect, this case study documents and interprets the social and educational processes through which bilingual children in one U.S. school come to appreciate the prestige and power of English versus Spanish.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I examine the *linguistic ecology* of a Spanish-English, bilingual first grade classroom in a large metropolitan school district in the southwestern United States. In this study, the term *linguistic ecology*, is adapted from Hamilton (1983), who uses it to refer to the communicative behaviors (written and spoken) of a group, as well as the physical and social contexts in which their communication occurs. In addition, a linguistic ecology includes the reciprocal influences of persons and environment on each other (Ogbu, 1974). The central question guiding this study is the following: *How do the children interpret the roles of English and Spanish in their classroom environment?* The word "role" incorporates the notions of *function* (how language is used) and *status* or *position* (how language is valued). In order to answer the central question, a secondary question also must be considered: *What resources, human and material, are made available to support the development of both languages in this bilingual classroom?*

The present study differs from some qualitative studies of school-based language dynamics (e.g., Heath, 1983; Lipka & McCarty, 1994; Walsh, 1991) and is similar to others (e.g. Andrade, 1994) in that I will attempt to ascertain the emic view of the *children* within the classroom of their linguistic ecological system. Hymes (1977, p. 172) asserts that "[w]hat happens to children in schools appears to depend on how the

children interpret their world, given such categories as they have available." In this study, the focus is specifically on the children in an attempt to describe their understanding of oral and written communicative events as they occur in their classroom experience.

Components of a Linguistic Ecology

Three over-arching categories are used in this study to describe and analyze the linguistic ecology as viewed by the children. These categories were posed at the initiation of the study, based on a review of existing literature, and subsequently refined and revised in light of the data collected. The three salient categories from the children's view are : (1) the materials available in the school to support Spanish development; (2) the staffing for bilingual instruction; and (3) the dynamics of language use within the school, especially within one first-grade classroom.

Spanish Resources

By definition a classroom linguistic ecology includes human and material resources. Because of this it was necessary to obtain information about texts and other printed matter. Using various strategies and techniques (described in Chapter 3) I sought the children's opinions and understandings of the printed matter made available to them in their environment. In my interviews with school and district staff I asked individuals to address specifically the issue of the materials available in Spanish

throughout the city, the district, the school and, with the teachers and students, of the first grade classroom. Data from the interviews were compared with data from an inventory I made of the written artifacts (books, posters, student work, teacher instructions) on display in the classroom, and with students' inventions of print and other materials on display in the near vicinity of their classroom.

Instructional Staff

Observations, interviews and surveys were conducted with the children in order to capture their perspective of their linguistic ecology. In order to better understand the background of the *adults* in the linguistic ecology of this bilingual first grade I obtained information on the staff members of the school (e.g., teachers, and the principal) through interviews, formal surveys and informal conversations. These data from the staff were used to complement information gleaned from the students.

Language Use

The ways in which language was utilized in this classroom were studied and annotated using surveys, interviews, participant observation, photography, and videotaping. In addition, I reviewed writing samples from the children.

The primary data for this study were collected from January 1994 to January 1995. In addition, pertinent materials (school reports, transcribed interviews, videotapes) produced before the present study, in the context of a larger school change research project (see discussion under "Background for the Study," this chapter), were analyzed

through emergent theme analysis in order to give greater depth and breadth to the description and interpretation of this school. Chapter 3 of this dissertation discusses the information used to complete this study as well as the methodology enlisted to generate the data.

Language Policy

It should be noted that the three analytic categories are enveloped in a fourth category—that is the articulated language policy of the school and the district. Milk (1990, p. 33) points out that language policy issues such as language distribution in classrooms "are deeply dependent on program goals, and program goals are invariably tied to political processes taking place within each school district." In order to have a better understanding of the "political processes" which may effect the availability of resources for native language maintenance and development, I reviewed publications from the local school district regarding bilingual education. In addition, I interviewed the current and past directors of bilingual education for the district as well as the school principal (a former director of bilingual special education for the district). I also interviewed the teachers who work with the students to discern their classroom language policy with their students.

Thesis Statement

The assumption underlying this study is that bilingual (Spanish-English) children, by age seven, are able to discern & interpret the role and status of English and Spanish in their school environment comparably to that of adults. They analyze the spoken and written language events in their classroom and their school surroundings, as well as the persons who create them. Indeed, as the data presented her show, these young minds, through various forms of qualitative and quantitative analysis *in situ*, these young minds discern what researchers have documented: In bilingual classrooms (1) more time is devoted to English instruction (National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1986; Paulston, 1978); (2) more communication occurs in English, even during those periods which have been reserved for Spanish language instruction (Edelsky & Hudelson, 1980); (3) few teachers have high levels of Spanish proficiency (Ada, 1986; Baca & Chinn, 1982; Shuy, 1981); (4) the personnel of bilingual schools, even those who possess a high degree of fluency in Spanish, utilize more English than Spanish in the school environment (Edelsky & Hudelson, 1980); and (5) Spanish language resource materials (e.g., textbooks, charts, videos, records) are fewer in number and often less appealing than their English-language counterparts (Allen, 1993).

The question then becomes, "By what means does this occur—even in classrooms, schools and programs explicitly intended to develop and instill children's genuine bilingualism?" This study, while originally intended to test the assumption outlined here, also documents the social and educational processes—large and

small—through which bilingual children in one U.S. school come to appreciate the prestige and power of English versus Spanish.

Rationale for the Study

Bilingualism and bilingual education have been the source of great research activity for nearly three decades in the United States. In part, this research is a function of recent U.S. immigration patterns as well as increasing birth rates in households where English is not the first language (Gonzalez, 1991; Rubin, 1984), and to related school-educational needs. According to the U.S. Census of 1990 there were more than 31 million people in the United States who spoke a minority language, representing 13.8 percent of the total US population. Of all non-English speakers in the U.S., the majority were Spanish speakers (54 percent).

The bulk of bilingual education research in the U.S. has focused on Spanish-speaking populations (Gonzalez, 1991). This can be attributed to statistics: the 1990 census enumerated 22.8 million persons of Hispanic origin—approximately 8.9 percent of the total population. Of that census figure 64.3 percent claim Mexican ancestry equating to 58 percent of the Spanish-speaking people in the United States *(Mediaweek*, 1991). According the U.S. government, 29.6 percent of Hispanics were under 15 years of age. By 1991, the total enrollment in U.S. public schools of Hispanic students had reached 4,715,000, an increase of nearly 50 percent from 1980 (Lara, 1994).

In addition to the scholarly activity, a significant monetary amount is also channeled into bilingual education. For 1993, the U.S. Department of Education requested nearly $204 million for programs under the federal Bilingual Education Act. In spite of this great intellectual and monetary investment, there is a high rate of language-loss among minority- language speakers. While students are in a better position to become bilingual when a minority language is spoken at home (Saunders, 1988), Fishman (1992, p. 168) indicates that "*ethnolinguistic minorities in the United States lose their ethnic mother tongue fairly completely by their second or third generation of encounter with American urban life*" [emphasis in original]. Different theories have been suggested to explain the language shift in the United States. They fall into two broad categories: (1) policy and (2) pedagogy/ practice. A brief discussion of both categories follows.

Recent Studies of U.S. Language Policy

The United States has a shameful history regarding speakers of other languages (Crawford, 1992; Crystal, 1987). Indeed, beliefs about language ability, an invisible trait, have been cited as the cause of unequal and unjust treatment throughout the history of the United States. Crawford (1995), in his study of American Indian language renewal, traces the campaign of "linguistic genocide" of the U.S. government against Native peoples before the turn of the century. Using the example of American Indian boarding schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 19th and 20th centuries, he

states that "[u]nder strict English Only rules, students were punished and humiliated for speaking their native language as part of a general campaign to wipe out every vestige of their Indian-ness" (Crawford, 1995, p. 27). Such atrocities continued into the 1960s. In her research with members of the Navajo Nation in northern Arizona, McCarty finds that before the advent of the Rough Rock Demonstration School in 1966, "most students attended mission or federal boarding schools. Stories abound of the psychological and physical abuse inflicted on children at federal schools, as well as the alienation of parents from all aspects of school life" (Lipka & McCarty, 1994, p. 268).

Government sanctioned mistreatment was not limited to the continental United States. Many instructors from the Native American boarding schools were later hired to teach in Puerto Rico at the turn of the century.

> [H]undreds of North American women teachers were brought to the Island. Most had previously taught on U.S. Indian reservations. . . . The charge of the newly installed foreign work force was to impart English, inculcate North American values, and promote an obedient student populace. . . . (Walsh, 1991, p. 9)

Ruiz (1995) traces the history of modern bilingual education and its funding at the federal level from 1968 the year in which the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) was enacted until the present day. Describing the Johnson and Carter administrations as socially responsible anomalies, he observes that subsequently "the trend in the last two administrations and the 1994 Congress [has been] to intensify the goal of English proficiency, to the point of promoting English-only instructional programs under the aegis of Title VII" (Ruiz, 1995, p. 73). While the original wording of the BEA made

provisions for the instruction of languages other than English, in 1978 "Congress amended the law to emphasize the goal of competence in the English language and restricting support to *transitional* programs only; no funds would be available for language maintenance" (Draper & Jimenez, 1992, p. 90).

Pedagogy and Practice

As stated earlier, the majority of research in bilingual settings focuses on English language development, not first language maintenance. Those few studies that do highlight first language maintenance offer pathetic findings. For Spanish-speaking children, the problem does not reside in boarding schools but rather the public schools. While not subjected to the same physical abuses, Spanish-speaking children's academic environment has been no less hostile and emotionally scaring. For example, Crawford (1992, p. 322) notes:

> The Tucson Survey of 1965-66, conducted by the National Education Association, publicized the educational plight of Mexican American children in the Southwest. Typically, students were subjected to sink-or-swim schooling in a language and culture foreign to them and, often, were punished for speaking their native Spanish.

In general, there is a dearth of educators prepared to teach in a language other than English, even in large urban areas (Griego-Jones, 1993). According to Kuhlman and Vidal (1993, p. 100), in 1991 California had a *shortage* of 14,332 bilingual educators, a trend that is repeated throughout the United States. In her work Fillmore

(1992) found that various schools frequently staff their programs with unqualified or ill-prepared personnel. Her study also looked at the quality of programs:

> Bad programs are something else. For one thing, they are seldom bilingual except in name. One finds, for example, "bilingual" programs in which everything is taught exclusively in English. The native language is rarely used by the teachers, except as a last resort, when they can find no other way to communicate with their students. (Fillmore, 1992, p. 368)

In addition, the designated *bilingual* teacher may have to accept students who speak neither language of their bilingual classroom:

> I have seen mix-and-match classrooms that resemble miniature assemblies of the United Nations, with children from as many as eight language backgrounds and a teacher who speaks (at most) one of those languages. What kind of bilingual instruction is possible when the students speak Khmer, Vietnamese, Thai, Burmese, Laotian, Cantonese, Mandarin, and Hmong? . . . What language are teachers going to use in such situations? Just as one might guess, they use English almost exclusively. (Fillmore, 1992, pp. 372-73)

While technically declared illegal through the 1974 Supreme Court case of *Lau v. Nichols*[1], Miramontes (1993, p. 80) cites studies that indicate that "85 percent of eligible students receive no services (either bilingual or ESL) at all." Of those schools that do offer such programs, many provide as little service as possible to their minority-language populations (Fillmore, 1992; Miramontes, 1993). Even with the advent of school restructuring, total quality management and other school reform movements, "there is no hard evidence that their particular instructional needs, especially in language, have been a

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[1]This was a class-action suit brought by the parents of non-English-speaking Chinese students against the administrators of the San Francisco Unified School District because of the unequal educational opportunities afforded their children in violation of their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution (Crawford, 1992, p. 252).

source of inspiration for reform solutions or a focus of attention. . . . (Griego-Jones, 1993, p. 64).

Often the curricula for linguistic minority students are watered-down (Fillmore, 1992) as well as unduly repetitive with heavy emphasis on rote memorization (Moll, 1992). Hispanic students are over-represented special education classes, and almost an anomaly in gifted education classrooms (Sawyer & Márquez, 1993). Even those districts that support bilingualism philosophically have problems. Ortíz & Engelbrecht (1986, p. 458) found that in spite of the stated goals to develop the children's abilities to read and write in two languages, "[t]here are a number of potential problems in adding biliteracy to a bilingual program, such as a lack of instructional materials, untrained teachers, and meager financial resources." As federal dollars for bilingual education are manipulated with each new Congress and presidential administration, there is no guarantee that resources will ever be more than "meager."

It would appear that federal policy toward minority language speakers and minority language instruction has ranged from monstrous cruelty to benign neglect (Lipka & McCarty, 1994). The extreme case in this country is arguably that of American-Indian and Alaska Native children who were routinely mistreated for using their home language in government schools. These mainstream institutions, like those attended by other language minority children, sought (English) linguistic and cultural assimilation through English language immersion and neglect or defamation of indigenous traditions (Crawford, 1989). Perhaps the most noteworthy feat of these

schools has been their huge contribution to the extinction of non-English languages. The question remains: To what extent are current education programs—including those intended to promote bilingualism—contributing to the same loss of language resources? And why and how might this occur?

An Additional Factor in Language Loss

The explanations given to explain the language loss of linguistic minority students have fallen into the broad categories of policy and pedagogy. These perspectives are not mutually exclusive but rather are interconnected. However, this study suggests that these broad categories are insufficient to explain language shift, and, ultimately, language loss. In view of this, I offer a third component to the explanation of language loss among linguistic-minority students. Specifically, this is that students infer that a transition to English is the goal of schooling by (1) the paucity of materials in their native language, (2) the less-than-optimum fluency of their teachers in the students' home language, and (3) the overwhelming presence of the English language—even in bilingual programs—as signs that English is valued over the native languages in the school and the wider society (represented by the school). To put it succinctly, there are both overt and covert messages that students perceive regarding language use in schools, which children interpret as meaning they should abandon Spanish and become English-dominant as soon as possible.

Benefits of the Proposed Study

Contributions to Schools

I believe that the outcomes of this study affect various domains of our society. The first is the school and district. This study yields data that indicate a systemic as well as systematic bias toward English. Teachers may be persuaded to review their beliefs about language and their teaching practices so that the linguistic ecology they help create with their students does not subordinate the minority language. Those responsible for the creation of curriculum and policy may become better informed of the "unwritten curriculum," as well as more obvious and overt practices that undermine the district's financial and intellectual investment in bilingual education.

Students, too, will benefit from the study. Learning a second language with a high degree of fluency is highly uncommon, if not more difficult, as one enters adulthood (McLaughlin, 1987). Should the results from this study encourage practices and policy which better support the development of minority languages, more children will be able to become bilingual, and, in so doing, enjoy the cognitive benefits of speaking two languages (Díaz & Klingler, 1991).

Contributions to Research and Scholarship

This study also contributes to the research on bilingual education. To date there is a paucity of research which examines the role of the minority language in bilingual programs, especially in its written form. This study also makes a needed contribution in

that it will present the emic view of the young student in a bilingual setting—a voice that goes almost unrecognized in the literature. According to Tórres (1991, p. 248):

> . . . There is virtually no research of the development of Spanish writing among bilingual children in the United States. And there are few classrooms where the young Latino child with emerging biliteracy is engaged in active learning.

The purpose of this study is not to evaluate the quality of the resources in Spanish nor to prescribe the same, for a bilingual classroom. However, through a review and description of the components of a bilingual classroom, educators may become aware of the types of resources that would better foster literacy development in a minority language.

Contributions to the Larger Society

Ruiz (1988, 1990) proposes that there are "orientations" toward minority languages. In this context, orientation refers to the unconscious or pre-rational attitudes one holds about a language (Ruiz, 1988). The three orientations are (1) language-as-problem, (2) language-as-right, and (3) language-as-resource. With the first two, there is an adversarial posture—language becomes the object of contention. Ruiz (1990, p. 17) suggests that when language is considered a resource,

> . . . [it] draws attention to the social importance of all communities and their languages, and to the extent that it promotes tolerance and even acceptance of minority languages, it holds promise for reducing social conflict in a way that the other two cannot match.

This study will benefit the larger society to the extent that it helps inform and strengthen minority-language instruction. In so doing, it will promote the needed creation of a larger core of minority language speakers, overcoming a long-held deficit (or problem) orientation. Voegelin, Voegelin, and Schutz (1967, p. 405) explain the handicap: "Anglo-Americans have achieved the dubious distinction formerly shared by most 'primitive' tribes in the Southwest, of approximating 100 percent monolingualism."

Snow and Hakuta (1992) assert that acquired monolingualism represents more than the loss of a language. When a nation lacks speakers of other languages, more funds must be appropriated for foreign language instruction to develop proficiency in a second language. American businesses are disadvantaged in international transactions when few of their job applicants and employees speak another languages. This situation has become even more critical with the advent of the North American Free Trade Agreement between the United States, Mexico and Canada and the increasing economic and political integration entailed by that agreement.

Background for the Study:

Educational and Community Change (ECC) Project

This dissertation stems from a larger research endeavor, the Educational and Community Change (ECC) Project, of which I was party. The discussion here is intended to explain my access to the school and its members, my research experiences with this school, as well as the rationale for the selection of qualitative methods to

explore the primary research questions for this study. (Chapter 3 offers more detail about my activities in the bilingual first grade.) In addition, this section is intended to provide greater detail on the social context of the school, the first-grade classroom being studied, and the broader research tradition that undergirds the present study. This descriptive section then, presents the theoretical framework for the ECC Project and the philosophies that guide its activities.

In 1990, Prof. Paul E. Heckman, creator and principal investigator of the ECC Project, began a "school reinvention" effort in the Proyecto Uno School, in "Doshijos", the pseudonym for a small city in the Southwest. The notion of school reinvention in this context goes beyond the alarmist rhetoric that says teachers are ineffective. For Heckman and his colleagues, schooling as it is carried out today will always fail certain portions of the population because it is designed to highlight the knowledge, skills and cultural realities of others (Heckman, 1993). The ECC Project established a core group of educators and parents who were willing to examine all facets of education in their neighborhood elementary school and create new devices and experiences that would incorporate the "funds of knowledge" (Moll, 1992) available in the community and beyond. In other words, participants in the ECC Project were trying to identify and demonstrate the conditions that promote or deter significant academic improvement and social change in school settings. With funding from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation (and subsequently from an anonymous donor and Pew Charitable Trusts)

Heckman and colleagues went about the reinvention process in one elementary school in the U.S. Southwest.

Theoretical Framework of the ECC Project

Action Research

The characteristic that most distinguishes the ECC Project from other research projects is its methodological orientation or approach. The ECC Project operates within the paradigm of *action research*, an idea broached in the writings of Dewey at the turn of the century (Bellack, Corcey, Doll, Egdorf, Everett, & Frasier, 1953). The term was originally coined in the United States (see Lewin, 1946), and given wider application in the United Kingdom for a time; it then reappeared in U.S. education literature (May, 1993). Irrespective of origin or venue, the term refers to the processes of inquiry and reflection surrounding schooling and instruction. "Action research has the goals of instigating reflection, implementing change, and encouraging participation among teachers and learners, learners and learners, and teachers and teachers" (Isserlis, 1990, p. 307). This research paradigm or approach influences every component and event experienced within the study. During an interview that which took place before the main research for this study, a teacher at the school observed:

> *You guys are always asking "Why?," "Why?," "Why?," "What?," "What?," "What?," and it's forced us—even when you guys aren't around—to ask the same types of questions. Before, I don't think I ever would give it a thought. . . . The fact that you guys are there for support, you're there to make us think—to reflect. You present all these*

> *situations . . . I guess one of the neat things that I like about the ECC Project is that you guys never came down and said "This is what you guys need to do."* (TD 0594:I3)[2]

The paradigm of action research is actualized through three interrelated theories, discussed in the sections that follow. Although these theories might be named differently throughout the research literature, these concepts are part and parcel of all action research. The reader also will notice inevitable overlap among the theories; it would be difficult for one to exist in isolation from the other (May, 1993).

Indigenous Invention

Unlike other school reinvention projects that hope to persuade a group of "subjects" to utilize new techniques or philosophies, the ECC Project promotes "indigenous invention" (Heckman, 1993) by which teachers, parents and students are the decision makers and originators of change. The knowledge and skills that emanate from their reality is the foundation for new school structures and curricula. According to Heckman, the "ECC Project is grounded in the belief that school restructuring is most effective when it is created by those who understand best the needs and contexts of their own schools and communities" (Heckman, Confer, & Peacock, in press, p. 2). Hence, the ECC Project encourages and underwrites inquiry of and by teachers, students and their parents. The ECC Project operates on the belief that parents and teachers have the

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[2]References such as these contain a two-letter code assigned to each staff member (to maintain their anonymity) and the date of the interview followed by (:) the code of the researcher.

right and the capacity to engage in research—a theory in direct opposition to the majority of research efforts (Bellack et al., 1953, Goswami & Stillman, 1987; May, 1993). During an interview, one of the school collaborators offered her feelings about the role and status of teachers in research projects.

> *I feel that the people here from the [ECC] project and from the school treat teachers as professionals and, and trust their judgment and value their ideas and that's a very pleasant surprise, because I hadn't felt that before. And another pleasant surprise was that we were given a lot of flexibility with our time to use it in different ways. . . . We were able to try different things and make mistakes and we didn't have to be afraid of what the principal might think or what other people might think, because everything we were doing was a learning process and we didn't have to be afraid that we were going to do something wrong.* (TV050994:I3)

Funds of Knowledge

Through indigenous invention, the knowledge and skills that the teachers and parents hold is simultaneously valued and utilized immediately to create a classroom curriculum that better addresses the needs and realities of the learners of the class (Heckman, Confer, & Peacock, in press). May (1993) refers to this as a question of epistemological interest, because it relates to not only "one's views of knowledge and how it is constituted or acquired" but also "what counts as evidence or truth claims," which relates to reliability, validity and objectivity (p. 115).

Moll (1992) demonstrates how even the economically poorest communities hold and possess valuable information that can serve to educate others. These "funds of knowledge" are often ignored (if not deprecated) in traditional school curricula.

Heckman anticipated that by promoting this human and cultural capital of the school and the community—the local funds of knowledge—children would experience greater academic success. In this example, a teacher reminisces about how a group of her students studied botany.

> *We went to Mrs. M's home just about a block, a half a block down. She has a beautiful little garden. She knows a lot about plants. . . . There were four girls who chose that because we had said different ways that we can learn from people, "We could take uh, interview Mrs. M." These girls volunteered to do this. So we took, we went down there. . . . We had to go twice because we hadn't finished. It took so long. But what I was watching. . . . We took notebooks, our logs—it was constant writing, constant note-taking. We had never, we didn't even talk about note-taking, but I had my, my spiral notebook, just like they did, and so we were writing down the notes . . . as Mrs. M spoke.*

In the foregoing example, the teacher used the knowledge and skills of a neighborhood expert to construct a learning experience for her students. In so doing, she not only broadened the students' understanding of science but she legitimized and dignified the knowledge held by a member of the children's community.

Dialogue

Heckman, like other theorists before (see Bellack et al., 1953), also realized that this new invention process would not occur without a forum in which the school members could share their ideas and reflections. Therefore, one of the basic principles that undergirds the ECC Project is the notion of dialogue—people gathering to discuss issues that affect them emotionally and, ultimately, professionally. This is another

instance of action research contrasting with school tradition. With funds obtained through the ECC Project, teachers are able to dialogue weekly, leaving their students in the care of other professionals.

Since time immemorial, schools have been characterized as bastions of lone adults laboring in isolation, virtually hermetically sealed with a class of children anchored in rows (Fuchs & Moore, 1988; Zielinski & Hoy, 1983). Teachers frequently recall their sense of seclusion, segregation and isolation before their participation in the Project: They seldom interacted with colleagues in any meaningful way; there was no time allotted for professional discussion among the faculty even at faculty meetings. Not only were they unaware of the activities of their colleagues, in some cases they weren't sure of their names. A teacher described her feelings at that time:

> *This was such a lonely place to come to work. . . even though there [was] a teacher next door. . . . It was so lonely, I hated it. . . . I wanted to go visit some teacher . . . just, "How are you doing?". . . Just go looking for somebody —"Anybody out here want to talk to me?"* (TP0492)

Although it is a gathering of teachers, ECC Project dialogues should not be construed as faculty meetings, which generally proceed according to a business agenda established by the principal. At dialogue sessions, teachers scrutinize fundamental issues of schooling (e.g., "What is assessment?," "How do we create an education that is multicultural?"). They question the practices of others ("Why do you want greater parental involvement in your classroom?"), as well as their own beliefs and actions ("As a monolingual English-speaker, can I really be a proponent for bilingual education?").

Moreover, through dialogue teachers create a safe environment in which they can deal with emotional issues that ultimately affect them professionally ("I get offended when you say that!"). At these weekly gatherings, the teachers "make public their understandings and meanings about the practices that happen in classrooms and the school and the ideas underlying these practices" (Heckman, Confer, & Peacock, in press, p. 2). As ideas are made public, teachers are able to engage in the "social construction of inside knowledge . . . together" (Heckman, Confer, & Peacock, in press, p. 3).

ECC Collaboration

Because the ECC Project promotes action research, the role and behaviors of the university researchers go beyond those of the usual participant observer. The first difference is the explicit avoidance of the role of "staff developer." Too often, outside researchers enter a school system with the intent of changing the individuals or having them implement the outside knowledge that they bring. The teachers at the school had this same expectation because of their prior involvement with another research team. Three years into the project, Sonia Cortéz, a parent resident, wrote us in Spanish about her initial reaction to the ECC Project:

> *In the beginning, when we were told of the changes that would be occurring in the school, I didn't quite understand. I thought about another program that had been placed in the school before. It was not successful, having left the school with a large percentage of children who had learned nothing. At the first meeting we had at the school I was in total opposition.* (Personal communication, trans., Howard L. Smith, July 8, 1994)

The colleagues from the university and the school are engaged in a process of collaborative inquiry. This is different from the traditional research/reform position as well as the standard action research paradigm. It is a process that might be called action science. As we reflect, observe and dialogue, we formulate questions of *mutual* interest. The university staff and the school staff bring their respective resources of knowledge and skills to the research task. By seeking the possible answers to our questions, we affect the curriculum, instruction and, ultimately, the learning experiences of the children.

In addition to collaborative inquiry in the research process, participants experience collaborative inquiry in the teaching process. University and school colleagues brainstorm together, plan lessons together and teach together. At the site for this study, there were usually three adults with approximately 60 first-grade children. Often, during the research for this dissertation, there were many more: two teachers, one teacher's aide, two student teachers, two university researchers (including the author) as well as a community volunteer.

Overview of the Dissertation Chapters

In this chapter of my dissertation I introduced the purpose of the study: to document and interpret the *students'* understandings of their linguistic ecology in a bilingual, first-grade classroom. This chapter contextualized the study by providing a discussion of the theoretical framework upon which the study is based, as well as its

connection to a larger research initiative—the ECC Project under the direction of Dr. Paul E. Heckman. This introduction also provided the rationale for the study. The remainder of this dissertation will be presented through five chapters.

Chapter 2 is a review of the literature relevant to this study. Its purpose is to examine the prior research and the resulting theories in order to situate the present study theoretically, methodologically and paradigmatically. The five areas of literature reviewed are (1) writings on the social nature of language, (2) studies on language policy, (3) research on language use in classrooms, (4) corpus planning for schools, and (5) scholastic ecology studies. In addition to the examination and description of the literatures that inform the research for the present study, each section will conclude with a brief summary indicating the relevance of the literature to the dissertation.

Chapter 3 details the methodological procedures for the study. I offer a brief discussion of the benefits of qualitative work for the study of language use and classroom environments. This chapter reiterates the characterization of action research. It describes my role at the school and in the bilingual, first-grade studied. The methodological section also profiles the school, the bilingual, first grade as well as some of the members who make up the class. Chapter 3 also addresses issues regarding data collection. Specifically, I detail the stages of the collection process, the components or instruments used to gather the data as well as the procedures elected to process the data. This chapter also contains a table illustrating the stages of the data collection and analysis.

Chapter 4 contains profiles of the bilingual education policy, the school and participants in this study. It provides more background on the school, the students, the teachers and my role as a collaborator with them.

Chapter 5 is a discussion of the data and their resulting categories, themes or insights generated through the study. It is in this chapter where the responses of the children are presented in order to glean their understanding of their linguistic ecology and the degree to which their responses parallel those of the educators and outside researchers.

Chapter 6 is the final discussion of the study. I recapitulate the findings of my research, suggesting implications for the field of education broadly and bilingual education in particular. I also provide a critique of my work offering suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, bilingualism and bilingual education have been the object of study for nearly three decades in the United States, the bulk of that literature concentrating on Spanish-speaking cultures (Gonzalez, 1991). Scholars have examined bilingualism from various investigative venues (Snow, 1992), including: bilingual development from an historical perspective (e.g., Conklin & Lourie, 1983; San Miguel, 1983), a legal perspective (e.g., Combs, 1992; Crawford, 1992; Fradd & Vega, 1987), a cognitive perspective (Bialystok, 1991; Diaz & Klingler, 1991; Oksaar, 1989), socially (McCarty, 1994; Moll, 1992; Olson, 1983) and psycholinguistically (Goodman, Goodman, & Flores, 1979; McLaughlin, Rossman, & McLeod, 1983).

In this chapter, I review prior research that informs this study. This review is divided into six areas: (1) traditional ecology studies, (2) studies on the social nature of language acquisition, (3) literacy development in bilingual contexts (4) studies of language use in bilingual classrooms, (5) studies on language policy and (6) ecology studies in school settings. These areas were selected, in part, because their findings support/help to create the theoretical framework for the present study. In addition, certain assumptions ingrained in this dissertation were operationalized because of the prior research reviewed here.

The principles advanced through the six broad categories of this literature are concordant with the four criteria for ecological research (Hamilton, 1983) established for this dissertation. The first criterion is a focus on the interactions that occur between the people and their environment; the second is a view of teaching and learning as continuously interactive processes; the third criterion is a consideration of the influence that a variety of contexts may have on the person-environment interaction; and the final criterion is the use of an emic perspective to understand linguistic ecology.

Language Ecology Studies

The Origin of the Term

In August 1970 at the Conference Toward the Description of the Languages of the World, Einer Haugan introduced the concept of the ecology of language.

> Language ecology may be defined as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment. . . . The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. . . Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others. (p. 325)

When language ecology studies began in the late 1950s, they were often referred to as research of "contact linguistics." Such work tended to focus on questions of lexical or phonetic interference (cf. Weinreich, 1968). Later the discipline was expanded to incorporate concerns of language planning and language politics (cf. Fierman, 1991;

Skutnabb-Kangas, 1991); language maintenance, (Roskies, 1991); and language extinction (Mackey, 1980).

For the most part language ecology studies have been carried out at the macro-level: research on language use between city-states or countries (cf. Abdulaziz, 1991), studies of regional language use (cf. Christian, 1973; Voegelin, Voegelin & Schultz, 1967), and studies of language use in neighborhoods and communities (Nelde, 1980). Although qualitative methodology is increasingly more common, language ecology studies are noted for an excessive use of statistics (Nelde, 1989, p. 76). While valuable, to a certain extent, statistical measures fail to capture the richness and complexity of communities, especially minority groups and those that hold a socio-economic position of low-status within a larger community.

An analysis of these macro-level studies contributes to the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Specifically, it would appear that (1) when a member of a low-status group desires to progress to a status group which is regarded as being both financially and socially superior, and which therefore demands a condition of exclusiveness, this tends to lead to either language and culture shift or to language and culture conflict; and (2) the linguistic and cultural alienation of members of the lower and middle classes seems to be inevitable as long as their linguistic group lacks equal status within the general society (Nelde, 1989, p. 85).

The Origin of the New Term

This dissertation is a study of a linguistic ecology within a bilingual classroom and the students' interpretation of the people and the events that participate in that linguistic ecology. As stated in Chapter 1, the operational definition of *linguistic ecology*, as it is used in this dissertation, is *an examination of the language events and the physical and social contexts in which they occur to trace the reciprocal influences of persons on linguistic environment.* For that reason I reviewed literature that examined the social dynamics of language use and language development.

The Social Nature of Language

The Role of the Adult

The significance of the social setting on language acquisition has been studied by many researchers. The work of Vygotsky (1978), Bruner (1985), Krashen (1977), and Wells (1986) demonstrates that language acquisition and learning are social in nature. The adult serves as a model, offers a scaffold, and acts like a monitor until the child is able to accomplish the same tasks on her own (Bruner, 1985). The Vygotskian model considers how the adult helps the child achieve new levels of knowledge using the social interaction.

Vygotskian theory ascribes central importance to the zone of proximal development for language development. According to Vygotsky (1978, p. 86), "The zone of proximal development . . . is the distance between the actual developmental level

as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined though problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers." Although the partner provides a type of scaffolding for the learning, the degree of success is dependent upon the manner in which the child can organize and reflect on the guidance provided. Initially, the social transaction exists at the communicative level. When the communication activates latent developmental structures the child is lifted to a higher stage of cognitive functioning. As these structures are exercised they become a part of the child's independent abilities. It is the interval between one's ability to function independently and what one can achieve with the assistance which defines the zone of proximal development.

Kaye and Charney (1980) effectively illustrate this point in their study in which they observe how a parent maintains responsibility over the function of keeping turns in discourse alternation until the child masters the procedures necessary to do so on her own. Vygotsky characterized these social exchanges as a "loan of consciousness" by the adult to the child until the child can manage on her own (Bruner, 1985 p. 44). Mastery of a lower level of metacognition is achieved only when the child can perform the task independently without the scaffolding provided before. As a child and her caretaker interact, the elder offers conceptual knowledge gained through life experience within a given society. While the adult is able to guide the course of the child's conceptualization, the actual mode of thinking cannot be transmitted to the child.

When studying the effects of the social environment on learning a Vygotskian perspective yields great insight. For him the notion of social environment encompassed the school and its culture. The child, through a variety of possible instructional interactions with the teacher or peers is able to achieve a higher level of cognitive functioning. During problem solving, the way in which adults converse with the child, the kind of tools (e.g., paper, pencils, toys, books) that are provided, those behaviors which are forbidden and allowed, all express particular ways of guidance. Salomon (1989) cites the research of Brown which shows "that guided social interaction . . . within this zone can result in improvements in reading, social studies, science, and math and listening skills that far exceed improvements obtained from explicit instruction or simple modeling" (p. 620).

Comprehensible Input - A Reiteration

Krashen suggests that an individual's first language is not learned but rather *acquired*, subconsciously by way of "natural, communicative situations" (Krashen & Terrell, 1984, p. 18). This thesis was put forth in the "Monitor Model," (Krashen & Terrell, 1984) a landmark in linguistic theory based upon five interconnected hypothesis to explain language acquisition. It should be noted that the work of Krashen does not specifically recognize the social nature of language or the need for communicative interaction for language development (McCarty, March 27, 1995, personal communication). However, upon inspection, it can be seen how an elaboration of one of

his theories, "Comprehensible Input," informs this discussion on language and social interaction. This concept is not only in accord with the social theory the "Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1972), but it can be argued that it is the linguistic equivalent of the same.

The notion of comprehensible input, or "I + 1", is one of the five hypothesis of the Monitor Model. A beginning language learner is at a lower level of proficiency, and, therefore, possesses a limited amount of linguistic competence. The child's present level is represented as "I." When an unknown language structure, "1," is encountered the learner is able to perceive and internalize—

acquire—it (cf. Krashen, 1984) only with assistance. The teacher-caretaker pushes the learner's zone of proximal development by making the intake comprehensible. The new structure is subsequently acquired and forms a part of the learner's linguistic repertoire. When a learner is able to manipulate a new structure independently without the aid of scaffolding, it can be said that she has been elevated to a higher level of linguistic development. Learning, then, requires interaction, verbalization, and collaboration between two or more individuals: one who will guide, demonstrate, explain; the other who, by implication, will attend, question, and seek out information (Vygotsky, 1972).

The interrelation between language and social situation is formed very early in life (Halliday, 1975). For communication to take place, a mere understanding of the social-interactional rules and regulations is insufficient. Real communication is dependent upon a shared set of experiences within a common social framework. Social

psychological processes and language use are thus inextricably tied to each other. While the general body of research on the pragmatic aspect of language use is great, there is a dearth of research which attempts to relate language acquisition and social-interaction (Forgas, 1985).

The Young Child as Social Linguist

> Infants are . . . geared to respond to human voice, human face and human action and gesture. (Bruner, 1985, p. 33)

Child language has been studied in various ways throughout history. Current research provides well documented evidence on the progression of language development during childhood. Yetta Goodman (1990) argues that learners still in the stage of infancy are aware of a variety of meaning-laden, linguistic codes and conventions which they employ during social interaction. Bruner (1978) concurs with Goodman on this point and suggests that "[m]any of the conventions that underlie the use of language are learned prior to the onset of articulate phonetic speech" (p. 22). Bruner's research on mother-child interaction provides convincing evidence of the relevance of the communicative contexts on language acquisition. His findings stress the crucial intricacies of the child's social and communicative progression achieved during the first eighteen months of life. While language *per se* is innate to all human beings, linguistic development, like cognitive development, is accomplished through interaction with one's social milieu.

Reading, Writing and the Second-Language Learner

This study focuses on the ways in which Spanish communicative events occur in a first grade bilingual classroom, during the period the teachers designated "Spanish language arts." Reading and writing are two of the key strands of language arts, as well as two of the most important communicative behaviors of any classroom. During the last two decades considerable research has been conducted which indicates parallels between first- and second- language acquisition and within these language processes (*inter alii* Chompsky, 1965; Cook, 1973; Gathercole, 1988; Hatch, Peck, & Wagner-Gough, 1979; Lindfors, 1987; Ronjat, 1913; and Selinker, 1972). The following section reviews prior studies of literacy and language development in bilingual settings.

Christian (1976) suggests that up until the 1970s few people were convinced of the need for, or the possibility of developing literacy in two languages. His text is an attempt to explain why biliteracy is possible from a theoretical point of view and that socially it is of paramount importance. Christian first addresses language as a vehicle for the child's socialization (Halliday, 1975; Vygotsky, 1978, Wertsch, 1991). He asserts that in addition to the need for oral proficiency in the home language, the child also needs to be engaged in written language development.

> If written language is not associated with his home language, either within or without the home, the result may be a greater than normal differential between the functions of *significant others* and *generalized other* in the formation of the self-concept. (p. 19)

In short, the quality of interaction the child experiences with her home language and her social milieu help to situate her within that society.

Ferguson (1978) reviews several studies from divergent fields (anthropology, history, linguistic, language policy) which attempt to study literacy. He examines the treatment (inclusion/exclusion) of the social and functional factors which contribute to literacy development of maintenance. Many non-western (India, China, Japan,) and Native American (Cherokee) language communities are used as examples. Commenting on the research at the time Ferguson noted how

> . . . patterns of literacy in multilingual settings are rarely analyzed as such except to discuss the extent of illiteracy or the choice of languages for literacy education, and even at this Georgetown University Round Table on international aspects of bilingual education almost no attention is paid to literacy as such. (p. 582)

Studies on the socio-pyscholinguistic process of reading have been carried out and have uncovered similarities between an individual's first language (L_1) and the language learned subsequently (L_2). Sheridan (1986) reviews the reading process using a paradigm based upon the "natural approach" of Krashen (Krashen, 1977; Krashen & Terrell, 1984). Sheridan (1986, p. 500) expanded the dichotomy established by Krashen to "reading acquisition vs. reading learning" in order to argue for holistic experiences which allow learners to explore meaning making with a text. Another set of similarities between reading development in a first and second language is shown in Swaffar's (1985) research on over 150 German language students in eight classrooms using authentic materials in order to support the theory that such materials would provide greater interaction between the reader and the text. Her findings, like those of Sheridan and Krashen, are in agreement with the whole language theory on text and the reader:

> [A] characteristic of authentic texts is that readers are allowed to analyze message systems for themselves. The apparatus accompanying edited texts - extensive vocabulary glosses and discrete point questions - actually inhibits students from guessing or attempting to contextualize the meanings. (Swaffer, 1985, p. 17)

The belief that the reading process in a first language is the same as that in the second language has been challenged by Ellis (1980) who distinguishes between "more able readers" and "less able readers." The former group has been shown to have an advanced level of L_2 proficiency and to read using the same psycholinguistic strategies as native speakers. Because of their lower level of L_2 proficiency, "less able readers" failed to differentiate between function words and content words, which contribute to a syntactical and semantic breakdown. Less proficient readers rely more on graphic clues and on the "sounding out" of graphic input while being unable to construct the meaning of a text.

Cziko (1980) also conducted studies in French oral reading miscues on two groups of English speaking students, one group being at an intermediate level, the other group being at an advanced level. Both groups miscues were compared with the reading miscues of native French speakers. Cziko finds that native French readers have similar miscues to the ones made by students with advanced competence in French as a second language. Both advanced L_2 and native French speakers draw on graphic, syntactic and semantic cues. Students with a lower competence, however, use a more deductive approach, primarily relying on graphic impressions and making very little use of syntactic or semantic cues.

Hauptman (1979) examines strategies of first- and second-language learners when reading using miscue analysis in a pilot study with 47 English dominant students of intermediate French at a bilingual French-English university. In contrast to Cziko, he focuses specifically on (1) the quantitative use of syntactic and semantic cues and (2) differences in strategies between L_1 and L_2 speakers when reading a text in French. Hauptman only underscores general tendencies of both types of readers and the strategic failures of the less efficient readers of both languages.

Kupinsky (1983) focuses on the effects of teaching practices of a Hebrew-English bilingual kindergarten (within a K-12 bilingual school in Detroit). The measures used to examine the influence of instructional methods on reading development consisted of decontextualized word calling/word recognition activities in both languages. Her focus was on the teaching practices during reading time. She describes certain basic characteristics of the Hebrew alphabet which (in her opinion) warrant a special approach to the teaching of reading. She denotes the "structured" (p. 134) reading texts used to teach both languages. Kupinski asserts that in this program "letters [were] not taught in alphabetical order but in an order based on perceptual and kinesthetic continuity" (p. 134). She makes specific mention of their subsequent ability to "read brief, controlled vocabulary stories from their letterbooks and have compiled a sizable sit of identifiable and decodable words" (p. 135).

Carson (1992), in her study of biliteracy development, first describes at length the social factors which surround literacy instruction in China and Japan. She traces the

historical development of literacy in both countries then reviews the teaching practices in schools, primary through tertiary. An important topic of this paper is the review of the writing systems found in both countries. Noting that people literate in Japanese must learn four different writing systems, Carson indicates that the task is far more difficult than learning to read and write English.

When listing some of the possible social factors which contribute to Japan's high rate of literacy (99 percent), Carson (1992, p. 48) notes the "many reading stimuli including a reading movement for mothers, reading groups, book report contexts, and national reading week." Carson reminds the reader that all of the prior school experiences a foreign or minority-language child has had will shape the interaction possible with a new language of the new school setting. Past successes and failures as well as expectations or pre-conceived notions will all come into play in literacy development.

Quintero (1986) studied twelve 3- and 4-year-olds in a preschool setting. She was interested in uncovering the types of socio-cultural factors which become manifest during the classroom literacy development of Puerto Rican children. Her ethnographic study had a unique component. She used a taxonomy to analyze the features of the children's literacy inventions. The semiotic and social nature of literacy development were observed and analyzed by using Halliday's (1975, p. 35) ideas of field (what's happening), mode (communication systems involved), and tenor (social relationships involved).

Göncz and Kodzopeljić (1991) offer an interesting discussion on the notion of bilingualism and how it has been measured throughout this century. Using quantitative measures and a number of tasks, the researchers compared the performance of six groups in order to test the hypothesis that two languages in the preschool period might promote metalinguistic development and reading acquisition. While there are various sentences which refer to metalinguistics, no firm, clear definition is offered for their notion of metalinguistics nor reading.

Göncz and Kodzopeljić (1991, p. 139) very correctly point out that previous research on bilingualism subjected children to tasks that were "difficult and unnatural . . . for a preschool child." The foregoing notwithstanding they chose a series of activities which appear no less difficult or unnatural to transactive reading specialists: (1) Performance in distinguishing the initial sound from the remaining sounds in words for various objects, (2) Performance on the tapping test for syllabic segmentation, (3) Performance on the tapping test for phonemic segmentation.

Hornberger (1989) reviews the scholarly work on the subject of biliteracy. She suggests that biliteracy needs to be considered on a continuum and offers a framework of nine intersecting levels. Although her analysis considers studies that look and English and other languages, the focus of her work is more on the utility of her theoretical instrument to understand possible operational definitions of biliteracy.

The foregoing discussion was a review of studies that examined oral and written language development. Although many of the studies contribute to our general

understanding of language behaviors and language development, the greater majority of the studies focused on the students' developing abilities in a new language, L_2, and not development of L_1. This review of bilingual research gives credence to the charge that "there is virtually no research of the development of Spanish writing among bilingual children in the United States" (Tórres, 1991, p. 248).

The School as a Setting for Learning

In this dissertation, I suggest that a linguistic ecology is defined not solely through physical space (in this case the school and the classroom) but also unseen "walls" and limitations. The demands placed upon the teacher not only result from the number of pupils, but also from the constraints of the written curriculum (cf. Seymour, 1993). Equally as powerful is the influence of the unwritten curriculum. Researches have noted issues authority or the locus of control in the classroom (Parish et al., 1989), the reinforcement of cultural preferences and beliefs (Olneck, 1989; Trueba, 1985). These all dictate the parameters of the classroom and school setting. How have earlier researchers examined second-language learners vis-a-vis the school and its environs? In light of the research which suggests the benefits of student interaction, and given the constraints on schooling, what kinds of learning experiences have been studied in classroom environments?

I Talk, You Listen

Wells (1986) conducted research in which he compared the interactions of children at home and in school. His findings suggest (1) that the home environment provides greater opportunities for the child to interact in conversation; (2) children are engaged in syntactically richer discourse at home; (3) children pose more questions when at home; and (4) parents are more likely to help their children to expand questions through extension of the topic and greater development of the same.

The research by Ramirez and Merino (1990) with language minority populations parallel that of Wells. Statistical data were gathered on 103 classrooms in seven school districts in California, Texas, Florida, New Jersey and New York. In their study, they examine the nature of program implementation in immersion, early-exit and late exit bilingual program models. Irrespective of models, "clearly, teachers do most of the talking, producing from two to three times as many occurrences as do students" (Ramirez & Merino, 1990, p. 74). The discourse of children in bilingual programs is also limited: "consistently across programs and grades the most prevalent student responses were expected responses and non-verbal" (Ramirez & Merino, 1990, p. 93).

> In sum, the pattern of student responses suggests a less than optimum environment for developing oral language skills in all three programs from the perspective of having students produce language, be it in English or Spanish. (Ramirez & Merino, 1990, pp. 95-96)

Garcia (1990) reviews the earlier work of other researchers and their findings on language use in bilingual classrooms. Garcia notes the dearth of research that examines the social context of bilingual development in classrooms. In his literature review, he

points out studies which examined the issue of bilingual development. Included were the Halcón study of 1981 which sampled over 200 federally school sites (i.e., Basic Grant, Title VII); the 1984 report by the Development Associates; the work of Tikunoff (1983) as well as the study by Wong-Filmore, Ammon, and McLaughlin (1985). All studies reported that in the majority of classroom settings, "English was the language most widely used in these bilingual programs" (p. 106). This finding was echoed by Schultz (1975, cited in Ramirez & Merino, 1990) who studied a bilingual classroom in Boston, finding that teachers tended to favor the use of English, using Spanish principally to control behavior. Students and teachers perceived that it was better not to use Spanish.

Learning One's Place

Weaver (1991) in her study of language instruction and minority school children noted that there was an excessive amount of phonics instruction in classrooms with high concentration of non-mainstream children. Weaver finds that such readings lessons not only increase the literacy gap that exists between cultural groups but also perpetuates socioeconomic inequalities. Her findings are concordant with the work of Moll (1992, p. 20).

> Most children attending bilingual education classes in the United States are working-class students. Although rarely addressed in the literature, this fact has major implications for the goals and nature of instruction in these classrooms. In comparison with the schooling of peers from higher-income families, instruction for working-class students, be it in bilingual or monolingual classrooms, can be characterized as rote, drill and practice, and intellectually limited, with an emphasis on low-level literacy and computational skills.

The overall theme of the study by Mangelsdorf (1989) is the importance of social interaction in the second language classroom. The author highlights the similarities that exist between the spoken and written forms of communication. Using her personal experiences in the classroom she articulates the need to recognize the pupil as a resources and the need to incorporate the student's valuable experiences and student generated material into the curriculum. Another major theme in her paper is the need to instill within the students a sense of audience. She offers many activities which allowed students to collaborate. Through interactive communication in small groups, the students are able to receive peer reviews, reinforcement and more time to use oral and written language. Her final section Integrating Speaking and Writing in the Classroom offers more activities to foster interactive learning.

Steffensen, Joag-Dev, and Anderson (1979) reports their research which supports the beliefs that (1) language and culture are interrelated, and (2) a reader's understanding of a text depends on her/culture and her knowledge of the cultural context of the text:

> It stands to reason that readers who bring to bear different schemata will give various interpretations to a story. In particular, an individual who reads a story that presupposes the schemata of a foreign culture will comprehend it quite differently from a native, and probably will make what a native would classify as mistakes. (p. 11)

Hornberger's (1990) ethnographic study compares and contrasts the activities of a fourth/fifth bilingual (maintenance) class and a fourth grade ESL class. This article mentions some good teaching practices (the creation of classroom-based shared

experiences, attention to the individual student) as well as some interesting corollary information, (i.e., seating, community setting, teachers' beliefs). Often Hornberger's descriptions reveal poor teaching practices regarding language minority students. In her section entitled *Interaction*, Hornberger (1990, p. 222) noted that "peer interaction . . . seems to be neither encouraged nor discouraged." In the other class "peer interaction . . . appears to be both planned and tightly controlled" and "she also specifies when such interaction should and should not occur." While the title of her article suggests that strategies for the development of literacy in two languages were seen in both classrooms, in reality, only one teacher used two languages consistently for instruction. In fact, the description of the language policy in the ESL classroom was a bit frightening:

> Although McKinney is aware of their different language and culture . . . [she] does not seem enthusiastic about the Cambodians' using their language in class. . . . [S]he would admonish them, "Hey, wait a minute! I don't know what you're saying." Her *tolerant assimilation* approach is congruent with the school's pull-out ESOL/mainstream program and the community's relative lack of institutional support for literacy in Khmer. (pp. 218-219, emphasis added)

Language Policy Studies

Accompanying the increase in scholarly activity in bilingual research are heated policy and political debates which have polarized the field (Brown, 1991; Johnson, 1992; Larson-Freeman & Long, 1991). Lam (1992) asserts that the "controversial nature of bilingual education is partly due to political squabbling and partly due to the inadequate

practices in the evaluation of the implementation and effects of bilingual education" (p. 183). To that charge Cummins (1989, p. 18) adds that:

> A major reason why confusion exists in many contexts regarding the research basis for bilingual education is that policy-makers have failed to realise that data or "facts" from bilingual programmes become interpretable for policy purposes only within the context of a coherent theory.

One of the most virulent arguments of bilingual education concerns the issue of teaching methodology (McKay, 1988). Various theories have been advanced to explain the ease or difficulty of second language acquisition and development especially within school contexts (Cummins, 1981, 1989; Dodson, 1985; Paulston, 1978). In the "Glossary of Program Models," Crawford (1989) discusses five approaches used throughout the U.S. school system. The first, transitional bilingual education (TBE) uses the child's home language for up to two years in order to facilitate a transition to an English only classroom environment. He reminds the reader that legally, "the bulk of federal Title VII grants must support this approach" (Crawford, 1989, p. 175). In maintenance or developmental bilingual programs, there is diminished pressure to exist the student from home language instruction. However, he notes that subjects may be taught in English at any time and that high school programs (in Spanish) are rare. In immersion programs, the child is offered instruction in English with contextual clues in order to comprehend the subject matter. In programs of English-as-a-second-language the instruction in English through special methodologies for the second language learner. The final method is submersion where the student is offered no contextual or structural

support for the native language in the classroom. This method was subsequently outlawed after the case of *Lau v. Nichols*[3] (1974) because it violated federal civil rights law.

These approaches have a shared pedagogic goal—proficiency in English. Commonly in the United States, bilingual education refers to the process by which a person who is dominant in one language comes to acquire English. The debates arise over how and or whether to retain the home language. As mentioned before the majority of research in bilingual education in the U.S. concerns Spanish-speaking people and their acquisition of English. During the 1980s the overwhelming majority of funding from Title VII of the Bilingual Education Act was awarded to transitional programs (see Bennett, 1986; Crawford, 1989). Furthermore, while there is a plethora of research that focuses on the acquisition of English, little has been published on the acquisition of Spanish especially among the Mexican-American school children (Gonzalez, 1991).

In spite of the clamor to develop bilingualism, in minority and majority populations, there is a basic question that is seldom addressed in the literature: How prepared is the average school to develop a child in a language that is not English? What are the human and material resources made available to the average bilingual child? Are they sufficient to develop high degrees of literacy in the home language? What is the linguistic ecology of the bilingual child?

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[3] Details of this case were presented in Chapter 1.

O'Malley's (1988) study is especially important in this discussion. In the spring of 1978 he and his colleagues conducted the Children's English and Services Study (CESS) using national student sample from households were a language other than English was commonly spoken. The sample included children from 5-14 years who were also administered a test of English proficiency. This study was base on a questionnaire which was sent to the schools. The categories of information were: (1) grade placement; (2) type of instructional program (i.e., bilingual, immersion); (3) special services and testing; and (4) source of funding for the various programs and services. The "Level of Instruction" category was divided into three subgroups: (1) assessment; (2) staffing; and (3) hours of instruction in a particular language.

One of the first findings put forth was that of those eligible or in need of such services, "an estimated one-third of all limited English proficient children are served by bilingual education or English as a Second Language" (O'Malley, 1988). The study indicated that nearly 60 percent of the limited English proficient children received their instruction solely through English. There were 493,000 students in bilingual instructional settings. Of that number *154,000, or 31 percent were reported as having four or less hours of instruction the non-English language.* Another *29 percent were reported as receiving nine hours or less of instruction in the non-English language.* The percentages in the English medium classes were understandably higher, approaching 100 percent (O'Malley, 1988). His study indicated also that within classes using English medium instruction, when a child was provided instruction in a language that was not

English, the instruction was provided by someone categorized as a non-profession over 50 percent of the time. This was reported as occurring rarely in classrooms with bilingual instruction.

Within his discussion O'Malley states that the "types of bilingual education provided either through Federal or State support do not appear to be focused on maintaining the children's non-English language, and do not appear to draw instructional time away from learning English" (O'Malley, 1988, p. 33). In addition, he does point out that a shortcoming of his study is the lack of more qualitative research "to determine whether or not the characteristics of instructional programs portrayed in questionnaires corresponded with characteristics derived from other sources such as interviews or observations (O'Malley, 1988, p. 24).

González (1991) reviews the available literature from the United States and abroad that focused on Spanish acquisition of children ages 2-5. Initially, he points out that "[n]oticeably absent from the agenda of major research institutions is any serious examination of the acquisition of Spanish as a first language by Mexican-American children" (González, 1991, p. 411). His review of nearly 35 studies indicate that the majority of the research focused on linguistic processes and seldom on the social factors associated with language acquisition. Moreover, because he limited his search *a priori* to those studies of children that were age six and under—the preschool level—he could not include school-based research.

Lam (1992) takes an interesting approach for his review of the literature on the evaluation of bilingual education programs. He conducts a metanalysis of the reviews of bilingual program evaluations. In order to perceive the quality of bilingual program evaluations he examines eight studies that reviewed the literature on the effectiveness of bilingual education programs. The eight distinct research teams received a total of 3,099 studies, rejecting all but 337. Lam uses the screening process of the reviewers and their findings to extrapolate the quality of bilingual education. In spite of its painstaking detail, neither his review nor the evaluations presented make any significant mention of Spanish language acquisition.

Ecology Studies in Bilingual Schools

Griego-Jones (1994) examines the attitudes of ten kindergarten students toward the use of Spanish in a two-way bilingual program. Philosophically, the classroom environment she studied was very similar to the one studied for this dissertation—the program was "committed to biliterate development and emphasized development of *both* languages" (p. 83). Through interviews, observations and analysis of writing samples collected over a six-month period, she discovered that these students had a transitional orientation toward bilingual instruction:

> In spite of seeing the two languages as basically the same, however, they showed a preference for English and perceived it to be the language they were supposed to write in eventually. . . . Children regarded Spanish as acceptable to use but seemed to view it as a vehicle they leaned on as they worked to become proficient in English. (1994, p. 84)

During her work, Griego-Jones also notes how many children, who were much stronger in Spanish, preferred to respond to questions in English. On occasion, students would choose to discuss their work in English event though it had been completed in Spanish. The teachers, for their part, implemented changes in the classroom structure including: separating languages for instruction, increasing the numbers of Spanish dominant students in the classes and lobbying for more materials in Spanish in the school library. While Griego-Jones suggests reasons for the children's preference (e.g., the xenophobic climate of the United States) the methodological framework of her research is not designed to study teacher-student communicative events, nor the material elements found within the students' environment (e.g., books, graphs, charts), that might possibly influence the children's perception of language status and ultimately, the language preference.

In 1989, Bertha Pérez investigated the Spanish literacy development of 20 pupils in four whole language classes (Pérez, 1993). Although she credits her study as providing "an in-depth description on what was learned (what children attended to) during whole language Spanish instruction (p. 44) her published manuscript highlights the instructional behaviors of whole language teachers when teaching Spanish language arts.

Edwards (1982, p. 516) offers an explanation for such linguistic bias:

> [In my research] I perceived that establishing "whose language counts" for purposes of schooling reflected and reinforced the balance of power and prestige between social groups. . . . To "sound disadvantaged" is to be disadvantaged in contexts where "correct" speech is "naturally" associated with social competence

> and credibility, and the danger of rejecting *what* is said because of *how* it is said is one against which teachers must be constantly on their guard. Pupils' use of socially-stigmatized forms of speech may shape teachers' judgements of their ability or ambition to an extent far beyond any evidence which such differences could provide.

Synthesis

This study was conducted in order to describe, in detail the social and linguistic realities of a bilingual first grade that would contribute to or deter development of Spanish. This dissertation, at a micro-level, is similar to "macro" ecology studies in that it recognizes the role of social constraints on language use. The work of Vygotsky (1978), Bruner (1985), and Wells (1986) suggests that language acquisition and learning are indeed social in nature. In addition, I elaborated on the theories of Krashen (1977), specifically, the hypothesis of "comprehensible input" to show the obvious relationship between communication and social interaction.

The work of Goodman (1990) suggests that even children at an early are conscious of written and spoken language codes that exist within their environment. Furthermore, the work of other researchers (*inter alia* Cziko, 1980; Hauptman, 1979; Quintero, 1986) suggests that there are great similarities between first and second language acquisition as well as literacy development for bilingual learners. So said, it would seem logical that the types of supports children need to develop in their first language should be as available as those things needed to develop in their second.

Teachers are not always aware of the codes and messages they use when instructing. The work of Weaver (1991) and Moll (1992) strongly suggest that even good teachers utilize methods that disempower students as well as socialize them for lower status positions in society. Indeed, as Ramirez and Merino (1990) indicate, children were expected to be seen and not heard. When they were heard, the overwhelming majority of findings, unerringly suggest that English was the preferred language of all bilingual classroom environments. Therefore, it would seem likely that the linguistic environment described in this study should also produce a similar profile. Should it not, the analysis and description should identify those conditions that allow this particular classroom to be discordant with the settings described in so many other studies.

This study will contribute in the following ways:

1. It will describe the possible influence of the teachers' language use on the children's perceptions of language value and use.

2. It will connect the insights of children on their linguistic environment with earlier research on bilingual classrooms that have not captured the emic perspective of children.

3. It connects the research on language development and language resources on bilingual classrooms.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This dissertation is a study of the linguistic ecology of a bilingual, first-grade classroom and the students' interpretation of that ecology. A linguistic ecology is constructed through the interactions that occur between people and their environment as well as the influence that context may have on the person-environment interaction (Hamilton, 1983).

Primary Questions

With that in mind, the primary questions to be addressed through this study are: (1) "How do the children interpret the role of English and Spanish in their classroom environment?" and (2) "What resources, human and material, are made available to support Spanish-language development in this bilingual classroom?" This chapter presents (1) the focal points of this study, (2) a discussion of the methodology used to gather the data for analysis, as well as (3) a discussion of the socio-cultural context of the school site, specifically as it pertains to issues of language and culture.

Three primary components were utilized to describe and interpret the linguistic ecology of the classroom. This set of three grew out of the research literature, and was subsequently reviewed and refined in light of the emerging data. The primary components are: (1) the materials available in the school to support Spanish

development; (2) the staffing for bilingual instruction; and (3) the dynamics of language use within the school, especially within one first grade bilingual the classroom. A fourth component, that of the school's written language policy toward Spanish instruction, is used as a descriptive category to proved a larger context for observations in the classroom and school. This component is distinguished from the other three and used here as a descriptive category because, although it is relevant to adult (particularly administrator) views of the bilingual program, it was found *not* to be salient to the children's interpretations (i.e., their emic perspective of language use) *per se*.

Secondary Questions

Because ethnographic work has been criticized as appearing inordinately idiosyncratic (Kaestle, 1993), it is important to explicate the problems and procedures of a study for other researchers and consumers of research (Johnson, 1990, p. 15). In this chapter, I will discuss these secondary questions about the study. A straightforward way to explicate the methodology would be to answer the following questions:

1. Why did I chose this particular research paradigm?
2. Why is this paradigm more appropriate for the study?
3. How would I describe the setting?
4. How did I gain access to this setting?
5. What types of data were collected?

6. What were the collection procedures?

7. How long did data collection take?

8. How were students selected for the interviews?

The section that follows addresses the first two questions by presenting a brief review of qualitative methods followed by a discussion of specific qualitative research germane to my study—specifically ecology studies, microethnographies and case studies and action research. I describe the setting and my role as a collaborator with the teachers. I profile of the school, the educators, and the student cohort group that provided me with my data. Finally, I discuss the process of data collection for the study.

Qualitative Research

Overview

For many years, educational researchers have felt compelled to rely upon psychometric procedures, statistical measures and other quantitative approaches for their research designs (Eisner & Peshkin, 1990). This may have been attributable to the nominal recognition educational researchers received as a whole within the academic community (Kaestle, 1993), a perceived need to embrace a research paradigm of high status (Sevigny, 1981), or the general lack of appreciation for qualitative methods (Eisner & Peshkin, 1990).

In the last 30 years, there has been a marked increase in the use of qualitative methods in educational research (Firestone, 1993). Unlike statistical data, which may be

taken as indicators or points along a graph, qualitative research attempts to produce a clearer image of the individual or group being studied by contextualizing it socially and psychologically. Firestone (1993, p. 16) proposes that qualitative methods are "useful for understanding the perspectives of students, teachers, parents, and others; for clarifying the processes that take place in classrooms, during program implementations, and in other areas; and for generating hypotheses for testing through other methods." Sevigny (1981, p. 68) adds that "the qualitative researcher seeks to understand social events from the person's point of view—to gain understanding through the participant's perspective." Using the linguistic term developed by Pike (Headland, Pike, & Harris, 1990), he argues that "an emic approach is concerned with the study of behavior from the perspective of the participants—from *inside* a single, culturally significant unit" (Sevigny, 1981, p. 75). What is important to remember from this brief discussion is that qualitative methodologies give central importance to the voice and the perspective of the participants or "social actors" in a study—a central ingredient of linguistic ecology studies. A qualitative approach, then, is an attempt to offer a context by which a reader may come to understand the social-psychological world of those who inhabit it.

Rationale for a Qualitative, Case Study Approach

My decision to create a qualitative case study was based on several considerations. First, I was able to collect part of my data through my work relationship with the ECC Project, a qualitative research project. The teachers with whom I collaborated had

interests that paralleled and complimented my own, regarding their classroom. We were constantly engaged in the processes of reflection and introspection—which is more in keeping with a qualitative approach to inquiry. Because of our mutual interests, I had a high degree of access to the adults and the children in the classroom. I am indebted to the teachers of the school because their questions forced me to "ground" my developing theories in the realities of their classroom.

Secondly, I was acquainted with the work of the researchers of my committee. In addition to being informed by their heuristic scholarship, I appreciated how they were able to examine the social, cultural and linguistic phenomena occurring within the communities they studied without reducing the community members (or the realities of their lives) to mere numbers. Though it must be recognized that not all quantitative research dehumanizes the participants of its studies, qualitative research, irrespective of particular methodological approach has its focus on the human element *per force*. Bogdan and Biklen (1992, p. 32) offer an explanation:

> Researchers who use this (the qualitative) approach are interested in the ways different people make sense out of their lives. In other words, qualitative researchers are concerned with what are called *participant perspectives.*

The final and most important reasons for the selection of the case study approach were the research questions I chose to address, as well as the, political purpose for my dissertation. First, given this study's focus on linguistic ecology, the description and sociocultural interpretation intrinsic to qualitative methods are essential. In addition, while qualitative case studies have been done on many groups and situations, this approach is

used often to examine the realities of those who enjoy less power, prestige or prominence within the larger society. As Bogdan and Biklin (1992, p. 21) explain:

> [Q]ualitative methods gained popularity because of their recognition of the views of the powerless and the excluded—those on the "outside." The qualitative emphasis on understanding perspectives of all participants at a site challenged what has been called "the hierarchy of credibility" . . . [which is] the idea that the opinions and views of those in power are worth more than those of people who are not. As part of their typical research process, qualitative researchers studying education solicited the views of those who had never felt valued or represented.

Through my work, I wanted to foreground and privilege the voices of the children themselves, which is noticeably lacking in the literature (e.g., Ambert, 1986). In this particular case, those children represent a language minority group—economically poor Mexican-Americans—whose perspective has historically been omitted or distorted in educational and social science accounts. Even Fine and Sandstrom (1988, p. 10) who are "impressed . . . by the amount and range of qualitative studies of children that have been conducted in a variety of disciplines," do not list even two studies of bilingual children in a bibliography of over one hundred entries. It would appear that at times research has included the perspective of some children, highlighting their views and opinions. However, not all perspectives are afforded the same forum. Walsh (1991, p. 97) states that "the lived expertise of children of color and of poor white children is most often negated, ignored, subordinated and misunderstood."

Use of the Case-Study Approach

Merriam (1988, p. 9) defines case study as "an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group." Critical to this definition is the notion of *"bounded system"*—the case itself—which is "an instance drawn from a class" (Adelman, et al., quoted in Merriam, 1988, p. 10). In this dissertation, the bounded system is one first grade bilingual classroom and more specifically, its student participants. My aim is to "get as close to the subject[s] of interest" as possible, "partly by means of observation in natural settings, [and] partly by access to subjective factors"—students' thoughts, attitudes, feeling and values (Bromley, 1986, quoted in Merriam, 1988, p. 29).

Within this micro-social system, I believe, can be observed processes and forces that have more transferrable applications. My goal is to use a (qualitative) study of this particular case to "uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic of" those larger processes and forces (Merriam, 1988, p. 10). In short, a case study approach enables both in-depth and holist description, and in-depth, holistic interpretation. While this approach is particularistic, it allows for "interpretation in context" (Merriam, 1988, p. 21) and suggests more general *patterns* of factors that may, in fact, be highly salient in other contexts. These factors are explored in the final chapter of this dissertation.

Linguistic Ecology and Microethnography

Within the parameters of a case study approach, a linguistic ecology study may be considered a conceptual sibling of microethnography. According to Moll (1981, p. 430) in microethnography there is always a focus on "concerted activity (behaving) rather than on the individual as an agent." While ethnographies have a more holistic or generalized focus in their attempt to describe the behaviors of a larger community or society, "microethnographies usually focus on the organization of particular and specific behavioral interactions in specific institutional settings" (Moll, 1981, p. 431). These parameters coincide with the four criteria of sound ecological research (Hamilton, 1983).

The first criterion is a focus on the interactions that occur between the people and their environment—the "reciprocal influences of person and environments." The second criterion is that ecological research treat "teaching and learning as continuously interactive processes rather than as a cause and an effect" (Hamilton, 1983, p. 314). The third criterion for ecological research is a consideration of the influence that a variety of contexts may have on the person-environment interaction. The fourth is the recording of the attitudes and perspectives of the membership toward the situations they experience—an attempt to gain an emic view of the ecology (or case; see e.g., Merriam, 1988) under study.

Ecological studies on language have been at the macro-level: typically they are examinations of language use within nation-states or neighboring communities. Earlier studies examined the structural influence one language had on another or were studies of

contrastive analysis of languages in contact (e.g., Weinreich, 1968). In the last 20 years, the research has recognized more of the socio-political issues which are born of language in contact. Examples found in the literature include research on language planning (Verdoodt, 1991), language maintenance (Roskies, 1991), language extinction (Mackey, 1980), and language orientation (Ruiz, 1988).

The term *linguistic ecology*, as it will be used throughout this dissertation, is borrowed from the studies of the social ecology of schools. Hamilton (1983) suggests that "ecological research attempts to understand both human behavior and the physical and social contexts in which it occurs and to trace the reciprocal influences of persons and environments" (p. 314). A linguistic ecology study, then, examines the *language* events and the physical and social contexts in which they occurred to trace the reciprocal influences of persons on linguistic environment. In this next section, I describe how I was able to gain access to the school and the research that was already being carried out at the school.

School Reinvention

The present study must be understood against the backdrop of the larger multi-year research project of which I was a part. In the fall of 1990, Dr. Paul E. Heckman, principal investigator of the ECC Project, invited the Proyecto Uno School to collaborate with the ECC Project. Heckman, then assistant professor in the College of Education at the University of Arizona, had received funds from private foundations to start the

reinvention process in an elementary school[4]. The purpose for the initiative was to identify and demonstrate the conditions that promote significant academic and social change in school settings.

Unlike other school reinvention projects that hope to persuade a group of "subjects" to utilize new techniques or philosophies, the ECC Project promotes indigenous invention (Heckman, 1990). The teachers, parents and students are the originators of change—the knowledge and skills which emanate from their reality is the foundation for new school structures and curricula. It was anticipated that by promoting the cultural capital of the community and the local funds of knowledge (Moll, 1992) students would experience greater academic success.

In the spring of 1990, the faculty of Proyecto Uno joined the ECC Project and by the fall of 1991 the teachers began to mix classes. Until that time, the teachers at Proyecto Uno taught their classes almost exclusively in either Spanish or English. These two class groups were known as the monolingual (English) track and the bilingual (Spanish) track. Students in the first group were considered sufficiently fluent to receive their instruction exclusively in English. Those in the bilingual track were Spanish dominant and were taught almost exclusively in Spanish.

Upon enrollment, to determine a child's placement, the school office staff asked the parents (a) the child's first language, (b) the language spoken most often at home and (c) the language the child spoke most often. In general, the students had been in either the

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[4]See discussion in Chapter 1.

bilingual or monolingual track since kindergarten and had seldom interacted. Similarly, up until this time, the teachers had few occasions to interact with each other or with the other class, a situation that existed throughout the school. In an effort to provide an academic environment in which a student's first language could be used, the school had in a sense segregated its student population (Donato & Garcia, 1992). The teachers felt that in order to eliminate socio-linguistic segregation they would have to stop language tracking and mix their students.

The Classroom Community

As stated before, the teachers of the Proyecto Uno Elementary School are involved in an educational reform initiative. One of the new conditions that they are exploring is classroom collaboration. In this particular case, a team of two bilingual teachers are responsible for a large group of students. Originally, a third teacher had agreed to participate in the teaming. She briefly interacted with the first-grade teaching team then decided to terminate her participation though she continued to send a group of eight students the team-taught first-grade classroom. In addition to the certified personnel, there are also two teaching assistants who work with this group of students as well as a researcher from the university office who was involved in participant observation. Another component of the staffing for this class for the period beginning January 1994 and extending to May 1994 were the two student-teachers who were given

primary responsibility for the students at various points in time. Further details of the classroom and the school will be offered in Chapter 4.

The Research Paradigm

The Role of a Third Party

In order to be in closer contact with the many elements of the particular linguistic environment studied for this dissertation, I engaged in participant observation. Four possible stances for a researcher who use participant observation are: (1) the complete observer, (2) the observer-as-participant, (3) the participant-as-observer, and (4) the complete participant (Merriam, 1988; Sevigny, 1981). As I worked with my school and university colleagues of the ECC Project, I became aware of a constant dialectic about roles and responsibilities as a third party involved in action research.

Complete Observer

On my first few visits to the classroom, I wanted the opportunity to drink in the sights, sounds and smells of the classroom. These first days I was a complete observer, sketching the layout of the class, counting students and noting the physical features of the room.

Observer-as-Participant

In order to establish better rapport with the students and teachers, I read children's stories to the students, usually in Spanish. When I brought books from my personal collection they were in Spanish. However, when given a free choice, children would occasionally request to hear a story in English. Throughout the time I spent with the class and even during visits after the main data set had been gathered, the teacher would ask me, on occasion, if I planned to stay long enough to help out with a small group of students.

Participant-as-Observer

This posture, in many ways, summarizes my role and responsibilities with the ECC Project and this school. My "observer activities" as Merriam (1988, p. 92) suggests, were at times "subordinated to the researcher's role as participant." Working collaboratively with the teachers, we engaged in and experienced the recreation of schooling. We watched the children, each other and ourselves as we were transformed in the process. As the teachers and I worked together we reflected on what occurred all tried to I engaged the teacher in a discussion later on about other reasons for her stepping out of the room when the student-teacher was in action. As ECC Project colleagues, all of us were engaged in the process of inquiry and reflection. The act of teaching within the paradigm of action research necessitates observation. So said, a complete participant was always a participant observer.

In addition to collaborative inquiry in the research process, participants experienced collaborative inquiry in the teaching process. University and school colleagues brainstormed together, planned lessons together and taught to and with each together. At the site for this study, there were usually three adults with approximately 50 first-grade children. Often, during the research for this dissertation, there were many more: two teachers, one teacher's aide, two student teachers, two university researchers (including the author) as well as a community volunteer.

The following section, based on my field notes, illustrates how I was able to assume three of the four roles.

> Ms. King (a teacher) was typing when I entered at around 9:00. She got up and showed me notebooks she had compiled. The first was a collection of articles that she and another teacher had found informative, another was a notebook of math activities and the third notebook was a collection of all the activities the first-grade team had done for that year. After showing me the collection, I told her that it would make a great book... [saying] that their team was more than capable of writing the book. The teacher said, "But I consider you part of our team, too. You provide a different perspective on what we're doing here. I'd love to have you work with us on this project." (032894I3.1st)

Complete Participant

I was fortunate to have almost complete access to any classroom in the school. Occasionally, I was, in fact, "a member of the group being studied" (Merriam, 1988, p. 92). Several times, during the period when I gathered data for this study, teachers would have to leave the school unexpectedly, a substitute teacher would be late in arriving to the school, or a teacher wanted to work with an individual or small group of students away

from the classroom. At those times I would take over the class, affording me the opportunity to interact with the class. During these times I became a complete participant.

One Example

On one occasion, the kindergarten and pre-school teachers were going to mix their groups. Each of the four teachers converted her classroom into an interest center: one classroom was dedicated to birds, one to small mammals, another to reptiles and the fourth to fish. The student lists were divided into one of four groups. Teachers were to send 3/4 of their class to the other colleagues. As it turned out, I was left alone as "teacher" in one classroom. My field notes (101393I3) written the first day of this rotation, recall this story.

> When I came in some children were using playdough to cover letters (J's, M's, I's, etc). There were a couple of other centers going on. This was also the day that the classes would switch. At 10 o'clock the troops moved. I went over to Teresa Sonora's classroom. She had taken her students over to the nurse and it looked like she had not returned yet.
>
> Soon after I went in, the first set of students entered. They were fascinated by the turtle and the guinea pigs. With the second set of students came Cecilia (I think she's from Ms. Brown's room). Cecilia began to sniffle. She said to me in Spanish, "I'm scared," and huddled under my arm.
>
> I started to say to her, "You aren't as scared as I am standing in this room by myself with all you little monsters coming in and I don't have one thing planned for you to do and I have no idea what time the real teacher is planning to return." I gathered the children in a circle on the carpet. I put Cecilia on my lap and let her sniffle for a while. The kids sang. Cecilia sobbed. I sweated. A good time was had by all.

Data Collection

In order to better understand the linguistic ecology of the bilingual first-grade classroom, nine interrelated types of data were gathered. Surveys and interviews are the first level of data.

Language Surveys and Questionnaires

Language Domains

In the winter of 1993 during lunch, the first grade teachers spoke about their interest in discovering the children's idea about language use. I encouraged them to write down their questions for the children and agreed to help out. Originally, all the educators working with the first-grade groups (student teachers, university researchers, classroom teachers) were supposed to conduct the survey (see Appendix A). I was very anxious to see the surveys completed, but the teachers had severe time constraints. In an effort to get

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	HABLAST E MÁS EN INGLÉS O MÁS EN ESPAÑOL	ESCRIBISTE MÁS EN ESPAÑOL O MÁS EN INGLÉS	HABLO LA MISS MÁS EN INGLÉS O MÁS EN ESPAÑOL	ESCRIBIÓ LA MISS MÁS EN ESPAÑOL O MÁS EN INGLÉS	HABLO LA CLASE MÁS EN INGLÉS O MÁS EN ESPAÑOL	ESCRIBIÓ LA CLASE MÁS EN INGLÉS O MÁS EN ESPAÑOL
STUDENT 1						
STUDENT 2	ENG	ENG	ENG	ENG	ENG	ENG
STUDENT 3						
STUDENT 4						
STUDENT ETC	SPAN	ENG	SPAN	ENG	ENG	SPAN

Figure 1. Language survey created by teachers about children's language use.

the project started, I administered the questionnaire to all but one of the students. This instrument was reviewed to see if the student views language as domain specific (e.g., English is used in the library, Spanish is used on the playground). Figure 1 is an excerpt from the survey. Before I administered the survey I asked them unrelated questions of comparison to see if they understood the word "prefer": "Prefieres nieve de vainilla o chocolate?" (Do you prefer vanilla or chocolate ice cream?) "Which do you prefer, 'Super Mario Brothers' or Nintendo?" I also felt that such activities signaled to the child that they would be required to voice their preference about certain things at some point in the survey.

Language Assessment I

Another type of language questionnaire was created for the children (see Appendix B). Immediately following the period reserved for Spanish language arts (9:00 AM - 10:50 AM), I asked the children who were in room #2 a set of questions for a period of

ten days.

Just before their 11 o'clock lunch I would ask the children, "Did you

Date administerd: 032894:I3

QUESTIONS:

[I asked the questions in Spanish and quickly translated into English.]

1. Did you speak more English today or more Spanish?
2. Did the teacher, Miss Kim, speak more English or more Spanish?
3. Did the class, the other boys and girls, speak more English or more Spanish?

STUDENT		YOU		TCH	CLASS
STUDENT 1		ESP		ING	MUCHO ESP.
STUDENT 2		ING		ING	ING
STUDENT 3		ING		ESP	INGLE
STUDENT 4		ING		ESP	ESPAN
STUDENT etc		ESP		ESP	ING

RESPONSES POSSIBLE: 36 = 100%
Responses Spanish: 12 = 33%
Responses English: 24 = 66%

Figure 2. Response chart for daily language use.

speak/read/write more English or Spanish today?" "Did the class speak/read/write more in English or Spanish today?" "Did the teacher speak/read/write more in English or Spanish today?" These questions were designed to obtain their assessment of their own language use, language use of their classmates as well as that of their instructor of the period. In addition, the use of this questionnaire was an attempt to glean the students' assessment of the amount of time they spent using Spanish during this period of the work

day. Results were charted to see if a pattern emerged regarding the child's *perspective* of the languages used in class during the Spanish language arts period.

Language Assessment II

The children and their teachers were also queried regarding their assessment of the language users in class (see Figure 2). During the months of January and February, I asked every child that attended the Spanish language arts hour about their assessment of the language proficiency of the students in the class.

Taking the children to a corner of the room or unoccuppied area, I would scan the room with my finger and asked, "*Of the boys and girls in the room, who reads/writes/speaks the best in English/Spanish?* (see Appendix C). I also asked the teachers individually during breaks in the school day. The responses of the students and teachers were charted to see which names are most common. (See Figure 3.)

RESPONDENT	¿QUIÉN LEE MEJOR EN INGLÉS?	¿QUIÉN LEE MEJOR EN ESPAÑOL?	¿QUIÉN HABLA MEJOR EN ESPAÑOL
Name A	Name E	Name B	Name B
Name B	Name D	Name C	Name B
Name C	Name A	Name B	Name B
Name D	Name E	Name B	Name C
Name E	Name D	Name B	Name B

Figure 3. Student response chart about language proficiencies.

When I had asked all children and teachers, I grouped the names is each catergory. Those names reported most frequently for Spanish proficiency by the students and teachers were selected for later interviews. Children from this same set was also asked to tour the school building and to located printed information during anther month of my study.

Garfield Survey

A third type of language assessment for the children was used to gain their feelings regarding various occurrences in the classroom. McKenna and Kear (1990) created a quantitative instrument using the "Garfield" comic strip character to measure students attitudes toward reading. "Jim Davis, who is the creator of Garfield, and United Features, his publisher, agreed to . . . permit the resulting instrument to be copied and used by educators" (McKenna & Kear, 1990, p. 627). I created a similar instrument, with the images of a puppy, with a series of questions addressing language events in the classroom (see Appendix D). Data from this instrument were placed on a matrix and analyzed in two ways: (1) which items produced the most negative responses, and (2) which children gave the most negative responses.

Interviews

Original

Key students, teachers, the principal and directors of bilingual education for the district (past and present) were queried using structured interviews on a variety of topics (see Appendix E). Specifically, this included a least of questions designed to evoke their perception of language use at the school. These interviews were audiotaped, transcribed, and edited for accuracy. For this study the following groups of people were interviewed once using a protocol designed for this study:

1. five students from the class,
2. the two teachers from the class,
3. the principal of the school,
4. the director of bilingual education for the district, and
5. the former director of bilingual education for the district.

Prior Interviews

Throughout the first three years of the E.C.C. Project, the faculty participated in structured interviews which, at times, encompassed language issues within the school. Project staff maintained field notes of these conversations to "remember" what happened during these conversations. I reviewed these data using the following questions: (1) "What does this say about language learning in this classroom?" and (2) "Is what the

"Is what the interviewee says concordant with the behaviors commonly seen in this linguistic environment?"

Environmental Print

Using the five most common names offered by the full membership of the Spanish language arts class, I created a team or set of students. These students were asked to describe the printed materials found on the four walls and on display throughout the school (Appendix F). While the students wrote down the words they found in halls and walls of their school (outside the classroom) I noted what they were observing. In an effort to categorize their "sitings" I used a modified form based on the work of Taylor, Blum and Logsdon (1986). Part of their theoretical framework came from the research on emergent literacy (e.g., Clay, 1972; Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982; Goodman & Goodman, 1989) and the importance of environmental print in the classroom to support student literacy development.

In their research, Taylor, Blum, & Logsdon (1986) were interested the success of implementation of a new reading program. In order to measure the implementation of their new program they created a template: "the essential features of a language- and print-rich curriculum were identified, operationally defined, and formulated into a checklist" (Taylor, Blum, & Logsdon, 1986, p. 135).

There were three categories. The first was "was characterized by the use of language units larger than a word and language on the displays that clearly had come

from children, rather than teacher-composed language. The second was the location of print in the classroom, specifically, how prominent was it in the classroom? The third category, availability, referred to how accessible an item was to the child; for example whether it was placed at the child's level in the room.

To these three I have added two more categories. (1) Was the instructional item professionally made (purchased at a store) or made at school, and (2) was it in English or Spanish? As students wrote down the words they sited, I noted whether the word/message was handmade or professionally produced as well as its visibility in English, Spanish or both.

Field Notes and Journals

My field notes also contain information from participant observation, providing an additional data source for examining the questions for this study. A second set of field notes were supplied by the teachers of the team. The writing of field notes, in some ways, was one of the most disagreeble elements of the entire dissertation process. On occasion, I would be seated unobtrusively in a corner in the classroom, in relative peace, and could write down observations. Other times, as I worked with the teachers or childred and I noted something interesting, I would go back to my message pad and jot down a few key words to jog my memory. Most often, I chose not to begin writing in the face of the students and teachers and would just wait until I had left to write up my for field notes. In most cases, fieldnotes were written within in an hour of my visit

to the class. In some cases as much as a week would pass by. When such a large amount of time would pass, I would go to a teacher or student and ask questions to see if I had indeed captured what had transpired.

Children's Writing

Student writing samples offered by the teacher were reviewed to see how they manifested support for the development of the Spanish language in this linguistic ecology. Often, I asked the teacher if she had any of the children's writings I could take with me to analyze. She offered me a packet of approximately 40 pieces of various writing samples. Other times, I would sit with the children and watch them read and write.

Timetable

I began my data collection on January 3, 1994 and continued through January 3, 1995. I visited the classroom everyday from January through March 1994, from 9:00 until the lunch period at 11:10. On my first few visits to the classroom, I was a complete observer. By the second visit, I was asked to work with a small group of children. As the teaching-team and I collaborated in more ways, I was given more responsibility with the children. On occasion I might have them for an hour by myself to engage them in an activity.

During the period between January 1994 and March 1994, I administered the surveys and questionnaires to the children in the first grade classroom. Until the end of the school year (the later part of May of 1994), I continued with participant observation. I also conducted interviews with the students and faculty from March 1994 through December 1994. Data analysis began in February of 1994 and continued through May of 1995.

Synthesis

This chapter has provided an overview of the qualitative case study method and microethnography specifically as they were applied in the present work. In addition, this chapter also presented some of the social-linguistic context in which this particular bilingual first grade is embedded. It also highlighted my various roles and responsibilities as I interacted with the students and teachers of this school. In the chapter that follows, I profile the social actors in this study as well as additional social and ideological constraints on their linguistic ecology.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY, SCHOOL AND PARTICIPANT PROFILES

The focus of this study is on a bilingual first grade classroom and the events that occur therein. In this chapter, I introduce the sociolinguistic participants within this ecology—the students and their teachers. I also discuss the district policies that influence the language activities of this classroom. For the children's profiles, I used school records as well as observations and interviews conducted specifically for this study. For the teachers, I reviewed transcripts of interviews conducted between 1990 until 1994 by members of the ECC Project. The teacher interview topics from the ECC Project that I examined for this dissertation included: (a) *Change*, (b) *Community*, (c) *Language Issues*, (d) *School* (the site), (e) *Schooling* (the process), (f) *Students*, and (g) *Teachers*.[5]

The people who make up this classroom culture also belong to other social-cultural groups. Clearly, there are issues and circumstances outside this immediate sociocultural context that affect the students and teachers. One social element is the community in which the students live. Half of the school (and the neighborhood) belong to a tiny municipality, "Doshijo Chico," that is annexed to the larger southwestern

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[5] *N.B.* Many of the interviews were conducted before the initiation of this dissertation. The existence of such pertinent data permitted a longitudinal analysis of the responses, specifically as a check for consistency over time.

city—an island one-mile square. The population of Doshijo Chico, 5,969, is roughly one-tenth the size of the larger city (1990 U.S. Census). This small city has its own mayor and city council as well as a police station (three patrol cars) and a library, all housed in the same building. The fire station has two trucks. These municipal services are one block away from the back fence of the school. This chapter begins with a profile of the neighborhood community.

The Community

The Wrong Side of the Tracks

To get to the Proyecto Uno School neighborhood, most visitors travel west on wide, well-paved roads then turn south. Some turn south on First Street, passing the local university campus with its green lawns, BMW's, fraternity houses and pubs. Other visitors to the school head south through the government and commerce district of the city. However, one reaches Proyecto Uno, they must cross railroad tracks to reach the neighborhood. Though now cliché, the phrase, "the wrong side of the tracks," is indeed applicable to the neighborhood. In many ways it is easier to describe this southside community by what it lacks.

There are no movie theaters in the municipality nor within walking distance. There are bars and liquor stores, however. There are no supermarkets in the neighborhood; the "La Primavera" grocery story, a "mom and pop" market, services the local needs. There are households here who lack enough clothing for their families.

Hence, the school's community outreach staff member collects items for these families, especially jackets and sweaters of the winter months. There is no hospital. There is no neighborhood clinic. Many area residents go to Mexico for medical treatment as well as for dental care and medicines. Empty lots and abandoned houses seem more common than occupied dwellings—there were no less than three abandoned houses facing the front of the school.[6]

During one of my discussions with the principal two years before my study began, she told me that she arrived at school before the students and faculty to walk with the janitor to pick up used condoms, soiled sanitary napkins and discarded syringes along with the customary broken liquor bottles and beer cans. In an earlier interview[7] for the ECC Project, I had asked a teacher to describe the neighborhood. Her views were fairly consistent with what I had seen:

> Most of the living quarters in this area are below poverty level . . . [T]hey're bad. . . . I've made home visits, and . . . unless you've made home visits in this area, you don't think people live like they do. . . . [Some have] no hot water, dirt floors. . . . No windows. You don't think people live like that in this area. . . . [T]he majority of them [have] . . . no furniture, too many people in one area [room]. . . . Not enough space. Sometimes they have electricity—sometimes they don't. Sometimes they have the water, sometimes they don't. You know? Hard, you know, hard to keep up things that you-we take for granted.

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[6]It was discovered that the *larger* city was the owner of many abandoned lots and dwellings in the area.

[7]TN0292:13

Government studies of the area present somber statistics indicating that Doshijo Chico has the highest incidence of poverty in its county[8] and that children here are underserved by health support agencies. The principal estimates that 75 percent of the children in the area do not complete high school. As stated before only one half of the school technically belongs to the municipality: The city boundary divides the school in half. According to the principal, before the "911" emergency telephone system went into effect, local police officials would respond only to campus emergencies that had occurred within their municipal jurisdiction. Government negligence is evident in other areas—an intersection one block away from the school had no traffic lights or stop signs to regulate traffic.

There is high unemployment and underemployment within Doshijo Chico which accounts for the great poverty in which the children live. Thirty-eight percent of all children were from families at or below the U.S. poverty level (1990 U.S. Census). These employment figures may be due, in part, to the education levels of the parents: Census figures indicate that over 70 percent of the population is without a high school diploma or GED (1990 U.S. Census).

[8]According to their local county records of 1990 and 1995.

A View from the Inside

There is another side to this community—one that is seldom depicted by the news media. Not all members of this community are drunkards, drug addicts or slovenly—all widespread public sterotypes. Many of the neighborhood homes look like botanical gardens adorned with plants of all shapes and sizes growing in clay pots and bowls or along trellises. Others have vegetable gardens of *calabaza* (pumpkin), *chile* (peppers), or citrus trees. Some parents add to these colors by hanging freshly washed clothes in the yards, the smells of bleach and lemon mixing in the air. Denoting the strict Mexican Catholic background, there are pictures of La Virgen Guadalupe (Guadalupe, the Virgen of Mexico) on some door fronts and window panes.

Parents are actively involved in the education of their children. Some parents (and grandparents) assist young student with cutting and glueing activities. At least once a month I noticed aromas eminating from a classroom as a visiting parent prepared something for the class: *chorizo* (spiced Mexican sausage), *empanadas de calabaza* (sweet pumpkin turnovers) or *tamales* (cornmeal roll). Other parents read to small groups of students. One parent from the bilingual first grade invited students to see her garden at home. Another parent showed the first graders how to prepare and serve breakfast. Other parents went on field trips. Some parents, often working double shifts to earn a sufficient income to support their families, came straight from work in their uniforms to share mariachi and other kinds of music with their children. When asked to

give to the clothing bank, these people, financially strained though they were, offered what they had to help others.

Profile of the School

Sociolinguistic Context

The "Rock War"

In Chapter 3, I introduced the school setting, briefly discussing the historic language-based social stratification that had existed in the school. An event, in November 1990, illustrates this aspect of the social-linguistic context, as well as some of the rationale for this study. That month, there was a playground fight between the English fourth-grade class and the Bilingual fourth-grade that proved to be a watershed in the school's grouping practices (see Smith & Heckman, 1995). Teachers at the site subsequently named this event the "Rock War." The following discussion is a composite of several individual interviews I conducted after the incident occurred. Here, four students (Kay, Joe, Ira, and Pi) and Eva, a staff member, describe the incident to me.

Kay: It was our class against his, right?

Joe . . . There was a bilingual class and . . . an English class.

Ira: We, we were playing like chasing each other like cops and robbers.

Kay: . . . They would call us names and . . .

Pi: . . . The English kids would call us like wetbacks, dirty Mexicans, and stuff. . . .

Joe: And we got real mad.

Ira: And then they were hiding behind bushes with rocks and throwing at us . . . . They got in a big group like that and started throwing rocks at us. So we threw the rocks back.

Eva: The substitute couldn't handle them. She was afraid of getting hurt herself.

HLS: Wasn't there more than one substitute teacher for the two classes?

Eva: Oh yeah, that's right. But still they couldn't handle them.

Pi: Even the girls were throwing rocks at, at us.

Kay: They were throwing rocks . . . at everybody and all the teachers had to come out . . . and told everybody to get into the classroom . . . .

Ira: And we got in trouble . . . someone did get hurt.

Kay: [A student] threw a rock . . . and it hit me right here . . . .

Eva: It happened during lunch break . . . .

This incident lasted only 30 minutes. Yet, when information from that time is considered along with recent data, it would appear that this conflict transcended the intermediate grades and the playground, reflecting a pervasive belief system about languages and cultures that manifested itself in actions of teachers and students (Nias, Southworth,& Campbell, 1992) in the classrooms, corridors, and playground of the battling children's school.

Language and Identity

As indicated before, the school was overwhelming Hispanic, irrespective of language tracking of the school. The battling children, *on both sides of the field* were

first and second-generation Mexican. The following interview with two students who had been on opposite sides of the conflict illustrate interpersonal and intrapersonal tension regarding nationality and language:

Joe: We were mad, like, a lot, like, we started to throw rocks a lot, a lot of rocks like that.

HLS: What were you mad about?

Joe: . . . they would say like the Mexicans they say were like rats . . .

[moments later]

Kay: And they would call us, um, Gringos. They would call us, um, "Oh those Gringos don't know nothing."

[seconds later]

HLS: You got mad because you were being called Mexican? What do you . . .

Kay: I mean, no, they were calling us Gringos and we weren't Gringos.

HLS: Oh.

Joe: And they were calling us Mexicans.

Kay: I don't know. I don't even think they were calling . . .

HLS: And you aren't Mexican?

Joe: I'm an, I'm an American. But . . .

Kay: You're a Mexican-American. I mean you're Spanish-American.

Joe: I'm Chicano. Whatever that is.

Language and Status

Once a student's language group was determined at the school, s/he was treated in accordance with the status of that language. Conklin & Lourie (1983, p. 114) remind us that "language functions not only to communicate social information but also to define and maintain social roles." In many schools, Proyecto Uno included, those students who are not considered English dominant are often the object of derision. This suggests not only beliefs about which language had greater importance in the school but also the interrelationship of language, culture, and society:

> Society decrees that certain people be more highly thought of than others—because they are economically, culturally, or politically more powerful. To the extent that social identity is tied to language, actual linguistic forms become "good" or "bad" language according to the social standing of the individuals and groups who use them. (Conklin & Lourie, 1983, pp. 114-115)

The rewards earned for speaking the language or dialect of prestige have been well documented (e.g., Crawford, 1992; Heath, 1983). Edwards (1992) argues that the issue of "whose language counts" for purposes of schooling, is reflected and reinforced by the balance of power and prestige between social groups. As such, language-based academic tracks are "socially constructed barriers to learning where the linguistic insensitivity and intolerance of teachers made them so . . . " (p. 514).

Negative attitudes toward recent immigrants and their languages is not a new issue in the United States. The following is an excerpt from a letter written by Benjamin Franklin, dated May 9, 1753:

> Those [Germans] who come hither are generally the most ignorant Stupid Sort of their own Nation, and as Ignorance is often attended with Credulity when

> Knavery would mislead it, and with Suspicion when Honesty would set it right; and as few of the English understand the German Language, and so cannot address them either from the Press or Pulpit, 'til almost impossible to remove any prejudices they once entertain. . . . Now they come in droves.
> . . . Few of their children in the Country learn English. . . . (Crawford, 1992, p. 19)

Throughout the data, students and teachers would comment on the school's belief regarding language at the time:

> Joy: . . . I believe that the monolingual students thought that they were better than Spanish-speaking students because they had learned English.

Dee concurs:

> Dee: [The English-dominant] students perceived themselves to be in a higher category—smarter than—or better than—[the Spanish dominant students] . . . . There was a lot of resentment.

There were teachers who also realized that their personal belief system was biased:

> Joy: . . . I think I felt that way too, not outwardly. I didn't show it. But, I do believe that I thought that way because I didn't know that they knew as much as I did—because we never talked about it. . . . [After] I had more chances to talk with students from May's class, I remember thinking to myself, "Wow, these kids really are smart." You know? And all this time I didn't know this, because I didn't understand the language.

She was not alone in her feelings. In a private conversation, another teacher confessed that before the school mixed its entire student body, she thought that "people who didn't speak English weren't as smart" as she.

Language Policy and Planning

Language Distribution

Because of their ancestry and the proximity of their city to the U.S.-Mexican border, over 90 percent of the students at Proyecto Uno spoke Spanish to some degree. So large was its Spanish-speaking population that the school was referred to as "Little Mexico."[9] The local school district, in compliance with state regulations, administered a Language Assessment Scale (LAS) test, ranging from a high score of "5" to a low of "1" to determine the students' language dominance[10]. When I interviewed the principal of the Proyecto Uno School in 1993, she addressed language distribution in this way:

> Our population this year has been about 350 and 2/3 of the students need bilingual education. . . .Out of the ones that need them [bilingual services] I would say, only about 16 are not receiving it. They're receiving some instruction in Spanish. . . .[T]hey do it in the classroom with the monolingual English teacher and even though the kids have to write and report and read things in Spanish but the instruction is not being delivered by a bilingual teacher. So I can't say that they're receiving services.

Language Policy

In September 1993, the Doshijos Unified School District published their "Comprehensive Plan for Bilingual Education." In this document (p. 4) they quote their school board's Governing Board Policy 6110:

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[9]It was discovered that the *larger* city was the owner of many abandoned lots and dwellings in the area.

[10]District policy held that those students with a score of 3 or below were limited English proficient (LEP). Literacy in English was measured by the reading subtest of the Iowa Test of Basic Skills - ITBS. A score of 40% or below also indicated limited English proficiency (Loebe, 1993). Students labeled LEP through either assessment were eligible for special assistance through the bilingual education program.

> Bilingual education will be implemented as an integral part of the total curriculum. The goals of bilingual education are to promote individual student achievement, to provide full access to the curriculum for all students, and to provide each student the opportunity to acquire and demonstrate mastery of at least two languages, one of which will be English.

An analysis of this statement is quite enlightening.

1. According to official policy bilingual instruction should not be treated as an addendum to the overall school program but rather regarded as a basic component—"an integral part of the total curriculum."

2. The phrase, "full access to the curriculum for all students" would seem to indicate that the sytem of schooling for this district would be such that students of various linguistic backgrounds would encounter any resources necessary, human or otherwise, to develop their cognitive skills.

3. The phrase "provide each student the opportunity to acquire and demonstrate mastery of at least two languages" would seem to recognize language as a resource (Ruiz, 1988).

I asked the principal if the school had a written language policy. Her response was most enlightening.

> There is not a language . . . however, there is a district policy. And we have been . . . a pilot for two years. What the district did is [this]. There was a lawsuit, claiming there was no equal access to students on to students on the west side and Proyecto Uno is one of the schools that is cited. . . .The district prepared a plan for compliance with the Bilingual Education Act—that lawsuit provided a lot of push and the district was able to really ask for monies and some support.

> The schools that were closest to compliance were selected to try to figure out, how to figure out a system where we could be in compliance. Because, if it was not an easy process or a do-able process for the schools that were almost in compliance, there was no way that schools [who were far out of compliance would be to do anything at the beginning]. . . . So for two years . . . there is the bilingual designee in the school and myself, we have been going once a month for a full day now for two years, to [a meeting on bilingual education compliance], and we have developed the compliance manual. That deals with the identification of students, the assessment of students, programing, reclassification, follow-up after reclassification.
>
> So that has really helped because the [inaudible] the last two years so it has come in at a time where the teachers who are beginning to really get more into it and instead of having the bilingual teachers be responsible for compliance . . . every teacher now, I believe is much more familiar with the requirements because the bilingual ed teachers are no longer the only ones that are doing it. Which used to be the process before, and I felt that it should be equal ownership.

Human Resources

During a meeting of school and university researchers (Board of Consultants Meeting, 1992, May 5) at Proyecto Uno, Bea and Lia commented on the school's practice of separating of human resources. Chapter I (reading resource) teachers were assigned to work within one language track. Special Education teachers were also language-bound. Students labeled bilingual were in exclusive contact with Latino faculty. The school afforded them little opportunity to interact with Anglo staff or students who spoke English. According to Joy, there had only been one Anglo teacher who had ever worked in the bilingual strands "especially in the intermediate group." Following the rock fight, the two fourth-grade teachers combined their classes in an

attempt to establish better rapport between students. May recalls some of the reactions of her colleagues when they began to mix the students:

> May: . . . [Many] people . . . saw that as a totally negative thing . . . .I think some of them thought we were out of our minds. [However,] I think some people were willing to give us a chance and think about how brave we were for trying to do this.
>
> Interviewer: You mean brave for mixing the children?
>
> May: Yeah. And I think some of them were leery of what we were doing. And I think some of them were willing to give us a chance to see what [would happen].

Texts and Materials

Material resources also were segregated. Teachers report that there were no Spanish materials in the English-language classes. All Spanish materials were reserved and sent to the bilingual classes. The library resources were overwhelmingly in English. Signs on the teachers' doors would have the title "Monolingual" or "Bilingual".

The Classroom

In order to understand the context in which the students and teachers work at the school, I provide here a description of the classroom and some of the more common activities using "broad strokes" of an ethnographic brush. This section might be likened to what Spradley (1980) calls a *grand tour* of the bilingual classroom in wheich the students in this study were engaged in their various activities.

Between Walls and Floors

After countless visits to the school and innumerable hours spent in the many classrooms in the building, a description of classroom #2 is at once very easy and very difficult. It is easy because I did spend so much time there, but difficult because the classroom resembles so many classrooms in the city built during the 1950s. In essence, the challenge lies in bringing this particular classroom descriptively "to life"—what educational anthropologists have called "making the familiar strange" by viewing the scene through an outsider's lens (Spindler, 1982).

When I entered the room for the first time, I was impressed by the large expanse of windows. Royal blue mini-blinds covered a series of six windows over six feet tall that stretched from one corner of the east wall to the other. A thick wooden door painted the same color was in the middle of the series of windows and opened onto the playground area. In the southeast corner there was a utility closet, guarded by the teacher's desk and a shelf for her personal items such as tissues, pens and chalk. An eight-foot space for meetings was situated between the door leading to the playground and the teacher's shelf. In this area, the teacher had a wooden rocking chair and a book shelf three-feet high holding children's books in English in Spanish. A large chalkboard framed by bulletin boards on either side occupied the south wall. I do not recall anyone ever using that space for writing. The teacher used it more for display space: Children's projects, large and small covered every inch.

The west wall held the main chalkboard framed by a heavy blue door, similar to the one on the facing wall. Depending on the arrangement of the benches and table, the board was at times a writing center, a display center, a backdrop for plays or simply a wall upon which to lean a tire back. The north wall was divided—the bottom third was cupboard space and the upper two-thirds were for display (bulletin board) space. The top of the cupboard, which ran the length of the room, was covered in blue formica and the doors and frame were wooden. In front of the counter space, approximately 8 feet by 24 feet, the floor was covered in linoleum. The rest of the classroom was carpeted in a medium shade of blue.

The first grade teachers, like most in their building, have opted against the archaic formation of desks and chairs in straight rows. The seating in classroom #2 is also quite colorful—a few years back the teacher located wooden benches with slated backs and painted them bright pink. A few formica-covered tables provide work space. Scattered about were also a few stackable plastic chairs that could accommodate one child (but that created an uncomfortable balancing act for an adult male). The seating arrangement in this classroom was dependent upon the activity: The students and teachers were simultaneously and constantly engaged in multiple literacy activities. My field notes from February 1994 (see Figure 4) illustrates the need for a flexible group arrangement and the types of activities that I observed:

> Hidalgo and King were at the front of the class when I arrived. [An ECC research colleague] was sitting on the floor with both groups of children. The student teachers were sitting at tables behind the group taking notes. On the board (among the many) were two large pieces of paper with

phrases on them that pertained to the Sabino Canyon trip. Today the kids were being "debriefed" about the trip they took on Tuesday. Before their trip they had brainstormed about things they would look for at on the Desert Museum.

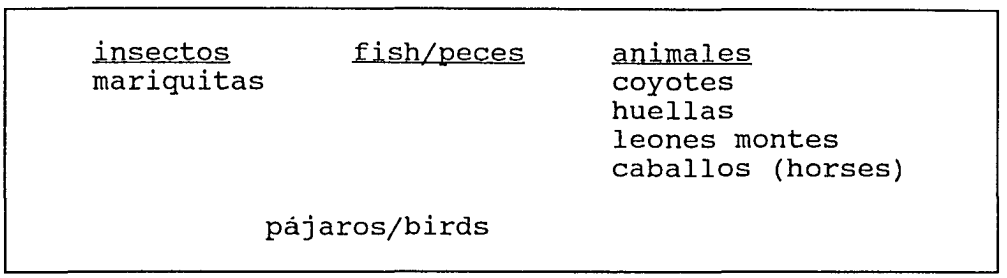

Figure 4. List of animals children sited on their field trip.

Student Profiles

At the time this study began, there was a combined total of 48 students divided among the three first grade classes. During the summer of 1993, the teachers decided to share the responsibilities of the 48 students. By November, one of the teachers decided that she no longer wanted to team teach and withdrew. However, she continued to send seven of her students to the bilingual classroom for Spanish language instruction at least three times a week. Customarily, both classes and the addtional seven students were taught in Room #2. For that reason, this study focused on the activities that occurred in that room.

To facilitate a case study approach, I selected a focus group of students. This was a "purposive sample" (Merriam, 1988, p. 48); in consultation with teachers and my dissertation committee, I selected student attributes that appeared most significant as

criteria for selecting the focus group. I asked every student and the teachers a series of

Students	Who speaks the best in English?	Who speaks the best in Spanish?	Who writes the best in English?	Who writes the best in Spanish?	Who reads the best in English?	Who reads the best in Spanish?
Student A						
Student B						
Student C						
Student D						

Figure 5. Charted responses used for purposive sampling.

questions about language use, then charted the responses (Figure 5). Once the responses were charted I sorted (alphabetized) all the names from the chart on the computer. The students selected for the core group were those names suggested most often by the bilingual first grade class. One student refused to participate, so that slot was given to another student whose name followed in frequency.

The additional student was Federico. His teacher did not send him to Room #2 for Spanish language arts instruction. I had assumed this was because he had been identified as English dominant. When I mentioned to his teacher that I needed a student to try out my interview and survey questions before administering them to the main group, his name was suggested. The information provided in his interview was so informative and insightful that I included him and his responses in the core (focus) group.

In total five students were selected as core group participants, all of Mexican descent. This group included two girls and three boys—one spoke Spanish as the primary language, one was English dominant and three were relatively *equilingual* in English and Spanish. All had attended kindergarten at the Proyecto Uno School.

Federico

Federico was born in December of 1986. He is of average height for his age. On occasion, just a touch of his belly would stick out of his shirts—he appeared to be a well-fed child. He has close-set eyes and black hair that sometimes curls over his ears. Soon after I met Federico, he impressed me as bright and eloquent. One of his teachers agreed: "Oh, he is bright and articulate. In fact, I can't get him to shut up." His LAS score in English was a point higher than the score in Spanish. For that reason, he was not sent to Room #2 during the Spanish language arts period. Because Federico was not sent over for language arts in Spanish, and because of his strong command of English, I assumed he was the product of an English dominant household. During my first interview with him, he informed me that not only was his first language Spanish, but that none of the adults in his household spoke English.

Arminda

If Federico was outgoing and talkative, Arminda was just the opposite even though her September 1989 birthday made her three months older than he. She had pale

skin and jet black hair cut into bangs over her eyes. Around me, she was shy; when asked to be surveyed, she bashfully declined. On video camara, however, I captured her talking animatedly to her classroom playmate, Reina usually in Spanish. The student responses on the core group survey indicated that she was regarded as Spanish-dominant by most of the student in the classroom. Arminda's LAS score was Spanish 3/English 2.

Lina

Lina was quiet and reflective. Born in July 1987, she was one of the brightest children in class. A few times when I observed her working, she impressed me as being unsure of herself around assignments. During a particular writing task with me, I told that what spelling wasn't important and that I was more interested in the words the students could locate. She wrote few words, but took meticulous care with each letter shape. Lina didn't take the LAS because she had been enrolled in the school as English dominant. Throughout the months that I worked with her class in Room #2, I seldom saw her use Spanish though I observed her following directions in English or Spanish. One, day, I simply asked her, "Do you speak Spanish?" She nodded her head and smiled, but to my recollection (and according to my field notes) she never addressed me or her teacher in Spanish. Lina conducted herself as an English-speaking child.

Manuel

One of my first tasks in my research was to review language scores of the students in the combined classes. I had observed Manuel speaking Spanish to his friends and his teachers, so I thought it logical that his LAS score was Spanish 4/English 1 indicating that he would have almost no understanding of the English language. Unfortunately, those who designed the test had no understanding of Manuel. He seldom spoke to me in Spanish. He was of average height and weight for his age with brown hair and brown eyes.

I was first struck by his intelligence the day that the door prop refused to hold. He moved the door on its hinge, inspecting the mechanism for the source of the problems. As he stood outside, he noticed that the cement immediately in front of his classroom door had worn away, but a few inches away, the area was a little higher, but covered with sand. He slid his foot over the sandy area, then pushed the door further back and, sweet success, it stayed. He was born January 2, 1987.

Giovani

This young man was born in April of 1987. I once referred to this child as "the frat boy," because he was tall, intelligent and mischievous. Although he was quite fluent in Spanish, he Anglicized the pronounciation of his name. As I reviewed his LAS scores, Spanish 3/English 4, I wondered just what the testing instrument was judging. He was an eloquent student with a great deal of personality and leadership skills. Giovani moved

with his family during the final phase of the data collection. For that reason, I was not able to review any of his responses with him the following academic year (1994-1995).

Teacher and Principal Profiles

The following section is a profile of the two teachers who collaborated with me on this study. Both female and both of Mexican origen they had been involved with education for a number of years. During their individual interviews, they told me that they grew up in households were both English and Spanish were spoken, so that the considered bilingualism as something normal. I have used portions of transcripts from several interviews to create their professional histories.

Guadalupe Higalgo

Ms. Hidalgo in many ways is a pioneer bilingual educator. Having been trained in Reading Recovery, she and a colleague created this form of individualized literacy instruction in Spanish. Soon she began to feel that the system limited both the teacher and the student and chose to disassociate herself. During the course of my association with her, she often spoke of the changes, in the system of schooling, in bilingual education and in herself as and educator and as a person. A trained secretary, she first volunteered her clerical services in a local high school then volunteered in the classroom of her own children. She observed what the teachers did and soon was hired as an

intructional aide. She spent a few years as an aide then returned to college to become a certifified teacher. For about five years she worked at a district magnet school (dual-language bilingual education), but was recruited to work for Proyecto Uno as a bilingual reading specialist—a position for which she had special training. She worked in that capacity for four years before becoming one of the teachers of the bilingual first grade.

Regina King

Ms. King granted many interviews to me and other staff members of the ECC Project. She began teaching in 1971 but after five years suffered "burn out." At that time she considered herself to be a good, traditional teacher, who was well liked by the students, but bored. Upon leaving, she began tried a series of jobs including work in rehabilitation with severly handicapped. In 1983, she was told about a job opening at Proyecto Uno. She applied and was hired. Under the principalship of a more traditional leader, King began teaching in the manner that she had used before—effective but boring. Then, in 1990 she became involved with the action research of the ECC Project. She especially liked dialoguing with her colleagues and peers and the notion of authentic learning, espoused by the project.

The Principal

The principal, who was in her second year at the school at the time of the study, is a native Spanish speaker who immigrated to the United States from Cuba at the age of

15. I estimate her age at 48. At one faculty meeting she briefly mentioned how frustrating it was when she first attended high school in the US. She often found herself quite familiar with a concept from her background in Cuba, but lacking English, she was unable to communicate what she knew. Prior to accepting the principalship of Proyecto Uno, she was the director of bilingual special education for her district.

Synthesis

In this chapter I profiled the community, the school, the classroom, the students and teachers of the linguistic ecology I studied for this dissertation. While all situations are unique, this school shares many similarities with others schools in United States:

1. The poverty experienced by the school community is common to bilingual schools;

2. The history of student grouping based on language (and the subsequent social stratification) is also a commonly occuring phenomenon in schools with high percentages of linguistic minorities;

3. The core group of students represent the range of bilingualism, from Spanish-dominant to English-dominant.

In the chapter that follows I present an analysis of the interactions the students and teachers have as well as the resources available to support the development of Spanish in the classroom.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS:

LANGUAGE RESOURCES FOR SPANISH DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter I discuss the data gathered at Proyecto Uno Elementary School. As stated earlier, I used three general focus areas, established *a priori,* in order to gather the data: (1) "The Staff," (2) "Material Resources in Spanish," and (3) "Language Use in the Classroom and School." These three categories, suggested by the research of others, as well as by my preliminary investigations as part of the ECC Project, were utilized as guides not as limiters. As I gathered data, I became aware of information that did not fit into one category—sometimes it aptly addressed more than one. At other times the nature of the data warranted its own category.

It was indeed challenging to formulate questions for the children and especially for those in my focus group. Initially, the sparseness of their responses to my interview questions seemed to suggest that they lacked any awareness or understanding of the things that were occurring in their linguistic ecology. I considered their responses terse. However, as the replies of the focus group were layered with the comments of other students and my own observations, a clearer picture began to emerge of their socio-linguistic context. As I reviewed the interviews with the adults of the school and the administration there was great concordance between the thoughts of the children and

their educators. The words of the adults, those with years of experience in bilingual education, were mere iterations of the children's thoughts. As I compared the data from the children with that of the adults (and my own observations) I could no longer consider their short responses terse—they were concise. As I wove sections of interviews and field notes with numbers, the insight and accuracy of the children were amplified and validated.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the people who work with the first grade students. I then explore the material resources available for the support of Spanish development. The third section examines the notion of language use. I conclude this chapter with a synthesis of the data and what they suggest.

Faculty, Staff and Bilingual Education

Of all of the wonders of the modern classroom, nothing surpasses the powerful influence of a caring, qualified teacher to create meaningful learning experiences with students. However, the skills of even the most qualified teacher are under-utilized when there is a language barrier. Judge Shirley Hufstedler (quoted in Crawford, 1989, p. 36) of the 9th Circuit Court of California voiced outrage at the initial ruling of *Lau v. Nichols* concerning students who were linguistic minorities and the lack of appropriate measures taken by the school to insure access to the instruction provided:

> These Chinese children are not separated from their English-speaking classmates by state-erected walls of brick and mortar, but the language barrier, which the state helps to maintain, insulates the children from their classmates as effectively as any physical bulwarks. Indeed, these children

> are more isolated from equal educational opportunity than were those physically segregated Blacks in *Brown*; these children cannot communicate at all with their classmates or teachers. . . .

Staff and faculty play an essential role in a child's development. The research cited in Chapter Two gives strong support for the notion that language use, as well as language development, are social processes which necessitate modeling between a more experienced individual (the teacher/staff member) and a novice (the student). In addition to the teachers, most urban schools employ other staffers to assist children in their learning. The long list of professionals include, teacher aides, counselors, librarians and nurses. Because such individuals are part of the "continuity of care" that children receive while in school, peripherally, these adults also becme part of the student's linguistic ecology.

At Proyecto Uno, many such positions were filled by bilingual people (i.e. the health clerk, teachers, the library aide, the secretary). These staff members were able to provide services to Spanish-dominant and English-dominant children. In other cases there were two slots—one for a bilingual professional and one for a professional who spoke only English. In such instances, the staff members provided services to students according to their language dominance or proficiency.

There was a third category at Proyecto Uno (and most other urban schools). Some slots were occupied by professionals limited primarily to English (i.e. the librarian, the computer teacher, the nurse, the resource teacher of "higher order thinking skills"). Those student who spoke English had direct (linguistic) access to these support

personnel. Those students who were not fluent in English—even when they were included in general activities—could not have had full and equal access to the services of the linguistically limited staff member.

The discussion of this third category may seem more appropriate for a study of language policy or language rights. However, the language limitations of these professionals are noteworthy for the following reason: Those key positions filled by (English) monolingual professionals provided "enrichment" not "compensatory"[11] services. Computer sciences were taught by an English monolingual instructor, the librarian was English monolingual and an additional resource teacher was English monolingual. The staff assigned to these roles made an effort to communicate in Spanish. Some of these resource teachers had learned Spanish words and phrases to communicate with the children on some level. However, none of these instructors would consider herself a Spanish roll model for students.

I asked the director of bilingual education to address the issue of personnel at the district level. What exactly were the needs, in his opinion? He told me that his school district had 10,000 students who needed bilingual education programs, but only 8,000 were receiving the services. Although he indicated that the greater majority were being served, he also spoke of the key reason why 2,000 were not in bilingual programs—there were not enough teachers available. According to him, there were only about 450 bilingual teachers to provide instruction to those students who needed bilingual

[11]Not all service provided in Spanish at Proyecto Uno were solely compensatory.

education. He stated that not only was that number insufficient for the present, the need would increase in the future.

His school district contracted approximately 60 new bilingual teachers every year. For the 1994-95 academic year alone they needed to hire between 60 and 100 more just to keep up with the growth in his district. He felt that this trend would continue throughout the next ten years. While the figures for bilingual teachers in general were discouraging, his assessment of the staffing for other educational professions was dismal:

> . . . [D]esafortunadamente, muy, muy pocas de nuestras bibliotecarias, quizas solamente tres de cien, el 3% tienen certificados en educación bilingüe de [inaudible]. [Unfortunately, very, very few of our librarians, perhaps only three out of 100, three percent are certified in bilingual education. . . .]
>
> . . . [E]s casi imposible encontrar patólogos del habla bilingüe. No los existe [sic]. Bibliotecarios bilingües—no los hay. [It's almost impossible to find bilingual speech pathologist. They don't exist. Bilingual librarians—there are none.]
>
> . . . [M]uy pocos de los administradores en nuestro distrito, tenemos alrededor de 200 administradores, ahh, tienen experiencia o preparación especial en educación bilingüe, no? Los que lo tienen naturalmente por lo general hacen un trabajo muy, muy superior, no? [Very few administrators in our district—we have around 200 administrators—have the experience or the unique training in bilingual education. Naturally, those that do have it in general do an outstanding super job.]

Obviously, there must be bilingual professionals who can do the tasks this director mentioned. It would be difficult to believe that bilingual speech pathologists "don't exist" or that there are "no bilingual librarians." However, their numbers are so

few that it would seem likely that most Spanish dominant children who would profit from their services are *not* receiving such services.

Teachers and Teachers as Students

It would seem reasonable that the language proficiency of those who interact with the children would have some bearing on the students' language development. To that end, I surveyed those individuals who had contact with the students.[12] In addition to the teachers, I included the principal, the nurse, and other "certified" personnel who had responsibilities for the children of this bilingual first grade (see Figure 6). I asked the staff and faculty what language they spoke when *they* entered first grade (the third column). Of the 13 staff-members who came in contact with the students, seven (54 percent) said that they spoke Spanish when they entered first grade. However, when I asked them to indicate their current dominant language (column 5), only two people (15 percent) said that they still considered Spanish their dominant language. Nine still considered themselves proficient in Spanish (column 6). Even fewer had taken college level course work in Spanish (column 7).

The last column in Figure 6 indicates the academic preparation in Spanish, at the tertiary level of the faculty. While it is beyond the scope of this study, there may be an even more essential question: "What were the primary and secondary

[12]Of the 13 people, 10 where of Hispanic origin and 3 were Anglos.

ROLE/TITLE	ETHNICITY	L_1 in 1st	PARENTS' L_1	PRESENT L_1	SPANISH	SPANISH PREP
Secretary	Hispanic	English	Spanish	English	yes	yes
Teacher	Hispanic	Bilingual	Bilingual	English	yes	NO
Comp. teacher	Anglo	English	English	English	No	NO
Librarian	Anglo	English	English	English	No	NO
Teacher's aide	Hispanic	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	yes	NO
Resource tcher	Anglo	English	English	English	yes	yes
Counselor	Hispanic	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	yes	NO
Teacher	Hispanic	Spanish	Bilingual	English	yes	No
Teacher	Hispanic	Bilingual	Spanish	English	Spanish	yes
Principal	Hispanic	Spanish	Spanish	English	yes	NO
Health Clerk	Hispanic	Spanish	Spanish	English	yes	NO
Nurse	Hispanic	English	Spanish	English	no	NO
Teacher's aide	Hispanic	English	English	English	no	NO

Figure 6. Staff and faculty for first grade.

school experiences of the staff and faculty?" This question becomes more intriguing when chronology is considered: The teachers of Proyecto Uno attended and graduated from American schools before the advent of (maintenance) bilingual education programs. Given the literature that indicates the powerful influence a teacher's experience as a student has on teaching style and teaching beliefs (*inter alia* Buchmann, 1987; Buchmann & Schwille, 1983; Butt et al., 1992; Casey, 1992, 1993; Cassanova & Budd, 1989; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Elbaz, 1991; Gomez & Tabachnick, 1992; Goodman, 1988; Graham, 1989; Holt-Reynolds, 1992; Knowles & Holt-Reynolds, 1991; Krall, 1988; Lortie, 1975, Middleton, 1993), it can be argued that the adults in charge of these students—the co-constructors of their linguistic ecology—are teaching in bilingual

programs under the heavy influence of personal and monolingual school experiences that explicitly devalued their bilingualism.

Faculty, Staff and Language Choices

Another noteworthy point of the staff profile is that all but three of those staff members who entered as Spanish dominant *had transitioned* to English dominance by the time they were teachers. Regardless of the languages spoken in their own homes, irrespective of their particular bilingual education training or professed language orientation (Ruiz, 1989)—for whatever reason, the majority of Hispanic staff members at this school had become or considered themselves to be English dominant.

Inadvertently, I participated in a conversation (before my study began)[13] in which staff members discussed the "first days of schooling," which suggested possible conditions for their language transition. During this impromptu gathering, the four teachers described bitter memories of their schooling experiences in first grade during the late 1950s and early 1960s. One teacher said that she was made to repeat first grade because she didn't speak English. Another teacher spoke of her brother's experience who was placed in a remedial program called "1C" because he didn't speak English. Two of the teachers wrote about their feelings from their primary school years as a Spanish-speaking child (Figure 7):

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[13] 120393:I3

I enjoyed today's conversation because we discussed things that were difficult for us when we were in school. It also felt good to know that we are trying to make thing different for our children...I spent 2 years in first grade because of my Spanish so I can imagine how [other students] felt.

Childhood memories—Isn't it something how much they still haunt me. Childhood memories—it still hurts and brings tears to my soul. But because of them all my senses are sharp. And I know how criticial the experiences we provide are critical to their [the children's] lives—Yes, they will survive us—especially those memories.

Figure 7. Two bilingual teachers write about childhood experiences.

Some people lose their first language. Others hide it—some more successfully than others. One staff member, with a noticeable Mexican accent, insisted that her first language was English. Another staff member, with a more noticeable accent, said that she preferred to have her interview in English so that she "would be able to express herself better." Griego-Jones (1994, p. 83) notes something similar in her research in bilingual school settings: "Spanish speakers were anxious to use English." In a similar fashion, I have often heard Mexicans in the Southwest decry others (who appear to be Hispanic) who deny their bilingualism: "¡Tienen el nopál en la frente y te dicen que no hablan español! [They have a cactus imprint on their forehead and they tell you that they don't speak Spanish!].

In sum, there were (at least) three tacit elements in the linguistic ecology of these children that were not related to the quantity of professionals, the quality of their Spanish

proficiency or even their language orientation. The first element refers to the scholastic experience of the adult: even those teachers who were philosophically in agreement with an enrichment model for bilingual education may have been operating, in fact, in a mode more in keeping with a transitional model of bilingual education rooted in their own experiences as students. The second: training of the staff included few opportunities to use Spanish in an academic setting. Moreover, none of the educators at this school had been required to take even two education courses in Spanish as part of their collegiate program.

The third element may, in fact, be a by-product of the first. Griego-Jones (1994, pp. 88-89) refers to it as "language attitude": one's "feeling toward language. . . . [T]he negative views learned from society about Spanish not being an acceptable for school." Given that all teachers must be students at some point, I would argue that such experiences and the attitudes they produce pervade not only the practices of bilingual teachers but also the linguistic ecology they help to produce and maintain.

What Does the Word "Bilingual" Mean to a Child?

The teachers who worked with the first graders as well as the majority of those who were polled, suggested that they were bilingual because they spoke English and Spanish to some degree. While there is no single, accepted definition of "bilingual," I will argue that for the purposes of this study, "the ability to communicate effectively in two languages as appropriate for the context" is sufficient. At this juncture, it would be

appropriate examine two assumptions that I explored in my research. The first assumption was that *children do not understand the concept of "bilingual" or "bilingualism."* The second assumption was that *children are aware of notions such as "fluency" or "language proficiency."*

My first assumption was the product of my review of the literature with bilingual children. Research indicates that bilingual children are able to select the appropriate language to be used with individual speakers with whom they commonly interact. However, no research was available at the time of this study to indicate that such young children would even understand the concept "bilingual." Indeed, the first three students from my focus group were not able to give any comments about bilingualism or their teachers' abilities with language except to say that their teachers spoke both English and Spanish. Two students, however, had definite ideas. The first interview is from Manuel:

HLS: La primera pregunta. ¿Qué quiere decir "bilingüe? [The first question. What does bilingual mean?]

[long pause]

HLS: ¿No sabes? Ok. Pues, bilingüe quiere decir, "hablar dos idiomas." Dos lenguas. [You don't know? Ok. Well, bilingual means speak two languages.]

Manuel: That's what I was thinking about but, I thought it wasn't, it wasn't that.

HLS: What were you going to say?

Manuel: Hunh?

HLS: Go ahead. Say it anyway.

Manuel: Um. Eso una persona que habla en dos idiomas. [That is a person who speaks two languages]

HLS: Unhuh. Y ¿has oído esa palabra antes? [Have you heard that word before?]

Manuel: [nods affirmatively]

HLS: ¿Dónde? ¿Cuándo? [Where? When?]

Manuel: En la televisión, y en con unos amigo que tengo [mumbled]. [On the television and with some of the friends I have.]

HLS: Pues, ¿en tu clase, hay muchachos bilingües? [Well, in your class, are there bilingual kids?]

Manuel: [nods affirmatively]

[moments later]

HLS: Are you bilingual?

Manuel: [nods head]

HLS: How do you know you're bilingual?

Manuel: Cause, I, I, I, speak two IDIOMAS.[languages]

HLS: ¿Cuáles son? [Which ones are they]

Manuel: En inglés y en español. [In English and Spanish]

In his interview, Manuel waited until he heard my definition of bilingual — "speak two languages" then offered a richer definition of his own, "a *person* who speaks two languages." Moreover, Manuel knew why he considered himself bilingual—he spoke English and Spanish. He identified his teachers and several classmates who also had some degree of proficiency in English as well as Spanish, again demonstrating his

understanding of the term. When I interviewed Federico, he was just as able to identify his teachers as bilingual as well as students who were. However, he was willing to share his own definition of bilingual.

HLS: Ok. Now here's the first question. It might be kind of hard. What does bilingual mean?

Federico: Aa speaking two languages.

HLS: Speaking two languages. Um. Are you bilingual?

Federico: Yes.

HLS: What two languages do you know?

Federico: Um English and Spanish.

Federico and Manuel would later offer their evaluation of language proficiency of the members of their linguistic ecology.

Spanish Proficiency: The Student's Perspective

But she can't talk . . . Spanish good[14]

Given that young children don't have access to statistics, nor direct experiences with qualitative methodologies or linguistics, it seemed doubtful that they would have any response to my questions regarding Spanish proficiency. In general, all students, including the ones in the focus group, knew who spoke English and Spanish. I wanted to find out if the students had evaluated the proficiency of those people in their linguistic

[14]Federico 062994:I3

ecology. And more specifically, what perceptions did they have about the performance of their teachers?

HLS: . . . [W]hat does the teacher speak?

Manuel: English and Espanish.

HLS: How do you know?

Manuel: Cause they, they talk like that.

HLS: Umm. How do you think the teacher knows English and Spanish?

Manuel: Cause they, they, they tell us um. Inglés, English, and Spanish.

[moments later]

HLS: . . . Y, ¿las maestras hablan mejor el inglés o hablan mejor el español? [And do the teachers speak better English or do they speak better Spanish?]

Manuel: El inglés. [English]

HLS: El inglés? Umm. [English? Umm]

Federico gave his evaluation of any student I named from his class. He also shared his evaluation of his teacher.

HLS: . . . How many kids in your class are bilingual?

Federico: Umm. Me.

HLS: You. Anybody else?

Federico: Umm [long pause] no.

HLS: Is [a fellow student] bilingual?

Federico: Yea.

HLS: He speaks English and Spanish?

Federico: [nods head]

HLS: Umm how about. . . .

Federico: . . . but not, but not that much English.

HLS: He doesn't speak that much English, mostly Spanish?

[About another student]

HLS: . . . How about [another student]?

Federico: Yea. But he speak[s] Spanish better.

[A third student is named]

Federico: He only, he likes to speak, um English but he doesn't. . . know English that good.

[Moments later]

HLS: . . . How do you know that [these classmates] are bilingual?

Federico: Umm, cause they talk mostly English.

HLS: When do you hear them speak both languages?

Federico: Sometimes.

[Moments later]

HLS: Ok. Does everybody in class speak good Spanish?

Federico: Only the ones that speak Spanish. And the ones that speak English only speak English good.

HLS: Ok. What does Miss [teacher] speak in class?

Federico: Both.

HLS: Both.

Federico: But she can't talk [mumbles] say Spanish good.

HLS: Ok. Who do you think talks better Spanish, your teacher or you?

Federico: Me.

What is especially surprising is that Federico gave an assessment that was quite close to my observations. One student he discussed preferred English but was obviously more proficient in Spanish. Other students he mentioned spoke English well, but they, too, were Spanish dominant. His assessment of his teacher was startling for three reasons: (1) it was so frank, (2) it coincided with the feelings of the two teachers who had worked with her, and (3) it shed light on comments his teacher had made herself. The following field notes,[15] were written months *before* the initiation of this study. However, they are informative in that they offer other characteristics of the ecology in which these children had to work.

> During my 20 minute (or so) stay Federico's teacher, Catalina, spoke of sense of confusion. She said, I'm "not a bilingual teacher" and "all this stuff was new" to her." She said that she tried to translate materials. She felt they weren't as good as the information in English.
>
> Later that day, as I spoke with King she approached and said something to the affect of, "Get him involved, too. I need all the help I can get. *I don't know how to be a bilingual teacher.*"

As the two interviews show, children can and do form definite opinions about bilingualism and language proficiency. While their comments linked up in some way

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[15] 082493TM

with the comments of one teacher, how do the children's comments on the teachers' language proficiency compare with that of administrators of bilingual programs—people with access to huge amounts of data and years of experience? During my interview with the principal I asked for her assessment of the language proficiency of the staff in general:

> HLS: How many teachers in your school have bilingual certification?
>
> Principal: Let's see of all . . . of the designated bilingual classrooms. . . . All will have bilingual certification by the end of the school year. We have two teachers in the process and they just need the proficiency test [supervised by the state board of education]. . . . There're ten classroom teachers that have the bilingual education endorsement, now. And then in addition to that will be one with the ESL endorsement.
>
> [Moments later, regarding proficiency]
>
> Principal: . . . The language proficiency test . . . is not a difficult test. And it's more communicative competence rather than the . . . linguistic competence [needed] . . . to teach in Spanish. . . . [T]here're quite a few teachers that are graduating this year from the University that have passed the proficiency examine . . . and they really are unable to conduct an entire day or even half the day in . . . Spanish. . . .
>
> [Later in the interview]
>
> HLS: You'd mentioned before about, the new teachers coming out of the bilingual program from the University. And you said that, in too many cases, they would be unable to sustain a full-day's instruction in in English, in Spanish. Of the teachers that you have in place, here at the school, that are bilingually certified, or endorsed . . . how many of them could sustain a day's instruction in Spanish?
>
> [Moments later]
>
> Principal: [O]ut of the three first-grade teachers, I would say two can

> do a whole day in Spanish. In kinder[garten], out of three teachers, I would say that one definitely can and the other one is close. . . . I have native [Spanish] speakers who have gone through school in English, so their vocabulary, the school vocabulary . . . is somewhat limited . . . .

Throughout her interview, the principal highlighted the strengths of her faculty, even while acknowledging linguistic shortcomings. The following comments were made to that effect:

> They can't do a whole lesson—a whole day. But yet they have the richness of the language that that even if they miss part of it, you still have good stuff happening. . . . I'm not concerned . . . [about their] level of Spanish. I mean, I expect them to improve and that's something that they put in their personal goals. . . . I'm lucky that I only have one [who needs great improvement in Spanish].

I also asked the director of bilingual education about the proficiency of the teachers. At first, he too, lauded the faculty. He felt that no other district in the state could compare with his in so far as number of bilingual faculty was concerned. . . . [N]o hay districto escolar en el estado que se compare en el numero de maestros bilingües o departamento que tenga la capacidad que tenemos nosotros. [The is no school, nor school district in the state that can compare to us in bilingual teachers, nor is there a department that has the same abilities that we have.]

Wong-Fillmore (1992) suggests that one way to sabotage a bilingual programs is to hire those who are ideologically opposed to the use of two languages. I asked the director his opinion about the preparation of the people hired for bilingual positions. Specifically, I asked him if he thought that people who were hired for bilingual slots were as qualified as those hired for the ordinary teaching slots.[16] In his opinion the bilingual

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[16]I emphasize that the director's comments refer to the entire district and *not* specifically to the Proyecto Uno School.

teachers who came to his district had the philosophical orientation necessary to implement sound bilingual programs.

> . . . [E]n mi opinión son superiores, no solo porque son bilingües, la calidad de persona que entra de [inaudible] bilingües que se graduan con certificados en educación bilingüe en mi opinión vienen mucho más bien preparados como maestros, que aquellos que no han pasado atravéz de un programa bilingüe. [In my opinion, they are better, not just because they are bilingual. The calibre of person that comes here from [inaudible] bilingual [programs], that graduate certified in bilingual education, in my opinion come much better prepared as teachers than those who have not gone through the bilingual program.

This evaluation of the preparation is indeed high. Sadly, there was a notable change in his voice as he addressed the issue of proficiency in Spanish. His reply was slow, thoughtful and diplomatic.

> Pues, ehh, algunos muy bien. Algunos hablan el español muy bien y algunos necesitan mucho más. He visto muchos maestros que se graduan y quizáz, si pueden pasar el ahh, el examen de proficiencia se que requieren [inaudible] Universidades. No, el que las [inaudible..] para, para conseguir el certificado del maestro bilingüe. Aahh, pero no suficiente para de veras, ahh, poder enseñar bien en, en español. [Well, ahh, some very well. Some speak Spanish very well and others need a lot more. I have seen many teachers that graduate and perhaps, they can pass the required [Spanish] proficiency test that is [administered by the state] Universities. [That is to say] to get the bilingual teacher certification.

Summary

In this section I have reviewed the perspectives of the children and adults regarding the human support available for Spanish development. In candid language, children were able to assess the language abilities of their classmates as well as the

Spanish proficiency of their teachers. In addition, the administrators and teachers echoed the words of the children. This portion of data analysis also revealed another potential deterent to Spanish language maintenance and development in the children: the conscious and unconscious attitudes about language and language instruction from the teachers' experiences in life and specifically as students. In short there are some bilingual teachers who work with these first graders, most teachers who work with Spanish dominant students speak some Spanish. However, to paraphrase the comment of the director of bilingual education: "Do the staff and faculty speak Spanish to such a degree to really, truly teach well in Spanish?"

Spanish Resources

". . . [Teacher, t]here are no books in Spanish. . . ."

Students often had stories read to them by the teachers, visiting adults or older students from other classes. The teachers seemed diligent in chosing stories that were in Spanish and English, as well as representative of other cultures[17]. The list found in Appendix G is an example of the stories available for "read aloud" sessions. I also read stories to the students, usually selected from the two or three children's literature books I carried in my backpack for emergencies[18]. Materials also were distributed to the students. These "assigned readings" (e.g. worksheets, minibooks) were faithfully

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[17]It should be reiterated that one of the members of the teaching team had been the Spanish reading resource teacher at the school.

[18]These titles have been incorporated into the list in Appendix 5-1.

available in both languages. Most often, these worksheets had been made by one of the instructors. Appendix H is an example.

On occasion, however, students were encouraged to "get a book and read to yourself." One March day in 1994, I went to the bookshelf in the reading alcove to get a better idea of the texts that were accessible should a child decide to read. I counted those texts that were on bookshelves that were within reach of the students—materials on the "teacher's shelf" or in the "teacher's closet" were not included. At that time there were 80 books—13 in Spanish (see Appendix G). The books in English were all colorful, fully illustrated and of various sizes, shapes and themes. Of the books in Spanish two were tattered with pages missing and another was a basal social studies text nearly 10 years old.

As I gathered data for this study, I wondered whether children saw any differences in the availability of materials. During interviews with the focus group of students I asked whether there were more books in English or Spanish in their classroom. All but one student said there were more books in English than in Spanish. One student's reply, "los dos," simply meant that books were *available* in "the two" languages. However, when I asked this student about "interest value" he suggested that the ones in English were more interesting. This excerpt records his comments:

H: Los libros en tu clase, ¿hay más en inglés o hay más libros en español? [Of the books in your class are more in English or more in Spanish?]

S1: Los dos. [Both]

H: Los dos? ¿Cuáles son más interesantes los del inglés o los del español? O sea, con, los dibujos, los cuentos y todo. ¿Cuáles son más interesantes, los del inglés o los del español? [Both? Which are more interesting, the ones in English or the ones in Spanish? I mean, with pictures and stories and all. Which ones are more interesting, the English ones or the Spanish ones?]

S1: Inglés. [English]

Basals

Answers such as these are not surprising given what I had counted in this classroom and studies cited earlier regarding the availability of materials. As I reviewed data for this study, I encountered a photograph I had taken of two children working in the reading alcove. From the photograph one can see that on the top shelf, in clear view, were three titles from the "Discovery" children's reading series: *Rocks and Minerals, Birds,* and *Insects.* This science series is popular because it is fully illustrated offering a wide variety of natural science information. Leaning in a basket directly next to them were copies of the basal reading series in Spanish; the first title was *Sorpresas* [Surprises]. About four feet away, on another shelf were other materials whose covers were facing the camera. Most of the titles were in English but two were clearly in Spanish: *La piñata* [The Piñata] and *La hoja* [The Leaf]. At an earlier point in my study, I reviewed one of the books in Spanish on display. It was a basal, too. At the time, I thought that the text was notable because it had three illustrations of Native Americans. The text read:

> Los indios ayudaron a los peregrinos a conseguir alimento. Los indios fueron sus *ayudantes*. Los peregrinos querían dar gracias. Hicieron una cena especial. Invitaron a los indios. . . . [The Indians helped the pilgrims to get food. The Indians were their helpers. The pilgrims wanted to give thanks. They made a special dinner. They invited the Indians. (Harthern, A., 1984, pp. 48-49)

Such textbook readings, while seemingly inocuous, can perpetuate oppressive myths and stereotypes about minority groups in the United States. Structurally, basals are designed to present information which is tested later. In their study, Goodman, Shannon, Freeman & Murphy (1988, p. 123) had similar findings:

> Like the English-language programs, there is usually one right answer to every question. The text is seen as being the same for all readers, and students are expected to get the same information from the text as the people who wrote the questions.

Because they tend to be translations of English, basal readings are often morphologically and syntactically imprecise in the new language. A study by Jackson-Maldonaldo (1988, p. 94) noted the complications of translated materials destined for use with children:

> [U]no de los problemas consiste en que las estructuras, los contenidos, los usos y las representaciones culturales del español son muy distintas de las lenguas en que aquéllas fueron elaboradas. Lo anterior influye en el tipo de dibujo, en el vocabulario que usa la prueba y en otros factores involucrados en su aplicación. . . . [S]u fundamento es ajeno a la cultura y a la lengua de la población en que se aplicará. [One of the problems consists of the structures, the content, the uses and the cultural representations in Spanish are very different from the languages from which they [the translated materials] were created. The foregoing influences the type of drawing, the vocabulary and other factors involved in the test and its application. Its foundation is foreign from the culture and language of the population in which it will be used].

Both first grade teachers of this team considered themselves to be holistic, child-centered educators who tried to create a classroom environment that valued many

cultures and perspectives. Their teaching practices reflected these beliefs. Basals, despite changes and updates, are never the "text of choice" for teachers operating within a holistic, child-centered belief system. In fact, in an earlier interview (RA0594:I2) one of the bilingual team members spoke about her distaste for basals. She even expressed resentment of having to use these materials with Spanish-speaking children.

> I feel imposed upon that we need to . . . expose the children to the [district] adopted textbooks. . . . [The children] have to be able to pick up a book [district basal] and read a story. . . . They're tested upon those stories. . . . The child [is evaluated and placed in a grade] on the ability to [the adopted text]. . . . [T]hose text books are really crummy and they're very boring. The other books we have are all literature books, or trade books that are so much fun to read. . . .

It seemed odd that a basal would be found in this classroom, and moreover, offered for leisure reading. That the basal readers were in Spanish is revelatory of the dearth of Spanish language materials relative to those in English; in effect, the bookshelves included all Spanish language texts available to the students and teachers at the time—even ones like the basal, that contradicted the teaching philosophy of the first grade teachers.

You Can Judge a Teacher by Her (Book's) Cover

Federico made comments that provide insight. Because he speaks English fluently, he was not among the group of students who attended Spanish language arts with the other students. When we spoke he revealed his perceptions of the role of English and Spanish in his school and classroom.

H: OK. You know what the official language of, do you know if Proyecto Uno has an official language? Do you know what official means?

Federico: Unnn [negative response]

H: Like the, the most important language. Do you know what the most important language, what the most important language is at Proyecto?

Federico: Both.

H: Both. Do you think that. . . . In your classroom, are there more books in English or more books in Spanish?

Federico: English only.

H: English only. Why do you think there are more books in English? Why do there, it's English only?

Federico: There is no Spanish?

H: Why don't you think there's any Spanish?

Federico: Cause, Mrs. Dominguez is, a English teacher.

H: Who told you that?

Federico: I just know it cause she has a lot of English books. (102694:I3)

From this quote it can be seen that the child has recognized not only the availability of Spanish materials in his classroom, he has implied also that the types of materials a teacher makes available identifies her as an English teacher. It is startling to compare his perception of materials and their availability with the comments of the principal given during the same period I interviewed the students:

Principal: There're more English-speaking teachers now ordering Spanish materials. Before, when I came here five years ago, there was zero. You were an English-speaking teacher—You only ordered [English books]. Now, all of them, whether's a monolingual English class or a bilingual class—they're all ordering Spanish materials. So I really was very happy with the [book] orders as I was signing them this year.

H: To what do you attribute the change?

Principal: The issue of bilingual—being bilingual and biliterate, for all students in this school. I think that now it's beginning to be seen as a reality. Not as something that you hope to accomplish, but you felt that you never would accomplish it. [And] mixing the students, so there's full range of language proficiency in each classroom. The teachers are seeing when they do a thematic unit—and they're teaming with a monolingual-English teacher with a bilingual teacher—there's a need to have materials in both languages. . . . [Before] no one ever thought that "Oh, maybe we need to have some stuff in Spanish."

It would appear that not all teachers saw the need "to have some stuff in Spanish." As mentioned before, Catalina Dominguez, the third teacher in the bilingual first grade team decided that she and her class would not be a part of the bilingual group. Though I never saw a book in Spanish in her classroom, there may have been. She said that when she "had books on display in Spanish, the kids don't touch them." As she said this she pointed out the two American Indian students in her class.

As I spoke with teachers in this school and in other schools about the issue of materials, many reasons were given for the dearth of books in Spanish in most of their classrooms:

1. Cost. The price of materials in Spanish is most often greater than an equivalent text in English.

2. Availability. Materials are difficult to find in Spanish in general.

3. Quality. Some people suggested that the books published in Spanish were of a lower quality and thus tended to fall apart more quickly than those materials produced in English.

4. One teacher at the school said that books in Spanish were often lost when families moved out of the neighborhood without returning borrowed materials.

A Quick Trip to the Library

Originally, part of the data for this study was to come from the library. Conceivable categories might have been: (1) children comparing and contrasting the interest value or illustrations of the materials in English versus those available in Spanish, (2) an examination of the physical quality of the materials available in both languages, (3) a discussion with the children about how often they read books in Spanish or whether they even liked to read books in Spanish. This was not done.

While I gathered the data for this study, I noted that there were less than five shelves[19] of books in Spanish. I asked several teachers their opinion of the situation. Most looked at me in disgust. Sensing great levels of frustration, I asked them why they didn't request the librarian to order more titles in Spanish. Four of the teachers said they had spoken with the librarian, to no avail, and had grown tired of making the same request. During a dialogue session, another teacher commented that the library was

[19]A "shelf" refers to a space approximately four feet wide.

never open when she wanted to take her children there. In response a teacher volunteered, "I go ask [the school secretary] for the key and take my kids in, and sign out the books myself." Other teachers at the same dialogue session said the librarian had used the arguments of "cost, availability and quality" (the reasons presented above) to explain why there were so few books in Spanish in library.

On one of the student survey instruments, a question reads "How do you feel when you go to the library and find new books in Spanish?" Guadalupe Hidalgo came to me after administering the survey to one of her students. She laughed and said, "I went to [a particular student] and when I asked him this, he said that this would never happen because there are no books in Spanish in the library!" Another teacher reported that a child said, "I've read all the books in Spanish in the library." Comments such as these indicate the students' awareness of the limited selection of materials available to support Spanish development. The teachers also have manifested displeasure with material availability. When I spoke with the principal, I asked if she felt that there were an equal number of materials in English and Spanish. Her response concurred with the students and teachers:

> No, it's not and it will never be as long as bilingual schools receive the same amount of allocations for library books (. . . the same amount as schools that only need to purchase materials in one language). So I really don't have a full budget. . . . I have half the budget, that other schools have for English. . . . [E]very year the gap continues to increase and increase. . . . I've been lobbying for extra monies for Spanish materials. . . . I use about, usually about $700.00 out of the school's money, not the library money, but the school monies, to buy materials in Spanish for the library.

> As the budget's become tighter . . . I'm not able to keep up. . . . [W]e lose many more books in Spanish, then we do in English. [P]art of the reason [is that] we have a lot of families that leave in the middle of the night—move— and when they move, whatever is in their house, that belongs to the school, it goes with them. . . .
>
> [I]n two years $3,000 worth of Spanish materials when our annual budget is $1,300 for the entire year. . . . We lose more books than, than we purchase. So, bilingual education did give me about $1,000 this school year to replace those books, some of the books. But um, but there's not a system in place. I just have to beg them.

Summary

None of the educators at this school deny the importance of having books in Spanish—even those teachers who are not Spanish dominant. However, as the children, the faculty, and my observations note, the quantity and quality of materials in Spanish available to these children is not even remotely equal to the quantity available in English. Specifically, even in the bilingual classroom used for this study, where the teachers are philosophically committed to bilingual education, the materials available were insufficient to make a strong contribution to a child's Spanish language development when compared to what is commonly available in English. While the principal must "beg" for funding, the students beg for books in Spanish.

Language Use in the Classroom and School

In the first part of this chapter, I discussed the ways in which the Spanish proficiency of the staff was viewed by the students and the adults who work in the area.

Through interviews, discussions and observations I became aware of the school's general inability address the needs of its Spanish dominant students in the same way that it provided for its students with English fluency. In the section that follows, I analyze more events that occurred within Room #2 and the possible affects they had on the children's notion of language.

Quantifying Language

Check Marks

As stated in Chapter 1, one of the most salient aspects of a linguistic ecology is the dynamics of language use within the school and the classroom. One strategy I used to record the speech events between the teachers and students included the use of check marks ("√"). For example, using 15-minute blocks of time, I wrote down the speech of the teachers and students while they were engaged in an activity. *Figure 1* is an excerpt from my field notes.[20] Here, the classroom teacher and a mathematics resource teacher present a lesson that integrated "number" and symmetry (i.e., 2x2, 3x3, 4x4) and literacy using a drawing of a ladybug. From the students seated on the carpet near the blackboard, Josefina was selected to tell which number pair she had used to create a story with a partner. The "√" refers to a phrase in English, a "T" underneath means it was an instructional (teaching) phrase, a "C" means general comment, and the "!" means

[20]022194:13

√ √ √ √ √ ! T	Ya tenemos 3 & más 3 [We already have 3 + plus 3]	√ √ √ √ √ √ T T T C T T
¿Cuántas patas pongo en este lado? [How many legs do I place on this side?]		¿Cuántas? [How many?]
√ √ C	Yo quiero oir las historias. √ [I want to hear the stories]	Josefina, ¿puedes compartir? [Josefina, can you share?]
[Josefina speaks in Spanish from 3-6 minutes]		
Gracias por... [Thanks for]	Mi hijo, please. [My son, please]	Dinos cómo hiciste la historia. [Tell us how you did the story]
¿Quién lo escribió? [Who wrote it?]		Rápido, hay mucho que hacer. [Quickly, there's a lot to do.]
Piénsalo. Vamos a dibujar. [Think about it. Let's draw.]		Tú escoges una diferente. [Choose a different one.]
√ Gracias. √ ! [Thanks]	Ya lo puedes borrar. ! [You can erase it now.]	¿A cuál escogiste? [Which did you choose?]

Figure 8. A record of a timed speech event of one teacher comparing Spanish and English use.

the phrase was for reprimand.[21] When 15 minutes had elapsed, I stopped note-taking and reviewed what I had written. I soon realized that this approach, while quantifying "sound bites," ignored much of the dynamics involved in teaching in two languages, specifically:

1. This approach did not reveal whether a teacher selected a language because it was the child's dominant language (i.e., to reinforce the student's L1).

[21]This excerpt features the "voice" of the resource teacher only.

2. It did not reveal whether a teacher selected a language because the child was weak in that language (i.e., to provide practice in L2).

3. It did not indicate whether a teacher selected a language because she didn't know the words in the other language.

In addition, while this strategy gave me the means to categorize the speech events (e.g., instructional talk, general comments) I did not need an additional evaluative instrument for such categorization: my earlier observations over two years confirmed that the main teachers (King and Hidalgo) used Spanish and English equally for praise and general comments to the students. Moreover, such a tally did not illuminate the underlying social issues of the linguistic ecology.

Daily Inventory

Another approach I used was to ask the children how much they had used the two languages in the course of the school day (Appendix H). On 15 random days, I asked students:

1. Did you read more in English or Spanish today?
2. Did you write more in Spanish or English today?
3. Did you speak more in English or Spanish today?

In general, the response of the children suggested that much more time had been spent using English than using Spanish. However, there were methodological problems,

especially concerning consistency of the responses, that call into question the strength of these findings:

1. *Student attendance*. There were occasions when students would not attend school because of illness or another personal reason. When this occurred, obviously, the student was not available to answer the questionnaire.

2. *Student grouping*. Because the teachers frequently worked with small groups (4-9) students in other locations (e.g., a different classroom, the school library, the home of a parent, a local museum) there was no guarantee that I would encounter the same group of students for any consecutive set of days.

3. *Student recall*. In general, my observations and my review of student papers from the morning's activities substantiated their responses to this series of questions. However, on one occasion, a student from my focus group responded that he had "written more in English than in Spanish" that day, when, in fact, the students had not engaged in any writing all morning!

4. *Affective filter* (Krashen, 1974). I noted also that those children who were uncomfortable in their second language (L2) considered any time spent dealing with their L2 as extreme. Consequently, such students often responded with "I read more in [L2] today," when, in fact, I had observed that comparatively little time had been spent using the language in question.

As with the tallying method, this survey added another element to the overall picture of the classroom linguistic ecology, specifically that the students perceived that they spent more time using English than Spanish. However, there were other events captured in my field notes that suggest more powerful processes and experiences in the classroom that have bearing on language choice.

The Influence of Other Instructors in the Classroom

"1,2,3,4"

When this study was originally planned, the three first-grader teachers were to be the adult "focus-group." However, there were other adults who worked with the students in Room #2 while I collected data. For example, both teachers agreed to mentor a student teacher. The presence of these individuals, especially the student teacher assigned to Room #2, appeared to have a powerful effect on the students' language choices.

The student teacher, a tall, blond Anglo female in her early 30s, began her observations of the class in January of 1994. Before deciding to work with classroom #2, she had the opportunity to talk with other faculty of the school and to visit their classrooms. By the end of January, she was incorporated into the teaching team's planning sessions. She soon took on an increasingly more responsible role with the students, even during the Spanish language arts time. After a few days of enthusiasm with the class, she began to show less energy. In spite of what may have been her initial

interest and concern for the children in first grade, the rapport she soon established with the students was so poor that I became uncomfortable conducting observations while she taught the class.

One factor that contributed to the rapport was communication. To her credit, she did read stories to the children in Spanish and prepared lessons in English and Spanish for those periods assigned to her by Ms. King, the regular teacher. However, during most of my observations when she was leading class, she used in English. This next excerpt from my fields notes[22] indicates how early into her classroom experience such difficulties arose. It also gives and indication of the inordinate amount of time used English with the children:

> Start:12:00—End: 1:00
>
> I arrived around noon. Both King and Hidalgo are absent. I noticed the students carried small paper cups. The student teacher told me that the class was practicing "a word for freeze." Today it was pretzel. She had a box of pretzel sticks and every so often she would say "pretzel" loudly and the children were supposed to stop in mid-activity. They were rewarded with pretzel sticks into their cups.

At that point in my field notes I wrote, *"Question: What . . . does the word "pretzel", the game of "freeze" or even the food itself have to do with learning in general or with learning in a bilingual context?."* I continued to observe the students and the student teacher.

> Student teacher: 1,2,3,4, FREEZE! How nice. Did you see the way everyone just stopped where they were [looking over at me]? Now, if I

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[22] 020294:I3

> wanted to say something important I would have everyone's attention and they would hear me

At that comment I wrote: *RI wanted to ask, 'So why didn't you say something important?'"* The instructions for this activity were given in English. In my reflections on my observations I wrote:

> *I also noted how even this vapid exchange was rendered in English. The student teacher speaks Spanish. On several occasions—going to lunch with the group of teachers, at in-class teacher meetings, in front of the class—I heard her use Spanish. My feeling was that Spanish could have been used.*

The children, by week's end, had learned their lesson well: When the student teacher began with "1,2,3!" the students would shout "4!" before she could say "pretzel." Another excerpt from my field notes[23] illustrates this occurrence:

> Student teacher: I want your attention! [pause] I want your attention! [pause] I want your attention! [pause] I want your attention! 1, 2, 3, pretzel!
>
> Student: 1, 2, 3, 4!

As the student teacher's time in the classroom progressed, two observations became more pronounced: (1) her use of English and (2) the discipline problems. My field notes capture part of the dynamics:

> This is the part of field note taking that I dislike most. The student teacher has been in charge today. "In charge" might be a misnomer in this case. The kids have been terrible. What does this have to do with language acquisition or the linguistic environment? Let me try to relate it.

---

[23] 032894:I3

For most of this time, the student teacher has been trying to capture the students' attention.

> *"Esther, look at me! You should be participating in this group. Stop looking at him!"*

While at the beginning I did hear occasional phrases in Spanish,

> *"Vamos a formar arañas con los pretzels. . . ."*
> ["Let's make spider webs with the pretzels. . . ."]

for the most part of this day [since 9:00 this morning] the issue has been behavior and it has been addressed in English. It's now about 12:30 and the student teacher is trying to elicit good behavior with bribes.

> *"What are some things that you could earn if you are well behaved?"*

She had written the choices for the kids (in English only).

> FREE CHOICE, STICKERS, TOYS (TOYS) PRETZELS

In sum, the experiences these children had with this student teacher were saturated with her almost constant use of English and her focus on control issues. The events with this instructor are especially important for two reasons:

(1) By March, she had full instructional responsibilities for this class, and

(2) She was awarded her certification as a bilingual teacher.

While these unfortunate experiences were obviously an extreme, they did occur—and they occurred over a relatively long period of the total school year. What is even more telling and unfortunate is that this student teacher subsequently was given license to teach in a bilingual classroom.

Where the French Speak English

Ms. King tried to offer as many novel experiences to her students as possible. She was acquainted with a young, Hispanic man who volunteered to give her students French lessons from time to time. His schedule was never fixed, so on occasion he would appear during the period I had scheduled observations in Room #2. I noted some of his manner and the ways in which he interacted with the students with language.

> Today I arrived around 9:30. The student teacher was in charge. Jacinto, the occasional French volunteer teacher was also there. I really don't think he comes more than 1 hour a week. Perhaps 1 hour every other week would be more accurate. Still, he's a resource. A tall, pleasant young man. *Very old school.* He literally had an alphabet chart and was doing a recitation in French. He had begun to visit with King's class since the time she was teaching on the other side of the building (which would make it about two years ago?).

As is commonly known, French and Spanish have related etymologies. For that reason, I was surprised to see that Jacinto seldom took advantage of the similarities when teaching French. In my field notes from that day I reflected on what I had seen:

> Jacinto is Chicano. Because he is teaching them a foreign language, I was curious to say what "instructional" language he would use with the kids. On occasion he would refer to Spanish in an attempt to make a bridge.
>
> > *You know how we say "I griega" in Spanish?*
> > *Well, it's "I grecke" in French.*
>
> Throughout this lesson, Jacinto uses English. He introduces phrases and word in French and makes reference to Spanish. A quick and dirty linguistic analysis of the amount of French, Spanish, and English produced during Jacinto's interaction with the group would be:
>
> French 20%
> Spanish 5%
> English 75%

> The high figure in English is due in part because of the way instruction is provided. I have not witnessed any attempt to illicit novel responses from the children (i.e. *Oú est la professeur?*), or consistently/methodic use of Spanish (or English) to learn French. A typical exchange would be:
>
> > *Well, now let's say the alphabet. Listen and repeat after me. A, B, C, etc.*
> >
> > *Oú est la tête?*

As a volunteer, Jacinto need not be expected to display a high degree of fluency in Spanish nor serve as a language model. However, he is a model for the students of Room #2 in another way. He is a bright, young Hispanic male, in college, who informs the children that French and Spanish share many similarities, *but then proceeds to use English as the language of instruction.* In essence his public language or *lingua franca* is English, even when teaching a foreign language. Jacinto is another example of an Hispanic who muffles his knowledge of Spanish in public. That the public space is a bilingual classroom punctuates the anomaly: English is used more often with this volunteer than the two other languages combined.

<u>*Catalina Dominguez*</u>

"She's a English teacher."

The reader will remember that, originally, the responsibility for the first-grade students was to be shared by three teachers. Working as a team, they were to plan together, model language behaviors, and in general support each other. Catalina Dominguez, one original member of the team, decided not to work with the bilingual

team a few weeks into the semester. Even as I focused on Room #2, I tried to stay in touch with her for two important reasons: (1) I thought that she was a nice person, and (2) I knew that she held very negative feelings toward bilingual education, in spite of her placement in a bilingual school. In addition, the seven students who attended Spanish language arts in Room #2 were primarily her instructional responsibility for the rest of the school day.

I had mentioned some of my research interests to Catalina: "I wanted to know if the first grade students, in general, had a language preference at such an early age." On those occasions when I spoke with Catalina she often made mention of my research and her own beliefs about language, culture and education. The following exchange taken from my field notes[24] illustrates her line of discourse on the topic:

> Catalina: You know. I was thinking. The other day when you said that you thought the answers would be the same for both [first-grade] groups. I think you're right. But, why are you asking the kids which language they prefer if you know their answers are going to be the same?"
>
> HLS: Well, I'm just guessing right now. Later on, after doing the surveys, we'll know for sure.
>
> Catalina: Well, they [the students] have told me that English is richer. "This country is English" and they say that "English is needed to get a job."

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[24]021494

On another occasion[25] she informed me of a more developed theory of hers regarding languages:

> I entered Catalina's class to administer more language surveys. As I approached her to get her permission to do them she tapped my stack of papers and said: "The more we do this the more I'm learning about this bilingual stuff. And I think I have the answer. . . ."
>
> "Yes. The parents who come from Mexico want their children to learn English because they think it's an opportunity for their children. They don't want their kids learning Spanish. They say they've come here for them to learn English, not Spanish. The parents that have been here for a while don't mind them learning two languages, but the parents who come from the border think that English is better than Spanish. They don't understand that they're both the same."

In spite of her stating that English and Spanish are "both the same," her students were exposed to real differences. In general, Spanish was seldom used in her classroom. Two events substantiate this.

During a discussion about the first-grade "family night" at the school, the resource teacher offered to give each parent in attendance a little activities book. Ms. King and Ms. Hidalgo were quite pleased to know that the books were in Spanish. I recorded this meeting in my field notes.[26]

> During lunch while the kids were out, the resource teacher offered to order enough copies of little math books to give out during "Family Math Night." She told Hidalgo that they were all in Spanish. One of teachers commented about"Catalina's kids."

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[25]022994

[26]020994

A look of exasperation appeared on the faces of Hidalgo and King. This meant that English materials were expected. The resource teacher suggested a "little book about spiders" she could give out. It was common knowledge that the greater majority of students in first grade came from Spanish-speaking households. Hidalgo said resolutely, "Let's give them all in Spanish!" If in fact, all teachers provided experiences in both languages, perhaps the additional book from the resource teacher was unnecessary. At one point I asked Federico, "Does your teacher ever read you stories in Spanish?" He replied, "No."

As King and Hidalgo worked with her, they began to see Catalina as a "handicap"[27] on a bilingual teaching team. The complained that philosophically they were worlds apart. According to King, she had witnessed Catalina laugh when another teacher tried to use Spanish with a group of her [Catalina's] students, displaying both a lack of respect for the language and the teacher's attempt to use Spanish.

Hidalgo and King were so discouraged with her behaviors on the bilingual teaching team that they planned to discuss it at their group meeting. Although King planned not to share all of her feelings regarding Catalina (to avoid appearing unduly "critical,") she did tell me that she was sure that the "shit was going to hit the fan" at the group meeting on Wednesday.[28] What eventually happened was Catalina's departure from the team.

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[27]Taken from field notes 082493:I3

[28]Taken from field notes 082493:I3

Instructors in the School

There were two features of Proyecto Uno that made it a bilingual school: (1) its official district designation and, (2) the large Spanish-speaking population in the neighborhood. What remained questionable was the philosophical stance or belief system of the faculty regarding language and culture.

In an earlier chapter, I described the school's historic practice of separating children based on their perceived language abilities. Two years before this study began, that practice ceased. The principal recognized it as a form of *de facto* segregation. The teachers reflected on the policy and the resulting behavior, as manifested in the "Rock War" (see Chapter 4), and agreed to place students in classes irrespective of children's language dominance the following academic year.

While school policy could be changed after a brief discussion, the belief systems of the teachers proved more resistant to change. This became apparent at an animated dialogue on February 5, 1993, in which the staff discussed the possible reassignment of two teachers because of district restructuring.[29] The principal, who was ultimately responsible for the decision, said that she would decide according to the needs of the students. In her opinion, the students needed bilingual teachers. Those teachers who were most at risk of reassignment, the monolingual teachers, were most vocal. Their comments were recorded by my research colleague, Anna Loebe (A. Loebe, personal communication, June, 1993):

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[29]The school district plan was to place sixth-grade classes in middle schools.

> "There's reverse discrimination in losing two non-bilingual teachers. . . .If I was more fluent in Spanish [I could keep my job]."
>
> "Would there be a difference in how you teach because you're bilingual?"
>
> "Just because you're bilingual may not mean you're a good teacher."

At the dialogue session later in February, 1993, a teacher focus (study) group on language issues made a presentation. The members of the group were bilingual and capitalized on the opportunity to use their Spanish in professional discourse. They had prepared an outline of their progress report in Spanish on a large sheet of butcher-block paper. On the day of their presentation, they taped the outline to the wall and a spokesperson translated it while highlighting their findings. This bilingual presentation was the cause of great discussion, which unmasked the fears of some teachers. In her field notes Loebe (personal communication, June 1993) recorded the following statements:

> "I want to discuss the issue of bilingualism and the staff because at the end of our last dialogue . . . there were lots of feelings expressed when [the language development focus group] wrote out their notes in Spanish. [One of the group's members] stated 'Bombardment in English-only is damaging'. . . ."

She later said that she felt "very excluded." Another English monolingual teacher at the dialogue session said she felt "devalued." In spite of their possible feelings of exclusion or devaluation there are two essential points that should not be overlooked in this discussion:

1. The student population was overwhelmingly Spanish-speaking. Hence, the greater need was for those who could communicate effectively with the students and their parents in two languages.

2. Those teachers possessing a state endorsement in ESL methodology enjoyed the same employment security as their bilingual counterparts. The educators who felt excluded (and who did not possess an ESL endorsement) did not have the academic preparation to work with the Spanish-dominant students.

A final word is in order about one of the teachers who expressed great disagreement with the possible reassignment (which was ultimately postponed). I had the opportunity to interview her earlier for another study. At that time she said, "Before I began teaming [when students were separated by language], I used to think that people who didn't speak English weren't as smart as those who did."

No Spanish On-Camera, Please

On Friday, January 7, 1994, the mathematics resource teacher said that the Public Broadcasting Services (PBS) had contacted the school district office in search of outstanding bilingual programs that featured mathematics. The bilingual first-grade at Proyecto Uno was selected. Ms. Hidalgo spoke to me about a telephone call she had received from a representative of the show. She was concerned with the program and the exchange with the gentleman who called: When she told him that the language of

instruction in the classroom would probably be more in Spanish than in English he replied, "That won't work out. You'll have to do it in English."

When Ms. King learned this, she said that she didn't like it but that if it was to benefit bilingual education, she would make adjustments. She added that if such modifications would allow more people to understand bilingual education she "would bite the bullet" and do it. Ms. Hidalgo thought differently: "If I have to speak in English for some audience when Spanish is more appropriate for what the kids are learning then I won't want to do it! I don't want to do it!"

I suggested they write down their concerns and forward them to the PBS representative. Happily the teachers were able to convince him of the need for linguistic authenticity in a bilingual classroom (in PBS' program on bilingual education). However, even momentary censure of one's natural language was offensive. The irony is greater when one remembers that the program was created to highlight bilingual programs.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented my analysis of the events and materials of a bilingual classroom that could support the development of Spanish, highlighting the perspective of the children. With quantitative measures I was able to discern a basic trend. The students recognized that English was used most often. Through my interviews and other qualitative data collection, I noted how many of the children had evaluated the

performance of their teachers in Spanish as well as the materials the provided: Students found both lacking. I observed how Spanish-dominant children stifled the use of their stronger language to communicate with the student teacher in English because it was her stronger language.

Children, by virtue of the language the teacher used, understood that "Aquí no se habla español [Spanish is not spoken here]." I watched as potential role models for the students habitually stifled and denied their language abilities. In so doing they articulated their preference for English as there public language. A subtle yet powerful message emerged: "You may be seen, but your language should not be heard." Finally, the data also revealed experiences the teachers themselves had as students (and as adults) that told them the language they possessed was unacceptable.

The events discussed in the proceeding section are an example of the kinds of issues young, bilingual children are exposed to, observe among themselves and adults, and must negotiate as they develop language proficiencies. The need for bilingual educators is so great that even those person who are ill-suited for bilingual teaching are granted certification, as exemplified by the student teacher in Room #2. People with knowledge of Spanish, like the French instructor, chose not to use it, even when it might facilitate learning or be better suited for the task of instruction. There are teachers like Ms. Catalina Dominguez who say they support bilingualism, but often manifest behaviors that indicate an opposite view. Other teachers and educators professed a concern for children, especially those in bilingual communities, yet failed to offer them the services

they need, or overtly and in more subtle ways devalued the languages the children possess

What is the result? My field notes provide one answer. One day in February, 1994 I interviewed Gloria, a student from Ms. Dominguez' room. As I did with every student, I showed her two lists of questions and asked, "Lo quieres en español o inglés?" [Do you want it in Spanish or English?] At first Gloria said, "español" [Spanish], whereupon I began the interview in Spanish. Suddenly, unexpectedly, she grabbed her head with clenched fists and said:

"I mean I want English. I don't like Spanish. I hate Spanish."

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

For this dissertation, I examined the *linguistic ecology* of a Spanish-English, bilingual first grade classroom in a large metropolitan school district in the southwestern United States. Linguistic ecology is a term I adapted from the work of Hamilton (1983), to refer to the communicative behaviors (written and spoken) of a group. I used two questions to delineate my focus on the linguistic ecology of this classroom: (1) *How did the children interpret the roles of English and Spanish in their classroom environment?* and (2) *What resources, human and material, were available to support the development of both languages in this bilingual classroom?*

Categories

I restated the questions to three overarching interpretive categories to describe and analyze the linguistic ecology as viewed by the children. Those categories were: (1) materials available in the school to support Spanish development, (2) staffing for bilingual instruction, and (3) dynamics of language use within the school. A fourth, descriptive category, language policy, was found to be not directly salient to the children (and so was not identified as an interpretive category), yet in my larger analysis, this category interfaced with the other categories. Language policy is used in this chapter to contextualize my findings, to underscore the most salient points of analysis and to relate

my discoveries to earlier research indicating how the present study contributes to the general body of literature on bilingual education and language acquisition.

The underlying assumption of this study was that bilingual (Spanish-English) children, by age seven, would be able to discern and interpret the role and status of English and Spanish in their school environment in ways that are comparable to those of adults. Also, it was assumed that children would analyze the spoken and written language events in their classroom and their school surroundings, as well as the persons who created them. I was especially interested in learning whether the perceptions of the students would be in keeping with the findings of researchers on the same issues and events.

As data were gathered to answer the aforementioned questions, I became aware of broader issues that affect and help to create the linguistic ecology of this, or any, bilingual first grade. Through my interviews and observations, the participants within this linguistic ecology informed me of the systemic issues that confine and configure their language experiences. This case study, then, documents and interprets, through qualitative means, the social and educational processes—large and small—through which bilingual children in one U.S. school come to appreciate the prestige and power of English versus Spanish.

Literature Relevant to the Study

The two initial questions were based on a review of the literature focusing on bilingual education. The findings of the studies indicated that in bilingual classrooms: (1)

more time is devoted to English instruction (National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1986; Paulston, 1978); (2) more communication occurs in English, even during those periods which have been reserved for Spanish language instruction (Edelsky & Hudelson, 1980); (3) few teachers have high levels of Spanish proficiency (Ada, 1986; Baca & Chinn, 1982; Shuy, 1981); (4) the personnel of bilingual schools, even those who possess a high degree of fluency in Spanish, utilize more English than Spanish in the school environment (Edelsky & Hudelson, 1980); and (5) Spanish language resource materials (e.g. textbooks, charts, videos, records) are fewer in number and often less appealing than their English-language counterparts (Allen, 1993).

As stated in Chapters 1 and 2, of all the studies conducted on bilingualism and bilingual education in the United States over the last three decades, the majority have focused on Spanish-speaking groups (González, 1991). My review of the literature indicated that bilingualism and bilingual education have been examined from various perspectives including an historical perspective (e.g. Conklin & Lourie, 1983; San Miguel, 1983), a legal perspective (e.g. Combs, 1992; Crawford, 1992; Fradd & Vega, 1987), a cognitive perspective (Bialystok, 1991; Oksaar, 1989; Diaz & Klingler, 1991), socially (McCarty, 1994; Moll, 1992; Olson, 1983) and psycholinguistically (Goodman, Goodman, & Flores, 1979; McLaughlin, Rossman, & McLeod, 1983).

Within my review of the literature on bilingualism and bilingual education I noted two critiques: (1) the majority of such studies concentrate on the individual's ability to acquire English (cf. Gonzalez, 1991) and (2) there are relatively few qualitative studies of

bilingual classrooms (cf. Trueba, 1985). I noted also that very few studies, in general, attempt to highlight the perspective of the child. Through the present study, I hoped to address this breech in the literature.

An Additional Factor in Language Loss

The explanations given for the language loss of linguistic minority students have fallen into the broad categories of policy and pedagogy. As explained in Chapter 1, these perspectives are not mutually exclusive but, rather, are interconnected. However, the data from this study suggest that there is an additional factor to account for the large-scale language shift, and, ultimately, language loss experienced by linguistic minorities.

This study give strong support to the idea that students infer that a transition to English is the goal of schooling by (1) the paucity of materials in their native language, (2) the less-than-optimum fluency of their teachers in the students' home language, and (3) the overwhelming presence of the English language—even in bilingual programs—as signs that English is valued over the native languages in the school and the wider society (represented by the school). In the sections that follow I summarize the findings from my data analysis vis-a-vis the current literature in the field of bilingualism, bilingual education and second language acquisition.

Instructional Materials: Books in Spanish

I used various strategies and techniques (described in Chapter 3) to obtain the children's opinions and their understandings of the printed matter made available to them in their linguistic ecology. In my interviews with school and district staff, I asked the adults similar questions to those asked of students regarding the availability of materials in the class and in the school. Data from interviews were compared with data from an inventory I made of the written artifacts (books, posters, student work, teacher instructions) on display in the classrooms. In this next section I recapitulate my findings regarding textbooks in the classroom and the school.

Basals: The Worst of All Possible Worlds

Knowledgeable educators recognize the value of colorful illustrations, variety, and richness of text to encourage literacy development. Because they violate much of current research about language and literacy, basal readers are anathema to legions of teachers, including those at this school. I was baffled to find basal texts in Room #2 because the teachers mentioned their preference for trade books. In particular, Ms. Hidalgo was especially vocal in her displeasure with basals:

> . . . [T]hose text books are really crummy and they're very boring. The other books we have are all literature books, or trade books that are so much fun to read. . . .

I do not recall multiple copies of the English basal reader in Room #2 and there were none in English in the reading alcove. If these two teachers were wary of basals in English, because of reasons cited earlier, it would seem reasonable to expect the same restriction on Spanish basal readers. What emerges is a double standard for literacy.

The Systemic Inequality and Inability

Regarding materials in English, teachers made available texts that were more varied, more intellectually stimulating, more recently published, multicultural and generally more inviting to a child as well as more numerous than in Spanish. Those materials in Spanish were fewer in number, dull, older and culturally disconnected from the students. My observations and discussion with Ms. Hidalgo and Ms. King indicated that they were well aware of research on early literacy and bilingualism. Illustrative of that literature is the work by Schon (1982, p. 20) which indicates that:

> The initial reading experience of Spanish dominant children should be in Spanish. Their reading skills can improve concurrently with their increased knowledge of English. If the students are able to read Spanish well, the transition to reading English will present no major difficulty.

I suggest that these bilingual first-grade students were unknowingly given something stronger than a message. I would argue that they were confronted with intellectual

motivation to become English dominant, at least in the aspect of literacy: their classroom was systemically ill-prepared to provide literacy support in any language other than English.

Questions of Quantity and Quality

All teachers at the school expressed an appreciation of the need for children's literature in Spanish for classroom use. Such views were articulated in interviews, informal meetings and at the dialogue sessions I attended. I observed as teachers read stories to children in Spanish. During the time of this study, as stated by the principal, an increasing number of English monolingual teachers ordered Spanish trade books and other materials. The data do not dispute the existence of the materials or their use. What the data call into question are issues of quantity and quality.

In Room #2 the teachers commonly read stories to the children in English and in Spanish. Materials created by the instructors were done in both English and Spanish, usually on the same page, in parallel form. However, there was a noticeable lack of books in Spanish. The reader will recall my field notes from the day I counted the books within reach of the children that were in Spanish. There were 13. If every child in Room #2 wanted to read a book in Spanish, there were not sufficient copies on display for every child to have one, although there were sufficient copies (67) in English for every first grader *in the school.* While the teachers took great pains to procure materials in Spanish for the children, in general there were relatively few available in Spanish for "free reading"

time as compared to English. During the period when I was a participant observer in the classroom (from January until June, 1994) at no time did the amount of materials in Spanish equal 30 percent of those available in English. Given the commitment Ms. King and Ms. Hidalgo possess toward bilingualism, what might be the reason for the disparity in materials in English and Spanish?

Reasons for the Disparity Between Materials in English and Spanish

Cost

The teachers at the school said that materials in Spanish were often more expensive than those in English. I have witnessed both Ms. King and Ms. Hidalgo purchase materials for classroom use with their own money, without school compensation. It is doubtful that they would refrain from purchasing a text in Spanish because of its price.

Availability

In spite of the increasing number of publications for children in Spanish, the selection is not comparable that in English. Bookstores that specialize in children's literature do not carry many titles in Spanish and therefore must place special orders for their customers. Under regular circumstances, this might explain the lack of materials in Spanish for the children in their linguistic ecology. However, the school was located minutes away from one of the largest distributors (and publishers) of books in Spanish in the Southwest.

Dozens of titles found on the shelves in that store would have been appropriate for the Spanish-speaking students.

Loss

Another possible reason for the lack of books in Spanish was loss—children not returning books borrowed. While this may have contributed to the problem, it would seem that children were just as likely to retain books in English as those in Spanish. Indeed, there was a wider selection in English from which to choose for "retention."

Student-Centered Learning: Cause for the Disparity Between Texts

During my period of participant observation in Room #2 as well as the years prior, Ms. King and Ms. Hidalgo continually amazed me with the activities they created with their students. Students were periodically seated on the floor and asked to suggest ideas for exploration with the lead question, "What do you want to learn?" As the students gave their interests, the ideas were classified into categories. Topics were selected from the categories and then steps and procedures were decided.[20] One important step in this process was the acquisition of materials. The interests of the children were so varied and sophisticated that often the information was not available in the local stores in Spanish.

[20]This is an extremely simplified description of the process of inquiry I witnessed in this classroom.

The teachers addressed the problem of the lack of materials in Spanish by (1) making special orders for books and materials in Spanish, (2) translating the materials into Spanish from the English, (3) creating the materials in Spanish themselves and (4) using relevant material available in English to satiate the desires of the students. Each of the solutions carried with it complications.

Dilemmas

Many times an ordered book was slow to arrive, long after the interest in (or the time for) a topic had passed. The teachers did not always have the time to translate materials into Spanish. The teachers often created materials, but the quality of commercially published materials and "homemade" were quite different and noticeable to students. Materials in English offered little support for Spanish development and certainly sent a message to the children: "If English is not dominant, it is certainly omnipresent."

Ms. King and Ms. Hidalgo were faced with this dilemma daily. They could engage their students in an active learning process in English using a wide variety of accessible, professionally created materials, or accept the extra (and unpaid) challenge of locating, translating, and or creating materials in the child's dominant language. If highly experienced, creative and equi-lingual teachers like Ms. King and Ms. Hidalgo struggle with such a decision, it would seem reasonable that educators with less experience, less creativity, less fluency (in either language), less time or less money would feel more

pressure to use materials in English—despite whatever beliefs they had regarding bilingual education.

Books in the Library

The situation at the library was presented in Chapter 5. In the opinion of one student, "There were no books in Spanish in the library." The child's comment was only a slight exaggeration—at the time of data collection, there were only four shelves of books in Spanish in the library. The teachers at the school admitted that they had complained for several years about the lack of Spanish reading materials to the librarian and the principal. The principal acknowledged the great disparity in the availability of texts in English and Spanish. The poor selection of Spanish reading materials in the library all but annulled the need for parts of this study.

Other Research

The children's comments that there "were no books in the library," or that they "had read all the books in Spanish in the library" were never disputed by the teachers or the principal. Indeed, the children's observations were supported by current research. Allen's (1993) survey of library media centers in 62 schools with large Spanish-speaking student populations[21] echoes the comments of the children and my observations. In her work, she found that "more than half of those schools surveyed had less than 10 percent of

[21]The survey included 53 schools with a range in Spanish-speaking populations from 31 to 100 percent.

their holdings in Spanish" (Allen, 1993, p. 444). Nine schools had less than one percent and "one school holding between 31 and 40 percent" (Allen, 1993, p. 444).

In the Proyecto Uno School library, teachers considered the books available in Spanish of questionable value because of their topic, their condition or their old date of copyright. At the time of this study, with a Spanish-speaking population of over 90 percent, the school library had roughly two books in Spanish for each of its students who spoke Spanish. Allen (1993) had similar findings. Taken as a whole, the schools she surveyed reported that less than 10 percent of their holdings were in Spanish. Allen offered one school with a large (333) Spanish-speaking populations as an example—there were fewer than two books per student in Spanish, much like Proyecto Uno.

Budgetary Concerns

According to the principal, bilingual schools receive the same library allocations as (English) monolingual schools for library books. Those schools that foster monolingualism do not have to divide their library monies between languages. As she reflected on her situation, the principal said, "I really don't have a full budget. . . . I have half the budget, that other schools have for English. . . . [E]very year the gap continues to increase and increase. . . ."

She also expressed concern about budget reductions: "As the budget's become tighter I know that I'm not going to be able to keep up." This reduction trend has been noted by researchers (i.e. Miller & Shontz, 1991). Allen (1993, p. 446) in agreement with

the comment of the principal asserts that "If expenditures per pupil are declining, and book prices rising, holdings of Spanish language materials are unlikely to improve."

Selection and Staffing

Allen (1993) offers an extended discussion about book selection for the library that is beyond the scope of this dissertation. At Proyecto Uno, teachers reported that they had made oral and written requests for Spanish materials to the librarian. When the librarian's actions were not in compliance to the wishes of the teachers, they complainted to the principal. In her interview, the principal said she had made "more monies available for the purchase of materials." However, at the time of this study, that was not reflected in what was available in the school library in Spanish.

A final point, staffing for library services is straightforward: the schools' part-time librarian did not speak Spanish.[22] As I presented earlier, the director of bilingual education said, "there were no Spanish-speaking librarians." Allen's (1993, p. 441) data revealed that 62 percent of the school library media specialists (librarians) "had either low or no proficiency in Spanish." The following table summarizes and compares the trends of schools surveyed by Allen and the library of Proyecto Uno.

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[22]The school did employ a part-time, Spanish-speaking library aide.

Table 1

Comparison of School Library Trends

Allen (1993)		Proyecto Uno (1994)	
Population (range)	>30%-100% Spanish	Population	90%+ Spanish
Holdings	<10% Spanish	Holdings	<10% Spanish
Total Budget	$500-7,001	Total Budget	$1,300
Allocations	>19%-55%	Allocations	>50%
Selection	suggestions	Selection	suggestions
Staff fluency	librarian: 62% low-none	Staff fluency	librarian: none
	aide:		aide: Spanish

From this table one can see the obvious parallels between what is happening across the United States and what existed at Proyecto Uno. According to the principal, "there's not a system in place" to maintain an equal selection of materials in Spanish as English. To that statement Allen (1993, p. 444) retorts:

> If libraries are not providing students with books they can read for information and pleasure, we need to reconsider the mission statement of the school library media center. Children who have rewarding experiences with the books they read will continue to turn to them to acquire knowledge and to seek enjoyment. If children cannot read in the dominant

> language of the school, does it mean they should be denied their right to read in their own language?[23]

Literacy and Culture

Ferdman (1990. p. 197) offers a provocative discussion on the interconnectedness of literacy and culture. He argues that "cultural identity mediates the process of becoming literate as well as the types of literate behavior in which a person subsequently engages." Throughout his treatise, Ferdman (1990, p. 176) presents the notion of literate behaviors—those defined by the home culture and those defined by the school culture (see also Heath, 1983; Walsh, 1991).

> Since cultures differ in what they consider to be their "texts" and in the values they attach to these, they will also differ in what they view as literate behavior. . . .When a number of cultures co-exist within the same society, it is more likely that we will encounter variant conceptions of what constitutes being literate.

Ferdman (1990, p. 195) suggests that, at some point, language minority student must choose between one set of literate behaviors and another:

> The student must either adopt the perspective of the school, at the risk of developing a negative component to his or her cultural identity, or else resist these externally imposed activities and meanings, at the risk of becoming alienated from the school. . . .

Ferdman's model appears to be geared toward those situations in which outsiders (to the home culture) are responsible for the literacy instruction of linguistic minority

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[23]The principal suggested that many Spanish books in the library were borrowed but never returned, causing the lack of materials. This leads to questions beyond the scope of this study (i.e. "Why would students choose to keep the books in Spanish and return those in English?")

students. The bilingual first grade students of Proyecto Uno interacted with people who were a part of (or knowledgeable of) the students' home culture. The students in Room #2 were encouraged to bring their home experiences into the classroom. They were encouraged to read and write in their home language (Spanish) as well as the school language (English). However, what is missing from the first grade classroom I studied and from bilingual schools in general (and possibly from Ferdman's model), is the issue of *systemic support* for biliteracy.

Students may be encouraged to speak their home language. However, there is a quantum difference between the kind of institutional support offered literacy development in English and that offered to Spanish. Students are offered no real choice: Those who are English-dominant and literate (or those who hope to be), select materials English books. Those who are Spanish-dominant and literate (or hope to be) must select materials in English because there are few books in Spanish in the system to develop or maintain literacy in Spanish to the same degree as English. In the section that follows, I reiterate my findings as they relate to other facets of systemic support for language development.

Instructional Staff

The skills and abilities one needs to be a good teacher are numerous; even more so to be a good teacher in a bilingual classroom. Ms. King and Ms. Hidalgo, as a teaching team, had an impressive repertoire of activities and innovative strategies to engage their students in an active process of exploration and inquiry in English and Spanish. As they

taught, they manifested their commitment to the vocation of bilingual education. They used every resource at their disposal, including their own training and talents and those of others, to create a child-centered learning environment to support the development of two languages. In spite of the teachers' efforts, the opinions of the students and my observations indicate that English was the dominant force in this classroom (and throughout the school).

In the sections that follow I will refer to examples from earlier chapters to illustrate the unconscious behaviors of the staff that helped to make the linguistic ecology of this (and most) bilingual classroom(s) adverse toward Spanish development.

Teachers as Students: Victims All

The reader is directed back to Figure 6 in Chapter 5, in which the linguistic background of the faculty was charted. Of the staff people who had regular responsibilities for the children in first grade, *none* had ever been a student in the type of classroom they wanted to create. Those who attended primary and secondary school in the U.S. were survivors of classrooms that had little use for Spanish.[24] As students, their school work was rewarded and valued only if it was produced in English. As the review of the literature indicated (e.g., Crawford, 1995), historically, the linguistic ecologies of

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[24] Although two staff members had attended elementary school in a Spanish-speaking country (later transferring to the U.S. school system), the greater majority of the staff had been educated in a linguistic environment that was systemically ill-prepared or disinclined to nurture Spanish development.

language minorities have existed on a continuum from "benign neglect" to "physically abusive." Crawford (1992, p. 79) relates the adolescent experiences of Texas State Senator Joe Bernal in a school that was 99 percent Mexican American:

> As a student council leader, he helped to enforce an English-only policy on school grounds. Each student was given a ribbon with the legend, "I am an American—I Speak English," and urged to turn in classmates overheard using Spanish. Violators faced corporal punishment, after-school detention, and other forms of discipline. Later, as a teacher in the 1950s, Bernal fined his pupils a penny for each lapse into Spanish. . . .

I do not suggest causality. However, there exists convincing data from other studies that indicate that the classroom behaviors of teachers are heavily influenced by their positive (and negative) experiences as students (see *inter alia* Buchmann, 1987; Buchmann & Schwille, 1983; Butt et al., 1992; Casey, 1992, 1993; Cassanova & Budd, 1989; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Elbaz, 1991; Gomez & Tabachnick, 1992; Goodman, 1988; Graham, 1989; Holt-Reynolds, 1992; Knowles & Holt-Reynolds, 1991; Krall, 1988; Lortie, 1975, Middleton, 1993). So said, given the academic, cultural, emotional and physical abuses the faculty of Proyecto Uno received, witnessed or knew of when they were students for using Spanish, and the research that documents the affects (e.g. Crawford, 1992) it would seem highly probable that many of the staff who worked with the first grade children (and other Spanish-speaking classes) had been terrorized into repressing their abilities in Spanish. The written reflections of two teachers echo those of hundreds of thousands who were educated before the advent of bilingual education:

I enjoyed today's conversation because we discussed things that were difficult for us when we were in school. It also felt good to know that we are trying to make thing different for our children...I spent 2 years in first grade because of my Spanish so I can imagine how [other students] felt.

And her colleague:

Childhood memories—Isn't it something how much they still haunt me.

Childhood memories—it still hurts and brings tears to my soul.

Legally, corporal punishment for speaking a minority language has been banned and improper referrals to remedial programs have abated.[25] However, research in the 1990s continues to document the disdain children experience for the use of their ethnic languages. Though the first grade students in Room #2 were not subjected to similar treatment, in Federico's opinion, his first-grade class (the room next door) was "English only."

The Student Teacher Experience

Another experience that could have some influence on what the teachers do in their classroom is their student teaching experience. University professors involved with teacher preparation programs and student placement lament the lack of truly bilingual classrooms settings for assigning student teachers (Carol Evans, personal communication,

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[25]Current research still indicates a statistically improbable over representation of LEAL students in special education programs.

June 5, 1995). Ms. King completed her initial teacher training through a monolingual (English) preparation program. Ms. Hidalgo worked in classrooms as an aide and then entered a bilingual teacher preparation program. However, given the unusually high degree of professionalism exhibited by the teachers of Room #2, it is quite likely that their abilities as bilingual educators surpassed those of the teachers by whom they were mentored. Since it is common knowledge that student teachers are required to have an internship so that they adopt the culture of schooling and teaching, it is plausible that the pre-service experience of these teachers (in less-than optimal bilingual ecologies) would influence they way they teach and the kinds of experiences they provide their students.

Language Use

Linguistic Negligence

In the preceding section, I described the various experiences the staff at Proyecto Uno had before becoming teachers that may have influenced the kind of linguistic ecology they helped to create with their students. I did not witness nor wish to imply that any of the staff or faculty consciously or unconsciously abused children. At the same time, I defer to the literature that points out that even teachers who care for students have demonstrated behaviors that are questionable with regard to language and culture. To underscore this point, I reiterate a passage from the study by Hornberger (1990, pp. 218-219) in which she reviews the teaching styles of two teachers who work with linguistic minority students.

> Although McKinney is aware of their different language and culture. . . [she] does not seem enthusiastic about the Cambodians' using their language in class. . . . [S]he would admonish them, "Hey, wait a minute! I don't know what you're saying." Her *tolerant assimilation* approach is congruent with the school's pull-out ESOL/mainstream program and the community's relative lack of institutional support for literacy in Khmer. (pp. 218-219, emphasis added)

During my observations in Room #2, I did not witness the linguistic intolerance Hornberger describes. However, systemically, I observed what I consider *linguistic negligence*. Again, as Figure 6 indicates, some of the faculty who offered academic enrichment services, *could not* offer the same attention to Spanish-dominant students, the need of the student nor the desire of the teacher not-with-standing. The following section is a second review of the data that support my assertion about linguistic negligence within the school, especially as it affected the bilingual, first-grade students.

Support Staff

The librarian did not speak Spanish—the task of working with Spanish dominant students was relegated to the library aide.[26] If students were (or potentially were) avid readers in Spanish, the librarian would not have known.[27] If a Spanish-dominant child were "gifted" in computer technology, the computer teacher was unable to mentor the

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[26]This comment is not meant to discredit the work of teacher aides. However, their training is not equivalent to that of the regular teacher. As Wong-Fillmore indicates in her research, the academic development for language minority students often becomes the responsibility of those with the least preparation.

[27]Moreover, the inordinate lack of books in Spanish gave no indication that she did.

child until the student knew enough English to interact with the teacher. There were many computer programs and packages in Spanish for the students' use. However, for the English-dominant students the teacher was able to provide extended instruction and discussion; for those who were Spanish-dominant, she could provide brief commands and computer disks.

The same was true of the teacher of "Higher Order Thinking Skills—" she had innumerable resources in her classroom and she spoke some Spanish. She could not, however, provide the same depth and breadth of her knowledge and skills to Spanish-speaking children as she could an English-dominant child. It is shocking to realize that Proyecto Uno provided many *more* services to their Spanish-speaking students than is common in the United States (see O'Malley, 1988). To paraphrase Allen (1993, p. 444), the data from the present study strongly suggest that if children cannot communicate in the dominant language of the school, it generally means that they will be denied their right to educational enrichment in their own language.

Language Use: Silencing Role Models

As stated in Chapter 1, a key issue for this study was a review of the resources, human and material that were available to support the development of Spanish and English in this bilingual classroom? In the previous sections I discussed two problems, broadly speaking: (1) the lack of material resources and (2) the lack of Spanish speaking personnel. The former problem, lack of material resources, can be resolved by through

budgetary allocations; the latter, English dominant personnel, can be resolved through training (e.g. foreign language instruction) and appropriate hiring. There is an additional element regarding language use that is possibly the most persuasive for the children in Room #2 and throughout the school: adults who are known to be Spanish-speaking who chose not to use Spanish even when it would be permissible. These are the silencing role models.

Undeniably, those outside the culture who speak the children's home language are indeed sending positive messages to the students (e.g., security, acceptance, empathy, closeness). If the former is true, there must also be the inverse—those from inside the culture who do not speak the children's home language (may) send a negative message to the students (e.g., insecurity, lack of acceptance, indifference, distance). The following examples are illustrative of the kinds of modeling that Spanish-speaking individuals provided the students daily.

(1) The (volunteer) French instructor informed the children that French shared similarities with Spanish and identified himself as a member of their ethnic group by stating, "you know how *we* say in Spanish "I griega [the letter 'y']?" Rather than capitalizing on those similarities to teach French, he *chose not* to use more Spanish.[28] the made fleeting mention of Spanish while conducting his French lessons *in English.*

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[28]The reader should note that I did not perform an extensive evaluation of his knowledge of Spanish. However, it is reasonable to assume that the French instructor was able to produce at least the same "textbook vocabulary" in Spanish as he did in French.

(2)The students witnessed their teachers, who spoke Spanish with them, revert to English whenever they conferred in the classroom or created lesson plans. Ms. Dominguez, the other first-grade teacher who originally collaborated with Ms. King & Ms. Hidalgo was considered by some students (and possibly herself) an English teacher. She did not speak to her students in Spanish, nor did she necessarily encourage them to address her in Spanish. She chose English as her public language. The office staff, like the teachers, spoke Spanish only when necessary.

(3) Even the older students from upper grades modeled language behavior. They had years of socialization in this school. Most had been there during that period of time when children were segregated because of language dominance. Those who could, spoke English. This may have been due, in part, to their current school experience, and part to their knowledge that in middle school and high school there is negligible support for Spanish development, even in bilingual programs. Metaphorically, in this school (and in thousands throughout the country) Spanish served as the small, emergency tire of an automobile—it was used only as long as absolutely necessary, and exchanged for the "real-thing" as soon as humanly possible.

Policy vs. Practice

In six chapters, I have presented, discussed and interpreted a phenomenon I term a linguistic ecology. Much like a botanical ecology, a linguistic ecology is composed of and affected by a myriad of elements resting on many levels: In this school setting, a first-

grade bilingual classroom, (1) the base or foundation rests on an official district language policy that specifically states that children will demonstrate knowledge of English and Spanish. At the next level, lies (2) the school language policy, which officially must parallel the district policy. At the following level, is (3) the expressed philosophy of the teachers of this classroom, Room #2 which operationalizes the philosophy and policy of the preceding levels. At the final level, stands (4) the child, watching, interacting with and evaluating everyone and everything in the linguistic ecology.

Throughout this study the data overwhelmingly indicate that in this school, bilingual instruction was not being provided in an optimal manner. Using the same points enumerated above, I assert that in the broader picture, when my data is linked to the research of others, it becomes clear that the educational structure of U.S. public schools is systemically incapable of providing a rich, academically sound learning experience for language minority students, irrespective of (1) the district policy. Furthermore, there is little chance that those who speak English will become fluent in a minority language because of the same indigent system in spite of (2) the bilingual philosophy of the school. As children are enculturated, they are exposed to innumerable messages and pressures that urge them toward English dominance at the expense of their home language, (3) the conviction of their instructors not-with-standing. Given the likelihood of a child loosing his or her first (minority) language once they have entered a school I would dare suggest that the bilingual classroom is a zone of proximal regression (Moll, 1992; Vygotsky, 1978).

Children are affected on at least two levels as documented here and in other research. One level is purely academic: (1) there is an unbalanced use of Spanish and English in bilingual classrooms, even during Spanish language arts; (2) there is a lack of materials (books) in Spanish to effectively support Spanish development, even in those schools with large Spanish-speaking populations; and (3) the linguistic skill (in Spanish) of a bilingual staff is not comparable to their abilities in English.

The other area on which students are affected is social. (1) There are adults from their ethnic group who demonstrate a poor command of the language; (2) there are people from their ethnic group who deny they (or choose not to) speak Spanish. In my final section, I discuss the other area I feel that impacts on the linguistic ecology on classrooms like the one I studied at Proyecto Uno.

Responsibilities of the Academic Community

Donna Jurich, a former colleague from the University of Arizona, cautioned me against my contributing to the ever-growing body of literature known as "teacher-bashing." While the schools must bear the brunt of the responsibility for change, we of the academic community, are contributing, in a big way, to the language loss experienced by language minority students.

Those who are responsible for the preparation of teachers for bilingual classrooms, must insure that new teachers have had the linguistic preparation to provide sustained instruction in the minority language if the goal is bilingual education. If colleges continue

to graduate bilingual teachers who have marginal proficiency in the minority language, they are grooming individuals who will transition children to English dominance. In view of the research cited twice in my study, we know that teachers teach the way they were taught. So said, college level course work in Spanish should be required for bilingual educators. This would give teachers the language preparation they need to engage students at a deeper level in Spanish and English. In order for pre-service teachers to receive their instruction in Spanish there must be faculty to teach in Spanish.

At the present time, bilingual education programs throughout the United States are generally taught in English, even when the graduates are destined for large Spanish-speaking populations. There reasons are quite similar to those of the teachers in the schools. Many Hispanic faculty were educated during the period in American education when physical abuse of Spanish speakers was common—they literally had the Spanish beaten out of them. Some faculty members, who are natives in a minority language, choose not to give course for whatever reason, limiting the use of the minority language to social events or infrequent comments in select professional settings. With all due respect for a person's right to choose, such behavior seems like a waste of a valuable resource. If there are few good bilingual teachers who are able to instruct in Spanish for a full day, there are even fewer college faculty who are able (or willing) to teach adults at a mature, thought-provoking level. Of those bilingual researchers who produce convincing evidence that there are cognitive advantages for bilingualism, how many teach even one class every five years in a minority language?

Learning is a life long process. It has been said that , "If a person is not learning, they should not be teaching." The major professional organization for bilingual educators in the U.S. is NABE, the National Association for Bilingual Education. At its last annual conference, less than 20 percent of the presentations were given in a minority language. Similarly, in the last 10 years, the *Bilingual Research Journal* its professional publication did not publish ten articles in a minority language.

As I hasten to say that it is not incumbent upon one organization to altar the entire field of bilingual education, it is symbolic of a much larger problem. In the United States, English is omnipresent even in bilingual school settings. Data from my study as well as those from earlier research have done nothing more than confirm what Federico, the seven-year-old, told me in his interview—in an academic environment, it's "English only." Aquí no se habla español.

Implications for Bilingual Education

The data provide persuasive evidence that young children not only perceive, but make definite value judgements on the role and status of languages they encounter in their linguistic ecology. Moreover, their responses indicate that the adults and materials available for bilingual instruction also undergo the students' scrutiny. All of this, in turn, directly influences the language choices of the children, with the ultimate consequence of reducing their use—and correlatively—their proficiency in their mother tongue.

When I proposed this study, I discussed the initial findings with Dr. Arminda Fuentevilla, Director of Bilingual Projects at the University of Arizona. After scanning my data she said that the children were saying to their teachers, "since you are not serious about developing my two languages, why should I be serious about becoming bilingual?" In many ways, educators, who aspire to produce bilingual students, are unknowingly waging a battle with factors both within and beyond their control.

What, then, can be done to counteract these factors and, in particular, the systemic deficiencies of U.S. education regarding bilingual education? In this concluding section, I will offer suggestions.

Teacher Preparation Programs

Currently, there is a significant lack of articulation between foreign language faculties and faculties of bilingual education. This may be due, in part, to their (traditionally) distinct missions: foreign language departments offer instruction in the literatures and linguistics of a language. As such, language is the *object* of instruction. In departments of bilingual education, (optimally) students are shown how language can be a *vehicle* of instruction. School teachers are ultimately language models for their students. For that reason, the curricula of teacher preparation programs should incorporate many more formal learning experiences so that graduates have professional knowledge of the *both* languages they plan to use in the classroom. This could be achieved without inordinate expense through greater collaboration between foreign language faculty and

bilingual education faculty. While maintaining a common core of methods classes, bilingual teachers in training would also develop a greater understanding of the minority language.

Foreign language departments have an ignoble history of teaching a "standard" written form or dialect in a world of many acceptable variants. Bilingual teachers who graduate from programs that incorporate the study of literature and linguistics of the minority language will be better prepared to support the written language development of their students. Some may argue that such bilingual teachers would impose language "standards" on their pupils, exacerbating the rate of language loss. I would argue that school children might be encouraged to maintain their (minority) language if they saw that their teachers valued it enough to be concerned about a "standard form" as they do English.

As is well known, most bilingual education occurs at the elementary school level. Many people certified in bilingual education, do not possess a command of the language beyond an elementary level. Woefully few bilingual educators are able to perform *academically* in the minority language as they can in English. If more bilingual teachers were "college educated" in the languages they have elected to teach, more would be available to teach beyond the sixth grade level. With an expanded a cadre of bilingual educators (from kindergarten through grade 12) more U.S. students will be able to experience the kind of bilingualism commonly found in other countries of the world.

Professional Development

Professional Organizations

Organizations that support bilingual education and educational research with Spanish-speaking populations (e.g., the National Association for Bilingual Education, the American Educational Research Association-Hispanic, Bilingual Education, and American Indian/Alaskan Native Special Interest Groups), can allocate a percentage of their time-slots specifically for presentations *in* rather than simply *about* minority languages. This proactive move to linguistically diversify professional organizations would encourage more educators to share their expertise in languages other than English. This would increase the professional experiences available to bilingual educators in minority languages. In addition, the materials from such presentations would greatly expand and diversify the meager selection of materials commonly available in minority languages in the U.S. Again, the financial cost would be nominal.

Another aspect of professional development is *inservice* teacher development. Workshops and courses related to the development of knowledge and skills on minority languages would improve the repertoire of those educators who work with minority populations. One example of a university-based language program of this type is the American Indian Languages Development Institute (AILDI) at the University of Arizona (see, e.g., McCarty, 1993, 1994). What makes the AILDI exemplary is not merely the language orientation of its faculty and students, but even the administrative staff hold the belief that all languages are a valuable resource that must be preserved. Moreover, many

AILDI courses, as well as special guest speaker presentations, occur *in* the indigenous languages represented at the institute.

Professional Publications

Given the general dearth of materials in minority languages in the U.S., it is no surprise that current research is difficult to obtain in minority languages. Even the libraries of major research institutions with eminent scholars in the field of bilingual education have relatively few holdings (on bilingual education) in a minority language. One possible solution would be to again, designate a volume or special edition of a journal to a minority language. While this may seem at first gratuitous, if every U.S. research journal concerned with bilingual education published one edition in a minority language, even every five years, it would have a significant impact on teacher preparation programs and professional development for years to come.

Implications for School Districts

Is it impossible for school districts serving working class children—the social class neighborhoods most often served by bilingual programs in the U.S.—to develop and execute effective instructional programs that promote genuine bilingualism? Clearly this questions strikes at the heart of the systemic, societally institutionalized barriers to sound bilingual education programs. The literature is replete with studies that analyze and describe the persistence of institutionalized racism (cf. Crawford, 1989), attendant, deficit-

driven expectations for (language) minority students (cf. Cummins, 1986), and compensatory approaches that, according research, are correlated with working-class neighborhood-schools (e.g., Anyon, 1980; Moll, 1992)

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to resolve these root causes for what too often becomes the failure of bilingual programs. It is, nonetheless, important to acknowledge these larger societal forces which do in fact influence what is possible in the classroom. At the same time, classrooms and schools—as creations and instruments of society—do have a role to play in reversing systemic inequities. Bilingual education programs *can* be one component—and a significant one, I would argue—in such a process of social-educational transformation.

The Doshijo Unified School District, recognizing the extreme lack of educational professionals, initiated a program to locate people already in its employ who wished to become certified in some aspect of bilingual education. Calling it "Grow Your Own," the district assists its own employees in gaining a college degree in education. Upon completion of degree requirements the new faculty then join the ranks of certified personnel as they provide the needed services to bilingual students. This is one example of how school districts find ways to recruit the needed staff for bilingual programs.

What other changes can schools and classrooms make to implement genuine bilingual education? The remainder of this section charts further suggestions based upon the data from this study.

Personnel

School districts should hire those people who are committed to the use of two languages for instruction and who recognize all languages resources. At Proyecto Uno, the first-grade students were taught by a team of three teachers. One of the original bilingual team-members modified her manner of teaching to the point that her student referred to her as an English teacher. Though the student population in her classroom was overwhelmingly Hispanic, she made no noticeable effort in the classroom to use Spanish for instruction..

In addition, educators who accept positions in schools with large populations of language minority families, should be provided instruction by the school district to learn the local language. Parents could be recruited to serve as language models and instructors for the regular classroom teachers, as well as to provide direct connections to the local community. This would do more than increase the teachers' understanding of the languages and cultures of the local community—it would make the teachers more aware of the affective as well as cognitive challenges involved in second language acquisition, creating greater empathy for their own bilingual students.

Language Distribution

There is considerable debate regarding time allocations for languages of instruction (cf. Jacobson, 1990). While some may argue against the separation of languages (English in the mornings, Spanish in the afternoons) teachers must orchestrate classroom activities

to provide rich learning experiences in *both* languages. In addition, teachers must monitor their own language use in the classroom. For genuine bilingual education to occur, it is *axiomatic* that two languages be used for instruction. Any bilingual classroom that uses the minority language less than fifty percent of the time for instruction is unwittingly operationalizing a subtractive model of bilingual education—the students are being transitioned away from their first language to English. The teachers of this first grade felt that assigning languages to a time period or subject area was unnatural—they chose to use whatever language seemed appropriate for the moment. In the face of so many other insidious influences that encourage language minority students to abandon their first language, I would argue that language distribution, and specifically, language separation should be re-thought.

Materials

It is unconscionable for a school or a classroom to describe itself as bilingual without maintaining a representative number of materials in both language to support the development of its students. As the data from this and other studies indicate, the shortage of texts and other materials in minority languages in our classrooms is so severe that any student who seeks academic development is forced to become English dominant. Ideally, all schools should have a biliterate librarian. However, at the very minimum, a school district, in collaboration with local parents, librarians and educators, can create a suggested list of books and resources in local languages to be purchased by or for the

neighborhood schools. In addition to increasing accountability, this measure offers an economic advantage: publishers customarily offer schools a discount when they purchase titles in volume. If several schools were to select the same titles, the materials might then be available for a reduced cost.

Student Distribution

Another positive step toward genuine bilingual education is the dual-language or two-way model (see García & Otheguy, 1987; Morison, 1990). One key element is the population—ideally there is a fifty-fifty representation of minority and majority language speakers. When this is the case, each student group can be a model for the other. Moreover, teachers are forced to use both languages because there is a parental expectation that the children will leave with abilities in both languages.

In addition to the language, the majority language parents bring with them more social status. As such, they have the political clout to pressure local school officials to upgrade the quality of education (e.g., greater teacher preparation, books in both languages, materials in both languages, extra-curricular activities) for all students at the school. As minority and mainstream families unite on behalf of bilingual education, politicians will be forced recognize the extensive body of research that identifies the advantages of bilingualism and bilingual education (for a review see Diaz, 1972).

What I have presented here are potential first steps toward true bilingual education. Yet, there is sad irony in both my study and my suggestions. Much of what I

have suggested here has been said before, in different ways, by other researchers. In my study, I sought to find out whether children were aware of the lack of support for their bilingualism; they were. I analyzed the supports in the students' environment to see if there were strong, tacit messages that encouraged them to lose their first language; there were. In the section on implications, I sought ways to foster genuine bilingual education; there are a diversity of feasible solutions. The real question for bilingual schools and the bilingual research communities, then, is the following: *Would there not be a revolutionary change in bilingual education if teachers, professors and researchers held themselves to the same linguistic expectations and standards as they do children?*

APPENDIX A

SURVEY OF LANGUAGE DOMAINS

INTERVIEWER STUDENT DATE TIME TCHER.N TCHER.B

LANGUAGE SURVEY[1]

AT HOME:

1. Who do you speak to in English?

   Mom() Dad() Bro/Sis() Grandparents() Aunt/Uncle() Cousin()
   Neighbors() No one() Other_____

2. Who do you speak to in Spanish?

   Mom() Dad() Bro/Sis() Grandparents() Aunt/Uncle() Cousin()
   Neighbors() No one() Other_____

3. Who do you speak to in Yoeme?

   Mom() Dad() Bro/Sis() Grandparents() Aunt/Uncle() Cousin()
   Neighbors() No one() Other_____

4. Who speaks to you in English?

   Mom() Dad() Bro/Sis() Grandparents() Aunt/Uncle() Cousin()
   Neighbors() No one() Other_____

5. Who speaks to you in Spanish?

   Mom() Dad() Bro/Sis() Grandparents() Aunt/Uncle() Cousin()
   Neighbors() No one() Other_____

6. Who speaks to you in Yoeme?

   Mom() Dad() Bro/Sis() Grandparents() Aunt/Uncle() Cousin()
   Neighbors() No one() Other_____

AT SCHOOL:

7. At school, who do you speak to in English?

   Teacher() Classmate/friend() Resource() Relative()
   No one() Other_____

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[1]C:\prospect\question

8. Where do you speak it?

Class() Playground() Cafeteria() Library () Other_____

9. At school, who do you speak to in Spanish?

Teacher() Classmate/friend() Resource() Relative()
No one() Other_____

10. Where do you speak it?

Class() Playground() Cafeteria() Library () Other_____

11. At school, who do you speak to in Yoeme?

Teacher() Classmate/friend() Resource() Relative()
No one() Other_____

12. Where do you speak it?

Class() Playground() Cafeteria() Library () Other_____

13. At school, who speaks to you in English?

Teacher() Classmate/friend() Resource() Relative()
No one() Other_____

14. At school, who speaks to you in Spanish?

Teacher() Classmate/friend() Resource() Relative()
No one() Other_____

15. At school, who speaks to you in Yoeme?

Teacher() Classmate/friend() Resource() Relative()
No one() Other_____

16. At recess do you speak English() or Spanish()?

17. Do you prefer the teacher to read a story to you in Spanish() or English()?

18. Do you prefer to sing in English() or Spanish()?

19. Do you prefer to write in Spanish() or English()?

20. Do you prefer to read in English() or Spanish()?

21. Is it better to teach in Spanish() or English()?

22. At Ochoa is it better to speak English() or Spanish()?
23. Do the smart kids speak Spanish() or English()?
24. Are cartoons better in English() or Spanish()?
25. Is TV better in Spanish() or English()?
26. Are computer games better in English() or Spanish()?
27. Is your mother happier when you speak Spanish() or English()?
28. In your house what do you speak more: English() or Spanish()?
29. When you call your friends do you speak Spanish() or English()?
30. Is it better to speak to a dog or cat in English() or Spanish()?
31. Do your friends like it more when you speak Spanish() or English()?
32. Would you speak to a new baby in English() or Spanish()?
33. What language do they speak in the office: Spanish() or English()?
34. Which sounds better English or Spanish?
35. Which is more important: Spanish() or English()?
36. Do you think all people should speak English() or Spanish()?
37. At Disneyland is it better to speak Spanish() or English()?
38. In Tucson is it better to speak English() or Spanish()?
39. In Mexico is it better to speak Spanish() or English()?
40. Do you think it is funny when someone speaks Spanish? Yes[] No[]
41. Do you think it is funny when someone speaks English?Yes[] No[]
42. Do people in hospitals speak more Spanish() or English()?
43. (At Mom/Dad's work) is it better to speak English() or Spanish()?
44. Can you earn more money if you speak Spanish() or English()?
45. What language do they speak at Walmart: English() or Spanish()?
46. What language do they speak at Circle K: Spanish() or English()?

47. If you saw a burglar would you tell the police in English() or Spanish()

48. Should the President of the U.S. speak more Spanish() or English()?

49. If you wanted to ask the bus driver how much does a ride cost, would you ask in English() or Spanish()?

50. If you're teaching your friend to draw, would you talk to him/her in Spanish() or English()?

51. When your teachers are having a business meeting, are they talking in English() or Spanish()?

52. If you're teaching your friend mathematics, would you talk to him/her in Spanish() or English()?

53. When your parents are talking about really important things, do they do it in English() or Spanish()?

54. When you're grown up and looking for a job, would it be better to speak Spanish() or English()?

APPENDIX B

DAILY LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

Date administered: 032894:I3

QUESTIONS:
[I asked the questions in Spanish and quickly translated into English.]

1. Did you speak more English today or more Spanish?
2. Did the teacher, Miss Kim, speak more English or more Spanish?
3. Did the class, the other boys and girls, speak more English or more Spanish?

1. Did you READ more English today or more Spanish?
2. Did the teacher, READ more English or more Spanish?
3. Did the class, the other boys and girls, READ more English or more Spanish?
4. Cuando te regaña la Miss. ¿lo hace en inglés o español?

1. Did you write more English today or more Spanish?
2. Did the teacher speak more English or more Spanish?
3. Did the class, the other boys and girls, speak more English or more Spanish?

STUDENT		YOU		TCHER	CLASS
STUDENT'S NAME		ESP		ING	MUCHO ESP.
STUDENT'S NAME		ING		ING	ING
STUDENT'S NAME		ING		ING	
STUDENT'S NAME		ING		INGL	INGL

RESPONSES POSSIBLE: = 100%
Responses Spanish: = 33%
Responses English: = 66%

APPENDIX C

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY SURVEY

FECHA: 041194 C:\HOWARD\proficiency [OFFICE]

ALUMNOS	¿QUIÉN LEE MEJOR EN INGLÉS ?	¿QUIÉN LEE MEJOR EN ESPAÑOL?	¿QUIÉN ESCRIBE MEJOR EN INGLÉS?	¿QUIÉN ESCRIBE MEJOR EN ESPAÑOL?	¿QUIÉN HABLA MEJOR EN INGLÉS?	¿QUIÉN HABLA MEJOR EN ESPAÑOL
STUDENT A						
STUDENT B						
STUDENT C						
STUDENT D						
STUDENT E						

APPENDIX D

GARFIELD SURVEY

1. ¿Cómo te sientes si te dice la maestra que va a leer un cuento en español?
2. ¿Cómo te sientes si te dice la maestra que va a leer un cuento en inglés?
3. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando la maestra quiere que escribas algo en español?
4. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando la maestra quiere que escribas algo en inglés?
5. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando vas a la biblioteca y encuentras libros nuevos en español?
6. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando vas a la biblioteca y encuentras libros nuevos en inglés?
7. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando viene una maestra sustituta que no habla español?
8. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando viene una maestra sustituta que no habla muy bien el español?
9. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando el libro que quieres leer está solamente en español?
10. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando el libro que quieres leer está solamente en inglés?
11. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando nadie en tu mesa quiere hablar español?
12. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando nadie en tu mesa quiere hablar inglés?
13. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando la maestra te explica algo solamente en español?
14. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando la maestra te explica algo solamente en inglés?
15. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando te dice la maestra, "¿me puedes decir eso en español?"
16. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando te dice la maestra, "¿me puedes decir eso en inglés?"

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

DIRECTOR OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

¿Cuántos alumnos en el distrito escolar bajo su cargo requieren de los servicios del programa bilingüe? ¿Cuántos reciben los servicios actualmente?

> *How many students in your district need the services of bilingual education? How many presently receive the services?*[1]

¿Cuántos maestros en el distrito escolar cuentan con la cédula profesional en la educación bilingüe? ¿Qué opina Ud. de esta cifra? ¿Son suficientes?

> *How many teachers do you have in the district that have bilingual certification? How do you feel about those numbers? Is this a sufficient number?*[2]

¿Diría Ud. que la gran mayoría de sus maestros certificados en la educación bilingüe son egresados del Colegio de Educación de esta ciudad?

> *Do most of your bilingually certified teachers come from the [the local college of education in your city] College of Education at the University of Arizona?*[3]

En los últimos días el Colegio de Educación anunció por la prensa que se recibirán 70 maestros preparados para enseñar en programas en la educación bilingüe. ¿Qué opina Ud. de esta cifra?

> *Recently [your local college of education] the College of Education at the University of Arizona announced that it would graduate 70 teachers prepared to teach in bilingual education programs. What comments do you have about those numbers?*

¿Qué opina Ud. sobre su capacitación? ¿Cree Ud. que la gente que solicita cátedra como maestro bilingüe sea de la misma categoría como aquellos que solicitan trabajo en puestos monolingües?

> *What comments do you have on their preparation or training?*[4] *Do you feel that the people who apply for bilingual positions are of the calibre as those who apply for non-bilingual (monolingual) positions?*

¿Cómo hablan el español? ¿Diría Ud. que la mayoría cuenta con fluidez a nivel nativo o casi-nativo?

How is their Spanish? Would you say that the majority possess native or near-native fluency?[5]

¿Piensa Ud. que en las bibliotecas escolares se cuenta con el material necesario en español para apoyar el desarrollo del alumno bilingüe en el área de la lecto-escritura?

Do you feel that the school libraries are sufficiently supplied with materials in Spanish to support the literacy development of your bilingual students?[6]

¿Piensa Ud. que el sistema bibliotecario del municipio ofrece materiales suficientes en español para apoyar el desarrollo académico del educando?

Do you feel that the local/municipal library system carries sufficient materials in Spanish to support the children in their academic development?[7]

En el distrito, ¿cuáles son las opciones educativas/de programación para el alumno que no domina el inglés?

Within the district what are the education/program options for a child who is not English dominant?

¿Cuáles son los servicios que se le proporciona al educando bilingüe?

What services are offered to the bilingual pupil?

¿Cuáles son los servicios que se le proporciona al maestro del salón bilingüe? Por ejemplo: capacitación, aguinaldos, subsidios adicionales, auxiliares/ayudantes, material didáctico.

What services are offered to the bilingual classroom teacher? Examples would be in-service training, bonuses, additional funding, teacher aides, instructional material.

Aparte del magisterio bilingüe, ¿cuenta Ud. con el personal sufiente para administrar el programa bilingüe al nivel distrito?

Apart from the bilingual teaching staff, do you have sufficient personnel to oversee the bilingual program at the district level?

INTERVIEWS[8]

PRINCIPAL

¿Cuántos alumnos en su escuela requieren de los servicios del programa bilingüe? ¿Cuántos reciben los servicios actualmente?

> *How many students in your school need the services of bilingual education? How many presently receive the services?*[9]

¿Cuántos maestros en la escuela cuentan con la cédula profesional en la educación bilingüe? ¿Qué opina Ud. de esta cifra? ¿Son suficientes?

> *How many teachers in the school have bilingual certification? How do you feel about those numbers? Is this a sufficient number?*[10]

¿Diría Ud. que la gran mayoría de sus maestros certificados en la educación bilingüe son egresados del Colegio de Educación de esta ciudad?

> *Do most of your bilingually certified teachers come from the [the local college of education in your city] College of Education at the University of Arizona?*[11]

En los últimos días el Colegio de Educación anunció por la prensa que se recibirán 70 maestros preparados para enseñar en programas en la educación bilingüe. ¿Qué opina Ud. de esta cifra?

> *Recently [your local college of education] the College of Education at the University of Arizona announced that it would graduate 70 teachers prepared to teach in bilingual education programs. What comments do you have about those numbers?*

¿Qué opina Ud. sobre su capacitación? ¿Cree Ud. que la gente que solicita cátedra como maestro bilingüe sea de la misma categoría como aquellos que solicitan trabajo en puestos monolingües?

> *What comments do you have on their preparation or training?*[12] *Do you feel that the people who apply for bilingual positions are of the calibre as those who apply for non-bilingual (monolingual) positions?*

¿Cómo hablan el español? ¿Diría Ud. que la mayoría cuenta con fluidez a nivel nativo o casi-nativo?

How is their Spanish? Would you say that the majority possess native or near-native fluency?[13]

Si me permite unos minutos más para tratar el asunto de textos y material didáctica. *I'd like to spend just a few moments on the issue of texts and materials.*

¿Piensa Ud. que en la biblioteca escolar se cuenta con el material necesario en español para apoyar el desarrollo del alumno bilingüe en el área de la lecto-escritura?

Do you feel that the school library is sufficiently supplied with materials in Spanish to support the literacy development of your bilingual students?[14]

¿Piensa Ud. que el sistema bibliotecario del municipio ofrece materiales suficientes en español para apoyar el desarrollo académico del educando?

Do you feel that the local/municipal library system carries sufficient materials in Spanish to support the children in their academic development?[15]

En la escuela, ¿cuáles son las opciones educativas/de programación para el alumno que no domina el inglés?

Within the school what are the education/program options for a child who is not English dominant?

¿Cuáles son los servicios que se le proporciona al educando bilingüe?

What services are offered to the bilingual pupil?

¿Cuáles son los servicios que se le proporciona al maestro del salón bilingüe? Por ejemplo: capacitación, aguinaldos, subsidios adicionales, auxiliares/ayudantes, material didáctico.

What services are offered to the bilingual classroom teacher? Examples would be in-service training, bonuses, additional funding, teacher aides, instructional material.

Aparte del magisterio bilingüe, ¿cuenta Ud. con el personal sufiente (auxialiar o de apoyo) para los alumnos bilingües?

Apart from the bilingual teaching staff, do you have sufficient personnel (auxiliary or support) for your bilingual students?

ENDNOTES

1. To establish the size of the bilingual population. Later I will try to establish the student/teacher ratio.

2.With this question I hope to gain his perspective on the student/teacher ratio.

3.This question and the one that follows is an attempt to gain his perception of the increase/decrease of the corps of bilingually certified teachers who enter the district.

4.This is an attempt to get at his perception of the quality of teacher applying for the job.

5.If my hypothesis that the children's linguistic environment is indigent, then the fluency of the teacher is of paramount importance.

6.Again, my hunch is that the linguistic ecology of the student is weak in the area of Spanish.

7.This question is a step back to the city level and the language ecology.

8.C:\METHODOLOGY\INTERVIEWS\A4

9.To establish the size of the bilingual population. Later I will try to establish the student/teacher ratio.

10.With this question I hope to gain his perspective on the student/teacher ratio.

11.This question and the one that follows is an attempt to gain his perception of the increase/decrease of the corps of bilingually certified teachers who enter the district.

12.This is an attempt to get at his perception of the quality of teacher applying for the job.

13.If my hypothesis that the children's linguistic environment is indigent, then the fluency of the teacher is of paramount importance.

14.Again, my hunch is that the linguistic ecology of the student is weak in the area of Spanish.

15.This question is a step back to the city level and the language ecology.

APPENDIX F

ENVIRONMENTAL PRINT

ITEM	LAN	PURPOSE	LOC	DATE	PRODUCER	DISC
	S() E()			/ /94	TP() TC() TSC() SC() SP()	S() E()
	S() E()			/ /94	TP() TC() TSC() SC() SP()	S() E()
	S() E()			/ /94	TP() TC() TSC() SC() SP()	S() E()
	S() E()			/ /94	TP() TC() TSC() SC() SP()	S() E()
	S() E()			/ /94	TP() TC() TSC() SC() SP()	S() E()
	S() E()			/ /94	TP() TC() TSC() SC() SP()	S() E()
	S() E()			/ /94	TP() TC() TSC() SC() SP()	S() E()
	S() E()			/ /94	TP() TC() TSC() SC() SP()	S() E()
	S() E()			/ /94	TP() TC() TSC() SC() SP()	S() E()

APPENDIX G

LIST OF STORIES AVAILABLE

Author: Nancy Antle Illustrator: John Sandford
El Gatito Runrún quiere jugar.

Author: Cecilia Avalos Illustrator: Agustin R. Fernández
Publisher: Cleveland, Ohio, Modern Curriculum Press, 1991.
¡Puedo leer dondequiera!

Author: Daniel Barbot Illustrator: Morella Fuenmayor
Publisher: Caracas, Ediciones Ekaré, Banco del libro, 1990.
Rosaura en bicicleta.

Author: Author and Illustrator: Elena Climent
Publisher: México, D.F., Editorial Trillas, 1986.
Triste historia del sol con final feliz.

Author: Francisco Javier Larios Illustrator: Alfredo Zalce
Publisher: Morelia, México, Instituto Michoacano de Cultura, 1988.
Pintorín y el espíritu del lago.

Author and Illustrator: Ana María Pecanins
Publisher: México, D.F. Editorial Trillas, 1986.
El columpio.

Author and Illustrator: Horacio Quiroga
Publisher: México, D. F. SEP and Edilin, 1985.
La abeja haragana (The Lazy Bee).

Author: Jesus Fernández Santos Illustrator: Asun Balzola
Publishers: Madrid, Editorial Debate, 1989.
El reino de los niños.

Author and Illustrator: Shel Silverstein Translator: Carla Pardo Valle
Publisher: Caracas, Litexsa Venezolana, 1988.
El árbol generoso.

APPENDIX H

A SAMPLE WORKSHEET

ROOM 2

nombre
Name _____ date

thematic unit: Family/Me

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