LAS TRES AMIGAS: A STUDY OF BILITERACY FROM KINDERGARTEN THROUGH ADOLESCENCE

by

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to Las Tres Amigas and their families con mucho respeto for all they have taught me about the power of biliteracy and the wisdom of children.

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ABSTRACT

This is a longitudinal study which examines children's perspectives on the development of biliteracy. The theories of children as they learn through two languages reflect a crucial source of knowledge that has received little attention in the research. This study is concerned with the ways in which children learn to read and write in two languages for academic and social purposes as they encounter discourse laden with ideological contradictions.

Using a case study design, the study draws on theoretical frameworks from the fields of language socialization, biliteracy, dual language education, and middle school literacy. By showing that children hold sophisticated notions of biliteracy, transforming the ways that language, oral and written, become defined and perceived, the research presented here demonstrates that biliteracy is a complex phenomenon which includes meaning-making in two language and cultures.

The study triangulates ethnographic data from interviews with students, families and teachers, participant observation in classrooms, literacy instruction, other school domains, and document and archival analysis. These data indicate that there are multiple paths to biliteracy and that home and school literacy practices can mediate the effects of low income status on literacy development. Additional findings indicate that curriculum and instruction that consistently support minority language literacy promote the development of additive biliteracy in both language majority and language minority students.

Based on these findings, the study proposes that educators find ways to become familiar with the literacy practices of their students outside the school, that more research is needed that includes the voices of students so that the multiple spheres in which children engage are examined, and that more dual language education programs be created, based on the paradigm of language as resource (Ruiz, 1984) with a wholesale commitment to the promotion of additive biliteracy for all students.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Rationale

> It's weird that when we started this in second grade Jessica spoke only Spanish and we all read more in Spanish than in English because of Éxito Bilingüe. Now Jessica doesn't read or write in Spanish at all. School has so much to do with this, Miss. You should really study that. (Augusta, age 12, sixth grade focus group interview, June 3, 2004).

The developing theories of children as they learn through two languages reflect a crucial source of knowledge that has received little attention. Children hold sophisticated notions of biliteracy development and indeed contribute to adult understandings of biliteracy, transforming the ways that language, oral and written, becomes defined and how it is perceived. Children do not simply absorb sets of skills in a second language; they transform them and in turn, contribute to "interpretive reproduction" (Eder & Corsaro, 1999).

Because children are quite capable of formulating their own judgments and do not necessarily mirror their parents' and teachers' language concerns, aspirations, and ideologies, it is essential that their voices be heard. As Harness Goodwin has emphasized, "We need to move children from the margins to the center of anthropological inquiry . . . it is time we take children seriously . . . through language, children of diverse ethnicities, social classes, ages, abilities and genders orchestrate their

social organizations and socialize one another across a range of activities" (Goodwin, 1997, p. 5).

Some research has already considered the perspectives of children. Corsaro (2003) drew from ethnographic observations made in three settings; an elementary school in Italy, a Head Start program in Indiana, and a preschool in California, to better understand childhood from the perspective of a child. He argued that peer cultures develop through an active negotiation of adulthood and that these peer cultures are quite competent in learning from their collaborative work in fantasy, conflict resolution, friendship and sharing.

However, Corsaro's work of the last three decades does not address the issue of children's perspectives on the development of biliteracy. In fact, the children in Italy referred to Dr. Corsaro as, "Big Dumb Bill, because I could barely speak the language" (Corsaro, 2003).

Zentella illustrates the inherent problem of a dualistic model of bilingualism, . . . "a bilingual person is treated as if he or she were two monolinguals joined at the neck. Saying that a community is bilingual . . . reveals nothing about the boundaries of linguistic codes or about how community members use bilingualism to construct their ethnic, racial, gender, or class identities" (Zentella, 1998, p. 97).

Grosjean (1998) presents the notion of a "monolingual-bilingual mode continuum," which may range from a monolingual mode to the bilingual language mode. He has argued that bilinguals are perceived to have unique and specific linguistic configurations that are different from those of monolinguals in either language.

I define bilingualism as a sense of communicative competence in more than one linguistic and cultural domain. Communicative competence is the ability to use language appropriately in different cultural contexts. The bilingual is developing communicative competence in three linguistic domains as reflected in the equation in Figure 1, in which one plus one equals three.

1		Language A (Spanish)
	+	
1		Language B (English)
3		Language C

Figure 1: Linguistic addition of the bilingual.

Biliteracy is a complex phenomenon. To claim one developmental path to biliteracy would be to underestimate the contextual dynamics of second language acquisition and literacy development. "Becoming literate in two languages implies not only the acquisition and development of a set of skills or abilities but how children become competent in a range of practices or uses of literacy that constitute the experience of living and going to school in a bilingual community" (Moll, Saez, Dworin, 2001, p. 447).

Following the work of sociocultural anthropologist and psychosociolinguistics (see Fishman, 1972/1970; Goodman, 1996; Vygotsky, 1978; Moll, 1999; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), I define biliteracy as ways of using more than one language to make sense of the world in speech and writing through the addition of linguistic and cultural knowledge.

Moll (1999) suggests that there may be a literacy-biliteracy mode continuum, where students encounter or engage text in one language or the other for different functions, and in which they activate literacy in one language or the other, for different purposes.

Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (1998) have proposed an expanded continua model for studying biliteracy that takes into account not only biliterate contexts, media, and development, but also, the content of biliteracy. They also emphasize power relations in their continua model, recognizing that in educational policy and practice regarding biliteracy, there tends to be an implicit privileging of one end of the continua over the other. Their continua model of biliteracy offers a framework in which to situate research, teaching, and language planning in linguistically diverse settings. Hornberger (2003) suggests that the more their learning contexts allows learners to draw on all points of the continua, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development.

In my own work with students developing biliteracy, I have observed that children may be able to read in one language and write about what they read in another, or that students may comprehend a text in their second language, but prefer to retell the story in their first language. These inter-language dynamics provide children, who are making meaning in two languages and cultures, considerable intellectual breadth.

The developing theories of children as they learn through two languages reflect a crucial source of knowledge that has received little attention in research. As children encounter discourse laden with ideological contradictions, a better sense of how language

majority and language minority students navigate their changing worlds must be more clearly understood.

Background of the Study

The proposed dissertation is an ethnographic case study of children's perspectives on the development of biliteracy. The focus of this investigation emerged through my participation in a longitudinal study of language ideology and biliteracy development in children, in which we followed a case-study cohort group of 20 children throughout their elementary school years in a dual language immersion school (e.g., González & Arnot-Hopffer, 2003; Moll & Arnot-Hopffer, 2005). All of the children in the study became literate in Spanish and English during the course of our investigation. I worked closely with these students in a variety of roles, including Spanish reading teacher, curriculum specialist, and co-researcher, so that I got to know them very well. In particular, I have stayed in touch with three girls, who call themselves Las Tres Amigas, now in middle schools, who are the participants in this research, a follow-up to the longitudinal study.

Statement of the Problem

Relatively few studies of literacy have focused on language minority students. Those that have, however, present an intriguing picture in which bilingual readers and writers apply literacy knowledge they have developed in one language to literate tasks in their other language.

"Although biliteracy is common worldwide, relatively little scholarly work has attended explicitly to it" (Hornberger, 1989, p. 271). The research on fostering biliteracy is somewhat limited because the research agendas of bilingualism and literacy have

developed separately (Moll, personal communication, April 12, 2000). On one hand, linguists and others interested in bilingualism have focused primarily on oral proficiency, sometimes excluding written language completely (cf. Weinreich, 1968; chapters in Wei, 2000).

Summarizing the state of research on student perspectives on the development of biliteracy I found that:

1. Within the broader study of language, literacy is underrepresented (Street, 1993/1984);
2. Although biliteracy is common worldwide, relatively little scholarly work has attended explicitly to it (Hornberger, 1989);
3. Within the U.S. context bilingualism is too often treated as an exception rather than the norm (Grosjean, 1998);
4. In the study of second language acquisition, the relationship between attitude and reading and writing in two languages is understudied (Griego-Jones, 1994); and
5. Within the promotion of biliteracy the voices of students have received little attention (González & Arnot-Hopffer, 2003).

This dissertation highlights an important element that should permeate our research on biliteracy and that is a focus on children, the consumers of education, the victims of our language wars, the clients in our language planning, and our future critical theorists. We can learn a great deal by listening to the voices of children in education. “We have a lot of research on what to teach children, but very little on what they might teach us” (Kane, 1995, p. 22).

Purposes of the Study

In agreement with the vision of a uniformly monolingual nation, most school systems in the United States today practice a form of subtractive bilingualism, giving native-born students only a late and rudimentary command of foreign languages while seeking to channel immigrant students who speak them fluently in childhood into English-only classes. According to Portes & Rumbaut (2001), Laurie Olsen (2000), and others, American public schools are not the place to learn and preserve fluent bilingualism. The acquisition of that skill takes place in other contexts and with different institutional support.

The purpose of this dissertation is to describe multiple paths to biliteracy through the words and worlds of children. Because children are quite capable of formulating their own judgments and oftentimes do not mirror their parents' and teachers' language concerns, aspirations, and ideologies, it is essential that their voices be heard.

The Research Questions

1. How do three female students develop their biliteracy[1] in the elementary and middle-school context?
2. How does this same group of students perceive their biliteracy development?
3. What is the role of cultural identity in the development of their biliteracy?
4. What is the role of social context in and out of middle school in either sustaining or constraining their development of biliteracy?

[1] Biliteracy will be defined more narrowly as reading and writing in two languages and the associate social practices within which this takes place. Following the work of Hornberger (2003), I perceive biliteracy to be a continuum of understanding and proficiency.

Design of the Study

I propose two phases and four sources of data collection.

Phase 1

The Elementary School Context, Grades K-5: A continuation of the longitudinal study in which I will develop a retrospective case history of each girl using data from the previous study.

Phase 2

The Middle School Context, Grades 6-8: New data on each girl and an examination of their biliteracy trajectories in the new social context of middle school.

The primary advantage of the proposed longitudinal case study design is that it will allow me to trace and document the development and transformations in the biliteracy development of Las Tres Amigas from kindergarten through eighth grade.

Four primary sources of data will be collected and informed by the voices of Las Tres Amigas, as shown in Table 1.

1. Data about proficiency;
2. Data about ideologies;
3. Data about cultural identity; and
4. Data about social context.

Table 1

Phases of Data Collection and Sources of Data

Phase of study	Data source	Research question
Phase 1: Grades K-5 Elementary school context Phase 2: Grades 6-8 Middle school context	Data about proficiency	1. How do three female students develop their biliteracy in the elementary and middle-school context?
Phase 1: Grades K-5 Elementary school context Phase 2: Grades 6-8 Middle school context	Data about ideologies	2. How does this same group of students perceive their biliteracy development?
Phase 1: Grades K-5 Elementary school context Phase 2: Grades 6-8 Middle school context	Data about cultural identity	3.What is the role of cultural identity in the development of their biliteracy?
Phase 2: Grades 6-8 Middle school context	Data about social context	4. What is the role of social context in and out of middle school in either sustaining or constraining their development of biliteracy?

Significance of the Study

There are several compelling reasons for the research proposed here. First of all, given the current context of prescribed literacy instruction under the *No Child Left Behind Act*, and more importantly the intellectual consequences associated with these practices, the study of how children develop literacy in two languages remains a neglected but potentially crucial area of study.

Secondly, the study of literacy development and practices in two languages necessarily includes an examination of the social circumstances of those practices, including their ideological features (Moll & González, 1998).

And finally, perhaps the best way to understand the way in which middle school students perceive their biliteracy development is to listen to the voices of the students themselves. Student perspectives are an important variable that have been overlooked in the development of educational programs designed to promote bilingualism and biliteracy. With a better sense of how students perceive their own literacy development in two languages, educators can act to counter negative perceptions of the minority language, and increase the likelihood that bilingual schooling will indeed result in high levels of oral and literate proficiency in both languages.

Definition of Terms

Additive Bilingualism: A process by which individuals develop proficiency in a second language subsequent to or simultaneous with the development of proficiency in the primary language, without loss of the primary language, and where the first language and culture are not replaced or displaced.

Additive Biliteracy: Refers to the addition of new language and culture skills in conjunction with the development of existing language and culture skills.

Bilingualism: The ability to understand and use two languages in particular contexts and for particular purposes. Bilinguals do not necessarily have the same level of proficiency in all aspects of both languages.

Biliteracy: A set of more than one discourse practices, ways of using language and culture to make sense of the universe. Biliteracy is a continuum of understanding and proficiency, both oral and written, in English and Spanish. Biliteracy is a dynamic continuum between one linguistic way of knowing and another as shown in Figure 2.

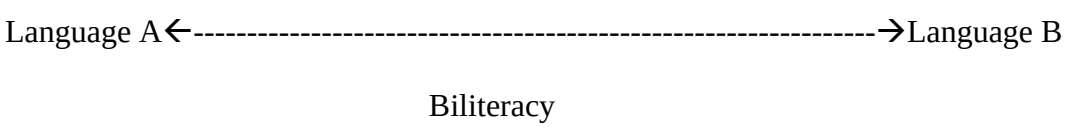


Figure 2. The continuum of biliteracy.

Dual Language (DL) Education: Educational programs that integrate language majority and language minority students into the same classroom, with both groups achieving academic excellence, full bilingualism and biliteracy, as well as multicultural competence.

Language Ideology: A set of beliefs about language that are tied to a certain social position. This type of ideology is unconscious, but it functions to maintain social stratification as it operates in particular speech practices. Ideology implicates power, the exercise of power, and the reproduction of dominant/subordinate relations.

Language Minority Student: Students who come from a minority group and speak a minority language; non-native speakers of English in this context.

Language Majority Student: In the U.S. refers to students who come from homes in which English is primarily spoken.

Literacy Ideology: A set of beliefs about literacy that are tied to a certain social position. There may be a conflict between a language ideology and a literacy ideology.

Regarding Use of Names

Las Tres Amigas are referred to here by their self-selected pseudonyms. I have also used pseudonyms for all other child participants. Adult participants are referred to by pseudonyms, except in those cases where participants expressed preference that their true names be used.

The DL school attended by Las Tres Amigas is referred to as La Escuela, the school district is referred to as the District, the neighborhood surrounding La Escuela is El Barrio. The middle schools attended by Las Tres Amigas are referred to as The Bilingual Middle School, The Charter Middle School, and The Math/Science Middle School.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized in six chapters as follows. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on language socialization with a focus on identity - biliteracy, including children's perspectives on the development of biliteracy - dual language education, adolescence and literacy in the middle school context.

In Chapter 3, I describe the methodology employed in the study. I justify the case study approach and examine the benefits of the longitudinal design. Procedures for data collection and analysis are also described.

Chapter 4 is a description of the case study students, their families, and the schools. Throughout the discussion I focus on their social networks and the way these social networks affect language use.

In Chapter 5, I present findings of the study as they pertain to Research Questions 2, 3, and 4. The chapter concludes with a discussion of factors and conditions that have sustained and constrained the development of the biliteracy of Las Tres Amigas.

The final chapter summarizes the major findings of the study. Based on these findings, I draw conclusions as they relate to Research Question 1.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

> Researcher: ¿Te gusta escribir más en inglés o en español? [Do you like to write in Spanish or English?].
>
> Jessica (age 9): En español [In Spanish].
>
> Researcher: ¿Por qué? [Why?].
>
> Jessica: Porque es mi idioma [Because it is my language]. (González & Arnot-Hopffer, 2003, p. 230).

Introduction

In this chapter I review literature on language socialization with a focus on identity, biliteracy, including children's perspectives on the development of biliteracy, dual language (henceforth DL) education, because Las Tres Amigas emerged as biliterates through their participation in a DL program, and finally, adolescence and literacy in the middle school context.

Language Socialization

It is through language that we define ourselves and are defined by others (Freire & Macedo, 1987). Language is located in social action and is more than an abstract code for it is through language that we make sense of our universe. Vygotsky (1978) argued that the way we talk and interact with others becomes internalized and determines the way we think and learn. According to the Vygotskian perspective, we create and fashion our lives, but we do not create them exactly as we please because no two caregivers will experience the forces of society in exactly the same way. Gender, race, language

dominance, minority status, and hegemonic relations present different settings for language socialization and identity negotiation. Individuals are inseparable from their social contexts, moving through, across, in and out of various social groups in an array of changing cultural and linguistic identities.

Identity is inexorably tied to language, for it is through language that we come to understand ourselves and our relation to the world around us. This begins to happen before we are born and continues throughout our lives. It is within micro-level, face-to-face social interactions that the language learner's identities are engaged, identities – multiple, fluid, and contradictory – that are constructed as well as contested and negotiated through language. Individuals and groups are always (re) forming themselves as persons and collectives through language. Language is symbolic of self-hood and of community. Language can be read as an act of identity.

The present trend in language socialization research is to move beyond a focus on the internal mental functions of individual language learners to consider the language learner as a social being whose language acquisition takes place in social contexts. Because the language of a people evolves out of their experience, it is inseparable from cultural identity and establishes that individuals are of the same cultural community (Wong-Filmore, 1996).

Scollon and Scollon believe that discourse patterns (ways of using language to communicate, whether in speech or writing) in different cultures reflect a particular reality set or world-view and are among the strongest expressions of personal and cultural identity. They suggest that changes in a person's discourse pattern, for example in

acquiring a new form of literacy, may involve a change in identity (Scollon and Scollon, 1981 cited in Gee, 1986, p. 737). Shifts in self-definition imply not incoherence of identity, but the multiple perspectives available from moment to moment as children experiment with various ways of being.

In a major collection of language socialization studies, Schieffelin & Ochs (1986) examined the complexities of identity construction as it relates to language and found that sociocultural information is encoded in the organization of conversational discourse and that discourse with children is no exception. Because children acquire cultural knowledge as they acquire linguistic knowledge, those children who are being socialized through language across cultures have the opportunity to acquire linguistic and cultural competence in more than one context. Children acquire language through interactional routines and these communicative interactions are culturally constructed.

Gee (1992) conceptualizes discourse as more than language, as a way of being in the world. Discourses, defined in terms of who is and who is not a member of a particular social group, are political because power and status are always at stake.

Language and Power

Foucault (1980) maintains that the operation of power through language moves language to discourse through a process of normalization. Dominant discourses control and produce thinking that affects practice and organizes meaning. Foucault focuses on power as something that circulates fluidly and is never localized. The analysis of asymmetrical power relationships is critical at the micro level and is a call for praxis as educational institutions are domains in which English language hegemony defines

English speaking as the norm and in which students who do not have command of English are often classified as "deficient" or "at risk."

Building on the framework of language and power in second language learning, Norton (2000) argues that the concept of investment rather than motivation more accurately represents the relationship of language learners to the target language and their varying levels of desire to learn it. Norton's notion of investment attempts to capture the relationship between language socialization and identity, conceiving of the language learner as having multiple identities that are complex and that change across space and time. Second language students face enormous pressure to assimilate and to craft new ways of being through accommodation, assimilation, resistance and identity negotiation.

When explaining motivational dynamics in school, psychologists often focus on children's underlying beliefs and abilities. The *relational zone* has been coined as a term to communicate the centrality of interpersonal caring to children's participation and learning in the zone of proximal development (Goldstein, 1999). Research on relatedness and children's school performance has typically examined the effects of children's feelings of connectedness to particular social partners, specifically, to teachers, parents, and peers. In thinking about language socialization and the development of biliteracy, further examination of the effects of relatedness on second language acquisition needs to be considered. This sociocultural approach may be the most appropriate to understanding language socialization in bilingual contexts.

Biliteracy

Vygotsky (1978), among others, suggested that becoming literate be considered an event of transformation. Becoming biliterate then, must truly be considered an act of metamorphous. However, "there is a paucity of research on becoming literate in two languages or more" (Moll, Saez, Dworin, 2001, p. 446). In fact, studies of literacy in two languages have included three basic types.

1. Analyses of biliteracy in the larger social context;
2. Case studies; and
3. Quasi-experimental studies.

Analysis of Biliteracy in the Larger Social Context

Examples of studies that have considered the social networks, homes, and classrooms of biliterate students include the work of Edelsky (1986, 1989); Moll, Saez, and Dworin, 2001), and (Moll & Arnot-Hopffer, 2004).

Edelsky (1986, 1989) collected writing samples and conducted classroom observations in her studies of writing in Spanish and English. She found that many children were writing in their second language (English) before they were speaking English.

Moll, Saez, & Dworin, (2001) acted as participant observers in a bilingual kindergarten and third grade classroom in which they spoke with children about their incipient and instructed biliteracy. They found that as part of classroom routines the students were learning how to use literacy in both languages as a tool for thinking.

Based on participant observation of DL students and teachers during the Spencer Longitudinal Study of Language Ideology and Biliteracy Development (henceforth, Biliteracy Study), we found support for the transfer of reading skills from Spanish to English (Smith & Arnot-Hopffer, 1998) and that regardless of home language, gender, social class or ethnicity, all of the children in the cohort became literate in both Spanish and English (Moll & Arnot-Hopffer, 2004). However, the students did not become biliterates in the same way, with the same fluency, or with the same consequences. They grew at different speeds and through diverse experiences. To claim one developmental path to biliteracy would be to underestimate the contextual dynamics of second language acquisition and literacy development.

Case Studies

Jiménez, García & Pearson, (1995, 1996) presented a case study of a sixth grade bilingual reader labeled proficient with whom they compared a proficient English-monolingual reader, and a less proficient reader considered bilingual. They found that the proficient bilingual reader used cognates in her reading of both languages as a strategy and demonstrated the most integrated approach to reading.

Using a multiple case study design, González & Arnot-Hopffer (2003) illustrated how the process of biliteracy development shapes and is shaped by language ideologies circulating within the larger political context and within the school. Our research shows that children never learn language in a vacuum and that through their actions they help create the very conditions that will shape their learning.

Quasi-Experimental Studies

Using cross-sectional data gathered in programs across California, Lindholm (2001) reported research from DL programs at twenty different schools at different stages of implementation, and survey data from 4,854 elementary and middle school students. She found that strong literacy skills in Spanish, combined with fluency in English, did not produce the perfect union for literacy transfer to English. Students who did not receive instruction in Spanish reading were less likely to become proficient readers in English (p. 94).

Bialystok (1997) matched samples of monolingual and bilingual preschool children performing contrived tasks under controlled conditions to study emerging concepts of print. She found that the bilingual children had an advantage in understanding the representational properties of written language.

Children's Perspectives on Biliteracy Development

Children are hardly the pawns of reproductionist ideologies; they are quite capable of formulating their own judgments. Nor do they simply absorb sets of skills in a second language; they transform them and in turn contribute to "interpretive reproduction" (Eder & Corsaro, 1999). Children hold sophisticated notions of biliteracy development and indeed contribute to adult understandings of biliteracy, transforming the ways that language, oral and written, becomes defined and how it is perceived. Children do not merely adapt to existing social structures; they are active agents in forming their attitudes and relationships towards others, as well as influencing those of others towards

them. Because children are quite capable of formulating their own judgments, it is essential their voices be heard.

The developing theories of children as they learn through two languages reflect a crucial source of knowledge that has received little attention in research. As children encounter discourse laden with contradictions, a better sense of how biliterate children navigate their changing linguistic and cultural worlds must be more clearly understood.

Vernon & Ferreiro (1999) interviewed kindergarten and first grade students in Mexico. Children were given writing tasks during the interviews, which allowed the researchers to classify the children's responses according to their level of writing and by the type of linguistic units the children were able to analyze. The authors warned that generalizations of research results from one language to another may be misguided, noting that rhyme may be a natural unit for analyzing speech in English, but does not seem to be the case in Spanish.

In a study of students schooled in DL programs through elementary and middle school, Lindholm-Leary (2001) found that students have integrative and instrumental purposes for developing bilingualism. Using cross-sectional data gathered in programs across California, Lindholm-Leary (2001) reported that DL schooled students expressed the belief that being bilingual makes people "smarter" (87%); "think better" (83%); "do better in school" (93%); and "get better jobs" (95%).

Griego-Jones found that the children in her study of three Spanish-dominant, four bilingual, and three English-dominant kindergarten students in a DL program, showed a preference for English and perceived it to be the language they were supposed to

eventually write in. Spanish-speaking children regarded Spanish as acceptable for school use, but seemed to view it as a vehicle they leaned on as they worked to become proficient in English. The inclination of these students to use English did not change over the course of the school year even after they had been immersed in literacy activities in both languages. Griego-Jones (1994, p.1) suggested that "the neglected factor in planning for bilingual teaching of reading and writing is the mindset of children regarding the development of two languages, specifically Spanish and English in bilingual programs."

Carmichael (1998) found similar results in a study of the language ideologies of DL students. In a case study of Spanish-dominant kindergarten students in the DL program at La Escuela, Jessica, one of the students in the research presented here, predicted with confidence that she would no longer need to speak Spanish by her third grade year. Thus, some of the very youngest students seem to have identified and internalized the social values associated with Spanish and English. Like Edelsky, (1996), Carmichael argues that these attitudes constitute barriers in attempts to foster students' use of the minority language.

In the Biliteracy Study, we found that children are keenly aware that language choice signals not only a referential code, but also a social statement. We learned that the children who were our co-inquirers were not passive receptacles for teachers' or parents' ideas about language and literacy. The children did not necessarily mirror their parents' language concerns and ideologies, but often articulated their own ideas about language and language use, sometimes in direct contrast to that of their own households (González & Arnot-Hopffer, 2003).

Dual Language Education

Dual language education is regarded as an optimal form of bilingual education because it seeks to promote additive bilingualism for all students via content area instruction (see Christian, 1994; Thomas & Collier, 1997; Cazabón, Nicoladis, & Lambert, 1998; Smith & Arnot-Hopffer, 1998; Genesee, 1999; Cloud, Genesee & Hamayan, 2000; Lindholm- Leary, 2001; Moll & Arnot-Hopffer, 2005). Positive results from immersion programs around the world, including joint schooling of European-American and Cuban refugee children in Florida, (see Mackey & Beebe, 1997), French language programs in Canada (see Lambert & Tucker, 1972) and Spanish/English bi-national schools in Latin America, suggest that language majority students are well served by DL programs. However, given the historically poor performance of language minority students in United States schools (Wong Fillmore, 1991; August & Hakuta, 1997; Moll & González, 1998), DL programs must be critically examined in terms of benefits to this rapidly growing population. Recent growth in the number of DL programs across the country provides additional motivation for this examination of the conditions under which DL programs may benefit children with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. It is especially important to ask why the DL model, which privileges minority languages and speakers, has become popular at a time of public support for restricting minority language use in schools and anti-immigrant sentiment.

I describe DL education programs as those in which language majority and language minority students are integrated and in which content area instruction is provided through the minority language. According to Lindholm and Fairchild (1990),

DL programs typically share four goals: academic achievement in two languages; development of bilingualism and biliteracy; high levels of self-competence; and positive cross-cultural attitudes. The appeal of DL education is that it combines maintenance bilingual education and immersion education models in an integrated classroom composed of both language majority and language minority students with the goal of full bilingualism and biliteracy for all students (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Because DL education programs seek to add new language and culture skills while continuing to develop the students' existing language and culture skills, they are "additive bilingual programs" (Cloud, Genesee, Hamayan, 2000) with the stated goal of biliteracy for all students. Lindholm has described DL education as the "marriage of bilingual education for linguistic minority children and immersion education for linguistic majority children"(Lindholm, 1992, p. 195).

Although also attacked by Ron Unz and others in their attempts to outlaw bilingual education, the number of DL programs in the United States has grown dramatically in the past decade (Howard & Loeb, 1998). In 2000, former U.S. Secretary of Education, Richard Riley, called for the creation of 1,000 DL education programs, approximately four times the current number of programs (Riley, 2000). By challenging the stigma of bilingual education as ethnic entitlement and conversely the perception of native language schooling as inferior education for minority language children (Crawford, 1999 in Smith, 2001), DL programs are regarded by many as having the potential to eradicate the negative status of bilingual education in the United States.

The first DL program in the United States began in 1963 at Coral Way Elementary School in Dade County, Florida. For the next 20 years, the growth of DL programs was minimal, with fewer than 10 programs documented before 1981. *The Center for Applied Linguistics 2000 Directory* includes 248 DL programs in 23 states and the District of Colombia (Howard &Sugarman, 2001). Research grounded in established programs is especially critical (August & Hakuta, 1997).

Although the majority of DL programs are in public schools, few are school-wide programs. According to the Center for Applied Linguistics, three quarters of the elementary programs operate as strands within schools, as do all of the secondary programs. Table 2 shows how some local and national programs fit into the strand versus whole school approach to DL schooling.

Table 2

Two Approaches to Dual Language Education

Strand Within A School Approach	Whole School Approach
Los Amigos Elementary (Tucson, AZ.)	Mexicayotl Academy (Nogales, AZ.)
Amigos Program (Cambridge, MA)	Davis Bilingual Magnet (Tucson, AZ.)
Key School (Arlington, VA)	Oyster School (Washington, DC)

Two basic approaches to language distribution have been identified in the literature on DL education (Christian, Montone, Lindholm, & Carranza, 1997). The simpler version, certainly in terms of scheduling, is the 50-50 model, in which instructional time is equally divided between the majority and minority languages. The other approach is the 90-10 model in which instruction in kindergarten is provided through the minority language 90% of the time and the majority language the remaining 10%. As children pass through the program, the percentages of minority and majority language use gradually converge until, by the end of elementary school, the language of instruction is equally divided between the two languages. Table 3 shows that by year five, the language of instruction equation is typically the same for both the 50-50 and 90-10 program models.

Table 3

Language Distribution in Two Models of Dual Language Schooling

Grade	50-50 Model	90-10 Model
Kindergarten	50-50	90-10
First	50-50	90-10
Second	50-50	80-20
Third	50-50	70-30
Fourth	50-50	60-40
Fifth	50-50	50-50

Rather than static models, the distribution of languages in DL programs must be understood as a dynamic response to local conditions and as an index of the school/community commitment to the minority language. In Chicago, one of the oldest DL programs in the country, the Inter-American Magnet School moved to a 90-10 model after more than 20 years of using the 50-50 model (Christian, et al., 1997).

Most DL programs are Spanish/English and the majority of students enrolled are native speakers of one or both languages of instruction. Forty-two percent of the schools included in the *CAL Directory* use the minority language for instruction 80-90% of the time in the primary grades, with the instructional ratio of the minority language to English generally reaching 50-50 by fourth grade. Thirty-three percent are balanced programs in which instruction is provided in both languages at all grade levels for equal amounts of time (Howard & Sugarman, 2001).

Because the promotion of biliteracy through schooling is a goal of DL education an essential decision is the language in which initial literacy instruction will be provided. As shown in Figure 3, nationally, 31% of the programs use the minority language for initial literacy instruction, 22% provide initial literacy instruction in both languages to all students, 20% separate the children by native language for initial literacy instruction, 1% use English for all students, 14% do not serve grade levels that require initial literacy instruction, and 12% were unreported (Howard & Sugarman, 2001).

National (n=248)

31% Use Minority Language

20% Use Native Language

22% Use Both Languages

1% Use English (both in same district)

(14%) N/A

(12% Unreported

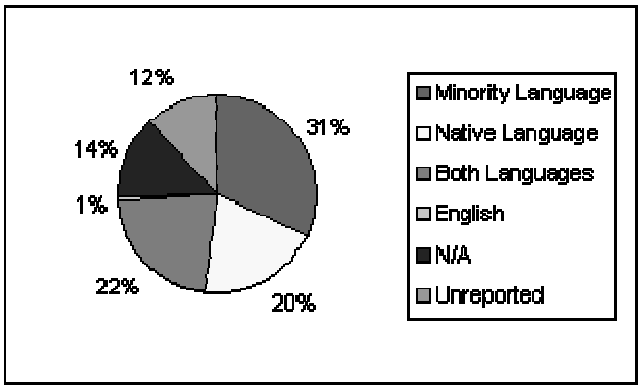


Figure 3. Language of instruction for initial literacy in DL programs nationwide.

Although there is no single model to which all DL programs adhere, those asserting that by conserving the language skills that children bring to the context of schooling, DL students may (1) gain inter-cultural understandings, (2) realize academic success, and (3) become biliterate, include August & Hakuta, 1997; Genessee, 1999; Smith, 2000; Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Kerper Mora & Wink & Wink, 2001; and Moll & Arnot-Hopffer, 2005.

Salient features of successful DL programs include

1. Proportion of students from the two language backgrounds in the classroom;
2. Amount of instructional time provided in the two languages;
3. Practices related to screening students and admitting newcomers to a cohort after first year;
4. Language choice for initial literacy instruction;

5. Participation on a voluntary basis;
6. Presence of students from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds;
7. Separation of languages for instruction;
8. Cognitively challenging classroom;
9. Manner by which the DL model is adopted by school;
10. Teacher proficiency in majority and minority languages;
11. Depth of pool of competent, qualified bilingual teachers;
12. Understanding of and commitment to bilingualism by educators, including administrators;
13. Measures used to assess first and second language development and expression of content knowledge; and
14. Involvement of families and community members in meaningful efforts to support program and growth of child biliteracy (August and Hakuta (1997); Smith (2000); Cloud, Genesee, and Hamayan (2000).

In the Biliteracy Study, we followed a case-study cohort of 20 children through their elementary school years within the same DL school in Tucson. We were able to identify several characteristics that gave the school its additive personality and contributed to its success, including

1. Highly qualified bilingual teacher - all of the faculty were certified bilingual teachers, most held a master's degree, had taken academic courses in both Spanish and English and had taught in a DL language program for more than 9 years;

2. Relations of *confianz* - development of mutual trust to establish a culture of caring among students, faculty, and families; this trust allowed the teachers to make pedagogical and policy decision for this school; and
3. Ideological clarity - the school staff was well aware that teaching is a political activity and was vigilant of any attempts to alter the DL agenda (Moll & Arnot-Hopffer, 2005).

Like most U.S. public school educators, teachers in DL programs work in the context of increased public demand for accountability, typically associated with high scores on standardized measures of academic achievement. Although many DL teachers and administrators are critical of the validity of standardized measures for minority students and for second language learners in particular, they recognize that continued parental and district support for the DL program is at least partially contingent on high test scores (Smith, et al., 2002).

Describing a case study based on data collected over a 10-year period at the Inter-American Magnet School in Chicago, Kirk-Senesac, (2002) reports that students attain high levels of achievement in English reading and writing, math, science, and social studies (p. 85). Data collected included classroom observations, staff meetings, questionnaires, test scores, and parent and teacher interviews.

Reporting on the Amigos DL program in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Cazabón, Nicoladis & Lambert, (1998) found that both language minority and language majority students in the Amigos program are approaching balanced skills in the two languages in reading and math. The data from these analyses of eight years of the Amigos program

suggests that the Spanish Amigos achieved remarkable proficiency in both Spanish and English. The English Amigos have maintained high proficiency in English, although their Spanish achievement falls behind that of Spanish speakers (p.10). Data analyzed included case studies, attitude surveys, and standardized tests in English and Spanish.

Using cross-sectional data, including the evaluation outcomes of almost 5,000 students, Lindholm-Leary (2001) found that academic achievement scores were similar for English-speaking and Spanish-speaking students in both 90-10 and 50-50 DL programs. Her results indicated that reading achievement varied according to school demographic factors, and that in second language reading and mathematics, for both Spanish and English speakers, mid-SES students scored significantly higher than low-SES students (p. 325).

In the Biliteracy Study, we found that the first generation of La Escuela students to complete kindergarten through fifth grade under the DL model scored at or above the district and national averages in all categories of the *Stanford 9 Standardized Achievement Test*. One hundred percent of La Escuela third graders met or exceeded the state standard in English reading on the Arizona Instrument for Measuring Standards (AIMS) in the spring of 2000, although they had received most of their schooling in Spanish (Smith, et al., 2002, p. 107). These high scores in 2000, the first year during which the AIMS test was given to third graders in Arizona, led to the school being labeled “underperforming” by the state in 2001, when not all of the children in the third grade had perfect scores.

Success on standardized measures presents an interesting situation for DL educators who do not believe in them. As several DL teachers have observed, even if the results indicate that instruction at the school is generally effective, this is of little benefit in planning (Smith, et al, 2002).

While the efficacy of language programs remains widely debated in educational discourse, researchers and planners agree that language programs do not exist in a vacuum (Amrein, & Peña, 2000). In dual immersion programs that serve both language majority and language minority students in the same classroom, factors related to language prestige and expectations for different linguistic groups are salient in determining program outcomes (Kerper Mora, Wink & Wink, 2001).

Bourdieu's (1993) work on language and political economy can help us better understand how members of a particular society come to value specific languages and speakers of those languages. Bourdieu argues that language can be understood as a form of cultural capital used by speakers to pursue their interests.

In the linguistic market in the United States today, English is dominant and afforded great status. DL programs may be best understood as places where the hegemony of English (Shannon, 1995) can be contested as the status of the minority language is consciously raised. At issue is the extent to which DL programs, embedded within the multiple structures of state, district, and school, are capable of rethinking family and community participation and implementing changes that will lead to critical pedagogy and equity in education.

Examples of inequity in the DL program they studied in Phoenix were described by Amrein and Peña (2000), through the metaphor of symmetry. Instances of asymmetry were defined as imbalances or inequalities. Symmetry was noted when the DL program promoted fairness and equality. Three areas of asymmetry were identified.

1. Instructional asymmetry: pedagogical imbalances;
2. Resource asymmetry: discrepancies in availability of materials; and
3. Student asymmetry: characteristics of student population that made providing equal opportunities to learn problematic (p. 6).

Valdes (1997) concentrates on the negative effects of DL education due to the larger context and status conflicts within the communities in which the programs are implemented. Her focus on the relationship between language and power concludes with a call for emancipatory DL education with a social justice curriculum (p.420).

Because they emphasize parent and family involvement, DL programs are important sites for examining participation by language majority and language minority families (Cloud et al., 2000). Given the linguistic and cultural resources of DL educators, it is conceivable that the tendency for schools to underestimate and undervalue the contributions of minority and working class families (Torres-Guzmán, 1991) is less severe in DL programs. However, there is evidence that parental involvement in DL programs continues to be dominated by white middle-class parents (Vazquez et al., 1994).

Lindholm–Leary (2001) reports that in many of the 20 school sites in her study, the European-American parents were used to running parent committees, making

decisions, and pushing for various remedies to improve the school climate or instruction. When Hispanic parents, especially Spanish-speaking parents who were not well educated, tried to join in these activities, the European-American parents often took over. Hispanic parents felt alienated from decision-making and school events. "This is not a criticism of caring parents, but a caution to program coordinators or principals" (p. 324).

Binary thinking must be resisted in DL education as teaching and research are better understood as a process of discovery, inquiry and engagement through which we can examine the multiple spheres in which children engage (González, 2005). Complex social, linguistic and cultural issues call upon us to rethink even those DL programs that offer the greatest potential for educational change (Kerper Mora, Wink & Wink, 2001). This re-examination is best done in concert with students as suggested by Cummins:

> In culturally diverse societies, a central goal of education should be to create interactional contexts where educators and students can critically examine issues of identity and experience and collaboratively deconstruct the myths that are inherited from one generation to the next…For educators to create an educational context with their students where the assumptions and lies underlying dominant group identity become the focus of scrutiny rather than the invisible screen that determines perceptions is to challenge societal power structure. Educational equity requires no less (1994 in Valdes, 1997, p. 420).

Adolescence

Adolescence is defined as the second decade of the life span. Although

adolescence may span a 10-year period, most social scientists and practitioners recognize that so much psychological and social growth takes place during this decade, that it makes more sense to view the adolescent years as composed of a series of phases than as one homogeneous stage. Development during adolescence is a series of transitions from immaturity into maturity (Arnett & Taber, 1994; Hoffman, 1996), and includes major biological, social, and cognitive changes.

Biological changes

The chief biological change during adolescence is puberty; changes in the physical appearance of the young person and the development of reproductive capability. Puberty is considerably affected by the context in which it occurs. Physical development is influenced by environmental factors, and the timing and rate of pubertal growth varies across regions of the world, socioeconomic classes, ethnic groups, and historical eras. Physical and sexual maturation profoundly affect the way in which adolescents view themselves and the way they are viewed and treated by others. Puberty also affects the adolescent's psychological development and social relations (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992).

Social Changes

Social transitions during adolescence include the importance of peer relationships. A peer group is a kind of social network. Adolescents frequently inhabit multiple peer groups simultaneously. The goals of social network theory are to articulate more accurately the "various and simultaneous ways class, gender, race, and ethnic forces affect the daily lives of adolescents, particularly in the development of adolescent

relationships and social support systems" (Stanton-Salazar, 2001, p.5). Peer groups are fluid entities, being constructed and deconstructed through social interactions and institutional setting. While they can be sources of tremendous social, cultural, linguistic, and educational capital, they can also be instruments that keep resources from certain groups.

Cognitive Changes

At a general level, the most important cognitive changes during this period often relate to the increasing ability of adolescents to think abstractly, consider the hypothetical as well as the real, engage in more sophisticated and elaborate information-processing strategies, consider multiple dimensions of a problem, and reflect on oneself. Such abstract and hypothetical thinking is the hallmark of Piaget's formal operational stage assumed to begin during adolescence and to continue through young adulthood (Piaget & Inhelder, 1973). Given the emphasis that Piaget placed on the interaction between biological change and environmental stimulation in provoking intellectual growth, it is not surprising that adolescence, a time of dramatic biological transition and equally noteworthy changes in environmental elements, is viewed in Piagetian theory as an extremely important period in cognitive development.

In middle school there is great interest in developing students' abilities to comprehend and think critically about subject matter material that they are expected to master as part of the regular curriculum. Yet the picture of achievement for adolescents in the United States is mixed. A substantial minority of America's adolescents are not progressing well academically. The rates of dropping out and disengagement are

particularly marked among poor youth and both Latino and Native American adolescents (Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 1998).

Any discussion of performance and motivational differences across different cultural groups must take into account larger contextual issues. Minority children, particularly those living in poverty, have to deal with several difficult issues not faced by majority adolescents, including racism and the conflict between the values of their cultural or linguistic group and the larger society.

Middle School Literacy

Luke & Elkins, (1998) suggest that adolescent literacy during current global shifts in economic systems, cultural practices, and social institutions will require "critical multiliteracies" (p. 213) because texts and literate practices of everyday life are changing at an unprecedented and disorienting pace. However, Garcia (2000) has noted that "the instructional research on older bilingual children's reading is meager" (p. 830). When the critical multiliteracies of biliterate adolescents are ignored in favor of an examination of her/his performance on conventional school reading tasks, teachers and policymakers may become blinded to the individual linguistic and cultural funds of knowledge of each student. "The danger is that standardized tests will not have a positive effect on the achievement of students of diverse backgrounds, but will simply serve as another means of categorizing diverse learners as losers in the educational game" (Au, 2000, p. 845).

While the metaphor of "winners and losers" may seem too dualistic to describe issues of middle school literacy, "despite a liberal lament that variation is wonderful, those who cannot show the right skills at the right time in the right format are considered

out of the race for the rewards of the larger culture" (McDermott and Varenne ,1995, p. 335). In fact, literacy can translate into economic and social advantages or disadvantages. An English-only middle school curriculum disables language minority students by mandating an arbitrary set of reading tasks against which they can be measured, thus ignoring the linguistic and cultural funds of knowledge (Moll & Gonzalez, 1994) that students have acquired.

The research presented here offers productive inquiry into the multiple critical literacies of three middle school students. The longitudinal nature of this study is a move away from some idealized notion of literacy assessed through a narrow view of the reading process in which milestones and benchmarks are established by the dominant culture and large groups of students are disenfranchised because they hold different social, cultural, or linguistic values and traditions. Literacy is in fact a social practice, not a cognitive or psychological phenomenon that happens in the head of the reader, but a set of intertextual resources that connect the lived experiences of adolescents to texts.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

> Researcher: ¿Quieren incluir un niño en nuestro trabajo este semestre? Tal vez sería interesante aprender lo que piensan los niños sobre el proceso de aprender a leer y escribir en dos idiomas? [Would you like to include a boy in our work this semester? Perhaps it would be interesting to learn what the boys think about the process of learning to read and write in two languages].
>
> Jessica: No way, Miss.
>
> Augusta: Somos las tres amigas [We are the three girlfriends].(group interview, November 20, 2001).

Introduction

The focus of this investigation emerged through my participation in a longitudinal study of language ideology and biliteracy development in children, pilot studies, and reviews of the scholarly and professional literature.

I have been in a privileged position to work closely with the participants in this study for the past seven years in a variety of roles, including Spanish reading teacher, co-inquirer, Curriculum Specialist, and literacy evaluator. My sustained involvement in a longitudinal study of biliteracy and language ideology (March, 1999-March, 2002) led by Dr. Luis Moll and Dr. Norma González helped shape the research questions and ensured access to information that would otherwise have been difficult to obtain.

The three participants in this study were chosen from a larger pool of 20 case study students being followed in the aforementioned longitudinal study of language

ideology and biliteracy development (Moll & Gonzalez, 2000). Initial selection was based on several factors, including age, gender, language dominance, and residential status: magnet/barrio. I began meeting with these students who refer to themselves as "Las Tres Amigas" in February of 2000. By initially selecting only female students in the second grade, this study does not provide opportunities for comparison based on gender or age, however it does allow for the richness of detail that give qualitative data their transferability.

As previously mentioned, language dominance was considered in the initial selection of these participants, e.g. one child comes from a Spanish-dominant home, one child comes from an English-dominant home, and the third child comes from a home in which both English and Spanish are heard and used regularly.

I adopted a longitudinal ethnographic design. The primary advantage of a longitudinal design was that it allowed me to trace and document the development of and transformations in the biliteracy development of Las Tres Amigas.

This chapter describes the research design of the study and the methods used to gather and analyze the data on which this study is based. I begin with a discussion of my purpose as a qualitative researcher and an overview of ethnographic research methods, then follow with a description and justification of the case study approach as the most appropriate method for the research questions posed here. The benefits of longitudinal design are also addressed. The last two sections describe procedures for data collection and data analysis.

Why Qualitative Research?

"Although the choice of a research method ideally is determined by what one is trying to learn, those coming into the field of educational research must know that some researchers and scholars see the choice as a political and moral one" (See Bertaux, 1981; Fay, 1987; Gage, 1989; Lather, 1986a, 1986b; Popkowitz, 1984; in Seidman, 1998, p. 7). The qualitative researcher is in the business of generating knowledge that can serve the society studied or that empowers participants (Rossman and Rallis, 1998). Because in qualitative research the researcher herself is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis, the qualitative researcher must position herself according to her worldview. The worldview of the researcher shapes all steps of the qualitative research project.

My work is guided by Paolo Freire (1970) and others who suggest that research is in fact a form of social action. Through dialogue and reflexivity, design, data and theory emerge with data being recognized as generated from people in a relationship (Lather, 1991, p. 72). As viewed by Freire (1970), research is a form of social action. The emancipatory use of research grows out of Freire's web of praxis – the belief that the reflections and action implicit in knowledge can free practice. In praxis-oriented research and the development of emancipatory theory, the educative process is more important than product as empowering methods contribute to consciousness-raising and transformative social action. By engaging in critical action research, educators can promote social change.

Critical Action Research

The notion of critical action research originally came out of the work of critical theorists, including the members of the Frankfurt School, Italian Marxist Antonio

Gramsci and others, who in turn drew on the Marxist theory of economic exploitation. Although Marx was deeply committed to the merging of theory and practice in the form of revolution, critical theory itself has been criticized for failing to move beyond theory into practice. In fact, critics suggest that critical theory is disproportionately pessimistic, calling attention to social injustices without offering practical solutions.

Nevertheless, several basic tenets of critical theory have found effective application, including the notion of subjectivity, that as humans born into class, culture, gender, and language, we are never fully autonomous, and yet as conscious thinkers, we are able to exercise a measure of human agency, and the idea of critique, that in order to free itself from oppressive regimes, society must problematize the dominant forces of ideology and create social change through the exchange of ideas.

Freire used critical action research as a liberatory enterprise, teaching literacy skills as a form of consciousness-raising, a way of helping participants become aware of ideologies and as a way to promote social change. His two-way, cooperative, reflexive approach promotes a more democratic type of research in which an examination of power is embedded and problematization occurs.

In critical action research the participants are not generating knowledge simply to inform or enlighten an academic or social science community. “They are collaboratively producing knowledge to improve their work and their lives” (Rossman and Rallis, 1998, p. 16).

Ethnographic Research in Education

Educational ethnography typically deals with the culture of a school community and is well established as a rich and fundamentally important source of information about bilingual classrooms (Johnson, 1992). Microethnographic approaches, such as those undertaken by Moll (1981) and proposed by Erickson (1996), and Moll and González (1998), are especially appropriate for classroom level investigations, as well as for documenting the perspectives of children. As suggested by Freeman (1998), and Panfil (1995), the ethnographic case study has proven a valuable approach to investigation of DL education, relevant to this study because all three case study students attended a DL school from kindergarten through fifth grade.

Case Studies

The case study is recognized as an important tool for understanding educational settings, actors, and the intellectual work they do (Bell, 1993). Yin (1989) defines case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (p. 23). Stake (1995) argues that case studies are best suited to unique cases and recommends that cases be selected on the basis of what may be learned from them rather than their status as representative of a particular phenomenon.

In the present study however, I seek to combine both, by providing an intimate understanding of the three girls, each quite distinct in their representation of a particular trajectory of the development of biliteracy.

Critical Case Studies

Critical case studies assume theoretically that oppression and domination characterize the setting and seek to uncover how patterns of action perpetuate the status quo (Rossman and Rollis, 1998). A critical case study is grounded in a critique of existing social structure and patterns.

The critical case study design may be the most appropriate for understanding language education through the words and worlds of children. Representing the voices of students through a critical case study is one way to work against the inequitable voice representation inherent in most schooling practices in the United States today. Engaging those who are the subjects of research as researchers is in fact a part of the social change process. When we become co-inquirers with children whose voices don't often have the opportunity to be raised to a public level, we are very much involved in the empowering and emancipatory purposes of critical action research.

Data Collection

Data collection for this study has taken place in two distinct phases and has included four sources of data (see Table 4). Phase 1 includes a retrospective case history of each girl during kindergarten through fifth grade using data gathered from pilot studies conducted in conjunction with my graduate coursework. At this time I served as the On-Site Coordinator of the Spencer Longitudinal Study of Biliteracy Development and Language Ideology at La Escuela. Phase 2 includes new data on each girl and an examination of their biliteracy trajectory in the social context of middle school.

The primary advantage of these two distinct phases in this case study design is that it has allowed me to trace and document the development of and transformations in the biliteracy development of Las Tres Amigas from kindergarten through eighth grades.

In correlation with the research questions four primary sources of data were collected and informed by the voices of Las Tres Amigas including (1) data about proficiency (2) data about ideologies (3) data about cultural identity and (4) data about social context.

Table 4

Phases of Data Collection and Sources of Data

Phase of Study	Data Source	Research Question
Phase 1: Grades K-5 Elementary school context Phase 2: Grades 6-8 Middle school context	Data about proficiency	1. How do three female students develop their biliteracy in the elementary and middle-school context?
Phase 1: Grades K-5 Elementary school context Phase 2: Grades 6-8 Middle school context	Data about ideologies	2. How does this same group of students perceive their biliteracy development?
Phase 1: Grades K-5 Elementary school context Phase 2: Grades 6-8 Middle school context	Data about cultural identity	3. What is the role of cultural identity in the development of their biliteracy?

Phase of Study	Data Source	Research Question
Phase 2: Grades 6-8 Middle school context	Data about social context	4. What is the role of social context in and out of middle school in either sustaining or constraining their development of biliteracy?

Data collection for this study has taken place over the past nine years. The extended period of data collection and my position as teacher and bilingual curriculum specialist at the elementary school attended by all three girls allowed me to forge relationship with key participants and gain a level of access to domains within the schools and community that would not have been possible during a shorter study. As my relationship with the case study students and their families grew, I was able to draw on a rich variety of experiences to formulate new questions and tentative hypotheses.

I have concentrated on multiple sites of data collection in an effort to read across multiple layers of language use. Attempting to capture the fluidity of shifting language and literacy practices is a methodological dilemma. I have drawn from a variety of data sources - triangulating household interviews, classroom observations, literature circles, artifacts, and the children's own utterances. Over the course of the study, a total of nine individual interviews, seven focus group interviews, thirty observations, five interviews with families, three literature circles, twenty-four running records and fourteen writing samples have been documented. The distribution of these data sources and additional artifacts is given in Table 5.

Table 5

Distribution of Data Sources-The Products

Data Source	Number Documented
Individual Interviews	9
Focus Group Interviews	7
Interviews with Families	5
Classroom Observations	15
Éxito Bilingüe Observations	11
Observations in other areas-cafeteria, playground, extended day	4
Literature Circles	3
Writing Samples	14
Running Records	24
DAVIS SOLOM Student Self Assessments of Oral Proficiency	15
DAVIS SOLOM Teacher Assessments of Oral Proficiency	12
Timelines of Lives into the Future (Faulstich Orellana, 2001)	9

Interviews

All interviews were semi-structured (Adler & Clark, 1999), consisting of open-ended questions organized around basic themes of language, literacy, identity, and social context. The content of the open-ended questions drew on pilot interviews conducted with my son, also a student at the DL elementary school and one of the case study middle schools, as well as on family interviews developed for use in funds of knowledge research by Norma González and colleagues (González, 1995b). The majority of interviews lasted approximately one hour in length. Participation in the interviews was voluntary and interviewees were not compensated for participating.

Although I sought to use an interview style that would create conditions that were "less artificial, more natural, resembling a conversation between equal participants" (Wilson, 1996), I was mindful of my position as a teacher and curriculum specialist at the elementary school and of the asymmetrical power relationship thus implied. Dyson (1992) explains that when people speak or write, they are engaging in a dialogue socially situated within multiple relations of power.

The interviews were conducted in Spanish or English, and sometimes in both languages. Interviews were recorded on audiotape and all recorded interviews were transcribed by me or a paid transcriptionist. "The last stage of interpretation, then, consistent with the interview process itself, asks researchers what meaning they have made of their work. In the course of interviewing, researchers ask the participants what their experience mean to them. Now they have the opportunity to respond to the same question" (Seidman, 1998, pp. 111).

Informed Consent

Permission to conduct research with the participants and their families during Phase 1 was covered under a prior agreement between La Escuela, the University of Arizona, and the Spencer Longitudinal Study. Permission to continue the study during Phase 2 was granted by the Human Subjects Protection Program, University of Arizona. The participants chose pseudonyms which are used here.

Observations

Members of the longitudinal study and I observed the case-study students in classrooms and other domains of La Escuela and the community; including the cafeteria, school playground, office, the local park, and Día Extendido (the after-school program). As a member of the longitudinal study team, I had access to all field notes generated during these observations.

My role as observer varied considerably depending on the domain/activity I was observing. In classrooms, I was often the teacher or a participant observer, sometimes taking no or very few notes over the course of a one-hour lesson. In such instances, I employed strategies that enabled me to recall much of what I had observed such as taking periodic, highly abbreviated notes on slips of paper. I also used my lesson plans and outlines of other lessons to create a chronology of key events and language sequence. I typed fieldnotes as soon as possible following each observation.

Literature Circles

In literature circles, small groups of students gather together to discuss a piece of literature in depth. The discussion is guided by students' responses to what they have

read. Collaboration is at the heart of this approach. Students reshape and add to their understanding as they construct meaning with other readers. Literature circles provide a way for students to engage in critical thinking and reflection as they read, discuss, and respond to books (Noe and Johnson, 1999, p. 9).

If voice and agency are indeed central to critical pedagogy, the importance of making whole texts that include the experiences of students a part of that pedagogy is evident. Close reading of a text centers not only on the text; but on the reader as the experience is guided by the reader's cultural, linguistic, and literary history. "We believe that genuine meaning, meaning over which readers have ownership, arises only if readers are able to structure it themselves, through their own interpretations, in light of their experiences and their intent. It is in this way that the text is brought to life" (Peterson, and Eeds, 1990, in Noe and Johnson, 1999, p. 41).

The case study students and the researcher participated in three literature circle discussions using children's literature in Spanish, including *El Libro de los Cerdos* by Anthony Browne, *Rosa Caramelo* by Adela Turin and Nella Bosnia and *La Mariposa* by Francisco Jimenez. These discussions were audio taped, transcribed and translated.

Artifacts

Although the basic premises about, purposes of, and researcher's role in qualitative and quantitative research are different, they both begin with an initial research question and can be used in tandem. The quantitative elements are embedded in this qualitative research project through what I know about these students from multiple perspectives in multiple contexts. It is in the context of multiple perspectives that

quantitative data is helpful in supporting qualitative research. This is not a dichotomy but a continuum as shown in Figure 4.

Qualitative Methods ⟷ Quantitative Methods

Figure 4. Mixed method continuum.

Running Records

First developed by Marie Clay (1975; 1993) and others in reading recovery, running records are "tools for coding, scoring, and analyzing a child's precise reading behaviors" (Fountas and Pinnell, 1996, p 89). Each running record documents the reading of a target text, "providing quantitative and qualitative information" (Fountas & Pinnell, 1996, p. 78) useful in decisions about placement and individual instruction.

At La Escuela running records were used to assess student progress in reading in Spanish and English using leveled sets of books(see appendix P for book lists) that increased in complexity and difficulty the higher the reading levels (see Fountas & Pinnell, 1996, ch. 10). For example, a text at level 2 (loosely equivalent to a kinder-first grade reading level), would consist of repeated words and pattern sentences, with a simple story line and illustrations of animals or familiar objects, the number of words ranging from 12 to 36.

The running record is also designed to provide information on the progress of self regulation, what Clay calls a "self-improving system" (Clay & Cazden, 1990). Even at the earliest levels the student is expected to use visual information to help predict, check, and confirm while reading for meaning; an especially important strategy as Las Tres Amigas learned in a second language.

Spanish and English running records were collected from all three case study students twice in second, third, fourth and fifth grades. In the cases of two of the students the running record scores reported here may underestimate their true reading performance in both languages because of a "ceiling effect". Augusta for example, scored the maximum of 44 in both languages during the second phase of data collection when she was in grade two, but her performance in fifth grade was still recorded at the same level (level 44) although she was undoubtedly a much better reader in both languages three years and many literacy experiences later. A similar limitation (to be discussed later) was evident for Amy.

DAVIS SOLOM

Oral language proficiency scores in Spanish and English, as measured on the DAVIS Oral Language Observation Matrix (DAVIS SOLOM) teacher assessment and DAVIS Oral Language Observation Matrix (DAVIS SOLOM), student self-assessment were included in this analysis. These were completed in second, third, fourth, fifth and eighth grades.

Timelines into the Future

In an attempt to characterize the aspirations of the participants, I borrowed from the work of Faulstich Orellana (2001), and asked the case study students to sketch a timeline of their lives in to the future. This was done in fourth, sixth and eighth grade.

Data Analysis

Preliminary analysis of data occurred during the typing of field notes,

transcription of audio-taped interviews, and examination of artifacts. In the process of transforming handwritten notes and taped interviews into print data, I began to identify themes in the raw data and to categorize incoming data under these initial organizers. I spent considerable time "swimming in data," reading and re-reading printouts of the field notes, interviews, and artifacts, and identifying new themes in the process of highlighting and writing margin notes. These categories were expanded, limited, and collapsed based on their usefulness to the description of incoming data. In the same way, new categories were created and some of the initial categories were deleted.

I created a portfolio for each of the participants with a cover sheet to keep track of the types and amounts of data collected. I filed field notes and transcriptions by general event and by case study student within their portfolios. Artifacts were labeled with the source and date and were filed by theme. Student-generated artifacts were filed in the portfolio of each participant.

Data analysis occurred chronologically and thematically. The goal in so doing was to identify patterns and changes longitudinally and to analyze data thematically across all events looking for families of themes that related to the research questions. "Analytical memos" (Lewis, 1997, p. 175) were written, detailing the patterns and categories that developed.

Table 6 provides an overview of the process of data analysis during Phases 1 and 2.

Table 6

Data Analyses by Phases of the Study-the Process

Research Questions	Data Collection	Data Analysis
PHASE 1 How do three female students develop their biliteracy in the elementary and middle-school context? How does this same group of students perceive their biliteracy development? What is the role of cultural identity in the development of biliteracy?	Audio transcripts of interviews -with families -with case study students -focus groups Audio transcripts of literature circles Field notes form observations -in classrooms -in Éxito Bilingüe groups Artifacts -running records -DAVIS SOLOM -writing samples -time lines into future -related documents	Developed case study portfolio of each participant. Filed field notes by general event and by case study student Labeled artifacts with the source of data. Filed artifacts by theme. Filed student generated artifacts in the portfolio of each participant. Generated analytical memos

Table 6 *(continued)*

Research Questions	Data Collection	Data Analysis
PHASE 2 How do three female students develop their biliteracy in the elementary and middle-school context? How does this same group of students perceive their biliteracy development? What is the role of cultural identity in the development of biliteracy? What is the role of social context in and out of middle school in either sustaining or constraining their development of biliteracy?	Audio transcripts of interviews -with families -with case study students -focus groups Audio transcripts of miscue analysis Field notes from observations Artifacts -writing samples -time lines into future -related documents	Transcribed voice memos Read for themes chronologically and thematically Continued to develop case study portfolio of each participant. Filed field notes by general event and by case study student Labeled artifacts with the source of data. Filed artifacts by theme. Filed student generated artifacts in the portfolio of each participant Generated analytical memos

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE STUDY STUDENTS

Researcher: So let's talk about the future. Will you use both languages in the future?

Three girls (simultaneously): Yeah.

Amy: It's unanimous, all of us say yes.

Researcher: Will you read and write in both languages?

Three girls (simultaneously): Yes (group interview, eighth grade, July 2006).

A more in-depth look at Las Tres Amigas may help us better understand how children make sense of biliteracy. One of the case study students comes from a Spanish-dominant home, one child is growing up in a home in which she is the only person who speaks a language other than English, and the other girl is being raised in families in which both English and Spanish are heard and used regularly. By fifth grade, having been immersed in an additive bilingual schooling context, all three became bilingual and biliterate. Las Tres Amigas attended three different middle schools. All qualified for free and reduced lunch throughout elementary and middle school. The variability of their experiences is exemplified in the following portraits of Jessica, Amy, and Augusta.

Jessica

Jessica is the eldest of four children in an extended Latino family with a long history of residence in Barrio Anita. Her third grade teacher commented on her role as the oldest sibling, "Jessica is the oldest of four, and she has a lot of responsibilities at home with the little ones, but her mom makes sure she does her homework" (personal

communication, February 2001). Jessica and her siblings were born in Tucson, Arizona. Her sister, one year younger, and their cousins, were students in the DL program at La Escuela. Jessica began the DL program in kindergarten and at that time, her family lived in Barrio Anita. They moved out of the neighborhood when she was in fourth grade and Jessica's mom provided transportation to and from La Escuela for Jessica and her younger sister. Both children participated in the extended-day program in which Jessica studied violin.

Jessica's mother is from Nogales, Sonora. She immigrated to the United States when she was 14. She attended high school at both Pueblo and Tucson High and dropped out in her junior year to marry at age 17. When Jessica was in elementary school, she worked one day a week at a doctor's office and sold Mary Kay beauty products from her home. She reported using mostly Spanish in her work at that time. In the family interviews, Jessica's mom shared her value of both languages, "Me siento muy orgullosa de hablar poquito inglés porque hay gente que nada más habla un solo idioma" [I am proud to speak a little English because there are people who speak only one language] (family interview, 1999). "Yo creo que las dos (lenguas) son iguales" [I think both languages are the same] (family interview, October 2000).

When Jessica began middle school, her mother started cleaning houses so she could study English while her children were at school. Jessica commented on her mother's developing proficiency in English, "Her English is getting better, she can speak full sentences, but my sister and I still make fun of her" (group interview, July 2006).

Jessica's stepfather, Eliu Rodriguez is also an immigrant. He is from Chihuahua, Mexico and came to Tucson in 1989. He finished high school in Mexico and works for a sheet rock construction company as a laborer. He uses mostly Spanish in his work.

Jessica's Social Network and Aspirations for the Future

"Amigos"

Tengo tres amigas,
Son muy bonitas y grandes,
Son mexicanas-americanas. ["Friends." I have three girl friends. They are pretty and big. They are Mexican-American].

(poem by Jessica, third grade, April 26, 2001)

Jessica is recognized by her mother, other relatives, teachers, and peers as being a very social child. "Jessica tiene amigos de todo grupo, grandes, chiquitos . . . a cualquiera le hace plática" [Jessica is friends with all kinds of students, older students, younger students . . . she talks to everyone]. (family interview, July 9, 1999). Jessica's broad social network seems to be organized along linguistic lines. "La Escuela students live in and with their linguistic networks. With the fourth grade class, this is most noticeable with the Spanish dominant case study students, Jessica, Alondra and Crystal. This year the new student Giovanna has joined their circle. She has just come from Sonora" (field notes, October 11, 2001). Jessica's social network included mostly Spanish-speaking friends throughout elementary school. "Jessica and Flor speak to each other only in Spanish" (field notes, second grade, August 28, 2000). "Kenia, Flor and Jessica play the game 'pick-up sticks' when they are done with their assignment. Their

conversations are entirely in Spanish" (field notes, second grade, September 14, 2000). "Near the end of recess, Jessica played a clapping game in Spanish with Kenia. It was spoken very quickly. . . . Another girl joined the group and the three of them then switched to a non-clapping game using numbers in Spanish" (field notes, second grade, August 31, 2000). "Jessica tells me, in Spanish, that she likes to talk and that she meets up with her cousin Cynthia at lunch in the cafeteria. She told me, Mary (who works in the cafeteria, nos dijo, 'Ay comadres, nomás les falta el café!" [she told us, Oh, good friends, all you need is your coffee!].(field notes, third grade, August 20, 2001).

In middle school, Jessica's social network continued to be mostly Spanish even though Jessica's school enforced a rigid and punitive English-only policy practicing psychological violence by forcing students to write, *I will not speak Spanish,* 200 times as a consequence for using their home language in the classroom. "I speak English at school in my classes and I speak Spanish at my home and with my friends. I speak Spanish all the time but in my classes. If you speak Spanish, they will give you detention and everything. . . . They (friends) all speak Spanish" (individual interview, eighth grade, February 2006).

Jessica's social network is enhanced by her sense of humor. "She's so funny," remarked her second grade teacher. Her sense of humor reflects not only her Spanish dominance but also her level of familiarity with Latino culture. "Before the dancing activity began, the music teacher asked the students to wait because 'Tengo que ponerme esta faja en la rodilla' [I have to put this brace on my knee]. "Then he asked, '¿Por qué tendré que ponerme esto?' [Why do I have to put this on?]. "Jessica immediately

responded, 'Por la bola de años' [Due to the bolus of years]. "The teacher just laughed at the girl's response" (field notes, February 9, 2000). The following example demonstrates Jessica's broad social network as well as her sense of humor. "At recess, Jessica and another girl played with Jessica's Tweety Bird toys. Jessica flowed freely between Spanish and English, inviting other girls to play in Spanish and describing what she was doing in English. She scribbled on a Tweety Bird paper and then balled it up, saying in Spanish, "estaba enojado, y después se murió" [He was mad, and then he died]. "She laughed at this and repeated it, in both Spanish and English. She directed these comments to other girls who were not playing with her at that moment" (field notes, August 22, 2000).

As well as being highly social and very funny, Jessica was recognized by peers as a responsible student. "Senora Condit asked the students to think about a person whom had been working in a responsible manner throughout the time she had been absent. Some of the students raised their hands with suggestions. Their suggestions were Kyron, Jessica, Alfonso, and Amy" (field notes, March 9, 2000).

In third grade, Jessica was described by her teacher as "very confident in herself. She likes to learn" (field notes, May 15, 2001). There are many examples cited in the field notes that indicate that Jessica was engaged in her schoolwork, focused on reading, and anxious to participate. "Jessica seems to be more able to focus and sustain her attention this year (4^{th} grade) than last" (field notes, August 2001).

However, by eighth grade, Jessica perceived the goal of the high school experience as "getting the degree" and longed for a return to bilingual education. "I don't

know, I just miss a bilingual education . . . you could speak two languages without getting in trouble" (individual interview, eighth grade, February 2006).

Through her work in California, Faulstich Orellana (2001) highlights the contributions of immigrant children to households and schools. She suggests that immigrant children help to shape their own identities and futures, and are not the passive recipients of the socialization or teaching practices of the adults in their lives. In an attempt to characterize the aspirations of Las Tres Amigas, I borrowed from the work of Faulstich Orellana (2001) and asked Jessica, Amy, and Augusta to sketch timelines of their lives into the future during our work together during grades fourth, sixth and eighth. The question, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" was also naturally raised in most of our focus group interviews.

In elementary school, Jessica's career aspirations varied greatly. In second grade, she stated she wanted to be a police officer, and in third grade she aspired to be a singer. An artist was her career goal in fourth grade, but in fifth grade she clearly articulated that she planned to be a physician. This is a career goal that remained consistent during middle school, becoming more defined in eighth grade. "I want to be a doctor. . . . I think it's called pediatrician. . . . I think it's fun working with babies like that" (individual interview, eighth grade, February 13, 2006).

Jessica's Cultural Identity and Language Ideology

Jessica: "Yo uso español en mi casa y con mi familia porque yo nací en español. En Éxito Bilingüe también. Uso inglés cuando hay personas quien habla inglés no más" [I use Spanish at my house and with my family because I was born in Spanish.

In Éxito Bilingüe also. I use English when there are people who only speak English] (group interview, third grade, March 2001).

Identity is a concept that figuratively combines the intimate or personal world with the collective space of cultural forms and social relations. Identities are lived in and through activity and must be conceptualized as they develop in social practice over a person's lifetime (Holland, D. Lachicotte Jr., W., Skinner, D., Cain, C., 1998). According to Portes & Rumbaut (2001) and others, Jessica's linguistic and cultural connections to her parents' country of origin will serve her well academically. It is interesting to note however, that although she was very "Mexicana" in language and cultural practice as early as kindergarten, when asked about her cultural identity in second grade, Jessica identified herself as "Blanco," then "Mexicana" when spontaneously coached by Augusta.

> Researcher: ¿Tú eres de cuál cultura entonces Jessica? [What culture are you then, Jessica?].
>
> Jessica: Blanco [White].
>
> Augusta: (whispers) Mexicana.
>
> Researcher: ¿La cultura blanca? ¿O tu eres de la cultura Mexicana, Jessica? [The White culture or are you from the Mexican culture, Jessica?].
>
> Augusta: (whispering) Mexican.
>
> Jessica: Mexican (group interview, second grade, April 2000).

Perhaps the most interesting and telling insight from my longitudinal work with Jessica is the changes that have occurred in her language ideologies over time. When

Jessica was in kindergarten, she claimed in an interview with a teacher-researcher (Carmichael 1998), that when she was an adult, she would no longer be speaking Spanish, because she . . . "doesn't like Spanish much" (Carmichael 1998, p.7). Illustrating how beliefs about language and identity can shift quickly among children, by third grade, Jessica told me that Spanish was "mi idioma" [my language]. In this three-year span, Jessica had stopped voicing her previous antipathy to Spanish, though her conflict over cultural identity was still evident in the interviews. In third grade, again coached by Augusta, she identified herself as Mexicana-Americana.

> Amy: Jessica es mexicana y ella puede escribir en español [Jessica is Mexican and she can write in Spanish].
>
> Researcher: ¿Quién? [Who?].
>
> Amy: Jessica, porque ella es mexicana y…[Jessica, because she is Mexican and . . .].
>
> Jessica: I'm not a Mexican. I was born right here.
>
> Augusta: Right here? ¿Aquí en esta clase? [Here in this class?].
>
> Jessica: No, in this state.
>
> Researcher: ¿Tú no eres Mexicana? [You are not Mexican?].
>
> Jessica: No.
>
> Researcher: No, ¿qué eres? [No, what are you?].
>
> Jessica: ¿Yo? Yo no soy nada. Ni Mexicana ni . . . (shrugs her shoulders) [Me, I am not anything. Not Mexican, not . . .].
>
> Researcher: ¿No eres mexicana? [You're not Mexican?].

Jessica: Nací [I was born].

Researcher: Yo ya se que naciste aquí, pero ¿qué eres entonces? [I know that you were born here, but what are you then?].

Jessica: Yo no sé [I don't know].

Amy: Irish.

Augusta: (whispers to Jessica) Mexicana-Americana.

Jessica: Mexicana-Americana (group interview, third grade, March 2001).

At the end of fifth grade, Jessica identified herself as Mexicana-Americana (without coaching) as she talked about wanting to be able to use both Spanish and English in middle school. "Si unos maestros hablan inglés les voy a hablar en inglés y con los que hablan español les voy a hablar en español. . . . Voy a la Roskruge [With the teachers who speak English, I will speak English and with those who speak Spanish, I will speak Spanish. . . . I am going to the bilingual middle school] (individual interview, December 10, 2002).

Because identity is not a fixed category, bilingual individuals choose among (and sometimes resist) the identities offered to them and at times construct new identities (Bayley & Schecter, 2003, p.6). The complex dynamics of context, identity, language, and ideology became omnipresent for Jessica at her English-only middle school.

Jessica: He (teacher) gives us detention.

Researcher: He gives you detention, why?

Jessica: Because we talk Spanish.

Researcher: Where?

Jessica: At school.

Researcher: Even if you're not in the classroom?

Jessica: Mm, hmm. (affirmative).

Researcher: What do you think about that?

Jessica: It's our right to speak Spanish where we want.

Researcher: Why do you think that's your right?

Jessica: Because we have freedom of speech.

Researcher: How do you know about freedom of speech?

Jessica: My social studies class at school . . . we talked about that, the government and everything.

Researcher: And have you asked the Social Studies teacher why you are not allowed to speak Spanish if you have freedom of speech?

Jessica: Some of the kids do. He just says, "I don't know."

Researcher: What do you think about that?

Jessica: It's wrong.

In eighth grade, when asked about her cultural identity, Jessica said, "I am Hispanic." She explained that *Hispanic* is the term her mother uses. "My mom just says Hispanic. . . .All my family is from Mexico and I'm born here, I don't know" (individual interview, eighth grade, February, 2006).

Researcher: Does it (being Hispanic) have anything to do with speaking Spanish, or being bilingual and biliterate?

Jessica: I don't think it does.

Jessica's Development of Biliteracy

> Researcher : ¿Te gusta escribir mas en inglés o en español? [Do you like to write in Spanish or in English?].
>
> Jessica: En español [In Spanish].
>
> Researcher: ¿Por que? [Why?].
>
> Jessica: Porque es mi idioma [Because it is my language] (individual interview, third grade, March 2001).

"To speak of language is to speak of our 'selves.' Language is at the heart, literally and metaphorically of who we are, how we present ourselves, and how others see us" (González, 2000, p. 19).

During my first interview with Jessica in March of 2000, when she was in second grade, she reminded me that in January of her first grade year, she had gone with me to participate in a behind-the-glass demonstration of interactive literacy techniques with pre-emergent readers. In fact, before agreeing to participate in the study with Las Tres Amigas in second grade, Jessica wanted to know if I still remembered her participation more than a year before! I was impressed with how seriously she approached thinking about biliteracy, and by her ability to make use of her background knowledge and experiences to make sense the new research context.

Jessica's primary language is Spanish. Early oral language assessments found her to be a *Fluent Spanish Speaker*. In kindergarten, she was also classified as a *Non-English Speaker* on the Pre-IPT, unable to respond non-verbally to contextualized commands (Carmichael, 1998). Her second, third, and fourth grade teachers all identified Jessica as

Spanish-dominant when asked to identify the students in their classes as *Spanish-dominant, English-dominant*, or *bilingual*. In October of 2000 (third grade), using the DAVIS SOLOM Student Self-Assessment of Oral Language Proficiency, Jessica gave herself a composite score of 25/25 in Spanish and 8/25 in English out of a total score of 50. One year later, in October of 2001 (fourth grade) Jessica gave herself a 20/25 in English on the DAVIS SOLOM Student Self-Assessment and a 25/25 in Spanish. Using the same measure in eighth grade, Jessica's Self-Assessment of her Oral Language Proficiency resulted in equal scores; 23/25 in English and 23/25 in Spanish.

Jessica's increasing confidence in herself as an English speaker has been documented in the field notes from third and fourth grade classrooms and Éxito Bilingüe observations. "Mercedes," asks Jessica, "¿Qué hablas más? "¿Español?" Jessica, "Los dos. Y tu?" [Mercedes ask Jessica, What do you speak more, Spanish? Jessica responds, both, and you?] "Mercedes, "Hablo más en inglés y escribo más en español" [Mercedes says, I speak more English and I write more in Spanish] (field notes, 8/30/00). "During Éxito Bilingüe . . . the teacher had to remind Jessica of using Spanish rather than English" (field notes, October 31, 2000).

Jessica began code-switching and selecting English books during sustained silent reading more often, starting in third grade. "She (Jessica) says to a girl sitting next to her, while pointing to her bracelet, "Aquí está tu birthstone?" [Here is your birthstone] (field notes, September 20, 2001). "The third grade teacher expressed surprise when Jessica said, in Spanish, that she had been reading a book in English" (field notes, August 8, 2000).

At home Jessica and her family are more inclined to watch television than to read. Jessica's mother said, "Pues yo casi no leo. Casi no porque…de vez en cuando libros de ella pero no nos enfocamos mucho a la lectura, la verdad…es que miramos mucha televisión" [I really don't read that much. Not that much, once in a while I'll read one of her books, we don't focus that much on reading…the truth is that we watch a lot of television] (family interview, 1999).

In the summer between first and second grade, Jessica's mother expressed confidence that Jessica was learning and would continue learning English. "En la Escuela hay bastante niños que hablan el puro inglés, y ella pues es una niña que le gusta platicar con todo el mundo, por este motivo pienso yo que está hablando más rápido el inglés" [At the school there are many students who speak only English, and she is a child who talks with everyone. For this reason, I think she is learning English quickly] (field notes, July 9, 1999).

A year and a half later, the third grade teacher reported that Jessica's mother was "very concerned that Jessica learn to read in English too" (field notes, May 15, 2001). This concern regarding literacy development was confirmed during the second household interview. "Si fíjese, ahora que . . . Jessica va en tercer grado . . .ya empiezan a toparse mucho con el inglés, y a Jessica le hace falta . . . Ella lo puede hablar, pero para ella es muy difícil escribirlo" [Yes, imagine that now Jessica is in third grade and she is having trouble with English, Jessica can speak it, but it is difficult for her to write it] (family interview, 2000).

It is interesting to note that Jessica's mother's concern with the development of her literacy skills in English coincides with Jessica's increased confidence in and usage of oral English for academic and social purposes, and her awareness of the connection between reading and writing.

> Researcher: Dígname, ustedes conocen a alguien quien es un buen lector? [Tell me, do you know someone who is a good reader?].
>
> Jessica: Si, Robert Munsch [Yes, Robert Munsch].
>
> Researcher: ?Por que dices Robert Munsch? [Why do you say Robert Munsch?].
>
> Jessica: Porque escribe libros [Because he writes books] (group interview, March 2001).

During the second family interview Jessica's mother reported never having taken the children to the public library. "Nunca las he llevado" [I have never taken them] (family interview, 2000). Once again pointing to the importance of longitudinal design, in a conversation with Jessica's mother at the middle school while Jessica was in sixth grade, she told me she was visiting the public library regularly to check out books in Spanish. "Ahora entiendo lo que me dijo de la biblioteca, voy a sacar libros en español para los chiquitos como en esta escuela está todo en inglés " [Now I understand what you told me about the library, I go to check out books in Spanish to read to my younger children because this school is all English] (personal communication, February 13, 2006). Concerned that the two youngest children were not developing literacy skills in Spanish, she had begun reading to them in Spanish, using books from the library.

At the end of fifth, grade Jessica was reading in Spanish at Level 44 and in English at Level 38. At the end of fourth grade, her running record score in English had been Level 18 (see Appendix F for graph of Jessica's Biliteracy Development).

After moving from English Running Record Level 18 to 38 in one year, Jessica stated (in Spanish) that she now enjoyed reading in English and found it easier to read in English than in Spanish.

> Jessica: El inglés se me hace más fácil de leer que el español [English seems easier to read than Spanish].
>
> Researcher: ¿El inglés se te hace más fácil de leer? [English seems easier to read than Spanish?].
>
> Jessica: Si [Yes].
>
> Researcher: ¿Por qué? [Why?].
>
> Jessica: Será porque cuando yo empecé a leer no leía bastante porque no sabía lo que estaba diciendo entonces ya que se lo que esta diciendo y todo, pues, no se , este año [Maybe because when I started reading I didn't read much and I didn't know what it was saying so now that I know what it is saying, well, I don't know, this year, I just got into reading. It got interesting] (group interview, May 2003).

During this same interview Jessica reiterated what she told me in third grade, that because she was born Spanish, it continued to be the language in which she preferred to write. "Porque yo nací con el español se me hace mas fácil escribir en el español que en ingles" [Because I was born in Spanish it seems easier to write in Spanish than in English] (group interview, May 2003).

Although Jessica left elementary school feeling enthusiastic about reading, “I just got into reading” (group interview 5/03), by the first semester of middle school her ideas about literacy had changed drastically. When I met with Jessica the following October and asked her to read with me she asked, “Am I going to be reading in Spanish or English? . . . I don’t like reading in English. It’s hard. Spanish was my first language. I don’t like to read. In middle school Language Arts, we just get a list of words we have to spell and write a sentence about.” When I asked Jessica if she might consider using a Spanish book for the language arts requirement, she responded, “I don’t really read in Spanish either. At my school the teacher can’t even see you talk Spanish. If he does you have to write 200 times, ‘I will not write Spanish’ or he will take a point off our free time points. . . . I miss Éxito Bilingüe” (individual interview, sixth grade, October 2003).

In eighth grade Jessica reported, “I don’t remember writing in Spanish, or reading . . . oh yeah, I read to my little sister in Spanish. . . . It was a small book my mom got at the library” (individual interview February 2006). She also told me that her most difficult course was social studies, because, “We do too much reading” (individual interview, February 2006).

Researcher: Do you think your abilities in Spanish and English have changed over time?

Jessica: No

Researcher: Even though you’re not in a bilingual school anymore?

Jessica: Mm, I don't think it changed (individual interview, eighth grade, February 2006). (see Appendix I for a table of Jessica's social configurations and biliteracy characteristics).

Amy

The following was written by Amy on whiteboard in my office during sixth grade.

You all laugh because I am different,

I laugh because you are the same.

(individual interview, sixth grade, September, 2003)

Amy is the youngest of four children who lives in Barrio Anita with her mother and two older siblings. She has an older step-brother who lives independently across the street. The older brother and sister with whom she lives, are now in high school and like Amy, attended La Escuela, their neighborhood school, before the implementation of the DL program. Amy was born in Tucson and like Jessica, began the DL program at La Escuela in kindergarten. Amy qualifies for the free/reduced lunch program in the school district.

Amy's mother is from Indiana and speaks English. The family has lived in Barrio Anita since 1983. When Amy was in elementary school, her mother worked at La Escuela in the cafeteria and as the property manager at a transitional housing shelter for homeless women in the barrio. She has taken courses in engineering at the local community college and was employed for seven years as an engineering draftsperson.

When asked what brought her family to La Escuela, Amy's mother commented on the importance of bilingualism and biliteracy, "Well, I was just thinking it really broadens their whole outlook just to have respect for another language and then to be skilled with it. It's helped them out a lot. It's helps them to meet people and relate to people . . . understanding other cultures better, to just be more open-minded about it" (family interview, November 2000).

Amy studied guitar, art, and violin in the after-school program at La Escuela, and has taken piano lessons after school with a private tutor. She was also active in the school's Escuela Nocturna [School After Dark], participating two evenings a week for much of her second-grade year in a project in which she helped to write, and is the principal illustrator of *A Path to the River; Memories of the Santa Cruz River and Barrio Anita*, a bilingual children's book about the relationship between Barrio Anita and the Santa Cruz River (Camino al Rio Press, 2000).

When Amy was in middle school, her mother went back to school to get her degree in hospitality and hotel management. She is hoping to open a business across from La Escuela upon graduation, " . . . a small pastry and lunch place" (personal communication, December 12, 2005).

Amy's parents divorced shortly before Amy began first grade. Her father has a Bachelor's Degree in education and works as a high school chemistry teacher in Benson, Arizona. Amy visits her dad in what she describes as "boring old Benson" every other weekend.

Amy's Social Network & Aspirations for the Future

"Amigos" [Friends]

Twyla es Buena [Twyla is good],

Yo estoy feliz con Zoe [I am happy with Zoe],

Ileana es suave [Ileana is cool],

Yo diviertas con Amanda [I have fun with Amanda],

Elena es buena [Elena is good].

(poem by Amy, second grade, April 2000)

Amy is a random thinker with an active imagination. She was often seen around the elementary school talking with stuffed animals, wearing unique clothes, her hair painted different colors, adorned with a variety of ribbons. As her Spanish literacy teacher shared in fourth grade, "She is out there!" (personal communication, January 2002).

In kindergarten it was not unusual for Amy to come to school dressed in costume, a fact that she remembered fondly during the eighth grade focus group interview. "Just think how long it's been . . . how much we have changed. Wow! . . . including the kindergarten costumes . . . yeah, I came to school in costume almost every day. . . . I was adorable"(group interview, eighth grade, July 2006).

Amy's willingness to take risks and her apparent lack of interest in conforming to the social rules that govern the behavior of many students may have been a factor in her remarkable development of Spanish proficiency during elementary school. Although she is well liked by peers and teachers, she appears unconcerned with the opinions and

judgments of others. "Amy seems to block everyone out around her and concentrates" (field notes, 2001).

Amy: Yo tengo una religión mía que es ZZ Religión [I have my own religion-ZZ Religion].

Researcher: ? Y de que se trata ZZ Religión? [What is ZZ Religion about?].

Amy: Es como el 25 de July es como doughnut day y celebran mucho en el 28 de abril y muchas cosas puedes comer todo es chistoso, el abril 22 es el (le voy a decirlo en inglés) National Penguin Walking Day [It's like on the 25th of July is doughnut day and they celebrate a lot and on the 28th of April you can eat a lot of things and everything is very funny, the 22nd of April, I'm going to say it in English, is National Penguin Walking Day].

Researcher: ¿Cuando inventaste ZZ Religión? [When did you invent ZZ Religion?].

Amy: Comenzó como al principio del año….tengo un lenguaje también. [It started the first of the year. . . . I have a language too].

Researcher: ¿Cómo es tu lenguaje? [What is your language?].

Amy: Es zinglish . . . asi . . . Zelo zalzars [It's zinglish…like zelo zalzars] (group interview, fifth grade, May 2003).

Amy likes being bilingual and biliterate. Although she is being raised in a home in which Spanish is not spoken and began the DL program at La Escuela monolingual in English, by second grade she reported that she felt equally comfortable reading and writing in both languages.

Researcher: ¿Cuál te parece más fácil, escribir en español o en inglés? [Which do you think is easier, writing in Spanish or English?].

Amy**:** Los dos [Both of them].

Researcher: ¿Los dos son igual de fáciles, igual que con la lectura? [They are equally easy, just like with reading?].

Amy: Si [Yes].

Amy was often the first student to offer a response when her classroom or Éxito Bilingüe teacher asked a question of a group of students, regardless of language. "When Amy reads her synopsis of the Spanish version of the book *Amelia Bedelia* . . . (she) reads Spanish very fluently and her reading is pronounced like a native speaker." Her "r" is the only sound betraying a slight accent. When she finishes, her fourth grade teacher asked her, '? Has leído libros en inglés de Amelia Bedelia?' [Have you read Amelia Bedelia books in English?] and Amy answers, 'Si' [Yes] (field notes, 2001).

Amy's confidence in her biliteracy also allowed her to act as a resource for other students. Lucas asked LC, "When are you going to bring your puppy? LC asked, ¿Cómo se dice eso en español? Amy responded, ¿Cuándo vas a traer a tu perrito? [When are you going to bring your puppy?] (field notes, 2000). Her personal attitude and disposition for biliteracy determined that learning Spanish was worth the effort.

Although in elementary and middle school, Amy's social network was full of English, her motivation to acquire Spanish and her willingness to take risks served her well in the second language acquisition process. "Amy has already recuperated more of her Spanish in just a few days of class after the summer break, it is more fluent" (field

notes, 2001). In third grade, Amy reported using more English than Spanish with friends at school. However, she also identified a core group with whom she spoke Spanish. "Mi amiga Giovanna . . . como Jannine, Crystal . . . Alondra . . . y mis maestros como de Éxito Bilingüe, Señora Arnot-Hopffer, sabes?" [Mi friend Giovanna…like Jannine, Crystal…Alondra…and my teachers like in Éxito Bilingüe, Mrs. Arnot-Hopffer, you know?] (focus group interview, December 2001). She also talked about using Spanish to complete homework.

In fifth grade, Amy identified two English-speaking peers as best friends and reported that many of her friends are English speakers. "Marion y Amanda . . . porque nosotras estaban juntas desde kinder y juegan y chistes y todo . . . muchos de mis amigas hablan ingles" [Marion and Amanda, because we have been together since kinder and we play and are funny and everything…many of my friends speak English]. She also explained that she would like to continue speaking, reading and writing Spanish in middle school because, "Es mi talento" [It is my talent] (individual interview, fifth grade, December 2002).

Amy continued to make subjective sense of biliteracy in her world through middle school. She attended the same English-only Science and Technology Middle Magnet School from which her older sister graduated and was highly motivated to continue her Spanish literacy development. In interviewing Amy during her first semester in middle school, she shared her plans to start a Spanish book club. "My school used to be like La Escuela, but then this proposition passed so now it is all English. I don't really read or

write in Spanish that much anymore, so I'm thinking of starting a book club in Spanish" (individual interview, sixth grade, September 2003).

Her social network continued to include mostly English-speaking peers and she was determined to continue practicing Spanish in middle school. "So . . . so yeah, I use English most of the time, but this morning me and my friend were like, texting each other in Spanish" (individual interview, eighth grade, March 2006).

Throughout elementary and middle school, Amy's career aspirations varied a great deal. In second grade, she stated that she wanted to be a pilot; in third grade, a cartoonist; in fourth grade, a bilingual teacher; and in fifth grade, an astronaut. When I asked her about her future plans in sixth grade, Amy told me, "I really don't know. I want to do something that I am really good at, and Spanish will help" (group interview, June 2004). By eighth grade, Amy was focused on attending a college prep high school. "I want to get a good education so I can get a good job . . . uh, in college I'll study cognitive psychology. . . . It's just learning how someone would think about something or how someone would teach. . . . It's very, very complicated though. I'll need to study a lot of science and everything" (individual interview, June 2006). Four months later, during the focus group interview, Amy shared with Jessica, Augusta and me that she aspires to, 'Do something related to the music industry' (group interview, eighth grade, July 2006).

Amy's Cultural Identity and Language Ideology

> Amy: "I like both of them actually. I don't think any language is more important than another. They probably think that English is more important, but that's just because of what they know among their friends and everything. It's the language

> they use more often, but if they look around, they'll notice more Spanish around them . . . there's Mexico and all kinds of other places that speak Spanish" (individual interview, eighth grade, March 2006).

Amy and her mother both consider language as a resource (Ruiz, 1984).

> Amy's Mother: "We live in the neighborhood and I am also enthusiastic about the possibility of the children being bilingual. . . . I tried to explain to him (her older son) the value of knowing another language and that when he goes to high school and he goes to college, that he will be studying another language" (family interview, April, 1999).
>
> Amy: . . . just in case I need to, like, if there's ever a patient that speaks Spanish, that'd be a good thing to know and it's just a very practical thing to know if I want to go to a store or if I were to take a vacation in Mexico. It'd be very easy and I just think it's a good thing to know another language anyway cause you're going to use it" (individual interview, eighth grade, March 2006).

Language ideology is important because research considering the promotion of biliteracy through schooling has shown that the more equal the status of the two languages involved, the more likely it is that students will develop high levels of proficiency in both languages (Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000). Despite her commitment to learning Spanish and her participation in bilingual extracurricular projects, Amy consistently identified herself as American in response to questions about her cultural identity. Amy's confidence in her biliteracy may be a factor in her firm sense of identity.

Researcher: "Y tu Amy, de cual cultura eres?" [And you Amy, what culture are you?].

Amy**:** Americana [American] (focus group interview, second grade, April 5, 2000).

Reseacher: ?Y tu Amy? [And you Amy?].

Amy: Yo estoy Americana pero hablo un poco de español [I am American, but I speak a little Spanish] (focus group interview, third grade, March 2001).

Researcher: Y tu, ¿eres que? [And you, what are you?]

Amy: Soy muchos como ingles, y yo no se como decir Irish y algunas otras [I am many like English, and I don't know how to say Irish and some others] (focus group interview, fifth grade, May 2003).

Researcher: We used to talk a lot about cultural identity. How would you describe that now?

Amy: I'm English and Irish (individual interview, sixth grade, September, 2003).

Amy: Yeah, well I'm very Irish. I'm half Irish and then, the other half of me is a combination of English and French Canadian. . . . It doesn't really affect me that much. I'm not gonna let it get in my way or anything . . . it's just, it's my family and something to remember (individual interview, eighth grade, March 2006).

Amy attributed her success in acquiring Spanish as a second language and in learning to read and write in Spanish to her own personal effort and commitment and to Éxito Bilingüe. Indeed, her determination to speak Spanish made it awkward to conduct interviews in English. On several occasions, the interviewer switched to English on the

assumption that a question in her dominant language would elicit a more complete response. Instead, I noted that Amy typically responded in the language in which questions were posed.

> Researcher: Do you think English-speaking kids would be scared (of Éxito Bilingüe) because it is all in Spanish?
>
> Amy: Just tell them to try very hard.
>
> Researcher: Is that how you learned so much Spanish so fast, from trying very hard?
>
> Amy: From trying my best and from Éxito Bilingüe (individual interview, second grade, March 3, 2000).
>
> Researcher: ¿Qué has hecho tú para subir de niveles en Éxito Bilingüe? [What have you done to go up levels in Éxito?].
>
> Amy: Hablo mucho español [I speak a lot of Spanish] (individual interview, March 6, 2000).

Amy has multiple ways of being and is a student who exemplifies the fact that identities are multi-vocal, interactive, and in process. In postmodernism, identity is not unitary or essential, it is fluid or shifting, fed by multiple sources and taking multiple forms (Holland, D. Lachicotte Jr., W., Skinner, D., Cain, C., 1998).

Amy articulated the messy dynamics of context, identity, language, and literacy when she talked about her experiences in middle school during the focus group interview at the end of eighth grade. "You know, I'm a white person and so most people wouldn't expect me to speak Spanish or like Mexican candy . . . or whatever . . . and so people would

really, really not expect me to speak Spanish (laughter) and it's weird, because like people, or if I told you that I speak Spanish it's like, they're, they are like, 'Whoa! you speak Spanish?' . . . They expect me not to speak Spanish" (group interview, eighth grade, July 2006). As Pavlenko (1998) suggests,

> All those who inhabit multiple discourses agree on their correspondence to multiple, often incompatible and incommensurable, worlds, delineated by the languages and cultures in question…In search of their own, personal where and who, the displaced subjects find themselves on either side of the border, or oftentimes, in the borderland itself (Pavlenko, 19. 98, p. 16).

As we listen to children we can learn more about the ways in which identities are negotiated through the activation of inclusions and exclusions on several fronts in intergroup as well as in intragroup relations. The borderland of biliteracy may be a place to negotiate two distinct cultural and linguistic epistemologies, a continuum through which children, like Amy, can negotiate a new cultural identity.

IdentityA←----------→ Identity B

Figure 5. The borderland of identity.

Amy's Development of Biliteracy

> Researcher: ¿Dónde te gusta leer? [Where do you like to read?].
>
> Amy: En mi casa, en la escuela, en el carro, en mi cama--en todos lados menos el swimming pool [At my house, at school, in the car, in my bed--everywhere except in the swimming pool] (individual interview, second grade, March 2000).

Amy began the DL program at La Escuela in kindergarten as a monolingual

English speaker. This language dominance was reflected in her classification as a "Non-Spanish speaker" and "Fluent English speaker" on the Pre-IPT test in November of her kindergarten year. Her Spanish running record from October 1999 (Fall, second grade) placed her at Level 6. By the spring of that same year, Amy was reading in Spanish at Level 40 and tested at Level 44 in reading in English based on running record results collected in April 2000, making her the case study student with the greatest quantifiable gains in reading. At the end of third grade, Amy was reading in both Spanish and English at Level 44, the highest reading level assessed at La Escuela. (See Appendix G for graph of Amy's Biliteracy Development).

Amy reads and writes for pleasure, often choosing a literacy task instead of a game or other free time activity.

> Señora M: Amy, ?quieres jugar o quieres leer? [Amy, do you want to read or play?].
>
> Amy**:** Quiero leer [I want to read] (field notes, 2001).

Amy is an avid reader who reports reading in both Spanish and English almost everywhere (except in the swimming pool!) and in a variety of genres. "Amy reads joke books. Amy, in English, says, 'This is the riddle . . . it's from a book called, *101 State Jokes*' (field notes, 2000). She reads encyclopedias and Spanish legends. "Amy is reading a big book, a type of encyclopedia in English (field notes, 2000). Her fourth grade teacher says, "Ahora vamos con La Llorona" [Now let's go with La Llorona]. Amy says, "I read that book" (field notes, 2001). She reads fairy tales in Spanish and novels in both languages. "Amy was reading fairy tales in Spanish" (field notes, 2001).

Amy's mother's support for the DL program at La Escuela included keeping Spanish books in the home and encouraging Amy and her older sister to read to each other in Spanish. "I try to keep Spanish books in the house and I think that they are reading pretty well" (family interview, April 1999).

> Amy: Me gusta libros muuuy largos, si a mi…me gusta leer libros como Harry Potter, pero ya terminé, como yo no quería terminar [I like very lo-o-o-ong books, yes, I like books like Harry Potter, but I finished, I didn't want to finish] (focus group, December 2001).
>
> Researcher: ?Quien es un buen escritor en inglés? [Who is a good writer in English?].
>
> Amy: Yo [Me].
>
> Researcher: ?Si? Muy bien. ?Por qué dices esto, Amy? [Yes? Very good? Why do you say that, Amy?].
>
> Amy: Porque yo escribí una historia en un libro y fue en inglés de diez paginas [Because I wrote a story in a book and it was in English and it was ten pages] (focus group interview, March 2001).

In second grade, Amy suggested that she was constructing knowledge through reading and writing in Spanish.

> Researcher: If I wanted to tell somebody who didn't come to our school what the kids here say about Éxito Bilingüe, what should I tell them?
>
> Amy: Tell them that we like it because we get to read and write and learn new hings (individual interview, second grade, March 2000).

In fifth grade, she reminded me that she was writing a book in Spanish. Si estoy escribiendo un libro que es en español, es La Noche del día de las brujas [Yes, I am writing a book that is in Spanish, it is *The Night of the Day of the Witches*] (individual interview, fifth grade, December 2002).

Amy continued to enjoy reading throughout middle school. I would often see her reading at the bus stop, her hair painted bright colors and she talked easily about the books that she was reading during the middle school interviews. "*The Biggest Klutz of the Fifth Grade* was my favorite book so far this year (group interview, June 2004). It's actually a series . . . all the books start with the word 'among' - *Among the Hidden, Among the Imposters, Among the Enemy,* and *Among the Brave.* They're all by Margaret Peterson Haddocks" (individual interview, eighth grade, March 2006). Her middle school literacy experiences were mostly in English.

> Amy: I had to translate for someone in the sixth and seventh grade, then they went to another school, so I had no one to translate for and I happened to forget a lot of Spanish. . . . I like looking at Spanish websites . . . but I wouldn't necessarily read a book in Spanish (group interview July 15, 2006).

In eighth grade, Amy reflected on her development of biliteracy by saying, "I really think one of the ways that I really learned it was being around Spanish so much. All the announcements were in Spanish, we had assignments in nothing but Spanish, we had to ask to use the bathroom in Spanish . . . it was kind of, you had to use it, so you learned. . . . I think reading and writing in Spanish is so much easier than English 'cause English just isn't as phonetic as Spanish is. . . . You learn rules in English and they

change, it's every different version of every different word, you know?" (group interview, eighth grade, July15, 2006).

The Latin origins of both English and Spanish provide many cognates that can help students learn to apply what they know about their first language in the process of acquiring their second language. This is an awareness that Amy articulated clearly in middle school and seemed to give her confidence that although her biliteracy may have atrophied during middle school, it can be redeveloped on demand. "In band, there's something called legato, that's just whenever you play really smooth and just like a cat, like "gato" . . . kind of slow down, and play it really smoothly, and I was thinking about a cat, which moves very smoothly and I think that's why they called it that . . . and that made me think about the word in Spanish, "gato" [cat].

Researcher: Do you think you are as proficient now leaving eighth grade as you were leaving fifth grade?

Amy: No, actually I think I've forgotten a lot of it, but it's still there. It's just, it's kind of hard to access, but I know it's just going to come back to me so quickly if I do take a Spanish class.

Researcher: And why do you think you may have lost some of your proficiency in the last three years?

Amy: Well, just by not using it really (individual interview, eighth grade, March 2006) (see Appendix J for a table of Amy's social configurations and biliteracy characteristics).

Augusta

> Augusta: Yo uso español con mi tata de Magdalena o cuando vamos allá. Porque él nomás sabe español y está aprendiendo inglés. Yo hablo español e inglés con mi mamá porque ella quiere que aprenda más español para ser más bilingüe. Con la esposa de mi papá yo hablo inglés porque ella no sabe español [I speak Spanish with my Grandpa from Magdalena or when we go there . . . because he only speaks Spanish and he is learning English. I speak Spanish and English with my mom because she wants me to learn more Spanish so I can be more bilingual. With my dad's wife, I speak English because she doesn't know Spanish] (individual interview, second grade, March 2000).

Augusta has four younger siblings - a step-sister with whom she lives at her mother's home, and a step-sister and two step-brothers with whom she lives when she is at the home of her father. Like Jessica and Amy, Augusta was born in Tucson and began the DL program at La Escuela in kindergarten.

Augusta's mother is from Magdalena, Sonora and moved to Tucson, Arizona in 1987 when she was 17 years old. She completed her senior year at Cholla High School and reported learning English when she was 18. She graduated from the University of Arizona with a Bachelor's degree in Spanish literature. She is currently employed as an interpreter and does direct translation over the phone from home. When Augusta was in elementary school, her mom worked at the Justice Court and did legal clerical work that required reading and writing in both English and Spanish.

Augusta's father is a third-generation Mexican-American who was born in California. He graduated from Pueblo High School and received a Bachelor's Degree from the University of Arizona in System's Engineering. He works as a computer systems analyst. His work requires reading and technical writing in English.

Augusta's parents expressed both instrumental and integrative (Lindholm, 1998; Lindhom-Leary, 2001) purposes for wanting her to develop biliteracy. Augusta's father commented, "I want her to speak Spanish also, just because I know that for economic reasons, when you're looking for a job. You have the mobility it gives you. Her mother said, "Yo nunca pensé en razones económicas. A mi me gusta mucho el idioma, me gusta mucho la literatura y me gustan los libros para entender. . . . Entonces a mi la literatura fue la razón, no el dinero, no [I never thought about economic reasons. I really like the language, I like literature and I like books for understanding . . . so literature was my reason, not money, no] (family interview, March 2000).

A student of violin and ballet folklorico in the after-school program at La Escuela, in middle school, Augusta played in two mariachi groups most of the time. She was one of relatively few students at La Escuela who began the DL program speaking both Spanish and English.

Augusta's Social Network & Aspirations for the Future

"Amigos"[Friends]

Voy a La Escuela [I go to school].

Mis mejores amigas son Jamie y Vanesa [My best friends are Jaime and Vanesa].

Una de ellas viene a mi escuela y la otra no [One of them comes to my school and the other doesn't].

Tengo dos familias [I have two families].

Una es mi papa y mi madrastra [One with my Dad and Step-Mom].

Y luego hay mi mama [And then there is my Mom].

(written by Augusta, second grade, January 29, 2000)

In considering Augusta's social network and future plans, two major themes emerge when reviewing the data from elementary and middle school - her leadership skills, and her well-developed sense of confidence in her bilingualism and biliteracy. Augusta was the student body president at La Escuela and at the bilingual middle magnet school that she attended.

Augusta's leadership skills are demonstrated in a variety of contexts, including the classroom, elementary and middle school mariachi groups, ballet folklórico, and on the playground. "Kyron approached the group and asked Augusta if he could play? She said, 'Yes, but you're IT!' Augusta appeared to be the leader in the group. She decided who was "IT" and whether a "tag" really counted (field notes, second grade, 2000).

In third grade, her teacher reported asking Augusta to help teach other third grade students. "I use her in the centers to do a preview/review lesson with the kids that don't speak Spanish. She's just like another teacher in here" (classroom observation, third grade, 2001).

When Augusta was in eighth grade, a fellow student in her mariachi class commented, "We don't call her Augusta, we call her *Ms. Surname* because she acts like

one of the teachers. She's really smart" (personal communication with C.W., February 8, 2005). Augusta's talent as a mariachi was noted in a context out of school as well. She told me, "I attended an Arizona women's political caucus meeting and so it was really fun because I was the one that kind of stood out because there were a lot of Anglo people there, and so it's funny 'cause I was really proud to be like, the only Mexican and the only one that could, you know, talk in Spanish and the only one that knew about mariachi music and so people . . . kind of, they respect you a little bit more because you're not the same as everybody else, I guess" (individual interview, February 2006).

During second grade, Augusta was observed in extended-day study hall, giving a brief explanation (in English) for the correct placement of accent marks in Spanish to high school students who were working as tutors (field notes, March 2000). The following year, her confidence in herself as a reader and writer in Spanish was confirmed by peers, teachers, and researchers.

Researcher: ¿Conocen a alguien quien es un buen escritor en español? [Do you know someone who is a good Spanish writer?].

Jessica: Augusta.

Researcher: ¿Si? ¿Por qué? [Yes? Why?].

Jessica: Porque todo el tiempo ella es la mejor [Because she is always the best].

Then, later in the interview, Augusta said, "Yo creo que soy buen escritor, escritoria, yo también escribí una historia [I think I am a good writer, I also wrote a story] (focus group interview, March 2001).

Her third grade teacher confirmed that she is very bilingual. "Augusta is very, very bilingual. She's just amazing"(classroom observation, 2000).

Augusta reported using more English than Spanish at school while a student in the DL program at La Escuela, however, she identified a core group of friends with whom she spoke Spanish. "Cuando estoy con Jannine, o Alondra y Crystal más o menos hablamos más español [When I am with Jannine, o Alondra and Cristal, we speak Spanish, more or less] (focus group interview, December 2001). Outside of school Augusta uses Spanish with, " . . . mi mamá, mi tata, mi tío, mis tías, pues toda mi familia sabe Español! [. . . my mom, my grandpa, my uncle, my aunts, and well, my whole family knows Spanish!] (focus group interview, December, 2001). She uses English when she is with her father and his wife, who doesn't speak Spanish. She also reported watching soap operas [novellas] in Spanish. "¿Has visto esta de *Siete Mujeres*? Ella tenía todas las cosas de Armando, estaba poniendo sus cosas en la basura y luego vino Beti La Fea [Have you seen (Spanish soap opera) *The SevenWomen*? She had all of Armando's things, she was putting them in the trash, and then Betty, the Ugly One showed up] (cafeteria observation, March, 2001).

In the first family interview, (March, 2000), Augusta talked about speaking Spanish with neighbor children and her cousins. In the focus group interview in December 2001, she also commented on using Spanish with other children who live in her mother's apartment complex.

In eighth grade, Augusta reflected on the way her social network affected the development of her biliteracy. "Learn another language, you know, it had a lot to do with

the kids interacting with others, like if the student played a big part in what you did, and it kind of comes back to the whole influential thing of peers . . . it had a lot to do with your friends . . . you learned more Spanish hanging out with the Spanish-speaking students" (group interview, eighth grade, July 2006).

This theory about the importance of peer relationships in the second language acquisition process was also articulated by Augusta in second grade. "Cuando en escuela si hablo con mis amigos porque ellos están aprendiendo inglés cuando ellos me hablan en español yo puedo aprender una palabra ellos me pueden ayudar, y cuando ellos no saben una palabra yo puedo ayudar [At school, if I talk with my friends who are learning English, when they speak to me in Spanish, I can learn a word and they can help me, and if they don't know a word, I can help them] (individual interview, second grade, March 2000).

In middle school, Augusta's social network continued to be as rich in diversity as her repertoire of biliteracies. She reported using more English than Spanish with friends at school, more Spanish than English when at her mother's home, more English than Spanish when with her father, and only Spanish when with her maternal extended family. Augusta's social network, in which she uses both languages for sociocultural and academic purposes, is an important factor in the development of her biliteracy and provides us with an example of a child whose subjectivities mediate biliteracy as part of her broader social life.

Researcher: Most of your friends are bilingual?

Augusta: Mm, hmm (affirmative). Um, I can pretty much speak Spanish with

> any of my friends. It's just deciding when you want to or not, just you know, sitting and deciding to speak Spanish. Um yeah, most of my friends all speak Spanish.
>
> Researcher: And do you use mostly English or Spanish with your friends?
>
> Augusta: Mostly English, unless we are mainly with Spanish-speaking people (group interview, eighth grade, July 2006).

In that same interview, Augusta told Jessica, Amy and me that she has two career interests ". . . engineering and psychology . . . probably computer engineering or software engineering, maybe a manager or the ambassador of a company . . . maybe I should get a minor in Spanish, in psychology, I think it would help tremendously because you can have both types of clients . . . Spanish-speaking clients and English-speaking clients. . . . I would have to read and write both, because you're reading books and taking notes"(group interview, eighth grade, July 2006).

In elementary school, Augusta's career interests included actress in grade two, a good woman in third grade, and lawyer in fourth, fifth and sixth grades because, "I like proving my point" (group interview, sixth grade, June 2004).

Augusta's Cultural Identity and Language Ideology

> Augusta: I returned to Nashville to sing for the um, Tennessee Hispanic Chamber of Commerce and so I'm hoping you'd have some kind of you know, some kind of culture and so it was really important for me to, you know, be able to speak in both languages and be able to tell people, *Yeah, I'm, you know, I'm Hispanic, and I am bilingual*" (individual , eighth grade, June 2006).

Augusta's advanced biliteracy, and awareness of the nature of languages, allows her to use her bilingualism as a resource both in and out of school. Teachers, family members, and peers often ask Augusta to act as a language broker and language teacher. Not unlike Amy, Augusta has a keen awareness of the similarities and differences between Spanish and English. She attributes her mother to teaching her about the use of cognates as a tool in language learning. "En inglés se dice como suena en español – algunas palabras. Hay algunas palabras que suenen igual en español: graph/gráfica, micrófono/microphone. Cuando mi mamá me estaba enseñando a leer en español ella me dijo que había algunas palabras que se dicen en inglés un poquito igual como en español. Entonces fue más fácil para mi aprender el español" [In English, you say it like it sounds in Spanish, some of the words. There are some words that sound like they do in Spanish - graph/ gráfica, microphone/ micrófono. When my mother was teaching me to read in Spanish, she told me that some words are said in English somewhat like they are said in Spanish. So it was easier for me to learn Spanish" (focus group interview, April 2000).

Augusta's heightened metalinguistic awareness appears to have led her to an understanding that Spanish is the "marked language" (Fishman, R. Freeman, 1976; Edelsky & Huddelson, 1996) of Éxito Bilingüe. "Cuando están en Éxito Bilingüe hay algunos que no hablan español pero si es tiempo de hablar en español yo creo que deben de hablar en español. Si hablas en español aprendas dos idiomas [When we are in Éxito Bilingüe, there are some kids who don't speak Spanish, but it is time to speak Spanish and I think they should speak Spanish. If you speak Spanish you will learn two languages] (individual interview, second grade, March 2000).

Like Augusta, both her mother and father also consider language as a resource (Ruiz, 1988). "She (Augusta) has told me that her mother said that if it's the last thing she did, Augusta would be very bilingual" (personal communication, third grade teacher, 2001).

Her linguistic metacognition includes an understanding of her own code-switching patterns. "A lo mejor hablamos los dos cuando, como cuando decimos: Me pasas the broccoli over her please?, o algo asi" [It could be that we speak both when we say, 'Would you pass the brócoli over hear please?' Or something like that] (group interview, third grade, November 2001).

A student of violin and ballet folklorico in the after-school program at La Escuela, Augusta was the only second grader in the school's performing mariachi group during the 1999 - 2000 school year. Along with three third grade students on trumpet and guitar, Augusta often greeted faculty, students, and visitors with a mariachi jam session as they arrived at La Escuela. Augusta played in the school mariachi group in middle school as well as a private mariachi group outside of school. Mariachi music is one aspect of Augusta's self-identification as a Mexican-American, something she stressed consistently throughout both phases of the study. "Mariachi is part of my culture and I think that a lot of people, especially if they know that I do mariachi, they expect me to know to speak Spanish and they'll tell you, 'Do you understand what you're singing?', and they'll tell you, 'say it right here'….so I think it's good to have that. . . . It's not a bad pressure, but it teaches you, you know to be part of your culture" (group interview, eighth grade, July 2006).

When faced with the question, "?Y tu eres que?" [And you, what are you?], Augusta offered the same response.

Second Grade: "Mexicana-American."

Third Grade: "Mexicana - Americana también" (igual que Jessica) [the same as Jessica].

Fifth Grade: "Mexicana - Americana."

Sixth Grade: "Mexican - American."

Eighth grade: "Mexican – American."

Augusta's Development of Biliteracy

Augusta remarked, "Mira tengo…leo…como cuatro libros a un tiempo! Como leo un libro un día y leo otro día otro y . . . como ahorita estoy leyendo un *Dungeons and Dragons, Aventura Sin Fin* que es en español y tengo otros libros que están en español, pero también hay en inglés" [Look, I have . . . I am reading four books at the same time! Since I read one book one day and I read another day another (book) and . . . like now, I am reading a *Dungeons and Dragon Choose Your Own Adventure* that is in Spanish and I have other books that are in Spanish, but there are also (books) in English] (focus group interview, December 2001).

"We have indications of a strong relationship between parental involvement in language and literacy practices at home and early reading performance in school" (Spencer Year 1 Report, p.6). Augusta's mother established home literacy routines in both languages. "Mi mama, porque todo el tiempo en las noches tenemos tiempo para libros, pero no es bilingüe, no es como esto. Una noche me lee en inglés, la otra noche en

español y asi" [My mom, because we always have time at night for books, but it's night bilingual, it's not like that. One night we read in English, the next night in Spanish, like that] (group interview, third grade, March 2001).

Like Amy, Augusta credits La Escuela for supporting her early development of biliteracy. "Um, I think it was more school than at home because I did know how to read pretty well before I got into kindergarten, but it was more in English . . . um, but then, as it went on, I grew really quick to learn to read in Spanish 'cause it was La Escuela in Spanish and it was a lot of reading" (individual interview, eighth grade, February 2006).

Augusta was the second place winner in a school-wide English spelling bee in the fall of second grade. Four months later, she won the statewide Spanish spelling competition in her age group. She is one of relatively few students at La Escuela who began the DL program as a fluent speaker of both Spanish and English, according to a home language survey and to kindergarten oral language assessments (Pre-IPT) in both languages.

Augusta's oral bilingualism is matched by her strong biliteracy**.** In third grade, using the DAVIS SOLOM Student Self-Assessment of Oral Language Proficiency, Augusta gave herself a composite score of 25/25 in Spanish and 25/25 in English. Her second, fourth, and fifth grade teachers all identified Augusta as bilingual when asked to identify the students in their classes as Spanish dominant, English dominant, or bilingual. Near the beginning of her second grade year, she was assessed at Level 44 in English reading and at the same level in Spanish reading. Her reading performance in fifth grade

is still recorded at the same level because the assessment instruments used at the school did not exceed Level 44 (see Appendix H for table of Augusta's biliteracy development).

Augusta's love of reading was confirmed by her third grade teacher. "They love to read (Augusta and Jennie). Both of them are at very high levels. . . . Mr. O. has told me that if there are things in reading that are analogies or involve a lot of critical thinking, Augusta will pick it up right away, before any fourth or fifth grade student" (field notes, 2000).

Not surprisingly, Augusta is able to articulate her reading preferences and her rationale for those preferences. "A mí me gusta sacar libros de dibujando y chapter books . . . a mí no me gusta libros con dibujos ,no son, eh muy grande y a mí no me gusta. . . . No me gusta libros con dibujos porque es la imaginación de otra persona, de la persona que o de la ilustrador, pero a mí me gusta tener mi propia imaginación del libro" [I like how to draw books and chapter books . . . I don't like picture books, they aren't, um, really big and I don't like them. . . . I don't like picture books because it is someone else's imagination, someone else or the illustrator, but I like to have my own imagination of the book] (focus group interview, third grade, December 2001).

Augusta reported reading in both languages for pleasure throughout elementary and middle school; although in fifth grade she told me she was writing more in English, a pattern that continued in middle school.

Researcher: ¿En tu casa lees más en inglés o en español, Augusta? [Do you read more in Spanish or English at home, Augusta?].

Augusta: Los dos [Both].

Researcher: ¿Y para escribir? [And writing?].

Augusta: Más en inglés [I write more in English] (group interview, fifth grade, May 2003).

Augusta attended a bilingual middle magnet school and continued to read and write in both languages as she had done since kindergarten, reporting in sixth grade, "I write Spanish in my Spanish class and sing and speak in Spanish for mariachi. Spanish plays a big role in mariachi 'cause sometimes I "MC" for the group. . . . I read magazines in Spanish and I read some books in Spanish. . . . I don't have that much time to watch novellas anymore" (group interview, sixth grade, June, 2004). During an individual interview in February of 2006, Augusta exclaimed, "Oh my gosh, in like six months, I've read like nine books and that's like insane!" (see Appendix K for a table of Augusta's social configurations and biliteracy characteristics).

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

> Jessica: Oh, I remember that, it was easy - Spanish, it's the way it sounds.
>
> Amy: Well, that's the thing. English isn't, like you know, sometimes the *o*'s, the double *o*'s, and the *ph* for *f*. What's up with that? It's not exactly *Hooked on Phonics* . . .
>
> Augusta: I learned to read in Spanish before I learned to read in English even though I spoke English first.
>
> Amy: . . . the silent *p*, the silent *e*, *ph* equals *f* (laughter). Now, where'd that come from? (group interview, eighth grade, July 15, 2006).

Introduction

In this chapter I present findings as they pertain to Research Questions 2, 3, and 4.

1. How do Las Tres Amigas perceive their development of biliteracy?
2. What role has cultural identity played in the development of their biliteracy?
3. What was the role of social context in and out of middle school in sustaining or constraining their development of biliteracy?

How Do Las Tres Amigas Perceive Their Development of Biliteracy?

Most school systems in the United States today practice a form of subtractive bilingualism, giving native-born students only a late and rudimentary command of foreign languages while seeking to channel immigrant students who spoke them fluently in childhood into English-only classes. This was not the experience of Jessica, Amy or Augusta, who all became biliterate through their experience at La Escuela.

However, Las Tres Amigas did not become biliterates in the same way, with the same fluency, or with the same consequences. I analyzed the multiple pathways to biliteracy of each of them, and the potential intellectual consequences of these different trajectories, by considering the interdependence of language ideologies, additive schooling, the social settings and the girls developing personalities (see Figure 6).

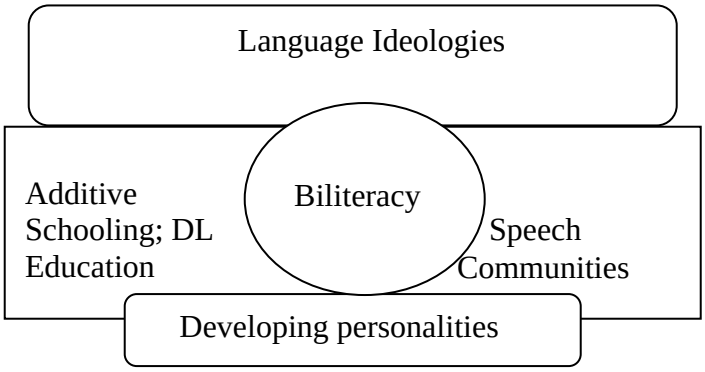


Figure 6. Factors mediating biliteracy development of Las Tres Amigas (Moll & Arnot-Hopffer, 2004, April).

Although Jessica, Amy, and Augusta live in three distinct speech communities and are developing unique personalities, all of them resisted the hegemony of English (Shannon, 1995) and each has reaped the benefits of additive schooling.

Hornberger's framework depicts the development of individual biliteracy development along intersecting first language-second language, receptive-productive, and oral-written language skills continua, through the medium of two or more languages, in contexts that encompass micro to macro levels and with content that ranges from majority to minority perspectives and experiences (Hornberger, N. & Skilton-Sylvester, E., 1998). For Jessica, Amy, and Augusta, micro-macro levels of understanding, through

the medium of two or more languages, and with content that ranged from majority to minority perspectives and experiences was embedded in the context of the dual language education program at La Escuela as shown in Figure 7.

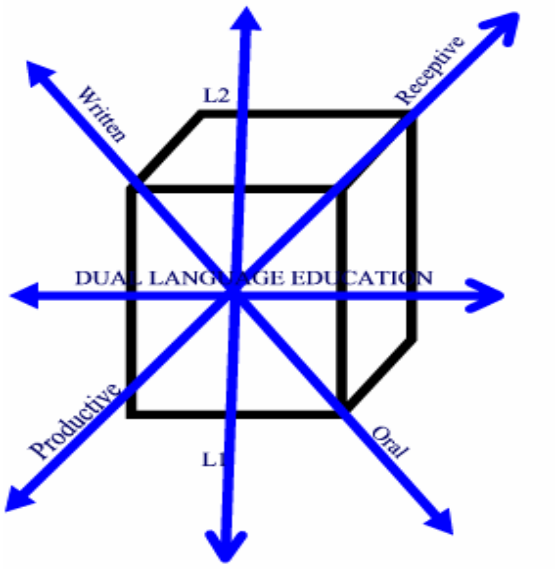


Figure 7. The continua of biliteracy development through dual language education.

It has been assumed that receptive skills (listening and reading) precede productive ones (speaking and writing). Thus, the "Logical Sequence" of language development was believed to be listening, speaking, reading, and writing (e.g., Smith, 1967, pp. 54-57 in Hornberger, 1989, p. 281). Jessica's English literacy progress coincided with her increased confidence in and usage of oral English for academic and social purposes. Her case demonstrates how oral proficiency in L2 is often enhanced by the development of second language literacy skills. "The reception-production dichotomy has been superseded by a view that recognizes that receptive and productive development occurs along a continuum, beginning at any point, and proceeding, cumulatively or in

spurts, in either direction" (Hornberger, 1989, p. 281). A strict dichotomization between oral and literate traditions is a construct of researchers, not an accurate portrayal of the language and cultural socialization processes of children.

When teachers at La Escuela were asked to identify children in their classes as *Spanish-dominant*, *English-dominant*, or *bilingual*, Jessica, Amy, and Augusta's second-grade teacher responded by asking for clarification on the criteria for bilingualism. "What labels," she asked, "should be given to those children who, although clearly dominant in one language, demonstrate that they are capable of learning via written and spoken Spanish and English?" Another teacher asked about students who are more proficient orally in English but who have more highly developed literacy skills in Spanish, and how should the child who is receptively bilingual but productively Spanish or English-dominant be categorized?

"Educators must consider the fluidity of becoming biliterate under varying social conditions, and that bilingual children, unlike their monolingual counterparts, may become literate in a language they do not speak fluently, or that their literate ability may exceed their oral fluency in one language but not the other" (Moll, Saez, Dworin, 2001, p. 447). Indeed, the messy dynamics of context, language, and literacy are attested in the experiences of Amy and Augusta in second grade with the DAVIS-SOLOM Student Self-Assessment.

Amy, described by her second grade teacher as *Bilingual-English dominant*, and who began the DL program monolingual in English, gave herself a higher composite score in Spanish (24) than did Augusta (19), who began the DL program fluent in both

languages and was identified by her second grade teacher as bilingual. The contexts in which Amy and Augusta were assessing their abilities in Spanish are examples of what Duranti and Goodwin (1992, p. 6) have described as "socially constituted, interactively sustained, time-bound phenomenon." Amy identified herself as very bilingual, perhaps because in the context of her English-speaking family, she is. For the same reason, Augusta's self-rating may be more accurate because she has access to more bilingual models on whom to base her assessment of proficiency. Based on these understandings, I suggest that attempts to label children as monolingual or bilingual without first understanding their different language histories, family arrangements, peer relations, and other aspects of social context are necessarily incomplete.

Hornberger suggests that implicit in consideration of the contexts for biliteracy is society's power weighting of the continua toward the macro, literate and monolingual ends. At La Escuela, the power weighting of the larger society was mediated by granting agency and voice to oral, bilingual interaction at the micro and macro levels through the "wholesale commitment of faculty, administration, community and students to biliteracy" (González, 2000) and successful attempts, like Éxito Bilingüe (see Appendix E) to privilege the minority language.

The fact that this research was conducted primarily in Spanish, the minority language in this context, is a significant part of my praxis, based on a commitment to empowering education and emancipatory research. English is omnipresent in the lives of these students. Spanish and English do not have the same status in the society at large, thus the privileging of Spanish was critical to this work. Tilting the linguistic balance of

power is an important aspect of the emancipatory intent of all critical action research. I concur with Ruiz (1997) who suggests that voice and agency are central to critical pedagogy.

As Jessica, Amy, and Augusta participated in the DL program at La Escuela, they were learning about language and literacy by talking and listening to others, by exploring how both Spanish and English functioned, and by using both languages to get things done (Short, 1999). "The language learner does not learn only grammar, but also the levels of meanings and histories embodied within language use" (González, 2001, p. 22). Pivotal to the development of this metapragmatic awareness was their development of communicative competence. According to Hornberger (1989, p.280), the term "communicative competence" designates the knowledge and ability of individuals for appropriate language use in any particular speech community. Jessica, Amy, and Augusta continued to draw on their linguistic repertoire as well as their multiple "repertoires of identity" (Kroskrity, 1993) to participate appropriately in a variety of different contexts throughout middle school.

For Jessica, this means using academic English through middle school while continuing to live in Spanish outside of school. She said, "At my house I don't really speak English . . . use English? I don't know, like 30% of the time" (individual interview, eighth grade, February 13, 2006). Amy's repertoire of identity includes the confidence that although her Spanish proficiency may have atrophied due to lack of use in middle school, it is not lost. She explained, "It (ability to read and write in Spanish) was just put on hold" (group interview, eighth grade, July 15, 2006). For Augusta, this means using

Spanish and English for academic and social purposes. "You are a very valued person when you are out there (at mariachi performance) and they see you and they're like . . . *Oh, you can speak both languages, you know if we need you to, you could do this, you could do that*" (individual interview, eighth grade, February 28, 2006).

"Not only does listening-speaking and reading-writing development occur along a continuum, but so does oral-written development. Bilingual readers provide evidence that, like listening-speaking and reading-writing development, development along the oral-written language continuum is not necessarily unidirectional" (Hornberger, 1989, p. 282). In fact, depending on the particular context, development is likely to zigzag across points within the three-dimensional space defined by the three continua (Hornberger, 1989). "The processes of writing, reading, speaking, and listening in a second language are interrelated and interdependent. It is both useless and, ultimately impossible to separate out the language processes in our teaching . . . or to try to present material in a linear sequence of listening, speaking, reading, and writing" (Huddelson, 1984; p. 234 in Hornberger, 1989; p. 282).

Las Tres Amigas concur, the process of developing biliteracy is neither logical nor linear.

> Researcher: Bueno, dice Amy que escribe los dos aunque lee más en ingles. ¿Y tu Jessica? [Okay, Amy says that she writes in both (languages) although she reads more in English. And you, Jessica?].
>
> Jessica: Porque yo nací con el español y se me hace mas fácil escribir en el español que en inglés, inglés se me hace mas fácil de leer que el español [Because

> I was born with Spanish it is easier for me to write in Spanish than in English. English is easier for me to read than Spanish].
>
> Augusta: Creo que para mi leer en español es más interesante que para escribirlo . . . me gusta escribir en inglés, pero creo que es más fácil leer en español [I think that for me, reading in Spanish is more interesting than writing in Spanish. I like to write in English, but I think it is easier for me to read in Spanish (group interview, fifth grade, May 8, 2003).

In a group interview during July 2006 (eighth grade), Augusta said, "I think it was just mostly kind of how our speaking came, that is was just pushed on you, I mean they put a piece of paper and said 'write,' you know like with reading . . . they read it and went over it and oh, I remember we had um, earphones, and you'd look at . . . hear a story and you'd follow along. So, I think reading probably came first, you know how to read."

"Biliterate development is defined not only by continuities between spoken and written language, between listening and speaking, and between reading and writing, but also by those between the first language and the second language" (Hornberger, 1989, p. 282). Las Tres Amigas are children whose early literacy instruction was completely in Spanish. They were never taught to read English, although as Ken Goodman (1996) has always maintained, "We only learn to read once." The interplay of their skills and strategies between two languages resulted in measurable successful outcomes that the girls take for granted.

Following Halliday's (Halliday, 1985, in Short, 1999, p.131) view that language is a social tool, and that meaningful language events help children to learn language, learn about language, and learn through language I have adopted three criteria for examining the biliteracy experiences of Las Tres Amigas more closely.

Learning Language

Recognizing the close connections between development in one and the other language, researchers have attempted to determine to what extent knowledge of one language transfers to the other and aids learning, and to what extent knowledge of the one interferes with the other and impedes learning (Hornberger, 1989, p. 282). In studies of biliterate development, the notion of interference has given way to that of transfer. Edelsky (1986) refuted the interference myth, arguing that children in the bilingual program she studied applied what they knew about first-language writing to second-language writing. I found that beginning in second grade, Las Tres Amigas became keenly aware of their own second language proficiency and biliteracy, as well as the proficiency of their classmates. I observed that, given the opportunity to explain their personal theories, each of them demonstrated knowledge of orthographic conventions so valued by schools, as well as differences in phonological, syntactic, and metalinguistic form.

Augusta identified a strategy that her second grade teacher used to insure that all students understood important content area instruction, and she was able to distinguish between the strategies used in the context of her classroom and in the context of her Éxito Bilingüe group. Augusta's classroom teacher spoke more slowly because of the diverse

levels of language proficiencies among the students. In Éxito Bilingüe, her teacher delivered content more rapidly because all students were highly proficient in Spanish.

> Researcher: ¿Cómo te sientes al salir de tu salón de clase para ir con otro maestro durante Éxito Bilingüe? [How do you feel about leaving your classroom to go a different teacher for Éxito Bilingüe?].
>
> Augusta: Como la (maestra del salón) nos habla despacito para que todos pueden entender y en Éxito Bilingüe los maestros te hablan más rápido [Like,(classroom teacher), speaks with us slowly so that everyone can understand and in Exito Bilingue the teachers talk faster. (individual interview, 3/220/00, second grade).

Augusta's metalinguistic and metacognitive (Bateson, 1972) awareness is also demonstrated by her explanation of her mother's instrumental purpose for initially teaching her both Spanish and English. "Mi primer idioma era inglés porque mi mamá sabía que cuando fui a day care no habían muchas personas quienes hablan español. Y si yo sabía español primero no iba a poder jugar con los otros niños. Entonces ella me enseñó inglés primero y luego me enseñó español [My first language was English because my mother knew that there wouldn't be Spanish-speaking people at day care, and if I knew Spanish first, I wouldn't be able to play with the other children. So she taught me English first and then she taught me Spanish."

Learning About Language

Although language teaching at La Escuela was content based, the teachers demystified the language learning process by helping students to focus on language and how the target languages work in a variety of oral and literate contexts. I found that

Jessica, Amy, and Augusta were actively involved in learning concepts about the forms and uses of both Spanish and English, from and with each other, as they moved through the borderland of biliteracy. Amy said, "Vecindario is written with a *v* instead of the *b*. Actually they both sound alike [Neighborhood] (field notes, second grade, 2000). This next observation was from field notes taken Monday, March 13, 2000, at the extended-day study hall. Augusta began to write the word *civilizacion* on the top of her worksheet. She quickly wrote *civilizacion* and then began drawing lines between the syllables to divide the word, *ci-vi-li-za-ci-on*. . . . Augusta gave a brief explanation (in English) of the rules for the correct placement of accent marks in Spanish. She spoke with considerable confidence, especially for a second-grader teaching a high school student, who was her tutor. When questioned, 'Donde va el accento?',she added an accent mark over the *o* to correctly spell the word.

It may not seem unusual that a second grader could manipulate these orthographic conventions, or even that she was able to explain them to older students. In the context of generational language shift away from Spanish, however, this is not a trivial act. Indeed, much of the power of Augusta's demonstration derives from the very fact that none of the older students - all fluent bilinguals - had been schooled in Spanish. For these teenagers, Augusta's knowledge of written forms of Spanish was indeed impressive and powerful. Likewise, Las Tres Amigas attended to differences in *phonological* form.

> Researcher: (speaking into the tape recorder at the beginning of an interview) . . . el 5 de abril del año 2000.

Amy*:* It rhymes, dos mil . . . abril [two thousand…April] (group interview, second grade, April 2000).

To *syntactic* form, through written language.

Augusta:(after having written about 5 sentences) ¿Es la idioma? [Is it the/la (feminine form) idioma?].

Researcher: Es el idioma [It's the/el (masculine form) language] (group interview, second grade, April 2000).

Finally, to *metalinguistic* form.

Researcher: Si quiero explicar Éxito Bilingüe a personas quienes no conocen nuestra escuela ¿que les debo de decir? [If I wanted to explain Exito Bilingüe to people who don't know about our school, what should I tell them?].

Jessica: Que te enseñan a leer, escribir y dibujar y te enseñan cuales son las palabras con acentos [That they teach you to read, write, and draw and that they teach you which are the words with the accents] (group interview, second grade, April 2000).

Although none of the girls continued to read or write as much in both languages during middle school, each maintained her ability to discuss continuities between her first and second languages.

Researcher: So you make connections between the two languages?

Amy: All the time.

Researcher: Tell me more about that.

> Amy: Like twelve in math, a decagon, I was thinking of *doce*, it's in Spanish . . . so numbers . . . and the legato thing in jazz band where it just means to, like kind of slow down, and play it really slowly, just kind of slur your notes more and I was thinking about a cat, like *gato* (individual interview, eighth grade, March 16, 2006).

Learning Through Language

Learning through language includes (1) providing opportunities to use language to generate new knowledge, (2) reading and writing in a variety of genres across the curriculum, and (3) encouraging students to act on social realities. Students also learn through language to demonstrate the acquisition of academic proficiencies on standardized measures required by the state and district.

As Wong-Filmore and Cummins (2000) have suggested, the most reliable way to help bilingual students acquire the academic language that is required for success on standardized texts, is through literacy experiences that call attention to the way both languages work in oral and written forms.

I observed the case study students make meaning as they learned through language in the context of the interviews.

> Researcher: ¿Cómo es semejante leer en inglés y leer en español? [How is reading in English similar to reading in Spanish?].
>
> Jessica: **¿**Qué es semejante? [What is *similar*?].
>
> Researcher: Igual – ¿Cómo es *igual* la lectura en inglés y la lectura en [The same. How is reading in English the same as reading in Spanish?].

And through new experiences, like writing a release form to participate in this study.

Researcher**:** Amy, pon tu firma aquí [Amy, put your signatura here].

Amy**:** What's that?

Augusta: A signature (group interview, second grade, April 2000).

In middle school, Jessica reported learning, through her second language, about language policy. The same language policy that forbade her from practicing her language rights (Ruiz, 1984). "It's our right. . . . We're allowed to speak Spanish where we want . . . because we have freedom of speech. . . . We talked about that (in social studies class), the government, and everything . . . he gives you detention . . . because we talk Spanish" (individual interview, eighth grade, February 13, 2006).

Amy reported learning through her second language in middle school to increase her knowledge of technology in Spanish. "I like looking at Spanish websites, the Mexican ones, *Latina*, like that, 'cause they're so different, and they're kind of cool, you know? I mean, it's just fun to look at the difference in style . . . me and my friend were like, texting each other in Spanish." (group interview, eighth grade, July 15, 2006).

For Augusta, learning through language continued to be a combination of using both languages for dual purposes - academic and social. "Well, definitely in our Spanish class, it's more of a Spanish-speaking and Spanish reading and writing environment. . . . At mariachi and well, sometimes, there are times I have to write. . . . That's when it (Spanish) definitely comes in handy 'cause you need to know what the word is, so you know what you're saying. . . . You don't want to be, you know, pronouncing something

wrong or saying the wrong term. That would be just kind of disrespectful" (individual interview, eighth grade, February 28, 2006).

Learning through language includes the critical examination of the nature and function of language(s) and literature in a variety of contexts. The power of critical literacy was evident as Amy, Augusta, and Jessica, with their second grade classmates, used their developing literacy skills in Spanish to actively address social issues of relevance to them. Over the course of the study, they lobbied for cleaner bathrooms at school, better care for utensils in the cafeteria, and against *Proposition 203*, a ballot initiative aimed at banning bilingual education in Arizona (see Appendix O).

Following the passage of Proposition 203, Augusta openly questioned the state's language policy. "? Te van a poner en la cárcel porque estas hablando en español? No van a hacer esto" [Are they going to put you in jail because you are speaking in Spanish? They are not going to do that] (group interview, fourth grade, November 20, 2001).

When asked to respond to the writing prompt administered as part of the district standardized testing effort, these young writers found it very difficult. They commented that the prompt . . . "Write about your day as the tallest/shortest person in the world" . . . was meaningless to them. Their experiences in biliteracy had been so authentic that they were unable to give serious consideration to this prompt created artificially and without context (C. Carmichael, personal communication, May 2000).

"In sum, the individual's biliterate development occurs along all three continua simultaneously and in relation with each other. This is why the notion of transfer has been such a tenacious, and, at the same time, frustratingly one. The potential for transfer

along and across the continua is apparently infinite" (Hornberger, 1989, p. 286). The interrelatedness of the continua allows us to see potential for positive transfer across languages and literacies, while the nested nature of the continua demonstrates the myriad of contextual factors that aid or impede such transfer.

What was the Role of Cultural Identity in the Biliteracy Development of Las Tres Amigas?

Jessica's mother said, "Pues yo soy Mexicana y me gusta mas mi idioma" [Well, I'm Mexican, and I like my language] (family interview, October 2000).

Culture always works in and through power relations, and power works through the diverse social processes and cultural practices of society, including particular forms of schooling (Wolf, 2001). Ideology implicates power, the exercise of power, and the reproduction of dominant/subordinate relations (Woolard & Schieffelin,1994). Ideology can be seen as situated within metalinguistic discourse (Woolard, 1992). The tool of language is an instrument for constructing children's identities as learners and speakers of language(s). Learning language(s) has been a key element as Las Tres Amigas have formulated their identities as biliterates.

For Jessica, Amy, and Augusta, the process of negotiating identities was never fully controlled from the outside, although it was certainly influenced by many forces, including their parents, teachers, and the larger language ideology. Apple (1982) defines *ideology* as "sets of lived practices that are internally inconsistent." Las Tres Amigas are incorporated into circulating and competing metadiscourses on biliteracy, bilingual education, and borderlands language practices.

Perhaps the case of Jessica helps us best understand that language ideologies are simultaneously deeply singular, for no two children have identical social histories, and deeply social, for they are always embedded in the dynamics of particular social systems and practices (Moll, 2004). In kindergarten, Jessica, who spoke only Spanish at the time, told her teacher (in Spanish), that she enjoyed speaking English more than Spanish, and predicted that she would stop speaking Spanish because she doesn't like it very much, "Porque no me gusta muy bien el español" In fact, she stated that by third grade, she would be speaking only English. She also expressed that one can learn more in English, a stance based on her observation that most adults speak English (Carmichael, 1998, pp. 7-11). In her view at that time, a person who doesn't learn English would suffer dire consequences. "Tiene que andar en la calle pidiendo comidas . . . porque cuando iba a la escuela no oia nada y luego se quedó burro" [He has to be out on the street asking for food . . . because when he went to school, he didn't listen and he ended up dumb].

The sources of Jessica's ideologies were not dependent on a model of unilineal transmission from adult to child. Her mother clearly expressed that she wanted her children to become bilingual. "No quiero que se enfoque no mas en, inglés ni tampoco en el español. Yo quiero que los dos vayan" [I don't want her to focus only on English, nor only on Spanish. I want both (languages) to go with her] (family interview, September, 1999).

At age five, Jessica was already planning to speak English and only English in her immediate future, even though her mother wanted her to retain Spanish while developing English and her kindergarten teacher used Spanish for instruction 100% of the time.

Also, she was attending a DL school in which every effort was made to privilege the minority language.

By kindergarten, Jessica embodied and articulated competing language ideologies as linked to the larger context of Spanish speakers in the borderlands. She knew that English is the public language and that people would understand her better if she spoke English; she was even convinced that one can learn more in English. As suggested by Luykx (1996), students bring their own meanings, practices, and values to the pedagogic situation, rather than simply being inculcated with a prefabricated ideology. It is important to consider how ideologies function as mediating devices and how they give meaning to the actions of becoming biliterate.

Although I found Jessica, Amy and Augusta to be active agents in their constructions of biliteracy and language ideologies, there are indisputably mediating factors. Las Tres Amigas are exposed to an array of overt and covert language ideologies through media, politics, parents, peers and schooling. They must engage with what even adults are not able to untangle, contradictions and ambiguities about who speaks what language to whom and under what circumstances. They are not passive receptacles for teachers' or parents' ideas about language and literacy, but are keenly aware that language choice signals not only a referential sign, but a social statement as well.

Therefore, in a Vygotskian sort of way, language ideologies may function as a cultural resource with differential influences on actions by adults and children (Moll, 2004). Jessica's kindergarten perspective provides an example of the way in which a child may restrict herself, determine her future and who she will be, by decisions she

makes about language. Jessica offers a childhood version of English hegemony before she can speak the language! As seen in the findings previously presented, by second grade, Jessica had revised her language ideology stating that, “Espanol es mi idioma” [Spanish is my language], a stance that remained steady throughout middle school, . . . “mostly Spanish, out of school, I don’t really speak that much English” (individual interview, eighth grade, February 13, 2006). This change is significant because it exemplifies the less than linear causal relationships of linguistic ideologies; there are dips and turns, modifications and adaptation, fluidity in every dimension.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from a closer look at Jessica is the need for longitudinal study. During the second year of my research with Las Tres Amigas, in the fall of third grade, Jessica gave herself 8 out of 25 possible points when assessing her oral proficiency in English. That same year her English reading comprehension increased from Level 4 to Level 16 as assessed on the running record. The following year, in the fall of fourth grade, Jessica gave herself 20 out of 25 possible points when assessing her oral proficiency in English, and moved to Level 18 in English reading. By fifth grade, she was reading in English at Level 38 and again, assessed her oral proficiency in English as 20 out of 25 possible points. Had I concluded the study at the end of the second year, I might have erroneously assumed that Jessica was not acquiring literacy skills in English.

Children have a right to become more, not less, as a result of their schooling experience. I have warned against dichotomous reasoning suggesting that the study of identity and biliteracy doesn’t have to be “either/or”. As suggested by Zentella (1997),

bilingual children must be encouraged to negotiate identities that do not pit mainstream, standard English-speaking identities against their primary ethnolinguistic identities. In the lives of many of us who function successfully in both languages, these identities are complementary, not oppositional, enriching our lives as we dance in two or more worlds. Bilingual children are exposed to multiple identites within their own communities and households, these identities are fluid, not fixed. It is impossible to essentialize identities because we all have multiple ways of being. Language and identities are dynamic in people and in communities (Zentella, 1997).

What was the role of social context in and out of middle school in sustaining or constraining the development of biliteracy?

> Amy: S-q-u-i-r-l-y o-n-e….you know miss, like squirrely one. That's my email address (personal communication, December, 2003).

The evaluation of literacy is often treated as a set of isolated procedures designed to measure how efficiently someone reads. This view ignores important social processes, treats reading and writing as decontextualized events, and overlooks cultural knowledge and social identity. My work with Las Tres Amigas has taught me to consider each of them as persons creating unique trajectories of biliteracy development amidst a complex interplay of school experiences, life circumstances and social worlds. The social practices of becoming biliterate carry important consequences, including creating particular subjectivities and possibilities for action (Moll, 1999).

In considering the subjectivities of Las Tres Amigas, a better sense of who they are as biliterates, individually and collectively, is essential. An examination of how

Jessica, Amy, and Augusta used Spanish and English in middle school for social and academic purposes, revealed the following patterns.

1. Confidence in themselves as biliterates;
2. Decline in usage of Spanish literacy;
3. A shared ideology.

Confidence in Their Biliteracy

Ken Goodman uses the terms "invention" and "convention" (Goodman, 1993) to describe how children create literacy for themselves (through invented spelling, for example), often prior to the onset of formal instruction, as a typical step along the path to the conventions of adult-like forms. Schooling then becomes a major source of input for children as they move from these personalized forms of discovery and varying degrees of mastery to the conventions of standardized literacy. Las Tres Amigas have each been quite successful in appropriating adult literate conventions in English and in Spanish. Jessica, Amy, and Augusta shared their confidence in themselves as biliterates throughout middle school.

When discussing the Spanish Placement Test for the College Preparatory High School to which they were both admitted, Amy and Augusta commented. Augusta said, "We were laughing at this Spanish test . . . the placement test." Amy remarked, "It was just the easiest thing" (group interview, eighth grade, July 15, 2006).

More than 100 empirical studies show a positive association between additive bilingualism and students' linguistic, cognitive, or academic growth (Cummins, 2000), while "subtractive bilingualism is associated with lower levels of second-language

attainment, scholastic underachievement, and psychosocial disorders" (Lambert, 1984 in Lindholm-Leary, 2001, p. 46).

After the third week of high school, Jessica's mother came to see me at work and brought Jessica's progress report from her *Introduction to Medical Studies* class. She proudly showed me the three "A"s for each of the writing assignments and commented, "Va muy bien en la escuela" [She's dong well in school] (personal communication, September 1, 2006). Developing literacy in two languages not only results in linguistic and academic benefits for individual students, but also prepares them to work in both national and international contexts.

Decline in Spanish Literacy Usage

Augusta's eighth grade Language Arts teacher said, "I would classify Augusta as English-dominant because she chooses to read English literature almost exclusively now" (personal communication, March 18, 2006).

A sociocultural view of literacy regards literacy as socially based and culturally specific. Since language is a social event, communication can be understood and explained only within their connections to a concrete situation (Heath, 1983; Scribner & Cole, 1981). Developing identity is one of the sociocultural tasks of adolescence and one's membership within groups regulates literate practices as adolescents.

During middle school, each of Las Tres Amigas reported reading and writing in Spanish much less than they had when they were students in the DL program at La Escuela. It is interesting to note that the decline in usage accompanied the aforementioned sense of efficacy regarding their individual biliteracy, reminding us again

that children make subjective sense of biliteracy and that these configurations cannot be reduced to individual test scores or performance levels.

A Shared Ideology

> Jessica: ¿Por la ley que paso? (*Proposition 203*) . . . no se, creo que los maestros hablaron con alguien y que los dejaron seguir siendo bilingüe aquí [Because of the law that passed? *(Proposition 203*) . . . I don't know, I think the teachers talked with someone and they let them continue being bilingual here] (group interview, third grade, November 20, 2001).

Ideologies work, much as other cultural tools, by acting as a resource that can be internalized, thus serving as a basis for both perpetuation and transformation of actions. When they were students at La Escuela, Las Tres Amigas became aware that learning and literacy are always ideologically embedded as they participated with their families and teachers in defending the dual language arrangement of the school, especially after the passage of *Proposition 203*.

Biliteracy was a clear academic goal promoted through the dual language pedagogy and sustained by an ideology that favored the development of both languages of all children at the school. This became internalized as a personal goal of each of Las Tres Amigas.

> Researcher: Ahora van a terminar quinto año . .. ? Cuál ha sido la cosa más importante que han aprendido en todos sus años aquí en La Escuela? [Now you are going to finish fifth grade. What have been the most important things that you have learned during your years here at La Escuela?].

> Amy: Estoy tan feliz que puedo hablar y escribir y leer todo en español. Si, yo puedo leer y hablar y escribir todo en español muy fluente y me meta fue hacer así desde kinder [I am so happy that I can speak and write and read everything in Spanish. Yes, I can read and speak and write everything in Spanish very fluently and that was my goal since kindergarten (group interview, fifth grade, May 2003).

Consequently, despite the heavy ideological pressures of the state, the current emphasis on high-stakes testing, and the fact that two of the three girls attended middle schools in which only English was used, they continue to value the minority language and are convinced that being biliterate is important to their futures.

A longitudinal approach has allowed me to use a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods to explore variations within and between Las Tres Amigas to better identify and understand the changes that occur through the developmental progressions across the borderland of biliteracy.

All the case study students became literate in both languages. Augusta, who started the DL program already bilingual, showed the fastest quantitative progress to biliteracy. By second grade, Augusta achieved reading fluency in both languages roughly equivalent to fifth grade reading levels. She also excelled in writing in both languages in elementary school. In middle school, she continued to use Spanish and English for academic and social purposes.

Amy, who entered the DL program English monolingual, displayed a different trajectory of biliteracy development. She manifested early levels of achievement in reading in English. This progress in English, in turn, helped create the conditions for her

development of Spanish reading and writing. By third grade she was reading at the fifth grade level in both Spanish and English. Amy used English for academic and social purposes in middle school.

Jessica entered La Escuela monolingual in Spanish. Consistent with the research literature on the topic, (Collier, 1995; Cummins, 2000) she displayed early and rapid development of Spanish reading, as supported by the DL program, with clear development in English reading by fifth grade. In middle school, Jessica used English for academic purposes and Spanish for social purposes.

The students benefited from their shared experience at La Escuela, the additive schooling conditions, which included DL education and a rich Spanish literacy program that resisted the banning of bilingual education in the state and the imposition of reductionist reading programs.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

> Amy: . . . Just how I, like, learned Spanish, was through a bilingual school (individual interview, March 16, 2006).

This concluding chapter includes a review and summary of the study as they relate to Research Question 1, limitations of the work, and implications and recommendations for research and practice.

Review and Summary of the Study

I have conducted an ethnographic case study of children's perspectives on the development of biliteracy. This was a longitudinal project in which I have been involved nine years. I have formally been collecting data for seven of those nine with three girls, Jessica, Amy, and Augusta - Las Tres Amigas. Following a review of the literature on language socialization focusing on issues of identity, biliteracy, dual language education, and adolescence and middle school literacy in Chapter 2, and a description of the research methodology in Chapter 3, I described the case study students in Chapter 4, ever mindful of the purpose of this work - to include children's perspectives on the development of biliteracy. In Chapter 5, I presented findings as they related to Research Questions 2, 3, and 4.

In this section, I address conclusions drawn in this study based on the research question which has guided the investigation. The main question is restated, "How do three female students develop their biliteracy in the elementary and middle school context?"

Home and School Literacy Practices

In this study, evidence suggests that children follow different paths along the borderland of biliteracy, growing at different rates through diverse experiences along the continuum. This research also illustrates how supportive home and school literacy practices can mediate the effects of low-income status on literacy development. I chose to study the development of additive biliteracy of three young girls whose families qualify for the federal free/reduced lunch program. The longitudinal data reported here suggest that regardless of SES, given equal access to DL education, differences in home and family literacy practices may account for the differential rates in the student's development of additive biliteracy.

Amy, the student who made the greatest qualitative gains in second language reading during the first year of the study (from Level 6 in the fall of second grade to Level 40 in the spring), had access to books in Spanish and English at home and reported reading often and with pleasure. Augusta, who started the DL program at La Escuela bilingual and who was assessed at the highest level in reading in Spanish and English during the first year of the study, told me about reading in both languages regularly with her mother. Jessica's family reported spending more time watching television than reading with their children and had never been to the public library when Jessica was in elementary school. Although Jessica's journey to additive biliteracy was a bit slower than Amy and Augusta's, Jessica did become biliterate through the DL education program at La Escuela.

The Promotion of Additive Biliteracy

Among students of diverse home literacy practices like Jessica, Amy, and Augusta, curriculum and instruction that consistently supports minority language literacy appears to promote the development of additive biliteracy. The additive nature of the DL education program at La Escuela, coupled with the successful promotion of Spanish literacy and biliteracy via Exito Bilingüe, as demonstrated by the comments and running records of Jessica, Amy, and Augusta, offers several lessons in the current climate of growing public support for commercially prepared and sometimes highly scripted reading programs.

The success of the case study students in developing the ability to read and write in two languages while in elementary school demonstrates that schools and teachers are quite capable of researching, designing, and implementing effective literacy programs which meet district and state standards without imposing packaged curriculum materials or invasive evaluation procedures that devalue what learners and teachers know (Smith and Arnot-Hopffer, 1998).

Secondly, Éxito Bilingüe illustrates the need to mark certain domains as Spanish-only as a way to privilege the minority language (Fishman, 1976, cited in Edelsky, 1996). Indeed, as Augusta noted, the students at La Escuela were well aware of this markedness.

Researcher: Augusta, ¿Cómo es diferente tu clase que tu clase de Éxito Bilingüe? [Augusta, how is your classroom different from your Éxito Bilingüe class?].

> Augusta: Es mucho diferente…porque nuestra clase es bilingüe pero en Éxito Bilingüe es no más español. [It is very different . . . our class is bilingual but in Éxito Bilingüe it is only Spanish] (individual interview 3/22/00, second grade).

Las Tres Amigas were expected to master self-regulatory strategies in reading for meaning in both languages. The metacognitive control they developed became an artifact for thinking. With this metacognitive development, their biliteracy became an intellectual tool that they brought under conscious and deliberate control. By controlling these representational artifacts, reading and writing in both languages, they transformed their understandings of the world at large (Moll, 1999) and sustained their identity as biliterates through middle school.

Language and Literacy Ideologies

Because broader social and ideological factors mediate the nature of schooling for children (González & Arnot-Hopffer, 2003), the research presented here includes not only the intellectual consequences associated with different literacy practices, but also the social and ideological circumstances of those practices as a necessary component of analysis. Ambiguity and contradiction proved to be the larger backdrop in relation to the ideology of Las Tres Amigas; however, the language and literacy ideologies of each of their families and of La Escuela included a strong commitment to the development of bilingualism and biliteracy.

Faculty and administrators at La Escuela overtly nurtured an atmosphere of bilingualism within the school, privileging Spanish in domains traditionally reserved for English. In many bilingual programs, the administrative functions of the school (e.g.,

school intercom announcements) are delivered exclusively in English, conveying to students the jural precedence of the majority language. In contrast, La Escuela projected a pluralistic language ideology that equally validated two languages.

The research on DL education suggests that raising the status of the minority language is fundamental to success (Christian et al, 1997). Las Tres Amigas pointed to the collective effort made by faculty and staff at La Escuela to privilege Spanish as a distinguishing characteristic of the school. Instruction at La Escuela included rejecting the standardization of children, teachers, curriculum, communities, families, and a single path to biliteracy.

Biliteracy and Identity

In my work with Las Tres Amigas, I found that language ideologies aroused strong feelings about Spanish and English from the very beginning of their formal education and that children hold sophisticated notions of biliteracy development and indeed contribute to adult understandings of biliteracy, transforming the ways that language, oral and written, becomes defined and how it is perceived. The complexities of language choice in relation to culture and identity proved to be as rich as biliteracy.

Amy's switch from Spanish during the individual interview to English in the group interview in second grade, reminds us that in considering issues of linguistic identity, context is everything. When the context changes, identities shift, codes switch and are sometimes turned off completely.

Amy chose to write in English in the group interview, although she had previously stated that she felt equally comfortable writing in either language**.**

The Individual Interview (March 6, 2000):

Researcher: ¿Cuál te parece más fácil, escribir en español o en inglés? [Which seems easier, writing in Spanish or in English?].

Amy: Los dos [Both of them].

Researcher: ¿Los dos son igual de fáciles, igual que con la lectura? [It is easy in both (languages), just like with reading?].

Amy: Si [Yes].

The Group Interview (April 5, 2000):

Amy: (starts writing in Spanish, then asks) In Spanish or in English?

Researcher: Como quieras, mijita [As you prefer].

Amy: In English would be easier (she erased the two sentences she has already written in Spanish, then turned her paper over and began to write in English).

Considering Grosjean's (1998) monolingual-bilingual mode continuum, Amy's switch to Spanish can be understood not as a regression, but as moving to a different place on the continuum consistent with her dual identity. My work with Las Tres Amigas provides evidence that there are an infinite number of points on the continua, that all points have more in common than not, and that any single point is inevitably related to all other points. Most importantly, this work illustrates that the relationship between biliteracy and identity is dynamic, complex, and messy. Perhaps Figure 8 illustrating the relationship between biliteracy and identity still appears too tidy.

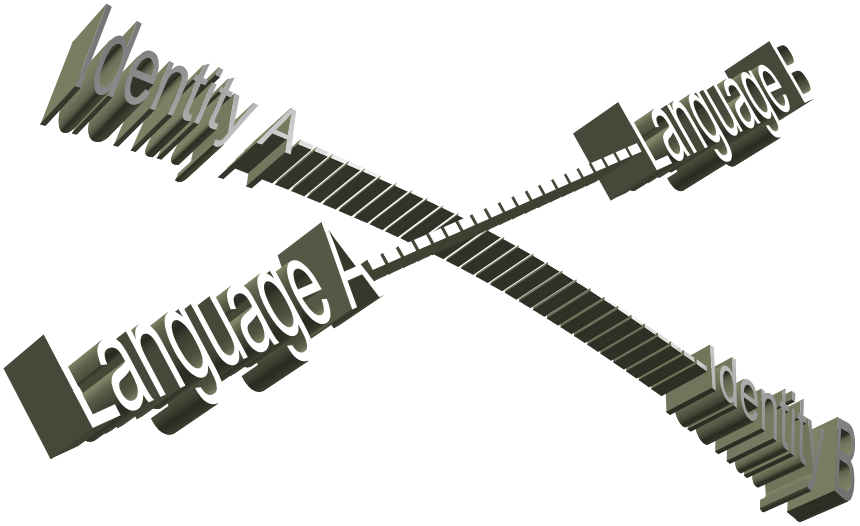


Figure 8. The relationship between biliteracy and identity.

Limitations

A potential limitation of this work concerns the distinction between theory-based and advocacy-based research (August and Hakuta, 1997, p.156). Due to the importance of participant observation in this study, some may suggest that this research advocates for DL education over other forms of bilingual schooling and is overly supportive of the DL model implemented at the initial research site.

I would make three points in response to these criticisms. First, it is true that I advocate for educational programs which are additive. The fact that the DL program at La Escuela may be successful in this regard should not be interpreted as evidence in favor of the imposition of this model elsewhere. Indeed, case studies like this one can help educators understand the resources and commitment required for successful additive schooling, and where these conditions are not present, to consider models better suited to local conditions and needs.

Secondly, no two programs are alike in terms of the myriad of factors of which they are comprised; nor can any study fully document the interplay of all factors even within a single case. Findings from this dissertation are not intended for immediate application to other programs, a stance which is in conflict with approaches to ethnographic research that seek to identify key features of successful programs in order to replicate them elsewhere. Furthermore, because schooling conditions may change rapidly, implications and recommendations require careful reconsideration in concert with children and their families.

Finally, ethnographic study invariably presents researchers with difficult choices, including how to present findings that do not flatter participants and institutions. In this case study, the task of reporting the truth as I have come to understand it, has been facilitated by triangulation of data from multiple sources and perspectives and by use of member checking over the course of the research project.

In response to the concern that the findings only pertain to the universe of the case study students, I suggest that the advantage of this case study is the way in which it contextualizes the phenomenon of the development of biliteracy, adding to a more sophisticated understanding of the topic and contributing to a body of knowledge. Thus, the sampling is intended to address the development and complexity of biliteracy development and of mediating language ideologies in several contexts. Case studies, then, in providing several analytic interpretations, are generalizable to theoretical propositions, not necessarily to populations or universes. This is what Yin (1989) called *analytic generalizations* (in contrast to *statistical generalizations*).

Implications

Honor Family Literacy Practices

One implication of these findings is that educators should find ways to become familiar with the literacy practices of their students outside the school. Interviews with parents and students are the means I have used to gather the information reported in this study. There are certainly other ways, including home visits, having students keep a literacy journal, sharing written texts produced at school to be used at home, and conferences with students and their families.

I offer these suggestions not so that educators will feel motivated to judge or change family literacy practices, but to better understand the ways that children experience literacy in their homes so that educators can honor and build upon these experiences during the course of instruction. Parents may also be invited to add new literacy practices to the existing family repertoire. The goal, then, should be to add to these practices rather than to subtract them from children's lives or deny their potential contributions to school based instruction that promotes additive biliteracy.

Practice Civil Scholarship

Secondly, as researchers, the broader social and ideological factors that mediate the nature of schooling obligate us to work within a context of advocacy, not accumulating knowledge but practicing "civil scholarship" (González, 2005), working in community to affect change. Because educational researchers, individually and collectively, can generate power that challenges structures of injustice in small but significant ways, we must be diligent in our efforts to create frameworks that are accessible and that provoke meaningful dialogue in schools and communities. The future of societies depends on the intelligence and identities generated in interactions in schools (Cummins, 2001). Perhaps my work with Las Tres Amigas has contributed to the creation of the next generation of critical theorists.

Recognize the Voices of Children

We need more research that includes the voices of students, more studies in which we examine the multiple spheres in which children engage. Complex social, linguistic and cultural issues call upon us to include children as we create interactional contexts to

critically examine issues of identity and experience and collaboratively deconstruct the myths that are inherited from one generation to the next. For educators to create an educational context with their students where the assumptions and lies underlying dominant group identity become the focus of scrutiny rather than the invisible screen that determines perceptions is to challenge societal power structure. Educational equity requires no less (Cummins, 1994).

Study the Borderlands of Biliteracy

The longitudinal study conducted with Las Tres Amigas is a story of the borderlands of biliteracy, a third place born of a duality of discourse, a continuum between the schism of different ways of knowing. A borderland is a place where a dichotomy merges; it is a perspective that accommodates contradiction and ambiguity, in it develops a third perspective, something more than mere duality. "A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition" (Anzaldua, 1999, p. 25).

Epistemology A←----------→Epistemology B

A Borderland

Figure 9. A Borderland.

These social epistemologies had direct implications for my linkage in the study between language ideologies and biliteracy development as I framed literacy as a social practice, not as a cognitive or psychological phenomenon that happens in the head of the reader, but as a set of intertextual resources that connect children's lived experiences to

texts. The borderland model of biliteracy allows for varying degrees of linguistic and cultural understandings and proficiencies that are a natural part of the development of biliteracy. It is a dynamic continuum between one linguistic way of knowing and another. Reyes (class notes, November 15, 2004) expresses the need for a continuum model this way, “We keep wanting to see black and white, but there are all these different shades."

Figure 10 represents the continuum of bilingualism presented by Reyes (class notes, November 22, 2004) in which the implicit power weighting of one end of the continuum is obvious as suggested by the word *perfect*. For those of us who consider bilingualism to be a never-ending process, an end point of perfection may be an impracticable goal.

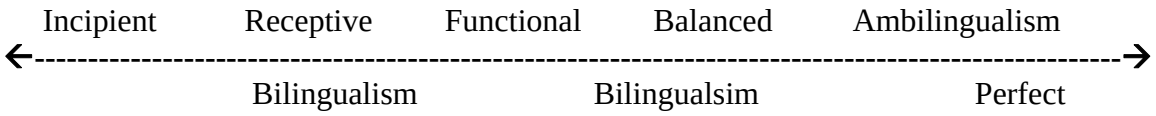


Figure 10. Continuum of Biliteracy

Borderlands are often riddled with emergent practices and mixed conventions that do not conform to normativity. Borderlands come to be a fertile metaphor for educational theorists. Figurative and literal borderlands signify a third space in which students draw from the hybridity of spaces at the interstices of *here* and *there* (Gutierrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda, 2000).

This borderland of biliteracy is not a bland place, it is not a meltdown of two linguistic identities; rather, it is as dynamic as language is alive, it is a new place where

no-one is “lost in translation” (Hoffman, 1989) and a “repertoire of identities” (Kroskrity, 1993) is developed. “They’d like to think I have melted in the pot. But I haven’t, we haven’t” (Anzaldua, 1999, p. 108).

The emic insights shared by Jessica, Amy, Augusta, their families and teachers, describe diaspora identities, which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference (Stuart Hall, 1999). Their border lives are exemplars of moments of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion (Bhabha, 1995).

Support Dual Language Education

The research presented here calls for the creation of more DL programs and for the creation of DL programs in middle school. Because DL education is based on the paradigm of language as resource (Ruiz, 1984), it provides the background of expectation required for paradigm shift through the promotion of additive biliteracy for all students. According to Kuhn (Kuhn, 1996, p.122), when paradigms change, the world itself changes with them, “The scientist who embraces a new paradigm is like the person wearing inverting lenses.” DL education programs with a wholesale commitment to additive biliteracy can mediate the power weighting of the larger society by granting agency and voice to bilingual interaction at the micro and macro levels through successful attempts to privilege the minority language.

As suggested by Las Tres Amigas, La Escuela was successful in promoting biliteracy despite heavy ideological and programmatic pressures to dismantle the

bilingual arrangement. Regardless of the state's English-only policy, the school was able to create strategic social networks to enhance its autonomy, mediate ideological and programmatic constraints, and provide additive forms of schooling for all students (Moll & Arnot-Hopffer, 2004). Herein lies the pedagogy of hope (Freire, 1992).

APPENDIX A

HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL

Human Subjects Protection Program

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
TUCSON ARIZONA

1350 N. Vine Avenue
P.O. Box 245137
Tucson, AZ 85724-5137
(520) 626-6721
http://www.irb.arizona.edu

19 October 2006

Elizabeth Arnot-Hopffer, Ph.D. candidate
Advisor: Luis Moll, Ph.D.
Department of Language, Reading, & Culture
College of Education
P.O. Box 210069

BSC: B06.315 LAS TRES AMIGOS: A CASE STUDY OF BILITERACY FROM KINDERGARTEN THROUGH ADOLESCENCE

Dear Ms. Arnot-Hopffer:

We received your research proposal as cited above. The procedures to be followed in this study pose no more than minimal risk to participating subjects and have been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) through an Expedited Review procedure as cited in the regulations issued by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [45 CFR Part 46.110(b)(1)] based on their inclusion under *research category 5, 6, and 7*. As this is not a treatment intervention study, the IRB has waived the statement of Alternative Treatments in the consent form as allowed by 45 CFR 46.116(d)(2). Although full Committee review is not required, a brief summary of the project procedures is submitted to the Committee for their endorsement and/or comment, if any, after administrative approval is granted. This project is approved with an **expiration date of 19 October 2007.** Please make copies of the attached IRB stamped consent documents to consent your subjects. ***Note: Please provide this office with a Spanish Parental Consent and Assent form prior to the initiation of your research requiring these versions of the consent documents.***

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Arizona has a current ***Federalwide Assurance*** of compliance, ***FWA00004218***, which is on file with the Department of Health and Human Services and covers this activity.

Approval is granted with the understanding that no further changes or additions will be made to the procedures followed without the knowledge and approval of the Human Subjects Committee (IRB) and your College or Departmental Review Committee. Any research related physical or psychological harm to any subject must also be reported to each committee.

A university policy requires that all signed subject consent forms be kept in a permanent file in an area designated for that purpose by the Department Head or comparable authority. This will assure their accessibility in the event that university officials require the information and the principal investigator is unavailable for some reason.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore J. Glattke, Ph.D.
Chair, Social and Behavioral Sciences Human Subjects Committee

TJG:pm
cc: Departmental/College Review Committee

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Parental Informed Consent Form

Las Tres Amigas:
A Case Study of Biliteracy from Kindergarten through Adolescence
Investigator: Elizabeth Arnot-Hopffer
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Language, Reading & Culture
University of Arizona
Tucson, Az. 85721
Participant Consent Form

The complete contents of this form are to be read by or explained orally to all persons interviewed for the purposes of this project. Signing this form will indicate that the person whose signature appears below has been informed of the nature of the project and has given his/her consent to participate as outlined below.

Purpose: You are being invited to voluntarily participate in this qualitative study. The purpose of the project is to study children's perspectives on the development of biliteracy.

Procedure: If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in a family interview which will be audio taped if you give your permission. You may also be asked to check a transcript of the interview for accuracy. Your participation is strictly voluntary.

Final Products: This study is being conducted for the researcher's doctoral dissertation at the University of Arizona, expected completion date, December, 2006. The information may also be used in other scholarly work by the researcher, including articles, book chapters, books, and conference presentations.

Confidentiality: Your name and the name of all participants will be protected through the use of pseudonyms. Similarly, the names of any people mentioned in your interview will be changed or omitted in the dissertation and all work based on it.

Agreement by the Person Interviewed:

I have read and had explained to me the above information. My signature below indicates that I understand the above information, agree to participate in this research, and release any audiotapes from my interview(s) to the researcher for use in this project.

Name (please print) Date

Signature

Parental Informed Consent Form

Spanish

Las Tres Amigas:
A Case Study of Biliteracy from Kindergarten through Adolescence
Investigadora: Elizabeth Arnot-Hopffer
Candidata al Doctorado
Department of Language, Reading & Culture
University of Arizona
Tucson, Az. 85721

Consentimiento del Participante

El contenido de este formulario será leído por o explicado en forma oral en inglés o en español a toda persona entrevistada para este proyecto. El firmar este formulario indica que dicha persona ha sido informado del propósito de este proyecto y que ha dado su consentimiento para participar según las condiciones establecidas abajo.

Propósito: Su familia ha sido invitada a participar voluntariamente en este estudio. El propósito del proyecto es documentar la perspectiva de su hija y de su familia sobre su desarrollo de la lectura y escritura en dos idiomas.

Procedimiento: Si su familia decide participar en el estudio, será entrevistada, ya la entrevista será grabada con su permiso. Es posible que le pediré revisar una trascripción de dicha entrevista para verificar su precisión. De nuevo, su participación es completamente voluntaria.

Productos Finales: Esta investigación se esta llevando a cabo como la disertación (la tesis) doctoral de la investigadora en la Universidad de Arizona. Se anticipa terminar el estudio en diciembre de 2006. La información obtenida también podrá formar parte de otros trabajos académicos de la investigadora, incluyendo artículos, capítulos, libros y ponencias.

Confidencialidad: Su nombre y el nombre de personas en su familia serán protegidos por medio del uso de seudónimos. De igual manera, los nombres de las personas mencionadas en la entrevista serán cambiados en la disertación y en cualquier otra publicación para proteger su identidad.

Consentimiento por el/la entrevistado(a):

He leído y/o escuchado la información arriba mencionada. Mi firma indica que entiendo dicha información y estoy dispuesto(a) a participar en el estudio. Le otorgo permiso a la investigadora para usar como parte de su disertación las grabaciones de mi entrevista.

Nombre_____ Fecha_____
(Letra)

Firma _____

APPENDIX C

MINOR ASSENT FORM

Las Tres Amigas:
A Case Study of Biliteracy from Kindergarten through Adolescence

Investigator: Elizabeth Arnot-Hopffer
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Language, Reading & Culture
University of Arizona
Tucson, Az. 85721

Minor Assent Form

The complete contents of this form are to be read by or explained orally to all persons interviewed for the purposes of this project. Signing this form will indicate that the person whose signature appears below has been informed of the nature of the project and has given his/her consent to participate as outlined below.

Purpose: You are being invited to voluntarily participate in this qualitative study. The purpose of the project is to study children's perspectives on the development of biliteracy.

Procedure: If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in interviews which will be audio taped if you give your permission. You may also be asked to check a transcript of the interview for accuracy. Your participation is strictly voluntary.

Final Products: This study is being conducted for the researcher's doctoral dissertation at the University of Arizona, expected completion date, December, 2006. The information may also be used in other scholarly work by the researcher, including articles, book chapters, books, and conference presentations.

Confidentiality: Your name and the name of all participants will be protected through the use of pseudonyms. Similarly, the names of any people mentioned in your interview will be changed or omitted in the dissertation and all work based on it.

Agreement by the Person Interviewed:

I have read and had explained to me the above information. My signature below indicates that I understand the above information, agree to participate in this research, and release any audiotapes from my interview(s) to the researcher for use in this project.

_____

Name (please print) Date

_____

Signature

APPENDIX D

DESCRIPTION OF DUAL LANGUAGE EDUCATION

The dual language (DL) program at La Escuela developed as a direct result of teacher-inquiry and teacher research. Between 1981 and 1993, a maintenance bilingual education program was in place at La Escuela in which teachers were expected to use Spanish as a vehicle for instruction 50% of the time and English 50% of the time. By the mid 1980s, the school began to question this model as it became obvious that students who entered the program dominant in Spanish exited in fifth grade, bilingual and biliterate, but that students who entered the program dominant in English made little progress toward becoming productive bilinguals, although most had good receptive skills. In the late 1980s, under the direction of a teacher leader and the curriculum specialist, a teacher study group was formed to examine different bilingual education program models and goals (Murphy, 1999).

During the 1993-1994 academic year, the school decided to implement a new model referred to as the Dual Language Immersion Program, “el Programa de Inmersion en dos Idiomas.” This DL program is one in which all students, regardless of language background, receive instruction through Spanish during their first two years (K-1), with an increase in English as the language of instruction in subsequent years, but without exceeding a ratio of 70% Spanish and 30% English as shown below. All students are immersed in literacy experiences in Spanish first.

Distribution of Minority and Majority Languages at La Escuela

Grade	DL Program at La Escuela Spanish-English
K	100 – 0
1	100 – 0
2	85 – 15
3	70 – 30
4	70 – 30
5	70 – 30

APPENDIX E

DESCRIPTION OF ÉXITO BILINGÜE

In study group discussions in the spring of 1997, teachers at La Escuela began to express frustration with the wide range of Spanish literacy skills represented in each classroom. In first grade, for example, some students were still learning color words in Spanish while others were reading Spanish chapter books. Another problem identified by teachers was the placement of English-dominant "newcomers," students without previous bilingual education or Spanish literacy, entering the program in the intermediate grades. A third issue involved articulation with district-wide plans for a new "balanced literacy" approach to reading and writing instruction. Teachers asked how and to what extent, La Escuela as the only dual language school in the district, should incorporate an approach to literacy instruction designed for children reading in their first language.

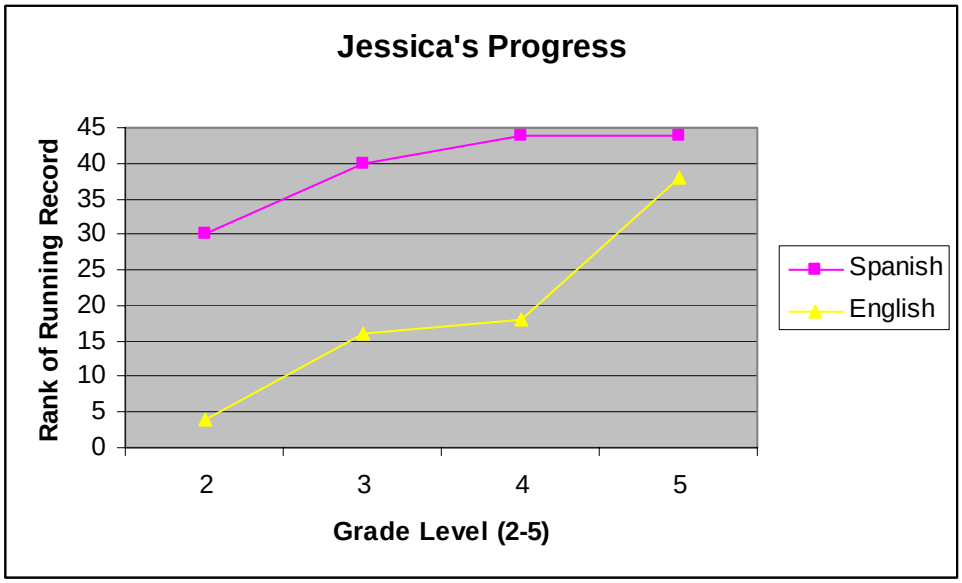
Through a week-long training during the summer of 1997 and an after-school study group, teachers developed ways to more effectively deal with the variety of strengths and needs in Spanish reading and writing at each grade level. Éxito Bilingüe, a non-scripted curriculum designed to integrate the professional expertise of faculty and the interests and strengths of students, began in 1998. Éxito Bilingüe classes meet three days per week for seventy-five minute periods (see Smith & Arnot-Hopffer, 1998).

Éxito Bilingüe is a school-wide program designed for all students first through fifth grade. (kindergarten teachers decided that their students would be included in Éxito Bilingüe on an individual basis so that reading and writing did not become the overriding

focus of the kindergarten experience). Exceptional education students participate, as do all faculty, including instructional aides and subject area specialists.

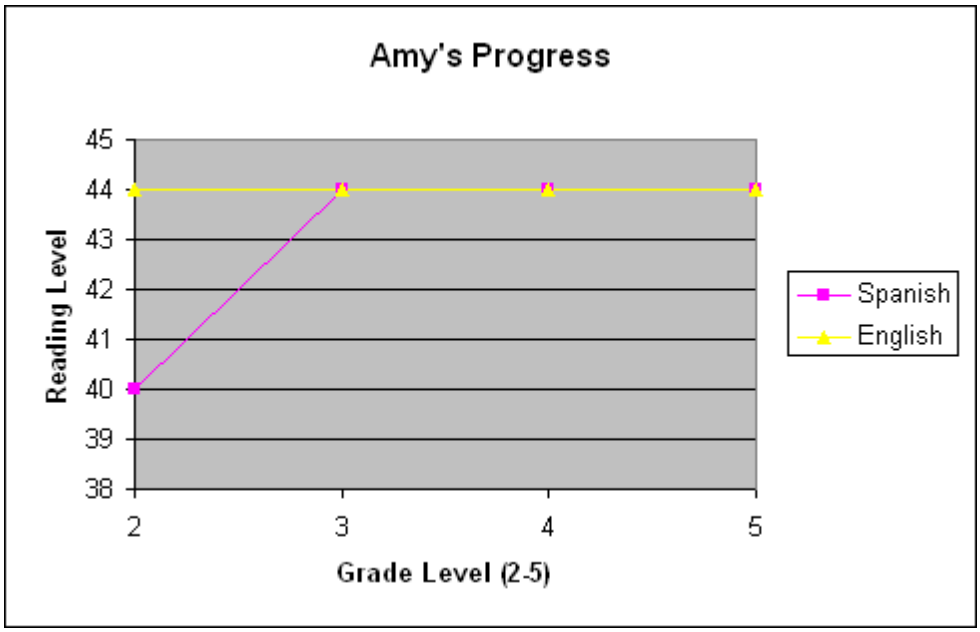
APPENDIX F

GRAPH OF JESSICA'S BILITERACY DEVELOPMENT



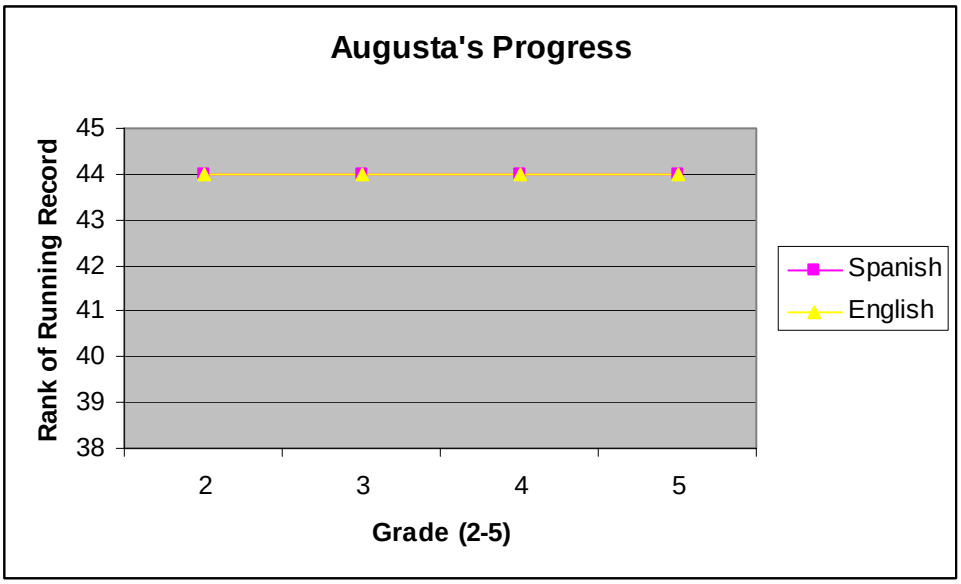
APPENDIX G

GRAPH OF AMY'S BILITERACY DEVELOPMENT



APPENDIX H

GRAPH OF AUGUSTA'S BILITERACY DEVELOPMENT



APPENDIX I

TABLE OF JESSICA'S SOCIAL CONFIGURATIONS AND BILITERACY CHARACTERISTICS

Name	Jessica					
Home Language	Spanish					
Parent's Education Level	Mom: GED Dad: High School					
Date, Age and Grade	Summer, 2006 Age 13 – Eighth Grade					
Teacher Assessments of Language Dominance Grades 2, 3, 4 ,5,6, 8	Grade 2 Teacher Assessment Spanish Dominant	Grade 3 Teacher Assessment Spanish Dominant	Grade 4 Teacher Assessment Spanish Dominant	Grade 5 Teacher Assessment Spanish Dominant	Grade 6 Teacher Assessment Bilingual	Grade 8 Teacher Assessment Bilingual
	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 8
Career Aspiration Grades2 ,3 ,4, 5 ,6 ,8	Police Officer	Singer	Artist Or Model	Doctor	Doctor	Pediatrician
	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 8
After School Activity Grades2, 3, 4 5, 6 , 8	Violin	Violin & Art	Violin & Study Hall	Violin & Study Hall	Watch TV	Talk on the phone

DAVIS SOLOM	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 8
Student Self-	24/25 – S	25/25 – S	25/25 – S	24/25 – S	23/25-S
Assessment Score	17/25 – E	8/25 – E	20/25 – E	20/25 – E	23/25-E
Grades 2, 3, 4 , 5, 8	4/00	10/00	4/02	5/03	7/06

DAVIS SOLOM	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
Teacher Assessment	25/25 – S	25/25 – S	25/25 – S	25/25 – S
Score	16/25 – E	17/25 – E	20/25 – E	20/25 – E
Grades 2, 3, 4 &5	4/00	5/01	4/02	5/03

Results of Running Records Grades 2, 3, 4, & 5	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
	30 – Spanish	40 – Spanish	44-Spanish	44 – Spanish
	4 – English	16 – English	18 – English	38 – English
	Spring 2000	Spring 2001	Spring 2002	Spring 2003

APPENDIX J

TABLE OF AMY'S SOCIAL CONFIGURATIONS AND BILITERACY CHARACTERISTICS

Name			Amy			
Home Language			English			
Parent's Education Level			Mom: Some Community College Dad: B.A. – Education			
Date, Age & Grade			Summer, 2006 Age 14 –Eighth Grade			
Teacher Assessments of Language Dominance Grades 2, 3, 4 ,5 ,6, 8	Grade 2 Teacher Assessment Bilingual-English Dominant	Grade 3 Teacher Assessment Bilingual-English Dominant	Grade 4 Teacher Assessment Bilingual	Grade 5 Teacher Assessment Bilingual	Grade 6 Teacher Assessment English Dominant	Grade 8 Teacher Assessment English Dominant
Career Aspiration Grades 2, 3 ,4,5,6,8	Grade 2 Pilot	Grade 3 Cartoonist	Grade 4 Bilingual Teacher	Grade 5 Astronaut	Grade 6 Something I am Really Good At	Grade 8 Cognitive Psychologist
After School Activity Grades 2, 3, 4 , 5,6,8	Grade 2 Guitar & Art	Grade 3 Guitar & Art	Grade 4 Violin & Art	Grade 5 Violin & Art	Grade 6 Soccer	Grade 8 MESA Club
DAVIS SOLOM Student Self-Assessment Score Grades 2, 3, 4 , 5,8	Grade 2 24/25 – S 25/25 – E 4/00	Grade 3 21/25 – S 24/25 – E 5/01	Grade 4 21/25 – S 24/25 – E 5/02	Grade 5 21.5/25 – S 23/25 – E 5/03	Grade 8 20/25-S 25/25-E 3/06	
DAVIS SOLOM Teacher Assessment Score Grades 2, 3, 4 &5	Grade 2 21/25 – S 25/25 – E 4/00	Grade 3 22/25 – S 25/25 – E 5/01	Grade 4 22/25 – S 25/25 – E 4/02	Grade 5 20/25 – S 25/25 – E 5/03		
Results of Running Records Grades 2, 3, 4, & 5	Grade 2 40 – Spanish 44 – English Spring 2000	Grade 3 44 – Spanish 44 – English Spring 2001	Grade 4 44 – Spanish 44 – English Spring 2002	Grade 5 44 – Spanish 44 – English Spring 2003		

APPENDIX K

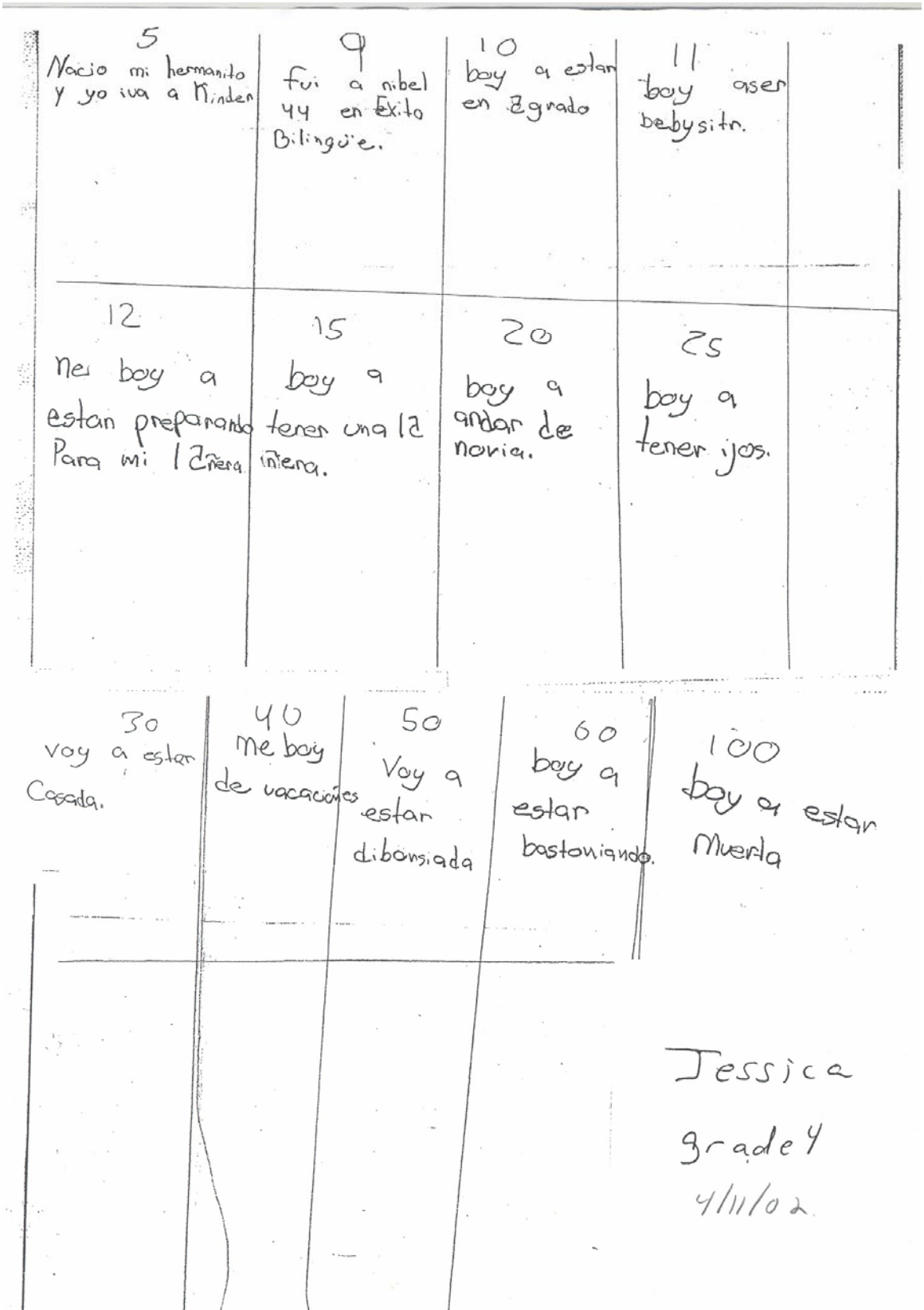
TABLE OF AUGUSTA'S SOCIAL CONFIGURATIONS AND BILITERACY CHARACTERISTICS

Name	Augusta
Home Language	Spanish & English
Parent's Education Level	Mom: B.A.-Spanish Literature Dad: B.S.–Systems Engineering
Date, Age & Grade	Summer, 2006 Age 14 – Eighth Grade

Teacher Assessments of	Grade 2 Teacher Assessment	Grade 3 Teacher Assessment	Grade 4 Teacher Assessment	Grade 5 Teacher Assessment	Grade 6 Teacher Assessment	Grade 8 Teacher Assessment
Language Dominance Grades2,3 ,4,5,6,8	Bilingual	Bilingual – English Dominant	Bilingual	Bilingual	Bilingual	English Dominant
Career Aspiration Grades2, 3 ,4 5,6,8	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 8
	Actress	A Good Woman	Doctor Or Lawyer	Lawyer	Lawyer	Engineer or Psychologist
After School Activity Grades 2, 3, 4 ,5, 6,8	Grade 2 Violin Ballet Folklórico Mariachi	Grade 3 Violin Ballet Follklórico Mariachi	Grade 4 Violin Ballet Folklórico Mariachi	Grade 5 Violin Ballet Folklórico Mariachi	Grade 6 Mariachi	Grade 8 Mariachi
DAVIS SOLOM Student Self-Assessment Score Grades 2, 3, 4 ,5,8	Grade 2 19/25 – S 23/25 – E 4/00	Grade 3 25/25 – S 25/25 – E 5/01	Grade 4 24/25 – S 25/25 – E 4/02	Grade 5 24/25 – S 25/25 – E 5/03	Grade 8 22/25-S 25/25-E 2/06	
DAVIS SOLOM Teacher Assessment Score Grades 2, 3, 4 &5	Grade 2 23/25 – S 25/25 – E 4/00	Grade 3 23/25 – S 25/25 – E 4/01	Grade 4 25/25 – S 25/25 – E 4/02	Grade 5 24/25 – S 25/25 – E 5/03		
Results of Running Records Grades 2, 3, 4, & 5	Grade 2 44 – Spanish 44 – English Spring	Grade 3 44 – S 44 – E Spring 2001	Grade 4 44 – S 44 – E Spring 2002	Grade 5 44 – Spanish 44 – English Spring 2003		

APPENDIX L

JESSICA'S TIMELINES INTO THE FUTURE



Jessica
6-3-04
Grade 6

Middle school - After middle school I think it will be nar to start on to High school because I'm going to be so usel to eurething being a sutten way that eurething is going to feel weird.

High school - I think that after high school I'm going to be scared to go to college because I imagen that it is a totaly new world there.

College - After college I'm going to feel so proud about my sealf because tankes to my grate efort and my tehers I'm going to become what ever a do "become"

Age - 25 I'm going to be studin fom my career.

Age - 30 I'm going to get my carever

Age - 40 I'm going to be working and be sasing a famile.

10 years from now

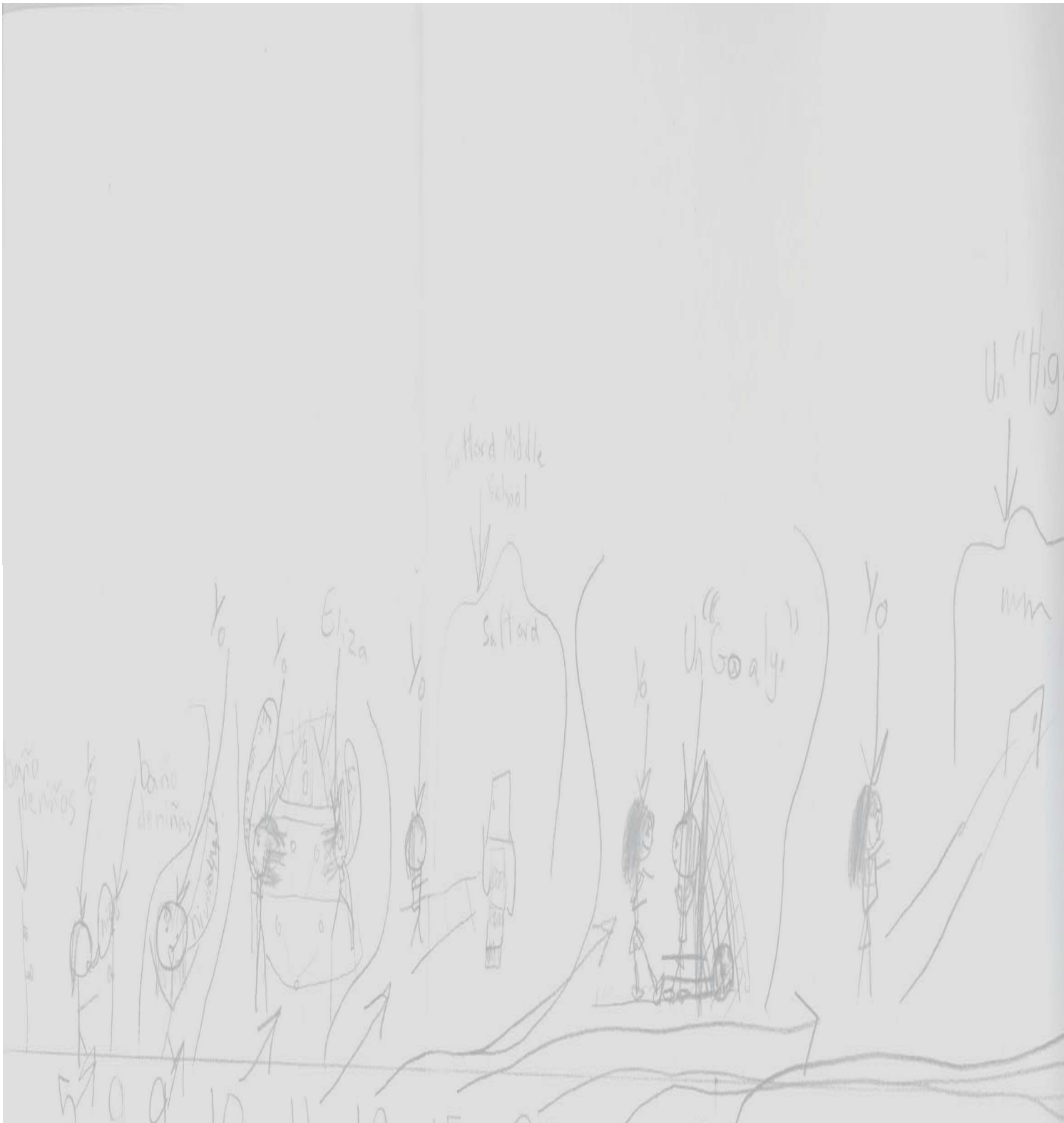
2007 I will be in Catalina High school. I will have a Quinceañera	2008 Get my first Job.
2009 I will be driveing	2010 I will graduate from High school
2011 Going into Collage	2012 Still be in collage
2013 I will turn 21 years old. I could go to vacations.	2014
2015	2016 Probably finishing collage

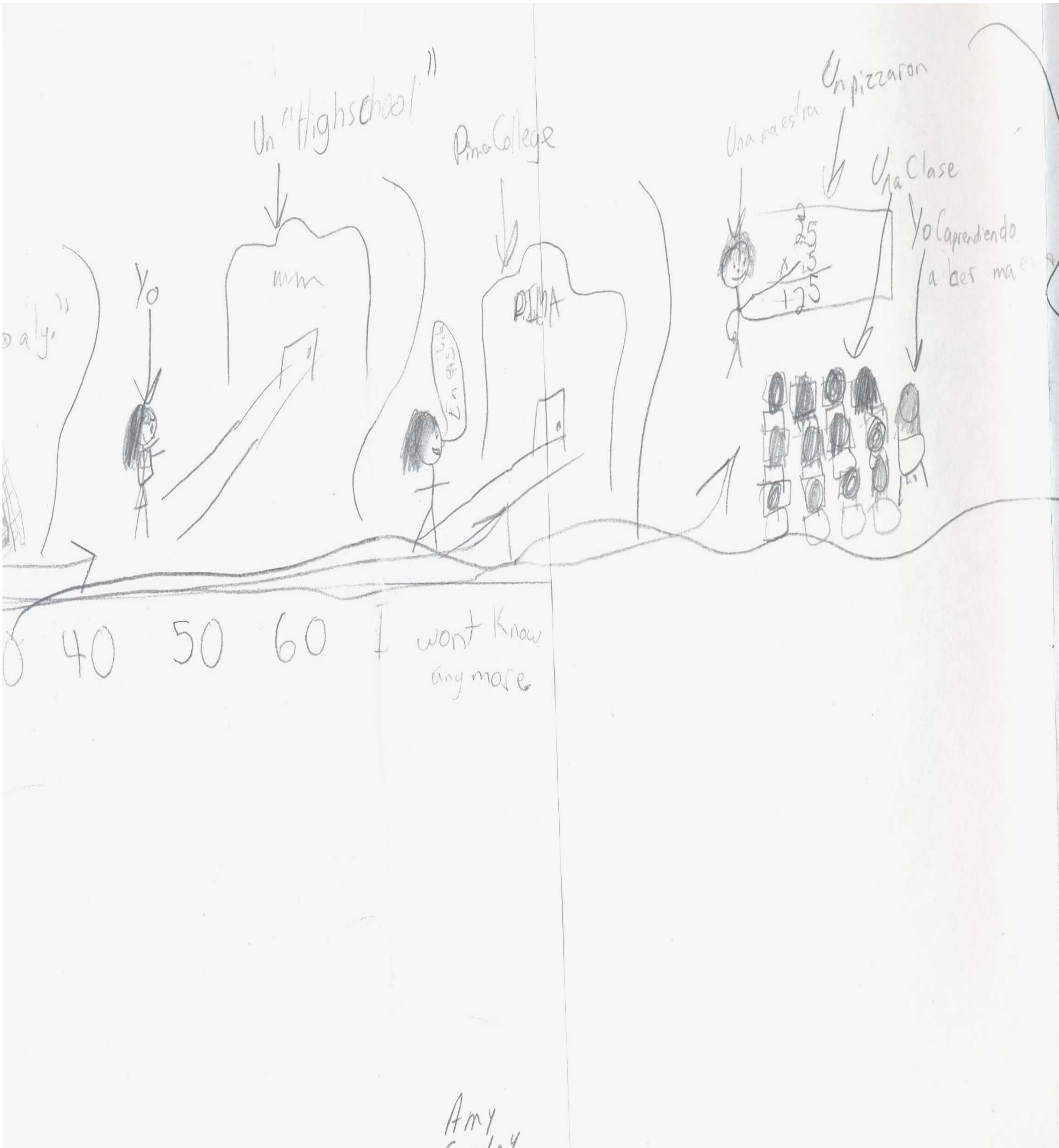
Jessica

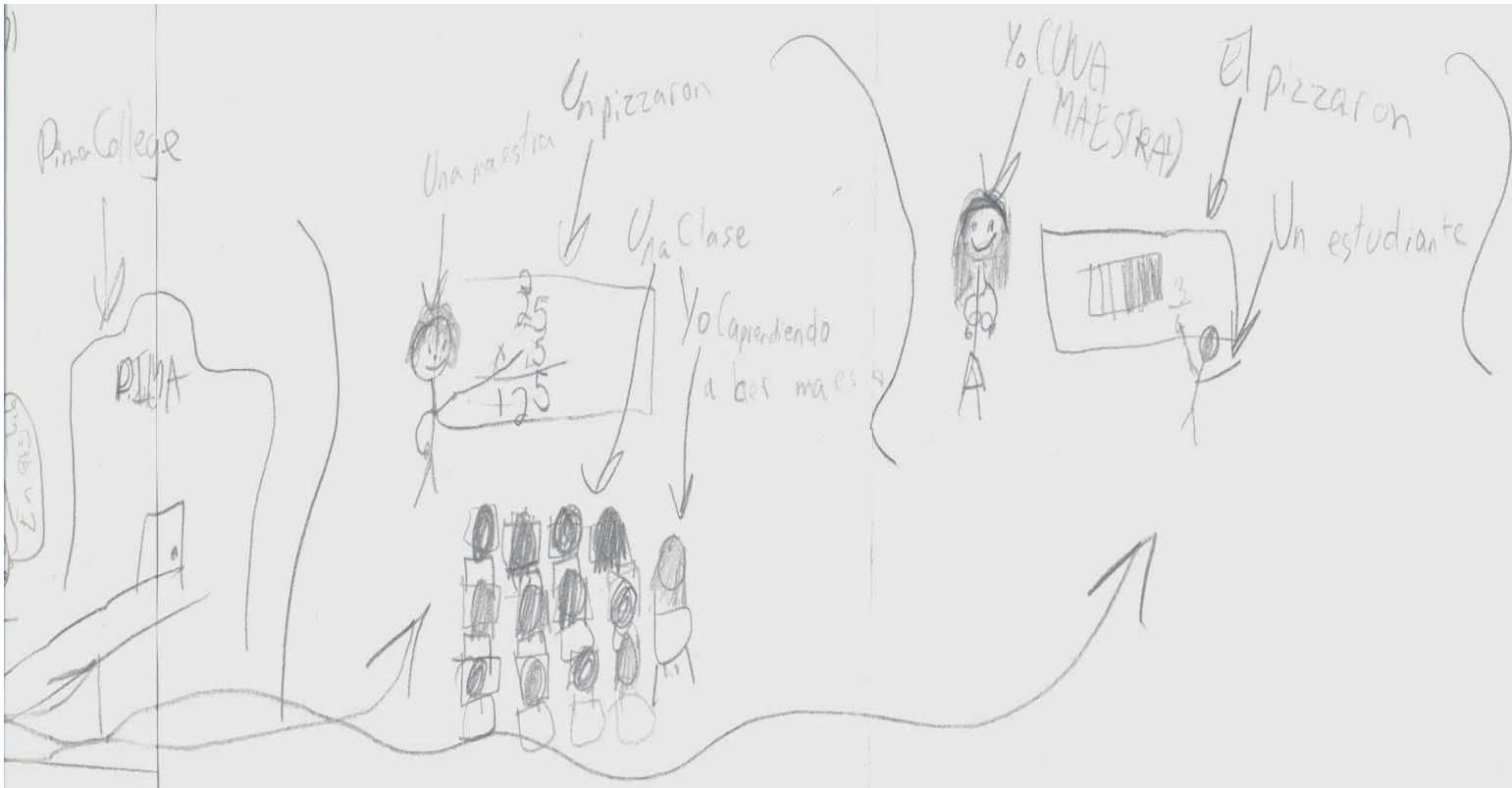
7/15/06 Grade 8

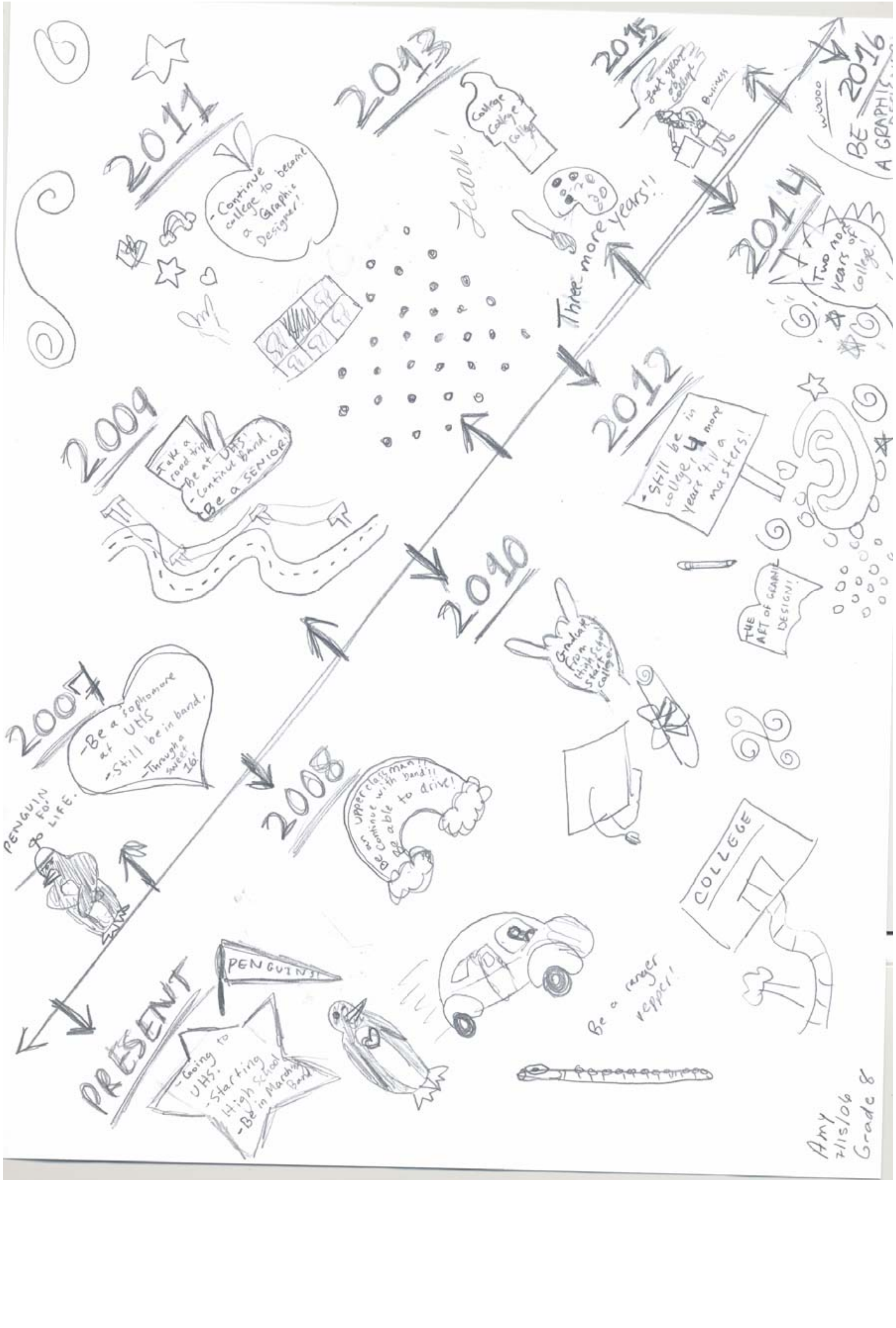
APPENDIX M

AMY'S TIMELINES INTO THE FUTURE



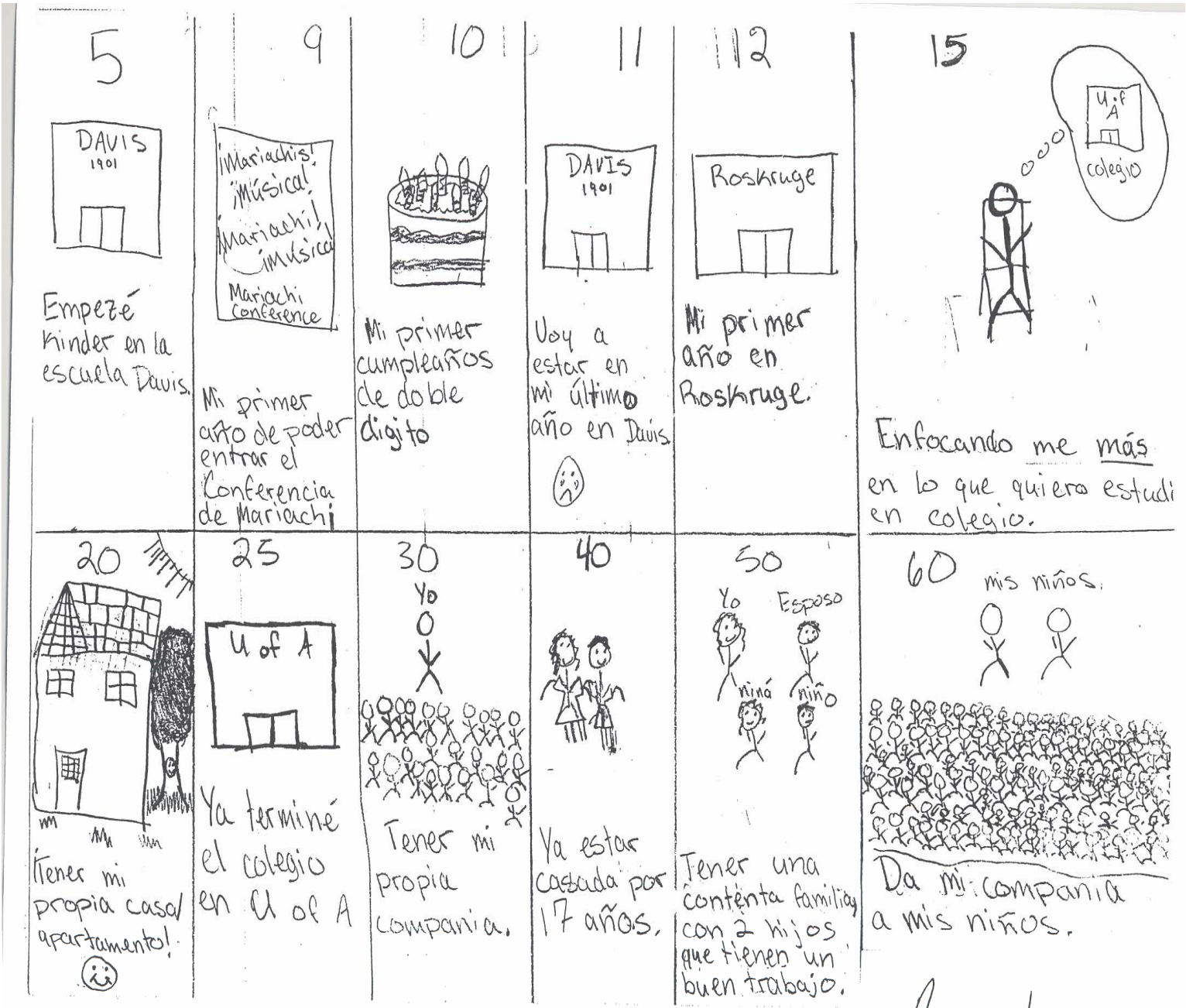

Un "Highschool"
Pima College
Una maestra
Un pizzaron
Una Clase
Yo
PIMA
40 50 60
I wont Know any more
Amy


Pima College
PIMA
Una maestra
Un pizzaron
Una Clase
Yo Capendiendo
Yo (UNA MAESTRA)
El pizzaron
Un estudiante
A
nt Know
g more


PRESENT
-Going to UHS.
-Starting High School
-Be in Marching Band
PENGUINS!
PENGUIN FOR LIFE.
2007
-Be a sophomore at UHS
-Still be in band.
-Through a sweet 16!
2008
Be an upper classman!!
Be continue with band!!
Be able to drive!
2009
-Take a road trip!
-Be at UHS!
-Continue band.
-Be a SENIOR!
2010
Graduate from High School & start college!
2011
-Continue college to become a Graphic Designer!
2012
-Still be in college, 4 more years till a masters!
2013
College College College
Learn!
Three more years!!
2014
Two more years of college!
2015
Last year of college!
Business
2016
BE A GRAPHIC
COLLEGE
THE ART OF GRAPHIC DESIGN!
Be a career yepper!
Amy
2/15/06
Grade 8

APPENDIX N

AUGUSTA'S TIME LINES INTO THE FUTURE



Augusta

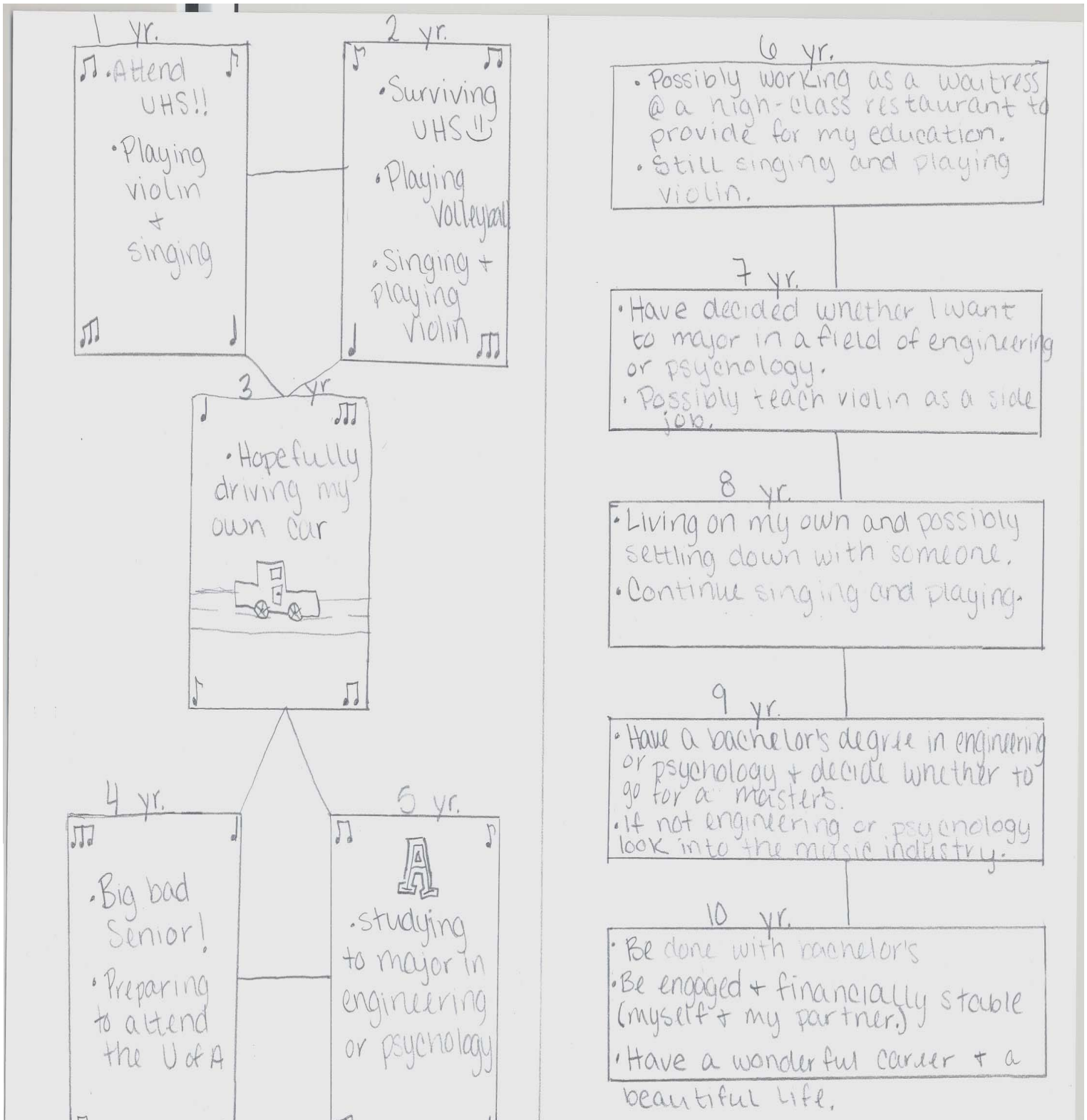
4Th grade

3/21/02

Middle School (8th grade)	High School (12th grade)	College
Plan to still have a 4.0 GPA and be involved in Mariachi and possibly sports. Be able to fluently speak, read, and write in both languages	Plan to have learned a 3rd language + still have kept a 4.0 GPA. Apply @ the U of A. Be musically involved + be in extra curricular activities.	Attend the U of A and be starting a career in law. Be trilingual, possibly teaching music + playing in a group. Maintain the 4.0 GPA.
Age 25	**Age 30**	**Age 40**
Plan to have gotten a Bachelor's + go for a Masters. Still be working in getting a career in Law + be trilingual as well.	Have my Master's be working as a lawyer possibly be married with a hard working husband. Somehow, still be musically involved.	Be married, working in law possibly getting a PHd. Have kids that are definitely musically involved.

THE END (For Now)

6/3/04
Ausista
Grade 6


1 yr.
• Attend UHS!!
• Playing violin + singing
2 yr.
• Surviving UHS
• Playing Volleyball
• Singing + playing violin
3 yr.
• Hopefully driving my own car
4 yr.
• Big bad Senior!
• Preparing to attend the U of A
5 yr.
A
• studying to major in engineering or psychology
6 yr.
• Possibly working as a waitress @ a high-class restaurant to provide for my education.
• Still singing and playing violin.
7 yr.
• Have decided whether I want to major in a field of engineering or psychology.
• Possibly teach violin as a side job.
8 yr.
• Living on my own and possibly settling down with someone.
• Continue singing and playing.
9 yr.
• Have a bachelor's degree in engineering or psychology + decide whether to go for a masters.
• If not engineering or psychology look into the music industry.
10 yr.
• Be done with bachelor's
• Be engaged + financially stable (myself + my partner.)
• Have a wonderful career + a beautiful life.

APPENDIX O

DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSITION 203

In November 2000, Arizona voters approved Proposition 203, a ballot initiative intended to eliminate bilingual education for English language learners and replace it with a one-year "structured English immersion" (SEI) program.

The law specifically permits bilingual education for students whose parents have applied for and been granted a waiver from the one-year structured English immersion program, but waivers can be granted only under three circumstances.

1. If the child already knows English;
2. If the child is ten years old or older;
3. If the child has a special need.

Modeled after California's Proposition 227 and funded by California software millionaire Ron Unz, the Arizona law is considerably more restrictive. The law makes no explicit mention of legal sanctions against teachers who continue to use the minority language in their classrooms. However, it does provide sanctions for administrators and elected officials who "willfully and repeatedly refuse to implement the terms of this statute."

APPENDIX P

RUNNING RECORD LEVELED BOOKS IN SPANISH

LEVEL	TITLE
A	Los Collares
1	Los Raspados
2	Yo Me Visto Solo
3	No Les Tengo Miedo
4	La Tostada
5	Los Trompos
6	Mi Mamá Trabaja
8	Gregorio El Gallo
10	? Qué Día es Hoy?
12	No, Chayito No
14	Raúl y Saúl en la Playa
16	Pablo y Pedro
18	Una Comida Tradicional
20	El Pequeñito Toñito
24	El Conejo Mágico
28	La Princesa de Verdad
30	¡Bla, Bla, Bla!
34	El Viaje del Campesino

40	El Cría de los Animales Salvajes
44	Peligro en las profundidades

APPENDIX Q

RUNNING RECORD LEVELED BOOKS IN ENGLISH

LEVEL	TITLE
A	Can you sing?
1	Things that Go
2	I Can See
3	The “I Like” Game
4	Where is my hat?
6	Why are we stopping?
8	Duke
10	Shoe Boxes
12	Robert’s New Friend
14	The Wagon
16	Pot of Gold
18	A Giant in the Forest
20	Green Freddie
24	The Wonderful Day
28	You Don’t Look Beautiful to Me
30	Touchdown!
34	Be nice to Josephine
38	Trouble at Beaver Pond

40	Old Ben Bailey Meets His Match
44	Danger in the Deep

REFERENCES

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