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Academic and Social Experiences of Spanish Native Speakers in an Immersion Program

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Academic and Social Experiences of Spanish Native Speakers in an Immersion Program

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Curriculum and Instruction

by

Brooke Muntean

B.A. San Francisco State University, 1998
M.A.T. New College of California, 2004

May 2011

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DEDICATION

I would first like to dedicate this dissertation to my mother, who was my original inspiration for entering the field of education ten years ago. Whereas my mother inspired me to become a teacher, my father instilled in me the sheer determination to always push forward to the next level, hence my drive to obtain a doctorate in curriculum and instruction. I only wish that you could both be here to share in this experience with me. It gives me some satisfaction, however, to know how proud you both would have been of my accomplishments.

I also would like to dedicate my dissertation to my two daughters, Stella and Zoe. Stella, you were born when I was a year into this process, and patiently have waited these last three years for mommy to get home from class so that we can play. I particularly realized how formative this experience has been for you the other day, when I observed you playing “dissertation”. Zoe, you have been with me on the last leg of this journey, or the data collection, analysis and write-up of my dissertation. I am so glad that both during pregnancy and in the months after your birth, you could literally be with me every step of the way.

I have saved my most important dedication until last, or to my husband, Matt Kyte. You have never stopped believing in me and my aspirations for even a moment, and I would not have come this far without your unwavering love and support. Thank you from the bottom of my heart for all that you have done to help me in completing this degree. You are a phenomenally brilliant person, and I am very fortunate to have you in my life.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to explore the academic and social experiences of English learners (ELs) in a Spanish immersion program. The researcher is specifically interested in learning about both the English and Spanish language acquisition of these ELs, as well as their social interactions as this pertains to their academic development. The participants were a sample of 12 Spanish native speakers who were working towards acquiring both social and academic English. Additionally, the researcher interviewed five other students who were in the Spanish immersion program, but who were not included in the ESOL class. These 17 students represented a wide range of English language proficiencies, ranging from emergent to advanced, and were in the ninth grade during the period of data collection. The researcher also interviewed five of these students' teachers, so as to gain a better understanding of the experiences of these heritage speakers.

Data were collected over the course of the 2009-2010 school year through observations, interviews, sociograms, and ongoing assessments. These assessments were collected from several sources, including an English language assessment that was administered by the ESOL coordinator, an ongoing school-wide assessment of lexile scores, and an English and Spanish informal reading inventory.

The findings of this study were divided into two meta themes of the academic and social experiences of the student participants. In investigating these students' academic experiences, the researcher found that the 22 participants placed a considerable emphasis on language development, particularly in the maintenance of the Spanish native speakers' heritage language. A sizeable need existed, however, for instruction that was better differentiated to the wide range

of proficiencies that these students demonstrated in both English and Spanish. Through the analysis of the participants' social experiences, the researcher also discovered that a strong sense of community existed amongst the participants in the ESOL and immersion programs. This interconnectedness, however, led to an insular behavior amongst the Spanish native speakers, which further exacerbated the racial tension that existed at Greenwood High. Greenwood as a whole would greatly benefit from the fostering of intercultural sensitivity amongst this multicultural and multilingual student body.

English Learners, Spanish Immersion Program, Second Language Acquisition, Spanish Native Speakers, Intercultural Sensitivity

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The research problem that I chose to investigate was that Spanish-speaking students were being accepted to a foreign language immersion program that was not originally designed for their particular needs. According to Lanker and Rhodes (2007), “Foreign language immersion programs, also referred to as one-way immersion programs, are designed for English-speaking students” to learn to speak Spanish fluently. For this reason, often times the Spanish instruction is not challenging enough for English learners, and the English instruction is incorrectly focused. My research question is whether Spanish-speaking students can be fully accommodated in such a program, or are they being added to these programs as an administrative necessity or convenience? Additionally, if these students are to be accepted to a foreign language program that was not designed for their needs, then what specific accommodations must be in place to ensure that they are finding success in both their English and Spanish acquisition?

According to recent literature in this field, immersion programs often struggle with attrition (Rigaud, 2005). As students enter upper elementary, class sizes began to shrink, and it

is difficult to replace these students with children who are fully bilingual. Research has also shown that students who are fully bilingual will find more academic success in immersion programs. Having larger class sizes economically benefits public charter immersion schools, as the government pays these programs according to the number of students enrolled. So a question arises as to why foreign language immersion programs are accepting already fluent Spanish speakers who instead need to learn English, and how these programs can accommodate these students' needs.

Another common concern in the research literature is that these Spanish-speaking students may be placed in these foreign language programs because they are excellent models of proficient Spanish for the English native speakers in the classroom (Larocco, 2003). Are these Spanish native speakers there for the benefit of the English-speaking students, or are they there because this is the best program available for their acquisition of both Spanish and English?

Last, what issues of socio-economic status are at play in this dichotomy that has been created? Many Spanish-speaking students who are being added to these immersion programs are from recently immigrated families from Latin America. Their parents are often not fluent English speakers, and may not feel confident advocating for their children's education in a foreign language. Additionally, these parents may not be accustomed to questioning the practices of their children's educational settings; this could be due to their past educational experiences in their native countries, or their current documentation status in the United States. So this brings rise to another pertinent question: to what degree is the administration of such a foreign-language program listening to the voices of newly immigrated Hispanic parents? How does this dynamic affect the accommodations that are made by teachers for their EL students?

Standards of Best Practice in Immersion Education

The Center for Applied Linguistics recently conducted a comparison of their 2006 directory of immersion programs with past years' results, which demonstrated a "steady increase in foreign language immersion education in U.S. schools over the last 35 years" (Lenker, et al.). Although this expansion could prove beneficial for the large number of multilingual citizens in the United States, it also creates a need for the development of standards of best practice. Great effort has been made in this direction, and there are currently more resources available for administrators and educators of dual language programs. Freeman, Freeman, and Mercuri (2004) recently published a book entitled *Dual Language Essentials for Teachers and Administrators*. For the purpose of clarification, I will briefly discuss some of the standards of best practices that have been outlined by these researchers.

Freeman et al. defined a particular type of immersion, or dual language program, in which students are educated in two or more languages. These programs have been found to have more success when all stakeholders are fully aware of the goals and benefits of immersion education. Additionally, there is a need in these programs for a commitment to "academic and social equity, particularly between the two language groups" (Freeman, 2005, p. XX.) Administrators need to ensure that classrooms are consistent; that teachers have time to plan together, and that there are opportunities for high-quality professional development.

Additionally, there is a need in dual language programs for teachers and administrators to respond to parents' concerns, as often times parents feel uncertain of what is taking place in the school, as they may not be fluent in the target language. The school should also "include parents from both language groups, and promote and explain dual language to parents and community

members” (p. 214). Last, teachers and administrators should work to “develop high levels of proficiency in both languages, or at least proficiency in one language and a receptive knowledge of the other” (Freeman, 2005, p. 87).

Overarching Research Question

In a Spanish foreign language immersion program, (from English to Spanish), what is the experience of EL (English Learners) who are attempting to acquire English from the opposite direction, (or from Spanish to English)?

Purpose for the Research

- To learn about the academic and social experiences of Spanish native speakers in a one-way foreign language immersion program that was originally designed for English native speakers to acquire Spanish.
- To determine how teachers are adjusting their practice to accommodate Spanish native speakers in a Spanish foreign language immersion program. To learn more about how these teachers are succeeding with these students, and what the teachers’ areas of need are.
- To investigate the economic, political and social conditions in which these programs exist, and how these conditions influence the experiences of these Spanish native speakers.

Rationale and Significance

Contemporary research demonstrates that English learners far too often slip through the cracks of the educational system. In a recent synthesis of research on English learners, Christian, Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, and Saunders (2006) found that the level of academic achievement for English learners “lagged significantly behind that of native English speakers” (p. 1). They go on to state the following:

ELs receive lower grades, are judged by their teachers to have lower academic abilities, and score below their classmates on standardized tests of reading and mathematics. According to a compilation of reports from 41 state educational agencies, only 18.7 percent of students classified as limited English proficient (LEP) met the state norm for reading in English. Furthermore, students from language minority backgrounds have higher dropout rates and are more frequently placed in lower ability groups and academic tracks than language majority students. (Christian et al., p. 1)

Immersion education offers great potential for these students. In a high-quality immersion program, EL students are able to maintain their native language, helping these children to transfer content knowledge to English.

Additionally, in recent years the government has put forth an increased demand for more multilingual citizens, for both economic and political reasons. A post-9/11 report of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (H.R. Rep. No. 107-219, 2001), identified language as the single greatest need of the intelligence community. Senator Paul Simon stated that “some 80 federal agencies need proficiency in nearly 100 foreign languages. While the demand is great, the supply remains almost nonexistent. Only 8% of American college students study another language” (Christian et al., 2005). Research has demonstrated that in a high-quality immersion program, EL students are able to both maintain their native language while acquiring English;

consequently, such programs could satisfy the government's demand for an increase in language proficiency.

Immersion programs in the United States face the unique challenge of attrition. These programs often begin with a Kindergarten cohort of approximately 20 English native speakers, who then become proficient in a second language throughout their elementary education. These immersion programs often struggle with the issue of attrition: essentially, children who later leave the program need to be replaced. Schools rely on federal funding, and must innovate in running schools with a reduced number of immersion students (Rigaud, 2005).

Research has demonstrated that it is best practice to accept students in the upper immersion grades who are fully bilingual, or at least academically proficient in one of the two languages (Freeman, 2005). Due to attrition, immersion schools might be tempted to accept newly arrived immigrants who do not necessarily fit this description. If schools choose to accept these children, they need to take the necessary steps to accommodate their needs.

The parents of these EL students often come from a lower social economic status, and they may not be proficient in English. These parents frequently have a difficult time navigating complex educational institutions. Too often in education, the expression "the squeaky wheel gets the oil" rings true. Recently immigrated parents are frequently unable or hesitant to question whether the needs of their children are being fully met at a school. There consequently remains a need for advocacy for EL students in this country. In addition, it is crucial that high-quality research be conducted so as to assure that all students are receiving equal opportunities within the classroom.

This study is of particular interest to me, due to its unique setting in post-Katrina New Orleans. Since the hurricane, New Orleans has experienced an influx of newly arrived native

Spanish speakers, as well as a burgeoning charter school system, in which schools are experimenting with ground-breaking programs. In the last three years, several self-designated immersion programs have developed in the New Orleans area. The question thereby remains: are these programs merely immersion education in name, or do they actually fit the established criteria for immersion education (Han, et al., 2005)? Will these new immersion programs follow the standards in best practice that have been created by leading language research centers, such as the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) and the Center for Advanced Research in Language Acquisition (CARLA)?

In my own review of the literature, I have found substantial research on English native speakers in foreign language programs, as well as on Spanish native speakers in transitional or maintenance programs. I have found less literature on the experiences of Spanish native speakers in two-way immersion programs; this research tends to focus more on the role of the English native speakers. Additionally, I have found minimal literature on what is specifically happening at the immersion school where I will be conducting my research. This site is a unique case, in that this school is accepting Spanish native speakers to an immersion program that was not originally designed for their needs. By researching this exceptional phenomenon, I hope to shed light on what might be taking place in other immersion schools. I also hope that this research might contribute to the decision making of appropriate stakeholders, so that they can create programs that can best address the needs of **all** students.

Key Terms and Operational Definitions

- Immersion Education

- Dual Language Education
- Bilingual Education
- Foreign Language Education
- English Learners
- Latino Students
- Spanish Native Speakers
- English as a Second Language

English Learners

English Learners, or ELs, is a current term that is used in the realm of education to label a student who is learning to speak English as a new language. In this study, I will be focusing on a particular group of ELs, or students who are native speakers of Spanish, and who are now attempting to acquire English in a Foreign Language immersion program. These students have often only recently immigrated to the United States from Latin America. Their parents are frequently day laborers, who have joined the New Orleans work force due to the post-Katrina construction boom. For the purposes of this paper, I will often times refer to these ELs as **Spanish native speakers**. I will refer to the other group in the immersion program as **English native speakers**.

ESOL/ESL Instruction

ESOL and ESL are terms that are often used to describe the special instruction that English learners receive in the classroom. ESOL stands for English for speakers of other languages, whereas ESL stands for English as a second language. For the purposes of this study, I will

predominantly be using the term ESOL, as that is the label that was used by school officials within my research site.

ESOL instruction can either be provided by the mainstream classroom teacher through special modifications to the lesson, or by an ESOL instructor who might “push-in” or “pull-out” of the classroom. In the push-in model, the ESOL instructor would join the EL students in their regular classroom for extra assistance. In the pullout model, the ESOL/ESL instructor will pull these students out in small groups for tutoring.

Heritage Language

According to Kelleher (2008), the term heritage language is used to “identify languages other than the dominant language (or languages) in a given social context.” (3) Although English is not the official language of the United States, it is arguably the dominant language, meaning that all other languages could be considered a heritage language. I use this term to describe the maternal language of the Spanish native speakers in the study.

Accommodate

Accommodate means to use a specific pedagogical strategy in order to ensure that all students are learning to their full capacity. With students who are acquiring English as a new language, accommodate takes on an additional meaning. With English Learners, often referred to as ELs, teachers need to take additional steps to make sure that these students are learning the academic content while also acquiring both social and academic English.

Foreign Language Immersion

Foreign language immersion programs are one-way programs, meaning that there is one group of students who speak one language, and they are working to acquire a target language. These programs are referred to as foreign language, because the students are learning to speak a

second language that is foreign to their own country. In this study, I will focus on a program that was originally designed for English-speaking students to learn to speak Spanish as a foreign language.

Charter School

A charter school is a public school that is allowed to operate outside of the domain of the regular public school district. Charter schools are governed instead by a board, often times made up of parents and community members. These schools are given a certain degree of autonomy in how they operate, but are held to most of the same systems of accountabilities as other public schools.

Theoretical Framework

Introduction

Methodologically, my approach to this research is a combination of critical theory and phenomenology. My overarching theoretical framework is rooted in the work of critical theorists, such as Delpit (1998), Freire (1985), Grant and Sleeter (1989), hooks (2000), Kohl (1995), and Noddings, (1998). Before examining the specific context of a Spanish immersion site, it is crucial that one understands the dynamics of power within the realm of education, and in particular, how these dynamics interrelate with race, ethnicity, heritage language, and gender within a school's setting.

I combine the influence of these critical theorists with my methodological approach, which is phenomenological, as this term is defined by Biklen (1992), Creswell (1998), Marvasti and Silverman (2008), and Rallis and Rossman (2003). According to Biklen (1992),

“Researchers in the phenomenological mode attempt to understand the meaning of events and interactions to ordinary people in particular situations” (p. 34). In the instance of my research, I believe that the “particular situation” of this immersion site is best examined through the lens of critical theorists, while the lived experiences of these “ordinary people” can best be understood through a qualitative, phenomenological approach.

Critical Theory

Larocco (2002) argues that sociopolitical factors play a prominent role in the level of success found by language minority students in “programs attempting to meet the needs of both language minority and language majority students” (p. 2). She goes on to raise the following questions that are central to my own research interest:

In the United States, education in a language other than English has historically been a controversial issue. In the face of controversy, two-way immersion programs enable the implementation of a highly desirable primary language maintenance program for language minority students and a second language enrichment program for language majority students. However, two-way immersion programs require negotiation of competing interests. Students come from two different sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds. How are their interests met in two-way immersion programs? How can equity in instructional and programmatic issues be insured for both groups? (p.1)

She continues to argue that the parents of the ENSs bring a different level of “cultural capital” to a school’s setting than the parents of the SNSs. The ENS parents earn this capital through their educational and socioeconomic status, and consequently they are better able to support their children in obtaining their educational goals. Contrary to this, SNS parents have less “cultural capital” which does not “enable them to support and complement their children’s education in the same manner (that) the ENS parents do” (p. 12).

I agree that socioeconomic status plays a huge role in the creation and implementation of immersion programs, and I believe that more dialogue needs to take place surrounding this subject. As hooks (2000) states in *Where We Stand: Class Matters*:

Nowadays it is fashionable to talk about race or gender; the uncool subject is class. It's the subject that makes us all tense, nervous, uncertain about where we stand ... As a nation we are afraid to have a dialogue about class, even though the ever-widening gap between rich and poor has already set the stage for ongoing and sustained class warfare. (vii)

Additionally, Noddings (2002) discusses the disparity between the quality of education available to upper-middle class parents, as opposed to lower income parents (pp. 291-2). Both authors raise an important point: socioeconomic status needs to be critically considered when discussing the level of success found by minority language students in an immersion program.

To further understand hooks' and Noddings' discussions of class and education, I looked to Delpit (1998), who states that there exists a "culture of power which has a direct effect on the roles of minority students within a given educational setting. Delpit defines five aspects of this culture of power, three of which particularly ring true for immersion classrooms. These three aspects are that: "issues of power are enacted in classrooms"; "there are codes or rules for participating in power"; and that "those with power are frequently less aware of – or least willing to acknowledge – its existence. Those with less power are often most aware of its existence" (p. 85). These three aspects of Delpit's "culture of power" hold true for immersion as well as English-only classrooms. Consequently, the role of the minority language student in relation to the majority language student cannot be ignored in the creation and implementation of dual language programs.

Grant and Sleeter's (1989) theory of social reconstructionist education also greatly influences my theoretical point of view. Whereas hooks, Delpit, and Noddings discuss the "what is" of many immersion programs at present, Grant and Sleeter discuss the "what could be" of a truly transformative immersion education. They state that:

Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist extends the multicultural education approach by educating students to become analytical and critical thinkers capable of examining their life circumstances and the social stratification that keeps them

and their group from fully enjoying the social and financial rewards of this country. Or, if they are members of the dominant groups, it helps them become critical thinkers who are capable of examining why their groups exclusively enjoy the social and financial rewards of the nation. (p. 54)

Immersion education holds the possibility of creating such a social reconstructionist, multicultural program, in that these programs often times bring together two socioeconomic groups that typically would not be in the same classroom setting. Middle and upper class parents who seek an alternative education for their children frequently support immersion programs; language minority parents also seek out such programs, so as to continue their children's education in their heritage language. With the joining of these two groups, immersion programs have a remarkable opportunity to enable both groups to gain the "knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to help students bring about political, social, and economic change" (Grant and Sleeter, 1989, 55).

Freire is another visionary of transformative education who has strongly affected my theoretical approach to research. In *The politics of education: Culture, power, and liberation*, Paulo Freire (1985) states that through transformative literacy, illiterate learners develop the ability to critically analyze their own experience, and that consequently, they are able to "increasingly act with more security in the world" (p. 14). Of course, the language minority students in immersion programs are far from the illiterate adults with whom Freire worked. These students, however, would also greatly benefit from an increased ability to critically analyze their own situations in both their heritage language and the language of power of our country. Or as Brown (1975) states in her synthesis of Freire's work, "For Freire, education is either liberating or domesticating, teaching people either to be critical and free of constraints or to accept things as they are. If literacy is not to be domesticating, Freire believed, then it must be part of a process of conscientization" (p. 1).

Kohl (1995) further explains this process of “conscientization” and the need to build a learning program out of the “culture, language, and aspirations of the people to be educated” (p. 2). He challenges educators to enable students to learn to read the text and read the world simultaneously. Kohl states that “using a community’s language and culture as the center of learning awakens many resistant students to their own brilliance. Dialogue helps students and teachers understand the social and cultural forces of oppression, and provides some space to grow, and some modicum of hope” (p. 4). I strongly believe that what Kohl suggests is not an unattainable dream, but is instead a very real possibility, as more immersion programs are created in a post-Katrina New Orleans. I only hope that policymakers will consider the needs of all students, no matter their socioeconomic or linguistic background, in the implementation of these programs.

Phenomenological Methodology

According to Biklen, phenomenologists believe that “multiple ways of interpreting experiences are available to each of us through interacting with others, and that it is the meaning of our experiences that constitute reality (Greene, 1978). Reality, consequently, is ‘socially constructed’”(Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 34) I theoretically agree with this definition of reality, and consequently, I am attracted to what I view as phenomenology’s constructivist approach to research. By learning more about how each individual views his or her lived experience, I can further my own understanding of the socially constructed reality which is my research setting.

Additionally, Creswell defines a phenomenological study as the investigation of how a small group of people experiences a concept or the “phenomenon” (p. 51). According to Rallis and Rossman, the purpose of such a study is to seek an understanding of the “essence” of these

lived experiences on a deeper level, or to conduct a “critical self-reflection into the ‘world as world’ (Van Manen, 1990)” (Rallis, et al, pgs. 97-98). This is essentially what I set out to accomplish with my own research. I seek to learn more about the lived experiences of a small group of Spanish native speakers in one particular school setting, with the end goal of critically examining what their experiences reveal about the role of English learners in education as a whole.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In a post-Katrina New Orleans, education is changing quickly and in many exciting ways. One significant development can be found in the public schools' rapidly growing population of English learners (ELs), particularly from Latin America. Due to the city's refocused efforts on rebuilding, we are experiencing an increased influx of Latino workers, who frequently arrive with their children. A question thus arises as to how these new additions to our community will affect our school system, and how we as educators will accommodate these students.

One possible area that could be largely influenced by our "newcomers" is in the realm of immersion education. Other areas of the country, such as California, Arizona, and Colorado, are presently continuing a long-running and heated debate over the education of Latino students. Louisiana, however, has largely remained outside of this debate. A possible reason for this could be that prior to Katrina, fewer Latino workers immigrated to this state, as there were minimal day labor opportunities to be found in a region of the country with high levels of poverty and

unemployment. However, the construction boom that has taken place since the hurricane has greatly increased the need for day laborers in southern Louisiana.

It is true that Louisiana, like California and Arizona, has practiced immersion education in the recent decades. According to Lenker and Rhodes (2007), “Louisiana has a strong French tradition and has been implementing French immersion programs state-wide to help perpetuate the French language and culture” (p. 2). In fact, according to a 2007 study that was conducted by CAL, Louisiana is the state with the highest number of language immersion programs, with a total of 30, followed by Hawaii with 26, and Oregon with 25. For the most part, however, our local schools have chosen to teach in French rather than Spanish; it is only in the recent years that more Louisianans are realizing the benefits of learning Spanish as well. As more Latino workers arrive, locals are experiencing an increase in the number of opportunities to speak Spanish. Consequently, at present one can find more Spanish bilingual programs being created in the New Orleans area.

For the above-mentioned reasons, we find ourselves living in a unique time and setting in a post-Katrina New Orleans, particularly in regard to the education of these Spanish-speaking newcomers. What will be the experience of these Latino students in our New Orleans public schools, particularly in some of the recently created Spanish immersion programs? What are the varying perspectives on the education of these students, taking into consideration major stakeholders such as their parents, teachers, administrators, and the community at large? What accommodations are being made for these ELs, and what still needs to take place, so as to assure that they develop full proficiency in both English and Spanish?

Background: The Ongoing National Debate over Bilingual Education and a Unique Possibility for New Orleans Schools

The National Debate

On June 2, 1998, Proposition 227 passed in California, leading to the replacement of numerous bilingual programs with a structured English-immersion model. After the passing of 227, California schools and districts had to reconsider the methods that they would use to educate their ELL students. As Stritikus (2006) states in his research on the after effects of 227:

This is not a question unique to California. Across the nation, districts must consider the following important questions: Will teachers, through native language instruction and other enriching approaches, connect with and build upon the cultural and linguistic resources of ELL students? Or will students' native language be seen as an illness with English-only instruction being the cure? (Stritikus, 220)

Before delving further into the realm of Louisiana's current immersion education, it is important to examine the debate over bilingual education that has taken place in the United States in the recent decades. As both English-only and Spanish immersion programs are presently being created in local charter schools, it would seem probable that a similar debate may soon take place on a local level. For this reason, I will begin with a review of the literature regarding the national debate over best practices for Latino students, comparing the results of English-only programs to various models of bilingual education. I will discuss the numerous benefits of bilingual education for SNSs, (Spanish native speakers), and how these benefits could positively affect not only these students, but also our local community, and the United States as a whole. I will then specifically examine the local immersion education scene, discussing research on the perspectives and beliefs regarding bilingualism and bilingual education in the southeast, as well as in Louisiana and New Orleans. I do this with the intention of shedding light on this

region's benefits and challenges for implementing immersion education programs. I explore all of the above issues in the hope of learning from the successes and failures of bilingual education in the past, so that we here in Louisiana might implement best practices as we face this new and unique opportunity to educate our most recently arrived students.

The English-only movement. The American public is under the impression that bilingual education doesn't work. Yet even a quick glance at the professional literature shows that it does. Study after study has reported that children in bilingual programs typically outperform their counterparts in all-English programs on tests of academic achievement in English. Or, at worst, they do just as well.

(<http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/JWCRAWFORD/bil-new.htm>)

I begin this comparison of English-only and bilingual education with an article by Krashen and McField (2005), two prominent advocates for the implementation of best practices in educating minority language students. In this article, Krashen and McField use a meta-analysis, or the combination of the results of several studies that address a set of related research hypotheses and produce an overall composite statistical conclusion based on all available research. Through this method, they reviewed several quantitative studies to find the effect size for ELs in bilingual education programs, as opposed to English-only programs.

They found that contrary to what has been published by English-only proponents, students in the bilingual programs fared the same, if not even better, than the comparison groups in English-only schools. They also conclude that in educating ELs, native-language instruction is "part of the solution, not part of the problem". They predict that as we learn more from research about how to create successful programs for ELs, we will also see larger effect sizes in the future of bilingual education. (Krashen, 2005)

In another article, Krashen (2000) also reviewed academic research on bilingual education, focusing in particular on the effect of bilingual education in English language development, and on the "retention and loss of heritage languages." Krashen calls for similar ideas that he has

discussed in past publications, such as higher quality bilingual programs, as well as a book flood into schools to help students develop their biliteracy. He also outlined the importance of heritage language programs, an area that I will further discuss in a later section.

Additionally, he explained how he believes the public has continuously been misled in regards to bilingual education. He states that often journalists only read what other journalists write, which is a phenomenon that he refers to as “pack journalism” (Parenti, 1993). He encourages researchers to instead examine valid research published in academic journals. He then discusses a study by McQuillan and Tse in 1996, in which it was found that “87% of academic publications on bilingual education between 1984 and 1994 had conclusions favorable to bilingual education,” whereas “during this same time span, media reports were only 45% favorable” (Krashen, 2000).

Wong-Fillmore, another prominent advocate for language minority students, conducted a large scale research project on bilingual education, and then presented her findings in a court case on Proposition 227, (or the English-only legislation that came into effect in California in 1998). In her testimony, she, like so many respected researchers before her, demonstrated that ELs fare better in bilingual education as compared to English-only programs. It seems that all of this research is necessary considering the backlash against bilingual education that has taken place over the last decade in states such as California, Arizona, and Massachusetts.

Specifically, Wong-Fillmore assessed the English proficiency of over 200 students after one year of kindergarten. Only a very small percentage reached a level of proficiency in this short amount of time, which disproves Proposition 227’s claim that ELs can exit a sheltered English immersion program after only one year. As Wong-Fillmore states herself in the conclusion of her supplemental declaration, “Full fluency is not achievable by even the youngest

learners in just one or two years, no matter what kind of program they are in. It will take much longer, at least three or four years longer, for the children in our sample to acquire English sufficient to enable them to fully participate in a mainstream class.” Such research further demonstrates the need for bilingual programs that allow ELs a sufficient amount of time to develop their native language proficiency.

(<http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/linguistics/people/grads/macswan/fillmor2.htm>)

Comparing the benefits of various models. Wayne Thomas and Virginia Collier of CREDE (Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence) conducted a longitudinal study between 1996 and 2001 on the long-term academic achievement of language minority students. They paid a considerable amount of attention to the details in their research design, arguing that it is necessary to conduct thorough and scientifically sound research in these highly political times of NCLB and Proposition 227. They studied the progress of English Language Learners in several programs, including two-way immersion and English-only programs. They found that the students in the maintenance bilingual programs had far better long-term success in closing the achievement gap, as compared to those in the other groups.

More specifically, Thomas and Collier (<http://www.cal.org/resources/>) found that 90/10 and 50/50 two-way bilingual immersion and one-way developmental bilingual education programs are the only programs in which ELs are reaching the 50th percentile in both English and their heritage language. Additionally, fewer ELs are likely to dropout of such programs. By comparison, the largest number of ELs dropped out of English-only mainstream programs, and these students demonstrated the largest decrease in their reading and math scores by the 5th grade. They found that ELs in English-only programs initially perform higher in English than students in maintenance or developmental bilingual programs. However, the maintenance

students tend to catch up in their English scores by middle school, and even surpass the English-only students by high school. Lastly, they found that the best way to predict an ELs second language achievement is to examine the amount of education that they have received in their primary language.

In this next study by López and Tashakkori (2006), I discuss the difference between ELs' achievements in two-way bilingual education (TWBE), as compared to transitional bilingual education (TBE). TWBE programs are a form of maintenance bilingual education, in that ELs are gaining English proficiency while also maintaining their heritage language. TBE programs teach students in their heritage language for the first few years of their education, until a “transfer” of content knowledge and literacy skills can take place around the second or third grade. TBE programs then do not continue the students' heritage language education, and more often than not, these students lose their primary language skills and their bilingualism during the course of their remaining school years.

In this mixed methodology study, the students in both groups showed similar growth in English proficiency, but the students in the TWBE were more successful in maintaining their heritage language. The researchers additionally conducted interviews to shed more light on the experience of these ELs. The narrative data from these interviews demonstrates that the TWBE students have a more positive outlook on bilingualism, while some of the TBE students were growing frustrated with their loss of Spanish (140).

Jones (2005), the principal of a one-way foreign language immersion program in Alamo Heights, TX, conducted a study that compared the academic achievement of the Spanish immersion students in his school, (or the English Native Speakers), to that of the non-immersion students. He factored in the cognitive ability of both groups prior to taking the assessments. The

findings from this assessment demonstrate that all of the immersion students are performing as well or better than the non-immersion students in their English language achievement.

Additionally, he calls for more research in the area of assessing the Spanish proficiency of these students, which doesn't happen frequently enough, as the state doesn't mandate assessments in languages other than English. (<http://www.carla.umn.edu>). This implication builds on a present concern at the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA) that non-English language assessments need to be developed and implemented for all immersion students, including ELs as well as ENSs.

Stritikus conducted a qualitative case study in which he compared bilingual education with English-only. The research took place in two classrooms: one in which the teacher used an additive approach to bilingualism, meaning she strives to add English on to the students' Spanish proficiency; and the other in which the teacher took a subtractive approach, meaning that the teacher's approach to the education of her ELs has the end result of their heritage language being replaced by English monolingualism. The researcher allows the data collected to speak for itself in describing the very different experiences of the ELs in these two classrooms. Stritikus concluded his article by saying, "Seeking the day when all ELL students will conclude that what they do in their classrooms does matter, I suggest we must continue to pursue and develop substantial ways to support and develop additive conceptions of culturally and linguistically diverse students" (Stritikus, 226).

Benefits of bilingual education. Mahon (2006) conducted a quantitative research project on the relationship between ELs English proficiency and their academic performance. More importantly, she found that the ELs Spanish as well as their English proficiency could

predict these students' English achievement. This last finding in particular gives further support for maintenance bilingual programs.

In her conclusion, she reemphasized the importance of assessment and accountability in bilingual education. She calls for a greater use of native language assessments, suggesting that Spanish academic achievement can shed a great deal of light on ELs' overall academic progress. She, like Wong-Fillmore, also concludes from her data that it takes longer than a year for ELs to gain English proficiency. Programs that claim to teach English in a year, such as English-only structured immersion, are contradictory to the evidence provided by her study. Lastly, she calls for education reformers to support programs (such as maintenance bilingual programs) that will allow students longer than a year to develop linguistically and academically (495).

In the article "The Latino students' attitudes, perceptions, and views on bilingual education", Lee (2006) states that there is a great need for research regarding the opinions of the most important components of bilingual education: the students themselves. He conducted a survey that generally demonstrated that students have a positive attitude towards their bilingual programs. He ended his paper with a thought-provoking quote that I believe to be relevant in light of the national debate over bilingual education. He stated:

Just as it would be uncivil to end education because of challenges and shortcomings, the debate on bilingual education should not be on the fate of program existence or demise, but on improving the quality of and access to bilingual education programs (119).

There have been numerous challenges and successes faced throughout the history of education in our country, but at no point have we considered ending education as an institution. By that same logic, it would seem only fair to celebrate the successes of bilingual education, while simultaneously learning from any setbacks, thereby improving on this additive approach towards teaching our ELs.

Arguments for Bilingual Education

Heritage language as an asset, not a problem. One of the most intriguing arguments that I have recently read for bilingual education comes from a surprising source, or the post-9/11 report of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (H.R. Rep. No. 107-219, 2001), in which Senator Paul Simon described the great need of the intelligence community for an increase in our country's multilingual citizens. Simon's discussion of this need continues to resurface in present day political debates on education. In February of 2010, Assistant U.S. Secretary of Education Thelma Melendez spoke before a group of bilingual educators, stating that the bilingual potential of English learners is a "national asset, rather than a deficit, as conventionally considered."

Reversing four decades of federal wavering on the question of home-language instruction, the assistant secretary openly affirmed the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, the need for "nuanced instructional approaches" that recognize the diversity within the ELL population, and the administration's desire "in particular ... to encourage dual-language programs" that would help prepare students, both English- and non-English-dominant, for a "globally competitive world" (24).

It is reaffirming to note that such high-ranking members of the current administration are aware of the benefits of heritage language speakers.

Christian et al. (2005) contribute to this discussion in their report on the challenge of attaining high levels of foreign language proficiency. They point out that there is a need for bilingual workers in many sectors of the United States, ranging from "business and social services, to national security and diplomacy." They also point out that of the small number of Americans who study a foreign language, an even smaller group achieves proficiency in a second language. Last, they discuss the particular need for proficiency in LCTLs, (otherwise known as less commonly taught languages.)

Furthermore, Christian et al. recommend numerous ways that we could meet these language proficiency needs. Most interestingly, they recommend that we capitalize on our wealth of heritage language speakers, as opposed to viewing these students as a challenge to be overcome. I find this logic to be a compelling argument for the promotion of bilingual and heritage language maintenance programs; by helping our heritage language speakers to maintain their home languages, we could create a supply for the overwhelming demand for language proficiency in our country's business and government sectors.

(<http://www.cal.org/resources/digest/attain.html>)

Newcomer programs. In addition to heritage language programs, another possibility in meeting the above-mentioned demand for language proficiency could be in the successful implementation of newcomer programs. Boyson et al., also of the Center for Applied Linguistics, define a newcomer as a recently immigrated student with limited English proficiency, (or an LEP). These students often have limited content knowledge due to an insufficient prior education in their native language, particularly if they are coming from a third world country. They are frequently older, (in middle school or high school,) and have a difficult time adjusting to a new school and community. Effective newcomer programs help to develop these students' English skills, fill in any content area gaps, and teach the students about adapting to American culture (70). Additionally, much like the heritage language programs described above, these newcomer programs could help students to successfully add English to their native language proficiency, thus meeting our country's need for more bilingual citizens in a rapidly globalizing world.

Global perspective on bilingual education. When discussing our national debate over bilingual education, it is interesting to take a moment to examine the global perspectives on

bilingualism and bilingual education. Tucker (1999) conducted a cross-cultural study of bilingual education around the world. It would seem that the American perspective on bilingualism is quite different than the perspective of the vast majority of the world, considering that in many other countries, bilingual education and bilingualism are the norm. Other countries also seem to have a common understanding of the principles of bilingual education. Contrary to this, Americans continue to debate over these very same principles, such as the transfer of literacy and content knowledge from the native language to English; the importance of maintaining heritage languages; and lastly, the requirement of four to seven years for language learners to transition from BICS (or Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) to CALP (or Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) in their target language (Tucker, 20).

Bilingual Education and New Orleans

Attitudes towards bilingualism in the Southeast. In the following sections, I will alter the direction of this literature review, moving away from the national debate on bilingual education, and towards a more focused discussion of bilingualism and bilingual education in the southeast, and in particular in Louisiana and New Orleans. Considering that my research focus is on bilingual education in New Orleans, it is important to discuss the setting of this region, as well as the benefits and challenges that this area might hold for immersion programs.

In the following quote, Eliane Rubinstein-Ávila wrote about the challenges of educating Latino ELs:

Most school districts across the country are unprepared to handle the changes in student population that have occurred during the last three decades. For example, jobs in the poultry plants of North Carolina and in the carpet industry in Dayton, Georgia, have drawn a growing number of Mexican families to these states.” (Rubinstein-Ávila, pp. 311).

She referenced a 2002 series of reports by National Public Radio (NPR) on the difficulties faced

by midwestern and southern towns, due to the influx of EL students in their K–12 schools. One of the largest challenges, according to Rubinstein-Ávila, is the lack of teachers qualified to educate this growing population. She goes on to state, “In fact, nationwide, only 2.5 percent of teachers of English language learners have received special preparation to work with these students” (311).

An example of this dilemma can be found in the auto-ethnography by Souto-Manning, about her experience as a bilingual mother and teacher in the southeast United States. She analyzes a combination of two data sources: her own personal journal entries, as well as a conversation that she recorded between herself and another veteran special education teacher, who held a differing opinion on bilingualism. She is unabashedly personal and subjective in her storytelling, and she explains how she consciously made the choice to conduct her research in this manner. She believes that her methodology gives a personal tone to her story; this personal touch could help the reader to connect to these students, which is something that hasn’t always been possible in past studies with more empirical data.

Souto-Manning describes how in this region of the country, public schools continue to view bilingualism as a deficit, or an error that needs to be corrected and replaced with monolingualism and English. She states that although research has proven that acquiring two languages increases language processing and problem solving skills, educators in the southeast quite often still view children’s brains as “buckets, preprogrammed for the development of a single language.” She also explains how this common belief is used to justify placing English learners in special education classes (559).

I next include an edited excerpt of the dialogue between the author, (a bilingual Brazilian teacher,) and her special education co-teacher. This conversation is a continuation of one that

had begun earlier, after Mariana Souto-Manning had given birth to her son. At that time, Joyce, (the co-teacher), strongly recommended that Souto-Manning not raise her son bilingually, for fear that he would end up in special education. I have included their words, because I feel that they shed light on the perspective held by some educators in the southeast towards bilingualism and newly immigrated students.

Mariana: Remember you went to visit [my son] and I in the hospital? I was thinking about what you said (that) I shouldn't speak Portuguese.

Joyce: I told you. You know, a student of mine who is in fourth grade. He's from Vietnam. He's in special ed. because he can't speak English. If you don't want [your son] to end up in a special ed. class, and I'm sure you don't, you better start teaching English to that boy. I know all those people at the university tell you that children can learn, whatever, but he will end up not learning English or Portuguese. I am telling you from my experience. All the teachers know that if his parents had focused on English, he would be much better off. Don't take up his brain with stuff he won't need. If he had spent the time he was learning Vietnamese learning English, he would do better in school. I'm just telling you. If you want him to do well, you better focus on English. (567)

Mariana: So, do you think everyone should speak English?

Joyce: Yes. If they chose to live here, they need to live like we do. Speak like we do (Souto-Manning, 571).

Bilingual education in Louisiana and New Orleans. “L'école a détruit le français, l'école va le faire revivre.” (The schools have destroyed French, the schools will make it live again.) (James Domengeaux, the founder of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana, or CODOFIL, 2003.)

I begin this section on immersion education in Southern Louisiana with a brief description of CODOFIL, an important entity in the instruction of foreign languages in this region of the country. David Cheramie, the Directeur Exécutif of CODOFIL, described the role that this institution plays in French Immersion programs throughout Louisiana. In 1921 the Louisiana Constitution specifically banned French from being spoken in schools, causing a rapid decrease in the number of native French speakers. In response to this decrease, CODOFIL was created in 1968, in hopes of revitalizing the French language through the public school system.

Cheramie (2003) goes on to describe the uniqueness of CODOFIL, as it is the only agency of its kind in the United States. He discusses the initial success found by CODOFIL due to the civil rights and ethnic revival movements that were taking place at that same time. The 1980s created a greater challenge for the agency, particularly with the increase in the belief that English should be declared the national language. Since this time, CODOFIL has reinvented itself, most importantly as an advocate for French immersion education, an area in which he feels we are ahead of the rest of the country in many ways. He reiterated the importance of his program and their work in doing “any and all things necessary for the promotion and preservation of the French language.”

(http://www.carla.umn.edu/immersion/acie/vol6/Feb2003_CODOFIL.html)

Haj-Broussard (2005), an assistant professor at McNeese University in Lake Charles, conducted a mixed methods study of the achievement of African-American students in a French immersion program in Southwest Louisiana. She discusses how according to Valdes (1997), dual language education does not “occur in a socio-cultural vacuum”, but instead it “reflects the contexts and power structures within which it exists.” She further states that in the United States, immersion education must face the challenge of an achievement gap between majority and minority students, whereas in the South, this dilemma is known as the “Black/White Achievement Gap”. She investigates this Black/White achievement gap in a very “specific socio-cultural context—Southwestern Louisiana—where many African-American students also have francophone cultural heritage”. In her implications section, she suggests further research into why some African-American parents choose to place their children in Immersion programs, and why they also choose to leave. (<http://www.carla.umn.edu>) It is interesting to consider that in the upcoming years, this Black/White achievement gap will be further complicated by the

addition of a new minority population in Louisiana: recently immigrated Latino students.

In the past few decades, French immersion education has become relatively common practice in southern Louisiana, Spanish immersion, however, is a more recent phenomena, that evolved mainly in response to the post-Katrina influx of Latino students. In a recent article in Baton Rouge's *The Advocate*, David Mitchell reported on the possibility of a two-way immersion program being created in Livingston Parish, in a public school located between the state's capital and New Orleans. According to Howard and Sugarman (2001), a TWI program integrates "language-minority and language majority students for all or most of the school day, and strives to promote bilingualism and biliteracy, in addition to grade-level academic achievement for all students" (209). Due to a recent increase in the number of SNSs in the Livingston parish area, local school system officials have realized that two-way immersion could be an ideal way to educate both monolingual ENSs and newly arriving Latino students.

According to Mitchell, the number of Latino students in the Livingston Parish school system is small, or 2 percent out of a population of 23,500. This number, however, has rapidly grown since 2004, during which time the number of Latino students increased from 181 to 414. The number of students in Livingston Parish ESL classes has also increased, growing from 37 students in 2001 to more than 200 students in the 2007-2008 school year. In general, recent U.S. Census Bureau reports demonstrate that the number of Latino residents is rising throughout Louisiana.

Cynthia Elliott, an education professor at Southeastern Louisiana University, has been acting as an advisor to Livingston Parish policy makers, informing them of the importance of

teaching students to read and write in their native language. She hopes that the program will at least extend through the fourth grade, considering the six to seven years needed for ELs to gain literacy in a target language. Despite her advice, the article concludes by stating, “School officials are planning to try only pre-K next year”. Additionally, at the time that the article was published, there were a large number of extremely negative responses on the comment board to the idea of educating recently immigrated Latino students in their native language.

(<http://www.2theadvocate.com/news/19065059.html>) One could only hope that policy makers will allocate the time and resources necessary for this two-way Spanish immersion program to find future success.

I will conclude this section with the description of an immersion school in New Orleans that actually predates Hurricane Katrina by several years. This Kindergarten through 8th grade public charter school teaches students through both French and Spanish immersion, thus combining Louisiana’s past French legacy with the state’s present need for an increased Spanish proficiency. It brings together a wide gamut of students and families seeking a bilingual education, including those who would like to see the continuation of our state’s francophone heritage, as well as those who are embracing our newly arrived Latino community members.

Adelman-Cannon (2008) recently wrote an article about this school, in which she described it as a “shining exemplar of what is working in urban education” (24). She also discusses her belief that immersion education serves as an “equalizer” for students from diverse backgrounds. She describes the benefits for all students of dual language education, stating that in an immersion classroom, “children can leave their social prejudices or insecurities at the door, when they enter what is essentially a 3rd party learning environment. All groups are on a level

playing field when it comes to the new language and cultural milieu they are exploring together.”

(26) One can clearly see how much our Latino students have to gain from immersion classrooms such as these, in that they might allow these SNSs equal access to the curriculum, as well as the opportunity to gain proficiency in two languages.

I look forward to seeing the successful creation of more immersion schools in the New Orleans area. Both our monolingual ENSs and our newly arrived Latino immigrants have a great deal to gain from such schools, particularly two-way immersion programs. Additionally, as a cautionary note, I hope that policy makers will take the time and effort necessary to assure that such programs are accommodating all students, particularly the SNSs.

Conclusion: Background on Bilingual Education

I opened this background section of my literature review with a quote by Tom Stritikus, in which he asks if we as a nation will view ELL students’ native language as an “illness with English-only instruction being the cure”, or if we will strive to “build upon the cultural and linguistic resources of ELL students” (220). As I delve into the next section of the literature review, it is important to consider Stritikus’s question, and to reflect on this ongoing national debate, in light of our own local education system. I conclude this background section with a challenge to our local teachers and policy-makers, to ask themselves this same question whenever considering best practices for our newly arriving Latino students.

Latino Students and Dual Language Education

If immersion programs enroll students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, these same programs will need to revisit curricular and instructional practices to ensure that the linguistic and academic needs of all students are addressed. (Fortune, 341)

In the implications section of her dissertation, Fortune (2001) of the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA) stated that further research should be conducted on the needs of diverse students in immersion programs. In the above quote, Fortune discusses the question of how these programs will revisit immersion practices, so as to ensure that the needs of all students are being met. In the following section of my literature review, I begin the task of exploring this question, and how in the past it has been addressed in states with more established Spanish bilingual programs.

I continue with a description of some of the many benefits that Latino students could reap through their enrollment in a well-implemented, maintenance bilingual program. I then discuss several of the challenges that these programs have faced in the past in educating these ELs. I discuss areas of academic concern regarding the integration of content and language in the bilingual classroom, and particularly how these affect the Spanish native speakers, (or the SNSs.) Lastly, I discuss the perspective of two key groups of stakeholders in the education of these students: their parents and their teachers. I explore all of the above issues in the hope of learning from the successes and failures of other states, so that we here in Louisiana might implement best practices, as we face this new and unique opportunity to educate our most recently arrived students.

Benefits of Dual Language Education for Latino Students

When considering the education of Latino ELs, it is essential to bear in mind the various positive benefits that these students can find in a well-implemented, maintenance bilingual program. There exists a wide gamut of models for educating these students, ranging from English only to developmental bilingual programs, with an equally wide range of results for the programs' participants. As we begin to educate our own SNSs here in Louisiana, one could hope

that we would choose to implement programs that have proven in the past to be successful in the education of ELs.

Latino students' attitudes towards bilingual education. To learn more about the benefits of bilingual education for Latino students, one should begin by exploring the perspectives of the most important group involved in bilingual education: the students themselves. Lee (2006) conducted a survey of 280 Latino middle school students in southern California to learn more about their attitudes, perceptions, and views on bilingual education. He found that 90% of these students believed that bilingual education was beneficial to their education, and that 86% supported having bilingual education in public schools. Additionally, 71% of the students believed that bilingual educations could support their cognitive and emotional development (107). According to Lee's results, these ELs have had an overwhelming positive experience in their bilingual education programs.

Graciela Borsato and Kathryn Lindholm-Leary (2002) conducted a similar survey of 142 high school students to learn more about their attitudes towards both school and college. This study examined four groups; the first three groups attended two-way immersion (TWI) programs, and were made up of Hispanic Spanish speakers, Hispanic English speakers, and European-American students. The fourth group was a control group of Hispanic Spanish speakers who didn't attend a TWI program. Overall, their findings demonstrated that the TWI students all had a highly positive attitude towards being bilingual; speaking Spanish in public; and going to college. Of these four groups, the Hispanic Spanish speakers demonstrated some of the most positive results, considering that almost half of this group believed that their TWI program prevented them from dropping out of school, (which is a large area of concern for these students.)

The authors conclude that their results demonstrated a sense of resiliency amongst these Latino students, especially the ELs of a lower socio-economic status. “These students appear to possess high self-esteem, motivation to study hard, belief in academic competence, perception of a positive school environment, a supportive family, and a peer group that values education” (Borsato, 2002, p. 206). In other words, they possess all of the characteristics of resiliency and success that we as educators strive to develop in our own Latino ELs in Louisiana.

A similar study of students’ attitudes towards bilingualism was conducted at the Amigos Two-way program in Cambridge, an exemplary program that is often mentioned in research. The researchers conducted interviews and attitudinal surveys, and they additionally compared test scores, in order to learn more about the attitudes of the two groups of fourth through eighth grade student participants. The two groups that they studied were Spanish native speakers (SNSs) and English native speakers (ENSs). The students were shown to have positive views towards their bilingualism and biculturality. Additionally, both groups had attained “near-native skills in the two languages in reading and math” (Cazabon, Nicoladis, & Lambert, 1998, p. 4). By looking to schools such as Amigos as a model, it would appear that two-way programs that follow the Amigos design could find similar success with their Latino students.

To conclude this discussion on Latino students’ attitudes towards bilingual education, I would last like to discuss a case study that was conducted in a southern California bilingual classroom prior to Proposition 227, (or an anti-bilingual education proposition that passed in 1998.) The teacher in this classroom took a Freirian approach towards educating her Latino students (Freire & Macedo, 1987), striving on a daily basis to teach them how to “read the world.” Perhaps the most poignant section of this study was a discussion held between the first-graders on what it means to them to be bilingual. One student’s words in particular sum up what

many of these other studies have demonstrated about Latino students' perceptions of bilingualism and bilingual education. He quite eloquently and simply states to his classmates, "Why would anyone not want to speak two languages? When you can speak two, why settle for one?" (Leyva, MacGillivray, & Monkman, 2003, p. 255).

Intercultural Sensitivity. Immersion programs typically have several goals for their students, which include proficiency in two or more languages, high academic achievement, and intercultural sensitivity (ICS). Although the first two goals are crucial for Latino students, it is also important to discuss the benefits of developing ICS as well. As Corbaz (2006) states regarding his own research on this subject: "Enhanced cross-cultural awareness may, in turn, help reduce racism and cultural intolerance in our multi-ethnic society, and in so doing, contribute to the country as a whole". Corbaz discusses how in both his study and that of prior researchers such as Lindholm-Leary (2002), students have been found to demonstrate positive cross-cultural understanding due to their participation in immersion programs. As Louisiana develops into an even more multi-cultural region, it will benefit our newly arriving ELs if all of our immersion students are developing this intercultural sensitivity.

Possible Challenges for Latino Students

In this next section, I will discuss the difficulties that bilingual programs have had to overcome in the education of Latino students. In recent decades, immersion teachers have faced numerous challenges, and in doing so, they have improved the quality of immersion education in our country. As Lee (2006) states in his aforementioned research on the attitudes of Latino students, "Just as it would be uncivil to end education because of challenges and shortcomings, the debate on bilingual education should not be on the fate of program existence or demise, but

on improving the quality of and access to bilingual education programs” (119). By that same token, as local immersion educators, we can learn from the challenges and shortcomings of previous immersion programs, so that we might improve the quality of education available for Latino students.

Needs of bilingual education programs. I would like to begin by discussing the results of two research projects that were conducted with the intention of learning about the needs of two-way immersion programs, an area in which more research is presently needed. In the first study, Howard and Sugarman (2001) sent out a questionnaire to the TWI programs listed on CAL’s (Center for Applied Linguistics) database, asking program contacts to describe the challenges and successes they have experienced in setting up and maintaining their program. In the second research project, Howard and Loeb began by interviewing eight teachers representing programs from around the country. They then used the interview findings to formulate a professional development needs assessment questionnaire that was distributed to 181 TWI teachers.

These two studies found that some of the greatest areas of need were as follows: professional development specifically for TWI programs; a call for a philosophical uniformity amongst staff members; a parent liaison (Sugarman et al., 204); and perhaps most importantly, a need for high quality staffing of TWI teachers and support staff (208). A highly qualified immersion educator is fully proficient in their language of instruction; ideally has a high level of proficiency in both languages; is knowledgeable in their content area; and is well trained in second language acquisition and sheltered instruction. Presently in the New Orleans area, there could easily be a shortage of such teachers, which could have a detrimental effect on the education of ELs in newly formed immersion programs.

Self-designated dual language programs. Another area of concern in the immersion education of ELs is the existence of self-designated dual language programs, or programs that take on the title of dual language, without necessarily following the stipulations set forth by research groups such as CAL or CARLA (or the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition). Self-designated programs are particularly disconcerting when one considers the recent growth of immersion education in the New Orleans area. With the rapid expansion of the post-Katrina charter school movement, there is a greater possibility for the creation of self-designated dual-language programs. As charter schools, these programs are allowed a certain amount of autonomy, and aren't necessarily obligated to follow any particular guidelines that have been created for immersion education.

According to Christian (2006), the goals of TWI programs are to “integrate native English speakers and language-minority students for academic instruction (and to) promote bilingual proficiency, high academic achievement, and cross-cultural awareness in all students” (Howard et al., 2007). I question whether these self-designated programs are choosing to follow similar immersion education standards that have been created by groups such as CAL or CARLA? Depending on whether or not they are, what will be the results of these self-designated immersion programs for their students, particularly their ELs?

In order to learn more about this issue, Han, Kleyn, Morales-Rodríguez, & Torres-Guzmán (2005) conducted a survey of the vast majority of self-labeled dual-language schools in New York City. Using the results, they divided these schools into two groups, the G-LOTE or the L-LOTE, (meaning schools that used either a greater or a lesser amount of the language other than English, respectively.) They were concerned with their results, in that they found that the L-LOTE schools were not in actuality dual-language, but were instead either heritage language

or second language enrichment programs. They were also concerned that these schools would have a negative effect on the image of true dual-language education, especially if studies were conducted in these schools to learn more about the effectiveness of authentic immersion programs (471). This could be a similar area of concern for New Orleans dual language charter schools: Will these schools choose to follow the minimal standards in immersion education? If not, will the results of these schools, particularly for Latino students, adversely affect the nation wide image of dual language education?

Attrition. Another area of concern in immersion education continues to be attrition, an area in which there has been minimal research in the United States. Peggy Rigaud (2005) conducted a study of the attrition rates of four elementary immersion schools, in which she found that “if one follows a cohort of students from the beginning of the elementary experience through elementary-school graduation at fifth or sixth grade, it is clear that attrition remains a concern in both urban and suburban immersion schools” (2005). Attrition could cause problems in several areas; one particular area of concern is that attrition creates a need for new students, which could cause administrators to accept Latino ELs to programs that are unable to accommodate them.

As students choose to leave immersion programs during the elementary school years, there arises a need to find students to replace them. However, since best practices recommend that newcomers entering after grade one be able to demonstrate a certain level of bilingualism and biliteracy, immersion learners that leave a program are difficult to replace (<http://www.carla.umn.edu>). As local New Orleans immersion schools struggle with the issue of attrition, they are more likely to accept Latino ELs in the upper grades who are neither bilingual nor biliterate. If these programs choose to accept such students, then it is recommended that they also put into place special accommodations. With such accommodations, hopefully these ELs

will be able to find success in immersion programs that are not best suited for their needs.

Roles of SNSs vs. ENSs. A huge area of concern in dual language immersion programs, particularly for Latino students, is the roles that SNSs play as compared to ENSs. Many researchers and advocates have heralded the benefits of two-way immersion, which in theory holds the promise of heritage language instruction for ELs, while also allowing monolingual ENSs access to bilingualism. However, a question arises as to whether these results are occurring in the day-to-day practice of immersion education, and whether both the majority and minority language groups are being equally accommodated. This is an area of research interest for Guadalupe Valdes (1997), who raises difficult questions regarding the “quality of instruction in the minority language, the effects of dual immersion on intergroup relations, and, ultimately, how dual-language immersion programs fit into the relationship between language and power, and how that relationship may affect the children and society” (<http://www.hepg.org>).

Esther Larocco (2003) conducted a highly illuminating study concerning the role of minority language speakers in two-way immersion programs. She carried out an impressively detailed yearlong investigation of one school, using a qualitative methodology that she refers to as macro-analysis. She investigated the role that the SNSs played in this program as compared to the ENSs, and how these roles were influenced by the status held by their parents in the larger community. Larocco took into consideration both the parents’ SES, as well as their level of involvement in and influence on school policy. Overall, she found that the program was accommodating the ENSs first and foremost, and she made several recommendations towards changing this reality (<http://www.carla.umn.edu>).

Integrating Content and Language

One of the most difficult elements of immersion education is the challenge of integrating both content and language, and from this challenge arises three areas of concern for educators and researchers alike. A common question in dual language education is what languages students choose to use during content lessons, and what their choices signify. In recent years, researchers have investigated these language choices, in hopes of learning more about why they choose to speak in a particular language, and how various classroom settings affect their choices. Researchers have also been concerned with the challenge of encouraging students to remain in their L2, or their target language, which occurs less and less frequently as students enter upper elementary and become more hesitant to speak in their second language. Lastly, researchers have investigated the CALP, (or the cognitive and academic language proficiency), of immersion students, to find out whether they are becoming fully proficient in both languages (Cohen & Gómez, 2002). In the following section, I will give a brief description of these three areas of concern, and particularly how these areas might affect the language development, academic growth, and emotional well being of Latino children in immersion programs.

Language usage. Fitts (2006) conducted a yearlong, ethnographic study of a Colorado public magnet school in order to learn more about the nature of bilingualism in a two-way bilingual elementary school. The researcher found that both the Spanish and the English-speaking students use what she calls “tactics of intersubjectivity”. These students use the two languages to define the social groups to which they do, and perhaps more importantly, to which they do not belong.

In her discussion and implications section she raises two important questions, especially

when considering the role of Latino students in dual language programs. First, she challenges educators to go beyond “‘color-blind’ philosophies in which equity equals sameness. Color-blind attitudes tend to implicitly reinforce ethnocentrism and assimilation” (356). She encourages educators to instead provide students with the opportunity to openly deal with the numerous issues surrounding bilingualism. Second, she states that teachers need to develop projects that will encourage students to both use Spanish and to code switch in the classroom; she believes that such projects would help to raise the status of Spanish in the classroom (356).

Fortune (2001) of CARLA has also conducted research on when and why students use different languages in the classroom, and what this language use signifies. In her dissertation on this subject, she found that in a two-way immersion program, English was being used socially in the classroom, whereas Spanish was being used academically. This raises an important question when considering the SNSs of dual language programs: how does this language usage affect the academic English of the native Spanish speakers?

In Fortune’s implications section of her dissertation, she raises several questions that are highly relevant when considering the role of SNSs in any newly formed immersion programs in the New Orleans area:

Are Spanish-dominant students sufficiently exposed to academically oriented, language-focused English so that their second language acquisition needs are being adequately addressed? What kinds of program modifications are required for students whose first language is Spanish and cultural background is Latino? How can a program originally designed to educate native English-speakers accommodate the needs of native Spanish speakers? What can teachers and immersion programs do to ... encourage more immersion-language interaction among students from diverse backgrounds? (Fortune, 2001, p. 332)

All of these questions regarding language usage should be asked during both the planning and the implementation stages of any local immersion schools that include SNSs in their student population.

Remaining in the L2. LaVan (2001) continues the research conversation that seems to have taken place at CARLA over the last decade regarding language usage in the classroom. She, however, more specifically examines the challenge of encouraging students to remain in their L2, or their target language. This is an ongoing difficulty within the dual language classroom, or as she states, “It has long been noted by teachers and researchers in both the U.S. and Canada that in general there is a decreased use of the second language in the upper grades of immersion programs.” She summarizes the research conducted in this area, and then gives concrete examples of how to promote more L2 use in the upper elementary grades. This article mostly discusses how to keep the language-majority students in the L2, or in other words, how to encourage ENSs to remain in Spanish. My main concern is how the language-minority students are faring in these situations. Are two-way programs set up for their success? Do we need to help them to develop academic English just as much as we need to help the language-majority students in developing conversational Spanish?

Broner (2000) also conducted similar research on the nature of students’ language usage in the classroom. She carried out a yearlong case study of three 5th graders to see what elements encouraged them to stay in their L2. She, like Fortune, suggested the use of creative writing group projects across the curriculum. She also encouraged teachers to pay close attention to how students are grouped, taking into consideration the effect of different interlocutors on L2 use. Interestingly, however, the three students that she studied were all native English speakers. There seems to be a need for research in the area of SNSs’ language usage, and how this affects their CALP, which I will continue to discuss in the next section.

CALP. An area of concern for all language learners, but particularly SNSs, is the development of their language proficiency from the level of BICS (Basic Interpersonal

Communication Skills) to CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency), which are both terms that were coined by Jim Cummins (1979). Two researchers examined this very issue of enhancing academic proficiency in a Spanish program in St. Paul, Minnesota (Cohen and Gómez, 2002). They first implemented a series of intervention lessons, and then looked to see what the effect was for three levels of students in a fifth grade classroom. They didn't have a control group, but instead looked at the progress made by each of these three levels of language proficiency.

In their implications section, they suggested that immersion teachers should focus on both the content and any content-specific language, so as to increase students' attention level, and to help them learn to "define terms, make associations, and use the new academic language appropriately" (Cohen et al., 2002). From these suggestions arises the question of whether immersion teachers are using these methods to sufficiently challenge the language skills of Latino students in either Spanish or English. If the Spanish classes are catering to the ENSs, then the language level and pace may not be difficult enough for the native Spanish speakers. Additionally, if the SNSs aren't being pulled out for additional academic content in English, then they may not receive enough opportunities to develop their English CALP.

Spanish for Spanish speakers in dual language programs. In the above sections on language usage, I mentioned some of the specific needs of SNSs in a dual language program, and how these needs could be met through various accommodations. As previously discussed, often these students' Spanish language needs are not sufficiently challenged in a regular foreign language Spanish class designed for ENSs. These SNSs often speak and comprehend their community's dialect of Spanish fluently, but they need to gain proficiency in a prestige variety of Spanish, such as a more academic Castilian Spanish as compared to a vernacular Latin American

Spanish. Additionally, they may be accustomed to speaking Spanish, but have yet to develop their literacy skills in their native language. Often students comprehend Spanish proficiently, because at home their families speak to them in their native language. These children, however, quite frequently respond to their parents in English, causing them to have a limited speaking proficiency.

More schools around the country are offering classes in Spanish for Spanish speakers, and educators are developing specific curriculum to help these SNSs in maintaining their mother language. Any dual language program with a population of SNSs should consider providing such Spanish lessons to a homogenous group of Latino students, so as to further challenge their Spanish proficiency (Lewelling, 222). Additionally, Spanish immersion educators could receive high quality professional development in differentiation techniques, so that they could offer multiple-leveled lessons within their own classroom.

An exemplary model. I would like to conclude this section on language usage and the academic needs of Latino students with the discussion of an exemplary model of bilingual education for SNSs. David and Yvonne Freeman (2005) describe a 50-50 model, (referring to the time spent in both languages), in which Latino students have recently found success. This surprised me, because much of what I have read has led me to believe that a 90-10 model is more beneficial to both language groups. In a 90-10 model, the SNSs are immersed for longer periods of time in the target language. Simultaneously, the SNSs have the opportunity to fully gain literacy skills and content knowledge in their native language; skills and knowledge that will later transfer to English, creating a higher level of proficiency in both languages.

Despite this, I could envision several benefits for having a 50-50 model in a New Orleans school. Firstly, such a program might gain additional public support, as the local community

could be apprehensive about 90% of class time being spent in a second language. Secondly, in a 50-50 program, it would be less difficult to find high-quality, proficient Spanish teachers for only 50%, as opposed to 90%, of the curriculum.

The program model that the Freemans investigated is being implemented in various schools in Texas and Washington, and is finding success in areas with large populations of SNSs. The program teaches Language Arts in both English and Spanish, while Social Studies and Science are taught in Spanish, and Mathematics is taught in English. It also incorporates several other interesting ideas, which any dual language program could adopt. An example is the use of a language of the day, with the whole school striving to remain in the day's assigned language as much as possible. The program also puts students into long-running bilingual pairs, so that the SNSs and the ENSs can take turns helping each other with their language skills, depending on the class that they are taking. Additionally, support staff works with small groups of second language learners in a post-lesson review of the content and content-specific language. They also work with all students to develop their bilingual vocabulary, so that their content knowledge more easily transfers between languages, which is particularly important in light of state mandated tests (Freeman et al., 164).

Latino Parents

In the following section, I discuss a crucial stakeholder in Spanish immersion programs, or Latino parents. In past years, there have existed misconceptions regarding the level of involvement of Latino parents in the classroom; consequently, recent researchers have strived to learn more about these parents' perspectives on their children's education. It is crucial that the teachers and administrators of dual language programs learn more about the points of view of Latino parents, and that they work to find ways to allow these parents access to the classroom

and the curriculum. By fully involving these parents in the creation and implementation of immersion programs, SNSs are sure to find greater academic and social success.

First, I will discuss two articles that investigated the perspectives of Latino immigrant parents in regards to their children's bilingualism and bilingual education. In the first article, "Mi hija vale dos personas", the researchers (Rodríguez-Galindo & Worthy, 2006) conducted 18 interviews in Spanish with Latino parents of a lower SES to learn more about how these parents are helping their children to maintain their heritage language. The second study was a series of longitudinal studies conducted by CREDE (Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence), to learn more from parents about their perspectives. Both articles (Rodríguez-Galindo & Worthy, 2006; Fitzsimmons, 2003) were written in an optimistic and respectful tone in regards to the important role that these parents play in their children's education. Additionally, this research demonstrates that Latino parents by and large have high aspirations for their children, and that they are more than willing to participate in the classroom if they are allowed to do so (Rodríguez-Galindo et al., 579; Fitzsimmons, 52).

The next two articles shed light on the need to further educate Latino parents about the nature of their children's bilingual education. In the first article, Cherie Satterfield Sheffer (2003) conducted a small-scale project to learn more about 19 families of children in a bilingual kindergarten. She clearly had a biased agenda, and the questions in her survey could be described as leading. Her wording was also negative, such as the title of her project, or "Parents' lack of understanding of their children's bilingual education program." She did, however, address an important need for more research regarding Latino parents' understanding of their children's bilingual program (333).

The second article written by Fogle and King had a higher level of respect in its

discussion of Latino parents' perceptions of bilingual education. These researchers conducted 24 in-depth interviews with diverse families in the Washington D.C. area, who were all raising their children to be bilingual in both Spanish and English. They found four themes of common misconceptions amongst these parents. In this article, they explain through research-based evidence why these four fallacies are not true of bilingual children. The four misconceptions are regarding: language delay; language confusion; television as a teacher; and bilingual children having "larger brains" (<http://www.cal.org>). It would be useful in any immersion program to educate parents about these misconceptions of bilingualism, so that all will be aware of the results that can be expected from an immersion education.

Teachers' Attitudes

In the following section, I will briefly discuss the last crucial element of educating Latino students in an immersion program: the attitudes and beliefs of their teachers towards their education. Jin Sook Lee and Eva Oxelson (2006) conducted a mixed method study using both surveys and interviews to examine teachers' attitudes towards maintaining language minorities' heritage languages. They investigated how teachers' attitudes and classroom practices affect the value of students maintaining these languages. The study demonstrates that both teacher training and personal experiences with other languages have an effect on these teachers' attitudes; teachers who weren't trained as language educators had a negative attitude towards maintaining heritage languages. The study demonstrates the need for all teachers to have a better understanding of the importance of heritage languages in relation to the success of linguistic minority students (453).

This research was conducted in California, where teachers are more often gaining either a BCLAD or CLAD credential, meaning bilingual and cross-cultural language and academic

development. The study found that teachers with these credentials were more likely to have a positive attitude towards maintaining their students' heritage language. In Louisiana there exists no such degree, or any other obligatory requirements for teachers to develop the necessary skills for educating our growing population of Spanish native speakers. It will be interesting to learn more in future years about the attitudes of Louisiana's teachers towards heritage language maintenance, particularly with the recent influx of Latino immigrants in a post-Katrina New Orleans.

Conclusion

We live in an exciting time for Louisiana education, in which numerous charter schools are being created at a rapid pace. Additionally, our student population is quickly changing, as we gain more Latino students in a post-Katrina New Orleans. As educators and parents, we stand to gain a great deal through the creation and implementation of new immersion programs in the metro area. Such programs could increase our number of bilingual citizens, while also improving our region's cross-cultural understanding.

However, as a cautionary note, it is crucial that we place a great deal of importance on the education of all students in these dual language programs, particularly the Spanish native speakers (SNSs). Although there have been numerous benefits for SNSs in bilingual education, there have also been multiple challenges met by these students, their parents, and their educators. I hope that we in New Orleans seize this opportunity to learn from the successes and failures of more long-running programs, so that we can provide the highest quality of education for all of our students, including our Spanish native speakers.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Biographical Statement

I have had an interest in immersion education as both a student and an educator for the past several years. The masters in teaching program that I attended in California strongly emphasized ESL instruction and bilingual education. I have taught in five language immersion settings in my career: in Japan, Bali, San Francisco, Mexico City, and now New Orleans. I have also studied six languages, so I have a personal interest in second language acquisition, and have found this to be one of my main focuses as both an educator and a researcher.

Traveling, living, and working in other parts of the world have led me to have a sense of empathy for the challenges of learning a new language in a new country. Consequently, I feel a connection to the EL students that I have taught in the U. S., and I believe that with the right accommodations, these students can be both successful **and** bilingual members of our society. I too often have seen these students falling through the cracks of our education system, when it seems apparent that there are ways that their learning experiences could be far more productive. I also believe that these students need more advocates for their learning; advocates who speak

the language of power in our country, and know how to navigate the educational system. Last, through reading the recent literature on immersion education, there appears to be a gap in the research conducted on these students in particular. For this reason, I am interested in learning more about their experiences, which hopefully will further contribute to research, and to education as a whole.

The Setting

Description of the Setting

Greenwood High, the immersion site in which I conducted my research, is a new public high school that was in its first year of existence during the period of data collection. During this year, Greenwood belonged to a local school district. This high school, however, had applied for and received a Type 2 charter, meaning that its second year would be as a charter school that reports directly to the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE). During the first year, the school was governed by an advisory board, which has for the most part continued as the governing body, as Greenwood transitioned into becoming a public charter school. Greenwood began with a group of approximately 110 9th grade students, and will increase in size each year with an additional class, until reaching its full capacity of approximately 600 9th through 12th graders in 2012. The school plans on giving students a choice between two alternative programs, or either the International Baccalaureate or the International Business program.

Greenwood is unique in that in its first year it had both a French and a Spanish-speaking cohort of students. Additionally, the school has a larger group of students who are in English-only classes, and are taking French or Spanish as an elective. There are several French and

Spanish Kindergarten through 8th grade immersion programs in the New Orleans area; Greenwood High was originally created to offer these schools' graduating classes a continuation of their immersion education. When Greenwood opened, however, there were not enough graduating immersion 8th graders who chose to attend this high school. Consequently, Greenwood had space for students who had never taken a foreign language before.

The French immersion strand had three students in the first year, although the school's founders had hoped that this group would grow in size in the upcoming years, as more French immersion elementary schools graduate proficient French speakers. The Spanish immersion strand was larger in size, as it began the year with 14 Spanish immersion students, and ended with 10. Four of the original students were English native speakers who spoke Spanish proficiently, having recently graduated from Glover, the only Spanish immersion elementary school in the area. There were also three other Spanish native speakers in this cohort who had recently graduated from Glover. The rest of the cohort was made up of Spanish native speakers, many of whom had graduated from a local English-only school that serves a large Latino population. Most of these students spoke Spanish as their home language; for many of them, however, this year was their first experience in an academic Spanish environment.

During the first year, the school's administration had intended for the immersion students to spend 50% of the day immersed in their target language of either Spanish or French, which is the minimum amount of time recommended for middle and high school immersion programs. The program fell short of this goal for several reasons. To begin, there were four 100-minute core classes a day; two were to be taught in the target language, while the other two were in English. There was a fifth class, however, or a 50-minute advisory period. The administration had originally hoped to have the advisory conducted in Spanish, but this course ended up being

taught in English. For this reason, the Spanish cohort received 44% of their instruction in Spanish.

Additionally, the French cohort of three received less instructional time in their target language. In the fall semester, they did take two core classes in French, allowing 44% of their instructional time to be in the target language. In the spring, however, it became a challenge to continue with this 1:3 student to teacher ratio for 200 minutes of the day. The French teacher instead taught an additional section of English World Geography, meaning that the French immersion students had only 100 minutes of French a day, or 22% of their instructional time.

During this first year, there were two main immersion teachers at Greenwood. The French immersion teacher was Haitian, and the Spanish immersion teacher was Panamanian. Additionally, an English native speaking teacher who is proficient in Spanish taught one of the immersion courses during the spring semester. The rest of the staff taught in English only and were English native speakers. Of these English teachers, several were proficient in other languages, including French, Spanish, and German; additionally the principal was formerly a French teacher. Although the majority of the day at Greenwood took place in English, there was in general a sense of respect for bilingualism amongst the staff. Most of the non-immersion students, however, were coming from English-speaking homes and were not accustomed to being in a multilingual setting.

Additionally, a certified, experienced ESOL teacher taught 12 of the Spanish native speakers during a daily, 100-minute ESOL class that lasted the entire school year. Of these 12 students, some were also in the Spanish immersion class, while others were taking mainstream English classes during the rest of their day. The biggest challenge for this ESOL teacher was in accommodating the wide gamut of English proficiencies in her class, which was made up of

three distinct groups, ranging from emergent English speakers to students who were rapidly approaching academic English proficiency.

Evolution of the Setting

Greenwood was originally intended to be a one-way foreign language immersion program, meaning that it was designed for English native speakers to learn to speak either French or Spanish. As previously mentioned, Greenwood was created as an immersion high school that would allow local elementary students the opportunity to continue their education immersed in a second language. Many of these students, however, had chosen not to attend Greenwood for a variety of reasons. As the school was unable to begin its first year with a substantial population of foreign language immersion students, heavy recruitment additionally took place within the local heritage language population. This large population of English learners greatly altered the original plan for the immersion program, in that these students were approaching the school from the opposite direction; they were Spanish native speakers, who needed to learn to speak English, as well as to develop their academic Spanish.

An additional change took place in the direction of the program midway through the first year, when three of the four foreign language immersion students chose to drop out of the Spanish immersion program, leaving behind only one English native speaker in a cohort of ten. For all of these above-mentioned reasons, the immersion program rapidly evolved over the year from what was originally intended to be a foreign language immersion program, to what essentially became a heritage language program. At the time of data collection and analysis, the school remained uncertain as to what it would become in the future, as the majority of Glover's 8th grade foreign language immersion students were not planning on attending Greenwood in the upcoming school year.

With this drastic change, a unique situation has been created within this Spanish immersion program, in that it has the potential of becoming a two-way immersion program if the school is able to recruit more English native speakers. With this two-way status, however, comes an additional set of challenges, as the academic and social language needs would differ greatly within such a wide range of students. There has been little discussion to date, however, as to whether the Spanish program will be a one-way foreign language program, a heritage language program, or a two-way immersion program. Additionally, there was a complete turn over of the school's administration and staff between the first and second school year. Presently, the new administration has greatly altered the make-up and existence of the school's immersion program. It remains to be seen what will take place within this immersion program in the years to come.

The Participants

Sampling Procedures

To learn more about the experience of the Spanish native speakers at Greenwood, I chose to observe and interview both the students and their teachers. I used purposeful sampling to select the participants, and my inclusion and exclusion criteria were based on choosing participants who could best provide a holistic picture of the phenomenon being studied. I observed and interviewed a sample totaling 22 participants, made up of 17 students and five teachers.

The student population at this site was small, and the number of students that fit my criteria was even smaller. For this reason, I was limited in my sampling of student participants.

I chose to observe and interview the 12 students within the school who fit the following criteria: they were Spanish native speakers who were in the ESOL class during the spring semester. Of this group of 12, five of the students also took Spanish immersion classes during the spring.

Additionally, I chose to observe and interview five other students who did not take the ESOL class, but were included in one or more of the Spanish immersion classes. Four of these five students were Spanish native speakers. The fifth student was the last remaining English native speaker in the immersion classes, after the other three ENSs chose to drop out of the program mid-year. Due to these limitations in sampling procedures, I do not assume that my research allows me to generalize from this group of 17 students to a larger population of all Spanish native speakers in all immersion programs. Instead, I formed this group with the assumption that my research findings would shed light on this particular phenomenon in this specific school setting.

I also chose to observe and interview a small group of teacher participants, so as to provide a greater understanding of the experiences of these Spanish native speakers. The staff at the site was also small, with only nine teachers at Greenwood High during the first year. I purposefully excluded four of these teachers from my sample because they taught few of the student participants during the fall and spring semesters. I included five of the nine teachers because they had significant contact with the student participants throughout the instructional day. These five teachers instructed the student sample in Spanish immersion Biology, Spanish immersion Literature, English to speakers of other languages (ESOL), Art, Math, and Advisory.

Protecting the Participants

In order to obtain and document informed consent, I created five forms to use in this study: a letter of consent form for adult participants in English; a letter of consent form for the

parents of the student participants in both English and Spanish; and an assent form for the student participants, also in both languages. All five forms were printed on official UNO letterhead.

Before the school year began, I spoke to the principal at this site about the potential of conducting research there in the spring, and I received her full support. Additionally, the principal wrote and signed a letter permitting me to conduct research within this high school. After receiving IRB permission to begin data collection in January, my next step was to obtain consent and assent from the participants and their parents/guardians. I personally requested participation from the five teachers in the study. I sent a letter of consent form home to the students' parents and guardians, and offered to meet with them or speak to them on the phone to address any questions or concerns. I individually discussed the assent form with the student participants, and requested their signatures on this form in person. I informed all participants of their role in the study during our first meeting and continued to answer further questions as they arose throughout the duration of my research. I have kept all letters of consent and assent on file for the extent of this dissertation project and will continue to do so for three years after the completion of the study.

I have provided the special protections entitled to the participants in several ways. First, I requested the signed consent of their parents or guardians, as well as the signed assent of the student, or minor participants. There was minimal risk involved for these student participants, and the benefits of the study for both the participants and the program outweighed any risk. These students' participation was entirely voluntary, and they were free to leave the study at any time with out risk of penalty. The confidentiality of these minors was protected through the use of pseudonyms, and all transcripts and files were kept and read by only the investigators. I also

conducted interviews and assessments at times of the day in which data collection would least interfere with the students' instructional time.

Additionally, I fully protected the rights of the five teachers in the study. As this research site is their workplace, I ensured that all interviews were entirely individual and confidential, and that none of their words were shared with the administration or other staff members. I conducted teacher interviews at the location of their choice so that they would feel more comfortable with the process. I also tried to be considerate of their busy schedules and conducted all interviews at times that were convenient for the teacher participants. As with the student participants, a pseudonym was used for each teacher throughout the study.

Additionally, the needs of the minority participants was considered and respected in the design of this research project. The possibility of undue influence or coercion was eliminated, in that participation was voluntary, and minority participants could choose to leave the study at any time. Both the consent forms and the interview guides were written in Spanish and English so that these materials could be easily accessible to the participants. All other materials were translated for participants when needed so as to further enhance their full understanding of the research project.

I audio taped all interviews with participants, and transcribed these tapes myself to ensure confidentiality. I aggregated the data during the analysis stage to further ensure that all materials remain confidential. Although I may present or publish the findings of the study, I will not distribute the actual interview transcripts to anyone other than the primary investigator. Additionally, for the purpose of protecting confidentiality, I conducted only individual interviews with the student and teacher participants, as opposed to focus groups. I did not share the words of the participants with anyone else within this school setting.

The use of electronic email within the research project was minimal, since I collected the majority of the data through face-to-face interviews and classroom observations. I did not use email as a primary method of data collection, as I did not distribute any questions or surveys via the Internet. However, I will delete any emails pertaining to this research at the termination of the project.

I also safeguarded all data that include possible identifiers by retaining this information under my personal possession and by only sharing it with the primary investigator. I did not use identifiers in any written documents, including the interview transcripts of the audiotapes. Instead, I used pseudonyms throughout the duration of the study.

I stored all data in my password-protected personal computer, and I backed-up the files on my hard drive. This included all data that were collected, such as the informal reading inventory assessment, the interview transcripts, and the observation notes. I will destroy any data with potential identifiers upon completing the project; I will do so by deleting the audiotapes and transcript files. In particular, I ensured that no teachers had access to student data, as this could have created the potential for influence on the students' grades. I did not print out any transcripts, as I prefer to conduct all data analysis on my personal computer. All hard copy data that I used, however, will be shredded at the termination of my project.

Methods of Data Collection

In order to gain a deeper and more thorough understanding of the phenomenon that I have studied, I collected a wide variety of data over the course of the spring semester. I have divided these methods of collection into three main categories: assessment, observation, and

interview. Additionally, this was basically the order in which I collected these data. Although assessment and observation were ongoing throughout the school year, I began the period of formal data collection by focusing on assessment, then continued with observation, and ended with final interviews. Below, I describe in greater detail the specific data collection methods that I used within these three categories.

Assessment

The majority of the data that I collected was qualitative, or observations and interviews, as I believed that this would help me to better gain an understanding of this phenomenon. Additionally, however, I chose to gather a substantial amount of quantitative data in the form of student assessments in both English and Spanish. I felt that these assessments would shed further light on the academic growth of the student participants throughout the school year.

Out of respect for these students' instructional time, I tried to first use data from assessments that were already being administered by the school. I felt, however, that it was also necessary to personally administer additional assessments to fill in gaps in the data that I was collecting. In particular, the school and district did not conduct any assessments of these students in their native language. Knowing the importance of determining students' abilities in both languages, I chose to conduct additional assessments in Spanish.

When possible, I attempted to collect assessment data as early and as late as I could in the school year to gain a more longitudinal understanding of students' academic growth. A follow up assessment was sometimes not possible, however, particularly if the assessment was too time-consuming or if instructional time did not permit for further testing. Above all else, I strived during data collection to ensure that students maximized their time in the classroom and that my study had a minimal impact on teachers' abilities to instruct their classes to their full capacity.

Student Interest Survey. I asked the ESOL and Spanish Biology immersion teachers to conduct both an English and a Spanish student interest survey in their classrooms at the beginning of the spring semester. I did so for two reasons. First, it gave me an additional writing sample for each student in both languages so that I could better understand their language levels at the beginning of the semester. Second, it helped me to learn more about these students' attitudes towards reading in both English and Spanish as well as their general interests in academic subjects.

Informal Reading Inventory. I conducted a thorough informal reading inventory on each of the 17 student participants to better understand their comprehension levels in both English and Spanish. This inventory was time-consuming and took approximately 45 minutes to conduct with each student; for this reason I chose to only administer it one time at the beginning of the semester. It allowed me a greater understanding of each student's reading levels, and in particular, it demonstrated whether Spanish or English was their dominant language.

The inventory began with an assessment of 100 sight words. I only conducted this portion with the emergent English learners, as the more advanced students were able to identify all of these words. I then asked the student to read a list of leveled sentences in both English and Spanish in order to demonstrate where I should begin assessing their reading abilities. Next, I asked the student to silently read an English passage at their approximate grade level. The student then answered five to seven questions based on this passage, which allowed me to determine whether the passage was at their independent, instructional, or frustration level for silent reading comprehension. The student next read the passage out loud for a minute, while I conducted a running record and miscue analysis. This step demonstrated both the strengths and weaknesses in students' reading abilities, as well as their level of reading fluency. Last, I

repeated the above steps with a Spanish passage, conducting both a reading comprehension assessment and a miscue analysis in Spanish.

While conducting the above series of assessments, I took extensive memo notes on students' comments and reactions while reading. Although this assessment did take a great deal of time, I found it to be very useful in helping me to more thoroughly understand the literacy and language abilities of the 17 participants. I also was able to later use the assessment results and the memos to begin my process of data analysis.

LAS Links: Placement Test. Greenwood High's district has a small group of ESL coordinators who conduct a placement test on English learners at the beginning of the school year. In August, Greenwood's coordinator administered an extensive assessment to the 12 ESOL students to determine their listening, speaking, writing, and reading comprehension levels in English. She used these preliminary scores to place these students in the ESOL class for the rest of the school year.

Unfortunately, the coordinator did not return to Greenwood to conduct a mid-year and end-of-year follow-up assessment of the students' progress in English. I contacted her during the spring to see if she was planning on conducting these additional assessments. She told me that she would try to do so, as she also saw the benefit of having this additional data for each student. Due to time constraints, however, she was unable to return to Greenwood. I have included her preliminary results to better determine the levels of these 12 English learners at the beginning of the school year.

Scholastic Reading Inventory (SRI). Greenwood High's administration also conducted five benchmark reading assessments of all students during the school year. An online reading inventory tool was used to determine students' lexile levels. This assessment took approximately

15-45 minutes to administer, and it gave a strong understanding of students' growth as readers throughout the year. The test is entirely in English and is made up of a series of short passages and multiple-choice questions. The questions are tailored to the student's readiness levels and become easier or harder depending on the answers given. Although not as thorough as the above-mentioned informal reading inventory, this computerized assessment did provide a quick snapshot of the 17 student participants' growth at five points throughout the school year.

Additionally, 12 of the 17 participants were placed in a Scholastic Read 180 class, which allowed for a wealth of additional quantitative data based on their progress during this course. Much of the work in Read 180, as with SRI, takes place on a computerized program. I was able to print and utilize data from both the SRI assessment and the Read 180 program in order to learn more about these 12 students' comprehension, spelling, vocabulary, and word work levels.

Words Their Way. I conducted a Words Their Way assessment on the 12 ESOL students at two points in the school year, or during the months of August and May. Words Their Way is a spelling inventory that demonstrates the orthographic levels of a student, allowing the teacher to group these students according to their different word work needs. I asked the students to spell a series of 35 words, which ranged from basic to more difficult. I then conducted an analysis of their spelling, to demonstrate both their strengths and weaknesses in this area. From this data, I was able to determine the English spelling patterns that students had already mastered, as well as the patterns with which they still needed support. Additionally, as this assessment was administered over a ten-month period, I was able to learn more about their English spelling growth throughout the school year.

Aimswest Math Benchmark. Greenwood High's district administered a math probe to all students at three points throughout the school year. This assessment took approximately 14

minutes, with 4 minutes for students to answer computational problems, and an additional 10 minutes for word problems. Students did take this benchmark at three points throughout the school year; the assessments, however, were only scored and entered for the initial benchmark. I have included this preliminary data, as it helps to determine students' basic numeracy skills at the beginning of the school year. Through this data, I was also able to determine whether these English learners struggled with just the English word problems, or if they struggled with the numeric problems as well. This information helped me to understand whether certain English learners were struggling in Math class due to their developing English proficiencies or if they also needed extra support with Math content.

End of Course Assessments This past school year, Greenwood's district piloted a series of end of course assessments on many 9th grade students. These EOC assessments will eventually replace the Graduation Exit Examination (GEE) as the high stakes assessment given to all high school students. A small cohort of 9th graders took the Algebra 1 EOC assessment at the end of the fall semester, and a few of the 17 participants were within this group. Additionally, all of the 17 participants took one or more of the EOC tests at the end of the spring semester, depending on if they were taking Algebra 1, Geometry, Biology, or Spanish immersion Biology. This assessment lasted for approximately one and a half to two hours and was entirely in English and online. English learners were allowed to use Spanish to English dictionaries during the test, and the directions could be translated from English to Spanish.

I collected data from the school's six EOC assessments in order to learn more about how the 17 participants fared in these courses as compared to their non-immersion and non-ESOL peers. Additionally, it was interesting to see the results of students on the English Biology test, depending upon if they had learned their Biology content in an English or a Spanish immersion

class. I have included this data at the beginning of the findings section to better explain participants' achievement in both Math and Science classes.

Writing Samples The last assessment tool that I used was the collection of writing samples in order to create a portfolio for each of the 17 participants. I asked the ESOL and the two immersion teachers if I could copy writing assignments for student participants from different points throughout the school year. I collected samples in both English and Spanish from various dates during the fall and spring semesters. I did not include data from these writing samples at the beginning of the findings chapter as I did with the all of the other assessments. Instead, I read through these portfolios to better understand the 17 students' writing progress in Spanish and English during the course of the year. This holistic understanding of their growth helped me in my overall data analysis and my write-up of the findings section.

Observation Observations, along with interviews, were one of my primary data collection methods throughout the school year. As I also worked at my research site on a daily basis, I was able to spend a great deal of time observing and making notes of the particular phenomenon that I was studying. My research interest was broad as I was investigating both the academic and social experiences of English learners. My group of participants was also substantial in size as I had selected a sample of 22 participants, or 17 students and 5 teachers. Due to the width of my interest, it was important that I frequently utilize the data collection tool of observation to better understand what was taking place at Greenwood High. Below I explain in more detail the types of observation data that I collected, dividing this method into the four categories of memo writing, informal observation, formal observation, and CLASS observation.

Memos As a participant-observer within this site, I would often have enlightening conversations or observe relevant interactions during the course of the school year. I also was

able to regularly observe my 22 participants throughout their day in a variety of locations, such as the hallway, the cafeteria, and in classes. I reflected on these observations several times a week in the form of memo writing. I would spend approximately 15 to 45 minutes at the end of the day writing about my thoughts and reflections on the experiences of the English learners within the site. These memos were written in a casual, journal-writing style, and greatly helped me to deepen my own understanding of the phenomenon. They also served as an excellent early data analysis tool, as I began to see emerging themes developing within these memos. I read through these memos regularly to help me stay focused as I continued to both collect and analyze data at my research site.

Informal Observations As the instructional coach at Greenwood High, one of my primary responsibilities was to regularly observe teachers throughout the school year. In doing so, I was able to begin my formal period of data collection in the spring semester with a certain level of familiarity with both the student and teacher participants in my study. I re-read through my fall observation notes for the five teacher participants, specifically looking for feedback that I had given as this pertains to the English learners in the classroom. This data from classroom observations helped me to find a starting point for data collection during the spring semester.

Formal Observations This level of familiarity was also a challenge for me as a researcher, as it made it more difficult for me to step back in my role as a participant, to more objectively observe the classrooms in which these 17 students spent the better part of their day. For this reason, I conducted at least two formal observations in each of the classrooms in which I had chosen to focus my data collection. During these 30 to 45 minute observations, I would strive to switch the roles that I was playing within this site, stepping back as a participant to focus on being a researcher. I would let the teacher participant know ahead of time that I would

be observing his/her classroom purely for the purposes of my dissertation and that I wouldn't be sharing my notes with anyone else. I would then focus my attention on teacher and student interactions as these pertained to the academic and social experiences of the English learners. During these observations, I kept a running record of what I observed in the classroom as well as some of the conversations that took place between teachers and students.

I conducted at least two observations in nine different classes, which I chose to observe based on their level of relevance to my study. Five of these nine classes were my primary focus, as they were academic courses in which a substantial group of English learners received instruction in either English or Spanish. I regularly observed Steven's Spanish immersion Biology, as well Martha's Spanish immersion Literature course, in which ten of the participants received instruction in Spanish twice each day. The third course in level of importance was Cynthia's ESOL class, in which 12 of the English learners received 100 minutes of English instruction on a daily basis. I also chose to observe Chad's Algebra class as well as Matthew's Art class. Both of these classes were conducted in English and were mainstream courses, meaning they were made up of predominantly non-EL and non-immersion students. A few English learners were placed in both of these classes, allowing me the opportunity to observe their interactions with the rest of the student body as well as the scaffolding strategies that these teachers used with their English learners.

I also regularly observed four advisory classes, which were less academic in nature, and took place for 50 minutes at the end of each day. I twice formally observed the advisories of Steven, Martha, Chad, and Matthew; I did not observe Cynthia's advisory, as none of my 17 participants belonged to her group. These four advisories were an excellent opportunity to

observe the social interactions between my participants as well as their interactions with English native speakers.

CLASS Observations During the spring semester, I conducted a third observation in five of the nine classes that were the focus of my study. I chose to conduct this third observation in the five classes that were more academic in nature, or in Martha's Spanish immersion Literature, Steven's Spanish immersion Biology, Cynthia's ESOL, Chad's Algebra I, and Matthew's Art class. For the purposes of this third observation, I used an instructional rubric, which allowed me to compare and contrast the strengths and challenges of these five teacher participants.

The rubric that I used is entitled Classroom Assessment Scoring System, or the acronym of CLASS, and was created by Robert Pianta, Karen La Paro, and Bridget Hamre. This rubric is made up of the ten dimensions of positive climate, negative climate, teacher sensitivity, regard for student perspectives, behavior management, productivity, instructional learning formats, concept development, quality of feedback, and language modeling. Teachers received a score of one to seven in each of these dimensions, placing them in a low, middle, or high range.

I was able to attend a two-hour introductory session on using this rubric during the spring semester. I have not been formally trained, however, in using this rubric, as doing so would involve attending an extensive course that takes place over several days. For this reason, I do not claim to have used this rubric in the manner in which the creators intended CLASS observations to be conducted. I instead used an abbreviated form of this rubric to aid me in fine-tuning my final observation of the five teacher participants. Doing so created a baseline with which to compare the instructional styles of these five educators. I have included this data towards the beginning of my findings chapter to provide a better understanding of these five unique classrooms.

Interview

My third method of data collection was conducting interviews with both student and teacher participants. I conducted these formal interviews with both groups on an individual basis. All teacher interviews were conducted in English, as all five teachers spoke this language fluently. Student interviews were conducted in English as well as Spanish, depending upon the language with which the student felt the most comfortable.

I conducted these interviews during the second half of my formal period of data collection and used this time to help narrow the focus of my study. I created the interview guides before beginning data collection, but I was able to further develop my questions based on what I had learned through assessment data and observations. I transcribed all formal interviews verbatim, and these transcripts were used as a primary source of data analysis.

Sociogram I conducted two formal interviews with the 17 student participants, the first of which consisted of a sociogram. In order to learn more about the social and academic interactions of the English learners within this site, I developed a sociogram that lasted for approximately 20 minutes. I conducted this sociogram at the same time as the informal reading inventory in order to only have to pull students out of class one time. This 45-minute conversation was my first individual interview with each of the 17 participants and allowed me to better understand their social and academic experiences at Greenwood High.

The sociogram was made up of four questions. With the first two questions, I asked the participant to list the three students with whom they would prefer and not prefer to complete an academic project. I then asked the participant to repeat this process by listing the three students with whom they would prefer and not prefer to sit at lunchtime. I kept a record of the students' names that were mentioned, which I later turned into three charts that are included in my

findings section. This process was very enlightening, as it demonstrated a great deal about the participants' preferences within their own group of English learners, as well as with the mainstream students outside of the participant sample.

Formal Interview I conducted a second interview with each of the 17 student participants, which was audio taped and then later transcribed. This second interview took approximately 30 to 45 minutes to conduct. In this interview, I was able to follow up with further questions that had arisen throughout the period of data collection and early analysis. These student interviews, like the sociograms, took place in a private office or classroom, so that the participants would feel more comfortable sharing their experiences. I discussed the scheduling of these interviews with both the teachers and students to make sure that the participants were not missing crucial instructional time for the purposes of data collection.

I also conducted a formal interview with each of the five teacher participants, which lasted for approximately an hour to an hour and a half. These interviews were also audio taped and transcribed. As the teacher participants were able to discuss their experiences for a longer period of time, I did not find it necessary to conduct a second interview as I had done with the student participants. I did, however, continue my discussions with teachers as needed throughout the period of data collection and analysis. All five of these teacher interviews took place when the participants were not working and at the location of their choice. Chad, Steven, and Martha chose to have the interviews in their homes; Cynthia chose a local restaurant; and Matthew chose to be interviewed at the school site.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was an ongoing process, which began as soon as I started collecting data at my research site. Early data analysis helped me in narrowing the focus of my collection, as I began to see emerging themes arise in my memos, observations, and interviews. Formal data analysis, however, began after the period of data collection, and can be broken down into two main categories: the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data.

I began by analyzing the quantitative data that I had collected from assessments, which helped me to better understand the academic growth of the student participants. I then analyzed the qualitative data, or the memos, observation records, and interview transcripts, searching for major and minor themes within this phenomenon. Last, I combined my findings from both of these two steps in the discussions chapter to better explain the holistic experience of the English learners at Greenwood High.

Description of Data Analysis

As I mentioned above, data analysis was an ongoing process throughout the entire research project, beginning with my first assessments and observations during the fall semester. As I observed teacher and student interactions throughout the year, I wrote extensive memos, asking myself questions and making initial hypotheses about what was taking place within this setting. I added these emerging questions to my interview guides, which I had originally written based on my research goals. Throughout the interviews, I conducted further data analysis, as I rethought my initial questions, and altered them according to the direction of the dialogue.

During the months of data collection, I re-read through early memos, assessment data,

and observations, searching for emerging patterns. These patterns affected the direction of my future observations of and interviews with the participants. I continued to follow this ongoing cycle of data collection and preliminary analysis throughout the period of full immersion within my research site.

After completing the above-described period of data collection, I began a more formal period of data analysis. My first step was to read through all of the quantitative data that I had collected in the forms of assessments, writing samples, and student interest surveys. I then created charts and displays for these data to better understand what they were revealing about my participants' academic growth. After each chart, I wrote a narrative description of the data, describing in detail their relevance as this pertains to my focus of research.

My second step in formal data analysis was to re-read through all of the memos, observation records, and interview transcripts on my computer, coding the majority of the data with text highlights and analysis notes. I then reread through these codes, organizing them into an initial outline of what the research findings might be. I moved the sections of the outline around frequently, working to both describe the “characters” and to find the “stories” of these English learners. I eliminated some of the emerging themes depending on whether they were truly aggregated patterns that were relevant to the experiences of the EL students. I then began to format these patterns into the body of the text and to edit them into a more manageable size. Last, I wrote my final analysis of these data, tying the patterns together within the findings chapter. In doing so, I tried to minimize my own interpretation of the data, and to instead allow the voices of the participants to shine through (Biklen, 1992; Creswell, 1998; Marvasti & Silverman, 2008).

Monitoring my Biases

Monitoring my biases proved to be challenging, which is something that I was aware of and planned for from the beginning. I worked at the site where I collected my data, so I consequently had a relationship with the staff and students. I also had a subjective perspective on this school's ESOL and immersion program, as both a participant and an observer. And as I have discussed in my biographical statement, I additionally have a vested interest in EL students in immersion programs, as I hope to see them receiving the highest quality education that they so deserve.

Throughout this project, I continuously self-reflected on my biases through memo-writing and ongoing dialogue with my colleagues. I was even more careful than I had been in past research projects, as I was aware of my delicate role of participant-observer within this site. I strived to “step back” frequently from both the site and the data to assure that I was actually tapping into the phenomenon. With each assessment, memo, observation, and interview, I worked towards approaching the data collection as if I were entirely new to the site. This allowed me a fresher perspective, as well as the opportunity to collect “thicker” data from the participants as I searched for detailed descriptions.

I triangulated my data by using several methods of collection, including writing samples, ongoing assessments, classroom observations, and interviews. Additionally, although my study is primarily qualitative, I also collected quantitative data through student assessments to further triangulate my findings. I also triangulated my data by conducting interviews with a large group of students and teachers, thus tapping into multiple perspectives on the phenomenon. I observed and interviewed a variety of students from three main groups, or students who were in ESOL and immersion; students who were in ESOL only; and students who were in immersion only. I did

so to gain a more holistic view of these students' experiences within the school. I also observed and interviewed a wide variety of teachers and their classrooms to further help me in gaining a broad view of this phenomenon. Last, I observed and interviewed students from a wide gamut of English language abilities, ranging from emergent to highly proficient English speakers.

During data analysis, I tried to remove my own voice as much as possible and to instead give voice to the participants and their varying views. I also aggregated my data to avoid any of the participants' voices coming through louder than the others. I worked to ensure that I was finding patterns that were represented in the majority of the transcripts. I also searched for examples that contradicted the patterns that I found and reflected on why these might exist. I tried to include these counter-examples throughout my research paper.

During this project, I had ongoing discussions with several people about how my subjectivity might be affecting my analysis. I discussed this openly with participants, fellow doctoral students, friends, and family members. I did so with the intention of being completely transparent about my biases and to use my subjectivity as an asset rather than a crutch.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

Description of the Findings

As I have used both a wide variety of collection methods and a large sample of participants, I have attempted to layout my findings chapter in a format that will best help the reader to understand the story that is my phenomenon. I begin my findings chapter with an extensive description of the participants, or characters in this story, so that the reader will be more familiar with the students and teachers at Greenwood High. Throughout the findings chapter, I intentionally have chosen to write about the students first, and then the teachers. My reason for doing so is to remain focused on the experiences of the students, and to write about the teachers' experiences as these pertain to those of the students. I divide the students into three main groups, or the students who took ESOL and immersion; those who took ESOL only; and those who took immersion only. I then describe the five teacher participants. For both the student and the teacher participants, I begin with a chart laying out their major characteristics, followed by a narrative description of each individual participant.

After the description of the participants, I begin to layout my major findings. Again, I

have chosen to write about the students first, as they are the focal point of my study. I first describe the academic growth of these 17 participants, creating charts for the data from the following assessments: the student interest survey, informal reading inventory, LAS Links placement test, Scholastic reading inventory, Words Their Way assessment, Aimsweb math benchmark, and the end of course assessment. Following each chart, I have written a narrative description of what these data mean in relation to the students' academic experiences. I end this section with a summary of the academic growth findings, outlining the major points discussed thus far.

I then lay out my major data regarding the students' social experiences, or the findings from the sociogram. As the sociogram was a rich source of relevant data, I have displayed these findings in the form of three charts. I follow these charts with a narrative description, further discussing what this sociogram reveals about the social experiences of the participants. I again end this section with a summary of the sociogram findings, briefly outlining the major themes from the sociogram.

In the next sections of the findings chapter, I describe the data that I collected from the teacher participants through classroom observations, particularly focusing on how these data shed light on the students' experiences. I begin by displaying the data from the CLASS dimensions observations to better describe the similarities and differences between these five teachers and their classrooms. I follow this chart with a narrative description of the CLASS observation data. I then lay out the major themes that arose from both the formal and informal observations of the five teachers throughout the school year, focusing on the patterns that are the most relevant to the English learners at Greenwood High. As with the academic growth and sociogram sections, I again end this section with a summary of the observation findings.

I end my findings chapter with a discussion of the major themes found through the analysis of the participant interviews. I simultaneously discuss the interviews that I conducted with the 17 students and the five teachers, again using the words of the teachers to further illuminate the experiences of the student participants. I have divided the discussion of the 22 interviews into three sections, or the introductory, academic, and social themes. Last, I summarize each of these three sections before continuing to the next, helping to tie together this significant portion of the findings chapter.

Description of the Participants

The Students

Table 1
Students: ESOL and/or Immersion Programs

ESOL & Immersion	ESOL only	Spanish Immersion only
Alejandra	Alvaro	Francisco
Carlos	Jimena	Jason (Foreign language immersion student)
Carmen	Manuel	Raul
Elena	Maria	Roberto
Luis	Natalia	Stefano
	Rosalinda	
	Sofia	

The 17 student participants with whom I worked participated in the ESOL program, the Spanish immersion program, or both. Sixteen of these 17 students were Spanish native speakers; the 17th student, or Jason, was an English native speaker who graduated from Glover Elementary. Jason was the only foreign language immersion student who remained in the Spanish immersion program, as the other English native speakers left the program at the beginning of the spring semester. There are five students who took both the ESOL and immersion classes; seven

students who took the ESOL class only; and five students who took the immersion classes only.

Throughout the findings chapter, I display student data according to these three groups.

Table 2

Students: ESOL, Biology Immersion, and/or Literature Immersion Classes

Steven's Biology Immersion	Martha's Literature Immersion	Cynthia's ESOL
Alejandra	Alejandra	Alejandra
Carlos	Carlos	Alvaro
Carmen	Carmen	Carlos
Elena	Elena	Carmen
Francisco	Francisco	Elena
Jason (Foreign language immersion student)	Jason (Foreign language immersion student)	Jimena
Luis	Luis	Luis
Roberto	Raul (only in Martha's immersion)	Manuel
Stefano (only in Steven's immersion)	Roberto	Maria
		Natalia
		Rosalinda
		Sofia

Additionally, I have displayed the above chart of the students who are in the three main academic classes that I observed, or the ESOL and immersion classes. Cynthia had 12 students in her ESOL class throughout the entire year, seven of whom took ESOL only, and five who took Spanish immersion as well as ESOL. Both Steven and Martha had ten students in their Spanish immersion classes in the spring semester. Nine of these students took both of the two immersion courses, meaning that they were enrolled full-time in the Spanish immersion program. Two students opted to take only one of the immersion classes as an elective: Raul took Spanish immersion literature, and Stefano took Spanish immersion Biology. Jason, the foreign language immersion student, was in both of the immersion classes.

Table 3
Students: Demographics

	Age	Previous Schools	City and/or Country of Origin	Length of Time in New Orleans	Length of Time in the United States
ESOL & Immersion					
Alejandra	15	K – 7 th grade in Peru 8 th grade at Grover	Peru	1 year	1 year
Carlos	15	K – 5 th grade in Honduras 6 th – 8 th grade - Didn't attend school	Honduras	½ year	½ year
Carmen	15	K – 7 th grade in El Salvador 8 th grade at Amigos	El Salvador	1 year	1 year
Elena	18	K – 12 th grade in Honduras	Honduras	½ year	½ year
Luis	15	K – 5 th grade in Mexico 6 th grade at a New Orleans area school 7 th - 8 th grade at Amigos	Mexico	3 years	3 years

(Table 3 continued)

ESOL only					
Alvaro	14	K – 4 th grade in Mexico 5 th and 6 th grade in Tennessee 7 th and 8 th grade at Amigos	Chiapas, Mexico	2 years	4 years
Jimena	14	K - 8 th grade at New Orleans area schools	New Orleans, La. (Maternal Grandparents from Honduras, Father from Nicaragua)	14 years	14 years
Manuel	15	K - 1 st grade in Mexico 2 nd - 6 th grade in Tampa, Fla. 7 th grade in Chicago 8 th grade at Amigos	Mexico City, Mexico	1 year	8 years
Maria	15	K – 7 th grade in Dallas, Tx. 8 th grade at Amigos	Kansas (Parents from Chihuahua, Mexico)	1 year	15 years

(Table 3 continued)

Natalia	15	K – 4 th grade in Colombia 5 th grade in Pennsylvania 6 th grade at a New Orleans area school 7 th - 8 th grade at Amigos	Colombia	3 years	4 years
Rosalinda	15	K – 6 th grade in Mexico 7 th - 8 th grade at Amigos	Mexico City, Mexico	2 years	3 years
Sofia	15	K – 4 th grade in North American schools 5 th grade in Mexico 6 th grade at a New Orleans area school 7 th and 8 th grade Amigos	Vera Cruz, Mexico	3 years	14 years
Spanish Immersion only					
Francisco	15	K - 6 th grade in Honduras 7 th – 8 th grade at Grover	Honduras	2 years	2 years

(Table 3 continued)

Jason (Foreign language immersion student)	14	K - 8 th grade at Grover 5 th grade in Houston	New Orleans	14 years	14 years
Raul	15	7 th and 8 th grade at Amigos K - 6 th grade in Texas	North Carolina	2 years	15 years
Roberto	15	Kindergarten in Mexico with grandmother 1 st - 2 nd grade at a New Orleans area school 3 rd through 5 th grade at Grover 6 th – 8 th grade traveled between Mexico and Amigos	New Orleans	15 years	15 years
Stefano	16	K - 5 th grade New Orleans area school 6 th grade Houston 7 th grade - New Orleans area school 8 th grade Amigos	New Orleans Parents – Honduras	16 years	16 years

Place of origin. Of the 17 participants, 11 of these students immigrated to the United States from Latin American countries, including Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, Colombia, and Peru. Five of the six students who were born in the United States are Latino, with families from Mexico, Honduras, and Nicaragua. Of the 12 students in the ESOL class, 10 of these students are originally from Latin American countries. The other two students were born in the United States, and have attended English-only schools for all of their lives, but were placed in the ESOL class at Greenwood. The immersion-only group is made up of four out of five students who were originally from the states.

Thirteen of the 17 student participants moved to New Orleans within the last three years, indicative of the changing demographics in New Orleans since Hurricane Katrina. The other 4 students, three of whom are Latino, have been New Orleans residents since birth. Hurricane Katrina, however, did affect the education of these four students, as they all had to attend a school outside of Louisiana for at least the year following the storm.

The ESOL and immersion group is made up entirely of students who have recently immigrated to the United States; four out of five of these students have immigrated to New Orleans within the past year. The ESOL only group is also made up of students who immigrated to the U.S., but less recently, or within the last three to four years. Four of these students in the ESOL only group have lived in the United States for the majority of their lives, or between eight and fourteen years. The last group, or the Spanish immersion students, is mainly made up of students who have lived in the U.S. for their entire lives, with the exception of Francisco, who emigrated from Honduras within the last two years, but was not placed in ESOL.

Past education. The majority of these 17 students attended one of two New Orleans schools before coming to Greenwood. The first school, or Grover Elementary, is a Kindergarten through 8th grade Spanish immersion school that was formative in the creation of Greenwood High. However, few of Grover's families chose to send their children to Greenwood High in its first year of existence. The second school, or Amigos School, is an English-only school that recruits heavily within the New Orleans area Latino population. Greenwood High also recruited frequently within Amigos 8th grade students, and consequently a large percentage of the immersion and ESOL classes were made up of students from this English-only school. Of the 17 student participants, ten attended Amigos' English-only program, two attended Grover's Spanish immersion program, and one attended both programs.

There are several exceptional cases within the educational backgrounds of these participants. Carlos is the only student out of the group who has missed out on any schooling, as he did not attend school in Honduras from 6th through 8th grade, entering directly into the 9th grade at Greenwood. Elena, on the other hand, is the only 18 year old, in a group of students ranging from 14 to 16. She actually attended school in Honduras from Kindergarten through the 12th grade, but was placed in the 9th grade upon entering the New Orleans public school system. A last exception can be found in the backgrounds of Sofia and Roberto, who were raised predominately in American schools. Their parents, however, proactively chose to maintain their children's heritage language by sending them to Spanish-only schools in Mexico for brief periods of time.

Table 4

Students: Linguistic History

	First Language	Length of Time Learning English	Language of Preference	Parents' Language of Preference	Language Spoken to Parents	Language Parents Speak with Student
ESOL & Immersion						
Alejandra	Spanish	1 year	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish and English	Spanish
Carlos	Spanish	½ year	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
Carmen	Spanish	1 year	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
Elena	Spanish	½ year	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
Luis	Spanish	3 years	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
ESOL only						
Alvaro	Spanish	4 years	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
Jimena	English	14 years	English	English	English	English
Manuel	Spanish	7 years	English	Spanish	English	Spanish
Maria	Spanish	9 years (since K)	English	Spanish	English and Spanish	Spanish
Natalia	Spanish	4 years	English	Spanish	English and Spanish	Spanish
Rosalinda	Spanish	2 years	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
Sofia	Spanish	13 years	English	Spanish	English and Spanish	Spanish
Spanish Immersion only						
Francisco	Spanish	2 years	English	English	English and Spanish	English and Spanish
Jason (Foreign language immersion student)	English	14 years	English	English	English	English

(Table 4 continued)

Raul	English	9 years (since K)	English	Spanish	Spanish and a little English	Spanish
Roberto	English and Spanish	15 years	English	Mother – Spanish Father – English and Dutch	English and Spanish	Mother – Spanish Father - English
Stefano	Spanish	9 years (since K)	English	Spanish	English with mother, Spanish with father	Spanish

First language/Length of time learning English. Thirteen of the 17 students began life only speaking Spanish, while another student, Roberto, was raised bilingually by a Hispanic mother and a Dutch father. Of the three students whose first language is English, Jimena is an exceptional case, in that she was placed in the ESOL program, despite her having learned English for her entire life. Jimena is a second generation El Salvadorian/Honduran-American, who learned to speak Spanish by living with her grandparents between the ages of five and eight.

The amount of time that students have learned English is clearly divided between the three groups of participants. The five ESOL and immersion students have learned English for one half to three years, or since arriving in the United States. The ESOL only group is made up of students who have been learning English for longer periods of time, or between four and 14 years. Four of these students, or Manuel, Sofia, Maria and Jimena, have been learning English for an exceptional amount of time, or between seven and 14 years. The Spanish immersion only group has been learning English for the longest amount of time, or between nine and 14 years. The exception to this is Francisco, who has formally learned English for only two years. His

mother, however, although Hispanic, is also fully proficient in English and has spoken to him in the two languages since birth. Three of the 17 participants, or Maria, Raul, and Stefano, are students who were born in the U. S., but spoke Spanish until entering English-only Kindergarten classrooms.

Student and parent language of preference. The students' language of preference is also clearly divided between the three different groups of participants: All of the ESOL and immersion students prefer Spanish; all of the immersion only students prefer English; and the ESOL only students are divided in their preferences between the two languages. Interestingly, although only three of the 17 students' first language was English, at this point in time, 10 of the 17 participants prefer to speak in English. This impressive increase in English language usage amongst the participants is indicative of the dominant role that English plays in their lives, both within school and at home.

Of the 12 students in ESOL, 11 of their parents prefer to speak in Spanish, with the exception of Jimena. Of the five students in immersion only, three of these students have at least one parent who prefers English. Even though 14 of the students have parents who prefer Spanish, 11 of the students speak to their parents in English or a combination of English and Spanish. This appears to be a common thread amongst these Latino students, in that their parents generally speak to them in Spanish, with the children more often replying in English or a combination of the two languages. The more recently immigrated group of immersion and ESOL students speak the most frequently to their parents in Spanish alone.

ESOL and immersion.

Alejandra. Alejandra recently emigrated from Peru to the United States, and has consequently only studied English for a brief amount of time. She attended Grover Elementary

before enrolling at Greenwood High, so all of her North American education has been in a Spanish immersion program. Alejandra is a studious girl, and has learned to speak English at a remarkable pace. She is a friendly and polite student, and is very loyal to her tight-knit group of friends, all of whom are Spanish native speakers.

Carlos. Carlos is a unique student, in that he left his entire family a year ago to emigrate from Honduras to the United States. He made the trip over land, crossing the border into Texas without documentation, and has lived in New Orleans during this past school year on his own. As a 14-year-old student, he took the initiative to enroll himself in high school, and is very appreciative of this opportunity to further his education.

Carlos is hesitant to speak in English and predominantly speaks in Spanish throughout the day with both students and teachers. He has a limited background in academic Spanish, as he dropped out of school in Honduras between the 5th and 8th grade. This was a difficult period of his life, as he was involved with a gang of Honduran children in his city of origin. He is a strong-willed young man and mature beyond his 14 years. Towards the end of the school year, the parents of another English learner, Manuel, decided to foster Carlos, which has provided him with a more stable home environment.

Carmen. Carmen, an emergent English speaker, is also very nervous to speak in her target language and uses Spanish throughout the majority of her day with the Spanish-speaking teachers and the other immersion students. She is close friends with Alejandra and Elena and socializes predominantly with Greenwood's small population of Spanish native speakers. She doesn't demonstrate a high interest in learning English, and seems content to remain in her native language. Carmen, like Carlos, is also an undocumented student.

Elena. Elena, another Honduran student, is unique in that at 18, she is substantially older than the rest of the student participants. She had almost completed high school before leaving Honduras. When she arrived in New Orleans, however, the district didn't recognize the majority of her credits and placed her in the 9th grade, which is a source of great frustration for her. She is finding success in both her Spanish and English classes, as much of the content is a review for her. Elena has a 22-year-old boyfriend who is also a Spanish native speaker and who no longer attends school. Elena recently discovered that she is pregnant, and she is not certain if she will return to Greenwood High next year.

Luis. Luis is a good-natured student who has a playful attitude with both students and teachers. He has been dating Jimena, another student participant, throughout the spring semester. Luis emigrated from Mexico to the United States at the beginning of middle school and has been in English-only classes since that time. He struggles academically in both his English and Spanish courses. Luis speaks a mixture of his native and target languages, switching frequently between the two during conversation.

ESOL only.

Alvaro. Alvaro is a sweet natured boy from Chiapas, Mexico, who struggled socially and academically at Greenwood High. He is *mestizo*, having some indigenous heritage, and consequently he was teased frequently for his unique facial features. He struggles between Spanish and English and frequently switches between languages in search of the appropriate words. Alvaro also suffers from dizzy spells, and on several occasions I was concerned that he might faint. He would walk long distances to school when he missed the bus, and he didn't like to eat anything in the morning; consequently, he found it challenging to stay focused in class.

Both Alvaro and Carlos were often bullied by other students in the school, although Alvaro seemed to have a more difficult time in dealing with this.

Jimena. Jimena, the girlfriend of Luis, is one of the most proficient English learners in the ESOL class and was sometimes frustrated to be placed with this group. She speaks social English fluently and is rapidly working towards developing her academic English. She is a friendly student, and gets along well with several social groups within Greenwood High. She is also very aware of social tensions between different ethnic groups in school and was quick to defend the language and heritage of her fellow Spanish native speakers.

Manuel. Manuel is a proficient English learner although he needs extra support in developing his academic English. He formed a strong bond with Carlos over the school year, and recently his parents chose to foster his friend. He has a great sense of humor and a very relaxed and positive outlook on life at Greenwood High. Manuel is a popular student and is involved with several organizations in the school such as the student council and conflict managers.

Maria. Maria is a quiet, serious girl and a proficient English learner. She is not pleased with the majority of her teachers and classes at Greenwood and finds school to be frustrating at times. Maria, more so than the other Spanish native speakers, makes a great effort to have friends outside of the small group of English learners. She identifies more with the English native speakers in the school and only speaks Spanish with the students who are unable to understand English.

Natalia. Natalia's family migrated to New Orleans from the northeast after Katrina, and her parents have been working in the construction industry since that time. She originally emigrated from Colombia to the United States at the beginning of middle school, and she had not

studied English prior to her arrival. Her social English can be difficult to understand at times, and she struggles in developing her academic language. She is a friendly, sweet girl, and gets along well with the other students in the school. She is also an undocumented student.

Rosalinda. Rosalinda is a very studious girl and is highly dedicated to her education. Both she and her mother strongly believe that she should be in English-only classes, as she already speaks Spanish, and instead needs to work on her social and academic English. She began the school year as an emergent English speaker, and since then has made great progress due to her hard work. She struggled with some of her English content courses, particularly Algebra, but with extra effort and a positive attitude, she was able to end the year strongly.

Sofia. Sofia, another highly proficient English learner, was oftentimes frustrated to be in the ESOL class. She has a friendly and outgoing personality and gets along well with most of the students at Greenwood High. She is also an undocumented student, and is very nervous that her parents might move her back suddenly to Vera Cruz, Mexico. Although she misses her family and culture, she has developed strong ties to the United States and struggles to find a balance between these two entities in her life.

Immersion only.

Francisco. Francisco is a Spanish native speaker who graduated from Grover Elementary, which is the only Spanish immersion elementary school in New Orleans. He has a close relationship with his mother, who is originally from the United States but lived in Honduras for an extended period of time. Consequently, his mother is fully bilingual, and has helped Francisco to develop his proficiency in both languages. Francisco is a good-natured student and enjoys both his immersion classes and his mainstream English classes.

Jason (*Foreign language immersion student*). Jason is unique, in that he is the only foreign language immersion student in the sample of 17 participants. He is African-American, and he also graduated from Grover Elementary. He was in the Spanish immersion program there from Kindergarten through eighth grade, with the exception of the fifth grade, when he evacuated to Texas after Katrina. He flourished this past year as the only English native speaker in an immersion class made up of all heritage speakers, and he loved the challenge that came with moving at a quicker pace. He gets along well with the other Spanish native speakers and is proud of his connection to this group of students.

Raul. Raul chose to take only one immersion class during the spring semester, or Martha's Spanish literature course. He struggled in this fast-paced, academic class, and Martha would sometimes get frustrated by what she viewed as a lack of effort on his part. He would often have his head down on the table when I observed him and did not appear to be enthusiastic about developing his Spanish proficiency. He is generally a quiet boy and chooses to be friends with a small group of students at Greenwood High.

Roberto. Roberto is one of the academically highest students at Greenwood and demonstrated a genuine enthusiasm for multiple subjects and languages. He is highly proficient in both Spanish and English and did well in all of his course work. He was involved with various organizations at the school and volunteered on several occasions to help with promotional events for Greenwood High's immersion program. He attended Grover Elementary's Spanish immersion program until Katrina, at which time he moved away from New Orleans, and took English-only classes. This was his first year back in a Spanish immersion program, and he was happy to be continuing his education in both languages.

Stefano. Stefano, like Raul, chose to take only one immersion class, or Spanish Biology with Steven. He also struggled in this class and was a behavioral challenge for Steven throughout the spring semester. He is a struggling reader in both languages although his Spanish reading levels are much lower than his English. He was initially a difficult student with whom to engage, but he quickly became a lively conversationalist when discussing an area of interest, such as the recent World Cup tournament.

The Teachers

Table 5
Teachers: Demographics

	Age	Ethnicity	First Language	Second Language	Place of Origin	Length of Time in New Orleans
Chad	27	Caucasian	English	n/a	Cambridge, Massachusetts	1 year
Cynthia	57	Caucasian	English	French	Born in Florida, Raised in Baton Rouge, La.	54 years in Louisiana, 1 year in New Orleans
Martha	59	Hispanic	Spanish	English	Panama City, Panama	Total of 15 years since 1983
Matthew	31	Caucasian	English	Spanish	California	1 year
Steven	23	Caucasian	English	Spanish	Virginia	1 year

Teacher Demographics. The five teacher participants can be divided into two distinct groups: the three younger, less experienced, male teachers; and the two older, veteran, female teachers. The first group, or Steven, Chad, and Matthew, have only lived in New Orleans for the last year, having been recruited to the city by an alternative track teacher-training program. The second group, or Martha and Cynthia, have both lived in either New Orleans or Louisiana for the better part of their careers. Four of the five teachers are Caucasian, with Martha the exception in

the group, as the only Hispanic teacher participant. A unique feature of this group is that the majority of these teachers are bilingual, with Matthew and Steven speaking Spanish; Cynthia speaking French; and Martha speaking English as a second language. Chad is the only monolingual teacher participant, but he showed a great enthusiasm over the year for learning to speak Spanish.

Table 6
Teachers: Education and Teaching Experience

	Educational Background	ESL/ Immersion Methods Background	Years of Teaching Experience	Grades and Subjects Taught	Classes Observed
Chad	B.A. in History 6 week alternative track teacher training	3 hours of ESL training during summer institute	1 st year 1 year prior experience as a site-support substitute	8 th grade (8.5 students) Bridge to Algebra, 9 th grade Algebra I, Geometry, and Advisory	Algebra and Advisory
Cynthia	B.A. in English, French, and Education M.A. in English PhD in Curriculum & Instruction National Board Certified	Prior ESL and French as a Foreign Language training	33 years, mostly high school French and English	9 th grade ESOL, English I, and Advisory	ESOL

(Table 6 continued)

Martha	B.A. in Latin American Studies M.A. in History PhD in History of Latin America Louisiana Credential 6 th - 12 th grade, History and Spanish	Prior ESL and Spanish as a Foreign Language training	19 years of teaching experience, 8 years in public high schools, mostly History with some Spanish as a foreign language	9 th grade World Geography, Spanish immersion, Spanish I and II, and Advisory	Spanish Literature and Advisory
Matthew	B.A. in Art California Art education credential Louisiana Art education credential K – 12 th grade Recruited to New Orleans by alternative track teacher training program	California CLAD credential 1 day immersion workshop	1 st year as a credentialed teacher 3 years of more informal teaching with the Peace Corps	9 th grade Art I, Art II, and Advisory	Art and Advisory
Steven	B.A. in Political Science 6 week alternative track teacher training	1½ hour ESL training during summer institute 1 day immersion workshop	1 st year	9 th grade Biology, Spanish Immersion Biology, and World Geography	Spanish Biology and Advisory

Education and Teaching Experience. As was the case with the demographics, the participants can again be divided into two distinct groups, the three male teachers and the two female teachers. Matthew, Steven, and Chad all have bachelor degrees, while both Martha and

Cynthia have obtained doctorates. Chad and Steven are in the process of earning their credentials through an alternative tracking teacher training program, whereas Matthew, Martha, and Cynthia are all credentialed in their subjects, with Cynthia being national board certified in French education.

The three younger male teachers are all in their first year of teaching, although Chad has informally taught in a variety of roles in both South American and California, prior to moving to New Orleans. Martha and Cynthia are veteran teachers, with 19 and 33 years of experience respectively. All five have some ESL training, but the three less experienced teachers felt as if they would benefit from additional training in this area. All five have little to no training in immersion education methods, although Chad and Matthew did attend a one day presentation this year by Tara Fortune of the Center for Advanced Research in Language Acquisition (CARLA).

Chad. Chad, the Math teacher at Greenwood High, is a young man who has just finished his first year in the classroom. The previous summer, he completed a six-week alternative-track credentialing program. He held a preliminary credential and attended weekly classes during the school year in order to obtain his full teaching credential. Chad struggled with classroom management and grew frustrated to be unable to teach effectively in a disruptive class. During the fall and spring semesters he taught Algebra I, Geometry, a remedial math class, and advisory.

Cynthia. Cynthia is a national board certified teacher who is experienced in teaching ESOL, English, and French. She holds a doctorate in curriculum and instruction, and conducted her dissertation research on French language acquisition. She is Caucasian and a veteran teacher. She had been teaching in private school for the past 14 years, and found the recent transition to public school to be challenging. Cynthia taught ESOL to 12 of the Spanish native speakers at

Greenwood High. Additionally, she taught two sections of English I, as well as an advisory class.

Martha. Martha, a Panamanian teacher, is the only Hispanic participant in the sample of five. Like Cynthia, she is also a veteran teacher, having taught over the past three decades in public high schools as well as at the university level. She holds a doctorate in history and is credentialed to teach this content area at the secondary level. This year was her first experience in teaching in a Spanish immersion classroom. In addition to Spanish literature, Martha also taught a mainstream World Geography, Spanish I and II, and an advisory class.

Matthew. Matthew, the Art teacher at Greenwood High, taught several of the student participants in both his Art and Advisory classes. He is a California native who recently moved to the New Orleans area. He speaks Spanish proficiently, having worked for the Peace Corp in Paraguay for three years. He is an art educator as well as an artist. Matthew had a few years of teaching experience in the corps, but this past year was his first time working in an urban American school, and he struggled initially with this transition. He also wore several hats at Greenwood High, which created an additional challenge for him. He was hired as both the art teacher and the disciplinarian and consequently had a difficult time with simultaneously fulfilling the responsibilities of both of these positions. He taught two sections of Art I and Art II each day as well as an advisory class.

Steven. Steven, like Chad, is a young, male teacher who has just finished his first year in the classroom. Steven graduated from the same alternative-track credentialing program as Chad and is also working towards gaining his full credential. He was hired at Greenwood in his first year for two main reasons: he is certified to teach secondary Science, and he is also a proficient Spanish speaker. During the fall semester, he taught Biology in English only, at which time he

struggled with the classroom management of his 9th grade students. In the spring, he took on the additional responsibility of teaching Biology in Spanish as well as English. He was quite apprehensive about teaching a Spanish immersion course, but he ended up enjoying this challenge. In addition to teaching Biology, Steven also taught World Geography and an advisory class.

Major Findings

The Students

Academic growth. I begin the discussion of the student participants' experience with an in-depth description of their academic growth, shown through various assessments that reveal their progress in language, literacy, mathematics, and science. In order to fully understand the academic experiences of these English learners in an immersion site, it is important to examine where these students began the school year and the growth that they made throughout the two semesters. This discussion is a continuation of the description section above, in that I will more thoroughly describe the academic levels of the 17 student participants. In addition, I will begin to examine what these findings mean in light of the overall immersion program and how these data further an understanding of Greenwood High's first year in operation.

Student interest survey.

Table 7

Student Interest Survey: Questions about Reading

	Do you ever read at home? When?	What was the last thing you read?	Name some of the best books that you have read?	What kind of books would you like to read in the future?	What makes a person a good reader?	What causes a person to not be a good reader?
ESOL & Immersion						
Alejandra	Yes – sometimes	<i>Lovely Bones</i>	<i>Twilight, Harry Potter, Lovely Bones</i>	Fiction, romance	Practice	Being lazy
Carlos	Yes	<i>How to Be a Leader</i>	n/a	n/a	Pay attention and be patient	n/a
Carmen	No	n/a	<i>Harry Potter, Fast and Furious</i>	Comics and Romance	Understand what you are reading and analyze it	n/a
Elena	Yes	n/a	<i>New Moon</i>	Romance	Practice	Being lazy
Luis	No – I don't like to read	n/a	n/a	I don't know	Read every day	n/a
ESOL only						
Alvaro	One hour a day	<i>Aquamarine</i>	<i>Amigos Rising, Darktales, Aquamarine</i>	Drama and action	Comprehends the topic being talked about	Just reading for nothing
Jimena	Yes!	n/a	<i>Twilight</i>	Umm...	I have no clue	I have no clue
Manuel	Yes	<i>Dragonspell</i>	None	None	I don't know	Games

(Table 7 continued)

Maria	Only if I'm super bored	<i>Bob the Builder</i>	<i>Romiette and Julio</i>	Easy, fun, but also a little rough	To read all the time	To never read
Natalia	Yes – when I'm bored	<i>New Moon</i>	<i>Twilight, New Moon, Lemony Snicket, Sunny Diary Two</i>	Books that wouldn't make me sleepy	Read more and write	Not reading and writing to express themselves
Rosalinda	Yes – on Sunday	<i>Out of War</i>	<i>Before We Were Free, Romiette and Julio</i>	Books based on real life	Reading books that are interesting and that you like	Just playing around
Sofia	Not really	<i>The Harry Potter Series</i>	<i>Twilight and the Harry Potter series</i>	It depends	They read a lot	To not read the amount of time they need to

The first assessment that I have chosen to discuss is the student interest survey, which is often the best place to begin when learning about a child. As a teacher, it is important that one taps into the affective attitude of a student towards the classroom; as a researcher, I also wanted to first understand how these 17 participants perceived reading and academics.

In conducting the student interest survey, I used two different forms: an English and a Spanish survey. These forms were included with the informal reading inventory that I also conducted and that I will discuss in more depth in the next section of the findings chapter. The English survey contained more questions and information, so I generally used this one during data analysis. I additionally used the Spanish survey, however, to fill in the gaps that I found in the English survey; in particular, I did so with the English learners who were able to write a more in-depth answer in Spanish. Some students left several questions blank, in which case I wrote n/a, or not applicable. I found it interesting to see whom amongst the participants skipped

several questions, or wrote, “I don’t know.” I did not include the Spanish immersion only group in the above chart for two reasons: first, because they only answered the Spanish survey, which had fewer questions, and second, because within their answers to these questions, no new patterns arose.

I found from these data that the student participants, like many high school students at present, are not avid readers of traditional media, or books. There were, however, a few exceptions to this, such as Rosalinda and Alvaro, but for the most part, the other students weren’t choosing to read frequently for pleasure. There were some patterns within their favorite books, such as the popular adolescent novels at present, or the *Twilight* and *Harry Potter series*. They also seemed to have an affinity towards books with Latino characters, such as *Romiette and Julio* and *Amigos Rising*. Last, they frequently mentioned books that were available in their classroom’s Read 180 library, which suggests that these students might read more frequently if more books were available to them, and if they were further encouraged to do so with silent reading time during class.

In general, there seemed to be consensus on the traits of a good reader. The participants repeatedly wrote that in order to be a good reader, one must practice often or spend more time reading. They also agreed that being lazy or not reading enough is generally the cause of being a poor reader.

Table 8

Student Interest Survey: Other Questions

	Do you like to use computers? What do you like best?	What are some magazines that you like?	Do you ever read parts of the newspaper? Which parts?	What are some of your favorite websites?	What are your favorite subjects at school?	What job would you like to have in the future?
ESOL & Immersion						
Alejandra	Yes, everything	People, Seventeen	Yes, the front	Myspace, facebook, twitter, MSN, itunes	Lunch, Spanish, and Advisory	Clothes Designer
Carlos	Yes	n/a	n/a	n/a	Spanish	Computer Engineer
Carmen	Yes	<i>People</i> in Spanish	No	Yahoo, Myspace, facebook, window live, Youtube	Advisory, Algebra, Spanish immersion	Pediatrician
Elena	Yes – everything	<i>People</i> in Spanish	Yes	Myspace	Advisory, Biology	President of something
Luis	Yes	None	n/a	n/a	Lunch	I don't know yet
ESOL only						
Alvaro	Yes – download music	I don't read magazines	The sports and comics	Languages, games, and music sites	English and Algebra	Electronic Engineer
Jimena	I love using computers	Teen Vogue	No! Lol	Myspace, photobucket	French!	A job at the mall
Manuel	Yes/ Fixing them	None	No	Anything	None, because I don't like any of my classes	A computer engineer

(Table 8 continued)

Maria	Yes/ socializing	Teenzz	No	Myspace, yahoo, facebook, google	Biology and Art	Law
Natalia	Yes	Magazines that are interesting	The comics	Myspace, Facebook, Youtube	Biology	Work at the mall or a doctor
Rosalinda	Yes – watch videos	None	No	Youtube, Myspace, Facebook	Algebra	Lawyer
Sofia	Yes – research and socializing	Depends on what it's about	No	Socializing websites and google	World Geography and History	Geologist or singer

These students clearly had a great interest in computers. Like many other adolescents, they mainly used the internet for socializing, which demonstrates their highly developed interest in interacting with their peers. Their favorite websites further support this interest, as they often wrote that they preferred to visit sites such as Facebook, Myspace, and Youtube. They didn't frequently mention using computers for academic reasons, such as writing or research. They are also not big readers of either magazines or newspapers. There was an exception, however, with magazines of high interest, such as those that deal with relevant issues for teenagers, such as fashion.

It was interesting to see that these students don't prefer any particular subject in school and that in general they have a positive attitude towards most of their classes. They also had a diverse range of answers about their dream jobs and clearly have far-reaching goals for their future employment. They did not simply name the more common aspirations for adolescents, such as professional athlete or musician. Instead, they named a wide variety of well-paying jobs that would take several years of education to attain, including engineer, lawyer, doctor, president,

designer, and scientist. This demonstrates that these student participants hold their future career placements in high esteem and that they dream large as to what is to come after high school.

Informal reading inventory.

Table 9
Informal Reading Inventory

	High-Frequency Words (Emergent ELs only)	English Reading Comprehension	English Fluency	Spanish Reading Comprehension	Spanish Fluency
ESOL & Immersion					
Alejandra	Missed 3	6 th grade	6 th grade	8 th grade	9 th grade +
Carlos	Missed 26	Primer level (K)	Primer level (K)	4 th grade	4 th grade
Carmen	Missed 16	1 st grade	1 st grade	7 th grade	8 th grade +
Elena	Missed 13	1 st grade	1 st grade	7 th grade	8 th grade +
Luis	Missed 4	3 rd grade	4 th grade	5 th grade	5 th grade
<i>Averages</i>		<i>2nd grade</i>	<i>2nd grade</i>	<i>6th grade</i>	<i>7th grade</i>
ESOL only					
Alvaro	Missed 0	6 th grade	7 th grade	1 st grade	1 st grade
Jimena	n/a	8 th grade	9 th grade +	6 th grade	7 th grade +
Manuel	n/a	6 th grade	8 th grade +	6 th grade	6 th grade
Maria	Missed 0	4 th grade	5 th grade	3 rd grade	4 th grade
Natalia	Missed 3	4 th grade	6 th grade	1 st grade	4 th grade
Rosalinda	n/a	5 th grade	6 th grade	8 th grade	8 th grade +
Sofia	n/a	7 th grade	6 th grade	6 th grade	6 th grade
<i>Averages</i>		<i>6th grade</i>	<i>7th grade</i>	<i>4th grade</i>	<i>5th grade</i>
Spanish Immersion only					

(Table 9 continued)

Francisco	n/a	7 th grade	8 th grade	8 th grade	9 th grade +
Jason (Foreign language immersion student)	n/a	10 th grade	10 th grade +	7 th grade	8 th grade
Raul	n/a	7 th grade	9 th grade +	5 th grade	6 th grade +
Roberto	n/a	7 th grade	7 th grade	6 th grade	7 th grade
Stefano	n/a	5 th grade	6 th grade	2 nd grade	3 rd grade
<i>Averages</i>		<i>7th grade</i>	<i>8th grade</i>	<i>6th grade</i>	<i>7th grade</i>

When I first began to administer the Informal Reading Inventory (IRI) in English and Spanish, I was surprised by how low some of the participants' reading levels were, especially when compared to the Scholastic Reading Inventory (SRI), the results of which I will discuss in a later section of the findings chapter. This partially could have been due to my choosing to use the expository as opposed to the narrative assessments within the IRI, as often times students are more accustomed to reading excerpts from novels and short stories. I found the results from the expository assessments to be more useful, however, because at this level in their education, most of their reading is for information, particularly in their Spanish Biology and English mainstream classes. Regardless, this reading inventory was quite helpful, in that it provided me with a comparison between their Spanish and English reading levels, and it allowed me to better gauge the appropriateness of the immersion and ESOL programs for their particular readiness levels.

I began by having the participants read a list of 100 high frequency words. I only conducted this portion of the inventory with the more emergent English learners, as the word list was too easy for the proficient participants. Students who didn't take this high frequency word assessment were given an n/a in lieu of a score. Amongst the ESOL students, three participants had a particularly low score, or Elena, Carmen, and Carlos. Carlos missed the most, which was a

plausible result, as he is the most emergent English learner of the three and made less progress than the others during the school year.

Of the five ESOL and immersion students, all of their scores were consistent in that their Spanish levels were higher than their English levels. For this reason, it is appropriate that they were in the Spanish immersion program, thus allowing them to continue learning in the stronger of their two languages. At the same time, they were able to receive additional support in their target language in the ESOL class. Two students of concern in this group are Carlos and Luis, whose Spanish levels were 4th and 5th grade respectively. It is understandable that Carlos would be reading at the 4th grade level in that he dropped out of school in Honduras in the 5th grade and didn't re-enter school until his 9th grade year at Greenwood High. Luis left Mexico in the 5th grade and has been taking English only classes throughout middle school, which explains why his Spanish levels are lower. In the case of both students, being placed in a 9th grade Spanish immersion class could be the best choice for them, but only if they are provided with a great deal of extra support in bridging the wide gap between their readiness levels and the class's content. No Spanish assessments, however, were administered to the English learners at the beginning of the year, meaning that the immersion teachers may not have been aware of Carlos and Luis's low Spanish reading levels. Additionally, both of the immersion classes moved at a quick pace, and minimal scaffolding was provided for struggling Spanish readers.

Of the seven ESOL only students, almost all of their English levels were higher than their Spanish levels, making English only classes an appropriate choice for these participants. Four of these students, or Jimena, Manuel, Rosalinda, and Sofia, all had high enough Spanish scores that they could have found success in the Spanish immersion program with extra support and consequently been able to maintain their bilingualism. Rosalinda's Spanish scores are actually

higher than her English, but she and her mother intentionally chose for her to take English only classes so that she could focus on developing her target language. The other three students, however, had expressed to the administration an interest in taking Spanish immersion classes; none of them understood why they had instead been placed in English only classes. They had even tried to switch into the immersion program in the spring semester but were told by the counselor that they were unable to do so. Additionally, Jimena expressed frustration with being in the ESOL class, which makes sense when considering that her English fluency level is at or higher than the 9th grade. It would appear that greater consideration should have been made in the placement of some of these students in the immersion and ESOL classes.

Of the five students in immersion only, three of these students, or Francisco, Roberto, and Jason, had almost equally strong levels of English and Spanish. Consequently, all of these students were wellprepared for success in both their Spanish immersion and English mainstream classes, and are on track to graduate from high school fully proficient in both languages. Raul and Stefano's scores are disconcerting, however, in that they are reading in Spanish far below the 9th grade level at which the immersion classes are taught. Both of these students only took one immersion class as an elective, and both of them struggled behaviorally and academically according to their immersion teachers. Raul, with his fifth grade Spanish reading level, could possibly find some success in taking one immersion class, if his teacher was well aware of his lower level and was able to provide the necessary scaffolding. Stefano's Spanish, however, was at the second grade level, thus creating a near to impossible challenge for Steven in teaching him Biology in the target language. Spanish immersion was not the appropriate choice for this student, particularly when considering his need for additional help as a struggling reader in English.

One of the clearest challenges that arose from the reading inventory data is the great need for differentiation for the wide gamut of English readiness levels, ranging from Carlos at the Kindergarten level to Jimena at the eighth grade level. Almost as wide of a gap can be found in the results of the Spanish assessment, with Stefano at one end of the gamut at the second grade level and Alejandra at the other end at the ninth grade level. Although all teachers need to be able to differentiate within their classrooms, this wide of a range would be difficult to accommodate with even the most experienced and well-trained of ESOL and immersion teachers. In general, it would appear that more deliberation was needed in placing all of these students into the various programs. Greenwood High would greatly benefit from conducting a beginning of the year assessment in both Spanish and English; developing criteria for student placement in each program; and implementing additional accommodations for the students who need extra support.

LAS Links: placement test.

Table 10
LAS Links: placement test: EL Group Levels

	Low (Not Proficient)	Medium (Approaching Proficiency)	High (Proficient)	Overall
ESOL & Immersion	Alejandra (18)	Luis (24)		
	Carmen (15)			
	Elena (Not assessed)			
	Carlos (8)			
<i>Averages</i>	<i>13.7</i>	<i>24</i>		<i>16.3</i>
ESOL only	Rosalinda (21)	Sofia (25)	Jimena (31)	
		Natalia (24)	Manuel (27)	
		Alvaro (23)	Maria (26)	
<i>Averages</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>25.3</i>

The district ESL coordinator administered this assessment in August, and based on the results, she placed all 12 students tested into one ESOL class. A score of 33 is needed on this assessment in order to label a student fully proficient and ready for mainstream, English only classes. The coordinator felt that all of the students, including the highest group, needed the extra support of an ESOL class. She was concerned, however, by the wide gamut of levels in these three distinct groups, ranging from Jimena, who at 31 was two points from full proficiency, to Carlos, who at 8 ranked far below the other emergent students' scores of 15, 18, and 21. Elena, another emergent English learner, came later in the fall semester and consequently wasn't assessed. She was placed in the lowest group, however, based on her emergent English conversational skills.

Based on this assessment data, the district coordinator wrote all 12 students the same English Language Learner Services/LEP accommodations checklist. Included in this checklist were the following accommodations that needed to be made in all of their classes: extended time for test, repeated directions, bilingual dictionary, cooperative learning, and peer assistance for note taking. In addition, she asked that the following accommodations be given to all 12 students on standardized tests: individual or small group administration, repeated directions, and a bilingual dictionary allowed on all test sections. These accommodations were passed out to all of the English learners' teachers during the fall semester.

The most interesting data from this assessment can be found in the comparison of the averaged scores of the ESOL and immersion group and the ESOL only group, or 16.3 and 25.3 respectively. The lowest of the three groups is predominantly made up of the ESOL students who are also in immersion, whereas most of the students in the middle and high groups are in ESOL only. These data demonstrate that the EL students in immersion compared to those in

ESOL only are much less proficient in their target language. Although I don't believe that this grouping was intentional, I can infer from these data that the students who had the lowest English levels upon entering Greenwood High were placed in Spanish immersion to help them access the content, whereas the students with higher English levels were placed in mainstream English classes. With the lowest emergent students, it was a logical choice to place them in the Spanish immersion class, but this was not necessarily the case for the middle and highest ESOL students. In particular, some of the English learners in the middle group could have benefited from taking Spanish immersion classes, since the further development of their heritage language could have helped them in developing their English proficiency. As I previously mentioned in the discussion of the informal reading inventory, it would appear that more deliberate thought should have gone into the placement of these 12 students in both the ESOL and immersion programs.

Scholastic Reading Inventory.

Table 11
Scholastic Reading Inventory

	September	October	December	March	May	Yearly Growth (lexiles)	Highest Score
ESOL & Immersion							
Alejandra	723 (Below)	781 (Below)	785 (Below)	812 (Below)	793 (Below)	89	812 (Below)
Carlos	BR (0) (Far Below)	BR (0) (Far Below)	BR (0) (Far Below)	BR (0) (Far Below)	BR (0) (Far Below)	0	BR (0) (Far Below)
Carmen	BR (0) (Far below)	BR (0) (Far below)	BR (0) (Far below)	280 (Far below)	BR (80) (Far below)	80	280 (Far Below)
Elena	BR (0) (Far Below)	140 (Far below)	BR (0) (Far Below)	BR (0) (Far Below)	BR (23) (Far Below)	23	140 (Far Below)

(Table 11 continued)

Luis	196 (Far below)	256 (Far below)	281 (Far below)	369 (Far below)	374 (Far below)	178	374 (Far Below)
<i>Averages</i>						74	321 (Far below)
ESOL only							
Alvaro	732 (Below)	840 (Below)	852 (Below)	823 (Below)	898 (Below)	166	898 (Below)
Jimena	758 (Below)	797 (Below)	793 (Below)	891 (Below)	951 (Below)	193	951 (Below)
Manuel	313 (Far below)	646 (Far below)	389 (Far below)	471 (Far below)	649 (Far below)	336	649 (Far below)
Maria	464 (Far below)	597 (Far below)	574 (Far below)	681 (Below)	865 (Below)	401	865 (Below)
Natalia	440 (Far below)	450 (Far below)	414 (Far below)	407 (Far below)	468 (Far below)	28	468 (Far below)
Rosalinda	857 (Below)	783 (Below)	n/a	912 (Below)	882 (Below)	55	912 (Below)
Sofia	868 (Below)	782 (Below)	883 (Below)	850 (Below)	925 (Below)	57	925 (Below)
<i>Averages</i>						177	810 (Below)
Spanish Immersion only							
Francisco	977 (Below)	909 (Below)	919 (Below)	944 (Below)	977 (Below)	0	977 (Below)
Jason (Foreign language student)	999 (Below)	1173 (On grade level)	1147 (On grade level)	1076 (On grade level)	1131 (On grade level)	132	1173 (On grade level)
Raul	1032 (On grade level)	992 (Below)	1009 (On grade level)	1013 (On grade level)	1087 (On grade level)	55	1087 (On grade level)
Roberto	1178 (On grade level)	1162 (On grade level)	1279 (Above)	1311 (Above)	1204 (Above)	133	1311 (Above)
Stefano	658 (Below)	608 (Far below)	620 (Far below)	557 (Far below)	532 (Far below)	- 126	658 (Below)
<i>Averages</i>						39	1041 (On grade level)

The Scholastic reading inventory divides students into four main groups based on their lexile levels: far below grade level for scores of BR(0) to 649; below grade level for 650 to 999; on grade level for 1000 to 1199; and above grade level for 1200 and higher. According to SRI, a score of BR means that the student is reading at the Kindergarten level. By the end of 8th grade, or upon entering the 9th grade, students should have a lexile level between 900 and 1150. Students should then finish the 9th grade with a score between 1000 and 1200.

I have included the participants' yearly growth to shed light on the progress that they made in English between September and May. According to SRI, the average student should grow approximately 75 to 100 lexile points in a school year. In order to find each student's growth, I compared their score when entering in September to their highest score between the two dates in March and May. I did so for two reasons: first, because students were often inconsistent in their scores, and their May testing may just have taken place on an "off" day; and second, because the school's atmosphere and level of rigor changed remarkably between March and May, due to standardized testing, and the building excitement over the upcoming summer break. For these reasons, the score in March for some students might have been the most accurate high score.

The average highest yearly score for the ESOL and immersion group was 321 lexiles, or far below grade level. This group, however, improved on average by 74 points during the school year, which is close to the recommended yearly growth of 75 to 100 lexiles. Although this was a good gain for this emergent group, it wasn't nearly as high as the average growth of the ESOL only group, or 177 lexiles. Of course, it must be mentioned that the five participants in both ESOL and immersion were focusing on both of their languages, and not just English, meaning that they would consequently have a less substantial growth in their target language. At the same

time, their continued development of their heritage language should eventually pay off, with a higher increase in English. This growth, however, might not necessarily take place within the first year.

As mentioned, 177 lexiles was the average growth for the ESOL only participants, and their average highest score was 810, which is below grade level, but approaching the recommended 1000 lexiles needed upon entering the tenth grade. As was the case with the informal reading inventory, this higher score of 810 further demonstrates that the more proficient English learners were placed in ESOL only, whereas the more emergent participants were placed in immersion and ESOL classes. The greater growth in lexiles of the ESOL only group could be due to the fact that they spent their year concentrating on English. This focus on their target language would indeed result in a more immediate increase in their English proficiency, but possibly at the cost of losing some, if not most of their Spanish language proficiency.

The last group of immersion only participants scored on average a 1041, or on grade level, but with a less substantial growth of 39 lexiles during the school year. Stefano, of course, was a unique member of this group, as he was the only student participant to decrease his score during the school year, dropping 126 lexiles between September and May. As was the case with the informal reading inventory, Stefano's scores are cause for concern regarding his placement in the Spanish immersion program, as well as his not being placed in the ESOL class. He is a student who could have used extra English and reading support throughout the school year, as opposed to being placed in one Spanish immersion class, with content and language far above his readiness level. Three of the other students showed considerable growth, particularly Jason and Roberto. This was also the only group to have three students on grade level or above. This

makes sense when considering that most of these participants were the more proficient English speakers who had not been placed in ESOL at the beginning of the school year.

Words their Way.

Table 12

Words Their Way

	8/12 Total Points	8/12 Spelling Stage	5/11 Total Points	5/11 Spelling Stage	Yearly Point Increase	Yearly Increase in Stages
ESOL & Immersion						
Alejandra	54	Late Letter- Name Alphabetic	63	Late Letter- Name Alphabetic	+9	+0
Carlos	9	Middle Emergent	23	Late Emergent	+14	+1
Carmen	39	Middle Letter- Name Alphabetic	53	Middle Letter- Name Alphabetic	+14	+0
Elena	n/a	Late Emergent	59	Late Letter- Name Alphabetic	n/a	+3
Luis	45	Middle Letter- Name Alphabetic	60	Middle Letter- Name Alphabetic	+15	+0
<i>Averages</i>	<i>37</i>		<i>52</i>		<i>+13</i>	<i>+1</i>
ESOL only						
Alvaro	69	Early Syllables and Affixes	72	Late Syllables and Affixes	+3	+2
Jimena	78	Early Derivational Relations	81	Middle Derivational Relations	+3	+1
Manuel	71	Middle Syllables and Affixes	79	Early Derivational Relations	+8	+2
Maria	75	Early Derivational Relations	75	Early Derivational Relations	+0	+0
Natalia	57	Middle Letter- Name Alphabetic	65	Late Letter- Name Alphabetic	+8	+1

(Table 12 continued)

Rosalinda	42	Middle Letter- Name Alphabetic	48	Middle Letter- Name Alphabetic	+6	+0
Sofia	75	Late Syllables and Affixes	75	Late Syllables and Affixes	+0	+0
<i>Averages</i>	<i>67</i>		<i>71</i>		<i>+4</i>	<i>+1</i>

I conducted a Words Their Way spelling assessment with the 12 ESOL students in August and May of this past school year. Elena arrived later in the fall semester so she wasn't able to take the initial test with the other participants. I was able, however, to place her in the late emergent group based on some of her other spelling assessments. I only conducted this assessment in the ESOL class, meaning that the five immersion only participants were not included in these findings.

In administering this assessment, I gave a traditional spelling test of the same 25 words to the students, at both the beginning and the end of the school year. I then conducted an analysis of the results, looking at each word to find the elements that were spelled correctly as well as those that were repeatedly misspelled. For example, with the majority of the 25 words, I might have found that a student was able to spell the initial consonant sounds and most of the short vowels, but he or she struggled with long vowels, prefixes, and suffixes. Based on what the students already knew, I then placed them into homogenous groups, in which the ESOL teacher could focus on small group instruction tailored to their particular spelling needs. These differentiated groups were based on where the students fell within four spelling stages, which from the lowest to highest are emergent, letter name-alphabetic, within word pattern, syllables and affixes, and derivational relations. Additionally, within each of these four stages, there are the three sub-stages of early, middle, and late.

Based on their stages, this class of 12 ESOL students breaks into two distinct groups, or a higher group made up of syllables/affixes and derivational roots spellers, (or stages 4 and 5), and a lower group made up of emergent and letter name/alphabetic spellers, (or stages 1 and 2). This division remained true for both the beginning and the end of the year assessment results. These findings further support the conclusion that Greenwood High had placed the more emergent English learners into the immersion classrooms and the more proficient ELs into the mainstream classrooms.

Oddly, the results of this assessment differed from those discussed with the Scholastic Reading Inventory. Of the two groups, or the ESOL and immersion and the ESOL only, the lower group, or ESOL and Immersion, had a much greater increase in points over the year. The ESOL and immersion students gained on average 13 points, whereas the ESOL only students increased on average four points. There are several possible reasons for the greater growth within the ESOL and immersion group. To begin, more of the emergent English learners were placed in this group, meaning that they had farther to gain over the year. Additionally, this assessment doesn't just look at how many words the student spells correctly but instead highlights the orthographic skills that the student has already gained. For example, Carmen didn't spell many more words correctly on the end-of-year assessment, but she did gain more points for becoming familiar with English spelling sounds, such as long vowels, consonant clusters, and blends.

There is another possible reason for the greater increase within the ESOL and immersion students, which I will discuss further during the observations section of the findings chapter. In general, the immersion classes had a more rigorous atmosphere and a stronger classroom management than the mainstream English classrooms, due to substantially smaller class sizes; a

stronger sense of community within the group of Spanish native speakers; and stronger classroom instruction, particularly in the case of Martha. This increased level in rigor could possibly have given the immersion students a better environment in which to grow academically as well as better study habits to use in both their Spanish and English classes.

There is one more interesting pattern that I noticed in the analysis of the Words Their Way data. Many of these English learners missed several of the spellings within the first three stages, which were made up of more distinct English spelling rules, such as dropping the silent “e” before adding “-ing”. These same students, however, then did much better on the most difficult stage, or the derivational relations stage, in which they missed one point or even none. The derivational relations stage is predominately made up of Latin and Greek roots, meaning that even the more emergent English learners would have been familiar with some of these spellings due to their Spanish background knowledge.

Aimsweb math benchmark.

Table 13
Aimsweb math benchmark

	MCAP Percentile Rank/ Comparison	M-CBM2 Percentile Rank/ Comparison	Difference between M- CBM2 and MCAP (%)	Instructional Level
ESOL & Immersion				
Alejandra	25%	63%	38	Average
Carlos	1.1%	10.9%	9.8	Below Average
Carmen	1.1%	50%	48.9	Average
Elena	5.4%	57.6%	52.2	Average
Luis	18.5%	32.6%	14.1	Average
<i>Averages</i>	<i>10.2%</i>	<i>28%</i>	<i>17.8</i>	<i>Average</i>
ESOL only				
Alvaro	58.7%	<1%	- 58.2	Well Below Average
Jimena	25%	7.6%	- 17.4	Below Average
Manuel	5.4%	57.6%	52.2	Average
Maria	18.5%	54.3%	35.8	Average

(Table 13 continued)

Natalia	46.7%	88%	41.3	Above Average
Rosalinda	46.7%	45.7%	- 1	Average
Sofia	25%	50%	25	Average
<i>Averages</i>	<i>32.3%</i>	<i>43.4%</i>	<i>11.1</i>	<i>Average</i>
Spanish Immersion only				
Francisco	39.1%	16.3%	- 22.8	Below Average
Jason (Foreign language immersion student)	65.2%	68.5%	3.3	Average
Raul	58.7%	92.4%	33.7	Well Above Average
Roberto	78.3%	63%	- 15.3	Average
Stefano	5.4%	19.6%	14.2	Below Average
<i>Averages</i>	<i>49.3%</i>	<i>52%</i>	<i>2.7</i>	<i>Average</i>

The Aimsweb Math Benchmark, which was administered at the beginning of the school year, was made up of two tests, or the MCAP and the M-CBM2. The MCAP was the longer of the two tests, with a duration of 10 minutes. MCAP stands for “math concepts and applications”, and gauges a student’s readiness level for applying mathematical reasoning, analytical skills, and computational skills. The shorter test, or the M-CBM2, lasts for four minutes, and stands for “Math – Curriculum Based Measurement 2”. This second test evaluates a student’s ability with math computation or math facts.

According to the results, Aimsweb divides students into five instructional levels, which are well above average, above average, average, below average, and well below average. With the average level, Aimsweb recommends continuing with the current program, whereas with all of the other four levels, individualized programs are recommended. These levels are based on M-CBM2 results, or the math computational skills, but not the MCAP results, or the concepts and applications skills. Additionally, for the M-CBM2, the 10th, 25th, 75th, and 90th percentiles are calculated at the school level, whereas these values were not available for the MCAP, or the

concepts and applications assessment. This struck me as odd when considering that English learners like Manuel and Elena scored a 57.6% on M-CBM2 and were therefore at the average level, yet their MCAP scores were 5.4%, which should have signaled to a teacher that individualized instruction was needed in teaching mathematical concepts and applications.

Twelve of the 17 participants did better on the M-CBM2 than the MCAP when compared to other student in the school. The M-CBM2 is a numerical test only, whereas the MCAP is written in English, as it contains a series of word problems. When considering that the majority of the participants did better on the numerical test than the English test, I would infer that the limited English proficiency of these students created a challenge in taking this assessment. Many of these English learners might have proficient numeracy skills from their past mathematical instruction in Spanish, but they are still developing their English language proficiency, meaning that it would prove more difficult for them to understand the mathematical concepts and applications section of an English only test.

The average scores of the three groups further support the conclusion that limited English proficiency had a negative effect on the students' scores on the MCAP assessment of mathematical concepts and applications. The ESOL and immersion group, which is made up of the more emergent English learners, had the lowest average MCAP score of 10.2%, and they had the widest average difference between their MCAP and M-CBM2 scores, or 17.8 points. The ESOL only group had the next lowest average MCAP score of 32.3%, and less of a difference between their two scores, with 11.1 points. The immersion only group, which is made up of more proficient English speakers, had the highest score on the MCAP test of 49.3%. Additionally, this group had the smallest difference between their MCAP and M-CBM2 scores of only 2.7 points. These findings lead me to conclude that limited English proficiency greatly affected the outcome

of this math assessment, which is something that should be taken into consideration with both the Math assessment and instruction of these English learners.

As with all of the previously discussed assessments, Stefano's Aimsweb scores were disconcerting, in that he again scored far lower than the rest of his group. This gives me further reason to believe that Stefano was inappropriately placed in the immersion class and that he would have instead benefited from focusing on the development of his gateway skills of numeracy and literacy.

End of Course assessments.

Table 14
End of Course Assessments

	Algebra I - 12/09 (Scale Score & Achievement Level)	Algebra I (Semester- Long) - 5/10 (Scale Score & Achievement Level)	Algebra I (Year-Long) – 5/10 (Scale Score & Achievement Level)	Biology – 5/10 (Percent Correct)
ESOL & Immersion				
Alejandra	n/a	710 (Good)	n/a	48%
Carlos	n/a	n/a	n/a	22%
Carmen	n/a	636 (Needs Improvement)	n/a	34%
Elena	n/a	657 (Needs Improvement)	n/a	38%
Luis	n/a	647 (Needs Improvement)	n/a	20%

(Table 14 continued)

<i>Averages</i>			<i>662.5 (Needs Improvement) (All Algebra I scores)</i>	<i>32.4%</i>
ESOL only				
Alvaro	n/a	n/a	679 (Fair)	n/a
Jimena	n/a	n/a	647 (Needs Improvement)	n/a
Manuel	n/a	n/a	647 (Needs Improvement)	n/a
Maria	n/a	697 (Fair)	n/a	n/a
Natalia	n/a	663 (Needs Improvement)	n/a	n/a
Rosalinda	n/a	n/a	702 (Good)	n/a
Sofia	n/a	n/a	647 (Needs Improvement)	n/a
<i>Averages</i>			<i>668.9 (Fair) (All Algebra I scores)</i>	
Spanish Immersion only				
Francisco	657 (Needs Improvement)	n/a	n/a	36%
Jason (Foreign language immersion student)	688 (Fair)	n/a	n/a	54%
Raul	684 (Fair)	652 (Needs Improvement)	n/a	n/a
Roberto	722 (Good)	n/a	n/a	54%
Stefano	n/a	n/a	702 (Good)	40%
<i>Averages</i>			<i>684.2 (Fair) (All Algebra I scores)</i>	<i>46%</i>

The above results are from two of the three end of course assessments that were administered at Greenwood High this past school year, or the Algebra I and Biology assessments. A third Geometry EOC field test was also given, but none of the 17 student participants were in this course. A few of the immersion only participants were eligible to take

Geometry in the spring, as they had taken and passed Algebra 1 during the fall semester. The Spanish Biology class, however, was offered at the same time as Geometry, so these students opted to take the immersion course instead.

The Algebra 1 EOC assessment was administered on three different dates: in December, for the few students who took Algebra 1 in the fall; and on two dates in May, for the students who either took the spring semester long course or the year long course. The scores on this assessment ranged between 600-800, with four different achievement levels, which are as follows: excellent (739-800), or “mastery of the course content beyond good”; good (700-738), or “demonstrates mastery of the course content and is well prepared for the next level of course work”; fair (668-699), or “demonstrates only the fundamental knowledge and skills needed for the next level of coursework”; and needs improvement (600-667), or “has not demonstrated fundamental knowledge and skills needed for the next level of coursework.”

The Algebra I EOC assessment provided more information than the Biology field test, as it has been administered for a longer period of time, and therefore Greenwood High’s scores could be compared with those of other Louisiana schools. The Biology EOC assessment is still a field test, however, as this was the first time that it was administered by the state; for this reason, the only information provided by the Biology test was the student’s raw score and percentage of correct answers. Consequently, I chose to find the average scores of the 22 students at Greenwood High, both participants and non-participants, who had taken this field test. I then used this school average as a baseline comparison, in order to gauge how well the English learners did on a school wide basis.

When examining the Algebra I results of the three groups of participants, I continued to find a similar pattern as on prior assessments. As with the Scholastic reading inventory and the

Aimsweb benchmark, the more emergent immersion and ESOL group received the lowest average score of 662.5 (needs improvement); the English only group a score of 668.9 (fair); and the more proficient immersion only group the highest score of 684.2 (fair). These results continue to support the conclusion that the more emergent English speakers struggled on assessments in a variety of content areas, including literacy and mathematics.

The English mainstream Biology class that took the EOC assessment was made up of 12 English native speakers, with an average score of 39.8%. The Spanish immersion Biology class was made up of nine students, with an average score of 38.4%. There were a total of 21 Greenwood High students who took Biology during the spring semester, with a school average of 39.2%. When comparing these averages, it is clear that the Spanish Biology class as a whole was not far below the school average. One possible reason for this is that the classroom management in the English only classes proved more challenging for Steven than in the Spanish immersion classes; consequently, there was a greater level of rigor within the Spanish Biology class. A second reason for this similarity in averages is that some of the academically higher, immersion only students, in particular Roberto and Jason, helped to pull up the overall score of the other Spanish native speakers.

When you compare the scores of the two groups within the Spanish immersion class, however, the same trend continues, with the immersion only students scoring far higher than the ESOL and immersion students. To be more specific, the more proficient immersion only participants had an average score of 46%, which was 6.8 points higher than the school average, while the more emergent immersion and ESOL participants had an average score of 32.4%, or 6.8 points lower than school average. It would appear that much as with the above discussed

literacy, language, and math assessments, the English learners continued to score lower on this Biology assessment, due to their limited English proficiency.

This Biology EOC field test, however, was different than the Mathematics assessments, in that the class was taught to the Spanish native speakers in their heritage language, allowing them full access to the content. This Biology EOC assessment, which will be used as a high stakes test in the near future, is entirely in English, creating a challenge for these Spanish immersion students. For this reason, Spanish native speakers would greatly benefit from receiving small group instruction in preparation for future EOC tests. The immersion teacher could utilize this time to directly teach the Spanish to English translations of the Biology terms with which the students are familiar. I end with a quote from my interview with Elena, an emergent EL, who describes this need best in her own words: “When Mr. Williams speaks about a term in Spanish, he should also tell it to us in English, because sometimes we know the term in Spanish, but don’t know how to say it in English for the exam.”

Summary of academic growth. The analysis of the student interest survey allowed me a greater understanding of the 17 participants as learners. From this data I found that although these students were not avid readers, they were well aware of the qualities of a good reader. I also found that these students, like most other adolescents, are highly social by nature and that they predominately use technology to communicate with their peers. Last, I learned from the student interest survey that these 17 participants have high aspirations for their futures after high school graduation.

Throughout the next group of language and literacy assessments, I found there to be several needs within Greenwood High’s ESOL and immersion program, particularly for a beginning of the school year formative assessment in both Spanish and English. Through the

results of the assessments that I conducted, I learned that several of the participants were incorrectly placed in both the immersion and ESOL classes. Additionally, both of these classes were made up of a wide range of language abilities, creating a great need for differentiated teaching approaches. Last, I found that several of the students had too low of a Spanish level to be able to find success in a 9th grade immersion class, thus creating a need for increased scaffolding for these learners, as well as extra Spanish support through small group instruction.

Throughout the analysis of all of the assessments, it became apparent that the three groups that I was comparing were clearly leveled, although I don't believe that this was a conscious decision on the part of the Greenwood administration. The ESOL and immersion students were found to be the most emergent group of English learners. This could have been the reason that they were placed in immersion, so as to increase their access to the content. The ESOL only group was made up of the more proficient English learners. These students were placed in ESOL only upon entering Greenwood, even though several of them had wanted to be in Spanish immersion, and could have benefited from the continued maintenance of their bilingualism. The last group, or the immersion only students, were for the most part the highest level English speakers out of the participants, with the exception of Stefano, who would have been better off getting extra English reading support as opposed to being placed in a Spanish immersion class. The clear levels between these three groups of participants once again confirmed for me that Greenwood High's administration had a need for a data-driven criterion for student placement in the ESOL and immersion programs.

From the results of the Scholastic Reading Inventory, I learned that all three groups of participants grew sufficiently in their English reading abilities during the 2009-2010 school year. The ESOL only group, however, had a substantially larger gain than the ESOL and immersion

group. From these results, I questioned whether this might be due to the fact that the ESOL only group was concentrating only on their English language abilities, whereas the ESOL and immersion group was continuing to maintain and develop their bilingualism.

During the analysis of these assessments, I noticed that in some areas, the immersion students showed a greater growth than their ESOL only and English mainstream peers. From this data, I began to wonder whether the classroom culture of the immersion program was helping these English learners to find success throughout the rest of the school day. Through other forms of data collection, I had observed a more rigorous atmosphere and stronger classroom management in the immersion classes as compared to the mainstream English classes. I also had found that the immersion program had substantially smaller class sizes as well as a stronger sense of community within the group of Spanish native speakers. This theme would become a focal area throughout the data analysis of both the observations and the interviews.

During the analysis of the Math and Science assessments, I learned that the limited English proficiency of many of the participants was creating a challenge for them in taking these assessments. It seemed logical that these English learners would struggle on assessments given in English, but it was disconcerting to learn that they also scored lower on the Biology assessment, which tested them on content that they had learned through their native language. It would appear that these Spanish native speakers would greatly benefit from receiving specialized instruction in order to help them in transferring their Spanish content knowledge into English, for the purposes of taking high stakes tests, such as the End of Course exams.

Sociogram.

Table 15

Sociogram: Academic Questions

Questions:

1. List the three students, (from first to third) with whom you would most like to work on a project in class? Why?
2. List the three students with whom you would least like to work on a project in class? Why?

Name	Q 1	Why?	Q 2	Why?
ESOL & Immersion				
Alejandra	Beth (L/ FI)	My friend/intelligent	Luis (P)	Doesn't pay attention
	Elena (P)	Well-organized	Jason (P)	Annoying/mean
	Carmen (P)	My friend	Carlos (P)	Don't work with him alot
Carlos	Francisco (P)	Helps me with translation	Matt (AA)	Reminds me of my friends in Honduras who were in gangs
	Alex (AA/ Jason's cousin)	I can understand him a little	George (AA)	I have problems with him
	Stefano (P)	Of the same opinion	n/a	n/a
Carmen	Alejandra (P)	Best friends	Luis (P)	Never does his work
	Elena (P)	Best friends	Stefano (P)	Doesn't do anything
	Roberto (P)	Knew each other last year	Ben (L)	Doesn't do anything

(Table 15 continued)

Elena	Alejandra (P)	Helps her with writing and meaning of words	Luis (P)	Lazy
	Roberto (P)	Patient	Carlos (P)	Always talking about silly things/ off-subject
	Carmen (P)	Helpful	Stefano (P)	Always sleeping in Biology
Luis	Raul (P)	Best friend	James (L)	Don't get along
	Jimena (P)	Girlfriend	n/a	n/a
	Sofia (P)	Best friend	n/a	n/a
<i>Overall Diversity of Answers</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>African-American</i>	<i>Caucasian</i>	<i>Latino</i>
	<i>78%</i>	<i>11%</i>	<i>0%</i>	<i>11%</i>
ESOL only				
Alvaro	Mitch (L)	Trust him – am familiar with him – he's helpful	Kevin (AA)	Don't agree with him
	Rosalinda (P)	Doesn't speak English well, but can do other things	Alvin (AA)	Wants the partner to do all of the work, then takes the credit
	Sofia (P)	A friend since their former school	n/a	n/a
Jimena	Raul (P)	Get along really well	Angel (AA)	Too wild for me
	Luis (P)	He's smart – her boyfriend	Rochelle (AA)	Very racist towards Latinos
	Sofia (P)	Best friend	Emily (AA)	Racist – tried starting problems between Luis and James
Manuel	Stefano (P)	Very helpful at research	Francisco (P)	Good friend but jokes a lot
	Ben (L)	Keeps your spirits up	Jason (P)	Makes a lot of jokes
	Roberto (P)	Really smart	Kyle (L)	Keeps your hopes down
Maria	Natalia (P)	Friends - work well together	Luis (P)	Don't work well together
	Katie (C)	Very smart – gets the job done well	Sofia (P)	She never does anything correct

(Table 15 continued)

	Devon (AA)	Doesn't usually work – but with Maria he does	n/a	n/a
Natalia	Maria (P)	Work well together	Alvaro (P)	Bothers her too much
	Denise (C)	If you can help her concentrate, she's good	Jean (AA)	Thinks he's the only smart one in the class
	Louise (C)	Can find information in the text book	Joe (AA)	Doesn't like to work/pay attention
Rosalinda	Carmen (P)	Likes to work with her	Carlos (P)	Never pays attention
	Beth (L/FI)	She is so smart	Manuel (P)	A little slow to understand things
	Alejandra (P)	n/a	Elena (P)	Because she can't speak English
Sofia	Jimena (P)	Always together – know each other well	Luis (P)	Instead of getting things done he plays around
	Maria (P)	Always together – know each other well	Carlos (P)	Instead of getting things done he plays around
	Natalia (P)	n/a	Manuel (P)	Instead of getting things done he plays around
<i>Overall Diversity of Answers</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>African-American</i>	<i>Caucasian</i>	<i>Latino</i>
	63%	10%	20%	8%
Spanish Immersion only				
Francisco	Jason (P)	Been through so much	Luis (P)	Plays around too much
	Alejandra (P)	Work well together	Carlos (P)	Likes people to do things for him

(Table 15 continued)

	Carmen (P)	She helps with Spanish – he helps with English	Ben (L)	Plays around too much
Jason (Foreign language immersion student)	Francisco (P)	Work great together	Luis (P)	Obnoxious at times
	Roberto (P)	Resourceful	Raul (P)	Argues sometimes
	Lance (C/FI)	Because we joke around a lot	Robert (C)	Wouldn't get anything done
Raul	Luis (P)	Good friend	Tammy (AA)	Anger issues
	Nancy (C)	Girlfriend	Lynette (AA)	Too loud
	Liz (C)	Good friend	Elaine (AA)	Too loud
Roberto	Beth (L/ FI)	Doesn't play around	Luis (P)	Doesn't do his work – likes to talk too much
	Alejandra (P)	Works well with her – gets work done	Monique (AA)	We bicker a lot – opposing ideas
	Kyle (L)	The only boy I can work with	Raul (P)	Doesn't do his work – doesn't like doing it
Stefano	Manuel (P)	Get along – like same things like video games	Luis (P)	Because he doesn't pay attention – talks a lot
	Ben (L)	Because he is his brother	Carlos (P)	Talk a lot – teacher has to tell them to be quiet
	Francisco (P)	He's smart – helps him in groups	Robert (C)	Makes him laugh
<i>Overall Diversity of Answers</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>African-American</i>	<i>Caucasian</i>	<i>Latino</i>
	<i>57%</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>13%</i>	<i>13%</i>

I conducted a sociogram with the 17 participants, which shed light on the social and academic interactions within the student body of Greenwood High. The sociogram was conducted during my first round of interviews, at which time I found several emerging themes, which I further pursued during the second, more extensive interviews. I have divided the data from the sociograms into three charts: academic questions, social questions, and student

preferences. The first section of findings that I will discuss is from the academic chart, or the data analysis of the participants' preferred partners for academic projects. Before beginning this discussion, I will briefly explain the abbreviations that I used in these three data charts.

Throughout the sociogram, some of the students had a hard time thinking of a second or a third choice, particularly for the negative questions. Several of these students told me that they try to get along with everyone. In general, many of the student participants have a friendly, outgoing approach to both academic and social situations, and prefer not to speak negatively about their peers. If a student chose not to answer a question, I wrote n/a or not applicable in lieu of a response.

Throughout the three charts, I labeled the 17 participants as (P), which could also signify Spanish native speakers, since the majority of these students' first language is Spanish. The exception to this is Jason, who is the only English native speaker amongst the participants. I included Jason, however, as he appeared to be fully accepted as one of the group by the other Spanish native speakers and as he spent almost all of his academic and social time over the past school year within this cohort.

All of the non-participants whom were mentioned in the sociogram were labeled as African-American (AA), Caucasian (C), or Latino (L). I also labeled the French immersion students (FI), as they were discussed several times and as I thought that this information might be relevant. I chose to label the non-participants in this way, because I found the issues of race and language to be significant to the participants in their responses, and I wanted to investigate this further.

I chose to analyze two main elements of the academic portion of the sociogram, or the "who" and the "what" of the participant responses. I felt that it was important to look into whom

the participants chose to discuss, because as I mentioned above, issues of race and language were a crucial factor in students' responses. I also analyzed the "what" of the responses, or the reasons that participants gave when I asked them why they chose certain peers with whom to work or not to work on academic projects. I begin here with a discussion of the "who", or which peers the participants chose in their responses, and possible reasons why they did so.

While conducting the sociogram, I began to notice an insular behavior within the group of Spanish native speakers, meaning that many of them preferred being with other Spanish native speakers for both academic and social interactions. This partially could have been because the Spanish native speakers spent so much time as a cohort, particularly the immersion and ESOL group, who took three of their five classes together. This issue of insular behavior amongst the participants became a focal point throughout my data analysis of the sociogram charts.

I also noticed, however, that many of the participants were also choosing to socialize with other Latinos, or students who identified with the Latino students. Additionally, some of the participants voiced strong opinions about not wanting to socialize with several African-American students, which made me wonder whether racial tension might exist between some of the Latino and African-American students at Greenwood High. This was a question that I continued to investigate during both the student and teacher interviews, and that I will discuss more thoroughly at a later point in the findings chapter.

As I mentioned above, the participants frequently named other participants throughout the sociogram interviews, as opposed to discussing other students from outside of the ESOL and immersion classes; this was true for both the positive and negative questions. In order to better understand this insular behavior, I decided to calculate the percentage of times that participants were mentioned versus non-participants, so that I could compare the difference between the three

groups. The group with the least diversified responses was the ESOL and immersion, with 78% of their answers about participants. The ESOL only group had more diversified responses, with 63% of their answers about participants. Finally, the immersion only group had the most diversified responses, with only 57% of their answers about participants.

From these results, I would conclude that the ESOL and immersion group was more insular in nature for two possible reasons. First of all, these five participants took three of their five classes together throughout the day, or ESOL and their two Spanish immersion classes. This created what was essentially a track for these Spanish native speakers, in which they had limited opportunity to interact with students outside of their small, homogenous group. Additionally, these participants had the most limited English proficiency and were therefore more likely to interact with other Spanish speakers.

The second and more diversified group was the ESOL only participants. These students only took one class with all participants, or ESOL. Consequently, I noticed that they had much more diverse answers to both the positive and the negative sociogram questions. These ESOL students were more proficient English speakers than the ESOL and immersion group, allowing them to interact more frequently with the English native speakers. This also allowed them to better understand what English native speakers were saying to or about them, which could be seen in the answer of Jimena, who didn't like working with Rochelle and Emily because they were "racists towards Latinos." Consequently, this group's increased English proficiency allowed them more interaction with non-participants, both positive and negative.

The most diversified answers could be found within the immersion only group. Although these five participants had two immersion classes together, they also had three other classes with the mainstream Greenwood High students. Additionally, these five students had the most

proficient English skills of all of the participants, allowing them more opportunities to interact with the English native speakers in the school.

These above results lead me to two questions. First, if participants had more opportunity to work together with non-participants outside of the immersion and ESOL track, could they develop a greater intercultural sensitivity (ICS), which is one of the main goals of immersion education? Second, as the emergent English learners become more proficient in their English language abilities, will they be able to find more success in multicultural and multilingual settings? If the answer to these questions is yes, then Greenwood High could greatly benefit from providing students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds with the opportunity to interact more frequently, in both academic and social situations.

My next step in data analysis was to delve into what was actually said by the participants about their peers, or the “what” of the sociogram. I read through the participants’ answers to my “why” question, searching for common or repeated themes in both their positive and negative answers regarding their peers. One reoccurring theme that I found dealt with the issues of language abilities, both positive and negative. On a positive note, some of the English learners chose to seek out partners who could help them with their limited language proficiencies. For example, Carlos likes to work with partners who can help him with translation and who “can understand him a little.” Elena chooses partners who can help her “with writing and meaning of words,” and Francisco likes working with Carmen because “she helps with Spanish, and he helps with English.” On a more negative note, however, some of the English learners mentioned other ELs not having sufficient English proficiency. Alvaro said that Rosalinda “doesn’t speak English well, but can do other things,” and Rosalinda stated that she prefers not to work with Elena “because she can’t speak English.” These responses tell me that levels of language

proficiency are an important factor for many of the participants when conducting academic projects.

Participants frequently mentioned a second theme of *comradarie* or a shared history as a reason for wanting to work with another participant. Many of these students attended one of two middle schools, thus giving them common past experiences. For example, Carmen likes working with Roberto because they “knew each other last year,” and Francisco with Jason because they have “been through so much.” They also frequently mentioned having similar interests, demonstrated through comments such as “I am familiar with him”, “we know each other well”, and “we like the same things, like video games.” This issue of shared history further supported the idea that the Spanish native speakers exist within an insular academic setting, which for some of them began before they even entered Greenwood High.

A third theme could be found in students’ frequent complaints about the work ethic of other students, both participants and non-participants; this was one of the most common reasons for participants not wanting to work with other students. Examples of this can be found in comments such as “he doesn’t pay attention”, “he never does his work”, or “he likes people to do things for him.” Interestingly, the participants gave similar answers in the individual student interest survey, when asked what makes a reader successful. This led me to believe that the participants generally were focused and productive when assigned to a group project, which is an issue that I investigated further during student and teacher interviews.

An interesting comment was made by Carlos about Matt, an African-American student, which shed more light on challenges faced by Carlos, both in the past and the present. At first, Carlos was hesitant to say with which students he didn’t want to work and insisted that he got along with everyone. He later mentioned that he wouldn’t want to work with Matt because he

“reminds me of my friends in Honduras who were in gangs.” In past conversations with Matt, both in school and when I saw him in his neighborhood, he had insinuated to me that he was involved with a gang. Carlos told me that he also thought that this was true and consequently avoided Matt so as to avoid getting involved with the problems that he had left behind in Honduras.

The fourth and last theme deals with the issues of social tension that existed between some Latino and African American students within Greenwood High. Jimena stated that two African-American girls were “very racist towards Latinos”, and “tried starting problems between Luis and James”, James being a Chicano student that I will discuss further in the next section. Other comments led me to believe that there were possibly cultural differences or misunderstandings that were creating some racial tension, such as when participants described some African American students as being “too wild for me”, “too loud”, or having “anger issues”. These sociogram comments were the first glimpse into the racial tension that was developing at Greenwood High, and a theme that would continue to arise throughout data collection.

Table 16
Sociogram: Social Questions

Questions:

3. List the three students with whom you would most like to sit at lunch time? Why?
4. List the three students with whom you would least like to sit at lunch time? Why?

Name	Q3	Why?	Q4	Why?
ESOL & Immersion				
Alejandra	Roberto (P)	Friendly – a good friend	James (L)	He's spoiled – none of the Latinos like him – thinks he's better because he's Chicano
	Elena (P)	Best friend	Lance (C/ FI)	Not social or friendly
	Natalia (P)	Get along well	Luis (P)	Very annoying
Carlos	Alvaro (P)	Easy-going	n/a	He prefers to have his own space/to sit alone
	Manuel (P)	We understand each other well	n/a	n/a
Carmen	Alejandra (P)	Helps me	Stefano (P)	Talks about guy things - boring
	Elena (P)	Helps me	Ben (L)	Talks about guy things
	Rosalinda (P)	Helps me	Jason (P)	Talks about guy things
Elena	Alejandra (P)	Her friend	Lance (C/ FI)	He's a fool – says rude things in English
	Carmen (P)	Her friend	Alvaro (P)	Makes bad faces at us
	Rosalinda (P)	Her friend	Robert (C)	A fool
Luis	Jimena (P)	They have second lunch together	James (L)	Don't get along
	Roberto (P)	They have second lunch together	n/a	n/a
	Alejandra (P)	They have second lunch together	n/a	n/a

(Table 16 continued)

<i>Overall Diversity of Answers</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>African American</i>	<i>Caucasian</i>	<i>Latino</i>
	77%	0%	12%	12%
ESOL only				
Alvaro	April (AA)	She's cool, playful, fun, smart, and sociable	Raul (P)	I don't like him
	Mitch (L)	He is chill – will let you borrow anything	Roberto (P)	Bossy when you do something with him
	Ben (L)	He likes playing games	n/a	n/a
Jimena	Luis (P)	Boyfriend	Rochelle (AA)	Racist towards Latinos
	Raul (P)	Get along really well	Emily (AA)	Racist towards Latinos
	Sofia (P)	Best friend	Angel (AA)	Racist towards Latinos
Manuel	Ben (L)	My best friend	Raul (P)	Doesn't talk or anything
	Stefano (P)	Also my best friend	Nancy (C)	Talks too much
	Carlos (P)	My foster brother	Sofia (P)	Always eating his food
Maria	Natalia (P)	They have lots to talk about	Nellie (AA)	Just mean
	Dylan (AA)	Talks a lot – he's funny	Brenda (AA)	Just mean – thinks she's better than everyone
	Sean (AA)	Feels comfortable talking to him	Taylor (AA)	Just don't like her
Natalia	Robert (C)	Funniest person ever	Alvaro (P)	Don't talk to each other – not close friends
	Denise (C)	Best friends – tell each other everything	Tom (AA)	They're friends, but don't sit together
	Maria (P)	Talk about boys – trust each other	Sean (AA)	They're friends, but don't sit together
Rosalinda	Carmen (P)	She is my best friend	n/a	She likes and wants to hang out with everybody
	Elena (P)	They are my friends and they are cool	n/a	n/a

(Table 16 continued)

	Alejandra (P)	They are my friends and they are cool	n/a	n/a
Sofia	Jimena (P)	Have all of their classes together	Raul (P)	They used to be close
	Natalia (P)	Has known her since the 6 th grade	Tom (AA)	So annoying – calls her short
	Maria (P)	2 classes and lunch together	n/a	n/a
<i>Overall Diversity of Answers</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>African American</i>	<i>Caucasian</i>	<i>Latino</i>
	51%	32%	8%	8%
Spanish Immersion only				
Francisco	Jason (P)	Make each other laugh	James (L)	Mean – he’s racist
	Boyd (AA)	Makes him laugh too	n/a	n/a
	Stefano (P)	Talk about random stuff	n/a	n/a
Jason (Foreign language immersion student)	Lance (C/ FI)	Just friends	Boyd (AA)	He’s random
	Francisco (P)	We have conversations really easily	Angel (AA)	Doesn’t like people who are loud
	Roberto (P)	Talks about gadgets	Nellie (AA)	A little bit gossipy
Raul	Nancy (C)	Good friend	George (AA)	He has a problem with him
	Luis (P)	Good friend	Vince (AA)	Too wild
	Liz (C)	Good friend	Matt (AA)	Has a problem with him – looks at him wrong
Roberto	Jason (P)	Lots in common – fun to talk with	Boyd (AA)	Goes to far with jokes - doesn’t know the limits
	Elena (P)	Talks with her all the time	George (AA)	Really defensive – look at him wrong like he wants to fight

(Table 16 continued)

	Kyle (L)	Get along well	Ben (L)	Always inappropriate
Stefano	Manuel (P)	We talk about the things we like	Bart (AA)	Don't talk to each other – got in a past argument
	Ben (L)	Likes to say jokes – talk about video games	Brenda (AA)	Thinks she's all that
	Carlos (P)	Like to talk about sports/ soccer	Luis (P)	Sometimes he offends – he goes too far
<i>Overall Diversity of Answers</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>African American</i>	<i>Caucasian</i>	<i>Latino</i>
	<i>36%</i>	<i>39%</i>	<i>11%</i>	<i>14%</i>

Much like the academic chart, I chose to analyze two main elements of the social chart: the “who,” or the peers that participants chose to discuss, and the “what,” or the reasons that participants gave for choosing those peers. First, I again compared the diversity of answers between the three groups, or the number of times that the participants chose other participants, as opposed to non-participants. I found there to be a similar pattern within both the social and academic charts: once again, the ESOL and immersion group had the least diversified answers, with 77% of their answers about participants; the ESOL only group was more diversified, with 51% of their answers about participants; and the immersion only group was the most diversified, with only 36% of their answers about participants.

The ESOL and immersion group had almost the exact same percentage in both the academic and the social chart, or 77% compared to 78%; this tells me that these students are predominately interacting within their small group of Spanish native speakers, both in academic and social situations. There was, however, a much wider difference between the academic and social responses of both the ESOL only group and the immersion only group. When comparing the two charts, I noticed that the ESOL only group decreased in diversity of answers from 63%

to 51%, or a difference of 12 percentile points. The immersion group has an even greater decrease, dropping from 57% to 36%, or 21 percentile points. This information demonstrated to me that these two groups are increasingly finding opportunities to have both positive and negative social interactions with non-participants outside of academic settings.

I next looked into the “what,” or the reasons that participants gave for choosing other students with whom to socialize. After analyzing the reoccurring themes from the second social chart, I found some repetition of the themes that I had found within the academic chart, as well as some new issues that had yet to be discussed. I begin by describing some of the repeated themes, and the responses that shed further light on these issues.

During the analysis of the social chart, I continued to notice a theme of social division that existed in the school due to the ESOL and/or immersion track to which many of the participants belonged. At Greenwood High, an English learner such as Elena could easily spend the majority of her time only interacting with other participants and Spanish native speakers. Elena took two Spanish immersion classes as well as an ESOL class. Her advisory class was made up predominantly of Latina girls, and she attended second lunch with the rest of the participants. Her fifth remaining class was mainstream, but there were enough Spanish native speakers in the class for Elena to essentially remain in her heritage language and isolated from non-participants throughout the entire day.

This social division within Greenwood is demonstrated through comments such as Sofia’s, who chose to hang out with Jimena because they “have all of their classes together,” or with Maria because they have “two classes and lunch together.” Additionally, Luis chose three students with whom to spend time solely because “they have second lunch together.” This theme of social division led me to repeat the question that I asked during the discussion of the academic

chart: if more opportunities were provided for participants and non-participants to interact at Greenwood High, would a greater intercultural sensitivity be developed amongst the student body?

Upon analyzing this social chart, I noticed that even more negative comments were made about some African American students than had been found in the academic chart. For example, Jimena again discussed the existing racial tension at Greenwood, stating that three African American girls were “racist towards Latinos.” Two African American boys in particular, or Matt and George, were again brought up during several interviews. One participant stated that Matt “had a problem with him” and “looked at him wrong,” while another said that George “had a problem with him,” was “really defensive,” and “looked at him wrong like he wants to fight.” Another student came up frequently, or Brenda, who was one of the three English native speakers from Grover Elementary who had left the Spanish immersion program at the beginning of the spring semester. Repeated comments began to shed light on the tension that had developed between the English and the Spanish native speakers in the immersion program, with participants stating that Brenda was “just mean,” that she “thinks she’s better than everyone,” and that she “thinks she’s all that.”

A third social issue arose during this section of the sociogram, or the mounting tension between the participants and a new student at Greenwood High, James. James was a Chicano student, or a Mexican-American student who was born in the United States. I learned through these first student interviews that several of the participants were having problems with James and that they felt that he didn’t want to associate with the more recently immigrated Latinos in the school. Some participants told me that James had instead tried to instigate fights between Spanish and English native speakers, or in particular between Latino students such as Carlos and

Luis, and African American students, such as Devon and Sam. Several comments began to shed light on this issue with James, such as Alejandra, who stated that “he’s spoiled,” “none of the Latinos like him,” and “he thinks he’s better because he’s Chicano,” or Francisco, who said that James is “mean” and he’s “racist.”

Table 17
Sociogram: Student Preferences

Names	Q1 & Q3 (Positive Questions)	Q2 & Q4 (Negative Questions)	Names	Q1 & Q3 (Positive Questions)	Q2 & Q4 (Negative Questions)
<i>Participants:</i>			<i>Non- Participants: African Americans</i>		
Alejandra	9		Alex (AA/Jason’s cousin)	1	
Roberto	7	1	Dylan (AA)	1	
Carmen	6		April (AA)	1	
Elena	6	1	Devon (AA)	1	
Natalia	5		Sean (AA)	1	1
Maria	4		Boyd (AA)	1	2
Jimena	4		Joe (AA)		1
Francisco	4	1	Kevin (AA)		1
Sofia	4	2	Taylor (AA)		1
Stefano	4	3	Jean (AA)		1
Luis	4	11	Vince (AA)		1
Rosalinda	3		Alvin (AA)		1
Manuel	3	2	Bart (AA)		1
Jason	3	3	Elaine (AA)		1

(Table 17 continued)

Raul	3	5	Monique (AA)		1
Carlos	2	6	Lynette (AA)		1
Alvaro	1	3	Tammy (AA)		1
Total	69	38	Rochelle (AA)		2
			Brenda (AA)		2
Non-Participants: Latinos			Tom (AA)		2
Ben (L)	5	4	Nellie (AA)		2
Beth (L/ FI)	3		Matt (AA)		2
Mitch (L)	2		Emily(AA)		2
Kyle (L)	2	1	George (AA)		3
James (L)		4	Angel (AA)		3
Total	12	9	Total	6	32
Non-Participants: Caucasians					
Denise (C)	2				
Nancy (C)	2	1			
Lance (C/FI)	2	2			
Liz (C)	2				
Katie (C)	1				
Louise (C)	1				
Robert (C)	1	3			
Total	11	6			

In the final chart, I aggregated information from both the academic and social charts in order to gain a better overall view of the information obtained from the sociogram. I counted the number of times that all participants and non-participants were mentioned and then charted this information, starting at the top with the group most frequently mentioned in a positive light. I will discuss each group of Greenwood High students in the order that they are found on the chart: first, the participants, with 69 positive mentions; second, the Latino students, with 12 positive mentions; third, the Caucasian students, with 11 positive mentions; and fourth, the African American students, with six positive mentions.

Overall, the participants were mentioned the most frequently, in 69 of the positive responses and 38 of the negative ones. This was not surprising information for me; as I have previously discussed, the participants seemed to exist in an insular setting in both their academic and social interactions. I was surprised, however, to find that Luis was mentioned 11 times negatively. I had always thought him to be a popular student, and he dated Jimena, who was well liked by the rest of the participants. Despite this, Luis was mentioned frequently as a student with whom students would not want to work, particularly on academic projects. The other participants told me that Luis did not equally share in the responsibility of group projects, both in their Spanish immersion and ESOL class. I wondered whether Luis's limited academic proficiency in both his native and his target language might be affecting his ability to fully participate in class assignments.

The next group is the non-participant Latino students, who were mentioned in 12 positive and nine negative comments. While observing the participants during social settings, I had noticed that they frequently sat with the other Latino students, or with the students who weren't in the ESOL and immersion classes, but who identified with the Spanish native speakers in the school. Although this group of five non-participant Latino students was small, they were mentioned frequently, or 21 times, signifying the important role that they played in the social and academic experiences of the 17 participants. I was surprised to notice the number of negative responses about these Latino students, until I realized that four of the nine negative comments were actually about James, or the Chicano student discussed in the previous section. Although James is a Latino student, according to the participants, he actively tried to associate himself with the English native speakers in the school and to disassociate himself from the Spanish-speaking students of Greenwood High.

Although Greenwood High was predominately made up of Latino and African American students, there also existed a small group of Caucasian students within the student body. Seven of these students were mentioned frequently by the participants, or 11 times positively and six times negatively. To have such a small group of students discussed so often was interesting to me and led me to wonder why this was the case. During lunchtime and in other social situations, I continued to observe which students chose to sit together at Greenwood High. I noticed that the participants, as previously mentioned, chose to sit together with the other Latino students in the school. I also noticed that the majority of the small group of Caucasian students also chose to sit with the Latino and the Spanish-speaking students. This led me to wonder if some of the Caucasian students identified with the Latino students at Greenwood and why they did so. This is a question that I would continue to investigate during the second round of student interviews.

The last group, or the African American students, was mentioned the least frequently in response to the positive questions, or six times. This is surprising when considering that this was the largest group of students discussed in the sociogram, as it was made up of 25 students, as compared to the 17 participants, the five Latino students, and the seven Caucasian students. Also telling is the number of times that this group of students was mentioned negatively, or 32 times. This data led me to further believe that racial tension existed at Greenwood High between some of the Latino and African American students. This tension would be an ongoing theme for discussion with both students and teachers throughout the interviewing process.

Summary of sociogram. In my search for information about both the academic and social experiences of the 17 participants, I found conducting the sociogram to be helpful, particularly in learning more about the social interactions of the students at Greenwood High. I did, however, discover some reoccurring academic themes, such as the importance of issues of

language abilities when choosing partners for a classroom project. Additionally, I found that the participants frequently complained about the work ethic of other students, leading me to believe that these English learners generally were focused and productive when given a group assignment. I also discovered that some of the participants, such as Luis, did not equally share in the responsibility of group projects, causing me to wonder whether Luis's limited language proficiency was affecting his ability to fully participate in classroom activities.

In analyzing the social dynamics of Greenwood High, I learned that many of the Spanish native speakers were insular in their behavior, particularly the ESOL and immersion group. I concluded that this group was the most insular for two reasons: first, because they essentially existed in a track of Spanish native speakers throughout the day; and second, because their limited English skills made it difficult for them to interact fully with the English native speakers. Although the ESOL only and immersion only groups were less insular in nature, many of the participants from all three groups expressed a sense of camaraderie or shared history with the other Spanish native speakers in the study.

Although the 17 students interviewed shared the most in common with the rest of the study's participants, they also seemed to extend this sense of camaraderie to the other Latino students in the school, as well as to the small population of Caucasian students at Greenwood High. I found from the sociogram, however, that racial tension existed within the high school between some of the Latino and the African American students. Some of the participants' comments led me to believe that this tension could have been exacerbated due to cultural differences and misunderstandings between participants and non-participants.

These two main themes of insular behavior and racial tension led me to pose several questions that would become the focal point throughout the rest of my data analysis. First, if

participants had more opportunity to work together with non-participants outside of the immersion and ESOL track, could they develop a greater intercultural sensitivity (ICS), which is one of the main goals of immersion education? Second, as the emergent English learners become more proficient in their English language abilities, will they be able to find more success in multicultural and multilingual settings? These are questions that I will continue to explore throughout the discussion of both the classroom observations and the student and teacher interviews.

The Teachers

Observations.

CLASS observations.

Table 18
CLASS Observations

	Chad	Cynthia	Martha	Matthew	Steven	<i>Averages</i>
Positive Climate	3	5	6	5	6	5
Relationships	Middle	Middle	High	Middle	High	
Positive Affect	Low	Middle	High	Middle	High	

(Table 18 continued)

Positive Communication	Middle	High	High	High	High	
Respect	Low	High	Middle	High	Middle	
Negative Climate	6	2	3	2	2	3
Negative Affect	Middle	Middle	Low	Middle	Low	
Punitive Control	Middle	Low	Middle	Low	Low	
Sarcasm/Disrespect	High	Middle	Middle	Low	Middle	
Severe Negativity	High	Low	Low	Low	Low	
Teacher Sensitivity	5	4	5	5	6	5
Awareness	High	Middle	Middle	High	Middle	
Responsiveness	High	High	Middle	High	High	
Addresses Problems	Middle	Middle	High	Middle	Middle	
Student Comfort	Middle	Middle	High	Middle	High	
Regard for Student Perspective	4	4	3	6	6	4.6
Flexibility and Student Focus	Middle	Middle	Low	High	High	
Support for Autonomy and Leadership	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	
Student Expression	Middle	Middle	Middle	High	High	
Restriction of Movement	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	High	
Behavior Management	2	5	6	6	3	4.4
Clear Behavior Expectations	Middle	Middle	High	High	Low	
Proactive	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	
Redirection of Misbehavior	Low	Middle	Middle	High	Middle	
Student Behavior	Low	High	High	High	Middle	
Productivity	2	5	4	6	4	4.2
Maximizing Learning Time	Middle	Middle	Middle	High	High	
Routines	Middle	Middle	Middle	High	Middle	
Transitions	Low	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	
Preparation	High	Middle	Middle	High	High	
Instructional Learning Formats	4	4	4	5	5	4.4
Effective Facilitation	Middle	Middle	High	High	High	

(Table 18 continued)

Variety of Modalities and Materials	Middle	Middle	Middle	High	High	
Student Interest	Low	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	
Clarity of Learning Objectives	Middle	Middle	Low	Middle	Middle	
Concept Development	5	5	6	7	6	5.8
Analysis and Reasoning	High	High	High	High	High	
Creating	Middle	Middle	Middle	High	High	
Integration	High	High	High	High	High	
Connections to the Real World	Middle	Middle	High	High	Middle	
Quality of Feedback	5	5	6	6	6	5.6
Scaffolding	High	High	Middle	High	High	
Feedback Loops	High	Middle	High	High	High	
Prompting through Processes	High	Middle	High	High	High	
Providing Information	Middle	High	High	High	High	
Encouragement and Affirmation	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	High	
Language Modeling	5	5	6	5	5	5.2
Frequent Conversations	Middle	High	High	Middle	High	
Open-ended Questions	Middle	Middle	High	High	High	
Repetition and Extension	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	
Self- and Parallel Talk	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	
Advanced Language	High	High	High	High	High	
<i>Averages</i>	<i>3.7</i>	<i>4.8</i>	<i>5.1</i>	<i>5.7</i>	<i>5.3</i>	

I observed five courses for the CLASS observation: Chad's English only Algebra I, Cynthia's ESOL, Martha's Spanish immersion Literature, Matthew's English only Art, and Steven's Spanish immersion Biology. The rubric that I utilized divided the scores of the five teacher participants into three levels: high, (6 or 7 points); middle, (3, 4, or 5 points); and low, (1 or 2 points). In order to find an average score for each teacher, I adjusted the scores for negative climate, since this is the only dimension in which it is preferable to have a lower score, or it is better to have less of a negative climate. For the dimension of negative climate, I converted the

1's to 7's, the 2's to 6's, and the 3's to 5's, thus creating a more accurate average for each teacher.

Chad had the lowest average of the five participants, but he also was teaching a mainstream English only class for this observation, which in general had far more challenging classroom management. Cynthia, Martha, and Matthew all were observed teaching Spanish native speakers in the ESOL and immersion classes, which for the most part had less challenging behavior than the English mainstream classes. A possible reason for this could be that the ESOL and immersion classes were made up of much smaller groups, or nine to 12 students, as opposed to 30 or more in the mainstream courses, such as Chad's Algebra I. Another possible reason is that the ESOL and immersion classes had a stronger sense of community, due to the shared language and culture of the student participants, which is a theme that I will discuss further in a later section of the findings chapter. Matthew's Art class was an exception, however, in that he had the highest score, yet he was teaching a mainstream, English only class. Matthew truly had a remarkable year, especially when considering that it was his first experience in a public high school setting. He worked hard to consistently improve in the management of his classes, the results of which can be seen in his higher rubric scores.

In general, these results can be useful in beginning a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses at Greenwood High, and in particular, what these patterns mean in light of the academic experiences of the English learners. The dimension with the highest average was concept development, with a score of 5.8, followed by quality of feedback and language modeling, with scores of 5.6 and 5.2 respectively. In general, throughout the school year I was able to observe these teacher participants striving to push the higher order thinking skills of their students. Teachers would also frequently circulate through the class during student-centered

activities, engaging students in one-to-one dialogue. Greenwood High also had a strong emphasis on language development, due to the importance of English, Spanish, and French as the languages of instruction.

Of the scores for concept development, Martha stood out with the only perfect score of seven amongst all of the participants. She is also an adjunct History professor at a local college, and she used her experience at the higher education level to conceptually challenge her nine Spanish immersion students. This was a strength in her class at times, although it also proved to be a challenge; Martha often taught above the readiness levels of some of her struggling Spanish speakers, who would have benefited from additional scaffolding to reach these higher level concepts.

Three of the dimensions made up the middle group of averaged scores: positive climate, negative climate, and teacher sensitivity. Most of these five classes had a relatively positive climate, with minimal negative interactions between the students and the teacher. The teachers were also sensitive to the needs of these students and generally aware of the comfort level of the participants within the class.

An exception to this can be found with Chad, who scored the lowest in positive climate and the highest in negative climate. Chad was in his first year in the classroom and struggled throughout the year with managing his large, English mainstream classes. He at times grew frustrated and consequently negative in his interactions with students. Students also showed a high level of disrespect to both Chad and their peers in this class. This struggle with classroom climate could be found in other English mainstream classrooms across the school, such as English I, World Geography, and French I. Although I didn't conduct a CLASS observation in these classes, I did observe them on an ongoing basis throughout the year, and I will further

discuss my observations of the whole school culture and climate in the next section of the findings chapter.

The lowest scoring dimensions for the CLASS observations were as follows: productivity with an average of 4.2; instructional learning formats and classroom management, both with an average of 4.4; and regard for student perspective, with an average of 4.6. These four dimensions are all inter-related; consequently, it is reasonable that the teacher participants would have scored consistently lower in these areas. First of all, management was an ongoing challenge in almost all of Greenwood High's classrooms throughout the school year and the area in which the teachers sought the most assistance. Teachers would have liked to have taken student perspective more into consideration when planning their instructional approaches, but due to the challenge with management, they generally had to rely on a more disciplined, teacher-centered style. By the same token, teachers were less likely to veer away from these safer methods in order to experiment with a variety of instructional learning formats. Last of all, productivity was an ongoing issue throughout Greenwood High, in that the faculty was not highly successful in this first year in creating a culture of rigor and high achievement.

Individual exceptions can also be found within these four lowest dimensions. In particular, both Chad and Steven struggled the most with classroom management, due to this being their first year in the classroom, after attending a six-week teacher credential program the prior summer. Martha also had a notably lower score for regarding student perspectives, which was not one of her strengths as a teacher.

Formal and informal observations. In the following section, I discuss the themes that emerged during the analysis of three types of data: informal observation that I conducted throughout the school year; formal observation that I conducted during the spring semester; and

memos that I wrote to myself during the period of data collection. I have divided these themes from observations into two sections: academic and social themes. Below I begin with a discussion of the academic themes from observations and how these affected the experiences of the 17 student participants.

Academic themes. I begin the following section with a discussion of the strong emphasis that the immersion and ESOL teachers placed on language development within their classrooms. However, this positive attribute of Greenwood's program was coupled with a great need for differentiated instruction. Although the teachers had commendable expectations for the language proficiencies of their students, they also needed to utilize more scaffolding techniques to help the English learners in achieving these high goals.

I continue with a discussion of the classroom management issues that were prevalent at Greenwood throughout the school year. During analysis of the observation data, the theme of classroom management repeatedly arose in both positive and negative comments. Generally speaking, I observed stronger classroom management in the Spanish immersion classes, as compared to the English mainstream classes. I will briefly compare the two unique cultures that developed within these programs and how this inconsistency in classroom management affected the academic experiences of the student participants.

Emphasis on language development. Throughout this first year of operation, the teachers and administrators of Greenwood High struggled with the challenges often faced when starting a new school. During this period, however, there was one clear area of strength in the both the ESOL and immersion program: a strong emphasis on language development. Language was one of the main focuses of the school, and students were given the option of learning in French,

Spanish, and English. Most of the administrators and teachers were bilingual, and the importance of language learning was emphasized in the school's mission.

In the following section, I discuss some examples of this positive language development, as well as how this attribute of the program led to concerns over differentiated instruction. First, I begin with two positive examples of language development from observations in Cynthia's ESOL class and Martha's Spanish immersion class:

Cynthia tries to model advanced academic language without overwhelming her ELs. She is keeping the group well engaged in the conversation and has a good discussion going throughout the reading, with lots of vocabulary development.

Martha models advanced, academic, and correct Spanish to these students. I was impressed by how much they responded to her in the target language. It is clear to them that they are not to speak in English but instead in Spanish.

During the initial interviews with the student participants, I found it remarkable how content many of them were with the immersion program. When I asked why, they told me that they liked that they were expected to remain in the target language, or Spanish, throughout the entire class. Remaining in the target language is an ongoing challenge for many immersion programs, particularly at the middle and high school level; for this reason, I was impressed by these teachers' abilities to encourage students to speak in the appropriate language during class. I discuss this observation in the following memo that I wrote to myself after the first round of interviews:

The students also told me that they feel more "immersed" in this program as compared to Grover Elementary. They said that in middle school, students would frequently speak in English in the immersion program, whereas here, the target language is almost always spoken in their immersion classes. The reasons that they gave me for this were that the teachers here consistently remind them to speak in the target language.

In the next excerpt from an observation of Martha's immersion class, I again discuss the amount of time that the students are remaining in Spanish. I give another possible reason for this, which is the large number of heritage speakers in this classroom.

These students are really good at remaining in Spanish in this class. They even push for me to remain in Spanish when I enter, even when I'm in a hurry and want to fall back on my English. I think that having Carmen, Carlos, Luis, and Elena in this class helps push the other students to remain in the target language.

In another memo, I compare the immersion program at Greenwood High to that of Grover Elementary. Throughout the year, I noticed that Martha was able to move at a quick pace due to the number of heritage speakers in the program, particularly when compared to Grover, where the immersion teachers had to spend a great deal of time reviewing basic grammar for the English native speakers. In addition, three of the four English native speakers from Grover had dropped out of the immersion program after the fall semester, thus allowing Martha to teach at an even faster pace.

They also said that they like having more heritage language speakers in their class, and that this pushed them to learn more about Latino culture and to speak in Spanish. One of the students told me that he likes the pace of the classes here better (as compared to Grover Elementary). He said that in middle school the teachers often had to focus on more basic grammar because there were so many English native speakers in the class, but that here they move a lot faster and talk more about the content. I asked if this pace was too fast for him, and he said no, that it was a good challenge.

This faster pace had many benefits, such as the ability of the teacher to delve deeper into the content. At the same time, it created a challenge for those students who were not able to keep up with Martha's rapid pace, such as Carlos, Luis, Raul, and Stefano. Although these four students are Spanish native speakers, all of them are reading Spanish at an elementary school level. In addition, within the immersion group there still remained one English native speaker, or Jason. In the following excerpts from three different observations, I discuss my concern for Carlos, Raul, and Jason.

She is pushing their academic language, but some of these students, like Carlos, are coming from weaker Spanish academic backgrounds. What is happening to bring their Spanish reading and writing skills up to the 9th grade level?

The majority of the class is engaged, but Raul goes in and out, and she gives him a hard time about this. I wonder how much of this disengagement is his not understanding the Spanish, especially now that I've read with him, and am aware that he has lower comprehension levels in both Spanish and English.

Martha is really pushing their academic Spanish, now that she doesn't have to worry as much about teaching more basic grammar and vocabulary to the foreign language immersion students. But of course there is still Jason. I wonder how much he is keeping up with her Spanish?

Need for differentiated instruction. At the beginning of the school year, or in August of 2009, I asked each of the five teacher participants to set professional development goals for themselves for the upcoming year. Interestingly, the majority of their goals involved either differentiated instruction or classroom management. Consequently, these two areas became focal points for my yearlong observations. During data analysis of my observations, it was remarkable how frequently these two themes reoccurred in the data. Below, I have placed a chart displaying some of the teacher participants' year goals. I follow this with a discussion on differentiated instruction and classroom management.

Table 19

Teachers: Professional Development Goals

Teacher Participant	Professional Development Goal
Steven	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management • Pacing • Checks for understanding
Cynthia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How to better differentiate instruction and reach lower level students • Grouping • Classroom management
Chad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Designing lessons that allow me to provide different assignments/levels of support to students at different levels.
Martha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developmental appropriateness/the level of cognitive development. What is too much? How to combine the best of a university level class structure, (rigorous content, high expectations) with cognitively appropriate activities? How to engage 14 year olds in deep, rich content?

I begin with a discussion of Cynthia's ESOL class, which perhaps had the strongest need for differentiated instruction due to the wide gamut of English language proficiencies within this group of 12 students. Cynthia was well aware of the need to differentiate with these students and began the year with this as one of her main focuses.

She often would grow overwhelmed, however, due to the copious amount of work required to meet the needs of English learners ranging from a Pre-Kindergarten to a ninth grade level. As I wrote in one early observation: "Cynthia realizes the need for differentiation in here, but doesn't always follow through in accommodating the extreme levels in her classroom."

At the end of the fall semester, she received a scripted curriculum from the district that greatly helped her in minimizing the preparation time needed to reach her three distinct groups of English learners. This particular curriculum is designed specifically to differentiate instruction through the use of a leveled library and individualized computer-based instruction. Cynthia initially found great success with using the program, and many of her students enjoyed reading the books and working on the computer. After several weeks, however, some of the necessary equipment, such as laptops and headphones, were missing from Cynthia's classroom. She was unable to replace these items and quickly became frustrated with using the program. For the remainder of the semester, the majority of the lessons that I observed were tailored to the level of the middle group, thus less effectively reaching the more emergent and proficient English learners. In this next observation I discuss Cynthia's frustration, as well as how this affected her ability to differentiate instruction.

Cynthia said that she was not having a good class because the computers were missing; this has been an ongoing frustration for her. She was having more success earlier in the year with differentiating her instruction, and was using a variety of resources when she first received the Read 180 materials. The students were enjoying working on the computer and using the audio books. This last month the class seems to have moved more to "paper and pen" work.

In the following excerpt, I discuss a particularly telling observation from a lesson that Cynthia taught towards the end of the school year. She was leading a discussion about an eighth grade reading passage that was projected on the overhead and was following a round robin technique of calling on the students. Here I discuss my concerns with the lack of differentiation, particularly for the more emergent English learners in the group.

There's lots of doodling and playing in the class right now. The majority of the students don't seem to be engaged in this lesson. I was wondering what she would do when it came to Carlos's turn, and then she skipped him; so how much can he be getting out of this round robin activity? He gets distracted, looks at things on his desk, doesn't watch the screen. This lesson is way over his head; he needs more scaffolding for his language

ability. Then she skips Elena and Carmen. Does this mean that she skips all of the emergent speakers? Then she goes back to Maria again; she seems to call on the high readers more frequently. If this is the case, then the emergent students might be better off doing something on their own, or being partnered in a different way. These 12 students have such different levels; differentiation is really needed for the three distinct groups in here.

In this next excerpt from the round robin activity observation, I discuss how this style of lesson is equally inappropriate for the more advanced English learners in the class, such as

Jimena:

Jimena knows the answer to the question about *rand*; she knows that it is a South African money. She is too advanced for this ESOL class. It's not that she doesn't still need ESOL; rather more of a focus on the academic English needed for advanced high school content. She would be better off with differentiated instruction for her advanced needs.

Through observing Chad's Algebra I class, I learned that the need for differentiation was present in the English mainstream as well as the immersion and ESOL classrooms. Many of his students, including the English learners, were lacking in their gateway numeracy skills; below I discuss this concern.

Chad seems to be working hard to find ways to help students meet his high expectations. He is aware of their levels, and tries his best to differentiate to their needs, but also moves very quickly. A lot of these students are coming to him with limited numeracy skills; how can he meet these students where they are, but then also bring them up to his high expectations?

The need for differentiation was found in Steven's classrooms as well, both in his English mainstream and Spanish immersion Biology classes.

Steven tries to differentiate to students' interest and learning profiles, but he needs to meet students where they are and then using scaffolding techniques to bring them up to his expectations.

In the following two passages, I discuss the need for differentiated instruction in Steven's Spanish Biology, and how this affected the three behavioral challenges in his classroom. It is important to note that these three students, or Stefano, Carlos, and Luis, were placed in a 9th

grade Spanish Biology class despite their reading Spanish at the 2nd, 4th, and 5th grade levels respectively.

Steven has had to reprimand Stefano twice so far. He mentioned to me outside of class that Stefano is the biggest challenge in this class. He knows that Stefano is below level in Spanish, but doesn't always know what to do to help him. This would explain why Stefano is acting out in class.

Carlos was on his own, but has now moved over to sit with Luis and Stefano. The arrangement in the room seems to be chosen by the students, and the three behavioral challenges in the classroom seem to be migrating together.

Classroom management. One of the ongoing challenges for Greenwood High's teachers was classroom management. Teachers continuously listed this as one of their priorities for professional development, and it was an ongoing theme throughout the year's observations. In general, this challenge was greater in the English mainstream as compared to the immersion classes. Below I briefly discuss examples of management styles from these two separate programs within the same school.

English mainstream classes. Although I was able to conduct ongoing observations in all of Greenwood High's English classes, I found Chad's Algebra I classroom to be particularly telling. He had a large number of both English and Spanish native speakers within this class, and within both groups there were numerous behavioral challenges. Interestingly, some of the student participants who were finding success in immersion were struggling with their behavior in this Algebra I class.

This class is such a struggle for Chad. He is really having a hard time moving it forward, and he has to stop so much for behavior issues. Sofia and Jimena had their heads down for almost the entire observation. How much of this is because they are both ESOL students, and consequently they have a lower ability to understand the advanced academic math language? And how much of this is because the class's pace is moving slowly due to other behavioral challenges, and they are frustrated?

In the following excerpt, I more specifically discuss my observations of the ESOL students in this Algebra I class, in particular Sofia and Jimena.

Of my six student participants in here, only two are really focused on the lesson, or Rosalinda and Alvaro. Sofia and Jimena don't seem to be at all, and Manuel and Stefano come in and out of focus on the lesson. Sofia is looking at her makeup mirror right now, and Jimena hasn't looked forward to the board yet, and is texting behind her desk. The two of them seem to be floating between Spanish and English in their abilities, but not really excelling in either yet.

Spanish immersion classes. Interestingly, many of these same student participants demonstrated remarkable behavior in the Spanish immersion classrooms. Below I describe some of the possible reasons for this in a discussion of Martha's management style with her immersion group. It must be noted, however, that this positive classroom management was not observed in Martha's English mainstream classes, such as World Geography.

Martha has built such strong relationships with these students, and consequently they respond positively to all that she has to teach. The key to positive classroom management is a balance of demonstrating mutual respect and being the assertive authority. This class truly is an exemplar for this. Martha respects the students, and they respect her. It is also clear that she is the authority in here.

Social themes. For the remainder of the observations findings section, I discuss the social themes that emerged during data analysis. Although many of the following excerpts were from observations during academic classes, they were also directly related to the social experiences of the student participants at Greenwood High. I begin with a description of the positive teacher-student relationships that were developed during the school year, which consequently helped to build a strong sense of community within the Spanish immersion and ESOL classes. This sense of community, however, led to an insular behavior within the group of Spanish native speakers, which further led to an increased level of racial tension at Greenwood High. I end the discussion of the observations findings with an example of one teacher participant who made strides

towards alleviating this issue through his efforts towards developing intercultural sensitivity within his classroom.

Positive teacher-student relationships. In developing this new school's mission statement, the administration of Greenwood High chose four main core values of respect, rigor, relevance, and relationships. Although the school's staff had varying success with the first three values, positive teacher-student relationships were continuously noted throughout the classroom observations. In particular, I noticed these strong relationships being built in the immersion classrooms, such as in the following observation of Steven's Spanish Biology.

Steven clearly respects his students, and they know this; consequently they trust him and want to learn from him. His classroom management style seems to be based on building relationships. It's also clear that he likes teaching this class, as well as the students and the language challenge. They seem to enjoy it as well, and are comfortable asking him for help. They have kind words for each other in general. Steven is so patient with them, even Stefano, who can get out of line with him some time.

These positive teacher-student relationships played a large part in building a strong sense of community within the group of Spanish native speakers, as I discuss in the following passage from a memo.

It's interesting to me that although Greenwood is only in its first year of developing this immersion program, most of the student participants seem to be feeling very satisfied with their experience thus far. They all told me that they liked the immersion program at Grover Elementary, but that they feel even more content here than before. They have developed strong relationships with their teachers here, and they feel like these teachers take more time to talk with them.

Strong sense of community. These positive relationships, as well as a shared linguistic and cultural background, helped to create a sense of community within the group of heritage speakers, as can be seen in the following two excerpts from observations of Martha's advisory and immersion classrooms.

Martha really goes out of her way to take care of the Latina girls in her advisory class. It impresses me that they all have her personal cell phone number and that they call or text her whenever they have a question, no matter what the time.

Martha has such a warmth with this immersion group, and they adore her. She is the one that they rely on, the one who understands their situations. I love the way that she sits at her desk or at the front of the room, as if she is having an intellectual conversation with them, not leading a class.

At the same time, this positive sense of community within the group of Spanish native speakers also created an insular behavior, which further led to an increase in racial tension between the Spanish and English native speakers at Greenwood High. In the following excerpts from a memo that I wrote to myself, I discuss my concerns over these issues of insular behavior and racial tension within Martha's advisory class. I begin with a description of what took place in Martha's advisory on a typical day.

Martha didn't follow a curriculum or teach advisory themed lessons. Instead she let the girls hang out while she worked on planning for other classes. The group was made up of mostly the Latina girls, from both ESOL and immersion. They hung out in small groups, sometimes lying in the corner of the room with their heads on their backpacks. They would listen to music, talk, and sleep.

This lack of a set curriculum in Martha's advisory had the advantage of allowing these students the opportunity to build a small community, which I continue to discuss in the following excerpt.

The benefit of Martha not teaching was that the girls were able to create a sanctuary of sorts from the beginning of the year, in which they could hang out and bond as a community. The girls formed a tight knit group with Martha as the central matriarch. She called her advisee parents frequently, and all of her students and parents had her cell number, and texted and called her often.

This arrangement in Martha's advisory functioned well during the fall semester, when the group was made up of mostly Latina girls. At the beginning of the spring semester, however, Martha's lack of a curriculum created a problem when new students were added to her advisory group.

At the midway point in the year, changes had to be made to all of the advisories due to behavioral challenges within some of the groups. Martha objected strongly to the changes, and wanted to keep her same group of female students that she had had throughout the fall semester. After the winter break, however, she received two new African American students, Danielle and Angela. This was when the tight bond of the Latina girls became a problem, because the new girls never felt that they were able to fit in with the rest of the group. This also became a challenge as Martha doesn't teach advisory lessons, but instead lets the girls hang out and socialize; consequently, the two groups of girls were not given opportunities to find commonalities.

Danielle and Angela struggled to fit in with this tight knit group of students in Martha's advisory. In the following excerpt, I discuss how these two students chose to cope with this issue.

Danielle and Angela started skipping Martha's advisory. They would go instead to sit in Dominique's office, the school's data manager. Dominique is an African American woman, and the mother of two teenagers. During the course of the year she developed strong relationships with several of the most behaviorally challenging students in the school. She even commented herself on how much the kids flocked to her.

In this last excerpt, I discuss the reason that Danielle and Angela gave to me for skipping Martha's advisory class. Their answer further supports the notion that while there were benefits to the strong sense of community within the group of Spanish native speakers, it also led to issues, such as insular behavior and racial tension.

When I asked Danielle and Angela why they were skipping their advisory class, they told me that they didn't feel comfortable in there. When asked why, they said because they don't ever do anything in there, and because everyone speaks in Spanish, including Martha, and so Danielle and Angela just sit by themselves. They said that they felt more comfortable with Dominique, the data manager.

Insular behavior. Throughout my classroom observations of mainstream English classrooms, I repeatedly noticed an insular behavior within the group of Spanish native speakers, particularly in the seating arrangements of the student. All of the teacher participants, with the exception of Matthew, allowed their students to choose their own seats. I began to notice in my

observations of the math and advisory classes that frequently the student participants chose to sit separately from the English native speakers in the classroom.

In an observation of Chad's Algebra, I noted "the seating in this room is very interesting; all of the Latino students are sitting in the back right corner of the class together." In a later observation of Chad's advisory class, I made a similar observation in stating "Luis, Manuel, and Stefano are all sitting together in the back left hand corner of the room, which seems to be the corner where the immersion students sit in all of Chad's classes." Last, I made a similar observation in Steven's advisory, stating the following: "Alvaro sits between Ben and Mitch, who are both students who aren't immersion or English learners, but who are Latino, and know each other from past schools." All of these observations further led me to the conclusion that there existed an insular behavior within the group of Spanish native speakers at Greenwood High.

Racial tension. As I previously discussed in the sociogram findings, these themes of insular behavior and racial tension were ongoing social issues for the student participants throughout the school year. One example of these issues can be found in a memo that I wrote to myself, discussing the racial tension that developed after Martha's immersion class chose to celebrate Cinco de Mayo. In the first excerpt from this memo, I briefly describe the celebration that took place.

Martha's Spanish immersion class took it upon themselves to have a Cinco de Mayo celebration, bringing food and drinks from home. I happened to come into the room at that time for an observation, and they invited me to join them. It was a very friendly, enjoyable atmosphere, and they seemed to be thriving in the sanctuary that Martha had created for these students.

I next go on to discuss another observation that I conducted in a Spanish I classroom, which was made up predominately of African American students, with the exception of Alvin, a Caucasian student, and Carlos, who took this class as an independent study.

I was surprised to later hear that this event had caused conflict between different groups of students at Greenwood High. A group of Spanish I students was very upset about the Cinco de Mayo celebration and wanted to discuss it at the beginning of class. The group thought it was unjust that there had been a Cinco de Mayo celebration, when the school hadn't celebrated African American History month. Tammy said that she had gone to Greenwood's administration to ask about celebrating African American History month, but that nothing had happened. Brian said that he had attended lots of schools made up predominately of African American students, and that this was the first school in which African American history month wasn't celebrated. Almost all of the students had comments to make, and were very upset about this.

Although Martha did not teach this Spanish I class, it did take place in her classroom. On this particular day she was in the room working on her planning for another class. In this last quote from the memo, I discuss her heated response to the Spanish I students' discussion, which further demonstrates the racial tension that existed at Greenwood High.

Martha happened to be in the room at the time working at the computer, and at this point she got frustrated. She turned around from her computer and angrily said "I am Spanish, and celebrated this event with my Spanish students. Find a black teacher and celebrate your history with her."

Developing intercultural sensitivity. The repeated observations of insular behavior and racial tension led me to wonder what Greenwood High needed to do in order to further develop intercultural sensitivity (ICS) amongst its multicultural and multilingual student body. This school had a remarkable opportunity, in that it was one of the few New Orleans area public high schools to have such a diverse group of students learning together. Despite this, it appeared that on the whole, little was being done during the school day to help in fostering ICS, which is one of the main goals of an immersion education according to the Center for Advanced Research on

Language Acquisition (<http://www.carla.umn.edu/immersion/>). During the following observation of Steven's advisory class, I discuss my concerns over this issue.

It is hard to see how the Latino students interact with the African American students in the classroom, because all of the teachers let students choose their own seats, with the exception of Matthew. The different racial groups of students seem to migrate together in each class, and consequently manage to remain separate throughout most of the school day. But what would happen if the teachers at Greenwood encouraged them to work together collaboratively? Would this happen easily? It seems that the status quo of allowing the students to self-segregate themselves is not helping with the school's mission of teaching intercultural sensitivity.

As I mention in the excerpt above, there was an exception in this norm of self-segregation in the classrooms of Greenwood High. Matthew was the only teacher participant who didn't allow students to choose their own students??. Interestingly, Matthew's goal at the beginning of the school year wasn't about differentiated instruction or classroom management, as was the case with the other four teacher participants. Matthew's goal was exceptional, in that he wanted to learn more about how to "create a more accepting environment, where students can be challenged and express their personal experiences."

Despite this goal, Matthew did face numerous challenges during the fall semester in developing a classroom culture in which students were accepting of each other. As a fluent speaker of Spanish, Matthew often chose to speak in Spanish to the Spanish native speakers in his Art and Advisory classes. This led to several of the African American students in his classes feeling as if he favored the Latino students. During the fall semester, English native speakers such as Tammy and Lynette openly discussed with me their frustration over Matthew speaking in Spanish to the English learners in their Art class. Lynette told me on several occasions that she didn't like Matthew or his class because "he's racist."

Due to this additional challenge faced by Matthew, I wondered whether he would be able to find success in developing intercultural sensitivity amongst the multicultural and multilingual

students in his classrooms. In the following observation I discuss the questions that I had regarding ICS in this mainstream English classroom.

I would really like to return the next time and sit at the tables with Maria and Natalia, and see how they interact with students from different cultural backgrounds. Do they have positive experiences in a classroom such as this where a sense of community is being built, and the teacher is a Spanish speaker? Do they interact positively when given assigned seats and group projects that encourage them to work together? If so, then this is an element of Matthew's class that should be tried in other classrooms, a place where something is being done to break through this racial tension.

Throughout later observations and interviews, it became apparent that Maria and Natalia enjoyed their experience in Matthew's Art class and that they worked well with a diverse group of students on collaborative projects. Interestingly, the two students above, Maria and Natalia, were also amongst the participants in the sociogram with the most diverse and positive responses about African American students. This leads me to again ask the question: is being in a class like Matthew's helping them to build bridges across cultural lines within the school? These questions regarding intercultural sensitivity will continue to be a focal point for discussion in the final section of my findings chapter.

Summary of observations. One of the academic strengths to be found in the immersion and ESOL programs at Greenwood High was the strong emphasis placed on language development, due to the significant roles played by English, Spanish, and French as the languages of instruction. With this positive attribute came a need for differentiated instruction; for example, Martha often taught above the readiness levels of some of her struggling Spanish speakers who would have benefited from additional scaffolding.

This lack of differentiation also exacerbated the already present need for stronger classroom management at Greenwood High, particularly in the mainstream English classrooms. Chad, the Algebra teacher, had the lowest average on the CLASS observation amongst the five

participants, but he also taught mainstream English classes, which in general had far more challenging classroom management. Martha, Cynthia, and Steven scored higher, possibly due to the smaller groups that made up the immersion and ESOL programs.

When analyzing the social themes from the observations, one of the clear strengths of the immersion and ESOL program were the positive teacher-student relationships that developed throughout the school year. These relationships helped to create a strong sense of community within the group of heritage speakers, which additionally led to more insular behavior amongst the student participants. This insular behavior further advanced the racial tension that already existed between some of the Latino and African American students at Greenwood. A possible solution to these challenges could be found in the fostering of intercultural sensitivity in certain classrooms, such as Matthew's culturally and linguistically diverse Art classes.

Interviews

The following section of my findings chapter is perhaps the most important, in that the participants' own words are the focal point of the discussion. I have divided the interview section into three main portions: introductory themes, academic themes, and social themes. At this point in the findings chapter, I have chosen to meld the excerpts from both the student and teacher interviews. The narrative continues to be led by the voices of the students, who are of course the main focus of my study. The teachers' words are blended in as needed, so as to further illuminate the students' story. I end each of the three sections with a summary, helping to tie together this significant section of my findings chapter.

Introductory themes. I begin the discussion with three introductory themes to set up the narrative in this findings section. As I listened to the students' stories, I found that they repeatedly mentioned the challenges that they faced as English learners at Greenwood High. At

the same time, they also continuously discussed the numerous benefits they had experienced through attending a school with a Spanish immersion program. The contrast of these two elements, or challenges and benefits, was a constant theme throughout all of the interviews. For this reason, I have chosen to begin the discussion by introducing the reader to this dichotomy.

Challenges for ELs. Throughout the interview findings section, I will describe numerous challenges that the ELs faced at Greenwood High throughout the year. In this introductory section, however, I will focus on three of the more causal challenges for some of these participants: limited English proficiency, socio-economic status, and undocumented status.

Limited English proficiency. Amongst the 17 student participants, there was a wide gamut of language proficiencies, ranging from emergent to highly proficient. The more recently immigrated ESOL and immersion students fell towards the more emergent end of this range, and consequently faced numerous linguistic challenges on a daily basis as they navigated throughout Greenwood High. Below, Alejandra describes the frustration that she felt in speaking with a fellow English-speaking student, Kevin, as well as with two members of the school's support staff, or Ms. Sue and Ms. Jones:

It's kind of hard, because sometimes I get frustrated, because I forgot all the words in English. Then I say "never mind, never mind." When I was with Kevin, he tried to help me, but I get too frustrated and I said, "No, I don't want to anymore." With Ms. Sue, at the beginning it was hard because she was asking me and I didn't understand what she was saying. And with Ms. Jones too, it was hard, because I forgot words or get frustrated before I told them something, and she's not that patient because she have to make work, she's busy.

In the following excerpt, Carlos describes the challenge of trying to understand what his English-speaking peers are saying amongst themselves. He then describes the pressure that some of his Spanish-speaking friends feel when trying to speak in a new language:

It's difficult when other kids talk to each other, I don't understand, it's really hard. This frustrated me a lot at the beginning. But after a while I was less frustrated, because I

understood and spoke more. But I'm still missing a lot of English. And some of my friends are having difficulty to speak more English, because maybe they'll speak badly, like Carmen and Elena. What affects them more are the critics, the others who make fun of someone, so they feel badly to repeat the words. With Elena, I don't know, sometimes I've seen that when she goes to the cafeteria to ask for something she doesn't say any words in English, maybe because it bothers her to be made fun of.

Elena describes this same fear that she experiences when attempting to speak in English and her concern that she will be made fun of for making mistakes:

Sometimes English is hard because I can't pronounce words, and I don't like to say things that are too hard for me, because people might make fun of me, so I don't talk in English. If you can't pronounce the word then they make fun of you. They tease you more than they help you.

Socio-economic status.

His situation was totally different from any other student. He was basically homeless, and had no family, and he didn't have all of these things, and he didn't have the support.

In the above excerpt, Matthew describes Carlos's reality as a 14-year-old student, who had recently immigrated on his own to the United States. Although Carlos is an extreme example amongst the participants, his story does help shed light on the experiences had by some of the more recently immigrated students prior to their entering Greenwood's immersion program. Martha, as the only Hispanic staff member at Greenwood High, had a strong relationship with the Spanish native speakers and consequently a clear understanding of the journeys that some of these children took in coming to the United States. Below, she continues to tell Carlos's story from her perspective as his teacher and mentor:

Carlos didn't go to school for years, and he comes from a very low class barrio in Tegucigalpa. And no matter where you come from in Tegucigalpa, you are coming from the pits, so he's coming from the lower strata. His father is 80 yrs old, and his mother is not married with the father, they don't live together. So he stopped going to school around the third or fourth grade, he stopped going to school to join the street gangs. He was involved with drugs, contraband, stealing, armed robbery with people in the street. They are very small, eight or nine years old, and they rob and steal, and they live in the streets, and that's what Carlos was doing. There was no parental supervision. He says he wanted to leave the gang, that the gang was pressuring him into committing other heinous

acts that he didn't want to do. So I see in Carlos, I see sometimes when he smiles and likes something, I see the 14 year old in him, but very rarely. But you can see that part of him that's still there.

Next, Carlos narrates his journey from the first person, further illuminating his background, prior to enrolling himself at Greenwood High:

I passed 5th grade, but before I finished 6th grade I dropped out. In other countries it's not like it is here, it's not so organized. There's so much poverty, and my family never pressed me to study. I understand why my parents didn't, because they don't know the virtues, the good things that come from studying. So I left school, and I went to the streets and joined a gang, for almost two and a half years. But I had problems with the gang. They wanted me to do things I didn't want to do. And the leader, he gave me a lot of power, he gave me guns, he gave me drugs, he gave me everything. In this moment I had just turned 12, and people were already afraid of me, because I was a gang member. So that began my trip, I made the decision, and the next day I started my trip to here. It took almost two years.

Although Carlos's emigration to the United States was the most challenging, he wasn't the only student to experience traveling without family members to New Orleans. Carmen had a similar emigration experience, which further explains the socio-economic status that many of the student participants held in their countries of origin, prior to their arrival at Greenwood High.

Martha describes Carmen's story in the following excerpt.

Carmen went through the same experience, she did the whole route from El Salvador. She was by herself, well she was in a group, but she didn't have her mother, or a sibling. She was the only member of her family who was doing that. She said that she kept getting lost, it took her more and more time because she kept getting lost. They would tell her to go this way in the desert, and she would not see which way it was, and she kept getting lost, and she said, "Every time I got lost it cost my mother a thousand dollars more."

Several of the student participants had already been living in other areas of the United States and chose to migrate to New Orleans in the last few years in order to search out more lucrative employment. However, working in the post-Katrina construction industry had created challenges for some of these students' parents, sometimes putting them at an economic disadvantage, as is the case with Natalia. In the following excerpt, Natalia describes the frequent

moves that her family made prior to coming to New Orleans, as well as the difficulties that her father had faced in getting paid for his services as a house painter.

I came to Pennsylvania at the beginning of 5th grade from Colombia, and that's when we moved to different places. We went to Philadelphia, but then my dad was like "Oh, there is work in New York," so we went to New York and then he was like "No...", so we came back again to Pennsylvania. Then after what happened with Katrina, we came here at the beginning of 6th grade. My dad paints houses, well, my dad will do anything; like you know how when you need to paint the house you need to wash it first? Well, my dad can do that too. My dad's boss, I don't like him, because when you need to get paid you got to get paid, you know? But he's always like "Ronaldo, come next week..." My dad wants him to pay him in hours, but no, he won't do that, probably because it's more money. Then my dad doesn't eat, because he gets really mad or frustrated, and I don't like that. Then sometimes he takes it out on me and my mom. My mom is like, "Why would you scream at us, just because that happened between you and your boss?"

Alvaro is another student participant who moved to New Orleans due to the high demands of the post-Katrina construction industry. Both of his parents now work in a construction related job:

I went to 5th grade in Tennessee with my mom. And then when Katrina came down and devastated New Orleans my step dad came to work here. He called my mom and said, "Hey, you got to move here, they got really good construction work here." And since with Katrina everything was knocked down, and he worked in construction sites and he built houses, he could move here. My mom, she is selling food in this little food trailer, a taco truck. Sometimes when I get home she says "you have to chop up the *lengua*," and I chop it up for her. She sells mostly to the Latino workers, and there are also a few places where the people play soccer.

Sofia's family also was struggling financially prior to moving to New Orleans, and decided to move here for similar reasons:

My mom lost her job, and we had a mobile home in Indiana, and my mom only owed \$3000 more dollars on it. It was going to be ours, but she didn't pay it. We were living with my aunt since we lost our home, and then my dad left one day and I didn't know where he was (laughs). We thought somebody had kidnapped him. Then all of a sudden my mom received a call from my dad, saying that one of his friends had told him to come live down here in New Orleans, and he would have a better life and more construction jobs. So my dad one day came back to Indiana to pick us up, and we didn't even know where we were going. And my mom, she used to work in a McDonalds, but then they fired her, so now she works in a hotel, she cleans.

In the following two excerpts, Chad and Steven describe their impression of Stefano's family's socio-economic status and how this affects his academic experience:

I know that with Stefano, for example, well I talk to their mom a lot, and Ben (his step-brother) broke his glasses. And she said, "We can't afford to get him new ones." She said, "I'm out of work and we are struggling."

I think back to Stefano, and the difficulty of getting the permission slip signed because his mom's not at home. It's probably hard for him to get help, and for her to have an accurate idea of where we are in class, if they are never awake and at home at the same time.

Undocumented status.

With some of them I can see in their eyes that they feel insecure. I guess they feel sometimes more like a guest than like an actual owner of what's going on in school.

In the statement above, Cynthia describes her perception of some of the undocumented students' experience at school. She describes what she views as a lack of confidence in some of her ESOL students, as well as the feeling of not fully belonging to their school and community. A more specific example of this insecurity can be seen in Martha's next comment, in which she discusses how Carlos's undocumented status affects the choices that he makes in schools. On several occasions, other students in the school tried to start fights with Carlos; Martha discusses the necessity for him to not get involved with these physical altercations.

I've spoken with him all year long and I told him, "You are an adult. You're 14 years old, but you're an adult. You don't have the same experience as any of these people. The toughest, roughest, meanest, baddest of them all in the school doesn't come up to your knees in how tough you can be, because you are the adult. But you are also undocumented. So any problem with the police, anything that is reported, you are going to have yourself a really big problem, and it's not just going to be a busted up nose. It's a problem of the law, so you need to let it go, you need to walk away.

Sofia describes the anxiety that she lives with as an undocumented child, particularly in light of the Arizona Immigration Law SB1070, which at the time of data collection had recently

been passed. She also discusses her concerns that her parents will suddenly have to move back to Mexico, making it more difficult for her to fully settle into her life in New Orleans:

I guess they want to move back because they have been listening to all of this immigration stuff, especially in Arizona. My sister, she was joking around, and saying it was supposed to be that immigration was at Wal-Mart now. My sister was like, “you want a free ticket to Mexico? Just go to Wal-Mart, that’s all you need,” (laughs). But that’s what they are saying, that immigration is going around to a whole bunch of Wal-marts. And both my parents don’t have documents, me too. It’s hard to live that way. When we came back we had to cross the border, so it was hard for me. I was scared, because immigration and the police was right there in the desert. For my little brothers it was easier, all they had to do was get on a plane and leave. But us who didn’t have any papers, we had to cross, so it was hard. And it makes me nervous, because one day they might just be like last time, when we were in Indiana, and they didn’t really tell us. They just told us, “Today is the day we are leaving,” and that was it. So I’m scared that they will do the same like that.

Benefits of Spanish immersion.

At my last school I didn’t understand anything, and I didn’t learn anything, almost nothing. To speak to me they had to talk through other people. Here I feel better, because my classes are in Spanish. I feel more comfortable because it’s in the language that I know.

Prior to enrolling in Greenwood High, Carmen, like many of the other student participants, had attended Amigos, an English-only middle school that recruits heavily within the Latino population. I begin with this excerpt from my interview with Carmen, because it highlights how different her experience has been at a school that allows Spanish native speakers to continue to maintain their maternal language. Next, I share two quotes by Elena and Luis, two of the more emergent ELs out of the 17 participants. I started off my student interviews with the question, “What was your best experience this year at Greenwood High?” The following answers from these English learners are quite telling as to the positive attributes of this immersion program.

Best experience this year.

Elena: The first day of class. I had a lot of fear to go to this school. I didn't know what was going to happen, or if anyone was going to understand me. I didn't know anyone. And when I arrived, everyone started talking to me in Spanish, and I knew that I wasn't the only one who spoke Spanish, and I felt a lot better.

Luis: Coming to this school. It's different from the other ones, having class in Spanish, like Science and all that. Not all of the schools got that. I like that they explain it to you in Spanish, it's easier. They teach you good, explain you everything. You understand more in Spanish, it's more easy.

I also asked the teacher participants to describe what they felt to be the experience of the Spanish native speakers in this Spanish immersion. Below, Steven shares his perspective on Elena's experience in his Spanish Biology class.

With a student like Elena, I'm really glad that she's in that class, because I think she would have struggled a lot if she had been in my English Biology class. I don't think I would have had any idea that she is a strong student, who works really hard and turns in everything. She has done really well in my class, and I think that that is possible because it's in the language that she is more comfortable in at the moment. I like that I'm teaching our ELs in Spanish, and I think that as long as they are stronger in Spanish than they are in English, then it seems like a good way. It is easier for them to access at this point, and it keeps them coming back and doing well, and their English can improve at the same time. Just looking at Elena, I think of what would have happened in one of my English classes, or with Carmen or Carlos.

Benefits of a bilingual staff.

The students discussed repeatedly the benefits of having several bilingual faculty members at Greenwood High. Next, I share excerpts from two teacher interviews, in which Steven and Matthew share how being bilingual has helped them to be better teachers of English learners. Steven, who described himself as a "high achiever" during his own schooling, discussed how it was challenging at times to understand the perspective of some of his struggling learners. He also spoke of the empathy for ELs that one can develop through learning another language oneself. He quickly learned to speak Spanish in high school and is now a proficient speaker of this language. Chinese, however, came less easily to him, as he discusses below:

I took a semester of Chinese in college, and struggled with it, and didn't keep up with it. Early on they switched to speaking only in Chinese, so none of us understood it. It was one of the few times in school when I struggled with something, and had something not come easily for me, so that was a good experience for me. I think that if the goal of immersion is to show kids that you can learn other languages, then it's a good thing to have people who can speak other languages. It shows them that it's not an impossible thing for them to do.

Matthew is another teacher participant who learned to speak Spanish while volunteering in the Peace Corps in South America. He now teaches Art in English, but due to his Spanish proficiency, he is able to help his ELs to fully access the class's content:

Some of them felt more comfortable doing their writing assignments in Spanish, and that didn't bother me at all. If they wanted to write to me in Spanish that was fine, it didn't make a difference to me. All of my teaching experience in the last five years has been in Spanish. For me, it's no big deal to teach in Spanish or in English. Especially because I do a lot of vocabulary, and there are a lot of terms in Art, and they're very specific to teaching Art. Most of those I've had to look up and learn for myself, so I already know how to say "vanishing point" in Spanish. But I had to figure that out.

In this final excerpt, Jimena discusses how having bilingual teachers helped her to both maintain her maternal language, while fine-tuning her academic English skills:

Dr. Lopez has helped me the most, because she speaks both languages. I know what's right on paper, but I'm so used to saying some things in English. On paper I would write it correctly, but when I say it, I won't say it correctly. I would say it "me and her," instead of saying "she and I." She helps me because she speaks both languages, so she teaches me in Spanish and English.

Summary of introductory themes. With the three introductory themes, I begin a discussion of the contrasting elements of challenges and benefits for the student participants. Throughout the interviews, these English learners had remarkably positive stories to share about their first year's experience at Greenwood High. At the same time, they described difficult obstacles that they faced on a daily basis in this newly founded public school. I began with a few examples of these juxtaposing themes to serve as an introduction to these students' complex narratives.

Academic themes. In this next section of the interview findings, I discuss the themes that arose during analysis that are more academic in nature. I of course discovered a great deal of crossover between the academic and social themes in the interviews, as the students' academic and social worlds are closely intertwined. To be more specific, a great deal of socialization takes place in the classroom, while an equally substantial amount of learning takes place in social situations. For the purposes of discussing my findings, however, I have chosen to separate the themes into these two overarching categories.

I begin with a discussion of the first academic theme, or the "emphasis on language development," which consistently arose throughout the 22 interviews. As English learners, these students are oftentimes dealing with language development issues, be it through the emergence of the target language or the maintenance of their heritage language. The second and third themes, or differentiated learning and classroom management, are a continuation of the discussion that began in the academic growth and observation sections of my findings. It is clear as to why the second theme of differentiated learning was such a constant throughout data analysis. These 17 students entered Greenwood with an equally wide range of Spanish and English proficiency, creating a great need for personalized, tailored instruction. The third and last theme, or classroom management, also continues as an overarching focal point of the discussion. Student behavior, by both the English native and the Spanish native speakers, had a formative affect on the culture that was created at Greenwood High.

Emphasis on language development. I've divided the language development issues that the participants discussed into two categories: maintaining Spanish and remaining in the target language. Students frequently discussed both the challenges and benefits of maintaining their heritage language and how their experience at Greenwood High affected their ability to do so.

Additionally, both the students and the teachers frequently spoke of the strong emphasis that the bilingual faculty placed on remaining in the target language. These two categories are discussed together because they have a highly interrelated relationship. I would propose that by developing a program culture that insists on students remaining in the classroom's target language, Greenwood High made great strides in aiding these English learners in the maintenance of their maternal language.

Maintaining Spanish.

It's my language, and I have to speak it. My friends speak Spanish, and I speak Spanish with them. But sometimes they (non-Spanish speaking peers) say, "this is the United States, so you have to speak English."

Amongst the student participants, the maintenance of their heritage language was a shared goal, with which they were finding various degrees of success. Their heritage language was symbolic of where they'd come from in the past; they were also all well aware of the benefits of retaining their maternal tongue for the future. Despite their strong desire to maintain their Spanish proficiency, the participants found that they faced numerous challenges in doing so. In particular, as Rosalinda discusses in the opening quote, one of the main obstacles for their language maintenance is the firm role that English holds in our country as the language of power.

Next, I share a quote from my interview with Cynthia, Greenwood's ESOL teacher, who is herself a bilingual English and French speaker. She was the only exception amongst the teacher participants, in that she was adamantly opposed to her English learners being in a Spanish immersion program. As one of the participants' primary educators, one could assume that her following opinion of immersion education permeated throughout the ESOL classroom: "I don't think it's helping them at all. I really don't. You're in America, you have to speak English, and the best place to learn it is in school."

Like Rosalinda, other students were also aware of the immense influence that the English language has on their lives, and their ability to become bilingual. In the next excerpt, Francisco discusses the benefits of being in the immersion program. He realizes that this is a unique opportunity, as at the time of data collection, Greenwood was the only Spanish immersion high school in the area. Francisco is a recent arrival to the United States, having emigrated from Honduras two years ago. He discusses his fear that in this short period of time he has lost some of his Spanish. He is also aware of the strong influence that the English language now has on his life:

I like the immersion classes, because I don't lose my Spanish. Because since getting to America, I don't speak in Spanish so much. Which is why I don't want to leave this school. Because if I go to another school, I know that they aren't going to have the same programs they have here, and I'm going to lose my Spanish, which I don't want to do. And I'm starting to forget a lot of words. I guess it's just the environment, of living in America.

Several of the students discussed their use of a mixture of the two languages, which they referred to as *Spanglish*. Although some of these participants discussed how they speak in *Spanglish* deliberately, or “for fun,” others struggled with code switching between the two languages, resulting in the use of a combination of Spanish and English. In the following quote, Natalia talks about her frustration over losing her Spanish since emigrating to the United States in the 5th grade and how she finds herself unintentionally falling into the use of *Spanglish*.

I'm really losing my Spanish. My dad, he's like “Natalia, what's wrong with your Spanish?” My dad be like, “You need to read more Spanish, you need to talk to me more in Spanish.” But it's too hard for me to speak in Spanish, because I speak more English in school, so it's really hard for me to speak now in my Spanish. Every time I speak in Spanish, I'm like “I'm sorry, I don't speak that well anymore.” Every time I talk to my parents, it's Spanglish. I mix my words in Spanish and English, and it's too hard. My mom's like “Oh my god Natalia, you're talking Spanglish!” and I'm like, “I know I'm sorry.” I want to take Spanish immersion because I need more Spanish, so that my words can be much better, and so that I can express myself better, because I cannot express myself well in Spanish.

Next, I share an excerpt from my interview with Stefano, who is a Spanish native speaker, who now struggles academically in both Spanish and English. His experience seems to be a frequent one amongst Hispanic children who were born and raised in the United States, and was shared by several other participants in my study. Stefano spoke only Spanish in the home until the age of five, at which time he entered into an English only Kindergarten. He then quickly began to lose his Spanish proficiency, due to his being almost entirely exposed to English throughout the day, both through school and the media. In the home, Stefano soon there after entered into a common language dynamic, in which the child speaks in English to the parent, and the parent replies back in Spanish. This type of interaction oftentimes leads to a student such as Stefano, who in the 9th grade reads English and Spanish at the 5th and 2nd grade levels respectively.

My parents, they talked to me in Spanish. They started when I was a little baby, and I grew up with it. But when I started going to school in Kindergarten, that's when I stopped caring about Spanish. That's when I started getting comfortable in English, and that's when I lost the Spanish. It happened to my brothers, too. Now I mostly talk English with my mom, and she talks to me in Spanish, and I understand her. My parents told me "you got to learn more Spanish." Because sometimes I have trouble talking in Spanish, and I'm not that good at writing or reading in Spanish, so I want more help. Listening and talking is okay, but the reading and writing is harder.

Both Stefano and his stepbrother, Ben, took Spanish immersion with Martha in the fall semester, before dropping out of her class. In my interview with Martha, she shed some light on Stefano and Ben's experience, as well as why these students had struggled in her class in the fall, and Stefano continued to struggle in Spanish Biology in the spring. She explains why she believes that Ben chose to drop out of the Spanish immersion program completely after the fall semester. She also discusses how she feels that Ben is intentionally leaving his maternal language behind, so as to distance himself from his Latin roots. She ends with her understanding

of why Stefano's family is deliberately choosing to self-identify with the English language, and consequently with North American culture.

Ben never attempted to integrate into the class. It's curious, because Ben is the one who had the experience in the Dominican Republic when he was a young boy. It's very interesting because he went from Kindergarten all the way through the 5th grade in the Dominican Republic completely in Spanish. So he actually learned to speak English when he came to the United States, and his maternal language was Spanish, which he lost completely. So this was an effort on his part, to identify with this culture through the language, rather than to keep Spanish. He's saying, "I'm an American, and I'm going to speak English." His whole demeanor is very much of an English speaking, white, North American boy. He's got that outdated Beatles hair cut that's now in fashion, and he passes as an American, because none of his demeanor is very Hispanic. They are trying to integrate, so Stefano's father is trying to speak more English, so they are not consciously saying, "We want to preserve our Spanish language." They are saying, "We want to integrate."

Several students discussed the methods that they used to try to maintain their heritage language, particularly the participants who were in the ESOL class, but were not taking Spanish immersion. Students such as Sofia and Roberto, for example, discussed how their parents would bring them back to their country of origin for lengthy visits to help them to reconnect with their family, culture, and maternal language. Below, Sofia discusses her experience with this ad hoc form of immersion schooling:

I attended 4th grade in Indiana, and when we got out of school in May, we moved to Mexico, and I attended all of 5th grade over there. My mom said I didn't know any Spanish at all. I had to always speak English to my mom, and so she kept me a year in Mexico. I didn't know what was *desfilar*, I didn't know what was the independence day of Mexico, or Cinco de Mayo. I did not know anything until I went over there.

Sofia went on to discuss her concerns over losing her Spanish, which she realizes could consequently lead to the loss of her connection with her extended Mexican family. She also discussed other strategies that she uses to maintain her Spanish. Since she was not enrolled in the Spanish immersion program at Greenwood, she instead relied on her parents to help her to retain her maternal language in the home.

I feel like my Spanish is going lower, like I'm starting to lose my Spanish. I'm trying not to. I always talk to my mom everyday in Spanish, and when I have words that I don't know how to pronounce, I'll just ask my mom. I'll write it down, and I'll keep on saying it until I have it full memorized. Because if I lose my Spanish, how will I communicate with my grandparents, and my aunts and uncles? I miss my grandparents a lot, because before that time I didn't know my grandparents. But after I went to Mexico for a year I knew how they were, and how special they were to me. I knew how to talk to them. When I talk to them now, they're always saying, "When are you coming back? I want to see you again!," which makes me sad.

Like Sofia, Rosalinda relies on speaking Spanish in the home with her mother to aid in her maintenance of her first language. Her mother holds a contrasting opinion to many of the other parents of the participants, in that she adamantly believed that Rosalinda should not be in the immersion program but that she instead would be better off in the English mainstream classes.

I know already the Spanish, so I don't want to take again the grammar, because I know how it works. I will not forget, because I went to school in Mexico for 12 years, so I'm really good in Spanish. In English I want to learn more, that's why I'm taking my classes in English. My mom thinks that it is better, because I learn more English, and that's the way I progress and learn more. At home I'm always speaking Spanish, and my mom say that at school I can speak all the English that I want, but in home I have to speak in Spanish. That's a rule that she put in the home. We can't speak in English, we have to communicate in Spanish.

Similar to Rosalinda, Alvaro's mother also saw little reason to enroll him in Spanish immersion, and instead chose to place him in English only classes, as well as in ESOL with Cynthia. Alvaro, however, unlike Rosalinda, would prefer to be in Spanish immersion. Despite this, he discusses below how he respected his mother's decision:

I'm not in Spanish immersion because my mom didn't want me to be. She said I was a native at speaking Spanish, so she said, "Why should I take it?," and that it would be a waste of time for my studies. I would really like to go to Spanish immersion, but if my mom says it, then I know that she is saying the right things for me.

Martha, as the only Hispanic teacher participant, shared a similar experience as a child to students such as Rosalinda, in that her parents held a firm household rule regarding Spanish

language usage. She discussed how her brother, much like Stefano's parents, did not insist that his children maintain their heritage language:

When we came to this country, the law of the household was that you are going to be exposed to English 100% outside, so Spanish has to be spoken inside the house 100%. So we were obligated to speak Spanish in the house. But my brother's kids, none of them speak Spanish. He never bothered, he was lazy. And now that he's gone back to Panama, his daughter refuses to speak in Spanish. It's a shame, because she is clearly a Latina girl, and she can't speak the language of her mother. She lost it.

As I previously mentioned, Martha's strong sense of pride in her maternal language permeated throughout the school's culture and even influenced the choices that some of the ELs' parents made in their own homes. Below she shares how her comments affected Mitch and his family's decision regarding language usage in the home. Mitch is a second-generation Latino student who was not in the Spanish immersion program, and who was struggling to maintain his parents' first language.

I made that observation to Mitch. I said, "you can not lose your Spanish, Mitch." So then he went and told his mother what I said, and he came back and told me that the mother had sent a message with him thanking me, and said that she would try to make him speak more Spanish in the house. So he expressly came a day or two later to say that his mother said I was right, and that she was going to try to make Spanish the language in the household so that he wouldn't lose it.

As I have discussed, several challenges arose for student participants as they worked to gain a new language, while continuing to maintain their heritage language. Oftentimes, with this newly acquired language also comes a newly learned culture, adding the extra dynamic for the student of becoming bicultural. Below, Sofia describes the difficulties that she has experienced in navigating back and forth between the United States and Mexico. On the one hand, when she is here in New Orleans, she misses her Mexican family, and the culture from which she came. On the other hand, when she goes back to her hometown of Veracruz, she doesn't feel as if she

fits in with her peers. This leaves her feeling torn, in a sense, between these two very different cultures, and struggling to create her own unique cultural identity.

My mom and dad are planning on going back to Mexico. My dad was joking around with me yesterday, saying we were going to move next week, but I hope not. I heard my mom talking on the phone last week, saying that we were planning on moved? back. I'm not ready to go back, because I'm way more used to over here than in Mexico, especially because I have more friends here. And I'm way more comfortable in English. I don't know nobody over there. It took me a really long time to make friends over there, so I don't feel like going back no more. But I also want to go back because of my grandparents and my family members that I have over there. But what I didn't like over there is that a lot of kids and girls used to tell me that I was a weird girl all the time.

Natalia, another English learner who recently immigrated to the United States, has also faced numerous challenges in negotiating her new cultural identity as a Colombian living in New Orleans. Matthew shared a story of how Natalia struggled with the process of reforming her cultural identity, but in the end found success through the completion of a classroom art project.

Recently I did this assignment with the Art II kids, where I wanted them to create an art piece called "NOLA from your perspective". Natalia said that she didn't really feel that strongly about New Orleans, and I said "Why don't you just do something about being from Colombia?" So she got really into it, and in the end she did this really amazing drawing of mixing the two. The Colombian flag was draping around a crawfish and a guy playing a trombone, and the outline of Louisiana and the outline of Colombia were merging together. It was a mixture of those two things. So she had initially said that she didn't really feel New Orleanian, but in the end she made it kind of New Orleanian anyways. But it was her own creative perspective, which was actually much better than what a lot of the other students did.

Remaining in the target language.

Brooke: What does Martha do to keep you all in Spanish?

Jason: She kind of just nags on us all the time, like "Hey, speak in Spanish!"

As I've mentioned, Martha took on the role of the matriarch in the Spanish immersion program and served as a tremendous advocate for and promoter of the Spanish language. In my own experience in interacting with her, I was impressed by how firmly she encouraged me to remain in my own target language of Spanish, even when I felt the urge to fallback on my

maternal tongue. The participants, who were very fond of Martha, described her as having a strong personality and were aware of her formative influence on the culture of Greenwood High. They often referenced how she pushed them to maintain their heritage language, or as Francisco stated, “Sometimes with Martha I speak English, but she doesn’t like that. She wants me to speak Spanish.”

Jason held a unique perspective on this phenomenon, in that he was the only English native speaker from Grover Elementary to remain in the Spanish immersion program at Greenwood High. He discussed with me the difference that he had felt between the cultures of these two immersion programs. He compared Grover Elementary, which was predominately made up of ENSs learning Spanish as a foreign language, to Greenwood High, which had essentially evolved into a de facto heritage language program. One of the primary distinctions that he found in these two programs was that the students in Greenwood High’s immersion classes were more likely to remain in the target language of Spanish. Through this consistent use of the Spanish language, Jason also found that he was more fully immersed in a Spanish-speaking culture, which was an experience that he greatly enjoyed.

I like the feel of Martha’s classes. Instead of learning the language, we become the language. To elaborate on that, instead of just being a student in that classroom, you are a part of that race now. Like, I became a Spanish person. That’s how I feel.

Cynthia, like Martha, was also an equally strong advocate for the use of English as the target language in her ESOL class. Although many of the students complained to me about her consistency with this classroom rule, they also felt that it was benefitting their English language development.

Brooke: What has helped you this year in learning English?

Luis: Dr. Nelson’s class. It’s hard because you can’t speak in Spanish there, it’s only English. But I think it’s good she make us speak in English, because that way we learn. Like Carlos, we have to speak in English to him, because that way we learn English.

As Cynthia shared with me in her interview, she hoped that her students would maintain their Spanish. She also, however, emphasized how important it was to her that they learn to successfully speak the dominant language of the country in which they currently reside. In the next excerpt, she discusses her frustration at times with encouraging the students to remain in English throughout their daily, 100-minute ESOL class.

I think that the best ESOL model would be where there are lots of different languages in the room instead of just Spanish. Because I tried to get them not to speak Spanish, but then you got kids that are at such a low level. So then sometimes somebody had to translate for Carlos or Elena or Carmen. But I know that immersion is what works best on everybody. It has to be totally in the target language, and there was just too much Spanish in my classroom. The higher and middle group usually spoke in English, but the lower group usually spoke in Spanish. It was a crutch, I'm positive.

Although the students were sometimes frustrated by the strict, English-only rule in ESOL, they also instinctively knew that Cynthia respected their maternal language. In this last excerpt, Natalia reiterates how she, like most of the ELs, appreciated Cynthia insisting that she remain in her target language.

Brooke: What else helps you in ESOL?

Natalia: Because we can't speak no Spanish. When we speak in Spanish, she's like "Natalia, no Spanish!" and I'm like, "I'm sorry." Sometimes we help Carlos in Spanish and she can't hear it, but then we try to speak a lot with him in English, so he can learn better. She do respect our Spanish, she just wants us to learn English more.

Differentiated instruction.

They're very different, each child has their distinct personality, and they seem to have almost distinct needs, distinct abilities. There are four or five who if you speak with them in English, you think that they are at the same level as all the other 9th graders, until you ask them to write, and you see where there gaps are.

As I discussed in the academic growth section of the findings chapter, these 17 student participants entered Greenwood High representing an extremely wide gamut of both English and Spanish language proficiencies. In English, they ranged from Carlos, who was reading at the

pre-Kindergarten level, to Roberto, who according to his SRI score of 1311, was reading above the high school level. Their Spanish proficiency was equally as diverse, with Alvaro reading in his maternal language at the first grade level, and Rosalinda and Francisco reading at the 9th grade level or above. Needless to say, with such a vast span of proficiencies in both languages, differentiated instruction was a common thread between all of the student and teacher interviews. In the following section, I discuss both the successes and challenges that the Greenwood faculty had in tailoring their instruction to these 17 student participants.

Program placement.

I guess it was a number criterion, a distribution of students, but not a real assessment. It was done very haphazardly, it was not done with method. And it is very detrimental to the kids, that they were not placed after careful studies of their abilities. Lisa, Joan, and Amy, they were just doing numbers.

In starting a new school, there are almost countless systems that need to be created and put into place. In its first year, Greenwood High was allocated a lean administration, as there were a limited number of 9th graders assigned to the school. Due to the small staff and the overwhelming amount of work that needed to be accomplished, minimal emphasis was given to creating a criterion for program placement. Only a few English and no Spanish assessments were conducted prior to placing students into their ESOL and immersion classes. As Martha describes in the opening excerpt, some faculty members felt that decisions were based less on the students' language proficiencies and more on the need to divide students between a limited number of teachers.

The result of this administrative challenge was that many of the students perceived that they had been poorly placed in their classes. Perhaps the most extreme example of this can be found with Jimena, who felt as if she was incorrectly assigned to both her ESOL and her French class. Jimena, although Latina, is in actuality as much an English native speaker as she is a

Spanish native speaker, in that her mother was born in the United States to Honduran immigrants, and her father was born in El Salvador. Jimena has spoken English for all of her 14 years, and her entire schooling has been in English-only classrooms with minimal ESOL support. Upon arriving at Greenwood, the district's ESL coordinator administered an English proficiency test to Jimena, which placed her one point below the district's requirement for English only classes. For this reason, Jimena remained in ESOL for 100 minutes daily for the entire year, missing out on the opportunity to take English I, which would have enabled her to move on to English II in her sophomore year.

I've never had an ESOL class before. I've always had regular English class, and in middle school, that was the class that I always got A's or B's in. So when I came here, I didn't find a reason for me to be in ESOL. Actually, my first language was English. So at first I was like, "Why am I in here?" I pretty much know everything that she teaches me. There's nothing hard or difficult for me. So I put it as, "Well, maybe it can help." But so far, everything is easy for me. I'm not trying to be mean, but everybody who's in that class is on a lower level than me, so she teaches to them. It helps them, but I already know it, so it's not really useful for me. Ms. Roberts even asked me, "Are you in here because this class is too easy?" So besides movies and activities, I didn't learn anything.

Additionally, Jimena had hoped to take Spanish immersion, thus allowing her the opportunity to maintain her heritage language. She was instead placed in French I at the beginning of the school year, and when she tried to change classes, she wasn't able to do so. According to Martha, Jimena's Spanish proficiency would have been sufficient for her to find success in the immersion program. Taking these advanced academic Spanish classes would have allowed Jimena to maintain both her English and Spanish abilities, in lieu of adding on a third language of French.

I just wanted to take a Spanish class, and they put me in French I. I knew that I already knew Spanish, but I wanted help with my Spanish. And with French, I thought that I would have to start over again from the beginning, so I wanted to take Spanish. I guess that they just randomly put the people in each class.

And when we changed semesters, I didn't want to be in French anymore, so I went to Ms. Fuller. She told me that since I took French I for the first part, I had to be in French II the next semester.

Manuel is another example of a Spanish native speaker who had wanted to take Spanish immersion but was instead assigned to French I. Like Jimena, he was uncertain as to the criteria that were used to place him in his classes:

I wanted to take immersion, but they wouldn't let me. She said she wanted me to speak French for some reason, so I could speak French, English, and Spanish. They told me I couldn't switch to Spanish.

Manuel's experience is also similar to Jimena's, in that he strongly feels as if he was incorrectly placed in Cynthia's ESOL class, and that he had learned little this year in this daily, 100-minute class.

I don't want to be in there (ESOL) since it started, I want to be in English I. I know English, Dr. Nelson tells me I know English fine. Everything she teaches me is way too easy. Like with Read 180, I already finished the whole program. I finished all the CDs, and reading the books. It's like the easiest class. I'd rather take English I, because it's more challenging for me.

Another outstanding example of poor program placement can be found in Carmen, one of the more emergent ELs at Greenwood High. When she arrived at Greenwood, she was also placed in French I, despite the class being taught entirely in English and French. She was not placed in the Spanish immersion program until two weeks later, where she was able to more readily access the content in her primary language. Below, Rosalinda discusses her concerns about her EL peer being placed in the French class:

Carmen was there, but just for two weeks. The problem with Carmen was that she couldn't understand English, so when she was in French it was hard. So when she start seeing that she can't understand, she changes to Spanish immersion and it was better for her, because she can't understand English.

Speaking to the teacher participants about program placement shed more light on the process that took place prior to students being assigned their schedules. Below, I discuss with

Steven his concerns over Stefano struggling academically and behaviorally in his Spanish Biology class. At this point in the conversation, I inform Steven that I had previously administered a reading inventory to Stefano, and that his Spanish and English reading levels were 2nd and 5th grade respectively. Steven shares his reaction, as well as why he thinks that Stefano was placed in Spanish immersion instead of English Biology.

Steven: It's not really that surprising. He really struggles with reading, and I have a hard time trying to figure out what to do. He's not really in the immersion program, I think it's sort of just what fit his schedule. I want to help him learn the Biology too, but I can't do much for him in the class.

Brooke: Do you know how he ended up in your class this semester?

Steven: Well, he was one of the few students I didn't have in Biology last semester, and so I guess that if his schedule didn't work to take it 2nd period in English, then the only option left was to take it 3rd period in Spanish.

When I asked Cynthia how the students were placed in her ESOL class, she was equally uncertain. In the following excerpt, she references the language proficiency assessment that was administered by the school district's ESL coordinator. She also discusses her own concerns over several of the English learners being incorrectly placed in her class.

It was some test they took. When I look at Maria, I think "Why Is Maria in ESL but Roberto isn't, or Ben isn't?" And Sofia seems like she should be in regular English, and Jimena too. They could have done it, I think that they could have been worked with. But I was going with what the district was telling me, which is that they should be in ESOL. But if I had known then what I know now, I would have fought for them to be in regular English in the second semester.

In this final excerpt, Martha discusses which of the Spanish native speakers she felt could have found success if they had been placed in her immersion classes. All four of these students had expressed interest to me in being in the Spanish classes, which would have greatly aided them in their efforts to maintain their heritage language. Martha additionally questions the logic behind placing these students in a third language, when they were not yet fully proficient in their maternal tongue.

I think Miguel could have taken immersion, and well, actually all four of them. Natalia's Spanish is good, and I think that with effort, Jimena and Sofia could have been in immersion. And Jimena and Natalia want to be in Spanish immersion. Natalia expressed to me, why would she want to learn a third language if she didn't have the complete knowledge of her own language?

Math. In my interviews with both students and teachers, language challenges were discussed frequently, particularly in Math class. For many of the more emergent English learners, Math was the only period that they had during the day that was a mainstream English class, as their other three periods were either Spanish immersion or ESOL. For this reason, and because Math content can be challenging in general, many of the language issues that were discussed were specific to the Algebra I classes with Chad.

Language challenges. The challenges that the students faced in Math can be divided into two main categories. For some students, the issue was with their limited past education and that they were consequently missing crucial chunks of their numeracy skills. An example of this can be found with Carlos, who didn't attend 6th through 8th grade and as a result entered the 9th grade at Greenwood High missing fundamental elements of his mathematical background. For other students, the issue is that they understood the math content from past coursework in Spanish, but they weren't familiar with the Math vocabulary in English. Chad, as a first year teacher in an alternative certification program, was uncertain as to how to accommodate both of these types of struggling Math students.

In the following excerpt, Chad discusses his concerns about Carlos in Algebra I, and his uncertainty as to how to accommodate his specific needs. As he explains here, the temporary solution had been to remove Carlos from Math class for his freshman year. The question then arises as to how he will be appropriately accommodated in future years, when he eventually will need to take Algebra I:

I haven't had Carlos since the first few weeks of school. That was tough for both of us. Roberto would try to help Carlos, but it was tough, because Roberto would translate what I was saying, and then he would be like, "Oh, well the problem is that Carlos doesn't understand what a decimal is, or what it means." So it was tough, just because his English was so limited, and he hadn't had the math in Spanish. That was a struggle, and I didn't really know what to do there, but before I could figure anything out, he was no longer in my class. Then he didn't get put in Math again this spring, because he would have just been lost. So I'm not really sure what the answer is. With Carlos, I think the real problem is how to get him the background skills. It might just be the case where he didn't have that, he wasn't in school for those years. Like I said, with Carlos I never really figured anything out.

The second issue pertains more to the academic vocabulary that all students need in order to find success in an Algebra I class. This advanced mathematical language presents a particular problem for English learners, or as Chad explained, "The problem is that so much of algebra is text. You need the number skills, but also those numbers and symbols are representing something in real life, which is real words."

Many of these ELs in actuality have strong math backgrounds from past studies in their countries of origin, but they struggle with accessing the content in a language with which they are not yet proficient. Elena is a perfect example of this, in that she actually attended Kindergarten through 12th grade in Honduras. Upon enrolling with the New Orleans school district, however, she was placed back in the 9th grade. As she states herself, "Sometimes I don't understand what he is saying in English, but I understand all of the exercises, and what he's talking about."

Alvaro is another English learner who enjoyed Math class but struggled with the academic language. Alvaro described this language challenge, stating that "Some algebra words I don't know, and I have to find them out, and sometimes it gets a little hard." Chad was aware that Alvaro was having a difficult time in Algebra due to his limited academic English, but was uncertain as to how to accommodate his particular needs. Chad stated that "Lorenzo will really

struggle sometimes, especially if I happen to give them for homework a worksheet that I found online, and the directions are worded differently, or aren't as clear."

Assessment. Chad was a highly conscientious teacher and aware that many of his ELs were struggling in his Algebra I class. He attempted to accommodate their needs in several ways, with which he found varying degrees of success. One example that arose in numerous interviews pertains to math assessment. Midway through the school year, Chad began to translate all of his tests into Spanish for his ELs, which proved to be more helpful for some than others. In the next excerpt, Chad describes this accommodation from his own perspective:

With Carmen and Elena, I remember that at the beginning of the year I gave them some tests that had a pretty good chunk of text, like directions and word problems. Even if they could do the math, they wouldn't know what it is saying. so they asked...well, they had Alejandra ask (laughs)...she still asks if Elena can go to the bathroom. Alejandra still raises her hand and says, "Elena has to go to the bathroom." So, Alejandra asked if they could get translated copies of the tests. And Steven had said that Google Translate works pretty well for him, so I used that for my tests. And that's helped. Elena has done pretty well on my tests since I started translating them. But Alejandra still takes them in English. I give her the option, because she sort of struggled on a couple of tests, and then asked if she could take it again in Spanish, and I let her. But there was one test where I asked her if she wanted it in Spanish, and she looked at it and said, "I don't know these terms, I only know the terms in English."

In my interview with Alejandra, she describes what she feels to be the benefits and drawbacks of this method of accommodating the English learners:

I took it in English, I prefer it in English. I never take the test in Spanish. Well, one time I took it in Spanish, but I didn't know the words that he had said during the week in Spanish, so I get confused and I asked for the test in English. It helps Elena, but not Carmen, because she don't know what he's talking about during the week, so she doesn't know on the test. But Elena, she's smart, and she understand the math. When he put it in the Spanish words, it's too easy for her, because she's 18 and she's already passed those things.

I asked all of the English learners if they found it helpful to have the Algebra tests available in Spanish. With the exception of Elena, they all said no, because they weren't able to transfer their English learning from the week into the Spanish vocabulary on the assessment.

When I asked Carmen if the Spanish assessment was helpful, she said “No, because sometimes I know the terms in English, and I don’t know them on the test, and then I don’t know what to do. For this reason I prefer that he gives the exam in English.” Alvaro answered this question in a similar manner, stating “No, because I really don’t know that many Algebra or Math words in Spanish, so it’s easier to take it in English.” Based on these students’ responses, I would conclude that the participants would have benefitted from Chad differentiating his instruction in other ways.

Biology. Several reoccurring themes arose during data analysis that directly pertained to Steven’s Spanish Biology class. Two of these themes, however, were the most constant throughout the interviews: first, the issue of English versus Spanish native teachers; and second, the need for connections to be made between the two languages. As an English native speaker, Steven made remarkable improvement throughout the year in his own target language of Spanish. He did, however, self-admittedly struggle with teaching Biology in a language in which he was not entirely proficient. Additionally, students frequently mentioned a need for more connections to be made between the Spanish Biology terms that they were learning, and the English vocabulary that they required in order to find success on high-stakes, standardized Biology assessments.

ENS versus SNS teachers.

Alejandra: I prefer Dr. Lopez because she makes the class fun, and we make projects and watch videos. Mr. Williams, he just makes us write, and put slides on the computer. And then, sometimes Carlos and Luis take advantage that Mr. Williams doesn’t speak Spanish that well, and Elena and Carmen and me try to stop their bad behavior. Dr. Lopez, she has spoken Spanish since she was a little girl, and she has more confidence to speak. Mr. Williams, he always is unclear when he tried to explain. He ends up not making sense.

Steven and Martha, as the two Spanish immersion teachers at Greenwood High, both brought unique abilities and talents to the classes that they taught. Martha, as a native speaker of

Spanish, was able to more readily help the heritage speakers in fine-tuning the many nuances of their maternal tongue. Steven, however, was himself a Spanish learner, and therefore less able to help the student participants in polishing their language skills. As he stated himself, “I’m probably the limiting factor sometimes, as much as anyone else is. I guess I’m not quite as quick with the colloquialisms that a native speaker might use.”

Many of the participants did not have an issue with Steven being an ENS as opposed to an SNS teacher; they felt as if they gained a great deal from taking his Spanish Biology class. Other students, however, such as Alejandra, seemed to prefer having a Spanish native speaker as an immersion teacher. In the next excerpt, Roberto shares his frustration with Steven’s limited Spanish proficiency and his reliance on Google Translate to help in creating class materials:

Mr. Lyons speaks Spanish fine, but Mr. Williams still has his problems, because you don’t really understand what he’s saying. He tries to talk so fast that he confuses the words, and we have to ask him to repeat himself. And he gives it to us straight from his computer. I can tell because there are a lot of errors. I don’t blame him for it, because I know that there are a lot of translator errors, and the computer doesn’t bring attention to it. But it brings attention to me, because I like Biology.

Steven was well aware of his own limitations as a Spanish speaker, and honestly described how his level of proficiency affected the dynamic in his Biology immersion class. He was also aware that some of the heritage speakers, such as Carlos and Luis, took advantage of his being an English native speaker, by speaking too quickly, and using idiomatic language:

When they have free time, it’s obviously a different Spanish that they are speaking amongst themselves. There’s the playing around, or saying stuff that I can’t pick up on by speaking too fast, or using words or phrases that I’m not familiar with. I feel like my Spanish isn’t good enough to where I can tell. I’m sure they would talk differently in Martha’s class.

Despite these limitations, Steven made noteworthy strides during the school year in acquiring the complex, academic terminology needed in order to teach Biology in Spanish. Additionally, Steven had an extensive knowledge of the Biology content, which can be a rarity,

especially when considering the frequent shortage in high school science teachers. For this reason, a question arose during our conversation about his language proficiency. Which would prove to be more beneficial to these immersion students: a nearly proficient Spanish teacher with a firm understanding of the Biology content, or a native Spanish teacher with less of a background knowledge in this scientific field?

I think that since it's such a content heavy course, it helps being proficient in Spanish, and knowing the words in English. Most of these words were created in the last 20 years, so they all are from English, and they're usually cognates. So I'm not having as hard of a time teaching it in Spanish as...well, I couldn't teach a literature class. I wouldn't be able to analyze the work. But with Biology, instead of *DNA*, it's *AND*, and instead of *ribosome*, it's *ribosoma*. If a native speaker didn't have the Biology background, given how vague the GLE's are...I think you have to be pretty strong in the field to know what's actually important to teach. I think it would be hard, particularly since there is no curriculum in Spanish to teach to, so you almost have to come at it first from an English perspective, and then translate it into Spanish.

Additionally, Steven felt that his being a Spanish learner had actually helped him to be able to empathize with the ELs and to understand what it takes to successfully acquire a second language. He felt as if he was able to model good language learning techniques to his students, such as self-correcting:

I think what really helped was trying to use it when I wasn't that good. It got me comfortable in talking, and knowing I'd be wrong a lot, and finding out that people generally aren't judging you, and that you can get corrected. I think that that helps me in my class a lot, knowing that I am going to go in there and not say something correctly, but just saying what I can, and knowing that people will help you out. Like self-correcting, I'm sure that that's something that I have to do more than a native speaker. Like half way through a sentence I'll think of something, then go back and restate and clarify what I'm trying to say.

Connections between the languages. Several students mentioned that they needed more help in making connections between their Spanish and English vocabulary, particularly in Biology. This transfer of complex, academic vocabulary did not automatically take place for many of the students. They would have greatly benefited from direct instruction in this area,

particularly in preparation for high-stakes tests that are administered in English, such as the Biology end-of-course exam. Elena described this need, stating, “For example, when Mr. Williams speaks about a term in Spanish, he should also tell it to us in English. Because sometimes we know the term in Spanish, but don’t know how to say it in English for the exam.” Carmen also felt as if she would benefit from more support in making connections between the two languages. She stated, “For me, it would be good if the papers that he gives to us, if the answers were in English and in Spanish. For me it is better, because I can see the similarities between the answers in English and Spanish, and understand what it says.”

Alvaro also struggled with the complex vocabulary in his Biology class, and needed help with making connections between Spanish and English:

Biology was hard because of the words. The teacher explains the words, but they should say stuff that makes it simple to understand. You know how when you don’t know the word in English, and then they give the definition, and the definition is even harder to understand? So if you don’t understand it, then think of us Latinos, and how hard it can be (laughs). And it would be good to have a class to teach the students Spanish and English. That would be good, because you could get into the same things at once. Not like when you go to Dr. Nelson, and you learn these new words in English, and then you have to keep these words in your mind until Dr. Lopez, and that’s hard. It’s separate stuff that you have to put together.

Based on my conversations with the participants, I would conclude that it should not be assumed that these students were automatically transferring their new knowledge from one language into the other. This issue becomes particularly important in light of the high stakes tests that high school students are now mandated to pass in order to graduate from high school. It is indeed best practices to continue to teach Biology in the students’ native language, as it allows them to more readily access the content while maintaining their maternal tongue. At the same time, these students need support in making connections between the Spanish terms that

they learn in their immersion classes, and the English vocabulary that they will need for crucial standardized tests.

ESOL. Cynthia's ESOL class was another subject in which the theme of differentiated instruction arose frequently throughout the interviews. This period perhaps had the widest range of levels of any class in the school, creating a heightened challenge for Cynthia in teaching her 12 English learners. She struggled with differentiating the instruction in this class throughout the school year, despite her being both national board certified and trained in the areas of ESOL methods and differentiated instruction. I next will examine why this particular class presented such a challenge to Cynthia, discussing both student and teacher perspectives on how the instruction was differentiated in this ESOL classroom.

Multiple levels.

There are people who have come here who don't know any English, and the teacher is teaching more advanced things. She needs to teach things to help us, like words, or how to form a sentence, or conjugating verbs. The majority of the students in there speak English well enough, so maybe we need a class for only us to learn the basic things.

As Carmen explains above, the ESOL class was made up of a wide range of language proficiencies. She belonged to a small group of emergent speakers, or Carlos, Carmen, and Elena, who oftentimes felt as if the ESOL class was being taught above their level. At the same time, there existed an advanced group of proficient English speakers, or Miguel, Maria, and Jimena, who shared with me their frustration over the lower level of the class. As I discussed in the observations section of the findings chapter, Cynthia began the year with the professional development goal of differentiating her instruction to these multiple levels. According to the student participants, however, by the beginning of the spring semester, Cynthia had essentially resigned herself to teaching to the middle group. In the next section, I will discuss what took place in the ESOL class to cause this decline in differentiated instruction.

I began with a quote from Carmen, who, as one of the three more emergent ELs, represented the lower end of the range in the ESOL class. On the other end of the gamut were the proficient English speakers who had the ability to speak almost fluent social English but continued to struggle with their academic English. These more proficient ELs can oftentimes be the most difficult to accommodate, as it is more challenging to assess their specific needs.

Below, Cynthia describes the abilities and limitations of her higher-level English learners:

I know they thought they didn't need to be in there, but at the same time, they did need to be. There were things that they needed to get corrected. Even Manuel, who's pretty high level in English, but he sometimes speaks slang. And instead of writing in standard English, he'll write in slang. Sofia, on the other hand, is very good at academic English. And Natalia, she's very good in social English, and she's getting there in academic, but she's just not there yet.

Although the lowest group of ELs needed help with all of their language arts, this highest group needed more specific support, particularly in the area of writing. As Natalia stated, "I just need more writing, and I need more about the thesis, and the conclusion. I know all of them, I just need to learn how to write it better." Chad also spoke of her limited academic writing skills, stating, "Natalia's writing was pretty bad, her English writing. She kind of writes the way she speaks, sort of a run on mixture of stuff." This presented a great challenge to Cynthia, in that she needed to help students like Carmen with "the basic things," while also teaching to students such as Natalia, and their need for advanced writing instruction.

Decline in differentiated instruction. Jimena, the highest English learner in Cynthia's ESOL, was a crucial student to interview, in that she was well aware of the decline in differentiated instruction that took place in this class during the school year. In the following excerpt, she describes how the students were originally grouped in the classroom during the fall semester. Jimena shares how she sometimes found this three-tiered system to be frustrating. She

also explains how she missed this grouping in the spring semester and the more tailored instruction that had taken place within her homogenous group:

I think that she should have it like before, with groups. You know, Rosalinda and Alejandra were in one group, because they knew English, but they just had trouble with it. And the ones who didn't know English were in another group, and the ones who were at a higher level could be in another group. That could help. But then she doesn't really have time to get to all of us, because most of them need more help than us, so we would have to wait until she was done with them. It kind of makes sense, because the other ones needed more help. But then again, we needed more help, too. We just needed help on our writing, that's what we had the most trouble on, and she was always with the lower and the medium group.

I next asked Jimena if, at the time of the interview, they were still working with this three-tiered system in ESOL. Her answer is quite telling, in that it demonstrates that some of the students were aware of the decline in differentiated instruction and were uncertain as to why this had occurred:

Brooke: Are you still working with these three groups now?

Jimena: No, it's just as a class now. And you know, we didn't lose any students, because all of the students are still in ESOL. So I don't know what happened.

It is interesting to note that I received fewer complaints from the middle group in ESOL; much of the frustration with the decline in differentiation came from the lower and higher group. I next share an excerpt from Elena, one of the more emergent speakers, who, like Jimena, was frustrated with the decline that had taken place in the class's differentiation:

In the beginning, I learned more, but at this time not as much. I don't know why. Now she just arrives and gives us a pile of papers to fill out. Honestly, she's not putting words on the board, or teaching us how to pronounce words. Before, yes, she always had her papers, and told us how to say words, and how to pronounce them. But now she doesn't do this. Sometimes we don't understand what we are going to do. And it isn't easy reading in English, because I don't understand everything that I'm reading. But before, Carmen and I were learning more. And the books were easier for us, because there were pictures, so we knew more specifically what they were about, and there were sentences for us to complete. Now it is more difficult, because I don't understand what we are doing.

Read 180. The decline in the classroom differentiation took place at the midpoint in the year, which directly correlated to the introduction of a new, scripted curriculum to the ESOL program. Prior to this time, Cynthia had used a variety of materials provided by the district's ESL coordinator to help her in designing the class's curriculum. This is an interesting occurrence, in that Read 180 is a curriculum that was designed specifically to help teachers in differentiating their instruction to the struggling readers in their classroom. However, based upon the students' above responses, it would appear that the instruction was less suited to their needs in the spring semester, despite the introduction of this new curriculum.

I first share an excerpt from my interview with Jimena, in which she shares her opinion of the Read 180 program:

Honestly, the Read 180 didn't work for me at all, because I don't learn by seeing it on a computer. I learn it by someone demonstrating it to me. But the Read 180, it really didn't help me, because when I did the spelling words, I got them right each time, and I was not learning anything. And then when we'd read, we always had trouble with the computer, or something didn't work. So I really didn't like it. I'd rather work through the workbook on my own.

Next, Cynthia explains from her own perspective what occurred with the introduction of the Read 180 curriculum and her continued frustration over not feeling able to appropriately differentiate to her 12 English learners. I begin with an excerpt from our conversation in which she describes how she successfully differentiated instruction during the fall semester and why she decided to change the classroom's structure to teaching purely Read 180. It is important to note that Scholastic has a mandatory policy of implementing the Read 180 program with fidelity. In order to use this scripted curriculum, Cynthia was no longer able to supplement her instruction with her own materials and instead had to go "straight 180", as she puts it below:

They loved that book (in the fall) where you would take words that rhymed, like bake and take. They loved that, and they really learned. Like with finding products at the grocery store, like shake and bake, they would find that sort of stuff and bring it to class, these

words that rhymed. So that was great, that was in the first semester and it was great. But then I thought I was going straight 180, and I was so excited about it.

Next, Louise describes her frustration with using this new curriculum during the spring semester. She felt as if the district never supplied her with all the materials needed to implement the program correctly. She also had ongoing problems with school property missing from her classroom, particularly her laptop computers, which were a crucial piece of the Read 180 system:

I kind of feel like we got so *gypped*, like the red headed stepchild. If we could have done the whole Read 180, I think they would have liked it. But I never had workbooks for the individual kids, I never had computers, we couldn't do it right. Well, except for the first couple of weeks, which were wonderful, but then our computers got stolen. It was a shame. That was so frustrating for me, because I never really could differentiate the instruction the way I was supposed to.

In this final excerpt, Cynthia continues to explain from her own perspective what took place in the decline of differentiation. Technology issues were a continued source of frustration for her, and she did not feel confident in remedying these problems herself. She shares how she eventually grew so disheartened that she no longer wanted to implement the program comprehensively, and instead began to teach this multi-leveled group of ELs as a singular class.

When I added the projects they got into it, but the projects always needed to have computer usage, and that was so frustrating. Then when we did have computers for everybody, we couldn't get them to print. The technology was just horrible. I think that if I could have had them make power point presentations, that would have really engaged them, so maybe that was partially me. But I didn't feel comfortable doing that, because I didn't have the technology at my fingertips. And when I realized that everything had been stolen, I didn't want to do it anymore, because I didn't have all the materials for the program. So I just started doing it as a whole class thing.

Spanish immersion. Much like the ESOL class, the pace of Martha's immersion classes was a constant theme throughout the student interviews. While the student participants clearly represented multiple levels of academic and social English, their Spanish proficiencies were more difficult to readily assess. In speaking in Spanish to these heritage speakers, many of the students appeared to be nearly fluent in their maternal language. Upon closer examination,

however, it became apparent that several of them were limited in their academic Spanish proficiencies. This is understandable, considering that most of the students who were raised in the United States had had little to no formal Spanish education. Additionally, there existed another group of students who had immigrated to the United States with a limited academic Spanish background. Lastly, there was also a higher-level group of academic Spanish speakers in the class, such as Rosalinda and Francisco, creating a great need for deliberate differentiation to these three distinctly different groups.

Academic Spanish.

Luis and Carlos were not very good at writing in Spanish. Luis was pretty mediocre. And Carlos, I actually tried to work with him a lot on just writing better in Spanish. Because he didn't know how to end a sentence, or put caps on, or where the accents were supposed to go, or any of those sort of things.

In the opening excerpt, Matthew describes the writing of two of the Spanish native speakers, and their need for tailored support in developing fundamental literacy skills, such as with the basic rules of punctuation. When one considers the academic background of many of these heritage speakers, it is understandable as to why they would appear to be fluent in Spanish but struggle with their writing. Luis, for example, attended school in Mexico through the 4th grade only, when he immigrated to the United States and entered into English-only classrooms. Much of his retained Spanish proficiency came from speaking and listening in Spanish. During the previous four years, however, he probably had had rare opportunities to actually read academic Spanish text. This creates a common problem, whereas native Spanish-speaking students will write Spanish phonetically, as opposed to following the orthographical rules. Steven described this occurrence, giving the frequent example of heritage speakers replacing a *v* with a *b* in their writing, as these two letters sound quite similar in Spanish. He stated, “With a

number of them, there's the *b-v* thing in writing versus speaking. Carlos mostly, but also Elena, and actually Roberto, too. I was kind of surprised."

Steven then goes on to further describe Carlos's specific needs in developing his Spanish academic proficiency. As I have previously discussed, Carlos struggled academically in several classes, due to his not attending school in the 6th through 8th grades. This lack of formal education left him feeling insecure as to his abilities, and in need of frequent, one-to-one instruction that was tailored to his particular needs:

Carlos doesn't write very well, and he asks a lot of questions when he's writing, like how to phrase stuff. He'll want to check with me on every word, and be like "Ok, should I write this? Should I write this?" So he's very uneasy with his writing. And I'll notice when I'm going through the slideshows that he'll often be the last one copying notes, so I guess he does read and write slower.

In the following excerpt, Martha, as the only fluent Spanish speaker on the faculty, describes her own understanding of these students' language proficiencies. She also explains why she believes that many of them are limited in their academic Spanish abilities:

No, they cannot speak academic Spanish. They are learning to use academic Spanish. But they don't, because their families are not...well, you can see Alejandra is obviously more educated, and she's also Peruvian, and in South America there's more formal education. So she's from a middle class family, so the parents are learned. They read a lot, and Alejandra's sister is studying to be a pharmacist. There are more expressions and more foundation in Alejandra's language, because of her family. But the other kids have lower standards, because their parents are not themselves educated, so that's the difference.

In this last excerpt, Martha describes how she has worked to accommodate these students and to help them to gain the academic Spanish that she feels is necessary for them to become fully proficient in their maternal language:

So I'm allowing them to speak the social Spanish, so that they can have trust and confidence, and feel more relaxed about it. Then I correct them, and say "No, this is the way that it's said." I've heard a couple of them say, "I used to say *hayga* and now we say *haya*, because I remember that Dr. Lopez told me that that's incorrect." *Hayga*, that's a very common mistake, it's bad, bad grammar, but very common. So they say *haya* now.

And you hear amongst all levels of people *lastimosamente*, and that's a no-no, instead of *lamentablemente*. *Lastimosamente* is not even a word, but it's a very, very common mistake at all levels, and now they know what the difference is. Now they call it *lamentablemente*, and they don't say *lastimosamente*. So that is very telling of how they are changing into a more formal Spanish.

Pace of class.

It was hard, like when she gives us a worksheet she gives it in Spanish. Sometimes I ask a friend, "What's this word?" because I don't really understand, and I can't pronounce the word. And when she teaches us in Spanish, sometimes I miss it because I don't understand what she says, and I have to ask her what she said. So if I don't understand, I just let it go.

This group of heritage language speakers were a challenge to teach; upon speaking to most of them, they appeared to be fully fluent in Spanish, which would lead many Spanish teachers to believe that they could instruct their class at an advanced pace. Several of these students, however, were missing large gaps in their Spanish reading and writing abilities. For example, when I assessed Stefano, Carlos, and Luis, I found that their Spanish reading levels were at the 2nd, 4th, and 5th grade levels, respectively. For this reason, there continued to be an acute need for differentiated instruction in Martha's Spanish immersion class.

In the opening excerpt, Stefano describes the challenges he faced in Martha's Spanish immersion class in the fall semester, and why he consequently dropped out of her course at the midpoint in the year. He describes an interesting tactic he used when he didn't understand her academic Spanish, in that he would choose to "just let it go." Upon first glance, a student such as Stefano might appear to be disengaged from the classroom's discussion. In actuality, he was simply unable to comprehend the material and essentially had stopped trying to keep up with the advanced pace of the class.

Martha also struggled with Raul as a student and described him as being disengaged and a behavioral challenge in the classroom. Raul is a heritage speaker who was born in North

Carolina and who had never taken a formal Academic Spanish class prior to joining Greenwood's immersion program at the beginning of the spring semester. During the period of data collection, he was actually reading Spanish at the 5th grade level, which would explain why he struggled in this fast paced immersion class. Raul described the challenge of joining this class himself, stating, "It was hard, because when I first got there they were making a presentation about famous Spanish-speaking people. So I had to make one on Pablo Picasso, and I had to translate all the words from English to Spanish by using the computer."

Despite having these lower-leveled Spanish speakers in her immersion class Martha continued to teach at a fast pace, particularly in the second semester. At the midpoint in the year, three of the English native speakers (ENS) in the class, or Nicole, Brenda, and Bart, decided to leave the Spanish immersion program to join the English mainstream classes. This left Jason behind as the only ENS and gave the appearance of a class that was made up almost entirely of fluent Spanish speakers. However, this change in the class enrollment was deceptive as many of these heritage speakers still needed for the instruction to be specifically tailored to their individual readiness levels.

I end with two excerpts from my conversations with Oscar and Jason, respectively. These two students described to me how the departure of their three ENS peers affected the pace of the class. First, Oscar discusses the level of the immersion programs at Grover Elementary as compared to Greenwood High. Next, Jason discusses how the class's pace increased after Brenda, Nicole, and Bart left the class. Although Jason enjoyed the challenge that came with this modification, other students, such as Stefano, Carlos, and Raul, struggled with the more advanced, academic instruction:

Francisco: At Grover Elementary, it was the basics. And here, it's more advanced. We do more over here than over there.

Brooke: Why did they do more of the basics at Grover?
Francisco: Because they had more of the English speakers.

Brooke: How did Brenda, Nicole, and Bart leaving affect the immersion class?
Jason: It affected the flow of the class. Because before, she was constantly saying, “Stop doing this, stop doing that,” to those three. Now it’s not too hard, but it’s more challenging.

Classroom management.

Francisco: It makes the teaching easier, if the students aren’t complaining. If a student doesn’t complain, it makes the teaching better, because Mr. Myers doesn’t have to stop, and then there’ll be just five minutes left to class, and we are not going to learn anything.
Brooke: Do students complain a lot in your classes?
Francisco: Yeah, not in my classes, but like, with the 8.5-ers. I prefer the Spanish classes, because we don’t really hear any complaining, like they do in the English classes.

There was a perception amongst the student participants that the behavior was substantially better in the Spanish immersion classes as compared to the English mainstream classes. Francisco describes this difference in the opening and explains why he preferred the classroom culture of his Spanish classes. He specifically labels the *8.5-ers* as being a part of the problem, or a group of English native speakers who joined Greenwood’s student body during the middle of the fall semester. These *8.5-ers* were students who were old enough to attend high school but remained in the 8th grade because they had yet to pass the LEAP exam. I will discuss the role that these *8.5-ers* played in the upcoming section, as well as the influence that classroom management had on the academic experiences of these 17 student participants.

In the following quote, Steven, like Francisco, compares the classroom culture between the English mainstream and Spanish immersion programs. He describes how students like Carlos, who could have potentially been a behavioral challenge, instead thrived in the culture of achievement that he perceived as existing in his Spanish Biology.

I think it’s a really good class for someone like Carlos, because just looking around, with the peer pressure thing, everyone else in the class is pretty much doing the right thing. Even Stefano, who has his own difficulties, is trying. He doesn’t say, “This is too hard,

and I'm not going to do it at all." He still works at it. Compared to my other classes, I have a lot less people just sitting there at the end of class with a blank page, who couldn't be motivated to do anything.

English mainstream classes.

Rosalinda is in that 4th period class, and she gets perfect scores on everything. But she also gets frustrated in that class sometimes by the behavior, and me taking time away from teaching to lecture about behavior. She's frustrated with the situation, and she doesn't say anything. She's so quiet. She just works hard.

In this opening excerpt, Chad describes the experience of Rosalinda, one of the more recently immigrated ELs, in her mainstream English Algebra I class. Other ELs expressed their frustration over the behavior in their English mainstream classes, such as Natalia, who stated, "I don't like World Geography at all, because that class is so not behaving good."

Parents of some of the student participants also perceived the English mainstream program at Greenwood High as creating an inappropriate environment for their children. For example, Carmen next explains why her mother had decided to remove her from Greenwood in the following year even though Carmen very much wanted to return to the school:

I'm not coming back next year. My mom won't let me come back, because she said it is really disorganized here. I want to come back, but I'm going to Fillmore High. All of our family has gone there, like my cousins, and they say it's a good school. There have been lots of fights here, and a lot of the students have their uniforms untucked, and their pants are falling off. When she came she saw this, and for this reason she thinks the school is very disorganized.

Additionally, several of the participants' perceived their teachers as being afraid of some of the English native speakers in their mainstream classes. They felt as if this fear exacerbated the problem with classroom management and set up an unfair dynamic between the English and Spanish speakers in the classroom. In the following excerpt, Jimena continues to discuss an ongoing conflict between the students in her French I class. When I asked her whether her teacher was aware of this conflict, she replied by saying:

She knows, but she doesn't want to say anything. And it's not to be rude, but I guess she doesn't want to tell them anything, because she's scared. Not to disrespect her, but that's how it seems. Like, she gives them more of their wants than ours. Maybe because we don't answer back to her, and we're not as rude, and we are not going to tell her what we really feel. They just tell her whatever.

Roberto, like Jimena, also felt that he and his cohort of Spanish native speakers were better behaved in their English classes than some of the English native speakers. He describes how this caused frustration for him and his peers in Cynthia's English I class:

What I see is that there are four kids in there who always talk: Sam, Elaine, Penny, and Laura. And you know how they have an attitude? Well, what Dr. Nelson does, is when she sees that they are talking and she can't control them, I think she takes her frustration out on us. I mean, we talk sometimes, but we don't do the stuff that they do. Like they curse, they get up, they do whatever they want, they talk back. So she takes any little thing that we do and she goes off on us.

Roberto continues to discuss this classroom dynamic from his perspective, describing how he and his peers react to what they view as an inequity in Dr. Nelson's treatment of her students. It is important to note that Roberto admits that he and his SNS peers misbehave as well by either talking, or in the case of Rodrigo, by walking out of the room without permission. However, he appears to feel justified in their doing so, because in his opinion these behaviors are not on the same par as those of Sam, Elaine, Penny, and Laura's.

That's why Rodrigo is always getting mad. Like, they're talking, and Dr. Nelson doesn't tell them nothing because she's scared, because she knows that if she tells them something they're going to go off on her. So Rodrigo starts talking with me, and I ask him something. Then Dr. Nelson gets really mad, and she goes up to Rodrigo, and she says "Do you see what you do? Because you talk, you make everybody talk!" She finds an excuse to blame it on us. I don't think it's something personal, because she's a really good person, but that's what makes Rodrigo mad. I think he just feels really frustrated, and he walks out.

Spanish immersion/ESOL classes.

The way they behave is consistent with their upbringing. You can tell that there is care there, you can tell that there is parental supervision. I can testify to that, because when I've taken them to places, I speak with their mothers and their fathers, and they say, "Well Dr. Lopez, when are you going to come back?" They meet me outside the door

with their daughter, and we greet and say hello, and that we'll be back by this time. So there is parental supervision.

Martha firmly believed that the Spanish native speakers in the school behaved better than the students in the mainstream English program and she openly shared her opinion with the faculty and student body. She explained this as being a cultural difference and spoke of the Spanish native speakers as a group, despite their being from various backgrounds and displaying a wide variety of classroom behaviors.

They respect education. Even when they are not paying attention, they will keep the proper form. That's part of their way. That's more of a cultural thing. I mean, students misbehave in Latin America in their classes, but their misbehavior is passive, because the authority is the teacher, and you don't offend or disrespect the adult. They still have the attitude of the teacher as a second mother. It's the respect to an elder, an authority, a teacher.

Other teacher participants frequently referred to the student participants as being "hard workers", although they only used this description with specific Spanish speaking students, as opposed to describing the entire group this way. For example, Chad stated, "Alvaro can get a little frustrated, but he works really hard. He's one of the few people who's called me for help with homework." He then stated, "Alejandra and Elena are doing really well in my class, especially Alejandra. She always has the homework and is like, 'Weren't we supposed to do this?'" Matthew also described some of the participants as being hard workers, saying, "Natalia was one of the few students of mine who would take something home and work on it, and bring it back the next day. Very few students would actually take things home and do something with it, so I really appreciated that." Lastly, Steven continued in this same vein, stating, "Natalia did really well in Biology. I think she's another student where it's just because she's a hard worker, and willing to put in the work."

The teachers also gave several individual examples of student participants who had not behaved well in their classes. Generally speaking, however, these behaviors were not extreme examples but were instead issues involving a lack of motivation. As Cynthia stated, “Manuel does the absolute minimum, and I would have to tell him ‘No, I’m not going to accept that.’ And Jimena, too; to pull something out of Jimena was very hard.” Steven shared a similar example, stating, “Sofia and Jimena both didn’t do very well. I couldn’t motivate them. They were also both in my biggest class, so I wasn’t doing particularly well at motivating anyone.” In the next excerpt, Chad explains why he feels that these two girls, or Sofia and Jimena, could have at times appeared to be unmotivated in his class:

Jimena and Sofia aren’t doing very well. They need to start by trying to pay attention in class. That’s their biggest issue. But I don’t know which came first: they don’t understand because they don’t pay attention, or they don’t pay attention because they don’t understand. That’s a struggle. But with them, I have the problem with their heads down, or the makeup, or maybe it looks like they’re using a cell phone, and then I walk over and it disappears.

In addition to “unmotivated”, teachers would also at times use the word “lazy” to describe their behaviorally challenging ELs. Matthew, for example, stated, “In terms of Maria, she’s kind of lazy, and often didn’t turn in assignments to me.” In the following excerpt, Martha shares a rather negative description of Raul, who was one of the few students in her Spanish immersion class that she considered to be a behavioral challenge. She uses the word “lazy” to describe him, and also explains why she believes Raul to be difficult to engage:

Raul is unpullable. He is a zero to the left. He’s lazy. He is not interested in anything. He’s just one of those passive aggressive kids, who just says “Okay, I’m not going to work.” He doesn’t act up, and he’s not disrespectful. He keeps quiet when he’s told he can’t talk, so he can pass unnoticed. He’s a passive person, and he’s not going to accept anything he’s not interested in. He’s one of the ones who will seep through the colander, who will escape the system, because the system pays attention to those who act up, to another type of behavior. So he’s very passive, he’s just lazy. He’s not interested, he’s really not interested.

The teachers also described some of the ELs as going “under the radar”, or as Martha puts it in the above excerpt, as “seeping through the colander”. Although these students were never directly confrontational, they still presented a classroom management challenge: on the surface they appear to be behaving well, when in actuality, they are struggling with accessing the content. As an example, Chad states, “Maria is very quiet in class, and not very vocal if she doesn’t understand something or struggles with it. She’ll sit and make sure she gets all the notes down, but I think she’d rather sit it out, and just wait until class is over.”

In the following excerpts from my interview with Steven, this novice teacher honestly depicts how he struggled with student behavior, particularly in the fall semester. Reading this description of his classroom management helps to paint a picture as to why some of these ELs might have appeared to be “unmotivated”, “lazy”, or “under the radar”. At this point in the conversation, I’ve asked Steven if he thinks his ELs’ behavior issues might be related to their limited English proficiency:

It’s certainly possible, but I don’t think I would have picked up on it at that point, just because I was struggling. I felt like I was barely keeping afloat. I wasn’t ready to manage classes that big, so there wasn’t much teaching at times. And I also teach the class at a pretty high level, just because I think it makes it more interesting, so that could make it hard for someone to access. Then there’s a motivation factor also possibly at play. But I think that last semester was more of worrying about the students who actively wanted to be there; with the students who didn’t want to be there, it was pretty much letting them not do too much. I really didn’t have the energy or the numbers, the duplications of me, to go around and talk students into doing work.

In the next excerpt, Steven continues his description, explaining how his lack of experience might have allowed Sofia and Jimena to slip through the cracks in his classroom:

Sofia and Jimena sort of fell into this group, where they weren’t causing a lot of problems on the one side, but they also weren’t my high achievers, who had really insightful questions, and who I wanted to work with, because they were fun to teach. So I could see on the test that they weren’t getting the stuff, but it was hard. They weren’t getting my attention because I had to give it to them, but they also weren’t getting my attention because I wasn’t able to give it to them. So I feel bad that they just kind of slipped.

In this final excerpt, Chad shares with me a story of a week when Jimena was not slipping under the radar, but instead, she was achieving in his class and wanting to share her background knowledge with the rest of her peers. This anecdote is particularly telling as it demonstrates that Jimena might appear to be unmotivated, but in actuality she is struggling with the classroom's content. If this is the case, then ELs such as Jimena, Sofia, and Maria could have found greater success in class if they had had ample opportunity to revisit their fundamental gateway skills:

But it was strange, Jimena had a week where she was paying attention, and doing a lot of work. I think we were doing stuff that clicked with what she had done last year. I think that she felt like she had some kind of handle on it coming into the class. So she was raising her hand, and she wanted to show it.

Summary of academic themes. I divided the academic section of the interview findings into three major themes: language development issues, differentiated instruction, and classroom management. I found that many of the reoccurring subthemes that arose during interviews were related to the first major theme of language development issues. It is apparent as to why language would be such an important subject for these students when considering that much of their day revolves around issues that pertain to their bilingualism. These participants were very much aware of the need to maintain their heritage language of Spanish while continuing to develop their proficiency in their target language of English. The teacher participants were also eager to help these students in developing their dual proficiencies. Consequently, they were quite successful at insisting that these student participants remain in their target languages.

The second theme of differentiated instruction has been a constant theme throughout the entire findings chapter, beginning with the academic growth section and continuing through the discussions of the observation and interview data. It is evident as to why this is such a frequently

reoccurring theme as these 17 students represented such a wide gamut of both English and Spanish proficiencies. I first discussed the theme of program placement and the need for Greenwood High to create a data-driven criterion for students entering the ESOL and immersion classes. I next discussed issues that arose in Chad's math class, beginning with the language challenges that the students faced in his Algebra I class. I then shared a specific example of an accommodation that Chad had made for these ELs in the area of assessment.

I continued my discussion of the major theme of differentiated instruction with two more specific examples from Steven's Biology class. The first subtheme, or the issue of English versus Spanish native teachers, arose frequently during the interview data analysis. As an English native speaker, Steven brought various gifts and limitations to the Spanish Biology class. As a nearly proficient speaker of Spanish, Steven struggled at times with the language needed to successfully differentiate his instruction to this group of heritage speakers. At the same time, he had a strong grasp of the content knowledge and quickly gained the academic vocabulary needed in Spanish Biology. Additionally, as a language learner himself, Steven was able to empathize with and support the student participants in their quests to maintain their native language. The second Biology subtheme pertained to the need that some of the students had for direct connections to be made between their languages. In light of the end-of-course assessments that are now mandatory in Louisiana, it is particularly important that one does not assume that transfer is automatically taking place between these two lexicons.

I then continued the differentiation discussion with a description of the ESOL and Spanish immersion classes. Both of these classes had wide ranges of language proficiency, creating a great need for Martha and Cynthia to differentiate their instruction. In ESOL, Cynthia began the year with a three-tiered grouping system that allowed her to tailor her instruction to the

multiple levels in her classroom. At the midpoint in the year, however, a decline took place in the amount of differentiation that she was able to do. This decline occurred simultaneously with the introduction of a new, scripted curriculum, or Read 180. In Spanish immersion, one of the main areas of need for the heritage speakers was in developing their academic Spanish proficiencies. Despite the lower Spanish levels of many of the student participants, Martha continued to teach her immersion classes at an advanced pace, particularly in the second semester after the departure of three of the ENS students.

Classroom management was the third and last major theme that I discussed, as issues of behavior arose frequently in my interviews with both students and teachers. Many of the participants perceived there to be a remarkable difference between the behaviors in the English mainstream classes as compared to the Spanish immersion classes. Students, teachers, and parents felt as if the classroom management was not as strong in the English mainstream program at Greenwood High. The teachers, however, also gave numerous examples of behavioral challenges amongst the 17 student participants. These examples were usually less drastic in nature and instead involved students being difficult to motivate, or as going “under the radar”.

Social themes. In the next section of the interview findings, I will discuss the themes that arose during data analysis that were more social in nature. Much like with the academic themes, these social themes did not exist in isolation; rather, there was a great deal of crossover between the social and academic realms of these students’ school experiences.

I have organized the social themes sections of both the observation and interview findings in a similar manner. I begin with a discussion of the impressively positive relationships that the teacher participants fostered with their EL students. Due in part to these warm

relationships, the student participants created a tightly knit community, which at times seemed to exist as a fourth world within the larger entity that was Greenwood High. A drawback, however, to this strong sense of community was that many of the participants displayed an insular behavior. These students appeared to self-segregate in reaction to the numerous challenges of negotiating the complex matters inherent in a multicultural and multilingual school.

It was impressive to note the vast quantity of the interview data that were directly related to the racial tension that many of the participants felt existed at Greenwood. This new high school was unique to New Orleans, in that it was far more multicultural than many of the other schools within the local district. With this multiculturalism came a new set of challenges for the students of Greenwood High, in that they needed to learn how to co-exist with peers with whom they did not share the same linguistic and cultural background. The student participants had varying degrees of success in doing so and in general, a conscientious effort needed to be made by the staff in order to foster intercultural sensitivity (ICS) amongst the student body. I end the social themes section with a discussion of how some teachers had found success in promoting and fostering ICS. I also share some of the participants' thoughts on what needs to be done in order to create a multicultural high school that is both peaceful and tolerant.

Positive teacher-student relationships. One of the most outstanding qualities that I observed in Greenwood High's first year was the strong emphasis that was placed by the faculty on building positive relationships with the students. This philosophy was due in part to the school's principal, who firmly believed that numerous benefits could be reaped through taking the time to connect with adolescents. Her influence permeated throughout the building, and consequently, copious examples of positive teacher-student relationships arose during data analysis.

The student participants spoke highly of many of their teachers and felt as if they were easily approachable. For example, Raul said, “It’s easy to talk to Dr. Lopez, Dr. Nelson, and Mr. Lyons. They’re like good friends, who give you advice on how to keep up your grades and stuff.” Alejandra also found the teachers to be supportive, stating, “I like that they want to do the best that they can, and they understand you. It’s easy to talk with them.”

Several of the students compared Greenwood’s faculty to the teachers at Grover Elementary, the Spanish immersion school that they had attended the prior year. Jason described how he felt these teachers were different, stating:

Here they treat you more mature, like adults. I like it better than Grover. I just think it feels better. All of those teachers at Grover didn’t share stuff, like Mr. Williams and Dr. Lopez are sharing with us. They were by the book, and that’s it. The staff here is more open. Teachers over there were like, “You can’t ask these questions.” The teachers over here, they’ll pull you to the side and ask, “What’s going on?”

Francisco also compared the teachers between the two immersion programs, and felt more at ease with the environment at Greenwood:

Francisco: Dr. Lopez, I like her a lot, she’s really cool. She’s done a lot for me. I have recommendation letters from her for this program that I’m going to this summer. She’s been really helpful. And Mr. Lyons, he’s really easy to talk to, he’s been really good to me. I like it better here than Grover. I don’t know, it just feels more comfortable. There was more pressure over there, and here I feel more comfortable to work.

Along the same line, teachers also spoke highly of the student participants, frequently discussing the close relationships that they had developed with the Spanish speakers in their ESOL and immersion classes. Steven described the students in his Spanish Biology, saying, “I feel closer with the ELs that I have in my immersion class. I just feel like I’m someone that they can feel comfortable talking with in their language.” He also praised their work ethic, stating, “They are good kids, and they work. It’s hard not to like them.” Cynthia gave equally positive feedback about her ESOL students. At the end of our conversation, I asked her the final question

of, “Is there anything else you would like to add about teaching ESOL this year?” She replied by saying, “They were the bright point in my day, and I loved having them.”

These warm relationships that developed in the immersion and ESOL classes were a wonderful element that helped to foster a strong sense of community within this small program. These close connections, however, were viewed by some of the teacher participants as potentially problematic, especially when considered in the larger context of Greenwood High. By existing in such a small, tightly knit community, the ELs were more apt to exhibit an insular behavior, which further exacerbated the racial tension that was already developing at Greenwood High. In the following excerpt, Chad discusses his concerns over the strong connection between Martha and the ELs as well as how he ensured that none of Greenwood High’s students perceived him as favoring one particular cultural or language group.

I know that Martha had really strong connections with all of the Latino students. I could have seen myself hanging out with the Latino students in my room, but I wanted to have an equal relationship with all of the students. So I wouldn’t just go sit at the table with the Latino students every day, which would have been fun and fantastic, because they’re all really nice kids. And it’s not just because they’re Latino, it’s because they are really nice kids. But they knew that I didn’t favor them over any other students, even though they knew that I really liked them. I would talk to the Latino students every day, and I would talk to them in Spanish. I would tease them, because I know they are accustomed to being teased in a very friendly, playful way. They know it’s because I’m thinking about them, and I care about them, and I’m interested in them. So I tease them on that sort of cultural level, but they know that they are not my favorite students.

Strong sense of community.

I think it’s a good place for them to be able to feel accepted. I feel that they have found in Greenwood High a place that is home to them, and they are very comfortable with the experience.

As Martha explains in the opening excerpt, many of the student participant felt as if they had build a warm and supportive community within the immersion classes at Greenwood High. The boundaries of this community, however, did not fully extend outside of the program and into

the student body at large. The home that Martha described existed exclusively within the immersion and ESOL classes. The student participants, with the support of Martha, created what was essentially a fourth world within the larger entity of Greenwood High.

As I have previously described, there existed two tracks at Greenwood High: the immersion and ESOL program, and the mainstream English program. These two programs were made up of students from entirely different educational backgrounds. Greenwood had originally been created to serve as an ongoing high school for several local middle schools, which included both Grover, a Spanish immersion Elementary school, and Amigos, an English only school with a large Latino population. However, an insufficient number of students from these feeder schools enrolled in Greenwood High's founding 9th grade class. Consequently, the school began to accept students from New Orleans numerous English mainstream middle schools within the local school district, creating the juxtaposition of two distinct groups Greenwood: the immersion and ESOL students from Grover and Amigos, and the English mainstream students from the multiple other schools.

One of the sources of this strong sense of community was the shared history that the majority of the student participants had with each other. For example, Francisco talks about one of his peers from Grover Elementary, stating, "I talk most with Jason. I've known him for a long time, and we've done a lot of stuff. He's like the person that I feel the most comfortable with talking about what's going on in my life, because I know he's not going to share it with other people." Alvaro also referenced the comfort level that he felt with his peers from Amigos due to their shared history, stating:

I get along better with the Spanish people, because I already knew them from last year, so I just know them better. Like I can say something random, and they can just relate to it. And when I'm talking to the English people I can say something, but they can probably not relate to it.

In addition to a shared history, all of the participants also had the shared language of Spanish. This communal maternal tongue helped them to further develop a sense of community. Rosalinda described the connection that she had with her fellow Spanish native speakers, attributing it to their collective use of both Spanish and *Spanglish*:

I speak with Jimena and Sofia in Spanish sometimes, and sometimes in English. But we like to speak in Spanish, because it makes more fun. It's more fun because we always talk about where we came from, and our families. If I came from Mexico, then we talk about food in Mexico. And if she comes from Honduras, then we're always talking about Honduras. We're always saying, "Mexican food is better than Honduran food", and she saying, "No, it is not!" But then she said, "I don't care because my boyfriend is from Mexico, and now I respect Mexico." She's always saying "¡Viva Mexico!" So we are playing like that in Spanish. And sometimes, even when they are talking words they know in English, they talk in Spanish, like *playera*. It's kind of fun. Not because they don't know the words, but because they like to speak in *Spanglish*.

In this final excerpt, Martha explains what she feels are the two reasons that such a strong community formed within this small program. She cites both a shared culture and a shared language as the roots of the tight bond between the student participants. She also knowingly references her own influence on this small community, with her indisputable role as the program matriarch:

It's partly the language, and it's partly the fact that I reached out to them at the beginning of the year, and that they recognized that there was one Hispanic in the fold. So they gravitated towards me immediately, because I was Hispanic. So there was a cultural connection immediately, and the language, definitely.

Parent outreach.

Martha: My phone is constantly full of calls from them, from their parents, from all of them. I'm even negotiating something about the lunch of Natalia for her father, so we've been going back and forth trying to get to the RSD. And someone else wanted me to do a translation of a document.

Brooke: If you weren't playing that role for them, then how do you think that they would be communicating and negotiating with the school?

Martha: They wouldn't. They would be isolated. Isolated and marginalized, because it would be completely different.

The faculty at Greenwood High made an impressive effort in reaching out to the Latino parents of the student participants. By forming strong bonds with the parents, these teachers made great strides in building community within the immersion and ESOL program. Several of the faculty members were Spanish speakers, which allowed them to more easily connect with these Hispanic mothers and fathers. Martha, in particular, played a crucial role in ensuring that these parents had access to information regarding their children's experience at Greenwood High. In the opening excerpt, Martha describes this role that she played. She also discusses what could have occurred had these same parents needed to advocate for their children in another school, where staff members might not have been as willing or able to fully support their language needs.

In the following excerpt, Matthew describes the success that the Spanish-speaking staff had in connecting with the Hispanic parents. In this particular example, he discusses how two of the undocumented mothers wanted to be involved with the school and how he helped to make them feel more comfortable in their effort to do so:

I feel like some of the Spanish-speaking parents were kind of shy. Like Sofia and Natalia's moms were kind of shy ladies, but they wanted to be involved. They would show up and want to be there. And I knew that they didn't really speak English, and so I would always go up to them and recognize them, so they were always on my radar. Like last night, when we had this meeting, three of the Hispanic parents showed up, and Sofia and Natalia's moms didn't speak English, so they were definitely left out a little bit. But I tried to go up to them and speak to them, and kind of re-cap what happened, and thank them for coming. It wasn't always perfect, and we didn't have an interpreter all the times for meetings, but I feel like we did the best job that we could. I didn't ever let it slide.

Next, Matthew describes a meeting that he, Martha, and the principal held in order to specifically communicate with the Latino parents. Several of these parents had been considering removing their EL students from the school due to issues with classroom management. This

meeting was called with the intention of building trust with these parents, thereby encouraging them to keep their children at Greenwood High:

We actually had a meeting when we heard that some of our Spanish-speaking parents were thinking about taking their kids out of our school next year because of the discipline. So we held a special meeting for those Spanish-speaking parents, to talk to them about where the school was going, and how important their students were to us. What they meant to us personally and professionally, and how much we want them in our school. So they all came, and we reached out to them. They didn't really know what was happening, and so we explained it all.

The teacher participants shared numerous encouraging anecdotes of parental outreach during this first school year. There were also negative examples of communication, however, such as the challenges that the monolingual staff faced in connecting with these Spanish speakers. In the next excerpt, Chad discusses how the language barrier with the Spanish-speaking parents could at times serve as a deterrent towards frequent contact. It must be noted however that in this excerpt, Chad is in actuality able to find success due to Matthew being present in the room, bilingual, and willing to help. For this reason, this passage reemphasizes the importance of having as many bilingual teachers on a staff as possible.

That's been tough. Manuel's mom I've only met in person when she came to school, and I've gotten Matthew to come up and translate, or her husband. Matthew and Steven happened to be in my room the last time, so Matthew kind of translated. So that's worked, because she really wants to communicate with me, and so talks through Matthew and has his phone number. But I've never tried calling them on my own, because I know that language is an issue. And with Raul, I've tried to call, and the number I have is a business number for his mom. And then someone answers in Spanish, and I've asked for Raul's mom, and I just get a "no." And with the others it's tough, because I have trouble with getting myself to call parents as much as I should anyways. So when I run into that kind of barrier, where I'll need to see if I can get Matthew or Steven to help me call, it's like, "Oh well, maybe I can just talk to the kid, and get them to straighten up."

Steven did acknowledge that the Spanish speakers on the staff were able to make individual connections due to their bilingualism. He felt, however, that although this communication was helpful, it was not in fact sufficient. In this next quote, Steven explains why

he feels that Greenwood as a whole needed to make a greater effort in reaching out to the Spanish-speaking parents:

I know that individually they could feel welcome by the individual conversations, but the stuff we are sending home is still in English. I feel like our outreach seems to be pretty English only. And if we get people to come, then what are we providing? I mean, if you come to an hour-long presentation, but it's all in English and that's not a language that you speak, then is that something you should be coming to? So I definitely think that the area of parental outreach is something where we could do a lot more.

In this final excerpt, Chad shares an additional concern regarding parent outreach. At the time of data collection, there was a great deal of uncertainty as to whether the current administration and faculty would be returning to Greenwood in the following year. Many of the parents were anxious about finding another school in New Orleans like Greenwood, in which they could as easily access the teachers regarding their children's education:

I don't honestly see how Greenwood can reopen this fall, which is totally going to screw these kids. I mean all of the kids, but obviously in particular the Latino kids, who are definitely in the minority in this city. Where are they going to go? Where are they going to feel supported? How many teachers out there can support them, and can understand where they come from, and how they are? A lot of their parents are worried about where they are going to send their kids, because they know that they might get picked on at other schools, and not have the support, and not have the attention. So they just don't know where they are going to put their kids.

Group work.

It's the nature of the work that I have them doing. They needed to collaborate with each other, and to do group work. Individually they are responsible for their work, so when they take a test, they individually take the test. They don't copy off each other. But Latinos, they collaborate, and they see the goodness and the strength of working as a group together. But if the group is going to be evaluated, then they are going to make sure that all of the integral members perform individually for the benefit of that group.

As I've mentioned previously, Martha was an insightful participant to interview, in that she held the sole emic perspective amongst the five teachers in my study. In the opening excerpt, she describes how she perceived the Latino students as conducting group work within her class. Due to the strong sense of community that had developed within the immersion

program, many of the student participants preferred to work cooperatively in accomplishing classroom tasks. Consequently, most of the assignments were completed collectively, whether this was at the discretion of the teacher or the students.

In the following passage, Martha continues to describe from her perspective the interpersonal intelligences of these student participants. At this point in the conversation, I've asked her if any of the students ever take advantage of the cooperative work assignments by not sharing in the responsibility of the task at hand. She firmly replied no and described what she felt took place instead:

They put Luis aside, and they say, "You have to do this." They force him, that's the way they bring him up. They pull him along. Luis is not dumb, he's just lazy. He reads well, but he doesn't write well. His orthography is really bad, and he just doesn't like doing the work. But he is a go-getter, so he solves other problems for the group. For example, he is a resource getter. If nobody has markers to do the posters, he can get them. And he will set up the equipment for you.

Despite the glowing report that Martha gave to these students' cooperative group work skills, some of the heritage speakers didn't feel as if the arrangement was always so equitable. In the next passage, Roberto, a high achiever in the immersion program, discusses what he liked about completing group work assignments. He also shares his frustration over other students not fairly sharing in their responsibility of completing a task.

Roberto: With Dr. Lopez, all the activities we do are in groups, and she makes it competitive. That competitiveness makes you want to win, so you do the work.

Brooke: Does everybody pull their own weight?

Roberto: It depends on who you get. There are a lot of students, where if they are with you, and they know that you are good at it, then they are not going to do it. It depends on what we are doing. If it's a writing assignment, not many kids will do it. But if it's where you read it, and everybody has to come up with their own idea. Like the other day, she showed us an image for ten seconds and then she put it away, and she said "Everybody write down your ideas," and then we joined ideas. Everybody gave their own idea, no matter how illogical it was.

Although Martha greatly appreciated these students' penchant for group work, other teacher participants did not share in the same opinion. Some teachers felt as if the participants had an excessive fondness towards turning all assignments into group work and that this tendency at times bordered on cheating. In addition, as Steven next explains, this proclivity towards group work in his Spanish Biology made it difficult for him to accurately evaluate the participants' individual progress:

With Luis it is hard to tell how he's doing. Because a lot of it is effort based, and in that class, there is such a close-knit group who works together, that it's hard to tell. It's good because they all get along for the most part, but it's hard to get individual work out of them at times. Even on tests they seem to sort of (laughs) cooperate too much sometimes. So it's hard for me to tell what is Roberto's work and what is Luis's work. Like, when I give them an assignment where I'm having them work on their own stuff, but they'll sort of help each other out, so it's difficult to tell how much he's getting, and what he's doing.

Chad shared Steven's viewpoint and struggled at times with evaluating the participants as individual learners:

Elena is very strong in math, so she figures out stuff. And then she'll help Carmen, so I have trouble figuring out where Carmen is, because they help each other out so much. I don't know how much Carmen can do independently, and I think it's a problem on tests. I try to watch them. They also talk, and sometimes it's unclear whether Alejandra is translating what they are suppose to be doing, I can't really tell. But they're good, it helps that they are very sweet girls. But they're kind of different, they're like their own...well, none of the other kids are as dependent on each other in my class.

Cynthia, however, did not have an issue with the participants wanting to frequently work in groups. Like Martha, she viewed this as a cultural trait, and consequently allowed the students to work as they felt the most comfortable. In this example, she explains why she eventually became more lenient in allowing her ESOL students to speak in Spanish when necessary:

I tried with these kids to be stricter about speaking in English, but it didn't work really well. And I could understand what was happening. Student X wouldn't have understood unless it got translated, so he couldn't help but translate it, because he was helping his friends. It's the whole culture, the Hispanic culture, where you work together for an end. So I'm not going to penalize that, because that's different from Americans. With

Americans, you're earning your own grade. But I could tell with these students, I knew what was going on, I knew the culture thing, so I said "I can't do that," and I would just say, "No Spanish, no Spanish."

In this final excerpt, Cynthia shares how she feels that all of her students were able to learn in her class, even if on the surface it appeared that they were relying too heavily on the support of their peers:

And I'm okay with it, really. My theory is that they are learning, no matter what. I really honestly thought, I would lay money down, that they were learning. Even just being there, and getting the input of the English. Even just reading it, and seeing it, and having the other kids write it. They were watching, and I think they learned, no matter what.

Insular behavior.

Brooke: Why do you hang out more with the Spanish speakers?

Jason: Because I see them all day.

Brooke: Why don't you hang out more with the English-speakers?

Jason: Because I don't talk to them or see them much.

Brooke: Could you define the different groups in school to me?

Jason: There's the blacks, and there's the Hispanics, and a trickle of Caucasians. The whites hang out with the Hispanics, and the blacks just tend to hang out with themselves.

Brooke: Why do the blacks hang out with themselves?

Jason: For friendship, they went to school together in the past.

Brooke: Why do you think the groups don't hang out together more?

Jason: Because they are different, like the language. The blacks are like "Hey, what's up?", and the Hispanics are like "Hey." We have a sort of slang.

I open with an excerpt from a conversation that I had with Jason, in which he shares with me his views on the insular behavior that took place within Greenwood's student body. Jason had a unique perspective on the school's dynamics as he was the only African American, English native speaker to be enrolled in the Spanish immersion program. In this conversation, Jason touches upon several of the subthemes that I will discuss in the upcoming section. First of all, he describes the isolating nature of the immersion program, in that it didn't allow him and his peers the opportunity to interact frequently with the rest of Greenwood's student body. He also observes how some of the students choose to self-segregate due to their shared history. Lastly,

he discusses the comfort that can be found in socializing with peers who share a common linguistic background.

Immersion/ESOL program as tracking.

It's less like high school to me. It feels like elementary school, where you happen to have different teachers, but you are with the same people all day. But it gives you less opportunity to work with different people, and if there is someone you like or dislike, then you are with them all day long. I feel like it probably makes the school feel even smaller than it already is.

In the opening excerpt, Steven describes Greenwood's ESOL and immersion program from his perspective. He essentially describes what could be labeled as tracking, in that the student participants had been placed in one cohort and spent the vast majority of their day learning together. In the next excerpt, Steven continues his description and explains how this system of tracking indirectly led to an insular behavior amongst the student participants:

They all seem to travel together all day, and if one kid's not in one of your classes then he's probably not in any of your classes. They also have second lunch, so it's just my class and Chad's students eating at the same time, so during lunch they kind of just sit at their own table. Luckily they all get along, since they spend so much time together. It definitely helps that they are all close friends, like Carmen, Elena, and Alejandra. They're inseparable. So yeah, it is pretty insular, a lot of our different cultural groups at the school.

Chad also discussed the affect of the students' lunch schedule on how they socialized with their peers. During the second semester there were two lunches. The second lunch was made up of Steven's immersion Biology class and Chad's Geometry class, in which there were predominately students with whom the ELs felt comfortable socializing, such as the French immersion students and the pre-International Baccalaureate (IB) students. This allowed the immersion students to essentially remain in their track throughout the day, limiting their interaction with their peers both academically and socially. Chad also describes how some of the

more proficient ELs, such as Jimena and Sofia, were better able to build social connections through attending the more diverse first lunch:

We have second lunch with Steven's immersion class, so it's Francisco and Roberto and the three girls at the table, and maybe Luis, and sometimes Jason. I think that that has a lot to do with it. Whereas with Jimena and Sofia, they have first lunch, and they're very social girls. And part of it is that obviously they're more comfortable in the language. Social English they speak just fine, (laughs) so it's not a barrier to them.

Martha also discusses the outcome of this tracking, describing how this had in effect led to the cohesion of this group. During the fall semester, some of the student participants were in Martha's classroom for 250 minutes of their day as they took three of their five classes with the same teacher. She described how she consciously decided to cultivate interdependency amongst these ELs, which she viewed as a survival mechanism needed to help them in navigating throughout the rest of their school day:

Well, the way the scheduling has been, last semester we spent a total of 250 minutes of the day together in the immersion program. We had literature and geography, so we spent two out of the four periods together. We bonded, or I bonded them into the group that was needed to be self-supporting. Their identities as a group was formented by me, of course underlining their differences as a celebration, to come together. As a result, they have all of their social activities together. If they go to games, they go together. And if they have parties, too. They have formed a cohesive group, because they share similarities, similar backgrounds. They share being Latino, and they share the work.

Cynthia, unlike Martha, was adamantly opposed to her ELs spending so much of their day together either in the ESOL or immersion classes. She also believed that this tracking was preventing them from becoming more proficient in their target language. Cynthia described the influence that English proficiency had on these students' ability to connect with their peers outside of the ESOL and immersion track:

Imagine Elena, who is isolated throughout the day. They just needed more classes together. And I noticed that the more that they would speak English with me, the more successful they were. If you don't use it, you lose it. And the fact that they would leave my class, and they would just stay together all during the day. And then they're going to go home to families where they are only going to get Spanish, and I'm sure that they live

in communities where they only speak Spanish. We have to make them want to speak English, and you don't want to speak English if you are only hanging out with Hispanics all the time. We have to make them want to speak English with other Americans their own age. They needed to be in classes with at least as many American kids as Spanish kids.

Effects of language proficiency.

I suppose for Alejandra, Elena, and Carmen, it's the language. They come to my class, and the three of them sit in the front. Their backs are to everyone else in the class, and they sit, and they talk, and they work together. But then in every other class they're pretty much with the ESL kids or the immersion kids, and so they don't have lots of interaction. They could interact more in my class, but they don't, and I guess that's a language thing.

In the opening excerpt, Chad describes the emergent ELs behavior in the one mainstream class that they have during their day, or Algebra I. Students such as Elena, Carmen, and Alejandra were able to spend four of their five classes, as well as their lunch period, entirely surrounded by other Spanish speakers. According to Chad, their insular behavior in his math class was due in large part to their limited English proficiency.

In the next excerpt, Cynthia continues to explain how the ELs' language proficiency affected their ability to connect with their English-speaking peers. She observed that her proficient ELs had more multicultural and multilingual friendships while the emergent and intermediate groups chose to interact predominately with each other:

I think that's a problem for them, that they seem to stick mostly to each other. Well, the middle group and the lower group, mostly. The upper group seemed to have more friends among the English speakers, but the other groups mostly stuck to each other. They would interact when spoken too, but I don't know if they had many friends that they would hang out with outside of school. I think it has everything to do with their language abilities.

Steven concurred that on the whole, the students with stronger language skills were more likely to work towards building bridges between different cultures. He describes how his EL

students who were not in the immersion program, such as Manuel, Maria, and Natalia, were less insular in their social interactions:

It depends on the individual. Some of them are a lot more likely to go out and talk to other people. The ones more comfortable with English have more friends outside of that group of Hispanic friends. I also think that the ones that I had in my English Biology were less insular, maybe because they had to be. Like Manuel, he seems to run in a number of different groups. I feel like he's more comfortable talking to a broader diversity of kids, compared to some of our other kids. And Maria and Natalia, they would also talk to all of the other people in my class.

Based on my own experience as a language learner, I have found that the familiarity of speaking in one's maternal language can be highly comforting, especially when living in an environment in which one is not yet fully proficient with the dominant language. The student participants discussed the feeling of relief that comes from socializing with peers with whom one shares a similar linguistic and cultural background. Even Stefano, who had been speaking English throughout his entire life, found comfort in sharing a similar culture and language with his friends.

Brooke: Which kids do you talk with the most?

Stefano: The Spanish kids. I don't know, it's just the people I hang out with. Because if you don't know something, then you can just ask them in Spanish.

Jason, as the only ENS student participant in the study, was able to explain this phenomenon from his own unique perspective. He spent the vast majority of his day in the Spanish immersion classes. He also found a great deal of success in navigating the numerous challenges involved with being immersed in another language. At the same time he also understood the comfort that comes from communicating with peers from a similar linguistic and cultural background:

Brooke: Earlier you said you felt more alone in your immersion classes?

Jason: Yeah, when you are talking to some of them, they be like "What's this?" But when you talk to your friends, they automatically understand that. And I kind of don't like explaining myself, it's easier when they automatically understand it.

Some of the student participants felt as if their more emergent peers were intentionally choosing not to learn English. This brings a question to mind: were these ELs deliberately avoiding English or were they simply allowing themselves the respite that came with speaking in their maternal tongue?

Brooke: What has helped you to connect with the English students?

Francisco: Because I speak English. I've been trying to help Elena, but she doesn't want to learn. She says she doesn't want to learn for some reasons.

Alejandra is an emergent EL who immigrated to the United States only two years prior to the period of data collection. During that short period of time, however, she made remarkable strides in her effort to learn to speak English. She was frustrated with her fellow emergent ELs, such as Carmen, for what she perceived as being a conscious choice to not attempt to speak in their target language:

Carmen doesn't understand that well. Well she does, but she's too lazy. I tried to speak with her in English, but she don't want to. She act like she's not paying me attention when I speak English. I get so mad with Carmen when she act like that. But when we take English class in College Track, she talk in English, she's learning in that class. She's too lazy to learn English, she prefers Spanish. She depends on another person, that's why she don't want to learn English.

Avoidance. As I will discuss in a later section of the findings chapter, numerous examples were given of racial tension between the English and the Spanish native speakers. In the majority of these anecdotes the onus was placed on the English speakers for creating the turmoil within the student body. As this seemed difficult for me to fully imagine, I additionally asked all of the teacher participants if they could provide examples of the Latino students displaying xenophobic behaviors towards their English-speaking peers. They felt as if on the surface, the ELs were not blatantly intolerant towards the other linguistic and ethnic groups in the school. As Cynthia stated, "I never heard the Spanish kids saying bad things about the black

kids, I never did.” Other teachers, however, felt as if many of the ELs were actively choosing to avoid the English-speaking students, which they viewed as a type of passive racism. For example, when I asked Chad if he had ever witnessed any bigoted tendencies from the student participants towards their English-speaking peers, he stated, “It’s not overt. It’s more like they just hang out with each other, and avoid them. But I haven’t heard any comments about ‘black kids’ or ‘those kids.’” When I asked Matthew the same question, he answered in a similar vein, stating:

A lot of it was just them keeping to themselves. They were sort of shy kids, and they didn’t really step out. I think of Elena, who is a very nice, smart, and respectful person. But she didn’t really try to develop relationships with these other kids. She didn’t really try to engage, or learn English, or speak English with them. Some of them did a little better job, and to an extent tried to engage a little more, and be a little more open, and try to relate to them.

During the fall semester, a group of 40 students representing both language groups were selected to go on a three-day field trip to Heifer International in Arkansas. The purpose of this field trip was to allow potential school leaders to develop diverse friendships, with the hopes that this mutual respect might permeate throughout Greenwood High’s culture. On the field trip, students were assigned to different groups, or countries, so that they could experience living in other parts of the world. Many of the students gained a great deal from this international simulation and were highly successful at building bridges with their peers from different backgrounds. Alejandra, however, did not view this as an opportunity to make friends with the English-speaking students. She instead broke Heifer International’s rules by, as she puts it, “escaping” from her assigned group, in order to be with her peers to whom she was more accustomed:

When we went to Arkansas, I was in Zambia, Africa, but I escaped, and I went to Thailand with Carmen. My group in Zambia was Jason and Monique and Theresa, and two more girls I don’t know. But they all speak in English except Jason, and they all

were black people. And I'm Hispanic, and maybe they don't like Hispanic people. And I get lonely, and I hate that. And Carmen was in Thailand with Raul and Roberto and Kyle and all of them, and so I was the only one who got alone with out our friends.

Several of the participants even expressed having a fear of some of their English-speaking peers, or as Matthew stated, "I think that they are afraid of them, too." This fear of the other, or xenophobia, could explain why students such as Alejandra deliberately chose to avoid interacting with her peers from different backgrounds. Avoidance also seemed to occur more frequently amongst the recently immigrated ELs, such as Carmen, who expressed this fear of her English-speaking peers, stating, "Sometimes they're not friendly. Sometimes they think that we are talking about them and I don't feel comfortable. I feel afraid of them, because I don't know if they are going to do something, like when they are in a group, and I'm alone." This then gives rise to a question: Are the more recently immigrated students afraid of their peers simply because they are not accustomed to attending schools with students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds?

Some of the participants, particularly the more proficient ELs, did attempt to develop multicultural friendships. These students also told me that at times it was difficult to do so due to the pressure that they felt from the other Spanish speakers to remain segregated. For example, Alvaro stated, "If I hang around with the black kids, then the other kids, like Manuel and all of them, are gonna think 'Why am I hanging out with them if I'm a Latino?' And then I will lose their trust." This social pressure to segregate also created a challenge for students such as Maria, who had been raised entirely in the United States, and who told me that she preferred dating boys who were not Latino. She had a difficult time, however, in finding success in her cross-cultural relationships due to the influence that she felt from her Latina friends.

Brooke: So you were dating Shad...what happened?

Maria: Well, my friends don't like him, Denise and Natalia. And I'm always with my friends, so they just pull me away from him whenever we try to get together. They would be like, 'don't be with him', and stuff. Natalia, she doesn't like black boys.

Racial tension.

Steven: From what I know from an outsider's perspective, after the storm there was a lot of immigration of Hispanic workers to help clean up and rebuild things. I think that the community before seemed pretty monolithically black, with some whites, but mostly just blacks.

Alejandra: Maybe they don't like Hispanic people. Maybe they think we are invading their territory.

Much of the social tension that I have been describing can be connected to the long lasting effects of Hurricane Katrina on the demographics of New Orleans. As Steven explains in the opening excerpt, prior to this storm, the city's public schools were far less diverse. The construction boom that has taken place in the recent years, however, has attracted new students to the area, such as Alvaro, Natalia, and Sofia. Attending a multicultural school was a novel experience, both for the more recently immigrated participants and for the English-speaking students who were raised in New Orleans. It cannot be assumed that by simply creating a diverse school, the student body will naturally learn to tolerate their peers from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. For this reason, it is logical that racial tension flared up at Greenwood High during its first year of existence.

Almost all of the participants described examples of discord that they had experienced while attending this newly established high school. They shared specific anecdotes in which they often cited the same small group of students as the instigators of this dissonance. In the following excerpt, Alejandra describes a conflict that she had had with Lisa and Jeffrey, two students who were frequently mentioned by other participants:

That girl that has a Tinkerbell backpack, Lisa, she is with Jeffrey. She's mean, she doesn't like the Hispanic people. When I was with Elena and we pass them, we didn't

say nothing, and Jeffrey look at Elena and said “She’s cute.” Then Lisa said, “She’s a bitch,” like she thought that we don’t speak English, and we don’t understand that she said Elena’s a bitch. She’s so mean.

Cultural clashes also occurred between individual students and teachers. In the following excerpt Matthew describes the ongoing tension that he had experienced with a student in his Advisory class. It is interesting to note that the issue that he describes is with George, who was also mentioned by several other participants as being an agitator of conflict:

I had George in there, and he was alone, none of his friends were in there. So he kind of sat off by himself. And anytime I would talk to the other kids, he really accused me of being racist, and preferring the Latino students. Then he just stopped coming to my advisory, and he actually stopped talking to me. I couldn’t get him to talk to me once after that at school. And I really felt like I had connected with him the first part of the year. I was working with him on doing portraits, and he would go home and do these drawings and bring them back the next day and be like, “Mr. Lyons, look what I was working on at home.” But then he started hating me, and didn’t want to talk to me.

During data analysis, there appeared to be a finite number of English speaking students who were actually causing problems for the participants in the study. Some of the ELs referred to these students as individuals, and recognized that this discord did not exist with all of the English native speakers at Greenwood High. Many of the participants, however, made what could be described as sweeping generalizations, categorizing all of the English-speakers into one group labeled as “they”. In the next excerpt, Roberto explains from his perspective the cause of an ongoing conflict in English I class between his Latino peers and some of the English native speakers in the class. It is interesting to note that in this example, both Roberto and the other students make generalizations about “them”, “they”, and “your favorite kids”.

I think that it’s in school. That they feel pressured by the teachers. I won’t say that they don’t do their work, but we do more work, so they must feel pressured or scared that we are doing better than them. That’s when the students make it seem like that, they turn it around on the teachers. Let’s say we are done with the *Do Now*, and we are waiting for Ms. Jones to tell us the next thing to do. And let’s say that there’s a kid sleeping, and Ms. Jones tells them to get up and do their work. Then that kid sees that we are talking, and says, “Why don’t you tell them nothing for talking?” And Ms. Jones says, “Because

they're done with their work." Then they say, "No, that's because they're your favorite kids," and goes off on Ms. Jones. They want to find an excuse to do whatever they want.

In a post-Katrina New Orleans, it can be challenging to learn to navigate the new linguistic and cultural systems that have been created in multicultural schools such as Greenwood High. Looking at one's peers as individuals as well as group members can be hard work. An easier option at times can be to fall back on making generalizations about exchanges with which one does not feel entirely familiar.

In the following section, I will discuss several interactions that the participants shared that could certainly be described as examples of racial tension. It is important, however, to examine these experiences through the lens of the subtheme of "individuals versus generalizations". The participants did describe copious amounts of negative interactions that they had undergone with some of Greenwood High's English native speakers. Additionally, however, they also shared with me a substantial quantity of positive occurrences that they had experienced with their English-speaking peers. I will conclude the major theme of "racial tension" with a discussion of this overarching theme of "individual versus generalizations", in light of these participants' experiences at Greenwood High.

Reactions to Spanish language.

Brooke: How do the students outside of the program react to you speaking in Spanish?

Francisco: Sometimes they try to understand, but say that we are speaking too fast. Some of them just don't care. Some of them are really racist towards the Latinos. Like say, someone is speaking Spanish, then they pass by them saying "tortillas, tortillas". I don't say anything, because I don't want any trouble. But it's not cool, because it's people's feelings. Just because they don't speak the same language doesn't mean you have to pick on them. Just because they speak another language doesn't mean that they are dumb.

Brooke: Why do you think that they react that way?

Francisco: Because they're confused, and they're not used to being around people like us. They're just putting up a wall.

In the opening excerpt, Francisco explains how some of the English-speaking students reacted to hearing Spanish spoken around them on a regular basis. He describes how these students' responses were hurtful, especially in light of the personal connection that many of the participants felt with their maternal language. He perceptively observes that for many of the English native speakers this was the first time that they had heard another language spoken in close proximity, and consequently, as he eloquently puts it, they "put up a wall."

Many of the teacher participants described this reaction to Spanish as a "paranoia", which arose from an uncertainty of what was being said by these Spanish speakers. In the next passage, Steven states that he observed less of this paranoia as the year progressed. He also explains why he believes that this level of distrust diminished:

There's a lot of paranoia with our black students about what's being said about them, when they hear people talking and don't know what it means. But I've heard a little less of that. I think there are not comfortable relationships yet, but I think that there is a little less of the paranoia, or assuming that they must be talking about them. I think it becomes obvious after a while that they have better things to talk about, or that not every conversation held in another language would have to be about you. I think that the first time that you hear it it's probably like, "I have no idea what they are saying, they must be talking about me." But as you become more exposed to it, you realize that they aren't necessarily.

Some of the English mainstream students were suspicious of what the Spanish-speaking teachers were saying to the student participants. Cynthia felt that the distrust that some of her English I students had for their teachers stemmed from this insecurity over what was being said. She stated, "I also think that it could have to do with language. Maybe because they don't know what Martha or Matthew are saying in Spanish to the Spanish kids, so they think that it is what it's not." Matthew also understood that some of his students suspected him of showing preferential treatment to the Latino participants with whom he shared a common language:

Initially, the kids in general were suspicious of what was being said in Spanish. Not necessarily what I was saying in Spanish, but amongst the students, what they were

saying to each other in Spanish. They didn't understand it, so automatically they assumed that they were talking about them. And sometimes, they probably felt left out when I was talking to some of the kids in Spanish. I do think that there was a certain jealousy on their part. They probably thought that I preferred the Latino students over the other students, which I totally don't feel is the case.

"The Mexicans".

If you talk about my language, and say bad stuff, I will feel offended, because I'm Spanish. I won't talk about what language you speak, or where you come from, because I'm not racist. And people are talking about "Oh, your Mexican! I don't like Mexican people! They are too this, they are too that." And I'm like, "That's not nice, that's where you came from, and so you have to deal with it."

A common complaint that many of the participants had was that some of their peers referred to them as "the Mexicans" despite the fact that they came from a wide variety of countries, including Peru, El Salvador, Honduras, and the United States. Natalia gives an example of this generalization and states that she was often referred to as Mexican, even though she is originally from Colombia. In the next quote, Jimena had been explaining this phenomenon from her own perspective. I've just asked her if she had ever tried clarifying to her peers the difference between being Latino and being Mexican. She replied by saying:

I tell them, but they still don't get it. They're like, "You all look the same." I try telling them, "Just because we're Spanish doesn't mean we are Mexican." But they don't get it, they're just like, "Oh, so that's a different race?" And we're like, "No, we're the same race, it's just that where we come from is different."

Roberto, who actually is Mexican-American, explains why he also was bothered by these sweeping generalizations. He describes how it bothered Francisco, who is Honduran-American, as well as his African American friends such as Jason and Kyle:

And what I really don't like is when they all call us Mexicans. They're like "the Mexican kids." Because that's offensive to Francisco. He's not Mexican, he's Honduran. I really don't like that, because if they generalize like that, I really think that's ignorant, to generalize. And it's really frustrating, like for Jason and Kyle. They always get separated because they hang with us.

Stefano, as a Honduran-American who was born in the United States, was equally offended by being referred to as a “Mexican”. He also described another interesting dynamic, which shed light on what it meant to some of the English-speaking students to be from New Orleans.

They call us Mexicans, and I feel offended by that, because I’m not Mexican. I was like, “Hey, I’m not Mexican, I’m from Honduras.” I actually was born in New Orleans, but they didn’t believe me. They were like, “What part of New Orleans are you from?” I was like, “I lived in the 9th ward,” and they were like, “What street?” They just keep asking me too many questions, and are like, “Nah, you’re not from New Orleans.” One time, Mr. Lyons played this game, where we were all in a circle and spread out. He said, “If you are from New Orleans get in the middle.” So I went in the middle, and Adam was like “You’re lying!” I felt offended, but I didn’t do anything. I just stayed quiet.

At times, these verbal attacks on “the Mexicans” became more aggressive in nature, as Stefano describes in this last excerpt:

Another time this dude came up to me, and he cursed. He said “ ‘F’ Mexico!” I just turned around, I didn’t really care because I’m not from Mexico. He was black. Maybe he was trying to make fun of us, because they always like to do that. That’s why I don’t like to hang out with them.

ENS students in the immersion program.

Now we don’t have so many fights. When we had Nicole and Brenda and Bart, they always fought with Luis every day, and with Dr. Lopez, too. I guess they don’t like the Hispanic people. Because when we were in Grover Elementary, there were just a few Hispanic people. But when they come here, there was a lot of Hispanic people, and they didn’t like that. So they changed a lot, they think that they are better than us. Just because some of the Hispanic people don’t have papers, they think that they are invading their space in America.

At the midpoint of the school year, three of the English native speakers, or Bart, Brenda, and Nicole, chose to leave the Spanish immersion program. Several of the participants shared with me their understanding of why this occurred. They also described these three students’ behavior when they had been in the class and how their conduct had caused strife between the English and Spanish native speakers in the group. As Francisco stated, “They used to talk too

much, and Dr. Lopez would get mad. Then they used to talk back to her and she doesn't like that. They were difficult, I mean, really rude."

In the opening excerpt, Alejandra explains why she believes these three ENS students behaved differently at Greenwood High as compared to Grover Elementary. At Grover, these three students belonged to the majority group, as they were English native speakers who were learning Spanish as a foreign language. Their experience at Greenwood, however, was quite different. They were the exception to the rule, in that the program was almost entirely made up of heritage language speakers who needed to learn English as a second language.

Martha also had strong feelings about her own experience as a Latina teacher in dealing with these three English native speakers. She believed that their negative reaction was a backlash towards the Hispanic culture that was openly celebrated within her classroom. Additionally, these three adolescents had attended an immersion elementary school for their entire educational careers and had never before experienced school in a mainstream English setting. For this reason, it is possible that Nicole, Bart, and Brenda were wrestling with recreating their own self-identity:

Nicole, Brenda, and Bart, they were very much discriminatory and racist. They came out with some really incredible, unacceptable expressions, it was really bad in my class. That's why we always have the clash with them. We had a very bad experience. They did not want to be included with that group. The dynamic between those three was like a self-preservation, of each other and their blackness. And it's curious because Jason was and is part of the immersion group, but he chose to stay with the immersion group.

Martha believed that this experience did not extend to Jason, the sole remaining English native speaker in her immersion class. She was not entirely correct, however, in this assumption. As Alejandra describes in the next excerpt, Jason did at times feel this same pressure as he struggled to navigate between the two cultures and languages with which he identified:

Jason, I get so mad to him. When he's with us, he's speaking Spanish and English, and he's fine. But when it's other people with us, like African American people, he's like, "I don't speak Spanish." He's ashamed, because some people don't like Hispanic people, and he's all the time with us. So I guess sometimes he feels ashamed that he's our friend.

French class.

Rochelle and Evan, they don't like to hear Spanish in French class. That's why our class is divided. The teacher didn't divide us. They had this problem with Spanish, and so they sit over here, and all the Spanish kids, they sit over there. That's why they sit far away from us. They all sit in a group, and we all sit in another group. It's because of the language. Like, you know when you don't know a language, and someone talk and talk and talk, and you think that maybe they are talking about you? Maybe they feel that way.

In the opening excerpt, Rosalinda summarizes from her perspective an ongoing conflict that had taken place in the French I class. Several of the student participants who had taken French I spoke of the self-segregation that had occurred between the different language groups within the class. Although they had numerous explanations as to why this division had occurred, their reasons all came back to one main cause or the issue of language.

This French I conflict originally began in the fall semester. The French teacher, who was Haitian, was a fluent speaker of French, Creole, and English. She also spoke a sufficient amount of Spanish and would often enjoy practicing this language when the opportunity arose. Additionally, she would work towards making connections in her classroom between the two romance languages of French and Spanish, so as to help her heritage speakers more easily access the content. As Jimena describes in the next quote, this accommodation was quite helpful at times to these ELs:

That's another problem, because Rochelle is always like, "This is French class, not Spanish class." It's mostly Rochelle, and sometimes Evan, and Kevin. But we understood better, because of the feminine and the masculine, so it was more familiar. So that we could understand, she would always try to put the French into Spanish, like give us the word in Spanish, and we would be like, "Oh, it's feminine!"

A few of the students, particularly Rochelle, strongly objected to the teacher using Spanish in order to explain French in the classroom. Rosalinda, an emergent EL, describes Rochelle's reaction in the following passage. Rosalinda also expresses the frustration that she felt at not being able to speak in her maternal language:

Like Rochelle, she was always saying, "I don't want to hear Spanish, please talk in English." So we have to talk in English when they were close to us, because they feel like we're talking about them. When they are next to me, I have to speak in English, because they feel it's unfair that we speak in Spanish, and they don't understand, so we have to speak in English. But sometimes it's hard for me to say a word, so I have to tell it in Spanish to Sofia or Jimena. But then they say, "No, it's unfair. Why are you speaking in Spanish to her?" And we're like "I'm trying to explain the word to her." And it's kind of weird when you are just trying to explain one word in Spanish. Like, I can't pronounce sometimes a word, but I have to speak English because they feel bad because I'm speaking Spanish. Then it makes me feel bad, because I want to say it, but I can't, so I'm like, "Okay, forget it." It's frustrating. It just makes me want to learn English more.

In the next excerpt, Natalia explains from her perspective why she thinks the divide happened in her French I class. It is interesting to note that thus far all of the student participants have specifically referenced only a small group of English-speakers as the instigators of this conflict:

I sit all the way in the back with the Spanish people. And the black people, like Rochelle and Angela, all of them sit over there. We aren't like, "I don't like them." It's just that we are not close to them, so we have our own groups. But Rochelle doesn't like Mexican people. She thinks that everybody is from Mexico. So I was like, "First of all, I'm not Mexican, so you should ask people if they are Mexican first." And she was like, "I don't like Spanish people, they speak Spanish." But it's just a language. So that's why some of the other Spanish people are happy that she's not coming back next year.

From my perspective as both a researcher and a staff member, Rochelle appeared to be a natural leader amongst her peers and her influence was far reaching within the Greenwood High student body. By that same token, Jimena was also a charismatic and articulate student, and she seemed to hold a sufficient amount of weight over many of the other student participants. In this

next quote, her explanation of this ongoing conflict sheds further light on why the divide occurred:

In our French class, all the Spanish people are on one side. And then there's Rochelle, Jennifer, Theresa, all the...I don't want to say black kids, but you know, on the other side. And you know how the majority of black people say Mexican, even if you are not Mexican? That's what they classify you as, because of your color. And I really didn't like that, so I tried to stay away. Not to separate myself, but not to let it get to me, because sometimes it really bothers me, and I answer back out of anger, and I don't like that. So I try to stay to myself, so I went to the other side of the room. And since Sofia and Rosalinda are my friends, they came with me, and so did Alvaro. But it wasn't like we were trying to divide ourselves, we just didn't want to be around that attitude. Not all of them, because I am friends with Jennifer. But Rochelle, she's really rude, she's like "Mexican, Mexican, Mexican." So we just try to stay away. So some how it ended up like we were on this side, and they were on the other side.

As I listened to the participants share their stories with me, I was curious as to how the teacher was responding to this apparent self-segregation in her French I classroom. Jimena told me that although the French teacher did at one point attempt to reassign seats, the children quickly self-segregated themselves into their original subgroups within the class. It is interesting to note that both of the groups' leaders in this situation, or Rochelle and Jimena, place responsibility on the other group for the class's cultural divide:

So a week ago she changed the seats, and she made this big U in the middle. And she said that since it's not such a big class, all of us should get in the U. So when we were walking in, Rochelle said "Now we are going to have to sit together," and something really rude like "We don't want to mix with them." So again, we sat on the opposite side of the U. Not because we were like, "We don't want to sit with them," but because on the opposite side of the U, they were all sitting in a line, so there were no more seats there. So we sat on the other side of the line, and Rochelle said, "Even if the desks are together, they still separate themselves." So we are like segregated, or something like that.

Cinco de Mayo celebration.

Remember when we had the festival for Cinco de Mayo? A lot of kids got frustrated and mad, because they didn't do anything for African American month. But if they had wanted to do it...I mean, because we set that up, the students did it. All the food, we brought it, and we had the idea, and they got mad. And they were like, "How come the

Mexican kids get to throw a party, and we didn't do anything for African American month?"

As I previously discussed in the observation section, another conflict had taken place amongst the student body over a Cinco de Mayo celebration in the Spanish immersion class. Although I had informally learned of this conflict through listening to different students' conversations, the formal interviews greatly helped in shedding further light on what had occurred. In the opening excerpt, Roberto explains from his perspective what had been the cause of this conflict. He describes how the Spanish-speaking students actually initiated the celebration and how they were entirely responsible for the organization of the party. Roberto firmly believed that the students who were upset should have taken the onus upon themselves in celebrating their heritage.

Cynthia had a very close relationship with Lynette and Tammy, or the two students who were the most vocally upset about the Cinco de Mayo celebration. Speaking with this teacher participant allowed me to better understand the conflict from the perspective of these two girls. Cynthia believed that the root of the conflict was Lynette and Tammy's perception of an inequitable treatment of the students. Cynthia also strongly felt that it had been the responsibility of the staff, not the children, to celebrate the culture and heritage of all of Greenwood's students.

One of the problems is that, rightly or wrongly, they felt that Martha was much nicer to the Hispanic kids than to them. Lynette will even tell you that she used to think that about Matthew, but somehow she got over that with him, but she didn't with Martha. And they really didn't like the fact that as a school, we did not do anything for Black history month. I just totally forgot about it, and we just blew that whole thing. I'm sorry, we should have done something for Black history month, and we didn't. We shouldn't have forgotten it. So the fact is that we didn't have Black history month, so they wanted to be really sure that we didn't do Cinco de Mayo.

The bus.

Roberto: Also, there's a lot of tension on the bus, because the only Latinos on the bus are me, and Elena and Maria, and Alvaro. There was a girl before who would tell us stuff,

and call us Mexicans. She was African American, and she hated Latin people. She used to always say she hated Mexicans, but she was generalizing all Latino people.

Brooke: Why do you think that there is more tension on the bus?

Roberto: Because I think that the kids might think that the bus is a free place. It's more like a territorial thing, to establish dominance on the bus. I really think it's to intimidate, because on the bus there is really no control. Nobody is controlling over you, there's no teacher.

As I analyzed all of the data that pertained to racial tension, it was remarkable the frequency with which the bus was mentioned. Roberto believed that more conflict took place on the bus because the teachers were not there, thus allowing the students to act out any resentment that they might be feeling towards their peers. Stefano concurred with Roberto, and when I asked him why conflict seemed to occur more frequently on the bus, he stated, "Maybe because the teachers are not there, and it's only the bus driver. And the bus driver don't barely do anything. They just go like, 'Hey, don't do that.' So I sit in the front, and they sit in the back."

There were three buses that took the Greenwood High students home to their various neighborhoods in New Orleans. I wondered if the conflict occurred more often on a particular bus, but according to the students the dissonance seemed to exist on all three busses. It also appeared that a form of self-segregation had occurred on each of the busses. Natalia said, "On my bus, the Spanish kids are in the back, and the black kids are in the front." Jimena compared the segregation to the French I conflict, stating, "Even on the bus, it's not the same kids as in the French class, but it's still divided. All the Spanish kids are in the front, and the black kids are in the back."

Martha also described to me her frustration over what she viewed as being an unjust treatment of her EL students on the busses. Additionally, she placed the blame on the adults on the bus and described one of the drivers as being an instigator of the discord:

The problem was at the beginning. They were hesitant to tell me about their early experiences on the bus with the black students. At the beginning of the year, they felt threatened, and they were made fun of. They called them names in the bus, all the derogatory names. They were offended that they were classified as Mexican. And Carlos, who is a big nationalist for Honduras, got into a couple of fights because they were saying bad things about them as a group. Carlos has gone to the defense of the girls in the bus, defense from the verbal abuses, and the taking of things from them. It all happens outside of the radar of the adults. And the woman bus driver, she is an offender. She calls them all kinds of names, and says that they shouldn't be here. She calls them *wetbacks*, and says, "Why are you here, you Mexican?" And she refuses to pick them up. That's part of the problem, why they come late sometimes, and why they have to walk to school, because she refuses to pick them up.

In this previous excerpt, Martha also speaks of the ongoing conflict that Carlos, in particular, had on his bus. I will discuss Carlos's experience in greater detail, as well as that of Alvaro and Stefano, in the next section on "bullying".

Bullying.

This happened at the beginning, they wanted a lot of problems with me. Bart wanted problems with me, this was on the bus. He didn't like me. I was sitting on the bus in the back, and he came to me, and threw my book bag on the ground. When he did it the first time I didn't say anything, I just picked it up. And when he came back the second time, I didn't do anything. But when he came back the third time and threw my backpack on the ground, I stood up, and said, "What is your problem?" I spoke to him in Spanish, and he to me in English. I understood what he was saying, he was calling me bad words. Then he cursed my mom, and I pushed him in the chest and said, "Do you want to fight? Come on!"

Up until this point, I have described a substantial number of unpleasant interactions that the student participants experienced in the first year of Greenwood's existence. Additionally, students discussed with me several conflicts that could actually be described as bullying. There were several of the male ELs who seemed to be targeted by other students and consistently harassed throughout the school year.

Interestingly, Carlos was one of the most frequently targeted student participants. For example, Cynthia stated, "Bart had something with Carlos. It seems like he picked on him, and he tried to bully Carlos, and I didn't like that at all." Initially, the idea of Carlos being bullied

surprised me. Possibly due to his past involvement in Honduran street gangs, Carlos came across as a strong and independent young man who would not be the likely target of a bully. As I've previously discussed, however, his undocumented status left him in a difficult position, in that he needed to avoid physical altercations. Perhaps this played into the dynamics, in that it allowed Bart, a substantially smaller student, to frequently pick on Carlos with minimal reaction.

In the following excerpt, Martha describes another altercation in the bathroom in which Carlos was involved. The incident was between Carlos and several boys, although he told me that the actual fight took place with only one of the students. Interestingly, Carlos chose not to report this conflict to the administration, possibly due to his undocumented status:

Martha: He was jumped, and he was absent the next day. The day after I asked why he was absent, and the girls, (laughs), because the girls tell me everything...The girls told me that he had gotten into some trouble with some black kids in the bathroom. And he's been pursued by them to the day. Carlos has had problems with them. They don't like him, the black kids.

Carlos: It happened in the bathroom with one guy, he was bigger than me. And he pushed me, so I threw down my book bag and said, "Okay, you want to fight with me?" There were several guys but just one who wanted to fight with me. So I got ready to fight, and we gave a few pushes.

Stefano also experienced being bullied, particularly by Matt and George, who were two 8.5 students with whom several of the ELs had experienced discord. Unlike Carlos, Stefano was less confident in his ability to protect himself and seemed to be genuinely scared of these students:

Matt and George, they do that a lot. They're really mean. One of them tried to steal from me. I had a hat one time, and George asked me, "Can I have that hat?" And I said "no," and he come up to me, and said, "If you don't let me have that hat, I'll take it away from you." And I was like, "no," and he took it, and I was trying to get it back, and I got really mad. Well, I asked him nice at first, and he didn't say anything, so then I said, "Can I please have it back?" Then it got kind of weird, because everybody started looking at me, and it was on the bus. I really don't like to talk about it.

Alvaro is the last student participant whom I will discuss in the “bullying” section of my findings. This EL was perhaps the most frequently picked upon student out of the 17 participants, if not the entire student body. In particular, he was teased for his unique facial features. He had immigrated to the United States from Chiapas, Mexico, and his family is indigenous. Possibly due to this heritage, he had distinctly different facial features from the other student participants in the study. Early on in the fall semester, several of the English native speakers began to call him “Chinese”, which upset him greatly:

It’s sometimes difficult. Like yesterday, when I got dropped off the bus, Melvin threw a water balloon at me. And then they all say, “Where are you from?” And I say, “Mexico,” and they say, “you look Chinese, you look Asian.” And then they just start talking about me. And I really don’t like it or appreciate it when they talk behind me or about me. They be talking about my origin, because they say, “How can a Mexican look like an Asian?” I have to take it every day. Every time they do that I just have to take it, because the world doesn’t fit to you, you have to fit to the world. And I don’t do nothing, because if I do, they’ll want to fight me, and I’m not that kind of fighting person.

Early in the school year, I was in the hallway outside of the ESOL class when I witnessed Alvaro nearly faint. I was highly concerned for his well being, but Alvaro told me that he was simply dizzy because he had decided not to take the bus that morning and had instead opted to walk. After later hearing the stories of his experience on the bus, it became more apparent to me as to why he sometimes chose to walk the substantial distance from his house to the school. In the following excerpt, Alvaro discusses the tactics he used to keep his spirits up, despite his being the frequent target of several bullies:

The first few times that I got called Chinese, I got mad and I started crying, but we learn from our experiences. Now I know that if they come like that I just ignore them. But when they keep on bothering me, sometimes when it gets too hard to ignore them, I either listen to my music, or think of some funny show, just to make me feel better. But sometimes I can’t take it, and I just don’t ride the bus, or I just walk home. Because sometimes when I just take it, my self-esteem goes really down. When I be walking down the street, I be thinking, “Why do they do that anyways? That doesn’t give them any power over me, that doesn’t make them any better, so why do they do it anyways?” Either they want to get some attention, or they want to feel that they have power over me.

In the following passage, Alvaro continues to discuss his experiences as the victim of bullying. He also explains why he accepted this cruelty, as well as the pressure that he felt to maintain social ties with his peers:

There was this one time when Alvin threw something at me, I think a basketball. I got mad, and I wanted to do something, but I thought to myself, “If I do something, then I’m gonna get everyone to not talk to me at all.” I have to keep up with people, because if I don’t, they’ll just become mean, until I just feel like getting out of this school. I felt one time like that. They picked on me about three times in one day, and I really didn’t like it. The last time, I wanted to fight that person, but since I’m not the kind of person that likes to fight, I just took it.

This last quote from Alvaro about being bullied is the most extreme in that the instigator actually physically attacked him. Sam is a student who was involved with several other altercations with participants throughout the school year:

Then there was that time that Sam tried to beat me up in the stairways. I was just walking towards my bus, and I think that he was waiting for me. He looked serious, and he was pushing me bad. I was listening to my mp3, and I was like, “What’s wrong?” Then he kept on pushing me, and he made me fall down to the last step. I almost fell down to the ground, but I kept myself up. And then I put down my backpack, and my mp3, and I said, “¿Qué pasa? ¿Por qué está haciendo eso?” (What’s happening? Why are you doing that?) Because I talk in Spanish when I’m serious. So he thought I was cursing him out, so he started to punch me. I just wanted to protect myself.

Individuals versus generalizations.

Brooke: What examples have you seen of the Spanish-speaking students causing conflict with the English-speaking students?

Steven: I think it’s more reactive than a generalization. It’s more to the ones that they feel are starting it, the ones that they are hearing the things from first. I think it’s more of an individual thing.

As I mentioned in the beginning of the “racial tension” section, I analyzed these data on conflict under the overarching umbrella of “individual versus generalization”. As Steven describes in the opening passage, many of the participants were aware that the conflicts were occurring with individual students, as opposed to a generalized group of the “other”. According

to the previously discussed data, specific English mainstream students in the school, such as Rochelle, Sam, and George, clearly mistreated several of the ELs. These ELs justifiably held resentment towards these individual students and consequently, would usually try to avoid them.

During analysis, I also noticed the frequency with which some of the participants generalized to all of the English-speakers outside of the immersion program. As an example, I have included a passage from a conversation with Alejandra, in which she noticeably contradicts herself. She initially listed several individual African American students whom she considers to be her friends. When I then asked her with which students she didn't get along, she laughs and says "All the black ones".

Brooke: Which kids at school do you mostly talk to?

Alejandra: All the Hispanic ones. The other ones is like Lynette, Tammy, April, Brian, Nevin, and Lance.

Brooke: So like you were saying earlier, you do get along with some of the African American kids?

Alejandra: Yeah, kind of a lot of them.

Brooke: What makes these African American students different, that you get along with them?

Alejandra: Maybe they don't think the same way like the others. Maybe their mind is different.

Brooke: Well then, who are the students that you don't get along with, or don't speak with?

Alejandra: (laughs), All the black ones.

In the following excerpt, Cynthia discusses two individual English native speakers, Lynette and Tammy, and how they had come to the defense of the student participants in the past. I share this as just one example of how a substantial portion of Greenwood's English-speakers had empathized with and closely related to the experiences of the student participants:

I noticed among my absolute favorite black kids, like Lynette and Tammy, that they were angry at the way some of the other black kids treated the Spanish kids. They did not like it one bit. They didn't like the way some of those kids teased the Spanish kids. I remember them talking about it in November and December, so they were noticing it too.

Matthew was perhaps the most perceptive of all of the teacher participants in explaining the issues of racial tension at Greenwood High. He was accused frequently by some of the English native speakers of preferring the Spanish speakers, despite the fact that Matthew was highly conscientious about treating all of his students equitably. In the following description, Matthew sheds light on why some of the students, both English and Spanish speakers, might have fallen into the trap of understanding Greenwood's conflict through the overuse of generalizations.

I look at all of my students the same. I really don't feel that I prefer my Latino students over my African American students. But I do know that kids would call me out on it. But ironically, it was the kids who would misbehave in class, and not have the strongest work ethic, and be more interested in trying to get away with something behaviorally in class. So those kids I was on all the time for lots of different reasons, for academic reasons, trying to push them to get their stuff done, to keep their heads up, and to stay in line. And yeah, I was calling them out all the time, and most of those students happened to be African American students.

In the next quote, Matthew continues to explain why he believed some of the students thought he was showing preferential treatment to the Latino participants.

I never really had a lot of the Latino students, but in fact, two of them were my top students the first semester, Elena and Carmen. They had the highest grade in my class, and it's not because I wanted to give them an A. It's because they did all of their assignments, and they showed up, and they worked every day. They were kind of silly sometimes, but they were never really out of line, and they were never really trying to get away with something. So I didn't really have to call them out on it. But my African American students would think that I was not picking on them, and I was picking on only African American students. So they thought it was a racial thing. But if you have the break down of how many African American and Latino students I had in that class, like, 80 or 90% were African American, and then I had four or five students that happened to be Latino. So statistically, you can account for this problem.

Matthew's logic here explains why some of the African American students could have felt as if he was singling them out based on their race. If the vast majority of his class was African American and a smaller percentage of the class was a behavioral challenge, then in all likelihood, most of those challenges would also be African American. This same logic could

also help in explaining why some of the student participants relied on generalizations to describe their experiences. Outside of the immersion program, Greenwood High's student body was predominately African American. Therefore, there was a reasonable chance that the limited number of students with whom the participants had conflicts would also be African American.

8.5-ers.

Cynthia: I have to tell you, I would not want those *8.5-ers* and my ESL kids together in large numbers. Maybe in small numbers, like five kids from the 8.5 class, and ten of mine, or something like that. Those kids are just too crazy. I just hope we don't have those kids next year.

Stefano: I hang out with everybody. Well not everybody. You know the *8.5-ers*? I don't hang out with them. Because you know, they don't respect that much actually. They always want to have problems. And they had some *8.5ers* right there in Mr. Lyons's class, and one time, Mr. Lyons made us all sit together mixed, but it didn't really help. I just didn't talk to nobody. I just sit down and be quite.

Jimena: The *8.5-ers*, if they see anything that they don't like, they'll point it out, and say, "You are not supposed to do that. You're a Mexican, and you're not supposed to say that." Like since Sofia dyed her hair blonde, one of the girls, I don't know her name, made a comment, and said, "Oh, now you're trying to go blonde, but you're a Mexican. You're supposed to stay black with your hair color."

I open with three examples of what could be described as sweeping generalizations of a group of approximately 20 8th grade students who attended Greenwood High. In the first excerpt, Cynthia describes her concerns as a teacher with this group of adolescents. Stefano then discusses how he was able to socially get along with all of the students in the school with the exception of the *8.5-ers*. In the third quote, Jimena speaks of a conflict that she had had with an *8.5-er*, whose name she notably could not remember.

I use these three examples to demonstrate the frequency with which many of the participants used generalizations in order to explain the social tension at Greenwood High. The participants frequently spoke of those *8.5-ers* as being the students with whom they were having the most disputes. Both the students and the teachers, in particular Martha, oftentimes referred to

this group of 20 students as a whole entity, rarely referring to any of them as individual students. Upon closer examination, however, only a very small group of this 8.5 class was actually causing strife with the ELs. Additionally, many of the students to whom the participants referred as instigators, such as Rochelle, Bart, and Sam, were not actually in the 8.5 class.

8.5-ers such as Sean, Boyd, and Vince, were also mentioned frequently in the sociogram as students with whom the participants chose to spend time. Additionally, one of the ELs, or Maria, had dated two of the *8.5-ers*, or Dylan and Shad. Lastly, Monique, an *8.5-er*, chose to cross the hall on a daily basis in order to spend 100 minutes in Dr. Nelson's ESOL class because she preferred working with her EL peers. In this next passage, Matthew discusses a positive and respectful interaction in his advisory between Carlos and one of the 8.5 students:

There was this one day, when it just ended up being Vince and Carlos in advisory, so I was talking to Carlos a lot in Spanish. And Vince was there, and he was like, "Man, that's cool. I like that Spanish. I don't understand what people are saying, but it doesn't bother me. I don't care if they are speaking in Spanish, it doesn't bother me at all. I think it's cool."

I discuss this dichotomy of the individual versus generalization, because I believe this overarching theme to be a crucial piece needed in understanding the tension that existed at Greenwood. During my conversation with the students and staff members of this new high school, I observed that generalizations were frequently used to describe the social and academic dynamics. I found this to be true for most of the students, be they English or Spanish native speakers. By viewing their peers as "the Mexicans", "those black kids", or "the *8.5-ers*", I believe that Greenwood's students and teachers indirectly contributed to the tension that spread throughout the high school as the year progressed.

Creating a new school is challenging, particularly one as diverse as Greenwood High. It is not always easy for students to coexist with peers from different backgrounds, particularly if

they are not accustomed to being in a multicultural and multilingual setting. Taking the time to understand these new classmates on an individual basis could have gone a long way in developing the intercultural sensitivity that Greenwood High was lacking in its first year of existence.

Developing intercultural sensitivity (ICS).

Some of it is just that it's impossible to hold up these things when you know real people, and you can put faces to it. I don't know how much as a school we are really doing. I don't think we are doing very much. I don't think we are doing a very good job with stuff like that. But with any group that you have never met before, it's easy to have stereotypes and ideas about them. But once you meet them and know real people, it's hard for them to keep it up.

In the opening excerpt, Steven admits that as a staff, the faculty at Greenwood did not make a sufficient effort to actively promote intercultural sensitivity amongst its diverse student body. By the same token, he believed that by simply having a diverse group of students in proximity to each other, the school had a significant amount of success in helping to build tolerance.

Matthew shares a similar viewpoint with Steven, and was quite optimistic in his description of the students' interaction. He references Lynette in this excerpt, who was one of the most openly upset students about the Cinco de Mayo celebration. She also told me on several occasions in the fall that she believed Matthew to be a racist. She was also, however, the student whom Cynthia described as being angry over how the Latino students were being mistreated. Due in part to the opportunity to attend such a multicultural school, students like Lynette made great strides in developing ICS, both on a personal level, and amongst their peers.

I think that generally a lot of them really liked each other. Even some of the students who probably treated the Latino students not so well, like on the bus. I still feel like they all kind of got along, or liked each other. I see a lot of these girls, like Lynette, who would go up to Alejandra and talk to her. Or I'd see Tom going out with Maria. I feel that verbally, that their ideas that they express, might be somewhat racist both ways. But

when it comes down to it, they all sort of liked each other and got along, or were interested in each other for their differences. Students like Lynette in particular, who is really interested in people and culture and different ways of being. She is really strong-headed, but she is also an open-minded kid, and I think she changed a lot.

Arkansas trip. I began each student interview with the question “What has been your best experience at Greenwood so far this year?” It was remarkable the number of students who answered that their best experience was the Arkansas trip. As I briefly mentioned above, the Arkansas trip to Heifer International was a reward granted to the 40 students who demonstrated the best behavior during the first quarter. These school leaders found great success in developing ICS on the trip due in part to having shared this formative experience with such a diverse group of their peers. In the following three examples, Roberto, Jason, and Raul share why this trip was so special to them.

Roberto: I think the best experience was when we went to Arkansas, because I think we connected a lot. There were a lot of people when we first left, and I didn’t know their names to be honest with you, and now I’m really good friends with them. Like Monique, Jean, and Brian, I didn’t really know them. That was what was so cool about it, there was like no racial fights when we went.

Jason: My best experience was going to Arkansas. I like how they put you in the shoes of the people who had to go through stuff like that. And the global village, we had to camp out there, and it was pretty cool. And all the kids, they were positive. They weren’t like, criticizing everything.

Raul: My best experience was when we went to Arkansas. It was a different experience, and out of the city. That’s when I met Liz, Manuel, Louise, and some of the Spanish kids. That’s when I started talking to them. And I liked when we went to the places, like Thailand and Guatemala.

Diversity in the immersion program. Several of the students felt as if intercultural sensitivity could be further developed by recruiting more diverse students into the immersion program. With the exception of Jason, all of the immersion students were Latino, which allowed these 16 heritage speakers to remain essentially segregated from the rest of the student body. By

diversifying the immersion program, these Spanish native speakers could begin to build bridges between their own culture and that of their English-speaking peers.

In the next passage, Jason describes the experience of being the only ENS immersed in a heritage language program. He discusses how surprised he was when Francisco described Honduras to him, breaking the stereotypes that Jason had previously held about daily life in this country. One could only imagine what would occur if Greenwood could eventually follow a two-way immersion model, and have at least 30% of the immersion program be made up of English native speakers. By increasing the number of students like Jason who experience cultural immersion, racial tolerance could eventually permeate throughout the entire student body. Below, Jason continues to describe to me what it feels like to be the only English native speaker in his Spanish heritage class:

It's kind of weird, because you feel alone. But it's kind of interesting, because you learn about people, and the things that you assume, like when you interact with these people. It's kind of cool. Like when I was talking to Francisco one day, he said "Do you want to come down to Honduras?" and I said, "hmm." And he said, "We're rich down there," and I said, "You're rich down there?" And he said, "Yeah, we own hotels, and beaches, and stuff." So I was like, "That's pretty cool."

I asked all of the students how they felt the immersion program could be improved. Several of them replied that they would like for their Spanish classes to be more diverse. For example, Raul stated, "it needs more people. It's too small, it looks lonely and boring. It's interesting when you hear other people talk in Spanish, when they aren't Spanish, like the accent that you hear." Francisco also hoped that the immersion program would grow more diverse in the future and described the benefits that could be reaped from developing a two-way immersion program. He stated:

We need more students in it. Right now, we only have one American Spanish-speaking student, which is Jason. It would help if we had more like Jason, so that they could blend, and help the ones that don't know about us. It would help to get more American

Spanish-speaking students in there, so it was half and half. Because having just Jason there, I don't think it's fair for him. Because Brenda and Nicole and Bart, they say that he only hangs out with the Mexicans now, which is kind of true. And they don't hang out with anybody Spanish anymore.

Students did not only want to see more diversity in their Spanish immersion classes; they also realized that being in the ESOL class kept them segregated from the rest of the student population and prevented them from interacting sufficiently with their English-speaking peers. Cynthia was aware of the segregation that resulted from having her ELs in her ESOL class 100-minutes each day, stating, "Having this ESOL class already automatically separates them. So if we could have some kind of an English lab, or workshop, with some of the ESL kids and the struggling readers. That way the kids would be in there together." Rosalinda realized that interacting with English native speakers would allow her and her friends to develop a better understanding of them. She stated, "I don't know what they like, and they don't know what we like, which probably is why we are separate."

Jimena also thought part of the problem was that the classes were so segregated, and envisioned a school with classes that were more diverse:

Brooke: What could we do as a school to work on this problem?

Jimena: I guess not so much of the separating, because it seems like the 8.5-ers, all of them are in one class, and it seems like, well as a matter of fact, all of the 8.5-ers are black. And then there's ESOL and they're all Spanish. And maybe if we mixed it up, we wouldn't have such a division in between us. I know it won't fix the problem, but maybe it would help. In first period in Dr. Nelson's, you can see this, because in the 8.5 class, most of them are black, and on the other side of the hall in ESOL, all of them are Spanish.

Advisory class. Diversifying the immersion programs could allow the Spanish native speakers the opportunity to learn how to get along in a multicultural setting. Although the affects of this could eventually permeate into the rest of the student body, this type of social change could be slow moving and lurching, taking two steps forward and one step back, so to speak. Working

with the Spanish native speakers alone would not be enough; additionally, ICS needs to be proactively developed and fostered within the entire student body. The perfect place for this to take place would be in the advisory class, which already took place for 50 minutes of each day and was made up of a diverse groups of students.

Little was taught in advisory class for a variety of reasons, and both teachers and students felt as if it was not a constructive use of time. Despite this lack of a focused curriculum, several of the teachers also believed that ICS had naturally developed in their advisories by simply allowing students from different cultural backgrounds to interact with minimal academic pressure. If progress was made by simply grouping diverse students together, imagine what could have taken place had the entire school had an advisory curriculum in place, in which teachers were proactively teaching tolerance amongst the students.

Chad: I would say that in my advisory this semester, that even just sitting around and joking about stuff, we've never had any tension. Just having them in that class, where it's not very serious, I think that they do get along with each other. But there's more that we can do in advisory. I see that as the place where we could promote that sort of stuff.

In this last excerpt, Matthew, who was potentially the most proactive of the teachers in directly addressing issues of intolerance, discusses the success that he had experienced in helping his advisory students to develop intercultural sensitivity:

I had the largest advisory of all, and it seemed like I had all of the Latino boys. And then I had some of the harder cases of African American boys, like George and Michael. I had sort of the hard case *8.5-ers*. So I had all of those guys in there together, but everybody pretty much tolerated each other. They didn't really engage each other all that much either. And there were a couple of things that I tried here and there, but it was hard to get anything done in Advisory. But I remember trying a few games and group activities where I tried to mix them up, and get them to work together. It generally worked, and they didn't have much of a problem. They seemed fine, they really did. I mean I had the largest advisory, and some of the biggest discipline issues in my class, and so they would try to get away with things collectively, but it was never really against each other.

Summary of social themes. I began the social themes section with a discussion of the positive relationships that could be found between the students and teachers of Greenwood High. These relationships were one of the most constructive elements of Greenwood's program, and in effect led to the building of a strong sense of community within the ESOL and immersion program. The sense of community was not limited to only the Spanish-speaking students; in general, the teacher participants made a remarkable effort to reach out to the Spanish-speaking parents as well. The immersion program's sense of community also affected how the teacher participants conducted and evaluated classroom activities, as the student participants on the whole greatly preferred working in groups.

One of the drawbacks to this strong sense of community, however, was that many of the student participants quickly began to display an insular behavior. Many of the teachers and students felt as if the immersion and ESOL program existed essentially in a "track", which greatly limited the heritage speakers opportunities for positive social interaction with their English-speaking peers. The students' language proficiencies also affected their ability to develop cross-cultural friendships, as the emergent ELs were more likely to socialize within an insular group of friends. Some of the teacher participants even felt as if this insular behavior was a form of passive xenophobia, in that some of the Spanish native speakers were consciously choosing to avoid contact with many of the English-speakers at Greenwood High.

Most, if not all of the participants, shared with me examples of conflict that could be described as racial tension, in that it took place between the Latino participants and some of the English-speaking, African American students at Greenwood High. In an attempt to understand this conflict on more than the surface level, I examined several specific examples of discord under the overarching theme of "individual versus generalization". The first two examples of

tension that I discussed pertained to the reactions of some of the English-speakers to the Spanish immersion cohort. First of all, I described how some members of Greenwood's student body responded to hearing the Spanish language spoken within close proximity. This was described as being a form of "paranoia", in that many students were concerned as to what was being said in this foreign language. Secondly, the participants also frequently complained about being referred to as "the Mexicans", despite their having been born in a number of countries, including Peru, Colombia, Honduras, Mexico, and the United States.

The next three examples of discord that I discussed were ongoing disagreements that actually occurred in specific classrooms. I first spoke of the experience of three of the ENS students in Martha's immersion class during the fall semester and why some of the participants felt that they had chosen to leave the program. Next, I shared an example of a reoccurring conflict in the French I class, in which the majority of the Spanish and English native speakers chose to self-segregate themselves for the majority of the school year. I then described the reaction of some of the English-speaking students to a Cinco de Mayo celebration that was held in the Spanish immersion program. These students felt that since Greenwood had not observed African American month, it was inequitable to allow the immersion students to commemorate Cinco de Mayo with a classroom party.

I next discussed the ongoing social tension that existed in the three school busses at Greenwood, which directly led to the analysis of the subtheme on "bullying". I was impressed by the frequency with which the bus was mentioned in the participants' descriptions of conflict that they had experienced with some of the English-speakers. Several of the heritage speakers felt as if more problems occurred on the bus because the teachers were not present, thus allowing the students to express any resentment that they might be harboring from earlier in the school

day. At times this discord escalated to the level of bullying, as several of the EL male students were the frequent targets of incessant harassment. Alvaro's story was particularly harrowing, in that it appeared that he had been aggressively bullied for the better part of the school year.

I ended this key section on racial tension with a discussion of the overarching theme of "individuals versus generalizations". Many of the students did in fact consciously choose to view their English and Spanish-speaking peers on an individual basis. Too often, however, both teachers and students alike relied heavily on the use of generalizations to describe the social tension that developed in Greenwood's first year. As a specific example, I discussed the "8.5-ers", who were often blamed as being the root of the problem, despite the fact that several of these 8th grade students made impressive efforts towards connecting with the heritage speakers. Greenwood High was a uniquely multicultural high school due in part to the change in demographics that had occurred in New Orleans since Hurricane Katrina. Social conflict is certain to happen in such a multicultural and multilingual school, as the student body learns how to initiate and foster cross-cultural relationships. In an attempt to understand these novel social dynamics, many of Greenwood's students and teachers relied too heavily on the use of generalizations, which only exacerbated the racial tension that developed during this school year.

I ended the social themes section with a discussion of intercultural sensitivity, which is one of several goals that are held in both an immersion and an international education. On the most part, teachers and students did not feel as if the school had been proactive enough in helping the student body to develop ICS. However, there had been several shining examples of the cultivation of ICS, such as the Arkansas trip to Heifer International, where a diverse group of student leaders made great strides towards developing cross-cultural connections. Additionally, many students felt that by diversifying the immersion program, the heritage speakers would be

able to build more bridges with the English native speakers of Greenwood High. The teachers felt as if positive change could be even more far-reaching in the advisory classes, particularly if the faculty made greater advancements towards developing ICS amongst their multicultural and multilingual advisees.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

Introduction

In the fifth and final chapter of my dissertation, I plan to pull together and synthesize the details that have previously been laid out in the body of my study. I will begin with a brief summary of the study, focusing on the main points that were articulated in the first three chapters. Next, I will summarize chapter four, outlining the major themes that arose in the four findings sections entitled academic growth, sociogram, observations, and interviews. I will then conclude this discussion by connecting these findings to the original purpose for my research, explaining how I believe that I have effectively accomplished the three goals that I generated in my dissertation proposal.

I will then continue with a discussion of both the limitations and the delimitations that can be found in the design and implementation of this study. Next, I plan to share what I feel are the implications of my research, particularly on a local level, as more immersion programs are developed in the New Orleans area. I will make three recommendations regarding future areas

of research about the experiences of ELs in Spanish immersion programs. Last, I will end this discussion with a brief summary of what I have accomplished in writing this final chapter.

Summary of the Study

Introduction

When I originally began to design my dissertation proposal, Greenwood High was still in the conceptual stage, in that a group of school officials was still in the process of creating their vision for this school. At that point, these policymakers foresaw an international high school in which students from New Orleans charter elementary schools could continue their immersion education in either French or Spanish. The vast majority of these English-speaking students, however, chose not to attend Greenwood High, leaving a sizeable gap in the enrollment in this school's immersion program. Fortunately, Greenwood had also recruited heavily in a local English-only school, which had a large population of heritage speakers. Consequently, these Spanish native speakers became the considerable majority in this newly founded immersion program thereby significantly altering the direction of the entire school.

Taking into consideration these substantial changes in the demographics of my setting, I chose to carry on with my original focus, as my research questions still maintained their relevance for the educational experiences of these Spanish native speakers. The research problem that I had originally chosen to investigate was as follows: Spanish-speaking students were being accepted to a foreign language immersion program that was not originally designed for their particular needs. In light of the changes that had taken place in the school's original design, this problem continued to be significant for the Spanish-speaking students who were

being recruited to Greenwood High. As this program was not originally designed for these heritage speakers' specific needs, how would the teachers and administrators of Greenwood alter their approach to the immersion classes to accommodate these newly acquired students? Additionally, what would be the experience of these heritage speakers as they interact with Greenwood's English-speakers, both in the immersion program and within the student body at large?

Additionally, the research goals that I had written in my original statement of the problem continued as well to be of great consequence for these Latino students. One of my goals had been to explore the experiences of English learners who were attempting to acquire English in a Spanish immersion program. I had also set out to investigate the accommodations needed for the further development of these heritage speakers' dual proficiencies. Additionally, I had wondered how political, economic, and social conditions would play into these heritage speakers' experiences, in a school made up predominately of monolingual, English-speaking students. Last, I had questioned to what degree Greenwood's administration and staff would listen to the voices of the newly immigrated parents of these students. Notwithstanding the changes that had occurred in the setting, I believe that through learning about the phenomenon that these 17 students had experienced, I was successful at shedding light on all of these original research goals.

Literature Review

I began my literature review with a discussion of the changing demographics of a post-Katrina New Orleans. I also described how I felt that this unique setting created a need for research into these recently arrived students' experiences in our local schools. I questioned how these new additions to our community would affect our school system and how we as educators would work to accommodate these students. In particular, I wondered how the growing influx of Spanish native speakers would affect immersion education in New Orleans.

In the recent decades, the number of immersion schools in Louisiana has grown considerably. According to a 2007 study by the Center for Applied Linguistics, we live in the state with the highest number of language immersion programs (Lenker and Rhodes, 2007). The majority of these programs have been in French, however, in an effort to preserve the rich Francophone culture that can be found in Louisiana. Currently, however, more Spanish immersion programs are cropping up due in part to the increase in the number of Spanish-speaking members of our local community.

In considering this quickly changing landscape of local education, I asked several questions pertaining to the education of these Spanish-speaking newcomers. First, I wondered what their experience would be in our New Orleans public schools, particularly in some of the more recently created Spanish immersion programs. I also was curious as to what would be the varying perspectives of major stakeholders on the education of these students. Last, I speculated as to the accommodations that would be needed to ensure that these Spanish speakers developed in their dual proficiencies.

I continued my literature review with a synopsis of the background on bilingual education. I began this section with a quote by Stritikus (2006), in which he examines the state of education in light of the passing of Proposition 227 in California:

This is not a question unique to California. Across the nation, districts must consider the following important questions: Will teachers, through native language instruction and other enriching approaches, connect with and build upon the cultural and linguistic resources of ELL students? Or will students' native language be seen as an illness with English-only instruction being the cure? (p. 220)

I felt that this ongoing national debate was highly relevant to what was currently occurring in Louisiana's schools. For the first time, a substantial number of Spanish native speakers would be introduced into our established educational system, thus creating a question as to how local educators would alter their teaching practice to accommodate these new students. Too often in the past in other states, these students' maternal language has been viewed as "an illness, with English-only instruction being the cure." Would we here in Louisiana fall into this same pattern in educating these Latino students, or would we instead choose to "connect with and build upon the cultural and linguistic resources" that these Spanish native speakers bring to our schools?

In the next section of my literature review, I highlighted what I felt to be the most significant past findings on Latino students in dual language education to provide for my investigation of these students' academic and social experiences. I began with a quote from the implications section of Tara Fortune's (2001) dissertation, in which she stated that further research needed to be conducted into the needs of students such as my study's participants:

If immersion programs enroll students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, these same programs will need to revisit curricular and instructional practices to ensure that the linguistic and academic needs of all students are addressed. (p. 341)

When I had originally read Fortune's dissertation, I was struck by the significance of this statement, particularly in light of the evolving New Orleans school system. Fortune's recommendations greatly influenced the direction that I chose to take in my own research into immersion education. Due to my personal experiences in working with local New Orleans immersion schools, I was aware that these charters were accepting recently arrived Spanish speakers to programs that were originally intended to educate English native speakers. In light of this information, I wondered if and how these immersion schools would "revisit curricular and instructional practices" in order to ensure that the needs of these new students were fully met.

Methodology

I began the methodology section with a description of my research's setting, or Greenwood High. During the period of data collection, this international high school was in its first year of existence. It belonged to the local school district, but was in the process of becoming a Type 2 charter school, which would be governed by an advisory board. Greenwood High opened with a student population made up of approximately 110 9th grade students, the vast majority of whom were in the English mainstream program.

I continued the methodology section with a description of the participants. My student sample was made up of 22 participants, or 17 students and five teachers. Ten of these participants were enrolled in the immersion program. The immersion cohort was made up of nine Spanish native speakers, and a tenth English native speaker who had attended a Spanish immersion program since Kindergarten. These ten students took two immersion classes each day, as well as two English mainstream classes, creating a 50/50 immersion model. Five of the ten immersion students were also in a daily ESOL class. There was an additional group of seven English learners in this ESOL class, who did not take the immersion classes.

I also worked with a small group of five teacher participants, with whom these student participants spent the vast majority of their day. These five teachers instructed the student sample in Spanish immersion Biology, Spanish immersion Literature, ESOL, Art, Math, and Advisory. Through additionally interviewing these five teachers, I was better able to fully understand the phenomenon that was the academic and social experiences of the 17 student participants.

I continued my methodology chapter with a description of my data collection methods. In order to gain a deeper and more thorough understanding of this phenomenon, I chose to collect a wide variety of data over the course of the fall and spring semester. These methods of data collection can be divided into four main categories: assessment, sociogram, observation, and interview. First, I collected and conducted a wide variety of assessments, which helped me to better understand these students' Spanish and English proficiencies, as well as their Math and Science content knowledge. This battery of tests included the following assessments: a student interest survey, an informal reading inventory, an LAS placement test, a Scholastic reading inventory, a Words their Way assessment, an Aimsweb math benchmark, two end-of-course assessments, and portfolios of student writing samples. I next conducted a sociogram with the 17 student participants, in which I investigated the academic and social preferences of these Spanish native speakers. My third method of data collection was observation, which I further divided into the four subcategories of memo writing, informal observation, formal observation, and CLASS observation. My fourth and by far my most revealing method of data collection was the conducting of interviews. I carried out two thirty-minute interviews with each of the 17 students, as well as one lengthier interview with each of the five teachers. Through the analysis of the abundant quantities of data that these four methods generated, I was able to conduct a

thorough investigation of the phenomenon that I had chosen to investigate.

Summary of the Findings

I have organized the following summary of the findings into four sections: assessment/academic growth, sociogram, observations, and interviews. In doing so, I hoped to share the story of these 17 students much in the way that I uncovered it myself during the periods of data collection and analysis. This phenomenon essentially unfolded itself for me in four stages. I first learned of the students' academic growth through conducting and analyzing a series of assessments. I then deepened my understanding of their social interaction through the use of a sociogram. Next, I spent a substantial amount of time observing the academic and social interactions of these student participants, generating more questions to further my investigations. Last, I interviewed the 22 participants to finalize my understanding of the phenomenon that had occurred at Greenwood High.

The patterns in the data analysis emerged in what could be described as a cyclical manner, with each of these four loops revealing more about the phenomenon. Several of the major themes were repeated throughout the four methods of data collecting, particularly "emphasis on language development", "differentiated instruction", "insular behavior", and "racial tension". The repetition of these patterns proved to be quite useful in my data analysis, in that with each cycle of data collection, my understanding of the phenomenon deepened. Additionally, specific themes emerged in only one or two of the data collection methods, which helped to illuminate unique details of these participants' stories. All four of these methods

helped to generate the puzzle pieces that were needed to recreate the phenomenon that these 17 students had experienced.

Assessment/Academic Growth

Through conducting a series of assessments with the student participants, I began to understand more about their academic growth throughout the school year. After analyzing these data, four major themes emerged regarding these students' academic experiences. These four themes are as follows: program placement, emphasis on language development, differentiated instruction, and math and science assessment.

Program placement. Through the analysis of the language and literacy assessments, I discovered that there existed a great need for a beginning of the year, formative evaluation in both Spanish and English. Based on the results of my assessments, it was clear that several of the participants had been incorrectly placed in both the immersion and ESOL classes, particularly Jimena, Stefano, and Raul. Through the creation of a data-driven criterion for student placement in these programs, Greenwood High could have been far more effective in both the English and Spanish instruction of these student participants.

Differentiated instruction. I also found the great need for differentiated instruction in these programs, due to the wide range of language proficiencies that these 17 students demonstrated. In particular, I discovered that several of the students had too low of an academic Spanish level to be able to readily find success in a 9th grade immersion class. Although these students would not necessarily need to exit the program, they were in need of further scaffolding to help them to access the content, and to further develop their Spanish proficiencies.

Emphasis on language development. Based on these assessments, I was able to recognize the emphasis that had been placed on language development within the school. For example, based on the results of the Scholastic Reading Inventory, I learned that all three groups of participants grew sufficiently in their English reading abilities during the school year. From this information, I inferred that the program's teachers were finding success in their language instruction of the participants, possibly due to the value that was placed on language development at Greenwood High.

Math and Science assessments. During the analysis of the Math and Science assessments, I learned that the limited English proficiency of many of the participants was creating a challenge for them in taking these assessments. From these data arose the question of whether the students were struggling with Algebra due to unfamiliarity with the language of instruction, or because they had gaps in their math content knowledge. Additionally, I learned that although they had taken science in their native language, they had not scored well on the Biology end of course assessment. Based on this information, I wondered if these Spanish native speakers would benefit from additional support in transferring content knowledge between their two languages.

Sociogram

The sociogram was a telling form of data collection, which helped me to better understand the interconnectedness of the students of Greenwood High. From the analysis of the sociogram, I discovered one academic subtheme, group work, and two major social themes, insular behavior and racial tension. I briefly describe each of these three themes in the section below.

Group work. The sociogram, by the very nature of this data collection method, was far more useful in illuminating the social experiences of these students. I did, however, learn of one relevant academic subtheme at this time, or group work. Despite there having been an emphasis placed on cooperative learning in the immersion program, several of the participants complained about the work ethic of other students. I also discovered that some of the participants, such as Luis, did not equally share in the responsibility of group projects. This subtheme of group work generated new questions, which I would better understand during the later stage of the interview analysis.

Insular behavior. The sociogram was the first point at which I began to recognize the insular behavior that many of the student participants were displaying. In particular, I found that the emergent English learners were the most likely to choose to spend time with other student participants. I speculated as to why this group was more insular in nature and came up with two possible reasons: first, because they essentially existed in a track of Spanish native speakers throughout the day; and second, because their limited English skills made it difficult for them to interact fully with the English native speakers. I was able to later confirm these speculations through the analysis of the student and teacher interviews.

Racial tension. As with the theme of insular behavior, the sociogram was the stage at which I began to recognize the major theme of racial tension. On the surface level, this social tension seemed to exist within the high school between some of the Latino and African American students. However, in an attempt to understand this dissonance on a deeper level, I generated two questions, which became a focal point for the rest of the periods of data collection and analysis. First, if participants had more opportunity to work together with non-participants outside of the immersion and ESOL track, could they develop a greater intercultural sensitivity

(ICS)? Second, as the emergent English learners become more proficient in their English language abilities, would they be able to find more success in multicultural and multilingual settings?

Observations

Conducting observation allowed me the opportunity to further immerse myself in my fieldwork, and to gain a holistic understanding of these students' experiences. The analysis of these observations also helped me to generate the major themes that I would continue to discuss throughout the end of the findings chapter. These themes were divided into two sections, or academic and social themes. The eight themes that emerged from these observations were as follows: the academic themes of emphasis on language development, differentiated instruction, and classroom management; and the social themes of positive teacher-student relationships, strong sense of community, insular behavior, racial tension, and intercultural sensitivity.

Emphasis on language development. One of the academic strengths to be found in the immersion and ESOL programs at Greenwood High was the strong emphasis placed on language development, due to the significant roles played by English, Spanish, and French as the languages of instruction. During the classroom observations, I began to notice many positive attributes of Cynthia and Martha's instructional approaches, particularly how they firmly encouraged their students to remain in the target language. I also noticed that Martha was able to lead her Spanish immersion class at an advanced pace, which seemed to be appropriately challenging some of the students. I began to wonder, however, whether this sophisticated level of instruction was suitable for all of the language readiness levels that were present in her class.

Differentiated instruction. At the beginning of this section, I discussed the professional development goals that these five teachers had set for themselves at the beginning of the school

year. Four of the five teachers had hoped to grow in the area of differentiated instruction; after observing their classrooms, it became apparent to me why they had chosen this objective. I then discussed an observation of Cynthia's ESOL, in which I described the reaction of the class's three distinct levels to a round robin lesson. I concluded this section with a description of Chad and Steven's classrooms, as well as a discussion of the need for more tailored instruction for their students.

Classroom management. Throughout the school year, one of the greatest needs of this faculty was the development of stronger classroom management. At this point in my data collection, I began to observe that although there were behavior issues across the board, the English mainstream classes proved to be far more challenging than the Spanish immersion classes. In particular, I discussed an observation of Chad's Algebra I, in which four of the six ELs in this class struggled behaviorally.

Positive teacher-student relationships. One of the clear strengths of the immersion and ESOL program was the positive relationships that developed between the students and the teachers throughout the school year. I observed the warmth with which the students treated each other and their instructors, particularly in Martha's classes. I also discussed excerpts from memos, in which I had recorded the positive descriptions that students had shared with me about their teachers at Greenwood High.

Strong sense of community. During the observations, I found myself admiring the success that Martha was having in building community amongst her immersion students. I discussed the closeness that she had with her advisory students in particular, and how this group of Latina girls texted and called her late into the evening. As a cautionary note, I also shared a passage from a memo that I had written to myself, after having an informal discussion with two

of the English-speaking students in Martha's advisory. These girls felt excluded by this tight-knit community, and would often skip Martha's advisory to instead spend time with the data manager.

Insular behavior. During both the informal and formal observations, I began to notice an insular behavior being displayed by the student participants, particularly with where they sat in their classes. While observing the English mainstream classes, I noted that the Spanish native speakers were sitting in separate sections of the rooms from the English-speakers, and seemed to have limited interactions with their peers. I was uncertain as to why this behavior was developing, and consequently, this became a focal point for the interviews.

Racial tension. I next discussed a series of memos that I had written regarding an ongoing conflict over a Cinco de Mayo celebration. Several of the African American students had expressed their frustration to me over the immersion class commemorating this Mexican holiday, when Greenwood High had not observed African American history month. I would continue my investigation into the roots of this discord during the interviews with the student and teacher participants.

Intercultural sensitivity. After observing these ongoing themes of insular behavior and racial tension, I began to wonder what solution existed for these challenges. I was curious about the methods with which the teachers had worked to cultivate intercultural sensitivity amongst Greenwood's students. I focused my discussion on the observations that I had conducted in Matthew's Art classes, searching for evidence of ICS amongst these linguistically and culturally diverse students. More questions arose from this discussion, which led me to further investigate this theme of intercultural sensitivity during the interview phase of my research.

Interviews

The interviews were the final, and by far the most lucrative form of data collection. Listening to and analyzing the actual words of the participants greatly enhanced my ability to understand this story on a deeper level. I found that all of the themes from the three prior collection methods were repeating themselves throughout the 22 interviews, which led me to believe that I had sufficiently tapped into the phenomenon. I chose to organize these major themes in the same order as the eight themes in the observations section to further connect my findings chapter. In addition to the academic and social themes, however, I created a third section entitled introductory themes, which described both the challenges and benefits of this immersion program. I felt as if this supplementary section was essential in better setting the stage for these students' stories.

Challenges for ELs. Before continuing in the description of the study's reoccurring themes, I felt that it was important to inform my readers of the numerous challenges that these student participants faced on a daily basis. Many of these students had limited English proficiencies, which made it difficult, and oftentimes frustrating for them to navigate throughout the school. Additionally, several of these students were coping with either having a lower socio-economic status or being undocumented, which further exacerbated the challenges that they faced in attending Greenwood High.

Benefits of Spanish immersion. I also thought that it was crucial to begin the interviews section by describing some of the numerous benefits of the immersion program. There were undeniably limitations as well, such as an insubstantial amount of differentiated instruction, issues with classroom management, and an insular behavior amongst the participants. Despite these shortcomings, however, several of the student participants described joining this

Spanish immersion program as being their “best experience this year.” One of the many reasons for this positivity about Greenwood’s program was that many of the staff members were bilingual, which greatly enhanced these students’ experience.

Emphasis on language development. As with the observation sections, I continued to discuss the great emphasis that the students and teachers of Greenwood placed on language development. The student participants, in particular, were highly conscious of the need to maintain their heritage languages, although they were having varying degrees of success in doing so. The teacher participants were helping the students to obtain this goal, by encouraging them to remain in their target language.

Differentiated instruction. The theme of differentiated instruction, which had already been discussed in the assessment and observation sections, arose again during the analysis of the 22 interviews. I learned directly from several of the students that they felt as if they had been incorrectly placed in one or more of their classes. I next discussed the challenges that some of the participants faced in Chad’s Algebra class, particularly in developing the advanced academic language needed to access the content. I then described the challenges that Steven, an English native speaker, faced in helping his immersion students fine-tune their Spanish proficiencies. Next, I described the multiple levels of English proficiencies in the ESOL class, as well as the decline that took place over the year in Cynthia’s differentiation of the instruction. Last, I spoke of the need for these heritage speakers to further develop their academic Spanish proficiencies, as well as the fast pace with which Martha continued to teach this class.

Classroom management. Many of the participants perceived that in general, there was better classroom management in the Spanish immersion classes as compared to the English mainstream classes. The teachers did, however, give several specific examples of behavioral

challenges amongst the student participants. These examples were usually less drastic in nature, and involved students either being difficult to motivate, or as going “under the radar”.

Positive teacher-student relationships. During the observations, I had begun to notice the strong relationships that many of the teachers had cultivated with the student participants. Through the transcription and analysis of the interviews, I was able to discuss positive quotes that both parties had shared about each other. In particular, some of the students told me that they had felt far more comfortable learning at Greenwood High as compared to Grover Elementary, due to the encouraging manner with which their teachers treated them.

Strong sense of community. I continued to discuss on a deeper level the strong sense of community that had been built within the immersion program. I also explained how this community extended beyond the classroom to include the Spanish-speaking parents as well. I last discussed how this sense of community affected the learning styles of the immersion program, with the students frequently using group work to accomplish their classroom tasks.

Insular behavior. Through interviewing the students and teachers, it became clearer to me why the students were displaying an insular behavior. First of all, many of the participants felt as if the immersion and ESOL program existed in a “track,” which greatly limited the heritage speakers’ opportunities to interact with their English-speaking peers. Additionally, the students’ language proficiencies also appeared to affect their ability to develop cross-cultural friendships. Lastly, I described how some of the teachers felt as if several of the student participants were deliberately avoiding their English-speaking peers, which they viewed as a possible form of passive racism.

Racial tension. The 22 interviews allowed me to delve much deeper into the racial tension that I had previously observed at Greenwood High. I first described several examples of

social conflict, giving numerous perspectives on each incident, in the hopes of better illuminating what had occurred. I discussed how some of the English speakers reacted to hearing Spanish spoken, as well as the student participants' frustration over being labeled as "the Mexicans." I then described why the three English native speakers had chosen to leave the Spanish immersion program, as well as the self-segregation that had taken place in the French I class. I then delved deeper into the Cinco de Mayo conflict, discussing some of the student participants' perspectives on what had occurred. I continued with a description of the tension that had taken place on the bus and how these conflicts at times escalated to the point of becoming bullying. I ended this crucial section on racial tension with a description of "individual versus generalization," specifically discussing how I felt that some of the participants had unfairly labeled the *8.5-ers*.

Intercultural sensitivity. I ended the interviews section with a discussion of intercultural sensitivity, which is one of several goals that are held in both an immersion and an international education. I shared a shining example of ICS at Greenwood High, or the Arkansas field trip that 40 of the student leaders had taken to Heifer International. I spoke of the desire that some of the student participants had expressed for more diversified immersion classes and the benefits that a two-way immersion model could bring to Greenwood High as a whole. I ended the interview section with a discussion of the need for a stronger curriculum in the advisory classes to aid the multicultural and multilingual advisees in developing intercultural sensitivity.

Conclusion

When I first began to design this dissertation proposal, I created three purposes for my research. Upon revisiting these goals, I feel as if I have successfully achieved what I originally set out to accomplish. In the following conclusion section, I will readdress each of these three purposes for my research, specifically describing what I have attained in regards to each of these goals.

The first purpose for my research was as follows:

To learn about the academic and social experiences of Spanish native speakers in a one-way foreign language immersion program that was originally designed for English native speakers to acquire Spanish.

Due to unforeseen circumstances, this first goal changed considerably over the course of the school year. As I have already discussed, the greater majority of the English-speaking students from Grover Elementary chose not to attend Greenwood High, leaving a gap to be filled in this immersion program. I still believe that this goal remained significant, however, in that Greenwood High was in fact originally designed to be an immersion school that would teach Spanish as a foreign language to English native speakers. Nevertheless, due to the changes that took place, the school was obligated to radically modify the approach that was taken to this program. In my opinion, this shift in tide worked out beautifully for the 17 student participants, as they were able to reap immense benefits from the newly customized program.

By becoming a de facto heritage language program, the faculty was required to greatly tailor their instruction to meet the needs of these Latino students; fortunately, Martha was more than capable of doing so. This Latina educator embraced the opportunity to help foster a strong sense of community between these students through the mutual celebration of their diverse

cultures and their shared language. I can only imagine how different these students' year would have been had they been the minority in a group of English native speakers in an immersion program, or worse yet, in an English-only school. Throughout the interview process, I was greatly impressed by the immense respect with which these students spoke to me of their language and heritage. In a country that too often tears down the languages and cultures of minority groups, I found these Latino adolescents' self-pride to be a much-welcomed breath of fresh air.

In this first goal, I set out to explore both the academic and social experiences of these 17 students. This was a lofty goal, and one that was not easy to accomplish. However, I feel confident that I have satisfactorily described the phenomenon that these participants experienced in this first year. I believe that I was able to do so in three ways: first, by immersing myself in the field for a considerable amount of time as a participant-observer; second, by gathering a sizeable quantity of data through several methods of data collection; and third, by thoroughly analyzing these data so as to recreate this phenomenon as accurately as possible.

The second goal that I wrote for myself when designing my proposals was as follows:

To determine how teachers are adjusting their practice to accommodate Spanish native speakers in a Spanish foreign language immersion program. To learn more about how these teachers are succeeding with these students, and what the teachers' areas of need are.

As I mentioned above, Greenwood's faculty was obliged to adjust their practice to accommodate these Spanish native speakers, and for the most part, they readily embraced doing so. For example, the principal of Greenwood, who was highly dedicated to immersion education, adamantly advocated for these heritage speakers to both the district and the advisory board, so that these students would have the teachers and courses that they required. She created a 100-minute ESOL class that lasted throughout the year, and scheduled a certified ESL teacher to

instruct these 12 students. She also made sure that the 10 Spanish immersion students were able to take two classes in their heritage language each semester to assure that they were receiving as near to 50% of their instruction in Spanish as possible.

This remarkable principal created specialized courses for a small group of students, despite the copious scheduling challenges created by having a lean faculty and staff. I only wonder what might have happened had the administrator not been such an advocate for Spanish heritage speakers. I also am troubled over the future of these students' heritage language education, as this principal is no longer working at Greenwood High. In considering the inherent challenges of balancing a charter school's limited budget, would another administrator continue to afford such small, specialized classes for this group of 17 student participants?

Next, I will discuss some of the areas in which I believe that these teachers are finding success. The first success can be found in the emphasis that was placed on language development. As a cautionary note, however, one should be wary that this success could have the end result of the immersion program becoming essentially advanced language classes. It is worth remembering that immersion is about the marriage of both language and content. The second success can be found in the positive relationships and the warm sense of community that developed amongst the participants. It is additionally commendable that the teachers made such efforts to reach out to these students' parents, whom otherwise might have remained in the margins. This brings me to my third and final area to discuss regarding these teachers' successes: their bilingualism. All five of these teachers either spoke a second language, or in the case of Chad, were highly receptive to learning one. This gave them a sense of empathy and an ability to connect with these ELs, which I did not readily observe with the monolingual members of Greenwood's faculty and staff.

Next I will discuss these teachers' areas of need, beginning with the lack of differentiated instruction within the classrooms. A data-driven criterion clearly should have been created prior to the inception of the school year. More importantly, perhaps, was the need for these teachers to utilize the available assessment data to inform their instruction. The second area of need for these teachers is with classroom management. Through my observations, it appeared that the major issue in both the Spanish immersion and the English mainstream classes was a lack of engagement on the part of the majority of Greenwood's student body. With experience and further professional development, these teachers will ideally find ways to tap into the interests of the adolescents with whom they are working. Third and finally, it cannot be assumed that in creating a multicultural and multilingual school, adolescents will automatically figure out how to relate peacefully with their peers. The faculty needed to directly teach to these students' interpersonal intelligence; the ideal way to do so would have been through a well-designed and skillfully executed advisory curriculum.

Last, I will discuss the third purpose that I set for myself with my research:

To investigate the economic, political and social conditions in which these programs exist, and how these conditions influence the experiences of these Spanish native speakers.

The social condition in which this phenomenon took place was particularly influential. New Orleanians are currently experiencing exciting changes in the landscape of our educational system, particularly as our schools become more multicultural and multilingual. With this diversity, an opportunity is created for children to develop the much needed life skill of becoming interculturally sensitive. We do these adolescents a disservice by simply placing them together in schools and then keeping our fingers crossed that they will eventually demonstrate the sophistication and maturity needed in building intercultural relationships with their new

peers. Unfortunately, too commonly in our history, oftentimes-marginalized groups have turned against each other in their frustration over the inequity of their current predicaments. I fear that the same thing could occur in New Orleans schools, if we as educators do not take a proactive stance in creating “teachable moments” from these instances of social tension that are bound to ignite.

The political condition in which this phenomenon occurred played an equally influential role in these students’ experiences. Over the past decade, a backlash has occurred towards bilingual education and bilingualism, the repercussions of which these students have undeniably experienced. I take, for example, Cynthia, who has a doctorate in foreign language education, has lived abroad, and is herself bilingual. If the ESOL teacher, however, was towing the party line, so to speak, of “you’re in America, speak English,” then I wonder what effect this had on the self-image of these heritage speakers.

English undeniably holds the role of the language of power in our country; these students’ maternal language, however, does not appear to be held in such high regard. The effects of this power dynamic indubitably trickled down to some of the students at Greenwood High, such as Rochelle in French I. Rochelle was a highly intelligent young lady, and her mother, who was the director of an early childhood center, was deeply involved in her education. Nevertheless, Rochelle did not choose to seize the opportunity in her French class of becoming familiar with not one, but two romance languages. She instead placed a substantial amount of social pressure on ELs such as Rosalinda to struggle unnecessarily at speaking in her emergent language. Rosalinda’s reaction was in a sense a constructive one, in that she said that these circumstances just made her want to learn English even more. A question arises, however, as to whether this heritage speaker will do so at the cost of forgoing her maternal tongue?

Lastly, I will discuss how the economic condition of the setting affected the experiences of the 17 student participants. Initially, I found that investigating the socio-economic status of the students proved to be challenging. As some of the teachers had pointed out, the majority of both the English and Spanish native speakers at Greenwood High came from families of a lower socio-economic status (SES). This shared SES made it difficult for me to discern how this factor was affecting the participants' experience. However, upon further analysis of the data, I concluded that the SES of many of these Spanish speakers subtly yet substantially affected the power dynamics at play in Greenwood High.

The parents and grandparents of several of these students had immigrated to the United States from more impoverished countries, searching for an economically viable existence for their families. Students such as Carmen and Carlos undertook great risks in leaving their countries of origin to travel alone to New Orleans. Additionally, several of the students were currently undocumented, thus creating a sense of uncertainty for them as to the status that they held in their new homeland. By adding these economically disadvantaged Latino students to the already impoverished realm of New Orleans public schools, it is understandable why social tension ignited between these two oftentimes-marginalized groups.

The students were also aware of the competitiveness that existed within the student body. For example, it appeared to me that many of the students were vying for Matthew's attention, whether this was through displaying positive or negative behaviors. Alejandra recognized this sense of rivalry, and perceived that some of the English speakers were hostile to her because "they think we are invading their territory." Additionally, Roberto also described the ongoing conflict on the buses as a struggle to "establish dominance." As a last example, I look to the conflict over the Cinco de Mayo festival, which originated from some of the students quite

justifiably feeling frustrated by what they perceived to be a deliberate disregard for their culture and history. Taking these examples into consideration, I can deduce that some of Greenwood's students perceived that a competitiveness existed amongst their peers, which speaks to the political condition in which this phenomenon occurred. I conclude this section by reiterating the importance of acknowledging the social, economic, and political conditions when creating multicultural and multilingual schools such as Greenwood High.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

Although I am proud of what I have accomplished with my research, I do not contend to be able to generalize my findings from my small sample of student participants to the population of heritage speakers at large. There are, however, lessons that can and should be learned from these students' experiences when designing and implementing future immersion programs, particularly in New Orleans. I do not claim generalizability because of the very nature of my phenomenological study, in that I chose to investigate a specific experience of these students within a snapshot of time. Additionally, I do not maintain that I can generalize my findings, in part due to certain limitations and delimitations that were inherent in the setting. I plan to devote the following sections to the discussion of these extenuating circumstances.

Delimitations

Prior to the inception of my study, I chose to narrow the scope of my investigation by setting limits in my sampling procedure, as well as by creating boundaries in the focus of my observations and interviews. I restricted my sample of participants to the 17 students who were

at the time either in the Spanish immersion or ESOL program. I considered additionally interviewing the three ENS students who had chosen to leave the immersion program, as well as some of the English-speaking students in the mainstream classes, with the intent of gaining a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon. I realized, however, that my sample was already quite sizeable, and that by increasing the breadth of my investigation, I would be limiting my ability to conduct my research thoroughly.

I also set certain delimitations in what I looked for during the period of data collection. The scope of my question was quite large, as I was researching both the academic and social experiences of these students. In order to investigate every detail of these experiences, I would have needed unlimited time and resources, and I had already spent a notable amount of time in the field collecting data. I therefore delimited my study to focusing on the themes that had begun to emerge early on in my investigation, such as differentiated instruction, classroom management, and insular behavior. By doing so, I was able to explore these themes on a deeper level.

Limitations

I have already spent a considerable amount of time discussing the most significant limitation to my study, or the uncontrollable circumstances that caused the majority of the English native speakers to either not enroll in or to drop out of Greenwood's immersion program. This limitation created a need for me to alter the direction of my research focus. At the same time, I chose to view this change as a benefit to my research, in that it allowed me the opportunity to learn about the experiences of these participants in what essentially became a de facto heritage program.

An additional limitation was the role that I played in my research site as a participant-observer. As the instructional coach in this high school, I played an active role in the daily experiences of both the teachers and the students. It is important that I acknowledge that my relationships with the participants inevitably affected the outcome of my study. At the same time, I would argue that no researcher can ever truly remain objective when immersed in the field, and a certain amount of subjectivity can be beneficial to a study. For example, I was able to build rapport through the relationships that I shared with the participants, thereby more readily tapping into the phenomenon. Additionally, my role at Greenwood High allowed me an emic perspective on what occurred during this first year, thereby better helping me to holistically understand these student participants' experiences. Regardless, I feel that I made substantial efforts to monitor my biases throughout the year, with the end result of minimizing the effect of this limitation on the outcome of the study.

Implications

Although the following implications section could be applied to immersion schools on a national level, I write this with the intent of informing the design and implementation of dual language programs in Louisiana. I believe that in the upcoming years, Spanish immersion programs will more frequently be created in the New Orleans area. It is my hope that the stakeholders in these projects will take the time to learn from what Greenwood High accomplished in its first year, as well as to reflect upon the challenges that were faced by the school's administration, teachers, and students. In the following implications section, I will make practical suggestions that future schools could use to better manage the issues that arose

during my study. I will specifically describe these implications, with the intent of explaining both what should be done, as well as the steps that should be taken in doing so.

I began with a description of the positive characteristics of Greenwood's program, which could be used as a model for future dual language schools. First, in the creation of all immersion schools, a great effort must be made in order to ensure that the majority of the teachers and staff are bilingual. This could take considerable time to accomplish, as bilingualism is not always a common occurrence amongst educators. An alternative could be to hire monolingual teachers who are open to taking language classes at a local university, or to participating in an on site language program.

Additionally, this school was making strides towards developing a two-way immersion program, through the recruitment of Spanish native speakers from the local Latino community. Once these Spanish native speakers are enrolled in such a program, however, it is essential that they be allowed ample time to develop both their social and academic English. One possible way to do so is through the ongoing support of an ESL class, as was provided for 12 of these student participants. Additionally, Greenwood's teaching staff for the most part seemed to have a sufficient understanding of best practices in instructing language learners. Many of these scaffolding techniques could be employed with any group of English learners, such as Cynthia's tiered instruction; Steven's guided notes; Martha's cooperative learning; Matthew's vocabulary development; and to a certain degree, Chad's bilingual assessments.

In its first year of development, Greenwood faced numerous challenges, which ideally could be avoided in future immersion schools. In particular, it is imperative that prior to the commencement of a program, clear policies are put in place regarding entrance requirements for the immersion classes. A criterion should be created, and decisions need to be based on

formative assessments that evaluate students' dual proficiencies. At the high school level, immersion students should ideally be fully proficient in both languages. As a cautionary note, however, if students are accepted who are not fully bilingual and biliterate, then considerable support needs to be given to the development of their less dominant language. Remediation classes could be provided for students such as Luis and Carlos, who with small group instruction could have found success in filling in the gaps in both their content and language backgrounds.

Additionally, the teaching staff needs to be explicitly trained in best practices for immersion education. For the most part, the immersion teachers at Greenwood High appeared to instruct their classes in the style of an advanced foreign language course, rather than viewing their course as a content-driven class to be taught in the target language. Immersion is challenging to teach, in that one must meld content and language into a single instructional period. Considering the number of immersion schools in New Orleans, there is an inexcusable deficit in the amount of professional development available to dual language instructors. Sizeable resources will need to be allocated to either a "training the trainer" model, in which a lead teacher is sent to national professional development opportunities, or to having a qualified teacher trainer visit the school on a regular basis.

Recommendations for Future Research

The research question that I undertook was broad in its scope, which helped me in painting the overall picture of my setting. If I were to continue to investigate this particular phenomenon, however, I would choose to more closely examine specific elements of these students' academic and social experiences. Of the various academic experiences that I have

discussed, I believe that the issues surrounding language maintenance are worthy of further exploration. By following the students in a longitudinal, mixed methodology study, one could shed light on the affects of the culture of New Orleans on these participants' abilities to maintain their maternal languages. Additionally, the researcher could conduct a comparative study of the student participants who took the Spanish immersion classes, as opposed to those who were in the ESOL and the English mainstream classes, in order to determine the long-term outcome for their dual proficiencies.

In regards to the social experience of these student participants, I would recommend future research in the area of developing intercultural sensitivity in a multicultural and multilingual school such as Greenwood High. In particular, it could prove enlightening to investigate a school with an advisory program in which a curriculum was being effectively taught by the faculty. This research could be conducted on a small-scale, focusing on the social interactions in one particular advisory class. Additionally, through interviewing both the English and the Spanish-speaking students in the class, one could gain a better understanding of the phenomenon as a whole.

The last recommendation for research is one that I have not addressed yet in this dissertation, but rather stems from a concern of mine that developed over the course of the year. As my understanding of this phenomenon grew, I was troubled by the stories that some of these adolescents shared with me, particularly about how they had immigrated to New Orleans alone. For example, when I interviewed Carlos, he spent over an hour talking to me in Spanish about the journey that he had undertaken in coming to the United States. He also wrote extensive accounts for me throughout the school year about incidents that he had experienced along the way. Although I retained all of his narratives, I used only a minimal amount in my dissertation,

as it did not directly relate to my question at hand. However, it was quite clear to me that Carlos's story was one that needed to be told.

Additionally, several of the participants had shared their concerns with me about Marisa, a Spanish native speaker who had briefly attended Greenwood High before dropping out without explanation. In the following quote from our conversation, Martha shares with me her concerns over how and why Marisa had immigrated to New Orleans:

Carmen believed that she had been trafficked, and I did too, because she had a certain demeanor. But she has a boyfriend now. I think he got her to eventually not have to sell herself, and got her out of it.

I chose not to include Marisa's story in my dissertation, partially because it was not directly relevant, but mainly because I did not have the opportunity to interview her first hand.

Additionally, the staff and students had only minimal interaction with Marisa, meaning that most of our concerns, although meant with best intentions, were merely speculation. Nevertheless, whether there are adolescents who are coming through trafficking or by choice, I believe that research needs to be conducted into their experiences, both before and after their arrival in New Orleans.

Summary of Discussions

In this fifth and final chapter, I have worked to tie together the various pieces that make up the phenomenon that I have studied. I began with a summary of the first four chapters, so as to reiterate what I have accomplished in the body of this dissertation. I summarized my findings in order to recapitulate the major themes from my four methods of data collection. In the conclusions section, I revisited the three original goals for my research, explaining how I believe

that I have effectively addressed each one. I openly discussed several limitations and delimitations that I have found in this study, with the intent of having full disclosure with my audience. Lastly, I discussed my major implications and recommendations for future research, in hopes of informing the decisions of future policymakers and researchers in our New Orleans immersion schools.

The findings of this study were divided into two meta themes of the academic and social experiences of the student participants. In investigating these students' academic experiences, I found that the 22 participants placed a considerable emphasis on language development, particularly in the maintenance of the Spanish native speakers' heritage language. A sizeable need existed, however, for instruction that was better differentiated to the wide range of proficiencies that these students demonstrated in both English and Spanish. Through the analysis of the participants' social experiences, I also discovered that a strong sense of community existed amongst the participants in the ESOL and immersion programs. This interconnectedness, however, led to an insular behavior amongst the Spanish native speakers, which further exacerbated the racial tension that existed at Greenwood High. Greenwood as a whole would greatly benefit from the fostering of intercultural sensitivity amongst this multicultural and multilingual student body.

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APPENDIX A

Human Subjects Approval

***University Committee for the Protection
of Human Subjects in Research
University of New Orleans***

Campus Correspondence

Principal Investigator: April Bedford

Co-Investigator: Brooke Muntean

Date: January 20, 2010

Protocol Title: “The Academic and Social Experiences of Spanish Native Speakers in a Spanish Foreign Language Immersion Program”

IRB#: 23Dec09

Your proposal was reviewed by the full IRB. The proposal is considered to be minimal risk. You adequately addressed all of the issues raised by the committee. Your research proposal is now approved.

Please remember that approval is only valid for one year from the approval date. Any changes to the procedures or protocols must be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to implementation. Use the IRB number listed on this letter in all future correspondence regarding this proposal.

If an adverse, unforeseen event occurs (e.g., physical, social, or emotional harm), you are required to inform the IRB as soon as possible after the event.

Best of luck with your project!
Sincerely,

Robert Laird, Ph.D., Chair
Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research

APPENDIX B

Adult Consent Form

LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT FOR ADULT PARTICIPANTS

Dear _____:

I am a doctoral student under the direction of Dr. Bedford in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of New Orleans. I am currently conducting a research study to learn more about the experiences of English learners in a Spanish foreign language immersion program. I am interested in finding out what methods immersion teachers use to help students more easily learn to speak English. I'd like to learn more about both the successes and the challenges in teaching English learners in an immersion program.

I am requesting your participation in two interviews that will last for approximately an hour to an hour and a half. We will meet at a location and time of your choice, and will conduct an interview that will be tape-recorded. Your participation in this study is voluntary. I will protect the identity of all participants – both yours and the students' – through the use of pseudonyms in this and any future publications or presentations. Participants should understand that they might be quoted directly but that their names will not be used in any part of the report. Please understand that you may withdraw from the study at any time, without prejudice.

Although there may be no direct benefit to your participation in this study, there are some possible benefits to this study as a whole. For example, by learning more about your experiences as a teacher, we can learn more about how to help all children to learn English. Additionally, you might enjoy the interviewing process, and the opportunity to discuss your experiences in working with English learners.

The risks associated with participating in this interview are minimal. However, if you have any questions concerning the research study or your participation in this study, please don't hesitate to call me at (504) 319-5769, or Dr. April Bedford at 504-280-6607.

I greatly appreciate your willingness to give your time, and your helping me to learn more about the experiences of English learners in an immersion program. Please contact Dr. Ann O'Hanlon (504-280-3990) at the University of New Orleans for answers to questions about this research and your rights as a human subject.

Thank you,

Brooke Muntean
Doctoral Student in Curriculum and Instruction
University of New Orleans

I have read the above and discussed it with the researcher. I understand the study and agree to participate. By signing below, I am giving my informed consent.

Signature

Printed Name

Date

Witness Signature

Printed Name

Date

APPENDIX C

Parent Consent Form (English)

PARENTAL LETTER OF CONSENT FOR MINORS

Dear Parent/Guardian of _____:

I am a graduate student in the Education department at the University of New Orleans. I am conducting a study on how students learn English, and what their teachers do to help them. I am interested in learning about the experiences of English learners and their teachers in a Spanish immersion program.

I am requesting your child's participation in two interviews that will last for about thirty minutes to an hour. These interviews will be tape-recorded. I will also observe your child's classroom during the spring semester. I would also like to give two reading assessments to your child in both Spanish and English; these two tests will last for about 15 minutes and will be at the end of the day. I would also like to access school records to look at your child's reading and language scores. Last, I will look at some of your child's writing to tell me more about their writing skills.

Your child's participation in this study is voluntary. If you don't want your child to participate or if you change your mind at any time, there will be no penalty, and this will not affect your child's grade, treatment, care, or status in the school. Also, if your child chooses not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. I will protect the identity of all participants by using different names in any publications or presentations. The results of the study may be published, but your child's name will not be used.

There are some possible benefits for your child's participation in this study. For example, by learning more from your child's experiences, teachers can learn more about how to help all children to learn English. Also, your child may enjoy being interviewed, and being able to talk about his or her experiences with learning English. Your child may also benefit from practicing speaking English with an adult. Last, the interview will not take away from your child's time in the classroom. The interview will be at the end of the day so that your child doesn't have to miss any regular classes.

There is minimal risk in participating in this interview. However, if you have any questions about the research study or your child's participation in this study, please call me at (504) 319-5769, or Dr. April Bedford at 504-280-6607.

I really appreciate your helping me to learn more about the experiences of English learners in an immersion program. Please contact Dr. Ann O'Hanlon (504-280-3990) at the University of New Orleans for answers to questions about this research and your child's rights as a human subject.

Sincerely,

Brooke Muntean

By signing below, you are giving consent for your child _____ to participate in the above study.

Signature

Printed Name

Date

Witness Signature

Printed Name

Date

APPENDIX D

Parent Consent Form (Spanish)

CARTA DE CONSENTIMIENTO DE LOS PADRES PARA MENORES DE EDAD

Estimado Padre/Guardián de _____:

Yo soy una estudiante de postgrado en el departamento de Educación en la Universidad de Nueva Orleáns. Estoy llevando a cabo una investigación sobre el aprendizaje de inglés de los estudiantes hispanohablantes y lo que sus profesores hacen para ayudarles. Estoy interesada en aprender sobre las experiencias de estudiantes hispanohablantes y sus profesores en un programa de inmersión español.

Con esto en mente, solicito su aprobación para que su niño o niña participe en dos entrevistas que durarán aproximadamente de treinta minutos a una hora. Las entrevistas serán grabadas y observaré también el salón de clase de sus niños durante el semestre de primavera. Me gustaría también dar dos evaluaciones de lectura a su hijo o hija en español y en inglés; estas pruebas durarán aproximadamente 15 minutos y serán al final del día. Me gustaría también poder tener acceso a sus archivos escolares para saber los resultados de lectura e idioma de sus niños. Por último, me gustaría leer algunos ejemplos de la escritura de su niño para obtener más información sobre sus habilidades en inglés y español.

La participación de su niño en este estudio es voluntaria. Si usted no quiere que su hijo participe o si usted cambia de opinión en cualquier momento, no habrá ninguna consecuencia y esto no afectará las calificaciones, el trato, cuidado o situación de su niño o niña en la escuela. También si su hijo elige no participar o elige retirarse del estudio en cualquier momento, no habrá ninguna consecuencia. Yo protegeré la identidad de todos los participantes usando nombres diferentes. Yo podría publicar los resultados del estudio pero no usaré el nombre de su niño.

Hay algunos beneficios posibles para la participación de su niño en este estudio. Por ejemplo, aprender más de las experiencias de su niño, los profesores pueden aprender más sobre la enseñanza de todos los estudiantes. También, su hijo o hija podría disfrutar la entrevista y hablar de sus experiencias con aprendiendo inglés. Su hijo o hija podría beneficiarse también de practicar inglés con un adulto. Por último, la entrevista será al final del día para que su hijo o hija no pierda clases regulares.

Hay riesgo mínimo participar en esta entrevista. Sin embargo, si usted tiene cualquier duda sobre el estudio de investigación o la participación de su niño o niña en este estudio, por favor llámeme en (504) 319-5769 o Dra. April Bedford en 504-280-6607.

Agradeceré mucho su ayuda para poder aprender más sobre las experiencias de estudiantes hispanohablantes en un programa de inmersión. Por favor contacte a la Dra. Ann O'Hanlon (504-280-3990) en la Universidad de Nueva Orleáns con cualquiera pregunta sobre esta investigación y los derechos de su niño como un sujeto humano.

Sinceramente,

Brooke Muntean

Al firmar abajo, usted está dando consentimiento para que su hijo o hija

_____ participe en el estudio citado.

_____	_____	_____
Firma	Nombre	Fecha

_____	_____	_____
Firma de testigo	Nombre de testigo	Fecha

APPENDIX E

Student Assent Form (English)

LETTER OF ASSENT FOR MINORS

Dear _____:

I am a graduate student in the Education department at the University of New Orleans. I am conducting a study on how students learn English, and what their teachers do to help them. I am interested in learning about the experiences of English learners and their teachers in a Spanish immersion program.

I am requesting your participation in two interviews that will last for about thirty minutes to an hour. These interviews will be tape-recorded. Additionally, I will observe your classroom during the spring semester. I would also like to give you two reading assessments in both Spanish and English; these two tests will last for about 15 minutes and will be at the end of the day. I would also like to access school records to look at your reading and language scores. Last, I will look at some of your writing to tell me more about your writing skills.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you don't want to participate or you change your mind at any time, there will be no penalty, and this will not affect your grade, treatment, care, or status in the school. I will protect the identity of all participants by using different names in any publications or presentations. The results of the study may be published, but your name will not be used.

There are some possible benefits to your participation in this study. For example, by learning more from your experiences, teachers can learn more about how to help all children to learn English. Also, you may enjoy being interviewed, and being able to talk about your experiences with learning English. You may also benefit from practicing speaking English with an adult. Last, the interview will not take away from your time in the classroom. The interview will be at the end of the day so that you don't have to miss any regular classes.

There is minimal risk in participating in this interview. However, if you have any questions about the research study or your participation in this study, please call me at (504) 319-5769, or Dr. April Bedford at 504-280-6607.

I really appreciate your helping me to learn more about the experiences of English learners in an immersion program. Please contact Dr. Ann O'Hanlon (504-280-3990) at the University of New Orleans for answers to questions about this research and your rights as a human subject.

Sincerely,

Brooke Muntean

By signing below, you are giving your assent to participate in the above study.

Signature

Printed Name

Date

Witness Signature

Printed Name

Date

APPENDIX F

Student Assent Form (Spanish)

CARTA DE CONSENTIMIENTO PARA MENORES DE EDAD

Querido _____:

Yo soy una estudiante de postgrado en el departamento de Educación en la Universidad de Nueva Orleans. Estoy llevando a cabo una investigación sobre el aprendizaje de inglés de los estudiantes hispanohablantes y lo que sus profesores hacen para ayudarles. Estoy interesada en aprender sobre las experiencias de estudiantes hispanohablantes y sus profesores en un programa de inmersión español.

Con esto en mente, solicito su aprobación para que su niño o niña participe en dos entrevistas que durarán aproximadamente de treinta minutos a una hora. Las entrevistas serán grabadas y observaré también el salón de clase durante el semestre de primavera. Me gustaría también dar dos evaluaciones de lectura en español y en inglés; estas pruebas durarán aproximadamente 15 minutos y serán al final del día. Me gustaría también poder tener acceso a sus archivos escolares para saber los resultados de lectura e idioma. Por último, me gustaría leer algunos ejemplos de su escritura para obtener más información sobre sus habilidades en inglés y español. Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Si usted no quiere participar o usted cambia su opinión en cualquier momento no habrá ninguna consecuencia y esto no afectará a su grado, tratamiento, cuidado o situación en la escuela. Yo protegeré la identidad de todos los participantes por usando nombres diferentes. Yo podría publicar los resultados del estudio pero no usaré su nombre.

Hay algunos beneficios posibles para la participación de su niño en este estudio. Por ejemplo, aprender más de las experiencias de su niño, los profesores pueden aprender más sobre la enseñanza de todos los estudiantes. También, usted podría disfrutar la entrevista y hablar de sus experiencias con aprendiendo inglés y también podría beneficiarse de practicar inglés con un adulto. Por último, la entrevista será al final del día para que no pierda clases regulares.

Hay riesgo mínimo participar en esta entrevista. Sin embargo, si usted tiene cualquier duda sobre el estudio de investigación o la participación de su niño o niña en este estudio, por favor llámeme en (504) 319-5769 o Dra. April Bedford en 504-280-6607.

Agradeceré mucho su ayuda para poder aprender más sobre las experiencias de estudiantes hispanohablantes en un programa de inmersión. Por favor contacte a la Dra. Ann O'Hanlon (504-280-3990) en la Universidad de Nueva Orleans con cualquiera pregunta sobre esta investigación y sus derechos como un sujeto humano.

Sinceramente,

Brooke Muntean

Al firmar abajo, usted está dando su consentimiento para participar en el estudio citado.

_____	_____	_____
Firma	Nombre	Fecha
_____	_____	_____
Firma de testigo	Nombre de testigo	Fecha

APPENDIX G

Principal's Letter of Permission

February 2, 2010

To Whom It May Concern:

I am the principal at the International High School of New Orleans, which is located at 401 Nashville Ave. I am aware that Brooke Muntean, the instructional coach in our school, is also a doctoral student at the University of New Orleans. Ms. Muntean is presently working on her dissertation, and she has my permission to collect data in our school site.

I am also aware that she is researching the social and academic experiences of Spanish native speakers in a Spanish immersion program. She is utilizing several methods of qualitative data collection, including classroom observation and interviews. She is also conducting a reading assessment of these English learners in both Spanish and English.

Ms. Muntean has collected consent and assent forms from all of the students and teachers involved in this data collection, and all of the participants are fully informed of her project's goals. She is operating under the direction of Dr. April Bedford, her major professor, as well as her dissertation committee, made up of Dr. Perry, Dr. Speaker, and Dr. Barnitz. She has full IRB approval to conduct her study, and her research has been classified as being of minimal risk to the participants.

Sincerely,

(Principal's Signature)

APPENDIX H

CLASS Dimensions Observation Rubric

CLASS observation**Teacher:****Class/Period:****Date:****Time:****Positive Climate:**

- Relationships:
- Positive Affect:
- Positive Communication:
- Respect:

Negative Climate:

- Negative Affect:
- Punitive Control:
- Sarcasm/Disrespect:
- Severe Negativity:

Teacher Sensitivity:

- Awareness:
- Responsiveness:
- Addresses Problems:
- Student Comfort:

Regard for Student Perspective:

- Flexibility and Student Focus:
- Students Expression:
- Restriction of Movement:

Behavior Management:

- Clear Behavior Expectations:
- Proactive:
- Redirection of Misbehavior:
- Student Behavior:

Productivity:

- Maximizing Learning Time:
- Routines:
- Transitions:
- Preparation:

Instructional Learning Formats:

- Effective Facilitation:
- Variety of Modalities and Materials:
- Student Interest:
- Clarity of Learning Objectives:

Concept Development:

- Analysis and Reasoning:
- Creating:
- Integration:
- Connections to the Real World:

Quality of Feedback:

- Scaffolding:
- Feedback Loops:
- Prompting through Processes:
- Providing Information:
- Encouragement and Affirmation:

Language Modeling:

- Frequent Conversations:
- Open-ended Questions:
- Repetition and Extension:
- Self- and Parallel Talk:
- Advanced Language:

APPENDIX I

Sociogram Interview Guide

Sociogram – Academic and Social Experiences

Questions:

5. List the three students, (from first to third) with whom you would most like to work on a project in class? Why?
6. List the three students with whom you would least like to work on a project in class? Why?
7. List the three students with whom you would most like to sit at lunchtime? Why?
8. List the three students with whom you would least like to sit at lunchtime? Why?

ESOL & Spanish Immersion Students

Name	Q 1	Why?	Q 2	Why?	Q3	Why?	Q4	Why?

ESOL Students (no Spanish Immersion)

Name	Q 1	Why?	Q 2	Why?	Q3	Why?	Q4	Why?

Spanish Immersion Students (no ESOL)

Name	Q 1	Why?	Q 2	Why?	Q3	Why?	Q4	Why?

APPENDIX J

ESOL Student Interview Guide

ESOL Student Interview Guide

Brooke Muntean
Dissertation Project
Spring 2010

Question: *In a Spanish foreign language immersion program, (from English to Spanish), what is the experience of EL (English Learners) who are attempting to acquire English from the opposite direction, (or from Spanish to English)?*

Refining the Purpose Statement:

Do Want to Know:

- *Experiences had in their English and Spanish classes, both positive and negative.*
- *Relationships with both their English and Spanish teachers, as well as their native English-speaking peers.*
- *Their perspectives on the immersion program at Greenwood High, and what is being done to accommodate their English language skills. (I'm interested in both what is and is not working for them. How do they think that the immersion program could be improved?)*
- *Their experiences throughout the school, (the hallways, playground, cafeteria, etc.), as they pertain to negotiating any possible language barriers or connections to English-speaking staff and students.*

PARAPHRASE THE FOLLOWING:

Introduction: Hello _____. As you know, my name is Mrs. Muntean, and I am a student at the University of New Orleans, where I am learning more about how to be a better teacher. I am very interested in learning about how students learn to speak English, and what teachers can do to help students in becoming even better English speakers. Today I'd like to ask you some questions about your school, classroom, teachers, and other students. I would like to make it very clear to you that there are no wrong answers to the questions I will ask you. I just want to hear what you think or feel about the questions that I ask. Also, you will not be graded on your answers. In fact, your teachers, parents, and classmate will not know how you answered any of the questions I will ask.

Questions:

Demographics:

Your name? Age? Grade? What schools have you attended in New Orleans? Throughout your education? Where are you originally from? (If not New Orleans), then how long have you lived in New Orleans? (If not originally from the United States), then how long have you lived in the United States? Where do you live in the New Orleans area?

What is the first language(s) that you learned? For how long have you been learning to speak English? In which language do you feel more comfortable speaking: Spanish or English? In which language do your parents feel most comfortable speaking: Spanish or English? In which language do you speak to your parents? In which language do they reply?

Easy and Non-threatening Questions: First of all, I would like to ask you about the experiences you have had in your English and Spanish classes this year, both positive and negative:

Tell me about your best experience in school so far this year: what happened to make it so good for you?

What things have helped you learn English? What helped improve your English? Why? (Probe for detailed examples.)

What is your favorite part about your English classes? How about your Spanish classes?

What things have not helped you learn English? What kinds of things have happened in class that make it difficult for you to learn English? (Probe for a description of a specific example from one of these experiences.)

What other things in class don't help? Why?

What is your least favorite part about your English classes? How about your Spanish classes?

What do you like about your teachers in the school? Why? Is it easy or hard to talk with them? Why?

What do you like about your English teachers? How about your Spanish teachers?

Who do you talk with most at school? Who do you talk with most in English class? Who do you talk with most in Spanish class? Why?

What is your favorite class? Why?

How do you get along with the other English-speaking students in school? Is it easy or hard to talk with them? Why?

Tell me more about some of the social things that you like to do outside of class: what is your favorite social part of the day here at school? How about outside of school? Why?

What are the different groups of kids at the school? Which groups get along best? Why?

How well do you get along with kids from other ethnic groups here at school? (i.e. Honduran, Black, Mexican, White, Asian, Indian/Native American, etc.)

What have been your experiences throughout the school in speaking English to the English-speaking staff and students? Has this been hard or easy for you? Why? (Probe for specific examples of experiences with speaking English to the administration, teachers, and students. Probe for example of encounters in the hallways, the office, the cafeteria, and the playground.)

More Difficult Questions: Now I would like to learn more about your ideas about the immersion and ESOL program at Greenwood High.

What have you noticed that is different about your English and Spanish classes? What do teachers of English and Spanish do differently? What do you like about learning in English? In Spanish? Why?

What have you noticed the same about English and Spanish? What do teachers of English and Spanish do the same way?

What do you think about the ESOL program here? What do you like about it? What don't you like? Why?

What do you think about the immersion program here? What do you like about it? What don't you like? Why?

What would be the best possible way for you to learn English? Why?

What else would really help you learn English?

How else do you think that the immersion/ESOL program at Greenwood High could get better?
(Probe for any specific suggestions.)

PARAPHRASE:

Closing Statement: *I want to thank you very much for coming here and talking with me today. I really enjoyed having the chance to learn from you. Your answers have truly helped me to better understand what learning English is like for you. Again, I want to remind you that your teachers, parents, and classmates will not hear about what you said in today's discussion.*

Do you have any last questions? Anything else you'd like to tell me?
(Allow for any additional questions.)

Thanks again, and I hope you have a wonderful afternoon.

APPENDIX K

ESOL Student Interview Guide (Spanish)

ESOL Student Interview Guide (Spanish Version)

Brooke Muntean
Proyecto de Disertación
Primavera 2010

Pregunta: *¿En un programa de inmersión de idioma extranjero, (de inglés a español,) qué está la experiencia de los estudiantes hispanohablantes que están intentando adquirir inglés de la dirección opuesta (o de español a inglés?)*

El propósito:

Quiero saber:

- *Las experiencias en sus clases de español e inglés, tanto positivo como negativo.*
- *Relaciones con tanto sus profesores de inglés como sus profesores de españoles, además de sus pares anglohablantes.*
- *Sus perspectivas en el programa de inmersión en Greenwood High, y como la escuela está acomodando su aprendizaje de inglés. (Yo estoy interesado en ambos lo que está y no está trabajando para ellos. ¿Cómo piensan que el programa de inmersión podría ser mejorado?)*
- *Su experiencia total en la escuela, (en los pasillos, patio de recreo, cafetería, etc.), especialmente con su comunicación con los anglohablantes.*

PARAPHRASE THE FOLLOWING:

Introducción:

Hola _____. Como usted sabe mi nombre es la Sra. Muntean y yo soy estudiante en la Universidad de Nueva Orléans donde yo estoy aprendiendo más sobre el enseñanza. Yo estoy muy interesado en aprender más sobre el aprendizaje de los estudiantes hispanohablantes, y lo que los profesores pueden hacer para ayudar a estudiantes a mejorar su inglés.

Hoy me gustaría hacerle algunas preguntas de su escuela, salón de clase, profesores, y otros estudiantes. Me gustaría que usted entendiera que no hay ninguna respuesta incorrecta a las preguntas. Yo solo quiero aprender sobre sus opiniones y pensamientos. También, no voy a calificar sus respuestas. De hecho, sus profesores, padres y compañeros de clase no sabrán nada de sus respuestas.

Preguntas:

Demografía:

¿Tu nombre? ¿Edad? ¿Grado? ¿A Qué escuelas has ido en Nueva Orléans? ¿Por todo tu educación? ¿De dónde estás originariamente? (¿Si no estás de Nueva Orléans) entonces cuánto tiempo has vivido aquí en Nueva Orleans? (¿Si no estás de los Estados Unidos) entonces cuánto tiempo has estado en los Estados Unidos? ¿Dónde vives en Nueva Orléans (en que barrio/calle)?

¿Qué es el primer idioma (s) que aprendiste? ¿Por cuánto tiempo has aprendido a hablar inglés? En qué idioma te sientes más cómodo hablando: ¿español o inglés? En qué idioma se sienten sus padres más cómodos hablando: ¿español o inglés? ¿En qué idioma hablas a tus padres? ¿En qué idioma responden?

Preguntas fáciles:

Primero, me gustaría preguntarte sobre las experiencias que has tenido en tus clases de español e inglés este año, tanto positivo como negativo:

Háblame de tu mejor experiencia en la escuela este año: ¿Por qué fue una experiencia tan buena? ¿Qué cosas te han ayudado aprender inglés? ¿Qué te ayudó a mejorar tu inglés? ¿Por qué? (Investigue para ejemplos detallados.)

¿Qué es la parte preferida de tus clases de inglés? ¿y tus clases de español?
¿Qué cosas no te han ayudado aprender inglés? ¿Cómo son difíciles tus clases de inglés? (Investigue para una descripción de un ejemplo específico de una de estas experiencias.)

¿Qué otras cosas en clase no te ayudan? ¿Por qué?
¿Qué le gusta acerca de tus profesores ingleses? ¿y tus profesores españoles?
¿A quién habla mucho en la escuela? ¿y en tus clases de inglés? ¿y en tus clases de español?
¿Por qué?

¿Qué es tu clase preferida? ¿Por qué?
¿Cómo te llevas con los otros estudiantes anglohablantes en la escuela? ¿Es fácil o difícil hablar con ellos? ¿Por qué?

Dime más sobre algunas de las cosas sociales que te gusta hacer fuera de clase: ¿Cuál es tu parte social preferida en la escuela? ¿y a fuera de la escuela? ¿Por qué?

¿Qué son los grupos diferentes de niños en la escuela? ¿Qué grupos son amigos con otros grupos? ¿Por qué?

¿Cómo consigue con niños de otros grupos étnicos aquí en la escuela? (ej: hondureño, Negro, mexicano, Blanco, asiático, indio/ indio americano)

¿Qué han sido tus otras experiencias en la escuela hablando inglés a los adultos y estudiantes anglohablantes? ¿Ha sido duro o fácil? ¿Por qué? (Investigue para ejemplos específicos de experiencias con hablar inglés a la administración, profesores y estudiantes. Investigue por ejemplo de encuentros en los pasillos, la oficina, la cafetería y el patio de recreo.)

Preguntas más difíciles:

Ahora me gustaría aprender más sobre sus ideas del programa de inmersión y ESOL en Greenwood High.

¿Qué diferencias hay entre las clases de inglés y español? ¿Qué hacen los profesores de inglés y español de forma diferente? ¿Qué te gusta sobre aprender en inglés? español? ¿Por qué?

¿Qué semejanzas hay entre las clases de inglés y español? ¿Qué hacen los profesores de inglés y español de la misma forma?

¿Qué piensas sobre el programa de ESOL aquí? ¿Qué te gusta sobre eso? ¿Qué no te gusta? ¿Por qué?

¿Qué piensas sobre el programa de ESOL aquí? ¿Qué te gusta sobre eso? ¿Qué no te gusta? ¿Por qué?

¿Para ti, qué sería las formas mejores a aprender inglés? ¿Por qué?

¿Qué más te ayudaría a aprender inglés?

¿Qué más podríamos hacer a mejorar el programa de inmersión en Greenwood High? Y el programa de ESOL? (Investigue para sugerencias específicas.)

PARAPHRASE:

Declaración de clausura:

muchos gracias a ti por venir aquí y hablar conmigo hoy. Me gustó mucho tener la oportunidad de aprender de ti. Tus respuestas me han ayudado verdaderamente a entender las experiencias de los estudiantes de ESOL y inmersión. Recuerdate que tus profesores, padres y compañeros de clase no oirán nada sobre lo que usted dijo en la entrevista de hoy.

¿Tienes otras preguntas para mí? ¿Hay otras cosas que te gustaría decirme?
(Tiempo para preguntas adicionales.)

Gracias otra vez y yo espero que usted tenga una tarde excelente.

APPENDIX L

Non-ESOL Student Interview Guide

Non-ESOL Student Interview Guide

Brooke Muntean
Dissertation Project
Spring 2010

Question: *In a Spanish foreign language immersion program, (from English to Spanish), what is the experience of EL (English Learners) who are attempting to acquire English from the opposite direction, (or from Spanish to English)?*

PARAPHRASE THE FOLLOWING:

Introduction: Hello _____. As you know, my name is Mrs. Muntean, and I am a student at the University of New Orleans, where I am learning more about how to be a better teacher. I am very interested in learning about how students learn to speak English, and what teachers can do to help students in becoming even better English speakers. Today I'd like to ask you some questions about your school, classroom, teachers, and other students. I would like to make it very clear to you that there are no wrong answers to the questions I will ask you. I just want to hear what you think or feel about the questions that I ask. Also, you will not be graded on your answers. In fact, your teachers, parents, and classmate will not know how you answered any of the questions I will ask.

Questions:

Demographics:

Your name? Age? Grade? What schools have you attended in New Orleans? Throughout your education? Where are you originally from? (If not New Orleans), then how long have you lived in New Orleans? (If not originally from the United States), then how long have you lived in the United States? Where do you live in the New Orleans area?

What is the first language(s) that you learned? For how long have you been learning to speak English? In which language do you feel more comfortable speaking: Spanish or English? In which language do your parents feel most comfortable speaking: Spanish or English? In which language do you speak to your parents? In which language do they reply?

Easy and Non-threatening Questions: First of all, I would like to ask you about the experiences you have had in your English and Spanish classes this year, both positive and negative:

Tell me about your best experience in school so far this year: what happened to make it so good for you?

What is your favorite part about your English classes? How about your Spanish classes?

What is your least favorite part about your English classes? How about your Spanish classes?

What do you like about your teachers in the school? Why? Is it easy or hard to talk with them? Why?

What do you like about your English teachers? How about your Spanish teachers?

Who do you talk with most at school? Who do you talk with most in English class? Who do you talk with most in Spanish class? Why?

What is your favorite class? Why?

How do you get along with the other English-speaking students in school? How about the Spanish-speaking students? Is it easy or hard to talk with them? Why?

Tell me more about some of the social things that you like to do outside of class: what is your favorite social part of the day here at school? How about outside of school? Why?

What are the different groups of kids at the school? Which groups get along best? Why?

How well do you get along with kids from other ethnic groups here at school? (i.e. Honduran, Black, Mexican, White, Asian, Indian/Native American, etc.)

More Difficult Questions: Now I would like to learn more about your ideas about the immersion program at Greenwood High.

What have you noticed that is different about your English and Spanish classes? What do teachers of English and Spanish do differently? What do you like about learning in English? In Spanish? Why?

What have you noticed the same about English and Spanish? What do teachers of English and Spanish do the same way?

What do you think about the immersion program here? What do you like about it? What don't you like? Why?

How else do you think that the immersion program at Greenwood High could get better? (Probe for any specific suggestions.)

PARAPHRASE:

Closing Statement: *I want to thank you very much for coming here and talking with me today. I really enjoyed having the chance to learn from you. Your answers have truly helped me to better understand what learning English is like for you. Again, I want to remind you that your teachers, parents, and classmates will not hear about what you said in today's discussion.*

Do you have any last questions? Anything else you'd like to tell me?

(Allow for any additional questions.)

Thanks again, and I hope you have a wonderful afternoon.

APPENDIX M

Teacher Interview Guide

Teacher Interview Guide

Brooke Muntean
Dissertation Project
Spring 2010

Introduction to me:

- I am a doctoral student in Curriculum and Instruction at UNO.
- My research interest is the experiences of Spanish native speakers in post-Katrina New Orleans schools, particularly in a Spanish immersion program.
- I also hope to become a teacher educator in the upcoming years, so I would like to learn more about the experiences of immersion teachers, and both their successes and challenges in the classroom.

Gather general description:

Age? Ethnicity? Where were you born and raised? How long have you lived in New Orleans? Years of teaching experience? In what capacity (grade level, subject, etc.)? Educational experience, in both teaching and other subjects?

Goals and Questions:

1: To learn more about the academic and social experiences of Spanish native speakers in a one-way foreign language immersion program that was originally designed for English speakers to acquire Spanish.

Background:

- Define Spanish native speakers as well as one-way foreign language immersion program.
- Define Greenwood High's original design as a high school to continue the foreign language immersion education of English native speakers, as opposed to Spanish native speakers from an English-only program.

From your perspective, what is the experience of the Spanish native speakers in Greenwood High's one-way foreign language immersion program?
Can you walk me through what might be a typical day for these students?

Goal # 2: To determine how immersion teachers are adjusting their practice to accommodate Spanish native speakers in a Spanish foreign language immersion program.

As an immersion or ESL teacher at Greenwood High, a large group of your students are Spanish native speakers working to acquire both English and Spanish. How have you adjusted your practice to accommodate the Spanish native speakers in your classroom?

Goal # 3: To evaluate how teachers are helping these students to acquire both English and Spanish. To determine these teachers credentialing and experience in ESL and immersion methods, and any needs they might have in this area:

What is your background in ESL/immersion methods? What kind of classes, professional development, or background reading have you done in ESL/immersion instruction? What have been your past experiences as a teacher or a learner in ESL/immersion classrooms? What do you

believe to be your strengths in the area of ESL/immersion methods? What areas of need do you feel that you might have in ESL/immersion?

What are some of the ESL/immersion methods that you have used in your classroom here at Greenwood High? How do you go about teaching the English learners, or Spanish native speakers in your classroom? Think of some examples of what you have done recently in your classroom to work with these students; could you walk me through one of those lessons or interactions with your ELs?

Goal # 4: To find out in what ways these teachers are succeeding with these students, and where their areas of need are.

How do you feel that you have found success with your ELs? Can you walk me through any specific examples? What are your areas of need in working with these EL students? How about for professional development in ESL/immersion methods? How are you supported by the administration in working with these students? By other teachers? By parents? By the students themselves? How else would you like to be supported by these groups: the administration, parents, and/or students?

Goal # 5: To determine how these English learners are and are not being accommodated by these programs.

In what ways are English learners being accommodated in your classroom? At Greenwood High? In what ways do you feel that these students are not being accommodated, both in your classroom and in the school as a whole?

Goal # 6: To learn from teachers about their experiences in general with English learners in a Spanish immersion program. To explore the relationships between these teachers and their English learners.

What have been some of your experiences as a teacher of English learners at Greenwood High? Please describe them to me as someone from an outside perspective who might need extra description.

How would you describe your relationships with your ELs in general? With any one student in particular? Is your relationship with your ELs in any way different than your relationship with your native English-speaking students? How so?

Goal # 7: To investigate the economic, political and social conditions in which these programs exist, and how these conditions influence the experiences of these English learners.

(Define socio economic status) What is the socio economic description of some of your ELs? Where are they and their families from? What kind of work do their parents do? What else do you know about the backgrounds of these students?

In comparison, what is the SES of the native English speakers in your classroom?

Do you think that the socio economic status of your students and their families has any effect on their experiences here at Greenwood High? If so, how? Do you think that the political status of

the students and their families in New Orleans and the United States has affected their experience in public schools in general, and at Greenwood High in particular? If so, how?

Goal # 8: Dialects/Code-switching:

What dialects of Spanish are present in your students? How about dialects of English? How much code-switching takes place between these different dialects/languages? (Define code-switching). How much of this code-switching are you comfortable with? Which accents/dialects are popular? Why? How do you/other teachers feel about these different accents/dialects? Why?

Concluding Questions:

- What else should I have asked you in this interview, but I didn't?
- What else would you like to tell me?
- Who else should I speak to about who knows as much as you do about the experiences of ELs at Greenwood High?
- Can I call or email you if I have any more questions? Please feel free to call or email me if you have anything more to add.

VITA

Brooke Muntean was born and raised in the New Orleans area, graduating from Mandeville High School in 1991. She attended Southeastern Louisiana University on a full-tuition Presidential Honors scholarship, and then graduated Magna Cum Laude from San Francisco State University, with a Bachelor of Art in painting in 1998. She later went on to study at New College of California, where she received a multiple-subjects, CLAD teaching credential, as well as a Master of Arts in Teaching with an emphasis on critical, environmental, and global literacy. During this time, she completed her masters thesis on utilizing action-based projects in the classroom to help build student awareness of resource inequities. After studying Spanish for two years at Universidad La Salle in Mexico City, Brooke returned to New Orleans in 2006 to begin working towards a PhD. She received a full-tuition Graduate Dean's IV scholarship to the University of New Orleans, where she completed her doctoral coursework in curriculum and instruction, with a minor in Spanish.

Brooke began her teaching career in Asia in 1999, where she taught ESL in Japan, and worked as a pre-school assistant in the Bali International School. She then taught elementary education for two years in the San Francisco Unified School District, followed by two years of teaching language arts, social studies, and mathematics at the American School Foundation in Mexico City. She next returned to New Orleans in 2006, where she taught middle school Social Studies, English, and Spanish at the International School of Louisiana, followed by working as an instructional coach at the International High School of New Orleans. During this time she also helped trained foreign language student teachers as a TeachNOLA fellow advisor. After

completing her PhD, Brooke plans to continue working in New Orleans in the area of teacher development, either at the university level, or within a New Orleans area school district.