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Teaching English Learners: Toward an Understanding of What it Means to Teachers

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

by

Kristine Dianne Nicholls

December 2012

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Melanie Sperling, Chairperson
Dr. John Wills
Dr. Robert Ream

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2012

The Dissertation of Kristine Dianne Nicholls is approved:

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Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is the culmination of many years of doctoral study and research in the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Riverside (UCR). It also draws upon my years of teaching, from pre-kindergarten through the doctoral level, including those spent teaching in the teacher preparation programs at UCR and California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB), as well as my work at the Riverside County Office of Education. It also reflects the influence of many professors and colleagues along the way, as well as the teachers and principals at Terra Bella and Del Sol elementary schools in the Clarksville School District.[1] There are many to thank, and each played a role in the development and completion of this dissertation as well as in my development as a researcher and scholar.

The faculty members of the Graduate School of Education at UCR provided me an excellent theoretical foundation and spurred my interest in examining what teaching English Learners meant to teachers through a sociocultural lens to better understand why they taught English Learners as they did. Professor Reba Page spent many an hour prompting me to consider the meaning that teachers made of teaching English Learners, the face-to-face processes through which that meaning was made, as well as local and wider sociopolitical context within which that meaning was made. Professor Begonia Echeverria oriented me to the world of and critical connections between language, culture, and education, while Professor John Wills challenged me to consider the sociopolitical context of the school and the classroom when looking at what was going on

[1] All participant names, including the district, are pseudonyms.

as teachers taught English Learners. From Professor Robert Ream's work, I have learned the importance of considering social class in the meaning that teachers make of teaching English Learners. My deepest gratitude goes to Professor Melanie Sperling, who urged me to consider the discourse that occurs in classrooms to better understand what teaching English Learners means to teachers and how that meaning was constructed within the sociocultural context of the classroom. Most significant, however, was her willingness to assume the role of academic advisor and chairperson of my dissertation committee upon the retirement of Professor Page, my original advisor and chair. Her guidance and encouragement throughout the past year and a half have been critical in the completion of my dissertation and in the reconceptualization of myself as a researcher and scholar. Therefore, there are not adequate or enough words to express my gratitude and appreciation to Professor Sperling.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my daughter, Jaelyn Breann, in whose eyes I can see glimmers of *mis antepasados*, including my parents and grandparents. She amazes me often with the depth of her unconditional love for me, her advanced reading skills, and the profundity of her seven-year-old wisdom. She frequently arose with me in the wee hours of the morning to keep me company as I tried to get several hours of writing done before I headed off to work. Whenever I would sit back and think that I had written a particularly articulate and scholarly section in my dissertation, she would come stand by my side and read my dissertation out loud, humbling me. But perhaps most cherished was her frequent inquiry as to whether I was done with my dissertation yet, to which I always had to respond, "Not yet, Peach!" She often would counter with a reminder that, "My teacher makes me finish my writing before I can go out to recess!" Jaelyn, it's recess time!

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Teaching English Learners: Toward an Understanding of What it Means to Teachers

by

Kristine Dianne Nicholls

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Education
University of California, Riverside, December 2012
Dr. Melanie Sperling, Chairperson

This study addresses the challenge of teaching English Learners, who are learning English as a second language, as their numbers continue to increase in California. Many educational reforms have focused on how to teach them, including Proposition 227 in 1998. This study was conducted five years hence, as teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented the English Learner policy. To explore these topics, this study draws upon social and cultural theory which considers both the meaning that is made by humans and the context within which that meaning is made. As context also includes participants' identities, the study also draws upon theories of teacher identity. Thus, the questions that guided this study were: (a) what effect, if any, does teaching English Learners have on a teacher's professional identity and social status within the social system of the school, (b) what are the challenges teachers perceive in teaching them, (c) how do teachers interpret, adapt, and implement English Learner policy, (d) what, ultimately, does it mean to teachers to teach English Learners and how is this meaning connected to both the classroom and school and the wider social and political context.

Using an ethnographic case-study approach, the researcher explored how teaching English Learners impacted teachers' identity and social status, the challenges teachers faced in doing so, and how teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented English Learner policy, all within the social and political context of their local district and schools. Data included field notes from participant-observation and interviews along with institutional documents. Data analysis revealed that having an identity as a teacher of English Learners had the greatest impact on teachers' social status, yet not all teachers with English Learners were ascribed this identity. Each teacher also had to navigate challenges related to teaching English Learners, which also contributed to the meaning they made. This study suggests that their teacher identity and social status, intertwined with being deemed capable of meeting parental expectations regarding the education of their children, influenced the meaning they made of teaching English Learners and how teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented English Learner policy in their classrooms.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Since the inception of U.S. public school in the mid-1800s and with the large influx of immigrants from southern and Eastern Europe between 1820 and 1920, students who do not speak English as their first or primary language have populated U.S. classrooms. Although – with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 – an era of isolationism began in the United States as the number of immigrants dwindled and the corresponding number of English Learners, students whose primary language is a language other than English, in classrooms declined as well, the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965 again opened U.S. borders to waves of immigrants, this time coming primarily from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia. As a result, the number of ethnically, socially, and linguistically diverse students in U.S. classrooms, including English Learners, has increased dramatically in the past 50 years (Pandya, McHugh, & Batalova, 2011). In the 2004 to 2005 school year, at the time of this study, there were 5.1 million English Learners enrolled in U.S. schools, with 1.6 million attending schools in California (Payán & Nettles, 2005).

This study addresses the critical and continuing challenge of linguistic diversity in particular to both students and teachers, especially when the students do not understand English, the language of instruction. This challenge is seen in the achievement gap between English-only students, who speak English as their primary language, and English Learners. For example, on the National

Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) test of fourth grade students across the U.S. and in California in 2005, English-only students outperformed English Learners by 19% in reading and 11% in math, as shown below in Table 1. The results for eighth grade students across the U.S. and in California were similar, with English-only students outperforming English Learners by 18% in reading and 14% in math (N. C. f. E. Statistics, 2005). Similarly, in California in 2005 on the Standardized Testing and Reporting assessment, in the fourth and eighth grades, English-only students outscored English Leaner students in both reading and mathematics (see Table 1). With the heightened assessment accountability under the federal No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, the academic achievement of all students is a strong focus in states, districts, and schools across the U.S.

Table 1

Performance Comparison on Standardized Tests

Standardized Test	Year	Fourth Grade Reading	Fourth Grade Mathematics	Eighth Grade Reading	Eighth Grade Mathematics
National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)[a]	2005	Average scaled scores			
		English-only students: 220	English-only students: 243	English-only students: 266	English-only students: 285
		English Learners: 187	English Learners: 219	English Learners: 223	English Learners: 244
California Standardized Testing and Reporting (STAR)[b]	2005	Percent of students at proficient or advanced levels			
		English-only students: 57%	English-only students: 55%	English-only students: 47%	English-only students: 40%
		English Learners 19%	English Learners 32%	English Learners 6%	English Learners 9%

[a] Data downloaded on 10/5/06 from http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/naepdata/report.aspx.
[b] Data downloaded on 10/5/06 from http://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/.

Recent Background to Language Diversity and the Schools

As the number of English Learners has increased in classrooms across the U.S., many educational reforms have attempted to address the issues connected to their linguistic diversity, including the range of their proficiency in English and the length of time it takes them to reach proficiency in English. Following the passage of the federal Bilingual Education Act in 1968 and the rendering of the *Lau v. Nichols* decision ("Lau v.

Nichols," 1974),[1] California, with the largest number of English Learners enrolled in its schools in the U.S.,[2] instituted a bilingual education program in 1976. Under the auspices of the Chacón-Moscone Bilingual Education Act (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990), teachers were to provide instruction to English Learners in their primary language to support them academically as they were learning English. “Regular” education teachers were subsequently required to have special certification or credentials to teach English Learners. To assist these teachers in addressing the language diversity of their students, a new specialty credential was created: teaching *English as a Second Language* (ESL). ESL teachers were responsible for English Learners’ language development, while regular teachers were responsible for content area instruction. In 1993, the credential for teaching English Learners was restructured by the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing, combining the roles of regular teacher with ESL teacher in the Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD) credential (Swofford, 1994). Teachers who were biliterate received the Bilingual CLAD, or BCLAD, credential and taught academic content in the students’ primary language until the students reached an “intermediate level” of proficiency in English (see Appendix A). The teachers were then to transition these students to instruction in English, using teaching strategies, such

[1] *Lau v. Nichols (1974)* decision was rendered by the U.S. Supreme Court in a class-action lawsuit that was filed against the San Francisco Unified school district on behalf of its Chinese-speaking students who were not receiving services in their primary language. The Court found that the Chinese-speaking students were not receiving an equal education. Moreover, the Court found that they were being denied an equal education because they were not able to understand English, the language of instruction.

[2] The U.S. Census Bureau did not ask questions about current language usage in the 1970s. The current language questions originated with the 1980 U.S. census. The data are not reliable, based on self-reports by people with no expertise in language assessment (typically, a parent reporting on their child’s level of English). Title VII only began requiring states to report English Learner numbers in 1984 as a condition for receiving SEA grants. Not all states applied, thus there are not data available for every state (Crawford, 2012).

as Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE), to make instruction more comprehensible for English Learners. However, once the students reached an intermediate level of English proficiency, teachers did not have a strong sense of urgency to differentiate instruction to make it more comprehensible to these students, and they often taught English Learners the same way that they taught their other students (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

The most recent reform came in 1998 with the passage of Proposition 227, the *English for the Children* initiative, which immediately dismantled the state's bilingual education program. In its place, parents had to choose between three instructional programs for their children who were English Learners, each of which included instruction in English Language Development (ELD) to assist the students in learning and acquiring English. One program, the bilingual waiver, allowed the use of the students' primary language for instruction. There were restrictions associated with this program, such as requiring a minimum number of students whose parents selected the program at a grade level, which drastically limited its selection and implementation. The remaining two programs, *Structured English Immersion* (SEI) and *Mainstream English* (ME), were more widely chosen. In my own experience as a teacher at the elementary level, parents tended to choose SEI because it allowed teachers to provide primary language support for their children; the schools advocated for ME as it was the easiest for teachers to implement since they did not have to differentiate instruction or use the students' primary language. However, both the SEI and ME programs required that instruction for English

Learners be "overwhelmingly"[3] in English, with the ME program also stipulating that the teacher not differentiate instruction or use the students' primary language at all or risk civil liability and loss of his/her credential. As a result, teachers found (and still find) themselves teaching both students who were English-only and English Learners in the same classroom, teaching them "overwhelmingly" in English, having to differentiate instruction, including using the students' primary language for support for students in the SEI program, while at the same time not differentiating instruction and avoiding the use of the students' primary language for students in the ME program. Moreover, some English Learners' parents opted them out of ELD altogether, so the teachers had to remember whom to include and exclude from ELD instruction while at the same time trying to keep the English-only students, who were prohibited from participating in ELD, engaged so that the teacher could instruct the mandated 30-minutes a day of ELD.

This study was conducted in the midst of this reform challenge, five years after the passage of Proposition 227, as teachers continued to consider how to adapt and implement the new policy and programs while at the same time addressing the needs of the students in their ethnically, socially, and linguistically diverse classrooms. To better understand how teachers meet the challenge of linguistic diversity this dissertation explores how teachers handle instruction for their English Learners and how we might understand why they teach English Learners as they do.

[3] The term "overwhelmingly" is the term that Ron Unz, the author of the "English for the Children" initiative, also known as Proposition 227, used to describe the amount of instruction to be presented in English in the initiative. Moreover, he used the term "overwhelming" to describe the margin of votes that the Proposition itself received when it passed with 61% of the votes June 1998. Many districts interpreted "overwhelmingly" to mean 61% and thus adjusted their use of the students' primary language to 39% of the day. Others chose to interpret this to mean 51%, and used the primary language 49% of the time.

This study revealed that although all four teachers who participated in this study taught English Learners, two were considered to be a "teacher of all students," capable of teaching both English-only and English Learners to high levels of academic achievement and possessing a higher social status than the two who were considered to be a "teacher of English Learners," who were considered only capable of teaching English Learners to a lower level of academic achievement and thus possessed a relatively lower social status. For each teacher, her teacher identity was consequential, and intertwined with both her social status and whether she was deemed capable of meeting the educational expectations parents held for their children within the social and political context of their school site in the Clarksville School District. Teaching English Learners, for many teachers, meant taking a "hit" to their teacher identity, social status, and others' perception of their teacher competence.

There were many aspects of teaching English Learners that challenged teachers, including: (a) the extra work that it entailed, (b) reaching all the diverse students in their classroom during instruction, (c) keeping track of English Learners' educational programs and requirements to avoid civil penalties and liabilities, and (d) assessment and accountability provisions for their overall academic achievement as well as their progress in ELD and attaining higher levels of proficiency in English. The extra work that teaching English Learners required included identifying, creating, and/or providing additional instructional materials in both English and Spanish, and creating an environment that was text-rich in both languages, which cost the teachers time and money. For teachers in SEI classrooms in the primary grades, where Spanish language

instruction took place, English Learners were diverse not only along the English language acquisition continuum but also along the Spanish language acquisition continuum, both of which the teacher was responsible for. This dual diversity was more challenging for teachers when also considering that the students were also diverse with regard to their academic ability in both languages. The range of academic ability and English proficiency was wide in other classrooms with English Learners, as well, which further challenged teachers, who were held accountable for moving them to higher levels of academic achievement and English proficiency. Teachers attempted to meet the challenge by teaming[4] to reduce the range of ability among the groups of students they taught, but teaming created additional challenges. Also, the pace of instruction made reaching all students challenging for teachers, as there was little time to extend their instruction on particular concepts that students struggled with. Instead, the teachers had to move on to prepare the students for upcoming high-stakes district and state assessments. In the midst of these challenges, there was another layer of complexity for teachers: keeping track of those English Learners for whom they were to differentiate instruction, and with whom they could use Spanish to clarify their instruction without risking possible civil sanctions and the loss of their teaching credential, as outlined in Proposition 227.

Teachers faced many challenges teaching English Learners, all of which were linked to the local social and political context in Clarksville and to the wider social and political context in the U.S., and contributed to the meaning teachers made of teaching

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[4] "Teaming" or "team teaching" refers to a practice common in elementary schools where all the students at a particular grade level are regrouped based on ability in a particular subject area or other criteria. The more homogeneous groups are then taught by the teachers, one group per teacher.

English Learners. Yet there was one challenge that stood out among all those that teachers encountered – teaching English Language Development (ELD). The ELD reform arose from the creation of the CLAD and BCLAD credentials in 1993 (Swofford, 1994), which combined the responsibilities of regular education teachers and the English as a Second Language teachers. All of these challenges had implications for English Learners in their classrooms. Teachers perceived teaching ELD as especially challenging, citing constraints and school-related encroachments on instructional time, and often cancelled it when teaching it to their own English Learners. During this study, teachers added ELD to their teaming schedule to ensure that ELD was taught each day, and once ELD teaming was put into place, teachers did not cancel it for the remainder of my study.

However, what I learned was that teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented the policy reform of ELD. Teachers' interpretation of ELD was similar in many ways, with them viewing ELD as curriculum-driven, and something they did all day long by virtue of the fact that they were teaching in English. They also interpreted ELD as a matter of equity versus equality, as they tried to manage the competing needs of their English Learners and the English-only students that were relegated to independent activities at the back of the classroom. The teachers also adapted ELD similarly by teaching less of the curriculum, teaching to the test, and reducing the rigor of their ELD instruction. Moreover, their implementation was also similar in that it contained limited student interaction and language development opportunities. Teachers were also challenged to establish and maintain a low affective filter in their classrooms to provide

the risk-free environment for English Learners to take the risks necessary to advance in their proficiency in English.

The meaning that teachers made of teaching English Learners varied, depending on several interrelated factors, including their teacher identity and social status at the school site. Moreover, being deemed capable of meeting the educational expectations of the parents from the local community within which the school was situated was also a factor, intertwined with their teacher identity and social status. Teaching English Learners also meant many additional challenges, including extra work to provide differentiated materials in both English and Spanish, reaching all students amidst a wide range of academic and linguistic diversity, keeping track of the educational programs that they were authorized to use with certain students or face civil liability and possible loss of their credential, assessment and accountability issues regarding additional measures of language acquisition that were required under current California and federal laws, and finally, teaching ELD. In short, teaching English Learners impacted teachers personally and professionally within the social and political context of the district and schools they taught in. Being considered a teacher of English Learners had the greatest impact, one that teachers were not able to distance themselves from once they were ascribed that identity. Only the teachers who managed to send their English Learners out for portions of the day or who taught students who were considered the elite on campus were able to position themselves to escape the impact to their teacher identity and social status. Even so, the challenges remained, and each teacher in my study, regardless of her teacher

identity and social status, had to navigate those challenges, with some able to do so more successfully than others.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to reviewing key research that has implications for research on teaching linguistically diverse students, specifically, research on teaching ethnically, socially, and linguistically diverse students. It also reviews research on teaching English Learners, including challenges to teaching English Learners and the challenges of policy reform. The chapter ends with my research questions, and the theoretical orientation of this study.

Literature Review

Teaching has been portrayed as a complex endeavor (Good & Brophy, 2000; Lampert, 1985; Page, 1991; Sizer, 1984). The equally cherished values of individual interest and group good contribute to the complexity as these values compete in the classroom, the first privileging the needs of individual students, and the second privileging the needs of the majority (Cuban, 1993; Ornstein, 2003). Lampert (1985) asserts that teaching encompasses the goal to achieve both of these responsibilities:

> My aims for any one particular student are tangled with my aims for each of the others in the class, and, more importantly, I am responsible for choosing a course of action in circumstances where choice leads to further conflict. The contradictions between the goals I am expected to accomplish thus become continuing inner struggles about how to do my job. (p. 80)

The challenges that these two competing yet equally cherished values represent are reflected dramatically when there are diverse students in the classroom as teachers are challenged to meet their needs while at the same time addressing the needs of White mainstream students. Yet, as indicated above, students are diverse along different dimensions, each which presents instructional challenges to teachers and impacts the academic achievement of those who differ from the mainstream (Lampert, 2001; LeBlanc Kohl & Witty, 1996; Zeichner, 1993). A number of studies have examined teaching diverse students, including the challenges they present to teachers. Many of these studies inform mine.

Teaching Ethnically Diverse Students

The presence of ethnically diverse students in the classroom has been seen to challenge teachers to embrace these students as individuals, meeting their instructional needs, while at the same time meeting the needs of the students from the mainstream White culture. Ladson-Billings (1994), in her ethnographic study of eight effective teachers of African American students, asserts that teachers often claim to be color-blind (and, by extension, diversity-blind) in their effort to not treat students, such as African American students, differently. However, she argues, "the passion for equality in American ethos has many teachers (and others) equating equality with sameness" (p. 33). She argues that teachers often confuse treating students equally with treating them equitably. She asserts that "different children have different needs and addressing those different needs is the best way to deal with them equitably" (p. 33). Yet teachers, in

seeking to treat students "equally," often privilege the mainstream White culture over the home cultures of their students, at times totally discounting the home culture and insisting that all students adopt that of the White mainstream (Ladson-Billings, 1994). With a similar finding regarding Mexican students in particular, Valenzuela (1999), in her ethnographic study at a comprehensive high school, found that teachers did not embrace the school's Mexican students or recognize how their cultural and linguistic backgrounds and resources could benefit the school and the other students there. Instead, their teachers advocated that being American was better than being Mexican, putting the students in the position of having to choose between abandoning their home culture and adopting the American culture, and putting the students at odds with their teachers, impacting their willingness and ability to meet the instructional goals the teachers set.

As these studies suggest, one of the ways to meet the individual needs of ethnically diverse students is to tap into the cultural resources that they bring to their classrooms to make learning culturally relevant, a process that can be challenging for teachers. J. Lee (2002), in her qualitative case study of six fourth grade teachers, found that "culturally relevant teaching may sometimes be incompatible with mainstream practices" (p. 68). Au (1980), in her ethnographic study of four second grade students and their teacher in Hawai'i, found that the reason the students struggled in their reading lessons was not because they did not speak or understand English. Instead, it was the manner in which the lesson was conducted, particularly the interaction structures, which were unfamiliar to them and contrasted with the "talk story" interaction that is prevalent in Hawaiian culture. Au (1980) asserts that it was the use of culturally congruent

participation structures such as talk story that provided the greatest support for student learning, evidenced by increased student reading achievement. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejeda (1999) also considered the challenge of diverse students in the classroom in their ethnographic study of a second and third grade classroom in a dual language immersion school. They analyzed what they saw as the hybrid language practices in the classroom that flowed back and forth between English and Spanish. Gutierrez, et al. (1999) argue that these practices arose when the students utilized their cultural and linguistic resources to create and meet new learning goals, yet these challenged the teachers because students' goals superseded the teachers'.

Studies such as these have direct implications for studies of teaching linguistically diverse students because ethnically diverse students are also, often by default, linguistically diverse. Moreover, they are frequently socially diverse, with nearly 85% of California's English Learner population eligible for the federal free or reduced-price lunch program, a key indicator of low-income students (Rumberger, 2007).

Teaching Socially Diverse Students

The presence in the classroom of students from different social classes has also been found to present challenges to teachers because the kinds of background knowledge, experiences, and language privileged by schools and thus centered in instruction are often those of the White middle-class (Heath, 1983; Lareau, 2000). For example, Lareau (2000), in her case study of parent involvement in first grade classes at two elementary schools, found that social class impacted the family-school relationship

differently, thus complicating working-class student success. As an example, she found that upper-middle-class parents were involved with their children's school, advocating for the teachers and schools to meet their students' social and academic needs, in contrast to working-class parents, who were not similarly involved. The working-class parents in this study believed the teachers, not themselves, were responsible for their children's education and did not question the way in which their children were taught. As well, there was a mismatch between the experiential background, academic knowledge, and language use that the working-class students brought with them to school and what was required for them to be successful in the school context. Heath (1983) too found this mismatch in her ethnographic study of the children in two English-speaking U.S. communities, Trackton and Roadville, in the Carolina Piedmonts. In her study, Heath (1983) focused on the different ways that children from each community were raised, including how they developed language and for what purposes. She found that the children from Trackton, a working-class community, learned the discourse of their community to get along with others and to gain the knowledge necessary to be successful within the community, but in doing so were not prepared for the demands of the language and ways of school. In contrast, the parents from Roadville, a middle-class community, utilized school-like discourse and experiences in their day-to-day lives, thereby implicitly preparing their children for school success. The mismatch between the discourse that Trackton children brought to school and that required for success in school posed a challenge for teachers as they sought to teach the students from the two communities.

The issues of mismatch between home and school "ways with words" can be even more noticeable when the languages themselves differ. Not only do English Learners struggle to acquire high levels of proficiency in English to understand instruction given in English, but they also have to learn a specific type of English to be successful in school, which is even more challenging for them (Gándara, 1997; Scarcella, 2003).

Teaching Linguistically Diverse Students

As the studies above would suggest, teaching linguistically diverse students can provide a complex challenge for teachers. In addition to often being culturally and/or socially diverse, students at the lowest levels of English proficiency as measured by the California English Language Development Test (CELDT) typically have limited listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills, which makes understanding instruction in English daunting (Education, 2002). According to Gándara (1997), especially challenging for teachers is checking for student understanding, as students' productive domains, both speaking and writing, are so limited. At the intermediate level, students are able to understand and engage in conversation and have begun to emerge as early readers and writers in English. However, they still struggle with academic language and abstract concepts, which are critical parts of instruction (Gándara, 1997). Students at lower levels of proficiency on the CELDT have difficulty distinguishing the meaning of words in English. For example, homophones, words that sound the same but mean something different, can lead to conceptual confusion (e.g., "some" vs. "sum" in mathematics, "base" vs. "bass" in science, "cymbal" vs. "symbol" in language arts). Understanding the

difference between the words such as these can be critical to comprehending instruction. Students at the higher levels of English proficiency have greater vocabulary resources and are approaching near native-like proficiency in English, which requires less differentiation to make instruction comprehensible for them (Gersten & Jiménez, 1998), though not entirely without challenges.

Teaching English Learners. Research on students learning English as a second language in the context of the classroom as they were being taught academic content in English did not begin to emerge until the early 1970s. The central question that this research sought to answer was which program was the most effective in promoting their rapid acquisition of English, a primary concern in the U.S. social and political, or sociopolitical, context, which will be explored further in Chapter 3. Briefly, quicker language learning has been equated with the often politically valued rapid assimilation of language and other minorities into the mainstream. As a result, the research on teaching English Learners even today focuses heavily on their development of literacy in English and the instructional methods and programs that might support rapid acquisition of this goal.

A body of research focuses on English literacy and on how best to develop it for English Learners. Studies draw upon various linguistic theories to address this question, with the goal of identifying theoretically sound frameworks for instructional methods for English literacy development. This research has moved away from its behaviorist origins to embracing a more social and cultural perspective in recognition of the complex social and cultural components that are an intrinsic part of language acquisition and teaching. In

the following, I highlight the key traditions and illustrative studies related to methods for English literacy development for English Learners, then introduce studies from social and cultural traditions, traditions that inform my study.

Perhaps the most prevalent theory that has framed research in second language acquisition, behaviorist theory considers literacy development for English Learners as operant behavior modification or habit formation, drawing upon the work of theorists such as Skinner (1953) and Fries (1945). As such, the research focus, prevalent in the 1960s, was on which method of instruction could "instill" grammatically sound linguistic habits. The principal method studied was known as the "audiolingual method," which drew upon Skinner's theory of linguistic structuralism (1953) and focused on stimulus-response patterns that included drill and repetitive practice. Following this method, the teacher would present what was considered the correct model of a sentence in the target language, and the students were expected to repeat it. The teacher would then present new words for students using the same sentence structure. There was no explicit grammar instruction, as students were expected to simply memorize the form. Students were to practice the particular sentence structure until they could spontaneously use it correctly. If the student did not respond correctly, the teacher provided negative feedback (Richard-Amato & Snow, 2005). An illustrative example of the research on the audiolingual method was conducted by Horn (1966). Interestingly, in his quantitative experimental study of 28 classrooms of Spanish-speaking first grade students over 28 weeks of instruction, he found no significant difference between the group of students who received the audiolingual method of instruction (one group in English, one group in

Spanish) and the control group. Over time, the behaviorist lens that framed instructional methods such as the audiolingual method was found to be ineffective in supporting English Learners' development of grammatically sound English that led to high levels of English literacy. Moreover, and perhaps critically, it did not take into account the social and cultural aspects of language or literacy development or consider the way in which human beings construct their own understanding of a new language, which brought about a shift in the conceptualization of how English literacy is developed and the instructional methods necessary to support such development (Richard-Amato & Snow, 2005).

In contrast, studies based in the cognitive psychology tradition often seek to identify the role of the learner him- or herself in English literacy development, rather than emphasizing a particular instructional method, and draw upon the work of theorists such as Ellis (1984) and Krashen (1981a). Krashen (1981a) formulated five hypotheses about second language acquisition, many of which were based on cognitive-linguistic theory. For instance, in his Monitor Hypothesis, Krashen (1981a) builds on Chomsky's (1965) theory of a "Language Acquisition Device," or LAD, which, Chomsky asserted, a language learner uses to monitor his or her second language output for grammar and form. Feedback from interaction with other native speakers of the second language helps the language learner's monitoring of output in the second language. There are several studies that can serve as exemplars of different aspects of this research tradition. One aspect focuses on interaction and its role in English literacy development. The quantitative experimental study conducted by White (1991) of 138 adult second language learners is illustrative of this type of research in that she considered how students learned

the grammatical features of English through teacher-student interaction. In her study, she found that students who had the opportunity to interact with the teacher and receive feedback on their responses were able to negotiate the meaning of their utterances. This allowed them to refine their responses and develop higher levels of English literacy. A second study that illustrates the role of interaction in second language learning was conducted by Swain and Lapkin (1998), in which they examined the role of interaction and negotiation in second language production among adolescent native English-speaking students in a French Immersion program classroom, where the students were taught 50% of the time in English and 50% in French. In their quantitative study, each dyad was given a task of completing a jigsaw puzzle that told a story in pictures in French, rendering it orally and then collaboratively writing the story out in French. Their interaction was audiotaped and the discourse analyzed, and the researchers found that in their interaction, "the students used language to co-construct the language they needed to express the meaning they wanted and to co-construct knowledge about the language" (Swain & Lapkin, 1998, p. 333).

Cognitive psychology also often views the English literacy development of English Learners as similar to their development of literacy in their first language and studies the "universal properties" of language, including Chomsky's (1981) notion of Universal Grammar, a grammar hierarchy that, according to Chomsky, applies to all languages. In his Common Underlying Proficiency Theory, for example, Cummins (1981) asserts that there is a common pool of language resources that a second language learner can draw upon. This assumption undergirds research in the cognitive tradition that

examines the effect of the students' linguistic background and prior knowledge on their English literacy development in settings where the primary focus of instruction is learning the English language. Researchers often investigate the link between students' ability and experience in their primary, or first, language and the mechanisms though which they learn English. In this tradition, understanding the order in which English Learners acquire English, for example, also informs the curriculum used to support, and assessments created to measure, their English literacy development. Many language assessment tools, such as the Bilingual Syntax Measure (Burt, Dulah, & Hernandez, 1973), are based on commonly held beliefs about the order in which morphemes are acquired and are related to the influence of one's primary language on the acquisition of English. An illustrative example of research using this assessment is Larsen-Freeman's (1976) quantitative experimental study, in which she examined the order in which 24 adult English Learners acquired eleven English morphemes. Larsen-Freeman (1976) found that the students she studied did not acquire the morphemes in the order previously believed. Instead, students' individual language backgrounds and what they heard in English-only students' speech influenced the order in which students acquired these eleven morphemes in English. Another example of this type of research is Gass's (1979) quantitative study of language transfer, in which the patterns of the primary language, including forms and functions, were applied to the patterns learned in the second language among 17 adult English Learners from various language backgrounds. Gass (1979) found, when using the framework of Universal Grammar and focusing on the syntax of relative clauses, that language transfer was more likely in those whose primary

language was closely related to the second language. In the case of native speakers of Spanish who are learning English, the possibility of language transfer was strong, given the common Latin roots in both the Spanish and the English language.

The influence of Vygotsky's (1978) "Zone of Proximal Development," in which a learner is provided scaffolded support to learn a task that is gradually withdrawn until such time as the learner is able to perform the task alone, has undergirded and continues to undergird much cognitive work in second language teaching and learning. An example is seen in Krashen's (1981b) Input Hypothesis. He asserts that a language learner who is currently at a particular level of proficiency, "level *i*," must receive scaffolded input from the teacher and peers that is just beyond his or her current level of proficiency, at "level *i*+1," to move to a higher level of proficiency in the second language. As a result, student-to-student classroom interaction is one area of focus in this tradition as it allows researchers to see how English Learners use their emerging skills in English in a setting where they can be valued and supported, thus theoretically reducing student anxiety, especially for those at lower levels of English proficiency (Díaz-Rico & Weed, 1995; Genesee, 1994).

Several important benefits have resulted from studies in the cognitive psychology tradition. The findings have raised questions as to the role of interaction in refining students' English literacy development, as feedback and interaction have been found to be critical components in English literacy development. Also, it has brought to the table the ideas that students' linguistic backgrounds and being exposed to English in the classroom influence their English literacy development, demonstrating the role in

language learning of the learning environment. Notwithstanding, studies in the cognitive psychology tradition do not emphasize the local context of the classroom and school or the wider social or political context of the community in language teaching and learning, nor do they emphasize teachers' or students' perspectives on language teaching and learning. Given this gap in our knowledge, the door is open for researchers to consider the teacher, the learner, and the context in the teaching and development of English language and literacy for English Learners.

A growing body of research builds on as well as moves away from cognitive psychology and draws instead upon social and cultural theories, which consider and seek to account for the broader social and cultural context within which individuals develop, in order to understand how they interpret their position and role within that context, and how they interact and make meaning within that context. Drawing upon the work of theorists such as Gutiérrez et al. (1999), Heath (1986), Lantolf (2000), Lareau (2000), Nieto (2002), and Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986), these studies often consider the role in language teaching and learning of the social, cultural, political, and historical contexts of the classroom and beyond (Pérez, 1998). Thus, language studies move away from the focus on the individual learner in the teaching and learning of a second language and instead embrace the teacher and learner as well as the broader contexts in which they operate.

An illustrative study is a qualitative case study conducted by Antón (1999), in which she studied learner interaction in two collegiate first-year French and Italian classrooms. She bases this work in social perspectives as she considers the influence of

the instructional situation on learners' discourse and its mediating role in language learning. She analyzed classroom discourse as it occurred in three instructional situations: grammar explanation, exercise correction, and oral practice. She found that when teachers read several text passages aloud and asked students to compare and contrast the grammar in each, the interaction that occurred teacher-to-student reflected high levels of negotiation of meaning. Moreover, student-to-student negotiation during related instructional activities, including error correction and oral practice, led to higher levels of mastery of the target language functions and forms because of the immediate feedback they received from their peers. Thus, the varying discourse contexts of the second language classroom, which included students at different levels of proficiency in the target language, supported their attainment of higher levels of language acquisition.

In a qualitative case study that uses a sociocultural lens in considering the role of context and interaction in language learning, Razfar, Khisty, and Chval (2011) explored how English Learners developed their second language in the context of learning mathematics in a fifth grade classroom and computer lab. Students who were less capable academically and linguistically were paired with more capable native-speaking peers, and they were able to use mediational tools such as calculators to explain their mathematical thinking and to receive feedback on their output in the second language. The study considered the discourse and interaction of two focal students, both teacher-to-student and student-to-student, as it looked at student learning through the frame of "activity system" (Engeström, 1999). Razfar et al. (2011) were able to able to consider how the students were able to achieve the object of the lesson, to develop mathematical meaning

making and the ability to identify a problem solving strategy, to reach their desired goal or outcomes, which included higher mathematical achievement, higher order thinking, and using language as a mediational tool.

A qualitative case study conducted by Martin-Beltrán (2010) used a sociocultural lens to focus on the role of context in the mediation of language learning. In her study of fifth grade students in a dual immersion program,[5] she focused on the interaction between students and what opportunities the interaction presented for academic content learning and language learning in both English and Spanish. She documented her findings in her field notes as a participant-observer in the classrooms, recess time, lunchtime, and other school functions and activities. She was also able to audio- and videotape student classroom interaction and interviews with teachers. In her analysis of student interaction and discourse, Martin-Beltrán (2010) found that students used both English and Spanish simultaneously and interchangeably in the classroom, which increased the opportunities for students to use both languages as mediational tools and objects of analysis themselves for academic and language learning purposes. Moreover, the dual immersion setting allowed teachers to also use the two languages concurrently as tools to both mediate and analyze learning during their interactions.

In an exploratory ethnographic study of the contexts for learning for English Learners in a middle school setting, Haneda (2008) examined the many opportunities to learn created for English Learners in three classrooms and the ways that the students

[5] Dual immersion programs include students who are both native English-speaking and English Learners. Instruction begins in kindergarten primarily in the target language (i.e. Spanish, Mandarin, etc.) and the percentage of instruction in English gradually increases each year, with the ultimate goal of having all students leave the program fluently bilingual and biliterate in both the target language and English.

embraced these opportunities. Specifically, she considered the activities that the teachers and students engaged in together that mediated between individual learners and the practice, knowledge, skills, and values of the larger societal context that they were situated in. Haneda (2008) was a participant-observer at a school site that had some departments tracking students based on academic ability, while other departments did not. She observed in a 7th grade English as a Second Language (ESL) class, a non-tracked mathematics course, and a lower track English class. Haneda (2008) found through her analysis of her field notes from classroom observations and informal conversations with the students and the teachers, along with transcripts of teacher interviews, that the learning opportunities offered the students were shaped by the teachers' perception of the educational needs of English Learners with regard to the track they were on, how they conceptualized their own role as teacher in responding to these needs, as well as the larger context of institutional practices in the school and district, such as tracking and leadership to guide teachers in providing learning opportunities for their English Learners.

The aforementioned studies and their respective theoretical lenses demonstrate the complex nature of teaching and acquiring a second language, a perspective on second language teaching that I take in my study. What makes these processes even more challenging is that in California, English Learners are expected to acquire English while at the same time master academic content taught in English. It falls to the teachers to make that instruction comprehensible so that the students can accomplish both goals:

acquire English and academic content knowledge. In doing so, teachers encounter many challenges.

Challenges Teaching English Learners

Given the strong focus in policy and practice on English Learners' acquisition of English, and a growing understanding of the complexity of English language learning, empirical research on the challenges teachers face in teaching English Learners academic content is surprisingly quite limited. However, a theme does emerge in the research regarding the challenges teachers face when students speak a language other than English in the classroom, as across the U.S., only a small percentage of teachers are certified to teach in a language other than English. Even in California and Texas, the states with the largest populations of English Learners, only 2% of the teachers in California (Education, 2005), and 0.5% of the teachers in Texas (Education, 2005) were certificated to teach in a language other than English in 2004-2005.

In a quantitative exploratory survey study conducted by Cho and Reich (2008), language barriers were identified as a challenge to teachers who did not speak the primary language of the English Learners in their classrooms. In the study, 33 social studies teachers were surveyed regarding the challenges they faced teaching English Learners. Yet, on the survey, "language is a barrier" was a fixed option, so teachers were not able to elaborate on exactly how language was a barrier and how the challenge of the language barrier might impact their instruction. In their qualitative case study in an elementary classroom and computer lab, Ganesh and Middleton (2006) focused on

practices, including scaffolded student interaction, that supported English Learners' acquisition of English and mathematical knowledge within the context of a computer laboratory that provided computer-based contextual and visual scaffolding and learning support. They found that language was a challenge for teachers, even for those who spoke the primary language of the English Learners in their classrooms, citing it as a significant factor in students' access to mathematics educational technology, and thus their acquisition of both English and mathematical knowledge. Moreover, English Learners who had not been in U.S. schools for at least three to four years were not able to demonstrate their understanding of the mathematical concepts presented even when using manipulatives or an interactive computer program, and even when interacting with their peers who were more proficient in English and attempting to negotiate the meaning from the computer program. However, it was not clear if language was a challenge as the teacher differentiated instruction for English Learners or if it became a challenge as the students together attempted to use the technology because the computer program did not differentiate the directions for the use of or the instruction within the program.

Another challenge cited in the literature was specific to teachers who spoke two or more of the languages represented in the classroom and the decision regarding which language to use in what setting to differentiate their instruction. Goldstein (2003), in her ethnographic study in a multilingual high school in Toronto, for example, found that teachers who were multilingual themselves played three different roles. They were teacher, helper, and counselor, and each role was associated with a specific set of challenges. The teacher role was very public, enacted in front of the class, while the

helper and counselor roles were enacted in a more private context. In their role as teacher, they used only English in front of the whole class. In their role as a helper, the teachers assisted students one-on-one using any of the three languages spoken in the classroom to clarify a concept or problem. The teachers also noted that, in their role as counselor, the conversations usually began in English but often shifted to the student's primary language, depending on the depth of emotion associated with the situation being discussed. However, Goldstein (2003) cited examples of students who felt that the use of languages other than English in the classroom alienated them from the group they were working with. Regardless of the language the teacher used, students were either alienated or excluded in the classroom. Thus, teachers were challenged to meet the needs of all the students while at the same time meeting the needs of the students who needed support in their primary language while they were learning academic content in English. With student needs pulling teachers in many directions, often the quality of instruction was impacted.

Teachers also report that providing high quality instruction while at the same time differentiating for many different levels of English Learners is a challenge. In his ethnographic study of 26 teachers, Gersten (1996) found that "teaching students for whom English is a second language requires helping them with the double demands of acquiring a new language while mastering academic content" (p. 18). He found in his interviews with the teachers that most of them understood that it would be beneficial to integrate English literacy development into their academic content instruction but felt "overwhelmed with the intricacies of putting it into practice" (p. 20). Similarly,

Cahnmann and Remillard (2002) reported that two-thirds of the teachers in their ethnographic study of eight teachers found it challenging to differentiate instruction in mathematics for ethnically, socially, and linguistically diverse students by integrating culturally relevant teaching and meaningful mathematics instruction. Moreover, they cited the lack of research on how to integrate support for diverse students in their academic content instruction as one of the reasons that teachers had difficulty conceptualizing what that type of instruction would look like. In these studies, what was not clear was specifically how teachers actually differentiated instruction. The paucity of research on this issue is a critical point, as Gersten (1999) highlights in his qualitative case study of four elementary school teachers, which does manage to address differentiation. These teachers found it challenging to differentiate instruction for many levels of English Learners while at the same time providing rigorous content instruction. Instead, they simplified the content and response expectations for English Learners, wanting them to have a chance to be successful. This strategy resonates with what I often observed as a teacher, as a supervisor of classroom practice in several teacher preparation programs, and in my work as a coordinator in my county's office of education, which has given me the opportunity to be in hundreds of classrooms over the past twenty years. In my experience, many teachers who either did not understand or were unwilling to integrate rigorous instruction that addressed the linguistic needs of English Learners often taught content that was reduced in scope as well as simplified the manner in which English Learners were to demonstrate their learning.[6]

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[6] It was this very issue of instructional quality in bilingual programs that contributed to the impetus that

Teaching Challenges and Policy. As theories about second language acquisition have evolved, so have the policies regarding teaching English Learners and the challenges these present to teachers. With any new policy issued, the expectation by its authors is that it will be adopted fully and implemented with fidelity (Gándara, 1994; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). However, research tells us that teachers adapt rather than adopt policy reforms, often picking and choosing the elements of the reform that align with their ways of teaching (Cohen, 1990; Cuban, 1993; Lortie, 2002; McNeil, 2000; Page, 1999).

When language politics are woven into the fabric of changes in policy for English Learners, teachers' responses take on another dimension. In qualitative cross-case studies on language policy change, Varghese and Stritikus (2005), drew upon sociocultural theory in their study of eight teachers as they considered how language policy was "mediated by teachers' personal and professional histories and their local environments" (Varghese & Stritikus, 2005, p. 75). They also sought to learn how the decisions that teachers made "in policy contexts in which individual actors play agentive roles in the translation of policy to practice" (Varghese & Stritikus, 2005, p. 75) after the passage of Proposition 227 in California. They found that teachers mediated their response to language policy change based on three factors: how the policy was implemented, the teachers' sense of who they were as teachers, and their personal beliefs about language. Stritikus (2003) also drew upon sociocultural theory in his qualitative case study of two bilingual teachers, in which he found that the most critical factors in how the teachers

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brought about the latest reform in the education of English Learners, the passage of Proposition 227, the *English for the Children* initiative, in 1998.

adapted language policy were the teachers' personal history as English Learners themselves in school and their beliefs about the value of bilingualism. Another factor cited was the context within which the policy was to be implemented: their classroom, the school, the local community, and beyond.

The studies discussed above examine multiple dimensions of teaching diverse students and their learning of second language, including those who are diverse ethnically, socially, and linguistically. Some of the challenges that teachers face in teaching diverse students have been highlighted, including the role teachers play in adapting policies that address English Learners. These studies used a variety of theoretical lenses in considering how teachers teach English Learners, and have alluded to but not emphasized, what teaching English Learners meant to the teachers, and what effect that meaning might have on how they teach English Learners. My study seeks to fill in this gap, as a way of better understanding why teachers teach English Learners as they do.

Theoretical Perspective of this Study and Research Questions

Guided by these studies, and the issues around teaching English Learners that they either address or suggest, I looked inside regular education classrooms to inquire about "what is happening" as teachers were teaching English Learners. To better understand why teachers teach English Learners as they do, I drew upon social and cultural theorists who, when accounting for human behavior, consider both the meaning that is made by humans and the context within which meaning is made. As context

includes participants' identities, I also drew upon theories that enlighten this concept, as teacher identity has been seen to influence how they see themselves, and how other see and respond to them.

Erickson (1986, 2004), promoting a social perspective on language, argues that humans make meaning and that the social context affects the meaning that is made. He argues for the role of context in understanding human action, citing its critical role in understanding why humans act as they do. Erickson (2004) also asserts that if researchers "overlook the locally situated character of everyday social practices…they are likely to ignore…the 'bottom-up' influences of local social practices [e.g., in language teaching and learning] upon larger-scale social processes" (2004, p. 108). Compatible with Erickson's view, Wertsch (1985), drawing upon Vygotsky (1962; 1978) and Leont'ev (1974), takes a sociocultural perspective and focuses on "activity in context" in order to understand the meaning behind human action. He argues that the primary focus "for any theory of action or activity… [is] what an individual or group is doing *in a particular setting*" (p. 211) [emphasis mine]. In other words, setting shapes actions and actors. Grossman, Smagorinsky, and Valencia (1999), influenced by Wertsch and focusing in particular on teachers, assert that focusing on teachers' actions in context provides a lens for understanding teachers' thinking by exploring how context affects the meaning teachers make in teaching.

Influenced by these related perspectives, in my study, I sought to learn what teaching English Learners meant to teachers to help me understand how it made sense that they taught English Learners as they did. I sought to understand how teachers taught

their English Learners in the context of their classrooms in their school site and in the local school district and community in which it was situated. I also considered the larger political context of second language and instruction, and, as I discuss next, how teachers' professional identity is tied to the sociopolitical context within which they teach (Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000; Enyedy, Goldberg, & Welsh, 2005; Gee, 2000; Lasky, 2005; Sloan, 2006; Vulliamy, Kimonen, Nevalainen, & Webb, 1997).

Teachers' identity encompasses who they perceive themselves to be as teachers as well as whom others perceive them to be within the sociopolitical context of their communities, schools, and classrooms (Gee, 2000; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991), including their ethnic identity (important to my study) and credential authorization (also important; Gee, 2000). Who teachers teach is another factor in their teacher identity (Yoon, 2008). With the new CLAD and BCLAD credentials that debuted in California in 1993 (Swofford, 1994), and continue now with the most recent update in 2002 to the teaching credential in California, the duties of the regular education teacher and the English as a Second Language teacher were combined. This resulted in teaching students that many teachers had not taught previously, a situation that theoretically affected their teacher identity.

Teachers' identity is also conceptualized to include their knowledge, experience, and beliefs (Calderhead, 1996; O. Lee, 2004; Nespor, 1987; Stritikus, 2003). Those interested in this aspect of teacher identity theorize how teacher knowledge (Beijaard et al., 2000; Calderhead, 1996; Sloan, 2006), experience, and beliefs (Calderhead, 1996; O. Lee, 2004; Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992) may influence how they teach. Teacher

knowledge of how to teach comes from many sources, including their experience as students themselves, or their *apprenticeship of observation* (Lortie, 2002). Their apprenticeship of observation thus provided the teachers in my study a set of expectations for what and how they were to teach, which contrasted with how and what they were required to teach as a CLAD-certified teacher. Moreover, teacher beliefs about who and what they are to teach, in particular, are linked to the sociopolitical context of the classroom, school, district, community, and wider society (Calderhead, 1996; O. Lee, 2004; Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992). Therefore, teacher identity, who teachers perceive themselves to be and who others perceive them to be, includes the influence that their knowledge, experience, and beliefs have on who they are within the sociopolitical context of the classroom, school, district, community, and wider society (Epstein, 1978; Gee, 2000).

Notably, from a sociocultural perspective, teacher identity is seen not as stable but as changing. It can change from "moment to moment in the interaction, [and] can change from context to context, and…can be ambiguous or unstable" (Gee, 2000, p. 99). Therefore, considering the various social, cultural, and political contexts within which the teachers taught was critical to understanding how their identity may have both affected and been shaped by the decisions they made regarding how they taught (Beijaard et al., 2000; Nias, 1989; Sachs, 2001; van den Berg, 2002).

In a related vein, researchers interested in social and cultural contexts make certain assumptions as they look for logic in the actions and context of everyday life, including the classroom and the school where teacher and student interactions take place.

These same assumptions informed the theoretical perspective in my study. Sociocultural researchers (Antón, 1999; Erickson, 1986; Geertz, 1973; Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Haneda, 2008; Heath, 1986; Lantolf, 2000; Lareau, 2000; Nieto, 2004; Pérez, 1998) assume that each individual creates his or her own meaning for the happenings in the everyday life of classrooms. These meanings are connected to more stable meanings of culture in the wider societal context, and are causal to any action individuals take. From this perspective, each individual's actions are composed of two components, the meaning that the individual makes in the given situation and the specific behavior that the individual executes in acting upon that meaning. Moreover, actions can have two purposes, one explicitly linked to the meaning that the actor makes in the situation as well as a symbolic purpose that is linked to the local or wider context. Again, context is critical to the meaning, with sociocultural researchers assuming that meaning is also made from the actions of other individuals and the social setting as they intersect, such as in a classroom, within a school, and so forth. Therefore, widening the research focus to include various contexts allows researchers to better understand the "immediate and local meanings of actions from the actor's point of view" (Erickson, 1986, p. 119).

Thus, in conducting sociocultural research in educational settings, one must consider several factors: classrooms serve as social and cultural contexts for learning, the manner in which the teacher teaches students within these classroom contexts is only one aspect of the learning environment, and the meaning that both the students and teacher make within those contexts are critical to the educational process that occurs in the classroom contexts. Sociocultural researchers are guided by questions that bring these

factors into focus as they seek to learn the meanings that individuals in the classroom or school setting ascribe to the particular situation. They also seek to situate that meaning within the complex social system that it operates within.

Taking this theoretical perspective, my research on how teachers differentiated instruction for English Learners focused on what it meant to them to teach English Learners, and examined the contexts within which that meaning was constructed. Moreover, it identified how that meaning was connected to wider social contexts. Overall, these issues were washed in issues of teacher identity. As a result, this study was guided by the following research questions:

- What effect, if any, does teaching English Learners have on teachers' professional identity, including their sense of their social status within the social system of the school? How does their teacher identity and social status contribute to the meaning that they make of teaching English Learners? How is this meaning connected to both the classroom and school as well as to the wider sociopolitical context?
- What are the challenges teachers perceive in teaching English Learners? How do the challenges contribute to the meaning that they make? How is this meaning connected to both the classroom and school as well as to the wider sociopolitical context?
- How do teachers interpret, adapt, and implement policy regarding teaching English Learners? How does the sociopolitical context influence teachers' interpretation, adaptation, and implementation of policy? How do teachers'

policy interpretations, adaptations, and implementation contribute to the meaning that they make?

- What, ultimately, does it mean to teachers to teach English Learners? How is this meaning connected to both the classroom and school as well as to the wider sociopolitical context?

To answer these questions, I used a social and cultural contextual lens as I studied and considered how the teachers constructed the meaning of teaching English Learners in the classroom and school, including who and what they perceived themselves to be as teachers as well as whom and what others perceived them to be. I also considered the challenges that teachers faced in teaching English Learners and how these challenges contributed to the meaning they made of teaching English Learners. I show how the teachers adapted policy changes as they made decisions regarding how to teach English Learners, all situated in the sociopolitical context of the classroom, school, local community, and wider society within which they taught. Finally, I considered how these policy interpretations and adaptations influence the teachers' implementation of policy and how these contributed to the meaning they made of teaching English Learners.

In the next chapter, I discuss the research design and the data analysis methods that formed the methodological foundation for this study. I provide a description of the research site and participants to situate the study in the local context for the readers. I also provide a rationale for using case study and iterative analysis as the methodological and

analytical frameworks for a study of how teachers differentiate instruction for English Learners.

In Chapter 3, I trace the evolution of the educational policy for English Learners in the U.S. and California since the arrival of the first immigrants on U.S. soil, including how the policies impacted teachers in classrooms. I also examine the tension between the goal of equal educational opportunity and academic excellence, two enduring values in U.S. education, as they pertain to the education of English Learners and how these two competing values contributed to the sociopolitical context in Clarksville, where my study is situated.

How the policies regarding the education of English Learners came alive in the context of the Clarksville School District are examined in Chapter 4. In particular, I take a closer look at the two sites selected for this study, Terra Bella Elementary and Del Sol Elementary. For each site, I describe the communities within which each was situated, who the English Learners were at each site, and the relationship each site had with the parents of its students to help us understand what teaching English Learners meant to teachers.

In Chapter 5, I journey into classrooms at Terra Bella and Del Sol Elementary to learn what teaching English Learners meant to the teachers. In particular, I consider how their identity as a teacher and their social status were affected when they taught English Learners. Finally, I consider how these issues were connected to both the classroom and school, as well as to the wider sociopolitical context, including how teachers' identity and social status were impacted by teaching English Learners. What I learned was that the

meaning that teachers made of teaching English Learners was linked to the sociopolitical context of the school and the community where they taught and the impact teaching English Learners had on their professional identity as teachers and their status within the school's social system. Parents from the local community in which the school was situated also played a critical role in the determination of their teacher identity and social status, as did the other teachers from the school. There were common factors in the formation of their teacher identity and the determination of their social status, including the type of students they taught and their perceived pedagogical competence, as perceived by parents and colleagues. Another factor both contributed to and, at the same time, reinforced their identity and social status: whether the teacher was deemed capable of meeting the local community's educational expectations for their children.

Understanding better how the sociopolitical context shaped teachers' professional identity and social status allows us to consider in Chapter 6 how it made sense for the teachers to respond as they did to the challenges they faced in teaching English Learners and the meaning teachers made of teaching them. Moreover, I consider how these challenges were linked to the sociopolitical context and the meaning teachers made of teaching them. I learned that teaching English Learners was challenging for teachers in many ways, including having to do extra work, trying to reach all of the academically and linguistically diverse students during instruction, keeping track of the educational programs each English Learner was to receive, and meeting additional assessment and accountability requirements. Teaching ELD was especially challenging for teachers as they cited constraints and school-related encroachments on instructional time. Teaming

was a strategy teachers instituted to ensure that ELD was taught each day, and once teaming was in place, teachers did not cancel ELD for the remainder of my study, which surprised me. If lack of instructional time was what challenged the teachers and influenced them to cancel ELD, then team teaching did not solve that problem. There was no more time available for teaching ELD after they began to team teach than there was before. In fact, there was less, as it took students several minutes to walk to other classrooms for ELD and then several more to return to their regular classrooms each day. So I had to question teachers' claims that limited instructional time due to heightened assessment accountability in language arts and mathematics made sustaining a commitment to teach ELD daily problematic. Was the issue really lack of time, or were there other factors that influenced their decisions earlier in the year to not teach ELD? What role did teachers' interpretation, adaptations and implementation of the policy regarding ELD play in the decisions teachers made as they taught English Learners? I then looked more closely at how teachers taught ELD and how their interpretation, adaptation, and implementation of ELD and the policy to teach it daily may have influenced the decisions and the meaning they made of teaching English Learners within the sociopolitical context of Clarksville.

In Chapter 7, I examine an ELD lesson in depth to learn how teacher identity, social status, and the challenges teachers face in teaching English Learners intersect in a lesson, within the sociopolitical context of the classroom and school to better understand the meaning that teachers make of teaching English Learners. What I learned was that teachers interpreted ELD very similarly, viewing it as curriculum-driven and perhaps

most significantly, something they did whenever they were teaching their English Learners in English. For those with English-only students in the classroom as well as English Learners, ELD was an issue of equity versus equality, with both groups of students alike vying for the teacher's attention during ELD lessons. Teachers adapted their ELD curriculum and instruction in similar ways, as well. They taught less than the recommended amount of their ELD program, and both taught to the ELD test. Teachers adapted the curriculum and their instruction in this way because they did not believe that the test was a valid measure of their students' English proficiency. Teachers questioned the rational for administering the tests because there was no direct link to the CELDT. There was also limited interaction during ELD, and no evidence of formal academic language learning in any of the teachers' ELD lessons. Establishing and maintaining a low affective filter was very challenging to teachers with the large and diverse teaming groups they taught but was more feasible in classrooms comprised exclusively of English Learners. Moreover, there was surprisingly little, if any, language development occurring in the lessons I observed. The teachers admitted only teaching the ELD curriculum to comply with administrative mandates and assessment accountability measures. Even with grammar lessons available in the ELD curriculum, teachers did not teach grammar directly or offer corrective feedback on the students' grammar usage. The vocabulary of the ELD curriculum became the de facto corpus of academic language that students were to learn. The CELDT, with its integral link to schools' Annual Yearly Progress (AYP) and Academic Performance Index (API)[7] scores, became the ultimate measure for the

[7] AYP and API will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

ELD programs. If the program could not demonstrate how its curriculum and assessments were correlated with the CELDT, then its value was brought into question by the teachers. Teachers adapted to the mandated teaching of and assessment by the adopted ELD curriculum by picking and choosing lesson parts that were being assessed. Teachers considered content area instruction in English the same as formal language development instruction for English Learners, thus diminishing the importance of dedicating themselves to teaching any ELD program consistently or with fidelity. With no direct link between the ELD programs and the CELDT, the door was left open for teachers to adapt their conceptualization of ELD to what they did every day in class, teaching English Learners in English.

Chapter 2

Research Design and Methodology

This study uses case study design, incorporating elements of ethnography. As an in-depth case study, it develops portraits of four teachers of English Learners and their practices teaching English Learners at two different schools. It also considers the meaning that the teachers made of teaching English Learners within the context of the classroom, school, and wider community to understand why they taught English Learners as they did. Although the meaning that English Learners themselves make in the classroom is important, for the purpose of this study, I chose to focus on what it means to teachers to better understand why it is they teach English Learners as they do. Therefore, I collected data regarding my research questions by three methods: (a) participant-observation, (b) interviews, and (c) document collection (Agar, 1996; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

Research Sites

I selected two elementary schools in the Clarksville School District,[8] a large, urban school district in southern California, for this study. The schools were selected for a number of reasons, primarily because of the large number of English Learners in their student bodies. I wanted to learn what teaching English Learners meant to teachers in schools where the English Learners came from the local neighborhood, as well as what it meant to teachers who taught in schools where the English Learners were bused in from a

[8] All names of places and participants are pseudonyms to protect their confidentiality.

neighborhood beyond the local neighborhood of the school. Also a consideration was the existence of many *Structured English Immersion* (SEI) classrooms[9] in these schools, where instruction in English was to be differentiated to assist English Learners in understanding the subject matter, and where English Language Development (ELD) was to be taught daily. These classrooms allowed me to see both teachers and English Learners in the midst of English Learner instruction and learning.

The first school, Terra Bella Elementary, was located in a middle-class neighborhood[10] (see Table 2). Residents within the school's attendance boundaries were primarily engaged in professional, sales, and management careers and had an average household income at the time of my study of $102,525. The median home value at that time was $232,848, and 88% of the homes were owner-occupied. The second school, Del Sol Elementary, was situated in a working-class neighborhood. Residents were primarily engaged in service, production, and sales careers and had an average household income at the time of my study of $34,724. The median home value at that time was $95,937 in 2004, and 36% of the homes were owner-occupied. The English Learners who attended Terra Bella were bused in from the neighborhood surrounding Del Sol Elementary. Thus, these students differed not only in linguistic background but also in social class from the majority of the students who attended and lived near Terra Bella. The English Learners who attended and lived near Del Sol, however, mirrored the linguistic background and social class of the local neighborhood surrounding the school. The English Learners who

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[9] Information regarding the SEI program was presented in Chapter 1 and will be further explored in Chapter 3.

[10] Demographic information on both schools downloaded from Claritas (http://claritas.com) March 20, 2004.

were bused to Terra Bella comprised 33% of its student body, while English Learners at Del Sol made up 56% of its student body, according to data supplied by the Clarksville School District at the time of the study.

Table 2

Research Site Demographics[a]

School	Careers	Average Househol d Income	Median Home Value	Owner-Occupied Homes in Neighborhood	English Learners' Neighborhood	English Learners in Student Body
Terra Bella Elementary	Professional, Sales, and Management	$102,525.	$232,848.	88%	Non-local; bused in from across town	33%
Del Sol Elementary	Service, Production, and Sales	$34,724.	$95,937.	36%	Local	56%

[a] Demographic information on both schools downloaded from Claritas (http://claritas.com) March 20, 2004.

The two research sites were also similar in some ways. The student bodies approached 1,000 at both Del Sol and Terra Bella, with correspondingly large numbers of English Learners. At Del Sol, 35 out of 37 teachers had earned the specialized credentials or certificates required by the State of California to teach English Learners. At Terra Bella, all 37 teachers held these credentials or certificates. As a result of the abundance of both specially credentialed teachers and English Learners at each site, there were multiple SEI classrooms at each grade level for me to observe for the purposes of this study.

Due to the large number of students enrolled at each site and limited facilities, the Clarksville School District had placed both Terra Bella and Del Sol on a four-track, year-round schedule. In the district, the Gifted and Talented Education (GATE) students were clustered in the A track, the Special Education students were placed in the B track, and the English Learners were assigned to the C track. However, the year of my study, Terra Bella switched to a one-track modified traditional schedule after the district attendance boundaries were redrawn, allowing some students who were previously bused in from across town from the neighborhoods adjacent to Del Sol Elementary to attend Del Sol, their neighborhood school. With the corresponding drop in student enrollment, adequate facilities to house all the students on campus at one time, and the resultant decrease in state funding, a four-track schedule was no longer necessary or cost-effective at Terra Bella.

Subjectivity and Reflexivity. As an interpretive researcher, I acknowledge my subjectivity in the recording and analysis of what teaching English Learners means to teachers. I cannot "escape the social world" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), p. 17) of the classroom to study it. Therefore, I was self-conscious about my presence in and my impact on the research setting, as well as the effect of the setting on me as the researcher. I began my participant-observation in July 2003, the first month of school, to minimize the impact of my presence on the students and the classrooms. By being present from the first days of school on, I intended that the students consider me a regular member of their classroom community and less an occasional visitor. I also endeavored to establish good rapport with the teachers early on in my fieldwork, with the hope that teachers would feel

more comfortable not only about my presence in the classroom but also about sharing their feelings about teaching English Learners as well as the reasons behind the decisions they made in teaching English Learners.

I acknowledged to the teachers in the study that I had been previously employed as a teacher for several years in the Clarksville School District. More recently, I had supervised student teachers at Del Sol for a local university. Knowing I was a former teacher and university supervisor in the district helped teachers to consider me to be more an interested insider than an uninformed outsider. Teachers considering me as such also allowed me to exploit my reactions to what I saw in classrooms and heard in interviews (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) when I asked questions that they might not normally have responded to if I were not considered an interested insider.

Participants

Two teachers were selected for study from each school to be able to provide a cross-case comparison. Having only four participants allowed me to spend more time in each teacher's classroom to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning they made of teaching English Learners. To ensure teachers' knowledge of instructional differentiation, I selected teachers who held either a Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD) or a Bilingual CLAD (BCLAD) credential.[11] Two of the teachers, Paula Ahrens at Terra Bella and Rachel King at Del Sol, were native English speakers

[11] Details about these credentials were presented in Chapter 1. Additional details will be presented in Chapter 3.

and held CLAD credentials. The other two teachers, Patricia Lopez[12] at Terra Bella and Felicia Rodríguez at Del Sol, were native Spanish speakers and held BCLAD credentials. These differences allowed me to explore how one's native language might affect the meaning and the decisions teachers make when teaching English Learners.

The teachers also represented a span of grade levels, allowing me a glimpse at possible connections between grade level and teaching ELs. Paula Ahren taught sixth grade and Patricia Lopez taught fourth grade at Terra Bella, while Rachel King taught fifth grade and Felicia Rodríguez taught second grade at Del Sol (See Table 3).

Table 3

Description of Participants

Participant	School	Credential	Languages Spoken	Grade Level
Patricia Lopez	Terra Bella Elementary	Bilingual, Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (BCLAD)	English, Spanish	4th
Paula Ahren	Terra Bella Elementary	Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD)	English	6th
Felicia Rodríguez	Del Sol Elementary	Bilingual, Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (BCLAD)	English, Spanish	2nd
Rachel King	Del Sol Elementary	Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD)	English, German	5th

Patricia Lopez. A second year teacher, Patricia was trying to adjust to her new assignment to fourth grade at Terra Bella (she taught third grade there the previous year), including becoming familiar with a new set of content standards and new curriculum.

[12] Patricia did not use an accent mark on her last name. In Spanish, it would be "López."

Patricia earned her BCLAD credential, which authorizes her to teach linguistically diverse students and provide primary language instruction and support in Spanish, her first language. She used to teach on the C track, where English Learners were previously clustered. Patricia was assigned 17 English Learners in her class of 33 students, with 12 at a CELDT level 1 (see Appendix A). Her colleagues at fourth grade were assigned 11, 10, and 6 English Learners, respectively, all with correspondingly fewer students at these low levels of English language acquisition.

Paula Ahren. The sixth graders in Paula's class at Terra Bella Elementary were the most diverse ethnically of the four classes observed for this study. The eight English Learners in Paula's classroom spoke Spanish, Korean, and Chinese as their primary languages. There were two students each at California English Language Development Test (CELDT) levels 1 and 2, three at level 3, and one at level 4 (see Appendix A). Paula earned her CLAD teaching credential and GATE certificate, which authorize her to teach both linguistically diverse and GATE students. Paula, with 11 years teaching experience, is one of two GATE teachers in sixth grade at Terra Bella, with four of her thirty students identified as GATE. She has taught sixth grade for four years.

Felicia Rodríguez. Felicia had taught for nine years at Del Sol, but this was her first year at second grade. The reassignment was a mixed blessing; although she was tackling new standards and curriculum, she was able to keep her students from the year before, all of whom were familiar with her routines and accustomed to her admittedly high expectations. Felicia earned her BCLAD credential, which authorized her to teach linguistically diverse students and provide primary language instruction and support in

Spanish, her first language. In Felicia's class, linguistic and ethnic diversity was not as apparent as in other classrooms; all of her 20 students spoke Spanish as their first language. Her students were taught in English for the majority of the day but still received a portion of their daily instruction and instructional support in Spanish. The students' linguistic diversity was most evident in their levels of acquisition of English. There were three at CELDT level 1, eight at level 2, five at level 3, one at level 4, and 3 at level 5 (see Appendix A). Felicia's goal for them was to become fluently biliterate and bilingual, as this was the last year that they were to receive language arts instruction in Spanish. In the Clarksville School District, all English Learners transitioned to English language arts and instruction in English only in third grade.

Rachel King. Although this was her fifth year teaching, it was Rachel's first year teaching the fifth grade. Rachel was assigned to her class of fifth graders at Del Sol Elementary in part because she possessed a CLAD teaching credential, which authorizes her to teach linguistically diverse students. Although she was a native speaker of English, her mother was a German immigrant, and spoke German in the home. Rachel was required to study a second language to earn her credential. She studied German in high school and took one semester of Spanish in college. In her classroom of 31 students, there were 15 English Learners, all native Spanish speakers. There were four students at CELDT level 2, ten at level 3, and one at level four (see Appendix A).

Data Collection

Classroom activity. As a participant-observer, I was present in each classroom several days a week over a period of four months, from July to December 2003. I observed and documented in field notes how the teachers taught the English Learners in their classrooms and also how they interacted verbally and nonverbally with students during and between lessons. I also audiotaped several content-area lessons as well as ELD lessons. I became especially interested in how the teachers taught English Language Development (ELD), and focused my later observations on ELD. The initial period of participant-observation spanned one month during the first track segment of the school year[13] and continued for another three months when the students returned for the second track segment. I sought to participate as the teachers saw fit, often helping them by walking around the room answering individual students' questions or working with small groups of students on an assignment, all of which I recorded in my field notes.

I reviewed and amended my field notes within one day of each participant-observation and transcribed my audio recordings verbatim within one week in order to preserve as accurate and detailed account of my classroom observations and participation as possible. Understanding that my background as a teacher of English Learners might interfere with my observations as what I saw could be all too familiar, I was purposeful in making the familiar strange (Spindler & Spindler, 1982) by taking the perspective of someone who does not know what goes on in a classroom in recording my field notes. I was careful to try not to imbue meaning or intent in my field notes. I endeavored to

[13] Between track segments, students are on vacation from school, thus the need to do the participant-observation in segments rather than a continuous 4-month period.

record simply what I observed, not the meaning I made regarding the actions or events. For instance, when one of the teachers asked a student to use English in his response, I only recorded the teacher's and student's exact words instead of assuming that the teacher's reason for asking the student to respond in English was the same as mine would be.

However, because the teachers had several years teaching experience and had studied how to teach linguistically diverse students as part of their credential programs, I did wonder if they would demonstrate ways similar to one another in responding to the English Learners in their classrooms. In other words, I wondered whether the presence of English Learners with low levels of English fluency would trigger the teachers with such students to use similar strategies in differentiating instruction. In my participant-observations, therefore, as I took notes, I also traced the circumstances in which the teachers did and did not respond similarly. In this process, the beginnings of data analysis merged with the process of data collection. (On this phenomenon in case study research, see Bogdan & Biklen, 1992 and Dyson & Genishi, 2005) .

Out-of-classroom settings.

I also was a participant and observer in formal settings outside of the classrooms (e.g., staff meetings), in informal settings (e.g., staff lounge, grade-level meetings), and at parent and community meetings (e.g., Back to School Night, Parent-Teacher Association [PTA],[14] English Language Advisory Committee [ELAC][1516]) to better understand the

[14] The National Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) lists its objective as: "PTAs serve as a type of forum where parents, teachers, administrators, and other concerned adults discuss ways to promote quality education, strive to expand the arts, encourage community involvement, and work for a healthy environment and safe neighborhoods" (downloaded 4.24.12 from http://www.pta.org/1162.asp).

context in which each of the teachers was teaching. I recorded what I observed in field notes, which I amended within one day to preserve as accurate and detailed account of my out-of-classrooms observations and participation as possible.

Interviews. I conducted formal and informal interviews with the four teachers and with their respective principals. I was able to interview other teachers from the same grade levels as the participating teachers to help me understand if the perspectives of the participating teachers were shared by others at their grade level. Interviews gave me the opportunity to hear their interpretation of what teaching English Learners meant to them and what it might mean to the teachers in my study. I was then able to compare the data from their interviews to what I observed in the field, or my interpretation of what teaching English Learners meant to them, to better understand why they taught English Learners as they did.

I conducted two formal interviews with each of the teachers and one formal interview with each principal. These formal interviews were scheduled in advance and conducted before or after school with only the interviewee and myself present. Each interview was approximately one to one and one-half hours in duration. I was able to audiotape each interview to allow me to pay attention to other aspects of the interview (e.g., body language, tone) and to be more engaged in the conversation instead of just

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[15] The English Learner Advisory Committee (ELAC) is to provide parents of English Learners opportunities to learn more about the programs offered to their children, participate in the schools' needs assessment of students, parents and teachers, advise the principal and school staff of the most positive and effective strategies for teaching English Learners, provide input on the most effective ways to support full participation of English Learners in all school activities, and provide input on the most effective ways to ensure regular school attendance. (downloaded 3/19/04 from http://www.scusd.edu/multilingual/elac_english/ELACWebEnglish.pdf)

writing notes. Although the interviews were not structured around a specific set of questions, I had prepared some questions to direct the discussion towards topic(s) that arose in the literature that might be important to my inquiry, or developed as a result of previous participant-observation in each school or each teacher's classroom (see Appendices B and C).

In addition to the formal interviews, I conducted short, unscheduled, informal interviews with the four teachers in my sample, often during recesses, lunch, or immediately before and after school, that were more spontaneous in nature and without a set of prepared questions, as I sought to establish a comfortable relationship with each one in her classroom and to learn what teaching English Learners meant to them to better understand why they taught English Learners as they did. I did not audiotape the interviews, but instead took field notes, which I amended within one day to preserve as accurate and detailed account of the interviews as possible.

Document Collection. I collected documents and copies of material the teachers used during instruction, such as worksheets and tests, along with overhead transparencies and posters. I also recorded what they wrote and drew on the board. I also collected various other documents, such as beginning of the school year parent letters, "Back to School Night" information, and other school-to-parent communication. These documents provided additional data for me to consider in my attempt to learn what teaching English Learners meant to the teachers and to better understand why they taught English Learners as they did.

To better understand the sociopolitical context of my study and to contextualize the teachers' work, I also collected and used historical documents related to the education of English Learners in the U.S. and California. These documents included historical accounts of the education of English Learners since the establishment of schools after the arrival of the first settlers and their children from Europe on U.S. soil. I also collected documents from the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing regarding the CLAD and BCLAD credential. From the California Department of Education, I gathered Education as well as Supreme Court decisions regarding the education of English Learners. Finally, I gathered federal and state judicial decisions and legislative documents pertaining to the education of English Learners in addition to demographic data on English Learners.

Data Analysis

As an interpretive researcher, I wanted to understand what teaching English Learners means to teachers without privileging any one type of data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Instead, I wanted to draw from all the data collected in my analysis as I sought a more comprehensive understanding of what teaching English Learners means to teachers. To accomplish this goal, I considered all the data from my participant-observation, interviews, and the documents I collected together, not just from the perspective of the teachers in my study. I then analyzed and interpreted the data through iterative analysis. I drew on the sociocultural lens that I described in Chapter 1,

considering the local and non-local sociopolitical context of the classroom, school, community, and beyond in my analysis.

Iterative Analysis. Each week, I took time to reflect upon the data collected for the purpose of identifying a data strip (a section of transcribed field notes, audiotaped lesson, or interview) that I might not have understood, or a *rich point* (Agar, 1996, p. 31) whether from participant-observation, interviews, or documents I collected. I examined the rich point and formed a tentative hypothesis to explain the data. I then returned to another strip of data, using my tentative hypothesis as a frame to explain the new strip, either confirming or disconfirming my current hypothesis. If my current hypothesis was not adequate to explain the data, I modified it and formed a new one. As I returned again to the data, I began the cycle of analysis anew. I repeated this cycle each week until the hypothesis generated was confirmed through multiple strips of data across weeks.

In this analysis, I sought to interpret how teachers responded to linguistic diversity as represented by the English Learners in their classrooms. I considered how teachers were influenced by the local contexts of the classroom and the school as well as wider sociopolitical context and how these influences either empowered or constrained them (Erickson, 1986). For instance, in one of my first observations in a teacher's room, the teacher requested that an English Learner use English to ask the questions he had during ELD instruction, which he was not able to do because of his limited English-speaking capacity. Initially, I considered the context of the classroom. My first hypothesis was that she did not realize that the student was at CELDT level 1 (see Appendix A) because she told me that she had students from several different teachers'

classrooms in her room for ELD instruction and that she did not know their individual names or CELDT levels. However, I had to revise my hypothesis in the presence of disconfirming evidence because, with the student's reluctance to speak and his continual use of Spanish, it was very clear that he was at a CELDT level 1. My new hypothesis was that the teacher was not aware of the limited English-speaking capacity of a student at a CELDT level 1. However, I encountered disconfirming evidence again when I returned to my data and found my field notes from an interview in which the teacher shared that she was an English Learner herself. She did not request that the student speak in English because she was not aware of the limited English-speaking ability of a CELDT 1 student, as she had been one herself. Moreover, she was also a former bilingual teacher on C track, where English Learners were previously clustered under the year-round schedule at the school. Her experience working with large groups of English Learners, many of whom were at lower levels of English proficiency, also made the explanation that she was unaware of the student's limited English-speaking capacity untenable. In addition, the teacher showed me her seating chart at the conclusion of the lesson after all the students returned to their regular classrooms and identified each of her English Learners in the room, including their respective CELDT levels. It was apparent that she was aware of the student's CELDT level and corresponding limited English-speaking capacity. In light of the disconfirming evidence, I had to again revise my hypothesis, this time looking beyond the context of the classroom and considering the context of the school as well.

My new hypothesis was that the teacher did not want the English-only students working independently in the back of the room during the ELD lesson to hear her using

Spanish in the classroom and report this back to their parents, as she did not want to be perceived as a bilingual teacher. Many parents at the school were already under the impression that she was going to be teaching all the students, English-only and English Learners, in Spanish and that she couldn't speak, read, or write in English. I returned to the data and found field notes on a conversation we had in which the teacher shared that she was not ashamed of being Mexican, and that she was proud that she spoke Spanish. Yet I found evidence in further observations that the teacher did not want to be perceived as just a teacher of English Learners. In the face of conflicting evidence, I had to revise my hypothesis again. This time, I considered the wider sociopolitical context five years after the passage of Proposition 227 in California, which dictated that instruction be overwhelmingly in English and the sentiment of the neighborhood parents. My revised hypothesis was that the teacher somehow felt that it was best for the student to use even his limited English-speaking capacity in the classroom, given that the instruction was entirely in English. Moreover, he was already in fourth grade and not yet proficient in English, which was affecting his academic achievement. Also, during my next classroom observation, the teacher shared with me that she felt that teaching the students in their primary language through third grade, even for a portion of the day as was the policy in the Clarksville School District at that time, made it more difficult for them to become fully literate in English. I was then able to confirm my hypothesis that she believed it was better to encourage the student to higher levels of proficiency in English faster. Moreover, I was also able to confirm that she did not want to be perceived as a bilingual teacher because she felt that the neighborhood parents and students were already

scrutinizing her teaching. I then returned to my data again using the lens of my new hypothesis to look for disconfirming evidence, and finding none, my hypothesis was verified. She had concerns both for the student's academic success and for her teacher identity and social status.

The process of iterative analysis led to emerging themes which could help me answer my research questions. Below, in Table 4, I identify the study's research questions, outline several themes that emerged during iterative analysis, identify the data source, and provide an illustrative example to further highlight the role of iterative analysis in answering my research questions.

Table 4

Research Questions, Emerging Themes, and Examples from the Data

Research Question	Emerging Theme	Examples from the Data
What effect, if any, does teaching English Learners have on teachers' professional identity, including their sense of their social status within the social system of the school?	Who you teach matters.	[If I teach all the ELD sessions], then the stigma follows you, well, you're Hispanic, you've got to teach the kids and the kids get the idea that, well, you know, my teacher is a Mexican one, so therefore, she's the one that does the, you know, the Mexican kids" (Patricia Lopez, transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03).
	Your pedagogical competence is questioned.	[One of the fourth grade teachers commented to Patricia about Patricia's students' scores after they reviewed the assessment data on a recent math test and set a proficiency goal for all the fourth grade classes.] "Mine [students] are getting there; you need to get going!" (Patricia Lopez, field notes from collaborative planning meeting observation, 10/17/03).
		"Like the kids [said at the beginning of the year], 'Oh, I got the C track teacher!' I'm like yeah, I can speak English, you know, maybe not perfect, but I speak English and they're like, 'Ohhhhh!'" (Patricia Lopez, transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03).

Research Question	Emerging Theme	Examples from the Data
How is this meaning connected to both the classroom and school as well as to the wider sociopolitical context?	Parents evaluate how well the teacher meets their expectations for providing the educational experience they desire for their children.	[At one of the sites, parents from the local neighborhood complained to the principal that the English Learners, who were bused in from across town and who typically perform lower on academic achievement tests given in English, were causing the school to be rated as a lower achieving school. The site's Academic Performance Index (API) from the previous year was 727 (out of 100 possible).] Parents came to the principal and complained, "Well, yah, we could be an 800 [the target for all schools set by the CDE] school if they [the English Learners] weren't here" (Michael Davidson, field notes and transcript from formal interview, 10/21/03). At the beginning of the school year, many parents from the local neighborhood surrounding Terra Bella requested that their students be moved from the classrooms of teachers who had previously taught only English Learners on C track (Michael Davidson, field notes from formal interview, 10/21/03). [A teacher at Terra Bella reflecting on parents' reactions to the school switching from a year-round schedule to a more traditional schedule due to declining enrollment the year of this study.] "There've been some very vocal parents, very vocal parents, but I think it's more of a bigoted thing, unfortunately. There've been some who were, 'Oh, great! We're all going to mix!' who are staunch supporters. But when it happened to their child, when they saw the mixture in their classroom, they weren't too thrilled. I think it's a fear of change and the parents making sure 'How are they going to teach my child when you have all this 'other' stuff to teach?' It's been tough, it's been very tough" (Paula Ahren, transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03).

Research Question	Emerging Theme	Examples from the Data
What are the challenges teachers perceive in teaching English Learners?	Doing extra work every day.	"Just because I have a BCLAD and with all the ELD sessions and be loaded with all that work when it's supposed to be all of us doing ELD at the same time" (Patricia Lopez, transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03). [A teacher wondered how you teach writing, especially how to edit their papers, to English Learners.] "You ask them to edit, but they can't hear their own mistakes. They don't recognize them as wrong!" [As a result, she has to do the editing for the English Learners, which takes her longer and is harder because of the grammar, syntax, and vocabulary errors] (Rachel King, transcript from informal interview, 11/12/03).
	Reaching all the students.	"I do feel like my basic support group is suffering sometimes because I spend extra time with the English Learners to try and pull them up. I glance over and my proficients [students] are fine, and I know my GATEs [students] are getting it, but I do feel like I'm missing chunks. You always feel like you're never going to get to all the children" (Paula Ahren, transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03). [A teacher reflects on having English Learners at CELDT levels 1 and 2 and all of them scoring significantly below grade level on district and state assessments.] "It's hard this year with the English Learners all mixed in! I only have CELDT levels 1 and 2, and with no one at a higher level to support them, it's hard!" (Paula Ahern, transcript from informal interview, 7/16/03). [A teacher at Terra Bella reflecting on the changes from the school switching to a more traditional schedule the year of this study.] "With the wide range of student ability and language fluency, it's very hard. The English Learners aren't clustered on one track anymore. Instead, they're mixed in, with a few in each classroom" (Paula Ahern, transcript from informal interview, 7/16/03).
	Keeping track.	[A teacher explaining the challenges she faced in teaching ELD to the English Learners while at the same time overseeing non-English Learner students working in a separate part of the classroom) "So that's hard, just differentiating for all levels in reading, in math, in everything, just having to be 3, 4, 5 different teachers at the same time" (Patricia Lopez, transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03) [A teacher reflecting on what is the most challenging for her.] "Differentiating the instruction…just having to reach all the students, the hardest thing is that some get it the first time, the first time I give directions maybe about 5 or 6 of them get it, the second time, once there's an example, then more get it, but there are those that just don't get it, and not having somebody in the back to help me…it's hard" (Patricia Lopez, transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03).

Research Question	Emerging Theme	Examples from the Data
What are the challenges teachers perceive in teaching English Learners? *continued*	Assessment accountability.	[A teacher reflecting on the expectation that all students in her class should read at grade level in English by the end of the year, even though she has CELDT level 1 and 2 students.] "Well, my expectations are not on can they comprehend the same text, it's like how much did you grow towards there, so I don't know if that's the right thing but that's what I do. I think they're individuals. I mean there's no way a [CELDT] level 1 is going to read at a GATE level at the end of the year…it's hard, having GATE and having English Learners – it's really hard!" (Patricia Lopez, transcript of formal interview, 11/20/03). "It's crazy! I just found out that the text was written for middle school! And we're using it at elementary! Have you seen the ELD test yet? It's 16 pages long! Even my GATE students would have difficulty passing it, the vocabulary's so high!" (Paula Ahern, transcript from informal interview, 10/8/03).
	Teaching English Language Development (ELD).	"It's hard, because what do you do with the GATE students while you're teaching ELD, 'cause they're just looking or they finished their work, or they're in the back doing their work and they're loud, you know? So my English Learners, overall, I'm still struggling with ELD, because it's so hard to teach the kids everything plus the ELD that they have to learn" (Patricia Lopez, transcript of formal interview, 11/20/03). [A teacher reflects on the district's ELD test] "I'm worried about my [CELDT] level 1's and 2's. They're all getting the same test [as the higher CELDT levels] and it's an extremely challenging test. It's all based on content you should have covered in that time [before the test], but with only a half-hour lesson each day, you don't get into that much depth. It's such a huge span of information. [On giving the ELD test] It was overwhelming! It took over a week of ELD time to give the test, and the kids kept asking for help, and I couldn't give them any" (Paula Ahern, transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03).

Research Question	Emerging Theme	Examples from the Data
How do the challenges contribute to the meaning that teachers make?	Meeting the individual needs of each student is more difficult.	During ELD time, teachers had to supervise their English-only students doing independent activities while they taught their English Learners (Patricia Lopez, field notes from classroom observations 9/26/03, 11/4/03). Teachers at both sites had to submit the data from the ELD trimester assessment to their principal, who then sent the data to the district office (Felicia Rodríguez, field notes from informal interview, 9/23/03; Patricia Lopez, field notes from informal interview, 10/23/03). [A teacher at Terra Bella reflecting on the change to a more traditional schedule this year and its impact on her classroom.] "Last year, I only had one English Learner, and he rarely came to school. This year, it's like I'm back on C track [she previously taught on C track, where the English Learners were previously clustered]. Who to teach and at what level? It's more stressful, having the mix [of English Learners] with a lot of GATE and high achievers. It's tough…it's been really tough!" (Paula Ahren, transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03).
How do teachers interpret, adapt, and implement policy regarding teaching English Learners?	ELD: All teachers do not teach it.	All teachers switched to teaming with their colleagues and sending their English Learners to their colleague or receiving the English Learners from their colleagues for ELD instruction (Patricia Lopez, field notes from classroom observation, 11/4/03; Felicia Rodríguez, field notes from classroom observation, 9/23/03).
	ELD: Teachers try to avoid teaching it.	Teachers at one site tried to avoid teaching ELD whenever possible (Patricia Lopez, field notes from meeting with grade level colleagues, 10/17/03). [One of her colleagues commented on why Patricia should be the only teacher in fourth grade to teach ELD during teaming time.] "I know I took all the classes and got my CLAD, but I honestly don't remember anything. You should teach ELD. You've taught it before. I've never had to" (Patricia Lopez, field notes from collaborative planning meeting observation, 10/17/03).
	ELD: There is little language development in ELD instruction.	[In an ELD lesson that I observed that was typical of all the others I saw during my fieldwork, a pattern emerged.] The teacher used a traditional Initiation-Response-Evaluation structure (Mehan, 1979) to interact with the students during ELD (Patricia Lopez, field notes from classroom observation and audiotape transcription of ELD lesson, 11/4/03).
	ELD: Teachers teach to the tests.	In an ELD lesson prior to the ELD assessment, which included 38 multiple-choice questions, along with three short-answer questions and a writing prompt that required a short essay, the teacher had the students review 7 of the 38 multiple choice items and 1 of 3 short-answer questions found on the test (Patricia Lopez, field notes and transcript from audio recording of lesson, 9/26/03).

Research Question	Emerging Theme	Examples from the Data
How does the context influence teachers' interpretation, adaptation, and implementation of policy?	Teachers cancel ELD frequently and try to avoid teaching ELD altogether.	If teachers taught ELD to their own English Learners in their classrooms, they frequently cancelled it to complete assignments in English language arts or mathematics (Rachel King, field notes from classroom observation, 11/12/03; Patricia Lopez, transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03; Paula Ahren, transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03). Only the BCLAD teachers ended up teaching ELD (Felicia Rodríguez, field notes from classroom observation, 12/2/03; Patricia Lopez, field notes from classroom observation, 10/17/03).

Recognizing that what teachers say in interviews represents, at best, their interpretation (Spindler & Spindler, 1982) of what teaching English Learners means to them, the interpretation of the interviews is my interpretation of their interpretation of teaching English Learners, or a *third order interpretation* (Geertz, 1973, p. 15). Considered together, the data from participant-observation, interviews, and documents collected informed my analysis as well as they could (Agar, 1996; Spindler & Spindler, 1982) and my interpretation of what teaching English Learners means to teachers in their SEI classrooms.

Document Analysis. To better understand the sociopolitical context of my study and to contextualize the teachers' work, I collected and studied historical documents related to the education of English Learners in California and the U.S. I gathered historical documents and accounts of schooling in the U.S. from the early 1800s on. I then considered the social and political responses to the presence of English Learners in U.S. classrooms, and the reactions to not only their presence but also to their assimilation or acculturation into U.S. society. I researched these themes, compiling and reviewing historical documents and accounts, including the social and political responses to large numbers of immigrants arriving in the U.S. I also collected and studied demographic data

on English Learners. I also traced the shifts in legislation and educational policy regarding the education of English Learners, and studied the response of states, school districts, schools, and teachers in the implementation of the policy changes associated with English Learners in classrooms since the mid-1960s. I collected and studied documents from the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing and the California Department of Education regarding the education of English Learners. I gathered federal and state judicial decisions and legislative documents pertaining to the education of English Learners. Finally, I researched and documented the Clarksville School District's English Learner educational policy to situate my study in the local context. The result was a historically based summary of the sociopolitical context surrounding English Learner education in the U.S.

Generalizability and Validity

Generalizability. In this study, I endeavored to present a detailed account of my participant-observation, the interviews I conducted, and the documents I collected. In my analysis and interpretation of the data, I present what is happening as teachers teach ELD and academic content in English to the English Learners in their classrooms. You, as the reader, will have to decide if the findings from this study can be generalized to other settings, educational or otherwise (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Wehlage, 1981). I recognize, however, that my interpretation is always partial (Agar, 1996; Erickson, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) in that the sample is small and not necessarily representative of all teachers at every school. My interpretation is subject to

reinterpretation (Spindler & Spindler, 1982), as well. It is up to you, the reader, to decide whether you can make a *naturalistic generalization* (Stake, 1995), or connection between my findings on what teaching English Learners means to teachers in the sociopolitical context within which I conducted my study and your own “private, personal ways, modifying, extending, or adding to [your] generalized understandings of how the world works” (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p. 115).

Validity. I based my analysis on the participant-observation data presented in my field notes, as well as the data from the interviews I conducted and the documents I collected (Erickson, 1986). I do not privilege the teachers’ point of view in presenting the analysis, but rather offer it as their interpretation of what teaching English Learners means to them as a way to understand why they teach English Learners as they do. As a researcher who has studied the research literature on teaching and teaching English Learners across multiple settings, I offer my careful and thoughtful interpretations of what teaching English Learners means to teachers and why they teach English Learners as they do, with the hope that they will resonate with the reader and withstand the test of counterarguments (Calfee & Sperling, 2010; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

What follows are the findings from this study, beginning with the sociopolitical context. In Chapter 3, I trace the evolution of the educational policy for English Learners in the U.S. and California since the arrival of the first immigrants on U.S. soil, including how the policies impacted teachers in classrooms. I also examine the tension between the goal of equal educational opportunity and academic excellence, two enduring values in

U.S. education, as they pertain to the education of English Learners and how these two competing values contributed to the sociopolitical context in Clarksville, where my study is situated.

Chapter 3

Tracing the History of the Education of English Learners

The history of the education of English Learners began with the arrival of the first pilgrims to the U.S. in 1607. As more and more pilgrims immigrated to the New World, communities formed. Immigrants who came from the same region in their native country often settled in the same community when they arrived in the U.S., forming ethnic enclaves. In those communities, children were schooled in the language of the community. As the communities grew larger and the number of communities increased, a way to link the communities together fell to the language of communication used between communities to unite them. English served that purpose, and thus there was an emphasis on immigrants learning English as a way to support the developing network of communities that ultimately became colonies and then states in the U.S. (Kloss, 1998; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Perlmann, 1990).

The controversy over how to educate English Learners began early on in the history of education in the U.S. With the large influx of immigrants and their children from southern and eastern Europe between 1820 and 1920 (Census, 1927; Fishman, 1976; Kloss, 1998; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Perlmann, 1990), teachers' continued use of students' primary language for instruction became a point of conflict with groups interested in the status of English as the de facto national language, many of whom considered the use of students' primary language un-American and a threat to national unity (Casanova & Arias, 1993; de Cos, 1999; Dicker, 2000; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Ornstein; Tse, 2001). Horace Mann's Common School movement sought to establish

public schools to socialize immigrant children into U.S. society (Cremin, 1957; Downs, 1974; Estrada, 1979; Macedo, Dendrinos, & Gounari, 2003; Weise & García, 1998). In contrast to the prevailing practice of teaching in the students' primary language in private and church-based schools, English was to be the language of instruction in the public schools (Cremin, 1957; Downs, 1974). By the end of World War I, the use of any language other than English had disappeared in schools across the U.S. as public concern over national security grew to include suspicion of anyone speaking a foreign language (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Estrada, 1979; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

In this chapter, I trace the evolution of English Learner educational policy regarding the language of instruction in the U.S. sociopolitical context up to the time of my study, including how the changes were more generally seen to impact teachers in classrooms. First, I examine the goal of providing equal educational opportunity for English Learners, which prompted the reemergence of primary language instruction through the provisions of the Bilingual Education Act (Weise & García, 1998). I then present the context within which bilingual education programs served English Learners and highlight how this context changed as how best to provide equal educational opportunity became entangled in the focus on academic excellence for English Learners. Next, I track the resurgence of the English-only movement and how a group of advocates in California used this tension to attain their goal of English-only instruction as a means to provide academic excellence for and hasten the acquisition of English among English Learners in California schools. Finally, I situate the tension between providing equal

educational opportunity and academic excellence in California classrooms, including those in the Clarksville School District, the setting for my study.

Toward Equal Educational Opportunity

Equal educational opportunity came to the fore in American education in 1954 with U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision ("347 U.S. 483," 1954), which declared that a separate education was not an equal education for African American students. Equal educational opportunity continued in the national spotlight in the 1960s amidst a tumultuous context that included rising political and social activism across the U.S. Protests against U.S. involvement in the war in Southeast Asia were replete in the national media (Hallin, 1986). "Hippies" gathered in San Francisco, espousing the tenets and extolling the benefits of their counter-culture movement. President John F. Kennedy's assassination shocked the nation. Black and White, young and old alike questioned the status quo. Across the U.S., African Americans rallied for civil rights, calling for the end of segregationist laws, policies, and practices in American society and schools. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 heralded in a new era of social consciousness, which had far-reaching effects on American society, including education (Ching, 2002; McGroaty, 1992). The assassination of the leader of the civil rights movement, Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968 drew attention across the U.S. to King's call for equality for all (Ching, 2002).

The era of isolationism in the U.S. that resulted from severe restrictions on immigration since the early 1900s ended with the passage of Immigration Act of 1965, which contributed to the social and political tumult in the U.S. as immigrants from across

the globe poured into the country. The rate at which immigrants began arriving quadrupled, with nearly 8 million people immigrating to the U.S., primarily from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia, in the 20 years between 1960 and 1980, compared to the rate over the previous 40 years, from 1920 to 1960, during which time 4 million immigrants arrived in the U.S. (O. o. I. Statistics, 2004). The influx of immigrants had social, economic, and political effects on U.S. society (Weise & García, 1998). Large groups of non-English-speaking immigrants settled in ethnic enclaves across the U.S., triggering concern as many of the immigrants were slow to assimilate (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Kloss, 1998; Schlossman, 1983; Secada & Lightfoot, 1993; Valdez, 1979; Weise & García, 1998). Conflict arose between immigrants and local residents as competition for jobs increased (Schlossman, 1983). Immigrants were widely criticized for the large number of them who were receiving public assistance (Schlossman, 1983). Concern over immigrants' continued use of their primary language grew, as well, which led to a resurgence of concern for the primacy of English in the U.S. (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Kloss, 1998; Leibowitz, 1971; Ricento, 1998; Weise & García, 1998).

Heightened social consciousness in the 1960s also contributed to a growing urgency to address issues of academic excellence and equal educational opportunity in education (Ricento, 1998; Secada, 1990; Weise & García, 1998). A call for educational reform began in the 1950s after the U.S., which considered itself a leader among industrialized nations post-World War II, was stunned by the launch of the Sputnik satellite by the Soviet Union in 1957 (Fullan, 2001; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). This scientific breakthrough raised concern among the general public and policymakers that

Soviet schools were superior to U.S. schools in mathematics and science. The National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which was passed in 1958, focused on improving curriculum in mathematics and science. The goal was to raise student achievement and to encourage students to pursue careers in science and engineering to return the U.S. to preeminence in space and in the world (Loss, 2012). However, as this reform effort continued into the 1960s, teachers in classrooms across the U.S. faced increasing numbers of English Learners as immigration restrictions were lifted (O. o. I. Statistics, 2004; Weise & García, 1998). Teachers were unprepared to assist English Learners in understanding the curriculum taught in English, which made attaining the goals of the NDEA reform even more challenging.

The focus of educational reform shifted from curriculum to academic achievement after the *Brown v. Board of Education* ("347 U.S. 483," 1954) decision and the subsequent passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. The persistent, poor educational outcomes for low income, ethnic minority, and English Learner students were attributed to a lack of equal educational opportunity for these groups in U.S. schools (Weise & García, 1998). These outcomes were contributing factors in the development of President Johnson's "Great Society" program in 1965 (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). The goals of the Great Society program included eliminating poverty and improving education to provide equal educational opportunities for minority students to raise their achievement and thus accomplish academic excellence for all (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). A similar movement in the southwestern U.S. emerged alongside the national Civil Rights movement, which sought redress for the continuing academic failure of native Spanish-speaking students

(Macedo et al., 2003; Schmidt, 1998). Activists argued that the academic failure of English Learners brought the appropriateness of English-only instruction into question. They advocated the use of students' primary language for instruction to promote equal educational opportunity and improve their educational outcomes (Schmidt, 1998).

Language Policy Changes. Politicians, influenced by the increased political and social activism among many of their constituents, addressed the issue of educational equality in debates in state and federal legislatures. The passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965 marked only the second time that the federal government had intervened in education in the U.S. (Fullan, 2001; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). The Act sought, in part, to remedy some of the inequalities through the provision of federal funds to support special programs in schools with large numbers of low-income students (Secada, 1990), who were considered at-risk for academic failure due to their poverty status (Erickson, 1986). However, among the students that the ESEA was to serve, many also spoke a language other than English at home and when they entered school. These students ran an even greater risk because they did not understand English, the language of instruction (Crawford, 1995; Milk, 1993; Ricento, 1998). The provisions of the ESEA did not address this issue (Lyons, 1995; Weise & García, 1998). Therefore, the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) was passed in 1968, authorized as Title VII under the ESEA (Kloss, 1998; Lyons, 1995; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Weise & García, 1998). The BEA provided funds for states and districts to develop programs to assist English Learners in overcoming the challenges they faced in classrooms where English was the language of instruction (Kloss, 1998; Secada, 1990). As there were no defined or

traditional bilingual programs, past or present, to draw upon, state departments of education were encouraged by the U.S. Department of Education to develop experimental programs (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; McCarty, 2004). Some states defined bilingual education as any educational program that served students who spoke a language other than English (Kloss, 1998). Yet other states considered bilingual education any program that provided primary language instruction (Weise & García, 1998). However, the majority of the states awaited official clarification and direction from the federal government (Kloss, 1998). Finally, in 1971, the U.S. Office of Education defined bilingual education as

> the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well-organized program which encompasses all or part of the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. (quoted in Milk, 1993, p. 91)

As indicated above, bilingual education, with its endorsement of primary language instruction and the study of the students' culture and history, embraced cultural pluralism and encouraged acculturation. However, even in states with large populations of English Learners, prior political and social activism in favor of equal educational opportunity did not guarantee support for bilingual education. Among the issues that affected its support was the use of a language other than English for instruction (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Ricento, 1998). As other social and political causes drew the attention of the activists that heralded it in, equal educational opportunity became less of a rallying point (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Ricento, 1998). In its place, a struggle over the

language of instruction ensued (Estrada, 1979; Ricento, 1998; Secada, 1990; Secada & Lightfoot, 1993; Valdez, 1979). Although primary language instruction was prevalent in the U.S. prior to World War I, since that time, English had become firmly entrenched as the traditional language of instruction in U.S. schools (Genesee, 1987; Heath, 1981; Leibowitz, 1971; Ovando, 2003; Paulston, 1980; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). Public schools' role in the assimilation of immigrant and non-English speaking students into U.S. society was another tradition that stood in conflict with the idea of cultural pluralism, especially with regard to the use of a language other than English for instruction (Genesee, 1987; Heath, 1981; Leibowitz, 1971; Ovando, 2003; Paulston, 1980; Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

As the reauthorization of the ESEA and the BEA approached in 1972, the struggle between bilingual and English-only advocates, those interested in having English declared the official language of the U.S., intensified (Casanova, 1991; Ricento, 1998; Valdez, 1979). Debate in the political forums that influenced decisions regarding the reauthorization focused on the academic achievement and second language acquisition of English Learners (Macedo et al., 2003; Ricento, 1998; Rossell & Baker, 1996). English-only advocates asserted that the use of the students' primary language in instruction led to their low academic achievement, which was measured by assessments given in English (Crawford, 1992b; Rossell & Baker, 1996). Bilingual advocates countered, arguing that the greatest reason for English Learners' chronic academic failure was that only 30% were enrolled in bilingual education programs, with only 6% receiving primary language instruction (Gándara, 1997). They maintained that academic content taught in English was not comprehensible to English Learners and that expecting them to simultaneously

acquire English as they were learning content in English contributed to their academic failure (de Cos, 1999; Gándara, 1997). English-only advocates asserted that acquisition of English was the ultimate goal of public schooling in the U.S. and argued that equal educational opportunity could only be accomplished by the students learning English and being able to understand instruction given in English, which would ultimately lead to greater academic achievement among English Learners (Rossell, 2002).

Subsequently, only a limited number of school districts continued to provide bilingual education and primary language instruction across the U.S. (Crawford, 1995; Gándara, 1997). Although other social and political issues competed with equal educational opportunity for public attention, Congress took up the issue with the passage of the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 (EEOA), which made Title VI of the Civil Rights Act applicable to all educational institutions and defined what constituted a denial of constitutionally guaranteed equal educational opportunity ("Equal Education Opportunity Act," 1974). The EEOA provided that:

> no state shall deny equal educational opportunities to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin by the failure of an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs ("Equal Education Opportunity Act," 1974).

In California, a class action lawsuit was filed in 1974 on behalf of Chinese students in San Francisco, which argued that the students were not afforded equal educational opportunity as they were being taught in their classrooms. The case was

brought before the U.S. Supreme Court, which declared, in rendering its *Lau v. Nichols* decision, that teaching all students in the same language was not equal treatment, since all students did not understand English and therefore would not have the same educational experience as students who did ("Lau v. Nichols," 1974). The Court determined that the states were therefore responsible to make instruction comprehensible for students who did not speak or understand English (August & García, 1988; Escamilla, 1989; Estrada, 1979; Lyons, 1995; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Wiley, 2002). The Court did not specify how states were to make instruction comprehensible, which led to more public debate regarding the language of instruction. Bilingual proponents argued that the use of the students' primary language was the only way to make instruction comprehensible (August & García, 1988; Escamilla, 1989; Estrada, 1979; Lyons, 1995; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990; Wiley, 2002). English-only advocates asserted that English was the traditional language of instruction in U.S. schools and that the presence of English Learners in classrooms was not in and of itself adequate reason to abandon the tradition of English as the language of instruction (Crawford, 1992b). They maintained that the best way for them to learn English was to be taught in English, just as other immigrants had in the past, which would, in turn, provide them equal educational opportunity (Crawford, 1992b; Valdez, 1979).

Notwithstanding the mandates from the federal government and the Court, many states across the U.S. were slow to institute bilingual education programs that included primary language instruction (Crawford, 1995). Instead, they continued to offer traditional English instruction for all students (Crawford, 1995). In 1976, California

became one of the first states with a large population of English Learners to formally adopt a bilingual education program that included primary language instruction with the passage of the Chacón-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). States faced other logistical issues that affected their ability to implement bilingual education, including the limited number of teachers able to provide primary language instruction and the dearth of primary language instructional materials (Casanova, 1991; Gold, 2005). Thus, the development, adoption, and implementation of bilingual education programs continued to move slowly across the U.S.

As the sociopolitical context shifted, the focus of the BEA shifted with each subsequent reauthorization (1978, 1983, 1989, 1994, and 2001). Each iteration became less pluralistic and more assimilationist as its provisions no longer endorsed the study of the students' home culture and history and its focus shifted from using the students' primary language for instruction to implementing methods to make instruction in English more comprehensible (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Weise & García, 1998). As each reauthorization approached, the controversy over the language of instruction escalated (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Crawford, 1996; Weise & García, 1998). Yet the faces of the students and the languages they spoke were changing, and the challenge districts and schools faced in providing qualified bilingual teachers and primary language materials to teach them limited the full implementation of bilingual education programs (Casanova, 1991; Gold, 2005). Publishers began to offer more primary language curriculum (Gambrell, 2007, personal communication). State credentialing authorities responded by restructuring credential requirements to better prepare teachers not only to provide

primary language instruction but also to make their instruction in English more comprehensible (Swofford, 1994) – with instructional methods to teach English Learners that became more focused on teaching English Learners in only English as a means to provide equal educational opportunity and improve their academic achievement (Crawford, 1995).

How Language Policy Changes Affected Teachers in Classrooms. Teachers across the U.S. have had English Learners in their classrooms since the Common School movement (Cremin, 1957; Downs, 1974) in the late 19th century. Since that time, English Learners, regardless of their proficiency in English, have traditionally been placed in English-only classrooms in public schools without any special language support or assistance. This type of placement came to be known as *sink-or-swim* or *submersion* (Adamson, 2005; Crawford, 1995; Fishman, 1976). In a traditional submersion setting in U.S. schools, English Learners were often set apart from the rest of the students until they could understand the instruction being presented in English and engage in meaningful discussion on instructional topics (Adamson, 2005; Crawford, 1995; Fishman, 1976).

After the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, the number of English Learners in mainstream classrooms grew rapidly. Between 1985 and 1993, the number of English Learners rose 86%, while the total school enrollment increased only 7% ("The changing face of America's schools," 1995). With the arrival of so many English Learners in their classrooms, it became more difficult for teachers to maintain the status quo. Prior to the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, teacher preparation programs did not provide any specialized training for teaching English Learners (Crawford, 1995). Research in

second language acquisition for children was in its nascence and thus teachers were not able to learn how to assist English Learners in learning English (Education, 2010). As a result, the majority of English Learners continued to be placed in submersion settings with teachers who were unprepared to teach them (Adamson, 2005; Casanova & Arias, 1993; Crawford, 1995; Fishman, 1976; Gándara, 1997; Lyons, 1995).

Thus, prior to the passage of the BEA, the language support provided for English Learners was limited (Crawford, 1995; Kloss, 1998). To assist students in learning basic English, *English as a Second Language* (ESL) programs began in the 1950s, with teachers with either a credential or certificate in ESL going from classroom to classroom, pulling English Learners aside or pulling them out of their classrooms for ESL lessons (Kreidler, 1986, 1987). The goal of ESL programs was for students to develop basic literacy skills in English, not grade-appropriate academic content acquisition, through direct instruction of grammar and rules (Kreidler, 1987). There was a disconnect between what the English Learners were learning in their ESL lessons and the content-specific academic English being used in instruction in their classrooms, which resulted in English Learners continuing to lag behind their native English-speaking peers academically (Macedo et al., 2003; Schmidt, 1998).

Theories of second language acquisition, posited by James Cummins (1981, 1994) and Stephen Krashen (1981a, 1981b, 1985), emerged in the early 1980s. Cummins had studied French immersion programs in Quebec, Canada, and developed several hypotheses on second language acquisition which greatly influenced the field of bilingual education in the U.S. and strengthened the claims of those advocating for primary

language instruction. His *Threshold Hypothesis* (1981) asserted that the levels of primary and second language acquisition determine what cognitive benefit, if any, is gained by the acquisition of the second language. This hypothesis was used to support the development of the students' primary language as a way to increase the cognitive benefit of acquiring English. His *Common Underlying Proficiency Hypothesis* (1981) posited that, instead of separate, compartmentalized language areas in the brain, there is a common area that both languages draw upon. The ability to draw from both languages also supported the development of the students' primary language as a means to maximize the acquisition of English. Another aspect that Cummins (1981) claimed was critical to students' attaining high levels of mastery in their second language was the distinction he made between *Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills,* or BICS, and *Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency*, or CALP. According to Cummins (1981), BICS develops first, as students are able to master informal conversation with native speakers of the second language, and CALP, the language required for academic success in school, follows, as it is more context-reduced and requires a much higher level of mastery in the second language. Cummins (1981) asserted that CALP is the lingua franca of the classroom; it is what teachers need to help their students develop to allow them access to the curriculum and equal opportunity for academic success.

Krashen (1981a) drew heavily from Cummins and linguist Noam Chomsky (1965; 1981) in the development of his five hypotheses on second language acquisition. These hypotheses also reflected the trend in public education toward constructivist pedagogy (V. Richardson, 2003), based on the students drawing upon their previous

knowledge to construct new knowledge, and being active learners rather than passive recipients of knowledge. In his first hypothesis, Krashen (1981a) asserted that there is a difference between language acquisition and language learning, with the former a more natural, holistic process that occurs for communicative purposes and the latter akin to the *Grammar-Translation Method* (Adamson, 2005), which explicitly taught grammar and rules of a language. In his *Natural Order Hypothesis,* Krashen (1981a) posited that there is a natural order to the acquisition of a second language, similar to that in first language development, and, according to his *Monitor Hypothesis*, the output of an acquired language is monitored for form and adherence to its language rules. Conversely, in his *Input Hypothesis,* Krashen (1981a) maintained that acquisition occurs only when the input is comprehensible, and, in his *Affective Filter Hypothesis,* that affective variables are related to second language acquisition. Krashen, in collaboration with Terrell (1988), used several of these hypotheses in formulating *The Natural Approach*, a mélange of instructional methods that they compiled to foster second language acquisition in the classroom.

In 1978, California developed certificate programs to prepare existing, fully credentialed teachers to teach English Learners. The Language Development Specialist (LDS) program (Swofford, 1978) taught teachers, most of whom were monolingual, strategies drawn from the theories of Cummins (1981) and Krashen (1981a) in order to differentiate instruction in English to make it more comprehensible for their English Learners. Teachers were also taught how to work with a bilingual aide, who provided primary language instruction and support for the students. The Bilingual Certificate of

Competence (BCC) program taught and certified bilingual teachers to teach academic content to English Learners in their primary language (Swofford, 1978), and to differentiate instruction in English to make it comprehensible for them. As the field of bilingual education developed, the methodology and strategies that teachers were taught to differentiate instruction in English became known as *Sheltered Instruction* (SI; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Northcutt-Gonzales, 1994).

With the development of SI, classroom teachers were encouraged to use the method to help their intermediate-fluency English Learners better understand academic content taught in English by providing a risk-free affective environment, or low affective filter, and comprehensible input (Krashen, 1981a), and employing the Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1988) to error correction. However, SI enacted was characterized as *watered-down* curricula and instruction, as teachers attempted to integrate SI methodology into their pedagogical practice (Crawford, 1995). Moreover, the academic achievement of English Learners did not change significantly from corresponding assessments of English Learners in submersion settings, resulting in increasing criticism of educational programs for English Learners (Cardinale, Carnoy, & Stein, 1999; Weise & García, 1998).

Subsequently, concern regarding how English Learners were learning English and the effect on their academic achievement resulted in further restructuring of California's teaching credentials and preparation programs. With its focus on basic skills and vocabulary, the ESL instruction English Learners were receiving did not teach the English necessary for them to understand academic content instruction (Adamson, 2005).

Thus, a move toward *content-based ESL* ensued, which featured ESL instruction that incorporated the language of the academic content being taught at each respective grade level (Crawford, 1995). This type of instruction required a higher level of coordination and cooperation between the regular classroom teacher and ESL teachers to align ESL instruction with academic content instruction in the students' classrooms. However, this coordination became an overwhelming task for both the ESL and regular classroom teachers, as the ESL teacher typically pulled students from multiple classrooms during each instructional period, and classroom teachers typically were not all at the same place in teaching the curriculum (Crawford, 1995). Hiring adequate numbers of ESL teachers was also a challenge, due to limited program funding and a shortage of qualified ESL teachers (Adamson, 2005). Further, the amount of academic content instruction students were missing when they were being pulled out of the classroom for ESL instruction was a concern (Crawford, 1995). Even in schools with adequate numbers of ESL teachers and tight coordination of instruction with regular classroom teachers, students were still regularly missing out on instruction, which made it more challenging to improve their academic achievement (Crawford, 1995; Gándara, 1997).

In 1993, in California, the Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CCTC) changed the credential structure again to address concerns regarding ESL and SI instruction and while at the same time increasing the number of regular classroom teachers who were certified to teach English Learners (Swofford, 1994). The Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD) and the Bilingual CLAD

(BCLAD) credentials[17] added the responsibilities of the ESL teacher to the regular classroom teacher role (Swofford, 1994) and identified a new method for differentiating academic content instruction in English. In-service teachers, those who were already credentialed, could take a similar course of study or a series of exams to earn a CLAD or BCLAD certificate authorizing them to teach English Learners. Several acts of legislation in California, including SB 1969 and SB 395, provided opportunities for in-service teachers to take a professional development course to receive a certificate equivalent to a CLAD credential. In many districts in California, teachers who possessed a CLAD or BCLAD credential (or equivalent: LDS, BCC, SB 1969, or SB 395 training certificate) and had large numbers of English Learners in their classrooms received a small stipend each year.

Teachers credentialed under the CLAD and BCLAD program would be able to teach content-based ESL, which was renamed *English Language Development* (ELD) (Swofford, 1994). By combining the responsibilities of the ESL and regular classroom teacher, the need for ESL teachers would diminish, representing a financial savings for schools and districts. Moreover, with the same teacher responsible for ELD as well as content instruction, the issue of coordination of effort for maximum academic benefit of English Learners was minimized (Crawford, 1995). With the reauthorization of the BEA in 1994 focusing more on English language acquisition, the California Department of Education (CDE) required districts to provide a minimum of 30 minutes a day of ELD instruction (Gándara, 1997).

[17] Details about these credentials were presented in Chapter 1.

The way teachers were to teach English Learners changed as a part of the CLAD and BCLAD credential program, as well. Teachers were to use *Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English* (SDAIE) strategies (Swofford, 1997), including limited use of the students' primary language, to differentiate content instruction in English to make it comprehensible for students who were at a CELDT proficiency level of 3 or above (see Appendix A). SDAIE was included in the CLAD and BCLAD credential as an alternative to SI (Krashen, 1985). However, the similarities between the strategies in the two programs were so strong that SDAIE was assumed by teacher educators and teachers alike to be the newest iteration of SI (Díaz-Rico & Weed, 1995). This tangled conceptualization still exists, as the terms SDAIE and SI are used interchangeably in the prescriptive pedagogical literature (Díaz-Rico & Weed, 1995; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2000; Goldenberg, 1996).

Even with these attempts to certify and credential teachers to teach in bilingual programs, California, as well as other states across the U.S., between 1985 and 1993 experienced greater shortages of teachers with English Learner authorization. The number of English Learners enrolled in U.S. schools increased 86% compared to only a 7% increase for the total school enrollment ("The changing face of America's schools," 1995), as more and more students enrolling in U.S. schools were identified as English Learners. Even with the large increase in English Learners in California schools, attaining an English Learner authorization (CLAD, or BCLAD or equivalent) was optional for new and in-service teachers. School districts attempted to fully staff bilingual education programs (Gold, 2005). Recruitment efforts at state and local levels intensified, but they

were not able to keep up with the demand for bilingual teachers (Gold, 2005). The effects of this shortage were far-reaching, resulting in only 30% of the English Learners in California receiving instruction through a bilingual education program and only 6% receiving primary language instruction, the same level as prior to the changes in the credential programs (Gándara, 1997). Thus, the majority of English Learners continued to be placed in submersion settings and to struggle academically (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Gándara, 1997; Lyons, 1995).

In 1976, a provision of the Chacón-Moscone Bilingual Education Act required the California Department of Education (CDE) to monitor whether English Learners were being taught by teachers who had earned their English Learner authorization (LDS, BCC, CLAD, or BCLAD). Districts were required to report the types of instructional services available and the number of English Learners receiving each type of service from teachers authorized to teach them. Districts and schools were thus accountable for placing English Learners in classrooms with teachers who were authorized to teach them (Education, 2006b). With the CDE monitoring the placement of English Learners and the number of English Learners continuing to grow in California schools in the late 1990s, districts continued to have large numbers of English Learners who were not placed appropriately as not enough new and in-service teachers became authorized to teach English Learners. Therefore, many districts began to require teachers new to their district to earn their English Learner authorization as a condition of employment or continued employment for their current teachers (Education, 2006b). For example, in the Clarksville School District in 1995 – 1996, there were 2,301 English Learners who did not receive

instructional services from a teacher with an English Learner authorization as reported on the CDE Language Census Report (Education, 1996). When I was hired by Clarksville in 1996, the district already had a policy in place requiring all new hires to attain their English Learner authorization within their two-year probation term or they would not be eligible for permanent employee status. By 2003 – 2004, the year of this study, only 61 English Learners in Clarksville did not receive instructional services from a teacher with an English Learner authorization (Education, 2004).

For teachers who did not possess the appropriate English Learner authorization, it was less likely that they would have English Learners placed in their classrooms. This was especially true if the number of English Learners at their site was within the capacity of the teachers who were authorized to provide instructional services for English Learners. At sites with a year-round, 4-track schedule, groups of students requiring specialized instructional services were assigned to particular tracks to allow them access to teachers who were certified to teach them. Teachers who had authorizations to teach Gifted and Talented Education (GATE) students were typically placed on one track, teachers with special education authorizations on another track, and teachers with English Learner authorizations on yet another track. Teachers who did not have an English Learner authorization most often were placed on a track other than the one that English Learners were assigned to, as the number of students in the GATE and Special Education program was much smaller and regular education teachers were needed for all the students not participating in these programs.

Increasing pressure from federal and state governments to increase student achievement was a factor in the standards-based reform in education ("No Child Left Behind Act of 2001," 2001). This pressure brought about a heightened urgency that all English Learners become proficient in English, especially in California, so that they would be able to attain higher levels of achievement (Crawford, 1996; Gándara, 1997). With the development and adoption of academic content standards and the state standardized tests to measure student achievement in English, districts, schools, and teachers in California began to be held to increasing levels of accountability for all their students becoming proficient in the content standards, regardless of their level of proficiency in English (Crawford, 1995; Gándara, 1997). Limited implementation, coupled with low program participation rates and the lack of primary language instruction for the majority of English Learners, have been cited among the reasons why students' academic achievement in English was significantly below that of their native English-speaking peers (Crawford, 1995; Danoff, 1978; Gándara, 1997; Hakuta & August, 1997; J. Lee, 2002; Ovando, 2003).

Not surprisingly, English Learners' chronically low academic achievement yet again led to controversy regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education (Gándara, 1997) and its ability to provide equal educational opportunity. This controversy, once more, intensified the debate over how best to provide equal educational opportunity and academic excellence for English Learners among those in the field of education, educational policymakers, and the general public (Gándara, 1997).

Toward Academic Excellence

The debate how best to provide equal educational opportunity shifted to how best to achieve academic excellence (Gándara, 1997). The impetus toward returning to English-only instruction for English Learners to ensure academic excellence in their education and in their educational outcomes was led by those interested in having English declared as the national language (Macedo et al., 2003). Known as the "English-Only Movement," it originally arose in response to the arrival of more than 33 million immigrants, the majority of whom were non-English speakers, from southern and eastern Europe between 1820 and 1920 (O. o. I. Statistics, 2004), which many Americans had perceived as a threat to English (Crawford, 1996). The movement later subsided when immigration slowed as a result of the passage of the *Nationality Act of 1906* (Casanova, 1991) and the *National Origins Act of 1924* (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

The English-only movement reemerged after the passage of the *Immigration Act of 1965* (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990) as large groups of immigrants again began arriving on U.S. shores. Their presence was perceived by many Americans as a threat to the status of English in the U.S., particularly the language accommodations that were made to them (Crawford, 1996). Whereas previous immigrant groups had appeared to learn English quickly once in the U.S., the new wave of immigrants did not learn English as quickly (Valdez, 1979). Large numbers settled in enclaves and many maintained ties with their home countries, while others only planned to be in the U.S. a short time with full intention of returning home in only a few years (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Fishman, 1976; Kloss, 1998). Therefore, many immigrants felt no urgency to learn English and

instead opted to speak only their primary language (Crawford, 1996; Fishman, 1976; Kloss, 1998). Government and businesses increasingly used languages other than English alongside the English text in advertisements and documents. True to their beliefs, English-only advocates argued that offering bilingual assistance by translating public documents kept immigrants from having to learn English (Crawford, 1995).

English-only advocates turned to the legislature, asking that English be declared the official language of the U.S. (Crawford, 1996; Macedo et al., 2003). They also rallied for the use of English exclusively for all governmental business (Crawford, 1992b; Macedo et al., 2003). One of the most prominent advocates at that time was Senator S. I. Hayakawa, who, in 1981, sought to formalize the status of English as the official language of the U.S. by proposing a constitutional amendment. Crawford (1992) noted that the amendment

> seemed innocuous enough, a ceremonial gesture to ratify the obvious – except that it went further. The measure would also prohibit federal and state 'laws, ordinances, regulations, orders, programs, and policies' from requiring the use of other languages. Its thrust was not only for English, but against bilingualism. If adopted, Hayakawa's proposal would reverse a trend begun in the late 1960s toward accommodating the needs of linguistic minorities. (p. 1)

Strong opposition to Hayakawa's proposed amendment did not materialize (Crawford, 1992a). Bilingual advocates were focused in their efforts to adopt and implement bilingual education and primary language instruction in schools across the U.S. (Crawford, 1992a), and there was not a strong enough sense among other politicians

or their constituents that the status of English was being sufficiently threatened to warrant a constitutional amendment to protect it (Crawford, 1992a). As a result, the proposed amendment died without being heard in the 97th Congress (Crawford, 1992a, 1992b).

Undaunted, Hayakawa founded *U.S. English*, an organization of English-only advocates who lobbied for an *Official English* policy in states across the U.S. (Crawford, 1992a). Its goal was to have every state adopt English as its official language, thus circumventing the need for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution (Crawford, 1992a). Subsequently, U.S. English, along with other English-only groups such as *English First,* sponsored many Official English state-level campaigns (Crawford, 1992a). By 2003, 20 states, including California in 1986, had enacted legislation recognizing English as the state's official language (U.S. English, 2005). Those states, combined with the seven that adopted English prior to the inception of U.S. English, brought the total to 27 states with English as their official language (U.S. English, 2005).

Along with serving as the de facto national language for over 200 years and the hallmark of the U.S. national identity, English also came to serve as the traditional language of instruction in U.S. schools (Crawford, 1992b; Heath, 1977; Macedo et al., 2003; Ricento, 1998). Since the inception of the Common School in the mid-1800s, public schools in the U.S. have served, in part, as the primary assimilation and socialization agent of immigrant children in the U.S. (Cremin, 1957; Downs, 1974; Estrada, 1979; Macedo et al., 2003; Weise & García, 1998). The initial authorization of the BEA, with its endorsement of primary language instruction, cultural pluralism, and acculturation over assimilation, threatened the traditional role of English and public

schooling in the lives of immigrant students (Crawford, 1992a; Kloss, 1998; Macedo et al., 2003; Ricento, 1998). English-only advocates began to turn their attention to the issue of bilingual education, specifically the use of any language other than English for instruction (Crawford, 1992a; Macedo et al., 2003; Ricento, 1998). Bilingual advocates faced the challenge of altering more than 200 years of tradition in U.S. schools with no long-standing tradition or empirical support for the effectiveness of bilingual education or primary language instruction (Crawford, 1992a; Kloss, 1998; Macedo et al., 2003; Ricento, 1998). The pattern of persistently low levels of academic achievement among English Learners that triggered the initial language policy change continued, especially in geographic areas where there was limited implementation of bilingual education and primary language instruction (Gándara, 1997). As a result, with each reauthorization of the BEA, students' acquisition of English was seen as an increasingly critical means to improve their academic achievement, which was assessed in English (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Weise & García, 1998). The focus on cultural pluralism and acculturation diminished as the push for students to acquire English increased, returning to the more traditional assimilationist role of education in the U.S. (Crawford, 1992a; Macedo et al., 2003; Ricento, 1998). This focus resulted in yet another language policy change, in 1998, that impacted the education of English Learners in California (Gándara et al., 2000).

Language Policy Changes. By the late 1990s, California, like many states across the U.S., was already in the throes of educational reform in response to the low academic achievement of students across the state. The CDE was moving toward standards-based curriculum, instruction, and assessment in response to California's being ranked among

the lowest of the states in the U.S. on measures of student achievement. California was also at a crossroads regarding the education of English Learners. English-only advocates, including Rossell (2002; 1996) and Pedalino Porter (1990, 1997), like their predecessors, argued that the use of the students' primary language in instruction interfered with the students' acquisition of English and was the cause of their low academic achievement levels. With the assessment accountability that formed the foundation of the 2001 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (NCLB, 2001), states, districts, and schools were, of necessity, more concerned about raising student achievement scores and meeting yearly achievement goals to avoid sanctions than with providing primary language instruction for their English Learners. This concern resulted, in part, from the requirement that all students, regardless of their status as English Learners or the fact that they were receiving primary language instruction, take the standardized tests in English after having been in U.S. schools for one year, and that schools faced sanctions if all their students did not meet the achievement goals set for them by the state and NCLB.

Bilingual education and primary language instruction became an even greater focus for English-only advocates in California in the late 1990s. The state's Chacón-Moscone Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act lapsed in 1993, and there was no consensus among politicians, educators, English-only and bilingual advocates regarding its reauthorization (Crawford, 1997). Therefore, the CDE extended the Act's provisions until such time as an agreement could be reached regarding its reauthorization (Crawford, 1997). English-only advocates saw this as an opportunity to eliminate the use of any

language other than English for instruction in California classrooms (Pedalino Porter, 1997; Rossell & Baker, 1996). Bilingual advocates, buoyed by the initial Thomas and Collier (1997) study, which found that bilingual education and primary language instruction had a positive effect on English Learners' academic achievement over time, sought stronger enforcement of the Act's requirements, including the provision of primary language instruction and bilingual education programs (Crawford, 1997). They argued that the low level of academic achievement among English Learners was a result of only 6% of the students having the opportunity to be taught in their primary language (Crawford, 1997; Gándara, 1997). In the midst of this ongoing debate, several large school districts petitioned the CDE to grant them waivers from the requirements of the BEA, which would allow them to design their own programs to meet the needs of the English Learners in their communities (Crawford, 1997). An impasse ensued, with both bilingual advocates and districts holding their ground, with the CDE caught in the middle (Crawford, 1997).

The English-only movement in California used the stalemate between the CDE and bilingual advocates to focus on English Learners' acquisition of English and link it to their academic achievement (Crawford, 1997). Although research studies showed that attaining native-like fluency would take 5 to 7 years (Collier & Thomas, 1997; Ramírez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991), the English-only movement was critical of the chronically low annual rate, between 5-6%, at which English Learners were being reclassified as *Fluent*

English Proficient,[18] (Dicker, 2000; Rossell & Baker, 1996; Unz et al., 1997) in California. They attributed the low reclassification rate to bilingual education, in particular the use of primary language instruction (Gándara, 1997; Rossell & Baker, 1996; Unz et al., 1997). Primary language instruction, they claimed, resulted in students' low levels of academic achievement, as the standardized tests were given in English (Pedalino Porter, 1997; Rossell & Baker, 1996; Unz et al., 1997). Subsequently, eliminating primary language instruction to provide equal educational opportunity and to ensure academic excellence became the primary focus of English-only advocates in California (Crawford, 1996; Pedalino Porter, 1997; Rossell & Baker, 1996; Unz et al., 1997).

As this impasse continued through 1997, Ron Unz, a Silicon Valley businessman, emerged as the primary spokesperson and financier for the English-only movement in California. Unz's "English for the Children" initiative (Children, 1998) sought the end of bilingual education and the use of any language other than English in the education of English Learners. The campaign caught the attention of the general public as well as politicians, policymakers, and the media across the U.S., with its appeal to the primary goal of U.S. schools since their inception: to socialize and assimilate immigrant children into U.S. society (Crawford, 1996). The initiative drew wide public interest and sparked many debates between English-only and bilingual advocates regarding its proposals to remedy the persistent academic failure of English Learners by focusing on hastening the

[18] Reclassification criteria included grade level-appropriate English literacy skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) along with a minimum score (typically the 32nd percentile) on a standardized achievement test.

students' acquisition of English (Gándara et al., 2000). With only 5-6% of the English Learners in the state being reclassified as fluent-English proficient each year, Unz capitalized on the public perception that bilingual education and the use of primary language instruction was keeping them from learning English (Dicker, 2000) and succeeding academically in school, thus not providing them equal educational opportunity or the ability to achieve academic excellence. As the primary spokesperson for the campaign, Unz claimed that instruction "overwhelmingly in English," as he proposed in the initiative's Structured English Immersion (SEI) instructional model,[19] would have all English Learners in California reclassified as fluent English-proficient within one year (Unz et al., 1997).

The intersection of the English-only movement and the controversy regarding the instruction of English Learners in California climaxed in June 1998. The counter-campaign mounted by bilingual advocates was ineffective against the well-funded campaign spearheaded by Unz, which appealed to the traditional role and use of English in the education of English Learners in the U.S. As a result, Proposition 227, the English for the Children initiative, passed with 61% of the voters endorsing it (Crawford, 1997). The initiative marked the first time that the voting populace directly decided a pedagogical program in California (Crawford, 1996). It also opened doors across the country, as Unz took his English-only campaign to Arizona, then Massachusetts, and on to Colorado in his effort to eliminate bilingual education and primary language instruction across the U.S. (Crawford, 1996).

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[19] Information regarding SEI programs was also presented in Chapters 1 and 2.

With the passage of Proposition 227, a flurry of activity was set in motion across California. The CDE and school districts across the state were left to deal with the aftermath of the proposition's passage: the interpretation and implementation of its mandates. When legislation concerning education is passed in California, the CDE is responsible for authoring the education code that delineates how the new law is to be implemented by local districts. Due to the nonspecific language used in the proposition, the CDE consulted its legal counsel for a definitive understanding of the requirement that instruction be "overwhelmingly in English" (Crawford, 1996). One of the most daunting aspects of the proposition was that districts were given only 30 days to implement all the proposition's provisions and programs (Children, 1998).

As districts waited for the CDE to publish the new education code, speculation also arose among educators regarding what SEI methodology was, as it was unclear in the proposition as to its theoretical foundation or practical implementation (Clark, 2000; Rossell, 2002). Many linked SEI to the French immersion programs in Canada that research showed to be effective programs for second language development (Genesee, 1987; Lambert, 1984b). However, there were many differences between the Canadian immersion programs and the SEI program as outlined in the proposition. The most critical difference was that students' primary language was maintained in the Canadian immersion programs but eliminated in the California SEI program (Crawford, 1996). Another major difference, of course, was that Canadian English and French speakers have both lived as Canadians for many generations. Canadian immersion programs were situated in an additive bilingual context, where both English and French were valued

languages and students in the immersion programs were taught and became literate in their primary language and a second language. In contrast, the sociocultural context in the U.S. is a more subtractive bilingual context, as Spanish, the most common language other than English that is spoken in the U.S., is not considered as valuable as English. Therefore, in California's SEI program, students were taught and expected to become literate only in English.

The proliferation of other immersion programs in the U.S. over the past two decades, such as *Structured Immersion* (Baker & De Kanter, 1983) and *English Immersion* (B. McLaughlin, 1984), also fed the confusion surrounding SEI. These immersion programs arose in an effort to duplicate the success of French immersion programs in Canada (Genesee, 1987; Lambert, 1984a). These programs have been conceptualized alternately as “teaching English as efficiently as possible, without the need for special materials, specially trained teachers” (Hernandez Chavez, 1984, p. 149), to requiring “a special curriculum, texts, and trained teachers to provide English language instruction and academic content at the same time” (Clark, 2000, p. 151). While English is consistently represented as the language of instruction, the role of students’ primary language varies (Dolson, 1984). With no agreement between immersion models to draw upon, districts remained unsure of the role of students’ primary language in SEI programs (Crawford, 1996).

Proposition 227 also designated SDAIE as the method teachers were to use to differentiate instruction in SEI programs (Children, 1998), which puzzled educators, as SDAIE was initially developed for use with English Learners who had at least an

intermediate level of English proficiency (Crawford, 1996). With the inclusion of SDAIE in the SEI program, its use was now mandated for all English Learners, regardless of their level of proficiency. Teachers and district officials expressed great concern regarding the ability of SDAIE to make the content in English understandable for English Learners at lower proficiency levels (Gándara, 1997).

Given the uncertainty regarding the CDE's interpretation of the proposition, many districts immediately eliminated their bilingual education programs and forbade the use of any language other than English in district classrooms and instructional materials (Gándara et al., 2000). Within three weeks, the CDE released education code sections 305, 306, and 310 using the same terminology as the proposition, thus deferring to the districts the amount of instruction that would be considered "overwhelmingly in English" in the SEI program. It also did not designate the amount of primary language that could be used or specify how it could be used, leaving these issues to district interpretation. Districts were then able to move forward in making the necessary changes and speak more knowledgably about them. Still, within 30 days of its passage, all schools in California switched to instruction "overwhelmingly in English" (Crawford, 1996; Gándara et al., 2000).

How Language Policy Changes Affected Teachers in Classrooms. The passage of Proposition 227 affected nearly every teacher in the State of California (Gándara et al., 2000). The manner in which English Learners were to be taught changed immediately and dramatically. Moreover, teachers who previously had few or no English Learners in their classrooms now had many, which brought the challenge of greater linguistic and

cultural diversity along with a broader range of academic ability into many California classrooms (Crawford, 1996; Gándara et al., 2000).

With the interpretation of Proposition 227 completed and educational code issued, the next step was the implementation of the three instructional programs for English Learners that were outlined in Proposition 227. Within 30 days, districts and schools were to implement the new instructional programs or face sanctions (Children, 1998). As stipulated in Proposition 227, and subsequently required by the CDE, districts were to secure the parents' choice of program for their children in writing before a district could complete the transition from their previous bilingual programs to the new educational programs for their English Learners (Children, 1998).

District and school officials across California arranged information meetings for parents of English Learners to explain the three educational program options (See Table 5). The first program was *Mainstream English* (ME), which featured English-only instruction and ELD but did not provide differentiated instruction. The second program, *Bilingual Waiver* (BW), was limited to students who had a documented educational need.[20] In this program, students would receive primary language instruction for one year only. The last model was *Structured English Immersion (*SEI),[21] which provided both differentiated instruction "overwhelmingly in English" and ELD.

[20] What comprised a documented educational need was defined at the individual district level, with some districts setting more stringent criteria for English Learners in their districts. However, in the majority of districts, the term was loosely construed to mean a student who was not yet fully proficient in English and, thus, not able to comprehend instruction in English (Gándara et al., 2000).

[21] Information regarding SEI programs was also presented in Chapters 1 and 2.

Table 5

Features in Educational Programs for English Learners

Educational Program	Primary Language Instruction	Primary Language Support	Differentiated Instruction	English Language Development
Structured English Immersion (SEI)	40% of day Grades K – 2 Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bilingual Waiver (BW)	90% → 10% of day Grades K – 6 Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mainstream English (ME)	No	No	No	Yes

District and school officials were also charged with securing the parents' consent after these meetings (Children, 1998). To use a personal example, at this time, I was teaching in the Clarksville School District and was asked by the district office to assist in the transition from the previous bilingual education program to the new program mandated by Proposition 227. In Clarksville, and as reported to me by colleagues in other school districts around southern California, parents – unsure about the changes that were going to be occurring in the schools – often relied upon the advice of school officials in choosing the program for their children. However, many districts, including Clarksville, prohibited their staff from advocating for the BW program, which was most like the

bilingual education programs that were in place prior to the passage of Proposition 227. In my work at the district level and at multiple school sites in Clarksville, I found that although many parents expressed interest in their children participating in the program to provide continuity during this time of dramatic change, ultimately, it was the least frequently selected option. There was a stipulation in Proposition 227 that there had to be at least 20 English Learners at a grade level at a school site requesting the program to create a BW class (Children, 1998), and many schools did not have 20 English Learners at each grade level. Parents were given the option of transferring their children to a school where such a class was available, but districts were not required by Proposition 227 to provide transportation for the students (Children, 1998). Thus, parents who could not provide transportation for their children had to select one of the remaining two programs at their local school.

Most districts, wanting to avoid threatened legal challenges from Unz or civil suits brought by parents, opted for English-only instruction in their SEI programs, while other districts interpreted “overwhelmingly in English” to mean at least 51% of the time, allowing for primary language instruction up to 49% of the instructional day in the primary grades (Rubio & Attinasi, 2000). District and school officials encouraged parents to select the ME program as they believed it to be the best way to promote rapid acquisition of English and success in the all-English instructional context of upper grades and secondary level classrooms (Gándara et al., 2000). Many parents, especially those whose children were in grades 4 through 12, chose the ME program, even for their children who were at a beginning level of English proficiency, while other parents,

primarily those with children in kindergarten through third grade, chose SEI, citing their desire to provide primary language support and instruction as their children were learning English (Gándara et al., 2000).

The transition to the new programs was, of necessity, precipitous. Due to the restrictions placed on the BW program, very few schools were able to offer bilingual classes (Gándara et al., 2000). This resulted in a sharp decline in English Learners enrolled in bilingual programs, going from 30% prior to the passage of Proposition 227 down to only 12% enrolled in BW programs one year later (Gándara et al., 2000). The remaining two programs, SEI and ME, were selected by the majority of parents, and every school was required to provide these two programs for their English Learners per parental request (Gándara et al., 2000).

By the time that Proposition 227 passed into law in 1998, more teachers across California had their English Learner authorization, which provided districts with more resources to handle the switch from primary language instruction and other bilingual programs to English-only instruction. In Clarksville alone, the number of teachers with English Learner authorizations providing instructional services for English Learners grew from 131 in 1997 – 1998 (Education, 1998a) to 1,045 in 2003 – 2004 (Education, 2004). The consequence for many teachers who previously had no or very few English Learners was that they found themselves with large numbers of English Learners in their classrooms, some of them for the first time in their careers as the focus moved to instruction in English only instead of primary language instruction and support.

Even with greater numbers of teachers authorized to teach English Learners, administrators and teachers encountered challenges in implementing the programs in classrooms across California. Complicating the transition was the fact that, at many schools, there were not enough English Learners whose parents had selected the SEI program to completely fill a class at any particular grade level (Gándara et al., 2000). Moreover, many districts had a limited number of CLAD and BCLAD teachers to teach the classes (Gándara et al., 2000). Thus, many districts encouraged parents with students in the upper elementary and secondary grade levels to enroll them in the ME program because they lacked the staff to provide the SEI program beyond second or third grade (Gándara et al., 2000). As a result, many schools had no choice but to place English Learners who were in the SEI program and those who were in the ME program in the same classroom, which often included native English-speaking students, as well (Gándara et al., 2000).

Although having students from two different programs in their classrooms accomplished prima facie compliance with the mandates from the CDE, teachers in these classes were faced with the challenge of meeting the requirements of each program for the respective students whose parents had chosen each program. The teachers I worked with at the time in Clarksville, and across other districts where I was in contact with colleagues, were especially concerned about the provision in the proposition that allowed the CCTC to revoke their credentials and/or be held liable for civil damages for unauthorized use of any language other than English in the ME program. Therefore, they had to remember which students they could use the primary language with (those in the

SEI program) and which they could not (those in the ME program). Moreover, they now had to use SDAIE/SI strategies, which were originally developed for English Learners at an intermediate level of English proficiency and above, for all students, regardless of their proficiency level (Children, 1998). My colleagues reported that the addition of daily ELD instruction for English Learners challenged them as they were receiving increasing pressure from district and site administrators to prioritize language arts and mathematics instruction. We, as teachers, also had to keep track of which students to differentiate instruction for (those in the SEI program only) and which students were to receive ELD instruction (those in the SEI and ME programs, unless the parents exempted them from ELD).

Accountability for language acquisition for English Learners had already begun to receive increasing attention in California schools with each reauthorization of the BEA (Weise & García, 1998). As a result of the passage of Proposition 227, an even greater emphasis was placed on the ELD program students were receiving. In line with the standards-based education movement, the CDE commissioned the drafting of ELD standards, which were drawn from the English Language Arts standards and finally adopted in July of 1999 (Education, 1999a). The ELD standards were to guide teachers in their instruction and in measuring students' language development. However, the manner in which individual districts, schools, and teachers across the state measured the English proficiency of the English Learners in their classrooms varied (Gándara et al., 2000). In response, in 2001, the CDE authorized the development of a standardized tool, the California English Language Development Test (CELDT), which was required under

Education Code 313 for assessing English language proficiency. The CELDT was to be based on the state's ELD standards and was to measure students' reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills.

The CELDT promised a more accurate measurement of English proficiency. To eliminate potential bias, the assessment was to be administered to students individually by trained non-teaching staff in settings outside the students' regular classrooms. Although the CELDT had been administered since 2001, CELDT results through 2004 showed small, statistically insignificant gains in the English proficiency and reclassification rate of English Learners in California (Hill, 2006), effectively discounting Unz's claims that instruction overwhelmingly in English would have all English Learners in the state reclassified as fluent English proficient within one year (Unz et al., 1997).

Even though the CELDT results did not support the claims of the Unz campaign, the test affected students and teachers in classrooms. Recognizing that increased CELDT scores would signify the greater ability of English Learners to meaningfully engage with curriculum and instruction offered solely in English, state and district administrations initiated a campaign to raise CELDT scores. This translated into the CDE requiring a minimum 30 minutes of ELD for the students each day (Education, 2011). Teachers found this to be a daunting task, given the increased focus on academic subjects as a result of a similar campaign to raise all students' scores on annual standardized achievement tests. Moreover, teachers in Clarksville, and in other districts across the state, were not given an opportunity to learn what was on the test, which resulted in

confusion in the field regarding what was being tested on the CELDT and how best to prepare the students to take the test.

In California, the heightened accountability for student English language development and academic achievement was directly linked to how school performance is rated by the state and under the provisions of NCLB. The Academic Performance Index (API) score, a compilation of various student assessment scores and data, is an improvement model, measures improvement in school performance, and is used to compare schools in California. Much prestige is attached to a school attaining a high API score. Each year, schools are given a target API score by the CDE that requires, among other things, that they improve students' academic achievement from the previous year. Schools who meet the target receive accolades, while sanctions are meted out to schools that repeatedly fail to make the grade. The federal Annual Yearly Progress (AYP) goal under NCLB ("No Child Left Behind Act of 2001," 2001), which includes student assessment scores and other data (including the API), is a status model, with schools and districts either making their AYP goal or not, and is used to rate schools across the U.S. Both the API and the AYP set goals for schools overall, as well as for numerically significant subgroups,[22] including English Learners. Specifically, the AYP goal was to begin to close the achievement gap between the traditionally high- and low-scoring subgroups. English Learners have been identified as a subgroup of focus due to their chronically low achievement levels. In schools with lower API scores and that failed to

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[22] Numerically significant subgroups are defined as those with 100 or more students enrolled on the first day of testing or with 50 or more students who comprise 15% or more of the total population eligible for testing (http://www.cde.ca.gov/ta/ac/ay/documents/aypinfoguide11.pdf).

make their AYP goal, English Learners' low achievement levels were frequently cited as the cause (Hill, 2006). Therefore, an increased focus was put on English Learners' improving their achievement so that schools and districts across California could improve their API scores and make their AYP goals (Hill, 2006). For the majority, including the Clarksville School District, that meant an emphasis on achieving academic excellence through daily ELD instruction and the provision of differentiated content area instruction in English to provide equal educational opportunity.

Conclusion

The tension between equal educational opportunity and academic excellence has had a significant impact on education in the U.S. For English Learners, the oscillation in the educational policy of English-only instruction to primary language instruction and back again demonstrates that the most controversial aspect of providing equal educational opportunity and academic excellence has been, and will continue to be, the language of instruction (Crawford, 1992a, 1996, 1992b; Dicker, 2000; Gándara et al., 2000; Macedo et al., 2003; Ovando, 2003). The shift in policy on how to attain academic excellence has also been greatly influenced by increased state and federal accountability for student achievement measured in English and the English-only movement in the U.S. Equal educational opportunity for English Learners is now provided through differentiating content area instruction given in English and daily ELD instruction, which, theoretically, should lead to higher levels of proficiency in English and, as a result, higher levels of academic achievement, an indicator of academic excellence for English Learners.

Although many of the issues were resolved by 2003, the year of my study and five years after the passage of Proposition 227, many issues remained as districts, schools, and teachers are still asked to meet the CDE's language development and NCLB's academic achievement requirements as determined by their API and AYP goals.

In sum, the sociopolitical context within which my study was situated has a long history, influenced by the struggle over the role of English and students' primary language in instruction and the tension between the goals of providing equal educational opportunity and academic excellence for all. Understanding and appreciating this sociopolitical context, including the implementation of policies and programs for English Learners, allowed me to better understand what teaching English Learners meant to teachers at Terra Bella and Del Sol Elementary in the Clarksville School District and how that meaning was connected to both the classroom and school as well as to the wider sociopolitical context. It also allowed me to understand the challenges teachers perceived in teaching English Learners and how those challenges contributed to the meaning that teachers made of teaching English Learners. Finally, it allowed me to better understand how teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented policy regarding teaching English Learners and how the context influenced teachers' interpretation, adaptation, and implementation of policy, and how their interpretations and adaptations contributed to the meaning that they made of teaching English Learners.

In Chapter 4, I examine how the policies regarding the education of English Learners came alive in the context of the Clarksville School District. In particular, I take a closer look at the two sites selected for this study, Terra Bella Elementary and Del Sol

Elementary. For each site, I describe the communities within which each was situated, who the English Learners were at each site, and the relationship each site had with the parents of its students to help us understand what teaching English Learners meant to teachers.

Chapter 4

Clarksville School District Context

The city of Clarksville was founded in the late 1800s and is located within an hour's drive of mountains, ocean, deserts, and major metropolitan areas in southern California. It is among the largest cities in California, and is the biggest city in Johnson County, where it is located. Originally an agricultural area, Clarksville has evolved into a major metropolitan area over the past 50 years. Since 1950, its population has grown from 47,000 to over 255,000 in 2000,[23] a change of 543%. During that time period, Clarksville's rate of growth was nearly twice that of California as a whole, which grew from 10,586,223 in 1950 to 33,871,648 in 2000,[24] a change of only 320% (see Table 6).

Table 6

Population Changes in Clarksville and California, 1950 – 2000[a]

	1950	2000	Change
Clarksville	47,000	255,000	+ 543%
California	10,586,226	33,871,648	+ 320%

[a] Data downloaded from www.census.gov on 5/12/12.

The population growth in Clarksville triggered not only an increase in the number of schools to serve the new students settling in the city but also a change in student demographics that reflected the changes occurring across California. The Clarksville

[23] Demographic data downloaded from www.razorrobitics.com on 5/11/12; population data rounded to nearest thousand protect confidentiality.

[24] Demographic data downloaded from http://www.census.gov/dmd/www/resapport/states/california.pdf on 5/11/12.

School District grew from 18 schools in 1950 to over 40 by 2000 to accommodate over 42,000 students, up from 25,000 in 1964,[25] an increase of 168%. The demographics of the district shifted with this growth, with the percent of minority students growing from 16% to over 62%, and the White majority students decreasing from 83% to 36%, outpacing the demographic changes that were occurring across California during that period (see Table 7).

Table 7

Demographic Changes in Clarksville and California, 1960 – 2000[a]

	Clarksville School District			California		
Subgroup	1964[b]	2004	Change	1960	2004	Change
White	83%	36%	– 47	84%	60%	– 24
African-American	6%	10%	+ 4	--[c]	7%	--[d]
Hispanic	9%	47%	+ 38	--[c]	32%	--[d]
Other	1%	6%	+ 5	--[c]	1%	--[d]
Total Minority	16%	63%	+ 47	16%	40%	+ 24

[a] Data downloaded from www.census.gov on 5/12/12.
[b] Earliest date at which data was available from the Clarksville School District.
[c] Demographic data not available for individual groups.
[d] Comparison cannot be made due to missing data.

The changes in California and Clarksville mirrored the social and political changes that were highlighted in Chapter 3 that occurred across the U.S. after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965 and up until the passage of Proposition 227. As in other

[25] Earliest date that demographic information available on Clarksville School District.

communities in California, the Clarksville sociopolitical context shifted as the debate there over how best to educate English Learners in Clarksville became entangled in the tension between the call for equal educational opportunity and academic excellence for English Learners, which, in turn, affected the instructional program for English Learners in California.

In 1965, the Clarksville School District led the way for school districts across the U.S. as one of the first large school districts to develop a plan to desegregate its schools (Hendrick, 1968) to meet the requirements of the Brown v. Board of Education decision ("347 U.S. 483," 1954) and the Civil Rights Act ("Civil Rights Act," 1964). The district, as one of the largest in the surrounding region, also led the way in the late 1970s by adopting a bilingual education program that included primary language instruction to provide equal educational opportunity for its English Learners in order to meet the requirements of the Chacón-Moscone Bilingual Education Act of 1976 (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

Similar to many other districts in California and across the U.S., as was highlighted in Chapter 3, the use of the students' primary language in its bilingual program sparked debates in Clarksville, both public and private, about the use of a language other than English for instruction (Casanova & Arias, 1993; Crawford, 1992a; Kloss, 1998; Macedo et al., 2003; Ricento, 1998). As the state and the nation moved into the 1980s, the tension regarding the primacy of English moved across the social and political landscape across the U.S. and a subsequent shift in the sociopolitical context highlighted the declining support for bilingual education in states and districts across the

U.S. (Crawford, 1992a; Macedo et al., 2003; Ricento, 1998), including Clarksville. The passage of Proposition 227, as discussed in Chapter 3, in California in 1998 highlighted this shift.

In response to Proposition 227 in June 1998, the Clarksville School District revamped their programs for English Learners to align with the new Education Code. Unlike many other districts in the region, Clarksville maintained Spanish language instruction for 40% of the day in its Structured English Immersion (SEI)[26] program, following the new educational code that stated that instruction should be overwhelmingly in English. The SEI program in Clarksville allowed teachers to teach Spanish language arts through the end of third grade, at which time the English Leaners were expected to transition to English language arts and instruction in all content areas in English. However, maintaining Spanish language arts instruction in the SEI program became more difficult in Clarksville, or elsewhere, after the passage of the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001.[27]

As indicated in Chapter 3, NCLB brought into focus the shift to academic excellence for all students in the U.S. with its accountability system based on student performance on standards-based assessments of academic achievement. Under NCLB, states were required to create or adopt content standards for all the core subject areas, including English language arts, mathematics, science, and history/social science ("No Child Left Behind Act of 2001," 2001). Student mastery of these standards was to be

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[26] The SEI program was described in Chapter 3.

[27] No Child Left Behind, also known as the Elementary and Secondary School Act (ESEA) of 2001, was discussed in Chapter 3.

assessed yearly, and the results were to be used to calculate the federal Annual Yearly Progress (AYP) target, and in California, the Academic Performance Index (API)[28]. In California, the California Standards Test (CST) was created to measure student achievement on California's content standards. Not only did the API and AYP give the public and educators alike a way to measure the effectiveness of the instructional programs in a district and at a site but they also privileged students' demonstration of their knowledge in English. Thus, the CST, API, and the AYP accountability requirements under NCLB sparked a shift to standards-based instruction in Clarksville.

In Clarksville, NCLB's call for academic excellence for all students came to the fore between its passage in 2001 and the time of my study in 2003. For the purposes of its assessment accountability system, academic excellence began to be linked to higher academic achievement as measured by the CST. This further exacerbated the dispute regarding the academic achievement measured in English for English Learners and the role that their instruction in Spanish might play in lowering their scores on the CST. With significant numbers of students in Clarksville identified as English Learners, the schools' and the district's ability to meet the accountability targets was impacted as Clarksville's English Learners' achievement on the CST typically lagged behind their native English-speaking peers. This lag reflected negatively on the efficacy of the bilingual programs that featured Spanish-language instruction. Thus, in 2001, the Clarksville School District redesigned its SEI program, requiring English Learners to transition to English language arts and all instruction in English by the end of second rather than third grade. It was in

[28] AYP and API were discussed in Chapter 3.

this uncertain time that my study took place; each of the research sites responded differently to the shifting sociopolitical context.

Terra Bella Elementary School

Orientation and Parental Identity: Terra Bella Neighborhood Parents

A strong orientation to academic excellence characterized Terra Bella, with neighborhood parents strongly identifying with the idea that their students would all attain high levels of academic achievement as measured by the CST. The neighborhood parents appeared to identify with each other and in this sense formed a group, what Gee (2000) would call an *affinity group*, around their academic expectations for their students. Their power as a group worked at Terra Bella through their high levels of participation in daily activities and organizations at the school.

Parent Involvement: Terra Bella Neighborhood Parents

Terra Bella was a center of activity in the local neighborhood community, focused on enriching the schooling experience of its students. It consistently ranked among the top five elementary schools in Clarksville based on state and district assessments under NCLB. Administrators, teachers, and parents alike considered Terra Bella one of the elite schools in the district. The middle-class[29] community surrounding Terra Bella was strong and vocal, a point which was not lost on Michael Davidson, the principal. He held a "Parent Tea" once a month, complete with coffee and pastries, to encourage the parents to come and talk to him about concerns they might have had about their children and the

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[29] Demographic information on both schools downloaded from Claritas (http://claritas.com) March 20, 2004.

school, since they tended to not come to him first with their complaints and concerns (field notes and transcript from formal interview, 10/21/03).

School Organizations. The neighborhood parents were active participants in school organizations. Approximately 35 parents were regularly involved in the school's Parent-Teacher Association (PTA),[30] and typically 20-25 parents participated in the School Site Council (SSC).[31] The annual proceeds from PTA fundraising activities topped $30,000 the year of my study, and funded field trips for all classes, special assemblies and speakers on academic topics such as science and technology, which supported the parents' goal of ensuring high levels of academic achievement for their students. The PTA also used the proceeds to support charitable activities such as a holiday food and toy drive for needy families at Christmas (field notes from PTA meeting, 11/19/03).

School Functions. Neighborhood parents were also active supporters of school functions. Large numbers of parents and extended family members attended the thrice-yearly Honor Roll Awards Night, dressed in business attire and their Sunday best, with cameras and camcorders in hand to record the celebration of their child's success. Back to School Night in the fall and Open House in the spring both had large turnouts. Parents founded and staffed Terra Bella's after-school computer club, securing donations of

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[30] The PTA was described in detail in Chapter 2.

[31] The School Site Council (SSC) is composed of personnel and parents or other community members who are most affected by the operation of the school functions. Responsibilities include the development of a School Improvement Plan, writing a budget that is reflective and supportive of the Plan, the continuous review of the implementation of the Plan, the assessment of the effectiveness of the Plan and the ongoing review and updating of the school Plan.
(downloaded 3/18/04 from http://www.coastside.net/elgranada/school%20site%20council.htm)

computer equipment from their employers and local businesses. Family activities were a particular focus at Terra Bella, as well. There was the annual family campout, in tents and recreational vehicles, on the large soccer field on campus in the spring and the annual carnival in the fall which drew large crowds from the local community.

Classrooms. Neighborhood parents were also active participants in many of Terra Bella's classrooms, especially those of the Gifted and Talented (GATE) teachers. For instance, Maggie Goetz, who had been the fourth grade GATE teacher on the A track for many years, had a regular coterie of parents who staffed her classroom. They oversaw small groups of students working on mathematics, language arts, or art projects (field notes from classroom observations, 7/21/03, 7/30/03). Parents were also seen in the office, assisting the principal and the secretaries on school-wide projects and activities, and they could be found in the workroom, working on projects and making copies for teachers. During the school day, parents frequented the courtyards and walkways between classrooms as they attended to the projects that they were working on for teachers and administrators.

Parent Involvement: Parents from Terra Bella's Satellite Attendance Area

In contrast, parents of students who were bused to Terra Bella from a satellite attendance area across town were not a part of the neighborhood parents' group, not only because of the distance they lived from the school but also because they had a somewhat different expectation for their students' academic experience. Many of these parents had limited educational opportunities themselves, with most reporting not having completed

high school (transcripts from formal interviews, 10/22/03, 10/29/03). The parents' expectations were that their children would receive a better education than they did, and that those who were English Learners would learn English, as well (field notes from parent conferences, 10/10/03). In addition, parents from the satellite attendance area were not as active in school organizations, functions, and classrooms as the neighborhood parents, which also factored in to their not being a part of the neighborhood group. For the parents of English Learners, it was too far for them to walk from their homes across town to Terra Bella, and most did not own a vehicle, having to rely instead on public transit. With their limited presence in the school, I was unable to determine whether they formed a working group themselves with their shared educational goals for their children. Yet, as indicated above, their shared parent identity in relation to their children's education was noticeable in what they told me.

School Organizations. Many of the students from the satellite attendance area were English Learners, and their parents' participation was required by law in several school organizations, including English Learner Advisory Committee (ELAC)[32] and SSC. To encourage their parents to participate, Mr. Davidson arranged for them and their younger children to ride the bus carrying kindergarten students from across town to and from Terra Bella so that parents could attend the ELAC meeting several times a year, as the meetings were held on the Terra Bella campus (field notes and transcript from formal interview, 10/21/03). Immediately after the meetings, the parents had to catch the bus

[32] The function of the ELAC was outlined in Chapter 2.

with the kindergartners to get back home, which precluded them from staying and working in classrooms.

The distance and transportation issue also limited the ability of parents of English Learners' to participate in school organizations such as Terra Bella's PTA and SSC, whose meetings were held on campus in the afternoons. Moreover, the parents complained at one of the ELAC meetings that when they were able to attend either of the PTA or SSC meetings, often no one was able to translate for them. The parents expressed frustration at not being able to understand what was being said, especially when student achievement and other topics they were interested in were being discussed (field notes from ELAC observation, 11/7/03).

One PTA meeting a year was held off-campus in the evening to accommodate the parents of the students from across town. The meeting was held in a community center in their own neighborhood. Yet attendance at this meeting was limited, and the PTA leadership and the few members from the Terra Bella neighborhood complained openly about the parents' lack of involvement in the school and the lack of support for their students (field notes from PTA observation, 11/19/03). One factor that may have contributed to the low attendance was the fact that the organizers did not take into account that bus service to and from the community center, which was on the outskirts of the neighborhood, ceased at 7 pm, prior to the end of the meeting. The neighborhood was known in Clarksville for being unsafe after dark, a fact that may have also influenced parents' decision not to attend this once-a-year meeting.

School Functions. The parents of students bused in from across town faced similar transportation issues in regard to attending school functions. Mr. Davidson provided a district school bus that stopped at various locations in their neighborhood to bring them to and from school for Back to School Night. However, no offer of transportation was made for the Honor Roll Award Night event or any other school function for families. Several families with their own transportation did come to the Honor Roll Award Night, and some parents reported attending the annual carnival in the fall, as the carnival was held on a weekend and the public buses were running (field notes from informal interviews, 10/10/03).

Classrooms. Some parents of English Learners worked, though only from time to time, in classrooms in the primary grades, where a portion of each day's instruction was in Spanish. Yet they were hesitant to work in classrooms because, for many of them, English was not their first language, and they expressed concern that they would not be able to help the students in English (field notes from parent conferences, 10/10/03). Teachers also shared that many mothers had younger children at home and the school discouraged them from bringing them when working in classrooms (field notes from informal interviews, 7/24/03).

Thus, it was the neighborhood parents who were a part of this group, and as a result, they, not the parents of the students bused in from the satellite attendance area across town, were an integral part of the social system at Terra Bella. As I discuss in Chapter 5, the expectations of the neighborhood parents regarding the type of educational experience that their children would have at Terra Bella influenced who teachers

perceived themselves to be as teachers, including the many roles, experiences, beliefs, and statuses they enacted and held within the school and community. This influence was clearly visible at Terra Bella, especially in the year of my study, where the status quo of the social system was turned upside down.

Social System. At Terra Bella, the social system of the school was undergoing strain, due, in part, to the decision to move from a multi-track year round schedule to single-track modified traditional school schedule. Metz (1978) argues that when social systems are under strain, it is easier to see their inner workings, which would normally be less visible. The strain of moving to a new schedule, which brought about many changes at the school for the staff and students, made the social system at Terra Bella more visible. According to Mr. Davidson, the primary reason for the schedule change at Terra Bella was to diversify the classrooms. He believed that the previous four-track schedule, in effect, segregated students. Those requiring special services or teachers with special credentials were clustered on a single track. Mr. Davidson commented that the segregation was obvious to him when he toured the campus, as the faces and languages in the C track classrooms, where English Learners were clustered, were markedly different than those in classrooms from the tracks which housed the Gifted and Talented Education (GATE) and English-only[33] students (field notes from informal interview, 6/5/03).

Many of the neighborhood parents were critical of Davidson's diversification plan. Although they were not opposed to the idea in principle, they had grave reservations about "*those* kids [English Learners]" being in the classroom with their children and the

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[33] Native English-speaking students are often referred to as "English-only" students in districts and schools in California.

impact it would have on their children's education (Michael Davidson, transcript from formal interview, 10/21/03). The English Learners differed greatly from the students from the neighborhood community surrounding Terra Bella. Not only were they different in their ethnicity and the languages they spoke, but they also were different socioeconomically. Nearly all of the English Learners and other students bused from across town qualified for free or reduced-price lunch, whereas very few students from the middle-class Terra Bella neighborhood[34] qualified for the program.[35] The GATE teachers were concerned that their gifted students would be dispersed among all the teachers and believed that they thus would not receive the type of instruction that they needed to challenge them. Moreover, many of the teachers at Terra Bella, although credentialed to teach English Learners, had never had an English Learner in their classrooms, a situation that was going to change under Davidson's diversification plan (field notes and transcript from formal interview, 10/21/03).

Social Status. The community surrounding Terra Bella reflected its middle-class lifestyle. Homes in the area were built on a hillside overlooking the city proper, and were among the most expensive in Clarksville.[36] Newer tracks of large stucco homes, painted the muted colors of the desert, skirted Terra Bella, which stood on an escarpment in the center of the community, as if standing watch over the neighborhood. Recreation vehicles and large boats dotted the side yards of the houses, while the driveways were filled with

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[34] Data downloaded from DataQuest [http://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/], 4/23/12.

[35] Approximately 50% of the students attending Terra Bella qualified for the free or reduced-price lunch program (data downloaded from Ed-Data [http://www.ed-data.k12.ca.us/Pages/Home.aspx] on 4.26.12)

[36] Demographic information on both schools downloaded from Claritas (http://claritas.com) March 20, 2004.

Mercedes's, Lexus's, Jaguars, Hummers, and Land Rovers. Landscape maintenance workers patrolled the neighborhood, carefully manicuring the yards up and down the parkway.

Parental influence.

As indicated, the parents from the Terra Bella neighborhood wielded much influence in the running of the school. They could be very critical of the school, including the administration and the teachers. They also frequently requested special teachers and programs (such as GATE) for their students. Many of the Terra Bella parents had high levels of education, including doctorates, and prestigious employment that provided them large salaries. Many were business professionals, professors, and business owners. It was these parents who led the PTA, the SSC, and other school organizations and who spearheaded the charitable drives throughout the year (transcripts from formal interviews, 10/22/03, 10/29/03). They did not hesitate to use their influence to ensure that the educational experience that their children received was of the highest caliber. For instance, one mother on campus was well known for her frequent complaints to teachers and Mr. Davidson. Her son was in Paula Ahren's sixth grade class, and was a member of the school band. His weekly band rehearsal times meant that he missed science instruction two times a week. His mother had requested that Paula change her science time, but the only other time Paula could teach science because of teaming[37] was during the time slot currently used for English Language Development (ELD). Moving science would have impacted all the sixth grade teachers and students, which, Paula shared, she

[37] "Teaming" was defined in Chapter 1.

was reluctant to do. Moreover, Paula said that several of the English Learners were also in the band, and if she changed the science time to accommodate the mother's request, it would, in effect, exclude all English Learners from ELD and their participation in ELD was mandated by law (field notes from informal interview, 10/8/03). Thus, Mr. Davidson, and, by extension, all the teachers at Terra Bella, were held accountable to providing the educational experience that the parents expected from an elite school.

A sense of entitlement.

The neighborhood parents expressed a sense of entitlement to the educational benefits that Terra Bella provided their children. The comments that I overheard in the breezeways before after school on multiple occasions made reference to the impact the presence of English Learners was having on their students' educational experience. "I don't know why they force us to take them! There are other schools closer to where they live that they would fit in better at!" one mother commented as she walked with another mother and their children out to the parking lot one afternoon (field notes from school observation, 9/9/03). Built 15 years prior, the school was a source of great pride for the neighborhood, having been designated a "California Distinguished School"[38] in its seventh year of operation. This award validated the parents' expectation of academic excellence at the school. From Terra Bella's inception, the neighborhood students in the school were exceptional with regard to their academic achievement, as evidenced by their grades and assessment scores prior to arriving from the schools they had attended before

[38] The California Distinguished School Award included requirements that included, but were not limited to, schools demonstrating that they met their academic achievement goals on the state-mandated standardized test which resulted in a reduction in the achievement gap between numerically significant minority subgroups and the majority White population.

Terra Bella was built (Michael Davidson, field notes and transcript from formal interview, 10/21/03). The school's location, nestled in the newer Terra Bella development, was also in a highly desirable area with regard to the middle and high schools the students would attend after finishing the sixth grade at Terra Bella. Both of these schools were considered among the elite schools in Clarksville because they consistently ranked among the top secondary schools in the district based on state and district assessments of academic achievement. Real estate advertisements for houses in the neighborhood accentuated the value of buying in such a prestigious school attendance area.

As a result, many Terra Bella parents resented the fact that so many English Learners[39] were bused in from a working-class community across town and were taking advantage of the fruit of their labor. Mr. Davidson shared that parents often reminded him that, "We paid the Mello-Roos fees and taxes that built this school, but the English Learners' parents didn't contribute anything!" yet they were reaping the benefits of a Terra Bella educational experience for their children (transcript from formal interview, 10/21/03). The parents considered Terra Bella an elite school for consistently being among the top five performing elementary schools in Clarksville, and they wanted the school's API to reflect that elite status. The 2003 API for the school approached 730, short of the California Department of Education's goal of 800, a target several of the other elite schools in the district had already hit. Terra Bella had the largest population of English Learners of all the other elite schools, a point not lost on the parents. Mr.

[39] Nearly one-half of the student population at Terra Bella was bused in from across town (almost 500 out of a total population of nearly 900; field notes from Michael Davidson informal interview, 6/5/03).

Davidson reported that they often came to him claiming, “If they [English Learners] weren’t here, we’d be an 800 school!” (transcript from formal interview, 10/21/03). Thus, the presence of English Learners at Terra Bella was contested. Moreover, their academic achievement levels and socioeconomic status, and the limited participation of their parents at Terra Bella influenced their social status, which was the lowest among the students at the school.

Del Sol Elementary School

Orientation and Parental Identity

There was less an orientation toward academic excellence and more toward equal educational opportunity at Del Sol. The neighborhood parents, many of whom reported that they had limited educational opportunities themselves as they had not completed high school (field notes from parent conferences, l0/9/03), identified with the goal that their students receive a better education than they received and acquire English in their time at the school. The neighborhood parents, like those at Terra Bella, appeared to identify with each other and in this way formed a group around the expectation of educational opportunity for their students. Their power as a group worked through the sharing of their expectation for a better education for their students.

Parent Involvement

Del Sol was a center of activity in the local working-class community, focusing on providing support services not readily accessible for community members and their

children, who often depended on public transportation to access the same services outside the neighborhood. There was a community health clinic, a Department of Public Social Services office, an Even Start parent education program, and a free after school program for students. A charitable dental group provided free, on-site dental exams and a dental care educational program for all students. Del Sol was consistently ranked among the lowest achieving schools in Clarksville. The families from the working-class community surrounding Del Sol frequented the school, but primarily to avail themselves of the services the school provided. The English Learners at Del Sol reflected the socioeconomic status of the surrounding community, with nearly 92% of the students qualifying for the free or reduced price lunch program.[40] The parents stood in stark contrast to those from the Terra Bella neighborhood community, especially with regard to their involvement in school organizations, functions, and classrooms at Del Sol.

School Organizations. At Del Sol, only a few neighborhood parents were active in school organizations. These few formed the core of the school's PTA, SSC, and ELAC leadership. The PTA board had only one parent serving on it in the capacity of president. The rest of the board members were teachers, who actively coached this mother, who had reluctantly agreed to serve as president. Their budget for the year from their fundraising efforts was just short of $6,000.00. The annual proceeds from the PTA supported short, walking field trips for several classes as well as the holiday food and toy drive for needy families at Christmas (field notes from PTA meeting, 10/14/03).

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[40] Data downloaded from Ed-Data (http://www.ed-data.k12.ca.us/Pages/Home.aspx) on 4/23/12.

At Del Sol, the ELAC and SSC meetings were conducted concurrently and held at the same time as Del Sol's adult English as a Second Language (ESL) class, as the ten or so mothers in the class were the only regular attendees. They were required to attend the meetings in order to be able to take the ESL course, and Principal Ofelia Martínez recruited the officers for the two committees from these regular attendees in order to have a voting quorum at the meetings. Door prizes were awarded at the end of the meeting, further encouraging and rewarding parent participation (field notes from ELAC and SSC meeting, 10/30/03).

School Functions. Some of the neighborhood parents also supported school functions by attending the thrice-yearly Honor Roll Awards assembly that was held mid-day the last week of school each trimester for students on each of the four tracks. Parents came, dressed in their everyday clothes with young children in tow, with cameras and camcorders in hand to record the recognition that their students received for good grades and attendance. Each year, the school gave out over twenty $100.00 gift cards, donated to students by businesses in Clarksville, for perfect attendance, hoping to encourage students to attend school regularly as Del Sol had one of the highest absence rates in the district. Back to School Night and the annual carnival in the fall and Open House in the spring were all well attended by parents and families.

Classrooms. Teachers reported that they did not often have parent volunteers in their classrooms. Many shared that it had been several years since they had had a parent volunteer to be room mother to help with class festivities and projects, instead doing all the work themselves. When I inquired of teachers as to why they thought parents were

not volunteering in the classrooms, they responded that many mothers had younger children and had no one else who could care for them while they helped at school. There were also a significant number of households in the Del Sol neighborhood in which both parents worked during the day. Teachers also shared that parents were reluctant to work in classrooms, especially in the upper grades, because of the language barrier. Parents who were not proficient in English had shared with teachers that they were concerned that they would not be able to help the students who were taught exclusively in English (field notes from informal interviews, 7/29/03; field notes from parent conferences, 10/9/03). Del Sol teachers had considerable autonomy with regard to whom and how they taught given the limited parental involvement in the school, as the parents did not challenge or criticize the teachers like the parents did at Terra Bella.

Social System. Del Sol was not under the type of strain that Terra Bella was experiencing, which made the social system of the school somewhat difficult to discern. The school had been on a multi-track schedule for over 10 years due to overcrowding, and was not considering changing in the near future. Unlike other schools on multi-track schedules in Clarksville, the English Learners at Del Sol were not clustered on the C track. Instead, due to their large number, they were distributed across all 4 tracks. Therefore, unlike at Terra Bella, teachers on all four tracks at Del Sol always had English Learners in their classrooms. Moreover, the English Learners at Del Sol were from the local community, with all but 5 of the nearly 500 being native Spanish-speakers.[41]

[41] Other languages from the Del Sol neighborhood included native Vietnamese, Khmer, and Portuguese speakers (data downloaded from DataQuest [http://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/], 4/22/12).

Finally, the principal at Del Sol had been there for over eight years, so there was relative stability in the front office, which also contributed to the overall stability of the social system at Del Sol.

The multi-track schedule at Del Sol made it difficult for me to evaluate where the teachers stood with regard to the other teachers and the parents at the school. What I learned was that even though three of the four tracks were in attendance on any given day at the school, the teachers from each track had limited interaction with each other. The teachers from each track functioned as a system within a system, and rarely ventured beyond their immediate peer group. Exceptions that I observed occurred if a teacher had friends that he or she had worked with previously on another track, or if they tried to team with their grade-level peers across different tracks.

Social Status. The community surrounding Del Sol reflected its working-class lifestyle.[42] The small wood frame and stucco houses were among the oldest in Clarksville. Several aging apartment complexes bordered the community, most along the two main thoroughfares through the community. Tall trees, dense cacti, and yucca plants lined the narrow streets and testified to the age and tenacity of the neighborhood. The small yards in front of the tight rows of houses were framed by wooden or chain-link fences and dotted with chairs, benches, and scattered children's toys. Dogs, large and small, roamed the neighborhood freely, and the sounds of cocks crowing could be heard throughout the day. The crowd at the bus stops waxed and waned throughout each day, in sync with the arrival and departure of the buses. The procession of mothers, children, and

[42] Demographic information on both schools downloaded from Claritas (http://claritas.com) March 20, 2004.

younger siblings in strollers along the sidewalks ebbed and flowed at the beginning and the end of the school day.

Parental influence.

The parents from the Del Sol neighborhood did not try to influence the running of the school. They were supportive of the school, including the administration and the teachers. The conversations among parents in the morning as they stood in the courtyard of the school awaiting the bell that signaled the start of the school day often focused on how well their children were doing in their classrooms. Mothers compared notes with those whose children had had their child's teacher previously. The parents did not often request special teachers and programs (such as GATE) for their students, but Mrs. Martínez, the principal, reported that parents of English Learners most often chose SEI as the educational program for their children when enrolling them in school (transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03). Although the parents' expectations that their students receive a good education and their deference to the school in the education of their children may have been associated with their socioeconomic status, there was also a cultural component that should be considered when working with families such as those at Del Sol, where over 90% of the children were Hispanic. In many Hispanic cultures, the formal education, "la enseñanza," of children is considered the responsibility of the teachers and school, and parents, out of respect, do not interfere (Goldenberg, Gallimore, Reese, & Garnier, 2001). Moreover, they are less likely to criticize teachers, as teachers are accorded a very high social status in their culture. It is the informal education of the children, "la educación," that is the responsibility of the parents (Goldenberg et al.,

2001). Therefore, out of respect for the administration and the teachers, parents often do not try to influence the running of the school (Goldenberg et al., 2001), as was the case at Del Sol.

A sense of entitlement.

Unlike the neighborhood parents at Terra Bella who expressed a sense of entitlement to the educational benefits that the school provided their children, the parents from the Del Sol neighborhood had a different perspective. The school itself was one of the oldest in Clarksville, built nearly 100 years before. Many generations of the families in the neighborhood had attended Del Sol, and the school was a source of pride and stability in the community. From its first day of operation almost 100 years before, the neighborhood students at Del Sol were exceptional with regard to their academic and linguistic needs, in that the school has always had large numbers of English Learners and the neighborhood has always been one of the poorest in Clarksville (Ofelia Martínez, transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03).

Del Sol was recognized as a “California Distinguished School” (CDS) five years before my study, which also was a source of pride for the administration, teachers, and their families, especially given the challenges they faced with regard to the students’ academic achievement and English language acquisition. It was interesting to me on several levels that both Terra Bella and Del Sol were designated as a CDS. First, the achievement levels as measured by the CST at Terra Bella were much higher, and the gap between their native English-speaking students and English Learners was nearly twice that at Del Sol (see Table 8). In order to meet their achievement targets and reduce the

achievement gap, there had to be substantial improvement in all students' scores. Upon analysis, I realized that the gap between native English-speaking students and English Learners at Del Sol was much less significant (see Table 8), so it would take a relatively smaller increase in their achievement to show a reduction in the achievement gap, which may have aided them in meeting the requirements for the CDS award. Secondly, the

Table 8

Achievement Comparison, Terra Bella and Del Sol Elementary, 2003-2004

	Percent Proficient or Advanced in English Language Arts on the California Standards Test (CST)			
School	All Students	English-only Students	English Learners	Achievement Gap
Terra Bella	30%	41%	5%	– 36
Del Sol	16%	25%	6%	– 19

parents at Terra Bella considered being designated a CDS an affirmation for their expectation of academic excellence for their children at the site. However, at Del Sol, being a CDS was more a symbol of affirmation for the teachers than the parents, as teachers cited the award more frequently in their conversations with me and with parents (field notes from parent-teacher conferences, 10/9/03, field notes from awards assembly observation, 10/16/03). Parents did not mention the CDS award in the many settings that I was able to observe and interact with them, but they did often speak about their children's teachers and the principal as being "good," "helpful," and "supportive" (field notes from Back to School Night observation, 8/14/03; field notes from PTA meeting

observation, 10/14/03; field notes from ELAC/SSC meeting observation, 10/30/03). With the parents were oriented more to seeking a better educational opportunity for their children than they had, which for many was less than 3 years of formal schooling[43] (field notes from informal interview, Rachel King, 11/12/03; field notes from informal interview, Felicia Rodríguez, 7/29/03; field notes from parent conferences, 10/9/03), it may have been that they already considered Del Sol distinguished in that it was a vital part of the local community and provided the better educational opportunity that they desired for their children.

Del Sol's location, in the oldest and traditionally working-class section of Clarksville, was in a less than desirable area with regard to the middle and high schools the students would attend after Del Sol, both of which were considered among the lowest performing schools in Clarksville because they consistently ranked among the bottom five secondary schools in the district based on state and district assessments of academic achievement.

At Del Sol, no students were thought to unfairly benefit from the educational opportunities the school could provide. There were buses that brought students from outlying attendance areas each day. These students were similar to the students from the Del Sol neighborhood, with the majority of them English Learners and living in smaller, outlying working-class neighborhoods. Unlike at Terra Bella, the students who were

[43] In Felicia Rodríguez's class of 20 students, one parent had graduated from university, seven had their high school diploma or some high school, and 12 parents had not completed elementary school, with the majority reporting third grade as the highest grade level completed. In Rachel King's class of 33 students, one parent had graduated from university, 24 parents had their high school diploma or some high school, and eight parents had not completed elementary school, again with the majority reporting third grade as the highest grade level completed.

bused in were not an issue for the parents in the Del Sol neighborhood. (Ofelia Martínez, transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03). The school was built from the funds coming from the property taxes in the neighborhood, and the majority of the English Learners at the school came from that neighborhood. Hence, there were no complaints from neighborhood parents that the English Learners' parents had not contributed to the construction of the school.

Del Sol was considered one of the lowest-performing elementary schools in Clarksville. The 2003 API for the school approached 600, far short of the California Department of Education's goal of 800, a target several of the elite schools in the district had already hit. Del Sol had the largest population of English Learners of all the elementary schools in Clarksville. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, the presence of English Learners at Del Sol was not contested and their social status was not significantly different from that of the native English-speaking students at the school, many of whom were second- and third-generation offspring of native Spanish-speaking immigrants who had much earlier settled in the neighborhood (Ofelia Martínez, transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03).

Conclusion

Although Terra Bella and Del Sol were both located in the Clarksville School District, the sociopolitical context at each site differed, sometimes significantly, in response to the wider sociopolitical context in Southern California during the time of my study. The parental orientation at Terra Bella was toward academic excellence, while at

Del Sol, it was toward better educational opportunity. Teachers and administrators at both sites considered the educational opportunities offered to all their students to be both equal and excellent, given their status as California Distinguished School awardees. Parents from both sites had their identity linked, in part, to their neighborhood group related to their children's education, but the source of power for the groups differed. The parents from the Terra Bella neighborhood united around their goal of high academic achievement for their children and drew their power from high levels of participation in the daily activities at the school. The parents at Del Sol drew their power from their shared background experiences, and their common goal that their students receive a better education than they had. Therefore, the Terra Bella community was oriented more toward enriching the educational experience of students while the Del Sol community was oriented toward supporting its students' educational experience.

The parents at both sites were involved in their children's education, but often in strikingly different ways. The neighborhood parents at Terra Bella were active in school organizations and attended school-sponsored functions. They were also heavily involved in the daily activities of the school, including working in their children's classrooms. In contrast, the parents from Del Sol were minimally involved in school organizations but did attend school-sponsored functions. The parents were more involved in the primary grade classrooms where their English language skills were less an issue and their Spanish skills were more an advantage, but were mostly absent from upper grade classrooms where all instruction was given in English, which created a barrier to their involvement, a finding also identified in Gibson (2002) and Peña (2000).

The social systems at each of the schools contrasted, as well. The social system at Terra Bella was under strain because it was transitioning to a single-track, modified traditional schedule and adjusting to a new principal. At Del Sol, the social system was relatively more stable, as it had been operating under the current 4-track schedule for over ten years and had had the same principal for the past eight.

Finally, there was a relationship between the social status of the neighborhood surrounding each school and the level of influence the parents wielded in the schools. In Terra Bella's middle-class community, the parents exerted much pressure and influence on the school, while in Del Sol's working-class community, parents exerted very little pressure or influence, similar to the findings in studies by Delgado-Gaitan (1991) and Lareau (2000). Terra Bella parents had a strong sense of entitlement to the academic excellence and the high academic achievement they expected from the school, while Del Sol parents focused on their children receiving a good education, an opportunity that many of them never had had.

In Chapter 5, I journey into classrooms at Terra Bella and Del Sol Elementary in the Clarksville School District to learn what teaching English Learners meant to the teachers. In particular, I consider how their identity as a teacher and their social status was affected when they taught English Learners, and to what extent teachers went to avoid being identified as a teacher of English Learners. Finally, I consider how these issues were connected to both the classroom and school, as well as to the wider sociopolitical context, including the impact on a teacher's identity and social status if she

was perceived to be a teacher of English Learners, and what it meant to teachers to be a teacher of English Learners.

Chapter 5

Teaching English Learners: A Question of Identity

As I listened to teachers at both Terra Bella and Del Sol talk about teaching English Learners, I was struck by how often they spoke about the implications to themselves professionally, including how they conceptualized themselves as teachers and how others perceived them, that is, their teacher identity and status (Gee, 2000; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991). It is fair to say that the meaning that teachers made of teaching English Learners was linked to both their identity and social status, with parents from the local community and other teachers at the school playing critical roles in this regard. Understanding the teachers' identity and social status and thus the meaning they made of teaching English Learners helps us make sense of how the teachers responded to teaching English Learners in their classrooms in Clarksville.

That identities change from context to context and are often unstable and ambiguous (Enyedy et al., 2005; Gee, 2000) was especially true at Terra Bella, which, as I discussed in Chapter 4, was in flux due to the shift to a single-track schedule. It was as if the identities of teachers of English Learners, on the one hand, and teachers of all students[44] on the other, were being rewritten the year of this study as the social systems that previously defined teacher relationships on each of the four tracks converged to form a new system now that all were teaching on the same track. Not surprisingly, many teachers tried to maintain the status quo by hanging onto their previous identity and status. Yet others pushed back, wanting to shape new identities for themselves and

[44] I use the term "teacher of all students" to represent the identity of teachers who perceived themselves and were perceived by others to be a teacher of students who were not English Learners.

positions in the hierarchy of the new social system as the faces in their classrooms changed. Similar to the teachers in Yoon's (2008) study, teachers actively positioned themselves as either teachers of English Learners or teachers of all students through both their conceptualization of who they themselves were as teachers and how they conceptualized other teachers. At Del Sol, the teachers' identities and status were relatively more stable, likely as the status quo there was not being challenged as overtly as at Terra Bella, which made seeing and understanding teachers' identities and status more challenging. Yet, teachers' identities at the two schools varied as a result of social-class related considerations – the middle-class ethos at Terra Bella and the working-class culture at Del Sol.

The teacher identity of each of the teachers in my study, and thus the meaning they made of teaching English Learners, was linked to three key factors related to the above observations: (a) the students they taught, (b) their pedagogical competence as perceived by others, and (c) how well they met the expectations of the local community regarding the type of educational experience the school, and by extension, the teachers would provide for their children. All of these factors also contributed to their social status, which had a reciprocal, often intertwined, relationship with their teacher identity. However, the teachers – their identities and their social status – were affected in different ways at Terra Bella and Del Sol.

The Students Teachers Taught

Who teachers taught was a factor in how they saw themselves and determined their teacher identity and their social status in the school. Each of the teachers in my study had English Learners in their classrooms, some for the first time in many years. As indicated in Chapter 4, English Learners at Terra Bella were bused in from across town, while those at Del Sol came from the neighborhood surrounding the school and nearby satellite attendance areas. The teachers also had a wide variety of students in their classrooms, ranging from English Learners who were newcomers, having been in U.S. schools for less than a year, to native English-speaking Gifted and Talented Education (GATE) students. Interestingly, although all the teachers had English Learners in their classrooms, two of the teachers perceived themselves as and were considered by others, including colleagues and parents, to be teachers of all students, not teachers of English Learners, which benefited them with regard to their social status.

At Terra Bella, the social status of the students that teachers taught played a critical role in determining both their identity as well as their own social status in the school. The English Learners were not from the local neighborhood. More than just not living in the same zip code, there were differences between the English Learners and the neighborhood children that were important to the neighborhood parents, including their social class, the language they spoke, and their academic achievement.

Coming from the working class community across town, the English Learners contrasted, often starkly, with the relative affluence enjoyed by many of the neighborhood students. This contrast was evident in the clothes the students wore and the

supplies they brought to school (such as backpacks, books, pencils, markers, and other educational accouterments). Children from the local neighborhood sported name-brand clothing, many designer brands, and wore shoes that cost upwards of $75 to $100 dollars a pair, while the English Learners wore clothing that less frequently could be described as name-brand or designer, and their shoes also were more typically not brands within the same price range as those of the neighborhood children. Neighborhood children often brought a surplus of school supplies with them to school, carried in contemporary or character-themed backpacks. For example, upper grade students had dictionaries, rulers, pencils, pens, notebooks with ample paper (both lined and quadrille), calculators, protractors, compasses, and other tools to assist them with their school work. English Learners, on the other hand, came not only with fewer school materials, but also often did not have a backpack to carry their schoolwork and books to and from their homes (field notes from classroom observations, 7/16/03, 7/17/03, 7/21/03, 7/22/03, 7/24/03, 7/30/03, 9/9/03, 9/24/03, 9/26/03, 10/6/03, 10/8/03, 10/14/03, 10/17/03, 10/29/03, 11/4/03, 11/7/03, 11/14/03, 11/18/03).

The English Learners from the two communities also contrasted. In the Terra Bella neighborhood, there were many languages represented, including Mandarin, Korean, Vietnamese, Arabic, German, and Japanese. In fact, 17 of the 277 English Learners at Terra Bella were from the neighborhood and spoke these languages. Although they were learning English as a second language, they more closely resembled their peers from the neighborhood with regard to the resources they had available to them for clothing and school materials, as highlighted above. Therefore, speaking Spanish was

what distinguished the remaining 260 English Learners from across town from the students from the Terra Bella neighborhood (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03).

The academic achievement varied, often significantly, between the neighborhood students and the English Learners from across town. On the California Standards Test (CST), 55% of the White students scored proficient or advanced in English Language Arts (ELA), whereas only 19% of the English Learners reached these levels. While English Learners did better on the mathematics portion of the CST, there were only 30% of them who reached proficient or advanced, in contrast to 66% of the White students (field notes from document analysis, 10/20/04). This pattern of difference in their academic achievement was also evident in Terra Bella classrooms, where White students from the neighborhood were more typically the high achievers and identified as eligible for the Gifted and Talented Education (GATE) program (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03).

The presence of English Learners from the working class community across town, who spoke Spanish and who did not excel academically like many of the children from the neighborhood, was a source of contention for many parents at Terra Bella, some of whom were both very vocal and influential. The parents seemed to have a sense of entitlement toward all that they expected the school to provide for their children, as highlighted in Chapter 4. They were not shy about letting others know, regardless of who was within earshot (including students, and in particular, English Learners and their parents) about their dissatisfaction at having English Learners from across town attending

Terra Bella and the perceived ill that was befalling the school due to their presence (i.e., lower Academic Performance Index [API] score, etc.) which was also discussed in Chapter 4.

Not surprisingly, teaching the neighborhood students positively influenced the teachers' social status, whereas teaching English Learners had a negative influence on the same. Similarly, with regard to their teacher identity, seemingly even more important than the presence of English Learners in their classroom was who the teachers perceived themselves to be or who others perceived them to be as teachers. If the teacher considered herself or others considered her to be a teacher of English Learners, then her social status was lower, mirroring the social status of the English Learners at the school. However, if teachers with English Learners in their classrooms considered themselves and were considered by others to be teachers of all students, their social status reflected the higher social status of the neighborhood students in their classroom. Thus, the social status of the teachers at Terra Bella varied more significantly than the social status of the teachers at Del Sol (which I will discuss later).

Since the late 1980s, the perception of bilingual teachers among the general public, teachers, and administrators was that they dumbed down their lessons, teaching less over a longer period of time because of the presence of English Learners in their classrooms (Crawford, 1995, 1996; Cummins, 2000; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). As a Bilingual, Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (BCLAD)[42] credential holder, Patricia Lopez was cognizant of the effect that teaching English Learners had on her identity (field notes from informal interview, 9/9/03). An example came one

afternoon at a grade level meeting with her colleagues, two of whom were White and one Asian American, all native English-speakers, and all holders of Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD) credentials.[45] In the meeting, they insisted that Patricia teach the English Language Development (ELD) lessons for all the English Learners in the fourth grade during their teaming[46] time, even though they were credentialed to do so themselves. "I know I took all the classes and got my CLAD, but I honestly don't remember anything," remarked teacher Vanessa Lee. "You should teach ELD," she implored. Patricia sat silent, unmoved. Vanessa continued, "You've taught it before. I've never had to" (field notes from collaborative planning meeting, 10/17/03). As I looked around the room, the other fourth grade teachers were nodding in agreement. To them, it made perfect sense. Patricia was the only one among them who had recent experience teaching ELD, as her previous assignment was teaching English Learners exclusively on C track. She was responsible for ELD then, and she should continue now, her colleagues reasoned. They seemed to want Patricia's identity as a teacher of English Learners to continue as before while not wanting to reconsider theirs in light of the presence of English Learners in their own classrooms. Their insistence that Patricia shoulder the primary responsibility for teaching all the English Learners in the fourth grade, not just those in her own classroom, continued throughout the time of my study.

I quickly realized that Patricia was pushing back, not wanting to be considered a teacher of English Learners, when I saw her try to get them to reconsider the plan that she

[45] BCLAD and CLAD credentials were described in detail in Chapters 1, 3, and 4.

[46] "Teaming," or "team teaching," was described in detail in Chapter 1.

be the only one to teach ELD. She argued that she should not be singled out but considered the same as <u>everyone</u> else on the team, saying that everyone should take a turn teaching ELD. "Can we each teach one [ELD] theme then switch to vocabulary development?"[47] (field notes from collaborative planning meeting, 10/17/03). Her colleagues never responded as they filed out of the meeting back to their classrooms, leaving Patricia with a puzzled look on her face. She reflected on the situation after they left:

> "[If I teach all the ELD sessions], then the stigma follows you, well, you're Hispanic, you've got to teach the kids and the kids get the idea that, well, you know, my teacher is a Mexican one, so therefore, she's the one that does the, you know, the Mexican kids" (transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03).

Insisting that she be the only one to teach ELD was not the only way Patricia's colleagues acted upon their perceptions of her. Each of them had sent multiple English Learners to Patricia's class, claiming that she should teach the students, not they, because, as Maggie Goetz put it one afternoon when she approached Patricia about taking a new student who had just arrive in the U.S. from Mexico, "At least you can communicate with her. I don't understand a word she's saying!" (field notes from classroom observation, 7/21/03). As a result, Patricia ended up with the largest number of English Learners in her classroom of all the fourth grade teachers (field notes from teacher roster analysis, 11/14/03). Not only did her regular class have the largest number of English Learners in it, but her teaming groups had the greatest concentration of

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[47] During the 30-minute ELD teaming time, the other teachers each taught a vocabulary development session for all the other students.

English Learners as well (field notes from teaming document analysis, 11/14/03). The teacher identity ascribed to her by her colleagues and by parents (which I discuss later) as a teacher of English Learners reinforced others' perception of her while at the same time reinforced their own identities or positioned them as teachers of all students, not teachers of English Learners, regardless of who was on their official class roster.

In the shifting social system at Terra Bella, Patricia was trying to redefine herself as a teacher of all students, like her fourth grade colleagues. Given Principal Davidson's reform and desire to diversify all the classrooms at Terra Bella (which I discussed in Chapter 4), this attempt seemed institutionally sensible. They *all* were supposed to be teaching English Learners. In fact, Patricia went out of her way in her presentation at the Back-to-School Night to portray herself as a member of the fourth grade team in her effort to redefine herself in the eyes of the neighborhood parents as she spoke to those in attendance. "We work as a team and we plan as a team" she shared, as she outlined the teaming program for the parents (field notes from Back-to-School Night observation, 7/24/03). In particular, she emphasized that she taught many of the students from the other teachers' classrooms. This, in effect, was a way for her to say that she was a teacher of all students, not just a teacher of the English Learners in fourth grade.

However, despite all her efforts, Patricia was still seen as a teacher of English Learners by the parents. Given the sentiment of the parents, which I highlighted above and in Chapter 4, and the presence of a large number of English Learners in her classroom as well as her previous assignment to C track, it was not surprising that Patricia, who was an English Learner herself, was considered a teacher of English

Learners by the neighborhood parents. The impact that being considered as such had on Patricia included parents (a) frequently volunteering in all the other fourth grade classrooms, but not in Patricia's; (b) requesting specific fourth grade teachers for their children, but not requesting Patricia; and (c) sitting in Patricia's classroom at the beginning of the year to decide if they would request a transfer to another teacher, as several ultimately did (field notes from classroom observations, 7/21/03, 7/24/03, 7/30/03, 9/26/03, 10/6/03, 10/17/03, 11/4/03, 11/14/03). Based on comments I overheard from parents and other teachers at the site, other teachers who taught with Patricia on C track were also accorded similar identities as teachers of English Learners, garnering them lower status at Terra Bella (field notes from Back to School Night, 7/24/03; staff meeting, 10/28/03; Parent Teacher Association [PTA] [48]meetings, 10/8/03, 11/19/03, 11/19/03; School Site Council [SSC][49] meeting,10/21/03; Awards Night, 11/20/03).

Moreover, Patricia was still seen as a teacher of English Learners by her peers at Terra Bella. The impact that being considered as such had on Patricia included limiting her opportunities to hold high status staff positions at the school. For instance, each teacher was expected to perform additional duties beyond their classroom responsibilities each year, such as serving on the PTA board and the SSC. The former C track teachers found that many of these more prestigious extra duty positions were taken by their native English-speaking colleagues, while they were left positions that served the parents of

[48] The PTA was defined in Chapter 4.

[49] The SSC was defined in Chapter 4.

English Learners alone, such as the English Learner Advisory Committee (ELAC;[50] field notes from observations at PTA meetings, 10/8/03, 11/19/03, 11/19/03; SSC meeting, 10/21/03; ELAC meeting, 11/7/03). Patricia did attend the SSC meetings, but only as a translator for any Spanish-speaking parents. Serving as a translator for parents limited her availability to interact in a more meaningful way with in the discussions, decisions, and activities of the group (field notes from SSC meeting, 10/21/03).

Patricia's identity as a teacher of English Learners influenced her social status at school and among her fourth grade colleagues. Evidence of Patricia's low social status could be seen in the number of English Learners she had in her class. Even though all the teachers at Terra Bella were either currently credentialed or certified to teach English Learners or were in training to become certified, Mr. Davidson had the freedom to place English Learners in any classroom without restrictions due to certification (transcript from formal interview, 10/21/03). Patricia was assigned 17 English Learners, 12 of whom were at the beginning or early intermediate levels of English language acquisition (see Appendix A), while her fourth grade colleagues were assigned 11, 10, and 6 English Learners, respectively, all with correspondingly fewer students at these low phases of English language acquisition. Although some might assert that Patricia was better suited to teach English Learners because of her linguistic background, which could be interpreted as a positive for the students, Patricia argued that the message that this sent to her English Learners that only the Mexican teacher could teach them was not positive, which was highlighted above. Patricia also recognized that she was stigmatized in being

[50] The ELAC was defined in Chapter 4.

seen as only able to teach English Learners, which had implications for others' estimation of her teaching ability given that the English Learners' academic achievement was typically lower than their native English-speaking peers (Gándara, 1997; Greene, 1998; Ramírez et al., 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997; Willig, 1985).

It was interesting to me that although all the fourth grade teachers had English Learners in their classes, they were not ascribed an identity as a teacher of English Learners as Patricia was. When I studied this phenomenon, I realized that although the teachers had English Learners on their official roster, they in fact only had English Learners in their classrooms for half of each day.[51] Teaming occurred for language arts, mathematics, ELD, and vocabulary development. All other subjects were taught, as time allowed, in the remaining half of the day. Therefore, many of the teachers sent their English Learners out to other teachers for teaming time in the core academic subjects. I was reminded of Fu's (1995) study, in which teachers felt that teaching English Learners was the responsibility of the English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers, as they did not consider themselves teachers of English Learners. I was also reminded of Yoon's (2008) study, in which teachers intentionally positioned themselves as teachers of all students instead of teachers of English Learners. Patricia did not benefit from this practice. She, too, sent many of her English Learners out on a daily basis for teaming. Yet among both her colleagues and the neighborhood parents, she was perceived as being a teacher of English Learners.

[51] From the six and one-half hour instructional day, teaming took two hours; passing periods, recess, and lunch took one hour twenty minutes; other instruction (journal, silent reading, history/social science and science, and undesignated instructional time, consumed three hours and ten minutes).

Whereas Patricia faced many challenges as she tried to redefine her identity as a teacher of all students and reestablish herself in the hierarchy of the new social system at Terra Bella, Paula Ahren fared relatively well with regard to her teacher identity and social status.

Unlike Patricia, Paula did not experience being ascribed an undesirable identity by others as a result of a previous track assignment, even though she had taught English Learners on C track for one year before transferring to the A track as a GATE teacher. Her identity at the school was that of a teacher of all students, and GATE students in particular. I wondered why it was different for Paula than for Patricia. After all, Paula had English Learners in her classroom the year of my study because of the de-tracking just as Patricia did. Perhaps Paula's teaching GATE students on the A track for the past several years overrode the effects of the C track assignment four years earlier. Moreover, being White may also have supported Paula's identity as a teacher of all students in the sociopolitical context at Terra Bella.

Teaching GATE and high achieving students from the Terra Bella neighborhood likely helped others consider Paula a teacher of all students and elevated her status because the GATE program was the most desired and sought after program by neighborhood parents. With their high expectations for the type of educational experience their children would have at the school, which were highlighted in Chapter 4, it made sense that Paula and the other teachers who taught in the GATE program would have the highest social status in the school. Moreover, teachers considered teaching the GATE and high-achieving students a more desirable teaching assignment, as, under the old multi-

track system, there would not have been any English Learners in a GATE class, since, per the Clarksville School district student placement policy, English Learners and GATE students were placed on different tracks (field notes from formal interview, Mr. Davidson, 10/21/03).

Paula's teacher identity and social status were reinforced by her many leadership responsibilities at Terra Bella, which increased her popularity with the neighborhood parents and children. Due to her expertise in technology, Paula was appointed the teacher representative for the parent-sponsored computer club that met weekly after school. Mr. Davidson appointed her the science lead at the school, as she was the only elementary teacher in the region selected to participate in a prestigious earth science project sponsored by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in conjunction with a local university. Through the project, Paula's students were able to interact with other students from around the country via live video feed and on the computer. As highlighted in Chapter 4, participating in Paula's science teaming group was something that the GATE parents actively sought and protected for their children..

Paula's teacher identity and social status also provided her greater choice in her team teaching assignments. Like their fourth grade counterparts, the sixth grade teachers teamed to teach many subjects, including math, science, and ELD. Paula volunteered to teach the GATE earth science group, which provided her an opportunity to infuse the program from the university-sponsored science project. As a result, another of her colleagues had to teach the ELD group (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03). Paula was also able to teach the GATE math group, which also was in great demand by

the parents. In fact, there were so many requests from parents with high achieving students who were not yet identified as GATE, who wanted their students in the Paula's math class as well, that she ended up with nearly 45 students, more than any other teacher in the sixth grade.

The students that the teachers taught were a pivotal factor in determining the teachers' identities and social status at Terra Bella. Their identity, in part, established each of the teachers' rankings in the transitioning social system and hierarchy, and, in Patricia's case, was considered by others through the lens of her identity as a native Spanish-speaking Mexican teacher. As a result of the transition to a single-track schedule, teachers attempted to maintain or redefine their identities and social status at Terra Bella as the faces in their classrooms changed. The instability of the social system there helped make the factors that influenced the teachers' identity and social status more visible. Paula, a native English-speaking White woman and GATE teacher, considered herself and was considered by neighborhood parents and other teachers alike to be a teacher of all students and had one of the highest social statuses among the teachers at Terra Bella. Patricia, on the other hand, a native Spanish-speaking Mexican, was considered to be a teacher of English Learners by the neighborhood parents and her colleagues, even though she was trying to redefine herself as a teacher of all students.

As indicated in Chapter 4, the social system at Del Sol was not undergoing the transformation that was occurring at Terra Bella. Instead, it was relatively more stable and had been for some time. Ofelia Garcia had been principal for nearly ten years and there was a very low turnover rate among the staff, with only two out of 38 teachers who

were new to the site the year of my study. In addition, there were at least four separate social systems in place, as each track (A through D) had developed its own social system. Felicia Rodríguez and Rachel King taught on C track, so my findings are limited to what I was able to observe for these C track teachers as they interacted with their peers and the parents of the children who were assigned to C track. The relatively stable social system at Del Sol made processes, such as the open juggling for position and attempts to redefine identities that I witnessed at Terra Bella, more difficult for me to discern. Moreover, the student body at Del Sol reflected the neighborhood surrounding the school ethnically, linguistically, and socioeconomically, unlike at Terra Bella, where there were linguistic and ethnic differences between the English Learners bused in from across town and the students from the Terra Bella neighborhood. Therefore, having an identity as a teacher of English Learners and an identity as a teacher of all students was less distinct and had less an impact on teachers' identity at Del Sol than at Terra Bella. In addition, the involvement of the neighborhood parents in the daily running of Del Sol was very limited, which made discovering how they viewed the teachers' identities and social status even more challenging. What I was able to learn, however, was that teaching English Learners at Del Sol was not as critical a factor in determining a teacher's identity or social status as it was at Terra Bella, as there had been English Learners in every classroom at Del Sol since the school opened nearly 100 years before. Instead, the most salient factor in determining a teacher's identity and social status at Del Sol was the students' social status. However, unlike the more stable status of the students at Terra Bella, the social status of the students at Del Sol was not linked to their academic

achievement or their ethnicity. Instead, it was linked to their proficiency in English, as the academic achievement of English Learners and English-only students was not significantly different as it was at Terra Bella. Thus, English Learners' social status at Del Sol changed over time as their proficiency in English increased, as I explain below.

English Learners' language proficiency typically increases with each year they are in school (Gándara, 1997). For instance, in Felicia's second grade classroom, 45% of her English Learners were at a CELDT level 2 (see Appendix A) while 55% were at a level 3 and above. In Rachel's fifth grade class, only 25% of the English Learners remained at a CELDT level 2 while 75% had moved to a level 3 or above. In addition, three of her students had been reclassified as Fluent English Proficient, or RFEP.[52]

From parents' perspective, the most important aspect of their children's education at Del Sol seemed to be acquiring English. Many recognized that their children would need to become fluent in English in order to do well in school. One mother shared at her daughter's parent-teacher conference with Felicia. "Quiero que m'ija aprenda inglés y logre su diploma de la secundaria, pa'que vaya a la universidad, porque no tuve la oportunidad de cumplir no más que el tercer año" <*translation: I want my daughter to learn English and get her high school diploma so she can go to the university because I didn't have the opportunity to go beyond third grade*> (field notes from parent-teacher conferences, 10/10/03). Parents, while pleased with their children's progress in Spanish under Felicia's tutelage, often asked her to move them along faster in English in

[52] Requirements for reclassification to RFEP were described in detail in Chapter 3.

anticipation of their upcoming move to third grade and all-English instruction (field notes from parent-teacher conferences, 10/10/03).

By privileging their children's acquisition of English in determining a teacher's social status, parents accorded upper grade teachers higher social status than they granted the primary grade teachers who taught them in Spanish. Therefore, although Felicia was respected by the parents for her high levels of literacy in both English and Spanish, they wanted more for their children than what she was providing: higher levels of proficiency in English. The parents granted higher social status to Rachel and her upper grade colleagues for meeting their expectations with regard to their children reaching higher levels of proficiency in English, even if only by virtue of the fact that they taught students who had had several more years of exposure to English instruction than the students Felicia taught. Parents, in their conversations with the upper grade teachers during conferences, often deferred to them, seeking help for their children from the teacher because they were not able to support their children at home or help out in their classrooms. In essence, their children's proficiency in English and the level of English that was required to understand the curriculum that was taught in class or sent home as homework had surpassed the parent's level of proficiency in English (field notes from parent conference observations, 10/9/03). In essence, the parents had "released" their children to the upper grade teachers, who, in turn, they had hoped, would provide additional support in English for their children. Moreover, for many parents, their children's educational experience already eclipsed their own, which they cited as further

reason why they could not help out in the classroom or with their work at home (field notes from classroom observations, 9/9/03, 10/6/03, 11/12/03, 12/2/03).

Teachers also granted different social status to English Learners based on their fluency in English. They considered those who were still at very low CELDT levels to have a lower social status than those who were at higher levels or who had been reclassified as RFEP, as this seemed to be the only difference that mattered, especially to the upper grade teachers (field notes from informal interviews, 7/29/03; transcript from formal interview, Rachel King, 12/1/03). In essence, with their increased proficiency in English, the only thing that marked them as different in the social system at Del Sol disappeared once they were able to fully participate in the everyday interactions in English in the classroom.

Rachel had always had English Learners in her classroom at Del Sol. She was in her fifth year of teaching, and her fourth year of teaching at Del Sol. She did not explicitly refer to any impact to her teacher identity as a result of teaching English Learners, in part because she did not recognize her students as English Learners. On more than one occasion, Rachel claimed that she often forgot that she had English Learners in her classroom (field notes from classroom observation, 9/23/03, 10/7/03, 10/9/03). She proudly pronounced, “I don’t treat them any different than my regular students. I forget that they speak another language. They seem so fluent!” (field notes from informal interview, 10/7/03). This was surprising to me, as each day when I observed in her classroom, there were two languages being used by nearly all the students as they worked in small groups or as they consulted a peer for assistance. Her classroom was a

designated SEI classroom, which, according to Clarksville district policy, meant that there were at least ten English Learners in the class for whom the instruction was to be differentiated to support their academic learning and language acquisition and for which she received a monthly stipend in addition to her regular salary. Rachel had five English Learners at a CELDT level 2 (see Appendix A), who possessed very limited English, and another 15 English Learners at higher levels, for a total of 20 out of the 35 students in her class (field notes from document analysis, 9/9/03). For her not to be cognizant of their status as English Learners was interesting.

However, when I analyzed Rachel's instruction and how she questioned students to check for understanding, I realized that Rachel only called on volunteers who typically were the native English-speaking students or English Learners with higher levels of English proficiency. Others, especially the English Learners with lower levels of English proficiency, sat silent throughout the day, never interacting with Rachel (field notes from classroom observations, 9/9/03, 9/23/03, 10/7/03, 10/16/03, 10/23/03, 11/12/03). For instance, when reading portions of and answering questions on the chapter in the novel they were studying, Rachel called on fourteen students, none of whom were English Learners at the lower levels of proficiency (CELDT levels 1 and 2). Instead, nine were native English-speaking, and the remaining five were English Learners at higher levels of English proficiency (CELDT levels 3 and 4; field notes from classroom observation, 10/23/03).

Given the nature of Rachel's interaction with her students and the Clarksville district policy, highlighted in Chapter 4, that all instruction in SEI classrooms be given in

English from the third grade on, she did not consider or overtly speak of herself as a teacher of English Learners. Instead, she overlooked their English Learner status in the name of treating everyone equally, reminiscent of Ladson-Billings' (1994) argument that teachers often confuse equality and equity. By teaching them "the same as my regular students" (field notes from informal interview, 10/7/03), Rachel was ignoring what made them less equal to their peers: they did not understand, speak, read, or write English at a fifth-grade level. Instead of providing the scaffolding necessary so that the English Learners could comprehend her instruction and thus compete academically with their native English-speaking peers, Rachel "treated them all the same," actually limiting their ability to comprehend her instruction and learn as much as those with higher levels of English proficiency. Her stance was similar to that expressed by Mr. Brown, the teacher in Yoon's (2008) study who said that he was a teacher for all students, admitting that, "I don't do a lot of special things for my ESL students" (p. 508), similar to Rachel. Moreover, Rachel sent her English Learners to another fifth grade teacher's classroom for ELD. That is, the only time Rachel had to acknowledge the students' English Learner status, the responsibility was delegated to someone else. Thus, it was not surprising that Rachel did not appear to perceive herself to be impacted by teaching English Learners. Rachel's assertion that she treated all of her students the same in the name of equality served to reinforce her identity as a teacher of all students, which did not differ from the identity ascribed to her by other teachers and parents.

In short, Rachel had higher social status at Del Sol because she was considered to be a teacher of all students. As highlighted above, with the parents' expectations for the

type of educational experience their children would have at the school, teachers who taught the upper grade students had high social status because the majority of these students had already acquired high levels of proficiency in English and had eclipsed the educational opportunities their parents had been afforded.

Felicia considered herself a teacher of English Learners, and all her second grade students were native Spanish-speaking English Learners. Per the Clarksville district policy, highlighted in Chapter 4, she taught them Spanish language arts and used Spanish as necessary to aid their comprehension in content areas taught in English in her designated SEI classroom. Felicia also had them write daily in both English and Spanish to prepare them to transition to all-English instruction in third grade. Felicia reflected on the value she perceived in teaching in both languages. “Teaching them in Spanish and English is the best…look at the results! All my students are able to function well in English and in Spanish” (field notes from informal interview, 7/15/03). Felicia felt that she played an important role in the students’ Spanish and English language development.

Yet Felicia’s identity as a teacher of English Learners and her assignment as the second grade SEI teacher gave her a lower social status at Del Sol in the eyes of the parents and her upper grade colleagues. Felicia was responsible for polishing off the students’ literacy in Spanish while at the same time transitioning them to English language arts and all instruction in English in preparation for third grade. Felicia’s was considered a lower status teaching assignment because the students were still at low levels of English proficiency, not yet having met their parents’ expectations for acquiring high levels of proficiency in English. Moreover, the students had not yet achieved the

type of educational experience their parents expected they would have at the school, as they had not yet eclipsed the educational opportunities their parents had been afforded.

Who teachers perceived themselves to be and who other teachers and parents perceived them to be sometimes differed, and the difference always mattered. The presence of English Learners, often in significant numbers in the classroom, did not necessarily trigger an identity as a teacher of English Learners. Instead, teachers found ways to defer the responsibility to teach their English Learners to other teachers, thus maintaining their identity primarily as a teacher of all students. However, not all of the teachers were successful in deferring the responsibility to teach English Learners to other teachers. At Terra Bella, who Patricia perceived herself to be, and who others perceived her to be, differed, and the difference mattered greatly to her. Moreover, she identified herself as a Mexican to her students, their parents, and her peers, and she cited her identity as a Mexican as what influenced her decision to not want to be identified as a teacher of English Learners, because she wanted the students to know that they could be taught by other teachers and that she could teach students other than English Learners. Patricia pushed back against being thought of as a teacher of English Learners, an identity that others ascribed to her, in her efforts to redefine herself as the school underwent a major social change. Patricia's stance differed from that of Felicia at Del Sol, who was at a school and at a grade level where the unstated assumption was that everyone teaching that grade level at that school would be a teacher of English Learners.

Regarding social status, both Terra Bella and Del Sol, teachers' social status was influenced by the social status of the students they taught. At Terra Bella, the social status

of the students was more stable than that of the students at Del Sol, whose social status changed as their proficiency in English increased. Moreover, the neighborhood parents' perspective on the social status of the students that teachers taught at Terra Bella did not change, whereas at Del Sol, parents had different perspectives regarding the social status of English Learners at the primary grade levels and the upper grade levels when they were linked to their higher levels of proficiency in English. Del Sol parents and upper grade teachers alike attributed lower social status to primary grade teachers who taught in English Learners in Spanish. In short, albeit in different ways, the students that teachers taught influenced their identity and social status at both Terra Bella and Del Sol, and by extension, the meaning they made of teaching English Learners.

Teachers' Perceived Pedagogical Competence

Another factor that contributed to teacher identity was that those who taught English Learners were often considered weak and ineffective teachers by others at their school site and in the local community because the academic achievement of the English Learners in their classrooms could be low (Gándara, 1997; Greene, 1998; Ramírez et al., 1991; Thomas & Collier, 2002; Willig, 1985). This situation also affected teachers' social status. At both schools, colleagues' and parents' perceptions of their effectiveness and therefore their pedagogical competence were tied to expectations for high levels of academic achievement among their students. The underlying assumption among teachers and parents seemed to be that an effective teacher would be able to teach so that all students could achieve at a high level. Therefore, teachers were considered to be less

competent if they had students whose academic achievement was below grade-level expectations. This was problematic for some of the teachers of English Learners, as English Learners typically have lower levels of academic achievement than their native English-speaking peers while they are acquiring sufficient proficiency in English to allow them to comprehend and achieve to grade-level expectations. As a result, the difference in student achievement between teachers' native English-speaking students and their English Learners often affected both their colleagues' and parents' perception of their pedagogical competence.

Adding to the complexity of this issue, at both schools, perceptions of teachers' pedagogical competence were also related to both their teacher identity and social status. If the students' achievement mirrored that of the students from the local neighborhood, then the teacher was perceived to be competent, reinforcing their teacher identity as a teacher of all students and the higher social status linked to their identity. If the students' achievement was lower, then the competency of the teacher was brought into question, which reinforced her identity as a teacher of English Learners and supported her lower social status (which was also described above). However, several teachers positioned themselves to avoid the implications of the lower academic achievement of their English Learners and, by doing so, bolstered others' perceptions of their competency, which I will discuss below. Other factors came into play as well, including English proficiency levels for teachers who were English Learners themselves (see Table 9).

Table 9

Relationship Between Teacher Identity Factors and Social Status

				Teacher Identity Factors			
Terra Bella Elementary	**Grade**	**Ethnicity**	**Perspective**	**Students Taught**	**Teacher Competent**	**Meeting Expectations**	**Social Status**
Patricia Lopez	4th	Latina	Parents	Teacher of English Learners	No	No	Low
			Teachers	Teacher of English Learners	No	---[a]	Low
Paula Ahren	6th	White	Parents	Teacher of All Students[b]	Yes	Yes	High
			Teachers	Teacher of All Students[b]	Yes	---[a]	High
Del Sol Elementary	**Grade**	**Ethnicity**	**Perspective**	**Students Taught**	**Teacher Competent**	**Meeting Expectations**	**Social Status**
Felicia Rodríguez	2nd	Latina	Parents	Teacher of English Learners	No	No	Low
			Teachers	Teacher of English Learners	No	---[a]	Low
Rachel King	5th	White	Parents	Teacher of All Students[b]	Yes	Yes	High
			Teachers	Teacher of All Students[b]	Yes	---[a]	High

[a] Meeting the expectations of the parents from the local community was not a factor that contributed to teachers' attribution of social status or identity to their colleagues, hence the "---."
[b] I use the term "teacher of all students" to represent the identity of teachers who perceived themselves and were perceived by others to be a teacher of students who were not English Learners.

Given the expectations of the neighborhood parents that their children attain high levels of academic achievement, Terra Bella teachers were aware of parental scrutiny regarding their competence (field notes from classroom observations, 9/24/03, 9/26/03, 10/14/03; field notes from informal interviews, 10/8/03, 11/14/03). Their teacher identity

and social status were also linked to teachers' and parents' perceptions of their pedagogical competence. Therefore, teachers whose classes had large numbers of students from the neighborhood had a greater chance of being deemed competent. Those with large numbers of students from across town, the majority of who were English Learners, had the least chance of being deemed competent because the academic achievement of their students did not mirror that of the neighborhood students. Teachers who were English Learners themselves also had their competency questioned, along an additional dimension: their own proficiency in English. Moreover, with the social system in flux as described in Chapter 4, perceptions of teacher competence were an even greater focus as teachers tried to re-establish themselves in the new social system, and neighborhood parents endeavored to ensure academic excellence in their children's education.

Teacher competency came into sharp focus among the fourth grade team. With the academic achievement of the English Learners differing from that of the neighborhood students, it would stand to reason that teacher identity and social status of all of the fourth grade teachers would have been impacted. But as was discussed above, many of the teachers were able to position themselves as teachers of all students and preserve their high social status by deflecting the responsibility for teaching English Learners. It was as if there was an unspoken understanding among the fourth grade teachers that even when their teaming groups included English Learners, even if the English Learners were from their own classrooms, the teachers were not responsible, wholly or in part, for any lack of academic achievement among them. However, Patricia

Lopez did not seem to have this benefit extended to her. "Mine [students] are getting there; you need to get going!" Maggie exclaimed in front of Patricia and the other fourth grade teachers at the collaborative planning meeting, comparing the progress of her students and Patricia's students toward meeting the achievement goal the fourth grade team had set for the mathematics standards they were teaching (field notes from collaborative planning meeting, 10/17/03). Her colleagues ascribed the responsibility for the English Learners' achievement to Patricia, who had the majority, but not all, of the English Learners in the teaming groups she taught. Even though they were more than eager to shift the responsibility for the English Learners' achievement onto Patricia, her colleagues were more than willing to accept credit for the academic achievement for the native English-speaking students in their teaming groups and classrooms, even the ones that Patricia had in her teaming groups (field notes from collaborative planning meeting, 10/17/03).

Patricia's pedagogical practice was scrutinized. Not incidentally, in addition to the low academic achievement of her students, as well as her identity as a teacher of English Learners and her low social status at the school, she was the only native Spanish-speaking Mexican on the team. She strove to redefine her identity, as did several others, but unlike the others, she was largely unsuccessful. Likely for all these reasons, Patricia's competency was questioned by both the neighborhood parents and her colleagues. For example, Patricia had several of her native English-speaking students approach her on the first day of school and relay a question from their parents: Could she speak, read, and write in English? Patricia thought it rather incredulous that they would ask her such

questions since it was not her first year teaching at Terra Bella and the district had a policy that required all instruction to be given in English in the third grade and beyond, for which she was fully credentialed (field notes from informal interview, 7/21/03). Parents, as well, came in person and questioned her regarding the language of instruction in her classroom (field notes from informal interview, 7/21/03). Patricia shared that one parent even observed her class for a full day early in the year before deciding whether she would request a transfer for her son to another class. Ultimately, the parent did not request a change, but several other parents also visited her classroom and did move their children from Patricia's class. Patricia attributed the parent visits and attitudes to the fact that she was "too Mexican," and that she was proud that she spoke Spanish. Moreover, she attributed the parental scrutiny to the fact that she had previously taught English Learners on C track (field notes from informal interview, 9/9/03).

Patricia's fourth grade colleagues also questioned her competence to teach, in particular, Maggie Goetz. Maggie considered herself the grade level team leader, even though she did not officially have that role, having usurped the authority of Wes Clark who was appointed to the position for the year by Mr. Davidson. Previously, Maggie had been the team leader, but Mr. Davidson did not select her to continue in that post. Maggie, undeterred, refused to relinquish the position, and did not receive any push-back from Wes (field notes from collaborative planning meeting, 10/17/03). By continuing, even unofficially, as the team leader, Maggie elevated herself to a position of authority over the other fourth grade teachers, which she exerted on a regular basis. Maggie had many parents in her classroom daily to supervise and assist students, giving her the

freedom to step out of her classroom from time to time. Frequently, she would stop in during the day to visit Patricia, ostensibly to ask her questions, but more often than not, to check on what she was teaching. Patricia reported that Maggie often commented on where she herself was in teaching the same subject, comparing her progress in teaching the subject, and by extension comparing her teaching ability and competency, to Patricia's (field notes from informal interview, 9/9/03). Maggie made comments regarding what she had observed or perceived going on in the classroom, often loud enough for all the students – and observers – in the classroom to hear (field notes from classroom observations, 7/21/03, 7/30/03; field notes from informal interview, 9/9/03).

I witnessed several examples of Maggie's oversight of Patricia's practice during my time at Terra Bella. For instance, on the first day of teaming, Maggie walked into Patricia's classroom with a look of frustration on her face. She immediately addressed Patricia, interrupting her as she was dismissing students to their teaming classrooms. "What are you doing? Why did you send your kids so soon? Don't you get it?" Maggie asked in rapid-fire succession, waving the teaming roster in the air. Patricia looked shocked. She grabbed her copy of the teaming roster and tried to explain to Maggie why she had released the students when she did. Maggie cut her off, showing Patricia the schedule outlining when to release the students. Patricia countered that she had not been given the schedule, but Maggie did not wait for Patricia to finish. Instead, she turned and walked away, waving her hands in the air and mumbling to herself. Maggie did not perceive Patricia as pedagogically competent and she was not hesitant about letting

Patricia, and anyone else who could hear, know of her concerns (field notes from classroom observation, 7/21/03).

Vanessa Lee also indicated that she may have had doubts about Patricia's competence. At the collaborative planning meeting, when the teachers were reviewing the data from the recent math assessments, Patricia found herself defending her students' scores when confronted by Maggie (field notes from collaborative planning meeting, 10/17/03). I glanced across the room at Vanessa and Wes to observe their reaction to the interchange. Wes was distracted, looking at a document he had been given by Mr. Davidson to complete during their meeting. However, I interpreted Vanessa's facial expression and moving her head from side to side as Patricia was defending her scores as one of disbelief, as if Vanessa did not believe Patricia as she documented her efforts to support high levels of achievement among the students she taught during math teaming time (field notes from collaborative planning meeting, 10/17/03).

Concern about Patricia's competence centered on more than her pedagogical competence. Her colleagues as well as her students and their parents also focused on her proficiency in English as a critical component in their perception of her pedagogical competence. It was clear to me as a participant-observer and to her students that she still struggled with oral and written English from time to time. Her colleagues and the parents may have noticed, as well. Patricia acknowledged that she realized she had some issues with English. She shared,

> I feel like I am the only one [struggling with English, grammar in particular] and sometimes I am afraid to share with others, other teachers, because…I don't

> know, I guess I am just insecure of myself sometimes, that, because I'm like, what are they going to say, the teachers, and you don't know *[light chuckle, self-consciously]* so I know that language is hard. (transcription of formal interview, 11/20/03)

The students saw it in her writing on the board and in her speech, which were at times characterized by misspellings, nonstandard grammatical presentations (such as preposition use), vocabulary choices, and pronunciation. An example of such problems occurred during an ELD lesson when Patricia entered "artists's" instead of "artist's" and "earings" instead of "earrings" on a graphic organizer on the board (field notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03). Later that day, during a history/social science lesson, Patricia listed "jewls" instead of "jewels" on the board (field notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03). Patricia also had difficulties with prepositions when she spoke. As she was preparing to have her students leave for teaming time, Patricia asked them to "Turn your desk over!" What she meant was for the students to turn their desks around so the students coming in for teaming from other classes would not be able to access items inside the desk (field notes from classroom observation, 10/6/03). During a history/social science lesson when Patricia announced that she wanted students to sit at their desks, not at the table in the back of the room, she announced "You can't sit on the back table!" Students looked at each other with puzzled faces (field notes from classroom observation, 10/17/03). Vocabulary selection was also an occasional issue for Patricia. When students were presenting a science report on volcanos, Patricia asked the student presenting, "Does it [an erupting volcano] have a lot of smoke?" to which the students shouted back

in chorus, “Ash!” (field notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03). A second example came during a math lesson when Patricia was reminding the students how to evaluate an expression. “Remember to make it more simpler!” (field notes from classroom observation, 10/6/03). Standard English pronunciation was also challenging for Patricia. For example, she continually pronounced “salmon” as sal-mon, voicing the “l,” even though several students called out the more familiar unvoiced “l” pronunciation, which she ignored (field notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03). She also repeatedly pronounced “chart” as “shart” during a math lesson (field notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03). Parents also saw Patricia’s written errors in the Parent Handbook that she sent home at the beginning of the school year, which contained 29 errors in seven pages of written text (field notes from document analysis, 7/30/03).

I recognize that teachers make mistakes in the moment as they are teaching. They are, after all, human beings, and fallible at that. However, teachers often realize their mistakes and correct them or respond to students’ prompting. This was not the case with Patricia, and as I continued to observe in her classroom, a pattern emerged regarding the type of mistakes she was making and her inability to cue in on the students’ prompting to correct her. Thus, Patricia’s ethnicity and identity as English Learner herself interacted with her identity as a teacher of English Learners with low social status at the site to draw her competence as a teacher into question.

Being a White, native English-speaking teacher of GATE students seemed to shield Paula Ahren from any collegial concern regarding her teaching competency. During the time of my study, I did not hear any comments from other teachers

questioning her competency. She herself never mentioned anything about her colleagues having any concerns. Instead, her competency was promoted by Mr. Davidson's tapping her for several leadership roles at the school, including the science and technology lead. Her ethnicity, teacher identity, and high social status appeared to interact and support the perception that she was a competent teacher.

The parents of GATE and high achieving students validated the perception of Paula's competence by actively pursuing having their children placed in her classroom (field notes from informal interview, 7/16/03) and by volunteering in her classroom on a regular basis. For instance, one parent had his daughter transferred to Paula's class after the previous teacher confessed, "With so many levels in the classroom, it's hard for me to do anything for the GATE students!" (field notes from classroom observation, 11/7/03). Yet Paula also had students at many levels in her classroom and reflected on the situation.

> Last year, I had a lot of really high kids, and this year, I ended up with a lot of low. There's really no one in between. This year it's like I'm back on C track, wondering who to teach and at what level. It's definitely more stressful, the mix with a lot of GATE and high achievers. (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03)

Even with English Learners in her class and the significantly different levels of student achievement among all her students, Paula was still the teacher that the parent mentioned earlier chose to provide the academic excellence he expected for his daughter. Neighborhood parents also took small groups of GATE students to the picnic tables outside the classroom to work on specific tasks or lessons under Paula's supervision

(field notes from classroom observations, 9/24/03, 10/8/03, 10/14/03, 10/29/03, 11/7/03, 11/14/03, and 11/18/03). Even with significantly different levels of achievement between her GATE students and the English Learners in her classroom, Paula was still considered a highly competent teacher of all students with a high social status at Terra Bella. This may have been due, in part, to the fact that she positioned herself to be considered as such by sending her English Learners to other teachers for math and science, as well as ELD, teaming, similar to what Patricia's colleagues did in the fourth grade, as described above. Sending her students out for teaming also shielded Paula from scrutiny of her pedagogical practice, as well as validated her identity as a teacher of all students and preserved her high social status.

The perception of Paula's and Patricia's pedagogical competence was linked to different aspects of their teaching practice and influenced by their ethnicity, identities, and social status at Terra Bella. Patricia endured scrutiny not only because of her identity as a teacher of English Learners and slow social status, but also because of her ethnicity and her level of proficiency in English, which colleagues and parents alike considered in their evaluation of her pedagogical competence. Paula, on the other hand, was able to deflect responsibility for teaching her English Learners, which was highlighted above, and instead her pedagogical competency was evaluated by her colleagues and parents based on her identity as a teacher of all students with high social status, linked to being a GATE teacher. Paula was perceived to be pedagogically competent, which stood in stark contrast to the perception of Patricia's competency, and highlighted the link between their ethnicity, teacher identity, social status, and others' perceptions of their work.

Much as at Terra Bella, the perception of teachers' pedagogical competence at Del Sol was linked to their teacher identity, social status, and ethnicity, as well as to the academic achievement of the students in their classrooms. Yet, given the expectations of the neighborhood parents that their children receive a better education than they did and that their children learn English, the teachers did not anticipate a significant amount of scrutiny regarding their competence, as many of the parents in the neighborhood had not completed high school, and, culturally, they tended to be more supportive than critical, as highlighted in Chapter 4. Moreover, with the social system seemingly more stable, neither the teachers nor the neighborhood parents seemed preoccupied with concerns regarding teacher competence.

At Del Sol, as at Terra Bella, teachers whose students were achieving on par with those from the Del Sol neighborhood were deemed competent. This perception was an issue for the primary grade teachers, many of whose students were English Learners in SEI classrooms and thus receiving Spanish language arts instruction. The students' academic achievement measured in Spanish was typically high (field notes from document analysis, 9/9/03). However, for a period of time until they acquired higher levels of proficiency in English, their academic achievement measured in English was typically lower than the native English-speaking students and English Learners from the neighborhood in Mainstream English (ME)[53] classrooms, who received all their instruction in English from kindergarten on. Interestingly, the academic achievement of the students from the neighborhood surrounding the school was not significantly different

[53] The ME program was described in Chapter 3.

from the achievement of the English Learners in the upper grades who also came from the neighborhood, possibly due to their living in a working class neighborhood. Research has shown that socioeconomic status does impact student achievement (Heath, 1983; Lareau, 2000; Lipman, 1998; MacLeod, 1995). Even on the A track, which was identified by the district as the track for GATE students, the achievement of students, including those deemed "advanced," was not significantly different from the achievement of students on the other tracks (field notes from classroom observation, 7/15/03, 7/24/03, 9/23/03, 10/16/03). Therefore, upper grade teachers who had large numbers of neighborhood students, RFEP students, and English Learners with higher levels of English proficiency had a greater chance of being deemed competent because their students had the highest levels of academic achievement at the school.

From the perspective of the upper grade teachers, teachers whose former students were now upper graders and not achieving on par with those from the Del Sol neighborhood, especially those who were English Learners and who were not yet proficient in English, had the least chance to be deemed competent by their upper grade peers and frequently were ascribed a lower social status. Teachers often ascribed the responsibility for the students' lower levels of English proficiency and academic achievement to students' former teachers, as Rachel King did in her comment about the first and second grade teachers, that they were such "poor English language models" for their students, which she cited as the reason why her students were not fully fluent in English (field notes from informal interview, 11/12/03).

Being White and a native English-speaker, along being a teacher of all students, seemed to shield Rachel from any collegial concern regarding her competency as a teacher. Parents also did not question Rachel's competency as a teacher. In fact, Rachel proudly reported that the parents of her former third grade students were happy when their students were assigned to her for another year (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03). Given that Rachel was most unlike the local Del Sol community and more like the wider, White-majority Clarksville community that sent in charitable organizations and groups to support the families and children at Del Sol as was discussed in Chapter 4, it was not surprising to hear that she was well received.

Even with no apparent questioning of Rachel's competency, there still was a range of students in her classroom, and their academic achievement varied. However, the amount of the difference in the academic achievement between Rachel's English Learners and her native English-speaking and RFEP students was not significant (field notes from document analysis, 9/9/03). This insignificant difference in achievement, coupled with the parental expectation that their children receive a better education than they received, did not trigger any concern regarding Rachel's ability to provide such an education for their children. Moreover, by treating all her students the same and teaching exclusively in English, Rachel met the parents' expectation that their children learn English as well.

During my time at Del Sol, I was not aware of any teachers who questioned Rachel's pedagogical competence. However, it was possible that teachers also had criticisms that I was not privy to. In a social system like a school, it would be unusual for

there not to be criticism. I can say, however, that any criticism that there might have been did not begin to approach the level of criticism that was evident at Terra Bella, which found its way into public spaces and within earshot of parents and students alike, as discussed above (field notes from classroom observations, 7/16/03, 9/26/03, 11/4/03). That same open culture of critique did not exist at Del Sol. However, teachers' critique could be much more subtle.

Given that Rachel claimed she was not aware of whom the English Learners were in her classroom, as highlighted in the previous section, it did not surprise me that she distanced herself from the responsibility for their academic achievement and acquisition of English. This attitude also served to reinforce her desired identity as a teacher of all students and preserve her high social status. The year of my study was her first year teaching fifth grade. Previously, she had taught third grade and had done so for several years. Interestingly, Rachel frequently complained about her fifth graders' low levels of English proficiency. "They've been here like forever, and now in fifth grade they're only a level 2 or a 3 [on the California English Language Development Test (CELDT); see Appendix A]? That can't be right!" (field notes from observation of planning session, 7/29/03). She attributed some of her students' struggles to having first and second grade teachers who were poor English language models, as mentioned earlier (field notes from informal interview, 11/12/03). Notably, however, she did not attribute their low levels of English proficiency or academic achievement levels to the fact that she herself had had many of the same students two years before as a third grade teacher. This made the fact that she claimed to be unaware of which students were English Learners in her class, as

discussed in the previous section, more remarkable: It seems that she should have known who they were. By attributing the students' struggles to their first and second grade teachers, Rachel was, in effect, deflecting the responsibility for their academic achievement and acquisition of English. This allowed her to maintain her identity as a teacher of all students and her high social status.

In contrast to Patricia at Terra Bella, Felicia Rodríguez's identity as a native Spanish-speaking Mexican and her identify as a teacher of English Learners actually shielded her from any parental concern regarding her pedagogical competence, even with her low social status. The parents of Felicia's students did not question her competency to teach in either Spanish or English. Felicia had attended school in Mexico until high school before coming to the U.S., which allowed her to develop a high level of literacy in Spanish (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03). Her oral and written Spanish reflected her high level of literacy and strengthened her identity as a fully literate native Spanish-speaker, unlike Patricia, who was not fully literate in Spanish, as she only attended school in Mexico for a few years before moving to the U.S. Felicia attained a high level of literacy in English since arriving in the U.S. as a teenager. Thus, Felicia was quite competent to teach her students in both languages. At the parent-teacher conferences, parents often complimented her on both her Spanish and English. They expressed their gratitude that she was preparing their children for the transition to all-English instruction (field notes from parent-teacher conferences, 10/9/03). Moreover, there was less of an academic achievement gap between the students in Felicia's class because all the students were English Learners. Thus, their achievement varied less

between them than in classrooms where there were English Learners and English-only students, who tended to have higher levels of academic achievement than English Learners in the content areas taught in English. Felicia reported that the students' achievement in language arts was high, as their district-mandated assessment was given in Spanish. According to Felicia, their achievement on district tests given in English in the other content areas was also comparable to other second grade classrooms with English Learners (field notes from informal interview, 9/23/03). She used this data to highlight her only concern regarding her colleagues' perception of her pedagogical competence, especially with regard to teaching in English. Frustrated, she exclaimed, "I get so tired of explaining to people that although my students are writing in Spanish, I'm also teaching them in English!" (field notes from informal interview, 7/15/03). Even with this level of achievement in her classroom, her competence was drawn into question because her students were not yet performing at the level of their native-English speaking peers. Felicia's identity as a teacher of English Learners and her low social status were not surprising, especially for a second grade SEI teacher.

To summarize, given the expectations of the Terra Bella neighborhood parents that their children receive an excellent education, the teachers there were aware of the corresponding scrutiny of their pedagogical competence by the parents. The expectations of the parents at Del Sol that their children receive a better education than they did and that their children learn English did not trigger a significant amount of scrutiny regarding the teachers' competence, as many of the parents in the neighborhood had not completed high school, and they tended to be supportive of the school and its teachers, as

highlighted in Chapter 4. Teachers at both sites scrutinized the competency of other teachers, often while distancing themselves from responsibility for the academic achievement of the English Learners in their own classrooms. The instability of the social system at Terra Bella heightened the concern over teacher competence and the provision of an excellent education for the students from the neighborhood. However, with the social system at Del Sol more stable, teacher competence was not a significant concern among teachers or the neighborhood parents. Yet, the perception of teachers' pedagogical competence at both Terra Bella and Del Sol was linked to their teacher identity, social status, ethnicity, as well as to the academic achievement of the students in their classrooms. All these factors influenced the meaning they made of teaching English Learners.

How Well Teachers Met the Educational Expectations of the Local Community

The last factor that contributed to, and was intertwined with, teacher identity and social status was how well teachers met the expectations of the local community with regard to the type of educational experience they provided for the community's children. The students teachers taught, along with the teachers' perceived pedagogical competence, contributed to the parents' determination as to whether the teacher was able to provide the type of educational experience they expected for their children, which, in turn, contributed to and, at the same time, reinforced their teacher identity and social status.

In the sociopolitical context of Terra Bella, identity and social status mattered. The neighborhood parents only considered their children eligible to benefit from the

excellent education that they paid for through their property taxes and thus expected the school to provide for their children. Therefore, the English Learners at the school were considered outsiders, unfairly benefiting from their tax dollars and the excellent educational experience that Terra Bella offered, as highlighted in Chapter 4. Even with the opportunity to attend Terra Bella, the academic achievement of English Learners lagged behind their English-only counterparts from the local neighborhood, which brought their teachers' competence into question by both their colleagues and the neighborhood parents. This questioning of their competence also affected the teachers' social status at the site, all of which was highlighted above. Consequently, anyone with an identity as a teacher of English Learners was not considered capable of meeting the neighborhood parents' expectations that their children be offered an outstanding educational experience, which reinforced both their identity as a teacher of English Learners and their lower social status at the school, and by extension, cast them as outsiders, just like the students they taught.

Although Paula had been a teacher of English Learners just a few years prior, in the year of my study, she was identified by her peers and the neighborhood parents as a teacher of all students, even though she had many English Learners in her classroom, as highlighted above. Her current assignment as a GATE teacher, and her certification as such, which made her eligible for this assignment, seemed to have trumped her previous assignment teaching English Learners on C track with regard to her teacher identity. As a GATE teacher, her pedagogical competence was not questioned by her peers or the neighborhood parents. Therefore, the neighborhood parents, who expected that the school

provide their children an excellent educational experience, deemed Paula capable of meeting this expectation, which contributed to, and, at the same time, reinforced her teacher identity and high social status at the school.

This stood in contrast with Patricia's identity as a teacher of English Learners. She, too, had previously taught English Learners on C track, and like Paula, had many English Learners in her classroom the year of my study. However, she was not able to redefine herself as a teacher of all students. Instead, her colleagues and the neighborhood parents alike considered her a teacher of English Learners. Not surprisingly, the neighborhood parents deemed Patricia incapable of providing their children an excellent educational experience, which contributed to and, at the same time, reinforced her identity as a teacher of English learners and her low social status at the school.

In the sociopolitical context of Del Sol, identity and social status mattered, but not to the same extent as it did at Terra Bella. The English Learners at the school were not considered outsiders but, instead, formed a large percentage of the student population, as discussed in Chapter 4. The academic achievement of English Learners at Del Sol lagged behind their English-only counterparts from the local neighborhood, as it did at Terra Bella, but much less significantly. The students' lower academic achievement brought their teachers' competence into question by both their colleagues and the neighborhood parents, especially those teachers who taught in SEI classrooms from kindergarten through second grade, providing Spanish language arts instruction and support. Their lower academic achievement also affected the teachers' social status at the site, all of which was highlighted above. Consequently, anyone with an identity as a teacher of

English Learners was not considered capable of meeting the neighborhood parents' expectations that their children be provided a better education than they, themselves, had been afforded, and their children would become proficient in English, which contributed to and, at the same time, reinforced both their identity as a teacher of English Learners and their lower social status at the school.

Although Rachel had always had large numbers of English Learners in her C track classroom, she was identified by her peers and the neighborhood parents as a teacher of all students, as highlighted above. Her current assignment as an upper grade teacher who taught exclusively in English, her pedagogical competence was not questioned by her peers or the neighborhood parents. Therefore, the neighborhood parents, who expected that the school provide their children a better education than they, themselves, had been afforded, and that their children would learn English, deemed Rachel capable of meeting this expectation, which contributed to, and, at the same time, reinforced her teacher identity as a teacher of all students and high social status at the school.

This situation contrasted with Felicia's identity as a teacher of English Learners. She, too, had always taught English Learners on C track, but her assignment previously was first grade, and the year of my study, she was moved to the second grade team, where she both taught Spanish language arts as well as prepared the students to transition to all-English instruction the following year. Her colleagues and the neighborhood parents alike considered her a teacher of English Learners. The neighborhood parents deemed Felicia incapable of providing their children a better education than they had

been afforded and having their children fully proficient in English by the end of the year, in part because second grade students were not yet expected to have mastered English and they had not yet eclipsed the educational opportunities that their parents had been afforded. The parents' evaluation of Felicia's ability to meet their expectations contributed to and, at the same time, reinforced her identity as a teacher of English Learners and her low social status at the school.

Conclusion

The meaning that teachers made of teaching English Learners was linked to the sociopolitical context of the school and the community where they taught and the impact teaching English Learners had on their professional identity as teachers and their status within the school's social system. Parents from the local community in which the school was situated also played a critical role in the determination of their teacher identity and social status, as did the other teachers from the school. There were common factors in the formation of their teacher identity and the determination of their social status, including the type of students they taught and their perceived pedagogical competence, as perceived by parents and colleagues. Another factor both contributed to and, at the same time, reinforced their identity and social status: whether the teacher was deemed capable of meeting the local community's educational expectations for their children.

The impact of teaching English Learners on teachers' professional identity and social status was easier to identify at Terra Bella, a school situated in a middle-class neighborhood that was transitioning to a single-track, modified traditional school

schedule. In this community, social status was important both in the neighborhood and at the school, one of the top elementary schools in the Clarksville School District, as parents and teachers alike jockeyed for the highest status in the school and neighborhood, as highlighted in Chapter 4. Moreover, with nearly 40% of Terra Bella's students being bused in from the working-class community across town, there was great social class diversity among the students. Paula, who was considered a teacher of all students, did not have her pedagogical competence questioned. Moreover, the neighborhood parents deemed her capable of providing their children the excellent educational experience they expected from the school. She did not experience any impact to her teacher identity or social status because she taught English Learners. However, Patricia's experience was very different from Paula's. She was considered to be a teacher of English Learners, and her pedagogical competence was drawn into question. As a result, the neighborhood parents did not deem her capable of providing their children an excellent educational experience. Thus, her teacher identity and social status were impacted as a result of teaching English Learners.

The impact of teaching English Learners on teachers' professional identity and social status was much harder to discern at Del Sol, as the social system there was not undergoing change. Moreover, there was not a lot of social class diversity at the school, as all the students lived in the local working-class community. Rachel, who was considered a teacher of all students, did not have her pedagogical competence questioned. Moreover, the neighborhood parents deemed her capable of providing their children a better education than they had been afforded and as their upper grade children were now

more proficient in English. She did not experience any impact to her teacher identity or social status because she taught English Learners. The same did not hold true for Felicia, who was considered to be a teacher of English Learners, and her pedagogical competence was drawn into question. Even with her high standards for her students in their performance in both English and Spanish, the neighborhood parents did not deem her capable of providing their children a better education than they had been afforded or having their children proficient in English by the end of the year. Thus, her teacher identity and social status were impacted as a result of teaching English Learners.

Understanding better how the sociopolitical context shaped teachers' professional identity and social status will now allow us to consider in Chapter 6 how it made sense for the teachers to respond as they did to the challenges they faced in teaching English Learners and the meaning teachers made of teaching them.

Chapter 6

Teaching English Learners: The Challenges Teachers Face

When considering what teaching English Learners means to teachers, understanding the role that the sociopolitical context play is critical, as highlighted in Chapters 3 and 4. As was discussed in Chapter 5, teaching English Learners influences teachers' identity and their social status, which, in turn, shapes the meaning that teachers make of teaching English Learners. But teacher identity and social status are not the only things that contribute to this meaning. The myriad of challenges teachers face in their classrooms every day are influenced by the sociopolitical context and also shape the meaning that they make of teaching English Learners.

With the restructuring of teaching credentials in California in 1993, highlighted in Chapters 1 and 3, teaching English Learners became a more complex task as teachers had to fulfill the responsibilities of both the regular education teacher as well as those of the English Language Development (ELD) teacher, responsible for all their students' academic growth and their English Learners' language acquisition. Gersten (1996) noted the effects that combining these two sets of responsibilities, or role intensification (Easthope & Easthope, 2000), has had on teachers:

> Increasing numbers of teachers have become, by default, teachers of English language learning. They face the daunting task of simultaneously building literacy, developing writing ability, and enhancing English language growth. The complexity of this challenge can cause even seasoned and accomplished teachers anxiety. (p. 18)

Gersten (1996) also noted the complex nature of what the teachers of English Learners are asked to do in light of this role intensification. In his qualitative study of 26 third through sixth grade teachers during language arts instruction, he observed, "…most of the 26 teachers understood the benefits of integrating English language learning with academic content instruction, but were overwhelmed with the intricacies of putting it into practice" (Gersten, 1996, p. 20).

During my time as a participant-observer at both Terra Bella and Del Sol, I was struck by the many times that teachers shared how difficult it was for them to teach their English Learners. In fact, Paula Ahren, throughout her formal interview, made repeated references to this difficulty, all within five minutes of discussion. "It's hard!" were her very opening comments. Later, she asserted, "It's really a challenge!" Moments later, she reiterated, "It's a challenge!" Not long after, she reflected, "It's been tough!" Citing the challenges she faced, she echoed, "It's tough; it's been very tough." She concluded with her final thought, "It's tough; it's been tough" (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03). As I analyzed the data from the four teachers in my study, the challenges that they faced emerged as a theme in the data from classroom observations, formal and informal interviews, and comments teachers shared with me in the moment as they were teaching. Challenges were often the unprompted topic of conversation between teachers in the staff lounge, during collaborative planning time, at recess, during physical education activities, before, and after school. I was also able to identify challenges that teachers faced from their conversations with parents.

The challenges that teachers faced at both Terra Bella and Del Sol were: (a) extra work, (b) reaching all the students, (c) keeping track, (d) assessment and accountability, and (e) teaching English Language Development (ELD) to their English Learners while also being responsible for English-only students in the classroom, each linked to sociopolitical context in California as well as in the Clarksville School District. All contributed to the meaning that teachers made of teaching English Learners.

Extra Work

Research on English Learners has focused on the extra work that students must do to be successful in an all-English classroom. For instance, Short and Fitzsimmons (2007) argued that "[English language learners] are learning English at the same time they are studying core content areas through English. Thus, English language learners must perform *double the work* [emphasis theirs] of native English speakers" (p. 1). Gersten (1996) concurred, adding, "Teaching students for whom English is a second language requires helping them with the double demands of acquiring a new language while mastering academic content" (p. 18). Yet teachers must perform double the work as well, to make the content comprehensible for English Learners and to help them acquire English. Teaching English Learners, according to the teachers in my study, meant extra work for not just for the students but for themselves.

As I sat in the formal interview with Paula at Terra Bella, I was struck by how she kept listing all the extra things she had to do to teach her English Learners. Yet, over and over, contradicting what she said, including her earlier statements about how hard it is to

teach English Learners, (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03), she adamantly kept insisting that it was not extra work.

> I don't consider it more work [teaching English Learners]. I know I do more work with them, but I don't consider it more work. I feel that they're needier than some of my other kids and I need to get to it [helping them], but I don't think that's more work. I just need to help them because they can't, not because they don't want to, but because they can't. (transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03)

Some of the extra work that Paula had to do for her English Learners included securing materials for her class. She liked to display books on the rail of her whiteboard that were related to the science, history/social science, or language arts unit they were studying. These books included sixth grade-level texts, as well as some on the same subject in simpler text for her students who were not yet strong readers. She also had selected texts available in Spanish for some of her English Learners. She did have one Korean English Learner, but shared that she was having difficulty locating resources for this student (field notes from classroom observation, 9/24/03).

Another area that was extra work for Paula was measuring student learning. When she taught on A track and had all Gifted and Talented Education (GATE) students in her class, she was able to use the tests from the adopted curriculum. However, with more academically and linguistically diverse students in her classroom, Paula found she could not use the tests because of the wide range of diversity in her classroom, especially her English Learners.

> It's hard! I still haven't figured out how to make tests challenging enough for my upper kids, a little bit challenging for the at level kids, and easy enough so that I can get enough information on what they know from my low kids, my English Learners. I don't want to dumb-down the test, but I also don't want it to be unattainable for the kids. I keep trying, keep changing it up all the time, trying to find the right fit. (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03)

So Paula's work included creating tests that were appropriate for their level of proficiency in English while not wanting to have to make three separate tests. Beyond the extra work that making three tests would entail, she also feared it would stigmatize the students, especially her English Learners (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03). Ultimately, Paula did make two separate tests for her students in social studies, as there were no district-authored and mandated tests for students in that content area, giving her the flexibility to adapt the publisher's test to a more comprehensible assessment (field notes from classroom observation, 11/18/03).

In the past, before standards-based instruction and the assessment accountability that came with the passage of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act in 2001, Paula shared that she could use alternative methods to assess students' learning.

> It's really a challenge! I can ask students what they know and get a good idea where they're at. But [now] I'm being asked for specific data on the standards. They say, 'Prove it!' I can't just say that I had a chat with them and they seemed to know it. (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03)

In the political context of education under NCLB in 2003, teachers in Clarksville were required to have data to support their claims of student learning, whereas previously, they were allowed to orally assess their students in core content areas and assign grades based on these exams. Therefore, having English Learners meant the extra work of modifying assessments to accommodate the lower levels of English proficiency to gather the necessary data on their learning.

Paula’s class included a wide range of diverse students, which also meant extra work in planning and delivering her lessons. She had four GATE students on one end of the continuum and eight English Learners at California English Language Development Test (CELDT) levels 1 and 2 (see Appendix A) at the other. Pushing her GATE students to the next level in their learning was challenging because, at the same time, her English Learners needed a lot of support to comprehend even the most basic instruction. The parents of her GATE students helped support their learning at home, but she felt that the parents of her English Learners were not able to help them because most of them did not speak English. Paula shared that she felt the onus was on her to support their academic achievement and language acquisition because she was their only English support.

> It’s a challenge! I have eight English Learners in my class, and none of them have any English language support at home. True, there are some older brothers and sisters at home who’ve learned English, but many aren’t willing to help out because they’re older and have other things on their minds, other demands on their time. I’m it…their only support in English. (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03)

In addition, Paula had to provide structured opportunities for her English Learners to interact with their native English-speaking peers in the classroom to support both their language acquisition and academic achievement. She also had to work with many of her English Learners one-on-one or in small groups as the rest of the class worked independently (field notes from classroom observations, 7/16/03, 7/17/03, 7/24/03, 9/24/03, 10/29/03, 11/18/03). For each of these opportunities, Paula had to identify or create additional instructional materials for the students, which was work she did not have to do when teaching a class full of native English-speaking GATE students on A track.

In her Structured English Immersion (SEI)[54] classroom at Del Sol, Felicia Rodríguez perhaps had the greatest amount of extra work because she taught English Learners exclusively. The learning environment was replete with text in Spanish and English. Items such as windows, cabinets, and bookcases were labeled in both languages. There was a large "word wall," where Felicia displayed the high frequency words that the students were responsible for learning that year, along with other vocabulary words they were learning along the way. One side of the wall had the Spanish words while the other side contained all the English words.

Felicia created instructional materials in both languages. Each student had two writing journals, one in English and one in Spanish. Felicia had glued to the inside cover of each journal a page with high frequency words to assist the students with spelling as they wrote their entries each day. In their math folders, Felicia had glued two pages of

[54] The Structured English Immersion (SEI) program was described in detail in Chapters 1, 3, and 4.

vocabulary in Spanish along with a picture to illustrate each word, along with the different figures and illustrations from the concepts that were presented in each chapter of their math text. She did this, she explained one day, because all their instruction was in English in math and she wanted them to learn the Spanish vocabulary for the concepts they were learning, as well (field notes from informal interview, 7/8/03). In addition, each student had a math journal, with a similar page of Spanish vocabulary and illustrations glued on the inside cover.

Felicia had set up the classroom to facilitate student access to reading and writing resources in both languages. Students sat in groups of six, and in the middle of their group table, Felicia placed what she called their "writing center," a box with shelves that held their "dictionary folder" and both writing journals. The dictionary folder was a personal word list for the students to enter words that they frequently had to ask for help in spelling in both languages. On the writing center, Felicia taped alphabet sound cards in English and in Spanish. She also displayed a copy of the English and Spanish high frequency words on the outside of the writing center so that the students would have them at hand when writing during the day. She also had an assortment of English books and Spanish books for the students to read during silent reading time and anytime they completed an assignment before the rest of the class (field notes from classroom observation, 7/8/03).

For all content areas, it was extra work, and often an extra cost, for Felicia to secure Spanish and English texts related to the theme or standard she was teaching. She shared that she wanted the students to be reading in both languages to support their

learning (field notes from classroom observation, 12/2/03). For instance, in science the students were beginning a unit on dinosaurs and fossils. Felicia had several books that came with the science curriculum, but they were in English. At her own expense, she ordered several other Spanish books on these topics from a popular school publisher. The ELD unit she was teaching covered ecology and recycling. Again, there were a few books that came with the curriculum, but none that were in Spanish. Even though it was ELD, where all instruction was to be in English, Felicia wanted the students to also learn the concepts behind the content that was being used to teach them English. She made specific connections to recycling and ecology from their ELD lessons as she presented the science lessons on dinosaurs and fossils. So for Felicia, providing instructional materials to support her students in both English and Spanish was extra work, and at times, as indicated, extra money.

The extra work that teachers had to do when teaching English Learners in English was a challenge for them. It frequently involved the modification or creation of instructional materials and assessments. The two teachers who were most challenged by the extra work were Patricia and Paula at Terra Bella. With the sociopolitical context of the school and the school's orientation toward enriching students' educational experience, highlighted in Chapter 4, teachers doing extra work was already a part of the ethos at the school. Parents of students from the Terra Bella neighborhood both expected that teachers would do the extra work necessary to challenge their children academically and that their children would benefit academically from teachers' extra work. At Del Sol, the school's sociopolitical context and its orientation toward equal educational

opportunity, which I highlighted in Chapter 4, made teachers doing extra work less a part of the school's ethos. Yet parents of students from the Del Sol neighborhood, like those at Terra Bella, recognized the extra work teachers had to do to support their children as they were learning English and the subject matter they were being taught. One parent commented during her conference with Felicia, "El trabajo de una maestra es muy duro por el hecho de que tiene que hacer todo en dos idiomas para apoyar a los niños que están aprendiendo inglés" <*translation: A teacher's work is very hard because she has to do everything in two languages to support the children that are learning English*> (field notes from parent conference, 10/9/03). The parents expected that their children would benefit from teachers' extra work and thus receive a better education than they had received and learn English. Toward that end, Rachel was not as challenged by extra work as Patricia and Paula, as she did not do as much because, she reasoned, her students were less diverse with regard to their academic achievement. Moreover, she attributed the need to do extra work to students' academic achievement diversity, not to their status as English Learners, which she admitted forgetting because they were more proficient in English, as discussed in Chapter 5. However, Felicia, who presented instruction in both Spanish and English, was challenged to do even more extra work, beyond what Patricia and Paula did, to represent both languages in the classroom environment and instructional materials, often at her own expense. "It's a lot of work, but it's worth it. They're able to function well in both languages!" (field notes from informal interview, 7/15/03).

Reaching All Students

Another challenge that teachers in my study faced was reaching all the students in their academically and linguistically diverse classrooms. These two dimensions of diversity increased the challenge the teachers faced as they had students at various places along the academic achievement continuum as well as at different points on the English language acquisition continuum. Reaching all their students challenged teachers not only when they delivered whole-group instruction but also as they pulled small groups of students aside while at the same time overseeing the instructional activities of the remainder of the class.

Working with academically and linguistically diverse students was something that Patricia Lopez claimed to be familiar with. Drawing upon her previous experience teaching English Learners on C track at Terra Bella, she reflected,

> We're [bilingual teachers] flexible. We've had this type of diversity [academic and linguistic] for a long time. Others [her colleagues from other tracks], no. They're having a hard time, too, with the English Learners in their classrooms. For them, it's a new culture, and new way of teaching. (field notes from informal interview, 9/9/03)

However, Patricia, too, was experiencing a new culture in her classroom. Never before had she had any GATE students, and the wide range of academic ability challenged her to reach and engage all her students, as well. For instance, when students in her class were presenting their science report on geographic features of the earth, her GATE students were the most vocal and the most impatient when English Learners,

especially those at CELDT levels 1 and 2, were presenting. One student, infamous for both his wit and inability to monitor his utterances in class, exclaimed, “I feel your pain!” as an English Learner, who arrived from Mexico the month before, presented her report (field notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03). With each presentation, Patricia allowed the class to ask each presenter several questions. The questions that her GATE students asked stood out both for the high cognitive level of their questions as well as the profoundly difficult time many of the English Learner presenters had in responding to them, as the students struggled both to understand the question being asked as well as to construct an answer with their limited English vocabulary. Patricia tried to assist each of the English Learner presenters while at the same time trying to keep the audience attentive as they waited for the presenter to respond (field notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03).

Reaching every student was a challenge for Patricia during regular classroom lessons as well. At the conclusion of a lesson, Patricia typically assigned an independent task for the students to complete. Once she released the students to do so, Patricia circulated throughout the classroom. She often stopped at the desks of several of her English Learners who were at a CELDT level 1 (see Appendix A) to review the concepts she just taught and repeat the instructions for the independent task for them in Spanish. As Patricia was trying to provide the language support her English Learners at the lower CELDT levels needed, many of the high achieving and GATE students completed the assigned independent task and turned around at their seats or get up and move about the classroom, engaging in conversations with each other and students who had not yet

completed the task. Patricia had to use different classroom management strategies to try to keep these early finishers occupied while she continued to help students who needed her assistance with the independent task. Often these students would approached her on foot and surrounded her so that she was "landlocked" where she stood, unable to continue to move about until she assisted the students standing around her and they returned to their seats. Thus occupied, Patricia was increasingly ineffective in keeping the early finishers occupied, and many of the students who had surrounded her seeking assistance had to return to their seat when she had to move on to another subject to reengage the students (field notes from 9/26/03, 10/6/03, 10/17/03, 11/4/03).

In the past, Patricia had had a bilingual aide to assist her for several hours each day which made reaching every student possible. However, the Clarksville School District reallocated the aides to classrooms where instruction was given in both English and Spanish. By virtue of the fact that all instruction in Patricia's classroom was given in English, the district no longer assigned an aide to her classroom. She reflected on the impact not having an aide had on her ability to reach all of her students.

> So that's hard, just differentiating for all levels in reading, in math, in everything, just having to be 3, 4, 5 different teachers at the same time…to be able to differentiate, being able to reach all the students! [emphasis hers] Some get it the first time I give directions, and a few more will get it the second time, if I give them an example. But there's still more that don't get it no matter how many times I explain it. (transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03)

To further complicate Patricia's challenge to reach all her students, three times a day the students in her classroom changed as a new teaming group entered for the next round of ELD or math teaming. Four months into the school year, she still had not learned all their names or which of the students were English Learners, let alone their CELDT levels (field notes from classroom observation, 11/14/03). Moreover, due to the limited time frame for teaming, Patricia was not able to make adjustments to her teaching as she could with her own class. With her own class, she had some flexibility with regard to instructional time requirements because they had more time together during the day. Her teaching during teaming time was quick-paced, with few opportunities to check for understanding or adjust her instruction (which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 7).

Moving from A track to the new, single-track schedule and the resultant diversification of the classrooms at Terra Bella, highlighted in Chapter 4, was a challenge for Paula Ahren. She went from a classroom of all GATE and high achieving students to a classroom filled with students with linguistic and academic abilities ranging from English Learners at CELDT level 1 and other students who were performing at the far below basic level to native English-speaking students who were performing at the advanced level, including GATE students, which meant having to reach all her students within a lesson.

> With the wide range of student ability and language fluency, it's very hard. The English Learners aren't clustered on one track anymore. Instead, they're mixed in, with a few in each classroom. And it's hard this year with the English Learners all mixed in! I only have CELDT levels 1 and 2, and with no one at a higher

[CELDT] level to support them, it's hard! (transcript from informal interview, 7/16/03)

With no English Learners at higher than a CELDT level 2 in her class, Paula did not have the built-in linguistic support that having English Learners at CELDT levels 3-5 in her class would have afforded her. Instead, she had to provide opportunities for students to interact with each other over the content of instruction so that English Learners could build on their strength, which is typically listening and speaking. Paula supported her English Learners by providing them with opportunities to interact orally with their peers in her classroom. For instance, at the conclusion of reading a story with the class, she asked the students to turn to someone at their table and tell them what they thought was the most interesting part of the story (field notes from classroom observation, 7/24/03). In another lesson, she asked students to tell a peer the most difficult vocabulary word they were studying and its definition (field notes from classroom observation, 9/24/03).

To complicate matters, with no built-in linguistic support for her English Learners, reaching all of her English Learners was a language challenge because she did not speak any Spanish. This was interesting to me, as the CLAD credential had a foreign language requirement, equivalent to one year of college course work. When I inquired as to what language she studied, Paula looked around sheepishly to see if there was anyone within earshot, and then whispered to me,

> I didn't take any [language classes] at the university. I was in the first cohort to complete the new CLAD credential program [at the university]. The dean there

> did not realize that we had to take foreign language classes until 2 days before the end of the program, which meant that there was not time to take any classes. He decided that, because I took several computer programming classes, that I spoke 'computer language,' so that's how I got my CLAD! (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03)

The English Learners and GATE students represented a wide range of academic and linguistic differences for Paula, wider than she had ever experienced previously in her years of teaching, which made reaching all her students a challenge. The year of my study, the presence of four GATE students and eight English Learners in her classroom harkened her back to her previous experience on C track.

> [When I moved from C track to A track several years ago] it was different because I was used to slowing down instruction more [on C track] and really making sure [that the English Learners understood]…it's just that the whole way of lesson design changed [when I moved to A track] because I had 14 GATE students that year! I went from here [gesturing with her hand at floor level to represent the academic achievement of her students on C track] to this extreme [gesturing with hand held high above her head to represent the academic achievement of her GATE students on A track]. This year, it's like I'm back to C track, [wondering] who to teach and at what level? [hands outstretched, shrugging shoulders] It's more stressful with a lot of GATE and high achievers, really two extremes. I don't have many who are just in the middle…that makes it tough. It's

tough, it's been very tough! [emphasis hers](transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03)

So this new, more diverse classroom of learners was a challenge. With her background in teaching English Learners on C track, she wanted to be able to spend more time teaching the important standards and concepts to ensure their understanding. She continued with her reflection on the challenge of reaching all students in her classroom. "But I can't do that [slow down instruction to ensure student understanding] – we have pacing charts for everything now. It's almost like, 'You need to get it right away or hope you do when we review [emphasis hers] it!'" (Paula, transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03). This sentiment was shared by all of the teachers in my study as well as many of their colleagues with whom I was able to observe them interact (field notes from informal interviews, 7/16/03, 7/29/03, 9/9/03, 9/26/03, 10/8/03, 11/12/03, 11/14/03).

Reaching all her students was not only on Paula's mind but it was also a concern for some parents. The issue of pacing charts had GATE parents expressing their concern, as Paula shared one afternoon. "Parents want to know, 'How are you going to teach my child when you have all this 'other' stuff [to teach; i.e., ELD]?'" (transcript from formal interview, 10/29/03). Paula wondered the same thing herself.

> Sometimes I do feel like my basic group is suffering sometimes because I spend extra time with the English Learners to try and pull them up. I glance over and my proficients [students who are performing academically at grade level] are fine, and I know my GATEs [students] are getting it, but I feel like I am missing

chunks. You always feel like you're never going to get to all the children." (transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03)

Paula did many things in her lessons to try to reach all of her students. For instance, unlike most sixth grade teachers, she decided to do small group instruction for reading to allow her to differentiate for each group of students. She spent more time with the lower groups, and in particular, the group of English Learners (field notes from classroom observation, 9/24/03). She also pulled her group of English Learners to the back to work on an ancillary social studies workbook with simplified text to help the students better understand what they were reading while, at the same time, she had the remainder of the class working on independent social studies activities (field notes from classroom observation, 11/18/03). Finally, Paula had one of her English Learners, who had extreme difficulty with reading comprehension in English, sit in the far corner of the classroom during social studies time to listen to an audiotape of the week's language arts reading selection to aid her comprehension of the selection for the upcoming end-of-trimester assessment (field notes from classroom observation, 11/18/03).

Although Rachel King's classroom was filled with academically and linguistically diverse students, Rachel said that she forgot she had English Learners in her class, as reported in Chapter 5. Her expectation that English Learners who had been in U.S. schools since kindergarten should all be fluent English proficient by the time they were in fifth grade, which was also discussed in Chapter 5, may have influenced her perception about her students as language learners that she forgot who her English Learners were and that she treated all her students the same. By not recognizing she had English

Learners in her classroom, however, the students' linguistic and academic diversity converged to challenge Rachel, which she interpreted as solely an issue of academic ability.

As a result, Rachel did not address the students' linguistic diversity in the lessons she planned and presented. Instead, she tried to reach her students by targeting their academic ability levels and in that way making instruction comprehensible and accessible for them. For instance, Rachel cited the level of difficulty of the published materials available to support the students as they were reading the novel, *Holes*, mentioned above. The reason she cited for creating the quizzes herself was not the English Learners in her classroom. Instead, she created the quizzes because she thought the available materials were too difficult for the students. Indeed, the quizzes she wrote asked only known-answer reading comprehension questions, addressing the lowest level of Bloom's Taxonomy (1956; field notes from document analysis, 10/7/03). After creating and administering several of these quizzes, Rachel shared one afternoon that she made an effort to ask higher level questions on the quiz she was giving that day because she realized that the ones she had been asking on the previous quizzes were too easy (field notes from classroom observation, 10/23/03). That day's quiz, however, also only focused on low-level known-answer reading comprehension questions (field notes from document analysis, 10/23/03).

Although Rachel was reaching all her students through these quizzes, she did so by substantially lowering her expectations and reducing the rigor of the questions, which, although meeting the prima facie challenge of reaching all her students, came at the

ultimate cost to their academic achievement, as the questions on these quizzes did not prepare students to demonstrate mastery of the fifth grade California English Language Arts standards for reading comprehension.

The linguistic diversity in Felicia Rodríguez's classroom differed from that of the classrooms of the other teachers in my study in that all of her students were native Spanish-speakers. This was significant because Felicia was responsible for the development of her students' literacy in both Spanish and English as a primary grade SEI teacher, whereas her second grade colleagues teaching in Mainstream English (ME)[55] classrooms were only responsible for their students' literacy in English. Moreover, she was responsible every trimester for reporting her students' progress in their literacy development in Spanish as well as in English to Mrs. Martínez, the principal, and to the Clarksville district office.

In the SEI program in second grade, the students were in their final year of literacy development in Spanish while at the same time ramping up their proficiency in English to move into all-English instruction in third grade, as discussed in Chapter 4. Therefore, Felicia had three dimensions of diversity, not just two like the other teachers, that she was responsible for addressing in her instruction: linguistically, diverse literacy levels in Spanish and diverse literacy levels in English, and academically, diverse achievement levels among all her students. In upper grade SEI or ME classrooms, the focus is solely on English Learners developing literacy in English.

[55] The Mainstream English (ME) program was described in detail in Chapters 1, 3, and 4.

On the linguistic dimension, Felicia reported that her students' levels of proficiency in Spanish ranged from very high to below average (field notes from informal interview, 9/23/03). Their levels of proficiency in English were between a CELDT 2 and 3 (see Appendix A). On the academic dimension, Felicia reported that she had three GATE students as well as four students who had just transferred in from other classrooms who were below grade level and struggling academically, regardless of the language of instruction (transcript from formal interview, 10/23/03).

So reaching every student was a challenge for Felicia because her students were diverse along three different dimensions: linguistically in Spanish, linguistically in English, and academically. However, unlike other teachers in upper grade SEI and all ME teachers, she was able to teach in Spanish and use Spanish as a support during lessons she taught in English. She also used small group instruction for language arts, math, and writing to try to reach every student in both languages (field notes from classroom observations, 7/15/03, 9/23/03, 10/14/03, 11/4/03).

In sum, having students who were diverse along the academic achievement and English language acquisition continua made reaching all students a challenge. Felicia's students were also diverse along an additional dimension, their Spanish language acquisition continuum, and she was accountable for moving them further along each of the three continuums. Teachers attempted to meet the challenge by creating more homogeneous teaming groups to reduce the range of difference among the students in an attempt to make reaching all students more attainable. However, teaming meant getting to

know additional groups of students well enough academically and linguistically to be able to reach them all, especially the English Learners.

Keeping Track

Teachers were responsible to teach within the guidelines of the educational program that the parents of their English Learners selected for their children, as highlighted in Chapter 3. With a distinct set of guidelines for each program, it was important for teachers to be aware of which educational program each of their English Learners was to receive, as there were implications for teachers if they did not abide by program guidelines. As explained in Chapter 3, teachers faced the possibility of losing their teaching credential and encountering civil liability in the event that they did not stay within the guidelines of the particular program chosen for each English Learner.

Similar to schools across California, many schools in Clarksville found that there was less than a full class of students whose parents had selected either the SEI or ME educational program for their children. This student make-up necessitated placing English Learners who were to receive either the SEI or ME program in the same classroom, often with English-only students, as well. The teacher was then responsible for delivering the appropriate program to specific students within the context of his or her instruction. So teachers were required to know several things. First, they needed to know which students were English Learners. Second, they needed to know what educational program each student's parents had selected for him or her. Third, they needed to have a comprehensive understanding of each of the programs. Fourth, and finally, teachers who

spoke the primary language of the English Learners in their classrooms had to keep track of who they could and could not use the language with. For the teachers in my study, this language question was of particular importance to Patricia and Felicia, as Rachel and Paula did not speak Spanish. All in all, keeping track of what program to deliver to whom was very challenging for teachers.

Patricia Lopez was aware of who most of her English Learners were as she had been their teacher the year prior. However, she could not show me a roster from the district that listed which students were English Learners and what CELDT level they were. She said she had been given one at the beginning of the year, but could not locate it in or on her desk. She also had not entered the students' CELDT scores in her grade book. She knew generally where they were with regard to their English proficiency, except for the three new English Learners she had received when they came back from off-track time in September (field notes from informal interview, 9/26/03).

Perhaps most significantly, Patricia was not aware of the educational program choice for each of her English Learners. Because she was not able to find the roster given to hear at the beginning of the year, I was not able to confirm whether or not the district or school had given her the information on program selection, and Patricia could not remember if the roster included the program selection or not. She reasoned that all the parents had selected SEI for their children because she was teaching in a designated SEI classroom[56] (field notes from informal interview, 10/17/03). However, even if she had had the educational program information on her students, she would have had to request

[56] The definition of a designated SEI classroom was described in Chapter 5.

the information on all the other English Learners she taught in her teaming[57] groups to ensure that she abided by the requirements for each student in the SEI or ME programs. Just like Patricia, the other fourth grade teachers also did not know what educational program their English Learners were to receive (field notes from informal interview, 10/17/03). Therefore, Patricia was teaching English Learners all day long, unaware of which students she should be differentiating instruction for (SEI) and which she should not (ME). Moreover, she did not have any idea which students she was allowed to support in Spanish (SEI) and which students she was not (ME). This situation had potential implications for Patricia, as she could have faced sanctions, including revocation of her credential and/or civil liability for using Spanish with a student whose parents selected the ME program, as highlighted in Chapter 3. Although there were no incidents in which Patricia's use of Spanish were drawn into question, a situation did arise regarding a parent's educational program selection that potentially could have been problematic for her.

One day at recess, I found Patricia sitting at a table in the classroom, surrounded by report cards and ELD addendums, which teachers in Clarksville used in order to report various aspects of their English Learners' progress in acquiring English and their ELD grade. She was puzzling over the ELD addendum for one of her English Learners. She didn't know if she should send the addendum home to his parents, as she was afraid they would not understand or they might be upset because she thought she remembered that his teacher from the year before had told her that the parents did not want him in ELD

[57] The definition of teaming was described in Chapter 1.

and that they had selected the ME program for him. Patricia thought that for the ME program, students did not receive ELD, and thus her concern. This was interesting to me, because all three of the educational program options that Clarksville, offered in compliance with the California Department of Education's education code written after the passage of Proposition 227, included ELD. I showed Patricia the descriptions of the programs that were written on the front of the addendum, all of which stated that they included ELD. She was surprised, and somewhat relieved, because she was genuinely concerned about this particular student and the possible ramifications of and sanctions for providing him a service that his parents did not want him receiving (field notes from classroom observation, 10/17/03).

With all her students English Learners, coupled with the fact that they had been placed in her second grade SEI classroom, Felicia Rodriguez was confident that the parents of her students had selected the SEI program, although she, too, did not have an official list from the district or school. Moreover, since she had most of her students for a second year, having been the first grade teacher for the majority of the students the year prior, she knew the parents well and that they had not objected to her teaching their children in Spanish. Therefore, Felicia did not have to keep track of who to use Spanish with and who not to. She also did not have to keep track of whom to differentiate instruction for and who was to receive undifferentiated instruction (field notes from informal interview, 9/23/03).

Given the legal jeopardy that teachers risked if they violated parental selections for their children, it was surprising to me that the district did not provide the necessary

information for the teachers. Even more surprising was that the teachers did not demand the information from the district. I was working in Clarksville at the time Proposition 227 first passed and for two years afterwards. During that time, teachers were provided the information on the parents' choice of educational program for their children, and concern about the threat of legal action against us if we did not honor the program choices was palpable. However, the year of my study, five years post-Proposition 227, the sociopolitical context had changed in the district. The heightened sense of legal jeopardy that was present immediately after the passage of the proposition had waned. Administrators and teachers had become complacent about the legal ramifications of misapplication of the various aspects of the different educational programs, perhaps due, in part, to the fact that there had been no legal action initiated against any teacher in California in the five years since the passage of Proposition 227. Even so, teachers in my study were aware of the risk and were challenged to keep track of which English Learners were enrolled in the SEI or ME educational programs.

The challenge of keeping track of students' educational program should also be considered in light of the sociopolitical context of the schools in Clarksville. At Terra Bella, with its orientation toward academic excellence and enriching students' educational experience, teachers may have considered both the SEI and ME programs as not supporting, and perhaps interfering with, their ability to meet the neighborhood parents' expectations of high academic achievement for their children. Given the impetus for the passage of Proposition 227, that English Learners were not learning English rapidly enough and they were not achieving to high levels academically, and that the

instruction in both Patricia's and Paula's classrooms was in English, teachers may have interpreted their instruction as more appropriate in meeting the linguistic and academic needs of their English Learners, but I do not have data to confirm this. At Del Sol, with its orientation toward equal educational opportunity and parents' dual expectations that their children receive a better education than they had and that they learn English, that Rachel taught her students in English and forgot that she had English Learners in her classroom may, at some level, have been her interpretation of how best to meet parental expectations, but I do not have any data to confirming this. Felicia was not challenged to keep track of the educational program selection for her students, but she did occasionally receive feedback from parents who wanted her to use English more often in her instruction, which I interpreted to mean that they were concerned about the educational opportunities they perceived their students receiving, and that they linked those opportunities to their children's proficiency in English (field notes from parent conference observations, 10/9/03).

Assessment and Accountability

Assessment and accountability for student achievement was a significant challenge for teachers under the expectations set forth in the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, as highlighted in Chapter 3. The primary measure of district, school, and teacher effectiveness in 2003-2004 toward accomplishing the goals set forth in NCLB was the California Standards Test (CST) and the California Assessment Test, version 6 (CAT-6), standardized achievement tests of language arts, mathematics,

history/social science, and science. All students in California schools in second through eleventh grade took the test annually, including English Learners. The results from the assessments were used to calculate two measures of district and school effectiveness toward goals set for student performance: California's Academic Performance Index (API) and NCLB's Annual Yearly Progress (AYP).[58] Therefore, district and school administrators had a vested interest in strong positive student outcomes on these assessments. Toward that end, the language arts and mathematics end-of-trimester assessments in Clarksville, which were based on many of the same standards as the CST and CAT-6, served as predictors of possible student outcomes on these assessments. Subsequently, the district office asked that each teacher submit an assessment report thrice yearly that included all their students' scores on the end-of-trimester assessments. In addition, teachers also had to report their English Learners' scores from the end-of-trimester assessment from the district-adopted ELD program.

A Clarksville district directive, which had originated several years prior when I was a teacher in Clarksville and was still in effect the year of my study, required each elementary teacher to select five students to focus on during the year: one advanced, one proficient, one below basic, one English Learner, and one student with disabilities. This focus was to include frequent monitoring and differentiating instruction to support the students toward the site and district achievement goal that all students be proficient or advanced in both language arts and mathematics. Therefore, at both Terra Bella and Del Sol, teachers were expected to submit the scores on the end-of-trimester language arts,

[58] Both the API and AYP were discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

mathematics, and ELD assessments on a separate roster for their focus students. Three times a year, at the end of each trimester, the teachers were called in to their principal's office to have a conversation about the focus students' successes and challenges and what they were doing to move their five focus students toward proficiency in language arts and mathematics. For their English Learners, the conversation also included what the teachers were doing to support their students' language acquisition.

While the fourth grade teachers at Terra Bella considered teaming an answer to the challenge of reaching all students, teaming created another situation with regard to assessment and grading. Patricia Lopez was uneasy about recording grades given to her students by their teaming teacher on their report cards because they showed her name not the teaming teacher's name. The reason for her uneasiness, she shared with me, was that she was wondering how her students were performing in their teaming classes. In particular, she was not sure if the teachers were differentiating instruction for them, and if the grade really reflected what the students knew (field notes from informal interview, 9/26/03). For instance, Patricia shared her concern about several of her students who came to her each day after their math teaming time with her colleague, Maggie Goetz.

> I'm a very possessive teacher…because I want to know how they're doing…I want to know where they're at, and, um, then you come to the report card-thing, you know [light chuckle]. It's an issue, it's okay, like, they're doing math with another teacher, but I want to know what they're doing and how they are doing it…the other math teacher [Maggie] doesn't slow down when the kids don't get it, she says you have to keep moving on…now my kids don't want to go back to her

class because they don't get it and she calls them out on it in front of the other students. (transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03)

Patricia had to tutor the students whenever she could find time to help them master the concepts that Maggie was presenting. Therefore, she was concerned about the grade they would be receiving from Maggie, and how that grade, reported on the report card with her name on it as the teacher of record, would reflect on her when she turned in her assessment reporting roster to and had her accountability conference with Mr. Davidson. Most importantly, she was unsure how she would respond if a parent complained about a grade for a student who had been receiving their instruction from another teacher, such as Maggie (transcript from formal interview, 10/22/03).

Assessment and accountability was something that Felicia Rodríguez was concerned about with each new student who was enrolled in her classroom. Given that Felicia's students were diverse along three different continua, as highlighted above, she had more accountability measures for her students than other teachers who taught only in English. Felicia shared that frequently, new students would arrive just as she was preparing her class for an end-of-trimester assessment (field notes from informal interview, 9/23/03). She was concerned that the students would not do well on the assessments in both languages and that their low performance would reflect poorly on her when she turned in her assessment roster and had her accountability conference with Mrs. Martínez. Felicia expressed frustration when the students came from other second grade teachers at Del Sol and did not have a similar level of understanding and proficiency as her students in Spanish and English language arts and math. "I don't think it's fair that I

have to enter their scores on my class list…it makes me look bad!" (field notes from informal interview, 9/23/03). In fact, Felicia refused to put the test scores of several students that she received right before testing from other second grade teachers at Del Sol on her assessment roster, and instead gave the scores to their original teachers, telling them that "These are your scores, not mine!" (field notes from informal interview, 10/7/03). In Felicia's mind, by passing off the new students' scores, she effectively preserved the perception of her effectiveness as a teacher as represented by her student achievement scores.

Assessment and accountability requirements for both academic content as well as ELD challenged teachers with regard to teaching their students, especially their English Learners. The requirements were linked to the sociopolitical context at the schools in Clarksville, California, and the U.S. through the provisions of NCLB as well as state and local accountability measures. At Terra Bella, with its orientation toward academic excellence and enriching students' educational experience, students were grouped more homogeneously for academic ability for teaming. This strategy was meant to reduce the range of academic ability present in any classroom and thus make higher levels of student achievement possible toward meeting accountability requirements and neighborhood parents' expectations that their children would attain high levels of academic achievement. However, team teaching added an additional set of challenges, including allowing another teacher to grade several of their students while being the teacher of record, responsible for reporting and defending the grade. This situation was of concern to teachers because the neighborhood parents at Terra Bella, as highlighted in Chapter 4,

were active participants in the daily activities and organizations at the school. At Del Sol, with its orientation toward equal educational opportunity and parents' dual expectations that their children receive a better education than they had and that they learn English, teachers often positioned themselves defensively with regard to the assessment scores they had to report to their principal and the district when they received new students either from another school or from another class at Del Sol. Assessment and accountability requirements influenced how teachers taught English Learners, especially since many of the requirements were directly linked to English Learners, and ELD in particular, above and beyond the requirements teachers faced for native English-speaking students.

Conclusion

As seen above, many aspects of teaching English Learners, including (a) the extra work it entailed, (b) reaching all the diverse students during instruction, (c) keeping track of their educational program selections and requirements to avoid civil and professional implications, and (d) assessment and accountability provisions related to their instruction, challenged the teachers in my study. The extra work that teaching English Learners entailed for teachers included gathering and creating additional instructional materials in both languages, and creating an environment that was text-rich with both languages that cost them both time and money. As well, for teachers in SEI classrooms in the primary grades, where Spanish was also a language of instruction, English Learners were diverse along an additional dimension, their Spanish language acquisition continuum. Often the

range of academic ability was wide in classrooms, further challenging the teachers, who were accountable for moving their students further along each of these continua. Teachers attempted to meet the challenge by teaming to reduce the range of difference among the students in the teaming groups, but teaming created additional challenges for them. The pace of instruction also contributed to the challenge of reaching all students, as there was little time to go deeper in their instruction on particular concepts that students struggled with. Instead, the teachers had to forge on to keep the pace to prepare the students for upcoming high-stakes district and state assessments. In the midst of these challenges, there was another challenge for teachers: keeping track of whom to differentiate instruction for, and whom they could use Spanish with without facing legal jeopardy. All of these challenges were linked to the sociopolitical context in Clarksville and to that in the wider U.S. Yet there was one challenge that stood out among all the rest that teachers encountered – teaching ELD – which, due to its complexity, merits a deeper examination.

English Language Development (ELD): The Lightening Rod

In my time at Terra Bella and Del Sol, I was struck by the frequency with which ELD was a topic of discussion. In fact, it was not just a topic of discussion -- it was a "hot topic," generating strong feelings in the teachers. Moreover, it was not just the teachers from my study who commented on ELD. Other teachers at both sites were open, sometimes very candidly, about the challenges they faced with ELD, including ELD accountability, ELD assessments, and ELD teaching.

Accountability

Although English Learners' results from the CELDT were not directly factored into a school's API score or AYP goal under NCLB, those who demonstrated higher levels of proficiency in English on the CELDT were more likely to receive higher scores on standardized achievement tests in mathematics and language arts given in English, which do factor into these two accountability measures. Therefore, many districts in California, including Clarksville, mandated that teachers provide a minimum of 30 minutes a day of ELD instruction for English Learners to provide them opportunities to increase their English proficiency and ultimately raise their standardized test scores in language arts and mathematics.

Instructional Time Accountability. To achieve AYP and API goals, the Clarksville School District required that teachers give mathematics and language arts priority in classroom instruction. As was recommended in the Reading/Language Arts Framework for Public Schools (Education, 1999c), teachers were to teach language arts for a minimum of two and one-half hours. The district went beyond the 1-hour time frame for mathematics recommended in the Mathematics Framework for Public Schools (Education, 1999b), requiring that teachers teach math for at least one and one-half hours each day. The Clarksville School District was not alone in prioritizing instructional time. This pattern of increased instructional time in mathematics and language arts in response to the assessment accountability system under NCLB has been documented in research in California (Wills & Sandholtz, 2009) and across the U.S. (McMurrer, 2007).

The required time to teach language arts and mathematics, coupled with the required one-half hour of ELD, consumed a total of four and one-half hours of instructional time[59] each day. Teachers were left only one hour of additional instruction time to teach science, social studies, visual and performing arts, and physical education. Finding time to teach all the subject areas was even more challenging at Terra Bella. "It's hard! We have to teach science or social studies each day!" Patricia exclaimed one afternoon after rushing to finish ELD in time to get to her social studies lesson. Whereas Mrs. Martínez encouraged teachers at Del Sol to teach science or social studies each day, Mr. Davidson required the subjects be taught daily. "Can you believe it?" asked Patricia. "He [Mr. Davidson] makes all, I mean *all* us teachers, turn in lesson plans each week!" Under previous principals at Terra Bella, only first- and second-year teachers had to submit weekly lesson plans. Upon his arrival at Terra Bella, Mr. Davidson announced that he would be reviewing everyone's weekly lesson plans to make sure they were teaching the required subjects and verifying the amount of time they were spending teaching them.

Mr. Davidson's accountability system is reminiscent of that in McNeil's (2000) study of the impact of school reform on teaching and learning. In the McNeil study, teachers were to base their teaching on academic competencies and then test students to determine their level of proficiency on the competencies. Teachers posted charts showing student proficiency levels on their classroom doors for any passing administrator to see.

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[59] The elementary schools in Clarksville were in session for six and one-half hours each day. Non-instructional time (recesses, lunch) consumed one hour each day, leaving five and one-half hours for instruction.

McNeil found that the teachers had collaborated in fabricating the scores on the charts. Behind the closed doors of their classrooms, they continued to teach as they always had. In doing so, the teachers resisted the school reform by creating “the appearance of compliance while maintaining their own practice” (p. 216). While the teachers in my study did not conspire to fabricate their weekly lesson plans, they did not always teach all the subjects that they listed. They also resisted the mandate to teach ELD each day. By continuing to list all the subjects, including ELD, daily on their weekly lesson plans, they avoided administrative scrutiny and were able to continue prioritizing the subjects they taught as they saw fit.

Cancelling ELD. Teachers at Terra Bella scheduled either social studies or science each day. Teachers at Del Sol also included these subjects in their weekly lesson plans, but less regularly than teachers at Terra Bella. Very few had visual and performing arts and physical education slated (field notes from document analysis, 12/8/03). However, during my time in their classrooms, teachers cancelled lessons in many of these subjects to complete language arts and mathematics lessons, assignments, and assessments, but less frequently than they cancelled ELD (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/17/03, 9/9/03, 10//16/03, 10/17/03, 10/29/03, 11/18/03). Finding that teachers did not teach social studies or science daily did not surprise me, as one of the documented consequences of assessment accountability in many schools across California is that instruction in social studies (Wills, 2007) and science (Sandholtz, Ogawa, & Scribner, 2004), along with visual and performing arts, has greatly diminished. What intrigued me was that ELD was cancelled more frequently than these other

subjects, even though there was district- and school-level accountability tied to ELD instruction and assessment.

Assessments

ELD assessments were challenging for teachers in my study, both the annual CELDT and the Clarksville School District's end-or-trimester ELD assessments. Yet they challenged the teachers for very different reasons.

Annual CELDT Assessment. The challenge that the teachers faced with the CELDT was a frequent topic of conversation. Based on the California ELD standards, it was first administered in California in 2001. The Clarksville School District had their own set of ELD standards, drawn from the California ELD standards. Teachers were expected to teach to the Clarksville standards, toward which several expressed strong feelings. Rachel highlighted the sentiment of many of the teachers who I spoke with during my study regarding these standards. "They're so ambiguous, they're useless!!" (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03). Teachers also were confused as to which of the two sets of closely-related, yet not identical, ELD standards they were supposed to teach. They were held accountable to teach the Clarksville standards through their weekly lesson plans and the California ELD standards through the annual administration of the CELDT.

Teachers felt the CELDT was challenging because they did not know how it assessed English Learners' language proficiency, and thus they were unsure how to direct their ELD instruction to prepare their students to take the test. This uncertainty was due,

in part, to the fact that, unlike with the previous annual language development assessment used in Clarksville, which teachers administered and then reported to the California Department of Education (CDE), the CELDT was administered by bilingual aides at each school. Moreover, as it was a state-mandated standardized test, it was considered a secure assessment, which meant that teachers did not have the opportunity to preview the test to better understand what was being assessed or the processes through which English Learners' language development was being assessed. As a result, teachers were concerned. First, they were concerned about how primary grade students would react to someone who was unfamiliar to them administering the test, and how it might impact their overall scores on the test. Rachel noted, "Our students are pulled [from the classroom] by an aide who is giving them the test. That must be intimidating, especially for our younger students! And the test takes over an hour to give to each student!" (field notes from collaborative planning meeting, 7/29/03). Teachers also expressed concern that they were being held responsible for their CELDT scores, yet they did not know much about the test (field notes from informal interviews: Rachel King, 7/29/03; Paula Ahren, 10/8/03; Patricia Lopez, 11/14/03). Rachel shared their thoughts on the CELDT. "The test is so secretive, so mysterious. None of us have even seen the test!" Ramona Contreras, another fifth grade teacher, then chimed in. "It would be helpful to know what's expected of the students we could adjust our instruction. It's so arbitrary, like all the standardized tests!" (field notes from collaborative planning meeting, 7/29/03). Rachel continued,

> It's frustrating not being able to know what's on the CELDT. We can't do any 'backward planning.'[60] It would be helpful to know what's expected of the students so we can adjust our instruction…not like teaching to the test, but to make sure we are teaching what they need to learn to be successful. (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03)

With the teachers' uncertainty of what the CELDT test covered and their sentiment regarding the district's ELD standards, they were apprehensive about being held accountable for their English Learners' CELDT scores.

Clarksville's End-of-Trimester ELD Assessment. The biggest assessment challenge for the teachers, however, was not the CELDT. Instead, the biggest assessment challenge was the district's end-of-trimester ELD assessment (field notes from informal interviews: Paula Ahren, 10/8/03; Patricia Lopez, 9/26/03; Rachel King, 7/29/03). The district had adopted the *High Point* ELD program (Schfini, Short, & Villamil Tinajero, 2002b) for grades 3 through 6, and used the assessments provided by the publisher as the end-of-trimester assessments. Their concerns centered on the difficulty of the curriculum and the assessments, the limited scope of the test and its one-size-fits all approach, and the inability to connect it to student growth on the CELDT.

The difficulty of the High Point ELD curriculum and assessments was a frequent topic among teachers. Paula was visibly upset when she shared, "It's a junior high text! I just found out it was written for older kids!" (field notes from informal interview,

[60] "Backward planning" refers to an instructional design model, "Understanding by Design" (Wiggins & McTighe, 1998), in which teachers identify the standard(s) they are teaching and what evidence they would need from the students to be able to verify that the students had mastered the standard. From that point, the de facto lesson assessment, the teachers planned their instruction to so that the students would be able to produce the evidence in the lesson assessment.

10/8/03). The High Point ELD curriculum was originally written for middle school students (field notes from document analysis, 10/9/03). Teachers had concerns about the level of difficulty of the assessments, which Paula summarized for me. “Even my GATE students would have difficulty with the test. The vocabulary level is very high!!” [emphasis hers](field notes from document analysis, 10/9/03). The sixth grade test itself was 16 pages long, while the end-of-trimester language arts assessment for sixth grade was only 7 pages long, a point not lost on the teachers. Paula, similar to the other teachers, took a week of ELD time (some, 30 minutes a day; others, 45 minutes a day) for the students to complete the test (field notes from informal interview, 10/8/03). However, with the extensive amount of content in each unit assessed, teachers reported that it was difficult to get through it all before the test. This was particularly frustrating for the teachers, as Paula explained. “The test is based on content you should have covered during the trimester. But that’s a huge span of information to cover! You don’t get into that much depth with 30 minute lessons each day!” (transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03).

The teachers also questioned the limited scope of the test and the fact that every English Learner took the same test regardless of their CELDT level. The test included reading and writing but no listening and speaking sections. Teachers were concerned that the assessment would only give a partial measure of the students’ English proficiency, as their strengths typically are their listening and speaking. Given that teachers were responsible for reporting their English Learners’ scores on the assessment, they wanted it to reflect the students’ proficiency across all four language domains in English (field

notes from informal interviews: Paula Ahren, 10/8/03; Patricia Lopez, 9/26/03; Rachel King, 7/29/03). Rachel asked her colleagues one morning, “What’s it [the ELD assessment] testing? Grammar and spelling like the mini-lessons [in the curriculum]?” Ramona Contreras, a colleague of Rachel’s, built on her comment, adding, “Yea, it’s all vocabulary in isolation.” Rachel, sighing deeply, responded almost in unison with Elaine Larson, another fifth grade colleague, “But where’s the oral language development??!!” (field notes from collaborative planning meeting, 7/29/03).

Of even greater concern to the teachers was that all English Learners took the same test, whether they were a CELDT level 1, not understanding much, if any English, or a level 5, with near native-like proficiency in English. According to the teachers, the difficulty of the test was overwhelming enough for their level 5 students, but it was absolutely overwhelming for their level 1 students (field notes from informal interviews: Paula Ahren, 10/8/03; Patricia Lopez, 9/26/03; Rachel King, 7/29/03). Paula shared,

> It was so overwhelming for the students! It took over a week of our ELD time for them to complete the test. The kids, especially the [CELDT] 1’s and 2’s, kept asking for help, but I kept having to tell them that I couldn’t help them.” (transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03)

Yet the teachers had to make the students sit, day after day, until they completed the test, regardless of whether or not they understood anything on the test (field notes from informal interviews: Paula Ahren, 10/8/03; Patricia Lopez, 9/26/03; Rachel King, 7/29/03).

Finally, the teachers were also unsure of what connection, if any, there was between the end-of-trimester ELD assessment scores and the CELDT. Given that they were responsible for moving their English Learners to higher levels of English proficiency and that the CELDT was only given once a year, the end-of-trimester ELD assessments were formative measures toward the summative CELDT. Therefore, teachers looked to the ELD assessment to give them information regarding students' progress toward high proficiency in English. However, the district did not provide a correlation table to show the teachers how the scores on the district ELD assessment were connected to the CELDT. As a result, teachers were unsure if the ELD scores they were reporting on their assessment roster were actually demonstrating improvement in their English Learners' acquisition of English or not, thus limiting their ability to make claims of student improvement in English proficiency on their assessment rosters and at their accountability conferences.

For sixth grade teachers like Paula, there was another issue that concerned them. They were told by district officials that their English Learners' second trimester ELD assessment would determine their placement in language arts and ELD in middle school (transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03). For the sixth grade English Learners, it was a critical year that would determine the courses and electives they would have access to as they began their secondary schooling. Paula reflected on her evaluation of the validity of the ELD assessment as a tool for placement.

> It's really a concern for us. Are we covering all the things we need to? After all, the test is 16 pages long! And with only a half an hour a day, it's impossible to

teach everything they're going to be tested on. I just don't think it's appropriate to use it [the assessment] that way, to use a test taken in March to decide what they'll be able to do in September. So [in a lilting voice as her eyes shifted up and to the right], we're just going to do it and get it over with!" (transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03)

Teaching ELD

The teachers struggled to get lessons taught and student work completed each day. "It's hard!" Paula remarked one afternoon. "It's a challenge!" echoed Patricia as she hurried her students through a mathematics lesson before the bell rang for lunch. School activities at Del Sol and Terra Bella frequently encroached on instructional time. There were assemblies to attend and weekly visits to the school library. Holiday parties also consumed class time. Announcements over the school intercom and visitors to classrooms frequently interrupted instruction. At Del Sol, Mrs. Martínez's announcement of the attendance award winners at the end of the first trimester interrupted instruction for over five minutes (field notes from classroom observation, 10/16/03). When Mr. Davidson walked in Patricia's classroom one morning at Terra Bella, all eyes were on him, and understandably so. To motivate the students to reach a fundraising goal, Mr. Davidson promised he would don a costume and parade around the school. True to his word, he walked into Patricia's classroom wearing a coconut-shell bra and a grass hula skirt over his Hawaiian shirt and shorts. A straw hat, sunglasses, sandals, and zinc oxide across his nose completed his guise. Although he was in the classroom for less than five

minutes, it took Patricia nearly fifteen minutes to refocus the students enough to proceed with the math lesson at hand. Other teachers, parents, and school personnel were also frequent visitors to classrooms. Although they were not in costume, their intrusion into the classroom diverted students' attention from the lesson at hand all the same (field notes from classroom observation, 11/14/03).

Even with the routine interruptions that marked a typical school day, my expectations that I would see ELD taught were reinforced when I saw it listed on each teacher's daily schedule. Felicia scheduled ELD before morning recess while others scheduled it late in the afternoon, right before dismissal (field notes from document analysis, 12/8/03). However, during my participant-observation in their classrooms, I did not see them teaching ELD every day. Moreover, it was not just one teacher who did not teach ELD every day. Every teacher in my study cancelled ELD at least once, and some cancelled it several times a week during the first month of my participant-observation in their classrooms. What I found was that district testing and school activities, coupled with heightened state and federal assessment accountability, constrained their already-limited instructional time, which often resulted in teachers cancelling several subjects, including ELD.

Teachers have long faced the dilemma of limited instructional time (Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 2002), so I was not surprised that teachers in my study also struggled to manage the time they had, including their decisions to cancel ELD frequently. "It's [ELD] easy to cancel, especially if you're doing it on your own," Rachel commented at lunch one day in Del Sol's staff lounge. Indeed, I had seen only two ELD lessons in my

ten previous visits to Rachel's classroom. During that time, one trimester ended, triggering district assessments in mathematics and language arts. There was also a visit from the Assistant Superintendent, who expected to see examples of current student work posted on classroom walls. On six of the days that Rachel cancelled ELD, students either were working on mathematics and language arts assignments or taking the trimester assessments. The other two times, she had the students work on projects for the Assistant Superintendent's visit (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 7/24/03, 7/29/03, 9/9/03, 9/23/03, 10/7/03, 10/16/03, 10/23/03, 10/29/03). Felicia also cancelled ELD from time to time to complete assignments or assessments (field notes from informal interview, 7/8/03). Felicia and Patricia also reported cancelling ELD from time to time during the first trimester (field notes from informal interviews: Felicia Rodríguez, 7/22/03; Patricia Lopez, 9/26/03).

However, after the pattern of cancelling ELD frequently was established well into the first trimester, teachers began to collaborate with one or more of their grade-level colleagues to team teach ELD. Teachers cited increased accountability at their school sites as the reason for switching to team teaching ELD, as they felt that they would be less likely to cancel ELD if their colleagues were counting on them to teach it every day as scheduled. Although Paula did not teach ELD, another of her sixth grade colleagues taught it during teaming time while Paula taught GATE math and earth science (field notes from classroom observation, 7/24/03), which increased the regularity with which ELD was taught. Patricia, too, taught ELD more regularly once it became a teaming rotation that she was responsible for (field notes from informal interview, 9/26/03).

Conclusion

Teaching English Learners was challenging for teachers. To them, teaching English Learners meant having to do extra work, trying to reach all of the academically and linguistically diverse students during instruction, keeping track of the educational programs each English Learner was to receive, and meeting additional assessment and accountability requirements. Teaching ELD was especially challenging for teachers as they cited constraints and school-related encroachments on instructional time. Teaming was a strategy teachers instituted to ensure that ELD was taught each day, and once teaming was in place, teachers did not cancel ELD for the remainder of my study.

This last finding surprised me. If lack of instructional time was what challenged the teachers and influenced them to cancel ELD, then team teaching did not solve that problem. There was no more time available for teaching ELD after they began to team teach than there was before. In fact, there was less, as it took students several minutes to walk to other classrooms for ELD and then several more to return to their regular classrooms each day. So I have to question teachers' claims that limited instructional time due to heightened assessment accountability in language arts and mathematics made sustaining a commitment to teach ELD daily problematic. Was the issue really lack of time, or were there other factors that influenced their decisions earlier in the year to not teach ELD? What role did teachers' interpretation, adaptations and implementation of the policy regarding ELD play in the decisions teachers made as they taught English Learners? I decided to look more closely at how teachers taught ELD and how their interpretation, adaptation, and implementation of ELD and the policy to teach it daily

may have influenced the decisions and the meaning they made of teaching English Learners within the sociopolitical context of Clarksville. Toward that end, I examine a typical ELD lesson in detail in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Teaching English Learners: Interpreting, Adapting, and Implementing Policy

When considering what teaching English Learners means to teachers, understanding the role that the sociopolitical context play is critical, as highlighted in Chapters 3 and 4. As was discussed in Chapter 5, teaching English Learners influences teachers' identity and their social status, which, in turn, contributes to the meaning that teachers make of teaching English Learners. Moreover, the challenges teachers face in teaching English Learners also shapes the meaning that teachers make, as examined in Chapter 6. But teacher identity, social status, and the challenges teachers face are not the only things that contribute to this. Teachers must decide how they are going to interpret, adapt, and implement educational policies related to the instruction of English Learners every day in their classrooms. The decisions they make are influenced by the broader contexts discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

English Language Development (ELD), designed for and presented exclusively to English Learners, is the most differentiated type of instruction that English Learners receive in classrooms in California. Teachers in my study learned how to teach ELD in their Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD) or Bilingual Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (BCLAD)[61] credential programs. ELD instruction should include structured opportunities for language development across the listening, speaking, reading, and writing domains in English, according to the California English Language Development Standards (Education, 1999a). Moreover, the

[61] The CLAD and BCLAD credentials were presented in detail in Chapters 1 and 3.

California Standards for the Teaching Profession (Credentialing, 2009) state that teachers should present instruction within the context of a risk-free classroom environment. With regard to ELD instruction, students need to feel safe in taking the risks necessary to improve their proficiency in English and receive immediate feedback on the accuracy of their production of oral and written English.

Not surprisingly, ELD emerged as a lightning rod in any discussion with teachers in my study regarding teaching English Learners. The challenges they faced in teaching ELD, highlighted in Chapter 6, were many, yet the challenges alone did not fully explain why teachers cancelled ELD frequently, which brought into question whether teachers' policy interpretation, adaptation, and implementation regarding teaching ELD may have influenced the decisions they made regarding teaching ELD as well as the meaning they made of teaching English Learners within the sociopolitical context of the schools in Clarksville.

Given the Clarksville School District mandate that they teach ELD for 30 minutes each day and that their lesson plans reflect the same, which was highlighted in Chapter 6, I expected that the teachers in my study would teach ELD daily. However, I understood going into the classrooms that teachers do not always heed policy mandates (M. McLaughlin, 2005; McNeil, 2000). Moreover, those that do heed policy interpret it within the sociopolitical context of the community, school, and classroom (Cohen, 1990; Cuban, 1993; Fullan, 2001; M. McLaughlin, 2005; Page, 1999; Saranson, 1996; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). I also understood that teachers adapt rather than adopt reforms (Cuban, 1993; Kennedy, 2004; M. McLaughlin, 2005; Saranson, 1996; Tyack & Cuban, 1995)

and the instructional methods that they learn, whether during their credential program or in professional development programs after certification. In adapting reforms, teachers often continue to teach as they were taught (Cuban, 1993; Lortie, 2002; M. McLaughlin, 2005) and adapt the methods to the context within which they teach (M. McLaughlin, 2005; Tyack & Cuban, 1995), hybridizing them (Cohen, 1990; Fullan, 2001; Page, 1999).

In this chapter, my purpose was to examine a representative ELD lesson to better understand if and how teachers may have interpreted, adapted, and implemented the policy regarding teaching ELD – in short, to better understand their vision of why and how to teach ELD. Most importantly, I wanted to learn how the challenges and their vision of ELD shaped the meaning they made of teaching English Learners. What I learned was that their vision of ELD did influence how they taught ELD and the meaning they made of teaching English Learners. But perhaps most significantly, I found that when teachers did teach ELD, there were few opportunities for language development.

As I pored over my data looking for an ELD lesson that was representative of those that I observed, I kept returning to one that Patricia Lopez taught in her fourth grade classroom at Terra Bella after she started teaming[62] with her colleagues. Although the details I present below are particular to this lesson, given on this day to a particular group of fourth grade students (field notes and transcription from classroom observation, 9/26/03), similar types of instruction and interaction occurred in the other upper grade lessons I observed in classrooms at both schools (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 7/16/03, 7/24/03, 9/26/03, 10/7/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03).

[62] The definition of "teaming" was described in Chapter 1.

Below, I re-present her lesson in order to give you, the reader, an explicit and detailed picture against which to read about teachers' interpretations, adaptations, and implementation in my subsequent analysis, including key points from the teachers I studied. I refer back to Patricia's classroom later in my discussion of my findings, and then follow it with a brief portrait of Felicia's teaching, drawing corollaries and final conclusions regarding how teachers interpret, adapt, and implement ELD.

The ELD Lesson

As they waited for the last of the students in the teaming group to arrive from the other classrooms, three of the English Learners began distributing the class set of *High Point* (Schfini et al., 2002b) textbooks for the day's ELD lesson. Patricia made her way around the room, greeting students as she returned their graded assignments and projects. A small group of girls shadowed her, chattering away, as she made her way through the maze of desks, chairs, and backpacks. The last of the students finally arrived as Patricia finished returning the papers. She dispatched the girls to their seats as she made her way to the back of the classroom.

Patricia headed toward the group of eight English-only[63] students who had congregated in the back corner of the classroom. These students had been identified by their teachers as capable of working independently while Patricia taught ELD to her teaming group of English Learners. Several of the English-only students sat at empty

[63] In the context of my study, I use the term "English-only" to identify all students who are not identified as English Learners. This group of students may include native English-speakers, students for whom English is a second language who were initially determined to be Fluent English Proficient (I-FEP) and do not receive language support services or receive ELD instruction and former English Learners who have been reclassified as Fluent English Proficient (R-FEP). All these terms were described in depth in Chapter 3.

desks, but most were huddled on the floor, engaged in animated conversation about their exploits on the playground earlier in the day. Wanting to begin the lesson, Patricia interrupted their recounting with a question. "Do you remember the story about the soccer player in *Highlights* you read last week? I want you to write a short narrative," she continued, "of yourselves in a sporting activity like the one…" She was cut-off mid-sentence by one of the students. "Don't we have to finish the amusement park story from last week first?" "Yes, you need to finish that up before starting your sports story," she responded over her shoulder as she began to make her way to the front of the classroom. She urged the English Learners who were roaming the room to return to their seats so they could begin the day's ELD lesson. Only 20 minutes remained in teaming time.

Patricia stood at the whiteboard, the teacher's edition in one hand and marker in the other, waiting for the English Learners' attention. Clustered at the front of the room, the 27 English Learners in the teaming group were in the final stages of settling in for the day's lesson. They represented a range of English proficiency, with ten at a California English Language Development Test (CELDT) level 1, fourteen at level 2, and three at level 3 (see Appendix A). "José! Daniel!" she called, attempting to redirect the attention of the most boisterous of the students so she could begin the lesson. The boys began to settle down as Patricia intently scanned the room, seeming to wait for others to finish their conversations and turn their attention to her and the lesson at hand.

After a long pause, Patricia wrote "categories" at the top of the whiteboard, and below it listed "eyes," "nose," "lips," and "mouth." Turning back to the students, she asked, "What category do these four words belong to?" and proceeded to read the words

aloud. Across the room, no one raised a hand or responded. Several still lingered in conversation with friends while others sat, staring at Patricia, with puzzled looks on their faces. The students' lack of response to Patricia's request surprised me, as categorizing is a common skill taught from kindergarten on. Moreover, the word "category" is a cognate, equivalent to "categoría" in Spanish. However, the words that Patricia listed on the whiteboard were not cognates, which would make naming the category more difficult. Patricia waited for a student to offer a response, all the while scanning the classroom. She paused for a few moments to observe the English-only students working in the back of the room. Several in the group were writing, while others were still talking and joking with each other, their conversations audible to both Patricia and the students in the front of the classroom. None of the English-only students seemed to realize that she was looking at them, or if they did, they chose to not change what they were doing.

Patricia turned her attention again to the English Learners, who continued to be stumped by her request for a category title for the words on the whiteboard. "Remember?" she prodded, "…from the words we've been learning??" Finally, several hands inched up across the room. She waited a few moments and then pointed to one of the girls with her hand raised in the front who quickly offered, "Face!" Patricia countered with, "No, not quite!" She called on two other students in rapid succession, also rejecting their offers of "Body!" and "Brain!" with successively sterner evaluations of "No!" Finally, Patricia wrote "features," the correct category title (and vocabulary word) on the whiteboard, which triggered a collective moan among those attending to the review.

Turning back to the whiteboard, Patricia again admonished the students over her shoulder, “Remember, these are from the words we’ve been studying!” She then listed another set, “memory,” “learn,” and “think,” on the whiteboard and read the words aloud. The students soon seemed to make the connection between the category titles and their vocabulary words as more raised their hands to participate. A competition soon developed, with each one seeking to be called upon to respond with the correct category title. Students began to lean forward in their seats, their raised arms now supported by their free hands. One-upmanship spurred several to their feet, waving their hands and crying out, “Ooooh! Oooh! I know! I know!” Amidst the group of eager participants, however, there was a core of students, primarily those at CELDT level 1, who were not caught up in the press to participate. Most sat quietly in their seats, not attending to the review. Others were engrossed in conversation with their neighbors, seemingly oblivious to their peers and the lesson at hand. Patricia waited and finally pointed to one of the few students who remained in their seats with their hands up. Patricia called out, “María!” who quickly offered, “Brain!” Patricia nodded her head as she recorded it on the whiteboard.

As Patricia turned back toward the class, she took a few moments to scrutinize the English-only students at the back of the room. Although the noise level in the room was rising, she did not intervene. Instead, she continued the review, reading the words out loud as she listed “move,” “grows,” and “eats” on the whiteboard. The students, many still on their feet, continued in their press to participate. Patricia took a moment to again call on a student who was sitting, raising his hand, in the midst of a group who were

furiously waving their arms and shouting out answers, some correct, but most not. The student responded confidently with, "Body," which Patricia quickly recorded on the whiteboard.

Without comment or turning back toward the class, Patricia immediately wrote "apple" then "strawberry" on the whiteboard. Students began shouting out the words before she was even done writing them. She also did not call on anyone to give her the category title, as multiple offerings of "Fruit!" echoed across the classroom. Without comment, Patricia recorded it on the whiteboard. She smiled as she turned back toward them. "Now I am going to ask you and you're going to tell me what belongs to what category." The students seemed even more energized by her announcement, as if she was issuing them a challenge. She then turned and wrote "colors" on the whiteboard, which brought nearly all the students to their feet and drew a chorus of enthusiastic and spontaneous responses. She recorded "purple," "yellow," "orange," and "red," just a few of their many offerings, on the whiteboard. Turning to the students, nearly all of whom were now up on their feet and out of their seats, Patricia stood silently and held up her hands to signal them to stop shouting out answers and sit down.

As she stood there trying to quiet the students, I wondered why Patricia chose these last two categories of words for this portion of the lesson, as neither the words nor the titles were from the week's vocabulary list. They were more familiar words, and as such, students responded eagerly, often vociferously. This was puzzling for several reasons. First, it seemed that the hardest part of the lesson came first. Many teachers might have opted to begin with the easier portion as a way of encouraging students and

engaging them in the subsequent, more challenging portion. Secondly, classroom management was an ongoing issue in this lesson. When she was teaching her own students and not teaching a teaming group, Patricia's classroom management was more than adequate. However, with two separate groups of students in the classroom, the majority of whom were not her students, the noise level from one group had an effect on the other, as students had to raise their voices to be heard above others. Moreover, Patricia struggled to maintain control of the lesson, especially during the last two categories of words she presented. At the beginning of the lesson, she had to coax the students to participate, and by the end of the lesson, she had to rein in their participation.

After a long pause, Patricia announced, "Okay, we need to move on." Raising her voice above the rising din in the back of the classroom, she challenged the students. "Give me a sentence that shows how we express ourselves." Turning, she wrote "express" on the whiteboard as she waited for a volunteer. When she turned back toward the class, confusion and uncertainty were evident on the students' faces. Patricia raised her head and took another long glance at the group in the back. Finally, a student raised her hand, which redirected Patricia's attention back to the front of the classroom. Patricia quickly called out, "Jasmín!" and began writing the sentence on the whiteboard as Jasmín dictated. "I express when I—" Patricia cut Jasmín off with a curt, "Not quite!" and erased the sentence. With no other students offering to try, Patricia rephrased her request. "How do people express themselves?" Seemingly puzzled by the abrupt, unexplained shift, the students sat, silent. Eventually, two students raised their hands. Tentatively, the first

offered, “Talking?” followed by the second’s, “Working?” to which Patricia added, “…like an artist,” as she recorded their offerings on the whiteboard.

Patricia abruptly shifted the lesson focus again by announcing, “Turn in your books to page 46. We’re going to do these together.” As the students turned the pages in their ELD textbooks, Patricia copied the first sentence from the vocabulary exercise on the whiteboard: “I want to paint a feature/portrait of myself.” Patricia turned to the students and read the sentence, including both word choices, out loud. “What is the correct word?” she queried. The students rebounded from their earlier confusion with a chorus of voices responding, “Portrait!” Patricia followed with her affirmation by repeating their choice. She then continued the exercise orally. “I can decide/accept to use pencils or paints,” she recited. Another volley of student responses identified “decide” as the correct choice. Patricia confirmed their choice by repeating, “Decide.” She then continued with, “I can draw each portrait/feature like my nose and eyes.” The resounding response from the students was “Portrait!” Instead of affirming their choice, she explained why it was incorrect. “A portrait is a whole picture. Here, it’s only talking about your nose or your eyes.” As soon as Patricia started to offer her explanation, the students en masse changed their answer to “Feature!” nearly drowning her out. Patricia read on, “A picture is a way to express/decide my ideas.” Again, a choral response from the most vocal students nearly cut her off as they interjected, “Express!” She nodded her head as she affirmed their choice by repeating it. Almost without a pause she began the next sentence. “I hope that my teacher will decide/accept my picture.” Again, the students

responded with, "Accept!" before Patricia finished the sentence, which she confirmed by repeating their selection.

Now at the end of the exercise, Patricia prompted the students. "On page 50, there's a portrait of George Littlechild." As the students flipped through their textbooks looking for the right page, Patricia again paused momentarily to scrutinize the group of English-only students at the back of the classroom, several of whom were now laughing and joking with each other. A look of concern momentarily washed across her face. Returning her attention to the English Learners, she asked, "Why are there four views?" The self-portrait of Littlechild was composed of four different poses of him in various headdresses and costumes. Students responded enthusiastically, calling out their responses. Patricia entertained their responses and recorded those she accepted on the whiteboard. The first was, "Because they're different colors," which Patricia shortened to "colors." The next offering was, "He wants to sell them," which she abbreviated to "wants to sell them." The following was, "He's Indian," which Patricia recorded as "Indian" on the list. Another response surfaced, "He's from Japan." Patricia responded, "No, he's Indian,[64] not Japanese." She subsequently changed the student's response when she added, "He's in Japan," to the list. The final offering of, "He's in a war," also drew an explanation from Patricia. "The hat he's wearing [in one of the poses] is a beret. Soldiers and artists both wear them. But he's an artist." She recorded simply "artist's hat" on the whiteboard.

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[64] Littlechild is actually a member of Canada's First Nations people, as he explains in the text (p. 51). However, he also refers to himself as "Indian" in the same paragraph.

With only ten minutes remaining of the ELD time, the noise level in the classroom continued to rise. Patricia tried in vain to keep the lesson going amidst the rising noise. She finally stopped long enough to exhort the English Learners, “You need to be sitting down and raise your hand!” This seemed a bit unfair, as they were arguably only half of the problem. But upon reflection, I realized that Patricia would have had to stop the lesson altogether and walk to the back of the classroom to address the behavior of the English-only students. With her exhortation, the noise coming from both groups of students abated momentarily, but began to rise again as Patricia shifted the focus of the lesson once more to comparing and contrasting Littlechild’s self-portrait with that of another artist in the text, Nancy Hom.

“Look at the portrait on page 48. How is it the same as this one?” Patricia inquired. As the students were turning to Hom’s self-portrait, she drew a two-column chart on the whiteboard, labeling the left side, “Same,” and the right, “Different.” Students were up out of their seats and talking animatedly with each other. Patricia’s query was met with multiple responses from those already up on their feet. She reminded them sternly, “You need to be sitting down and raise your hand!” The students gradually settled into their seats and their conversations dwindled. There was a long pause before a hand went up for Patricia to call on. The student responded tentatively, “The colors?” Patricia nodded her head and replied, “Uh-huh,” as she recorded it in on the left side of the chart. Another brief pause was followed by a second student’s offering of, “Their eyes?” Patricia did not accept the response, admonishing the student with, “Not eyes, but features,” as she turned to record it on the chart. She turned back toward the students and

challenged them with, “Now tell me something different!” Students were abuzz across the classroom, their hands animated in conversation. But no hands rose up to offer a response to Patricia’s challenge. A few moments later, a student finally raised his hand and offered tentatively, “Feathers?” “Okay,” Patricia responded as she entered it on the chart. After another long pause, she directed the students, “Now find three different things. Talk with the person next to you.”

Students began talking amongst themselves as Patricia spoke briefly with a student who had returned early from his teaming session in another classroom. Returning to the English Learners, she asked, “So, what did you come up with?” Without waiting to be called upon, many students offered their responses. Patricia did not stop them. Instead, she stood at the board and evaluated each response she entertained by either rejecting or recording it on the chart. She dismissed the response, “They have short hair!” as something the same, not different. Still, she recorded “short hair” on the left side of the chart. She then accepted and recorded “She has flowers!” as “flowers” on the right side of the chart. An interesting exchange occurred over the next student response, especially given the low English proficiency levels of these students. The student ventured, “One’s a boy and one’s a girl.” Patricia recorded “boy/girl” on the board, but many students objected, arguing that they were man and woman, not boy and girl. This level of understanding of the difference between these terms is not something that would typically be expected of students at a CELDT level one or two, yet the students who argued were not among the level three students in the class, all of whom I knew by name. Smiling, she erased her earlier entry and wrote “man/woman” on the board. Another student offered,

"He has stars!" which Patricia recorded as "stars." Students continued to respond. "One has four pictures, the other has one," which she recorded as "4 pictures/1 picture." She had to correct the last response, "They're artists!" reminding the student, "That's the same," as she recorded "artists" in the left column on the board.

With less than five minutes remaining in ELD time, Patricia announced, "Okay, we're done!" As she turned to walk toward the back of the classroom, she asked several girls from her class to collect the ELD textbooks as the others gathered their belongings to return to their regular classrooms. She approached the group of English-only students and asked, "What did you get done today?" They mumbled about doing some work or writing, but they neither offered nor were they required to show what they had accomplished, as Patricia's regular students had already begun to pour back into the classroom from their teaming sessions. As all the remaining students from the ELD teaming group finally left, a look of relief seemed to spread across Patricia's face as she gathered her materials for the social studies lesson she would close the day with.

Throughout my participant-observations in the classrooms at Terra Bella and Del Sol, I observed many ELD lessons like this lesson (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 7/16/03, 7/24/03, 9/26/03, 10/7/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03, 12/2/03). In my analysis of the data, I found that teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented the policy regarding ELD within the sociopolitical context of their classroom, school, and the local community. The impact to the English Learners was that throughout this lesson, and in other lessons I observed, teachers' interpretation,

adaptation, and implementation of ELD were very similar. Perhaps the greatest impact for the English Learners was that there was very little language development occurring.

Teachers' Interpretation, Adaptation, and Implementation of ELD Policy

Teachers do not blindly accept policy but, rather, give shape to policy as they interpret, adapt, and even transform reforms as they put them into place (Cohen, 1990; Cuban, 1993; Fullan, 2001; Page, 1999; Saranson, 1996; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). The meaning teachers make of teaching within the sociopolitical context of their classroom, school, and the local community affects decisions they make about how they teach the students in their own classrooms (Coburn, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 1990; Datnow, Hubbard, & Mehan, 2002; Jennings, 1996; Kennedy, 2004; Kliebard, 2002; Saranson, 1996; Zeichner & Hoeft, 1996), including English Learners. Moreover, their teacher identity also affects the decisions they make regarding how they teach, as highlighted in Chapter 5. As a result, teachers interpret new policy actions, such as those regarding teaching English Learners, that affect them in their pedagogical practice (Coburn, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 1990; Datnow et al., 2002; Jennings, 1996; Kennedy, 2004; Kliebard, 2002; Saranson, 1996; Zeichner & Hoeft, 1996) using what they already know about teaching, in general, and teaching English Learners, in particular. Once interpreted, teachers then adapt the policy to match their understanding of teaching in the context of their own classroom and the school where they teach, as well as the community within which the school is situated (Coburn, 2001; Cohen, 1990; Darling-Hammond, 1990; Datnow et al., 2002; Kliebard, 2002; Saranson, 1996). Finally, teachers implement the

policy, which they have interpreted and adapted, in their classroom (Cohen, 1990; Datnow et al., 2002; Gándara et al., 2000; Kliebard, 2002; Saranson, 1996).

In my study, I found that teachers, including Patricia, interpreted the policy regarding teaching ELD similarly in that they perceived ELD instruction as curriculum-driven, not standards-driven. They also interpreted ELD as simply teaching English Learners in English. Moreover, they interpreted teaching ELD as an issue of equity versus equality between their English Learner and English-only students, with the teachers viewing ELD as not treating all their students equally instead of viewing as ELD as a means to give English Learners a more equitable opportunity to be able to compete equally with their native English-speaking peers by focusing on improving their proficiency in English. In addition, I found that teachers adapted ELD policy by limiting the content taught, reducing the rigor of their instruction, and, in many cases, teaching directly to the ELD test. Finally, I learned that teachers implemented ELD policy by using traditional teaching methods that included highly structured interaction and, as a result, limited students' language development opportunities, the intended purpose of ELD.

Interpretation

Teachers' interpretation of policy, which is linked to the sociopolitical context and their teacher identity (Kennedy, 2004), is the first step in reforms making it through the classroom door. Even though educational policies may seem straightforward in their intention and transmittal to the field, the way that teachers and administrators interpret

policy, and the meaning they make from it, is linked to the context in which the policy applies (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Datnow et al., 2002). Kliebard (2002) argues that teachers' "…pedagogical practice is highly contextual, making the success of every reform contingent on the extent to which it can be interpreted and adapted in the light of particular conditions [i.e. contexts]" (p. 137). The role that these contexts play in teachers' interpretation of policy is highlighted in the argument made by Darling-Hammond (1990).

> Of course, interpreting the new through the lens of the familiar is, as cognitive science now tells us, how all of us construct meaning from the information we process using our existing schema. There is no reason why teachers should behave any differently. (p. 342)

Although the initial impact on the education of English Learners had eased since the passage of Proposition 227 five years earlier, the sociopolitical context of Clarksville still embraced many of the main tenets of the proposition, which affected how the teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented the policy in their own classrooms.

Even with the seemingly straight-forward message and language of Proposition 227, the "English for the Children" initiative (Children, 1998), districts', schools', and teachers' interpretation of its policy mandates varied (Gándara et al., 2000; Stritikus, 2001; Stritikus & García, 2000; Varghese & Stritikus, 2005). Consistent with Darling-Hammond (1990) and Fullan (2001), Coburn (2001) asserts that,

> "…teachers in different formal and informal communities can make different sense of the same thing. Individual teachers' worldviews and preexisting

practices, and groups' shared understandings shape how teachers construct understandings, select some messages in and others out, and negotiate the technical and practical details necessary to translate abstract messages into concrete action. (p. 162)

For instance, Proposition 227 stated that English Learners should be "taught overwhelmingly in English" (Children, 1998, p. 1). Some districts interpreted that to be 51% of the time, while others determined it to mean 100% of the time (Gándara et al., 2000). Yet other districts interpreted it to mean 61% of the time, including Clarksville, as Unz himself stated that he proposition won by an "overwhelming majority" of 61% of the vote (Crawford, 1997).

As I considered the ways in which the teachers in my study interpreted educational policy regarding teaching ELD, I was struck by the similarities in their interpretation. But perhaps most significant among the similarities was their perception that ELD was curriculum-driven and that ELD was something they taught all day long. The enduring dilemma of equity versus equality in education also appeared to influence their interpretation of ELD, as they struggled to address the needs of all their students during ELD time.

ELD as Curriculum-Driven. My study was conducted six years into the standards-based reform movement in California, with the English Language Arts (ELA) standards and mathematics standards having been adopted in 1997. The ELD standards and framework followed in 1999, as did the subsequent publication of the ELA (Education, 1999c) and mathematics (Education, 1999b) frameworks. The frameworks

outlined how the respective standards were to be taught and how the curriculum was to serve as a tool to teach the standards. However, the teachers in my study did not appear to have interpreted ELD instruction as standards-driven. Instead, the ELD curriculum appeared to drive their instruction, as I did not observe the teachers citing or directly addressing the California ELD standards during their lesson preparation or delivery (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 7/16/03, 7/24/03, 9/26/03, 10/7/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03, 12/2/03).

I was puzzled by the teachers' interpretation, especially given the press in California and the Clarksville School District to move to standards-based instruction. Therefore, I conducted a detailed analysis of the *High Point* (Schfini et al., 2002b) curriculum, which was used in third through sixth grade. What I learned was that, even though the program was approved by the California Department of Education (CDE) for adoption in districts after being determined to be aligned with the ELD standards, the curriculum did not cite ELD standards in the teacher's edition (field notes from document analysis, 12/2/03).

In addition, the pacing guide written by a district-commissioned group of teachers for the High Point curriculum[65] did not make any reference to ELD standards being addressed in any of the lessons (field notes from document analysis, 12/2/03). Wondering if the pacing guide had replaced the standards as the impetus for instructional design and deliver, I next inquired of the teachers if and how the pacing guide may have influenced

[65] I was not able to locate or confirm the existence of a pacing guide for the primary grade Into English ! ELD program.

their selection of the lessons to teach. Rachel and her colleagues shared that, although they had hoped that it would help them identify the most critical lessons to teach, they were disappointed in the pacing guide because, "It tells us to teach lesson 1 from unit 1 the first week, lesson 2, the second week, and so on. And we had to pay someone to write this???[66] It's worthless!" (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03). Therefore, the teachers did not have an explicit link between the ELD standards and the curriculum in the curriculum or in the pacing guide, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

I then asked the teachers about the ELD standards, and what role the standards may have played in their selection of the ELD lessons they taught. Their typical response was to dismiss the standards, stating that they did not use them to guide their instruction (field notes from informal interviews, 7/29/03, 10/7/03, 11/14/03). Rachel summed up her opinion of the ELD standards one morning during a meeting with several of her colleagues, arguing, "They're [the ELD standards] so ambiguous, they're useless!" as her colleagues nodded their heads in agreement (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03).

Given the teachers' view of the ELD standards and the lack of direct connection to them in the teacher's edition of their curriculum and the district pacing guide, their interpretation of ELD as curriculum-driven was more understandable. The teachers may have assumed that, by teaching the adopted curriculum, they would, by default, be teaching the ELD standards, given its approval by the CDE. However, what I also learned was that teachers did not teach every lesson in every unit (field notes from classroom

[66] The committee of district teachers was paid extra duty pay to write the ELD pacing guide.

observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 7/16/03, 7/24/03, 9/26/03, 10/7/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03, 12/2/03). As a result, there potentially were many ELD standards that were not being taught.

ELD as Teaching in English. The belief that students learn English by being taught in English was the premise for Proposition 227 (Children, 1998). In the Education Code that was adopted by the CDE after its passage, section 300 (e) and (f) reflect this belief. It reads,

> (e) Whereas, young immigrant children can easily acquire full fluency in a new language, such as English, if they are heavily exposed to that language in the classroom at an early age. (f) Therefore, it is resolved that: all children in California public schools shall be taught English as rapidly and effectively as possible. (Education, 1998b)

This belief was also present in the sociopolitical context at Terra Bella and Del Sol. For instance, Patricia at Terra Bella, who was an English Learner herself, was taught in Spanish in Mexico before coming to the United States (transcript from formal interview, 11/20/03). She shared her view one afternoon on the dual focus of English Learner education: that the students learn English and academic content at the same time. She reflected on the challenges she observed among her students who were transitioning to all-English instruction in their third grade year (she was their third grade teacher the previous year) and were now in her fourth grade classroom.

> I think that when the child is very literate in the first language, the second language is not that big of an issue. But when they're not literate in their own

> language, it is hard *[emphatically]*. It is very hard for them because they just don't get it, because they're being taught something that they don't know [enough English to understand]. So I think maybe that's why in the school system sometimes it doesn't work because [the students are] not just focusing on one language until they master that language and [then] get introduced to the next language. They're like not even done mastering [the] one [their first] language. (transcript from formal interview, 11/20/03)

Because her students were not achieving full literacy in Spanish before transitioning to all-English instruction, Patricia felt that the three years of Spanish instruction prior to third grade was actually a disservice to her English Learners. She felt that they should be taught only in English from kindergarten on to help them be more successful in school (transcript from formal interview, 11/20/03), which aligns with the beliefs espoused in Proposition 227.

However, Unz's (1997) assertion that all English Learners in California would acquire high levels of English and thus be able to be reclassified as fluent English proficient (RFEP)[67] within one year failed to materialize (Gándara et al., 2000). Therefore, teachers continued to be faced with the challenge of making their instruction in English more comprehensible for their English Learners. Paula, reflecting her attempts to make her instruction understandable, asserted, "It's like I teach ELD all day long!" (field notes from informal interview, 10/29/03). Rachel and her colleagues also echoed this sentiment in their conversation about how they felt they had to focus on teaching

[67] Reclassification criteria were discussed in Chapter 3.

vocabulary all day long, which they equated to teaching ELD, to help their English Learners understand their instruction across the content areas (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03). Felicia saw a direct connection between her non-ELD instructional time and her students' development of higher levels of English proficiency. She provided resources in English alongside the materials that her students accessed in Spanish. Moreover, she alternated their writing assignments between English and Spanish. "For me, it's language development all day long!" (field notes from informal interview, 7/15/03).

Although the teachers perceived that they were teaching ELD all day long, by definition, they were not. ELD is defined by the CDE as, first and foremost, instruction that focuses on learning and acquiring English and mastering ELD standards. Its secondary goal is to acquire content skills and knowledge. In contrast, the primary goal of Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE), the manner in which teachers are to differentiate instruction to make the content taught in English more comprehensible for their students, is acquiring content skills and knowledge and mastering content standards. The secondary goal of SDAIE is to promote academic language development (Education, 2010).

However, the clarity of this definition of ELD versus SDAIE did not emerge until 2010. Prior to that, there was great confusion in the field (Education, 2010). To better understand the teachers' perspective, I reviewed the texts that they each read during their teacher preparation programs in years prior to see how ELD and SDAIE were defined (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). What I found was that there was

ambiguity regarding the distinction between the two. In the section on ELD from the text that the teachers read,[68] it states,

> In a language classroom, the focus of teacher and students is on language development. In a content classroom, teacher and students are concerned with the subject being studied. In ELD classrooms, teachers and students focus on both language and content. Through modifications in their own talk, conscious attention to clarification, appropriate questioning strategies, and an understanding of when and where to deal with grammar and treat errors, teachers can provide a rich learning environment that promotes both language and content knowledge. (Díaz-Rico & Weed, 1995, p. 72)

In contrast, SDAIE is defined in the text as encompassing "four goals: that students learn English, learn content, practice higher level thinking skills, and advance their literacy skills" (Díaz-Rico & Weed, 1995, p. 115). Thus, the teachers' understanding that they were teaching ELD all day long by teaching in English was more understandable. Most importantly, the text never distinguishes the role of the standards in teaching ELD and teaching different content areas, as it was written prior to the adoption of ELD and content area standards in California.

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[68] All four teachers in my study earned their CLAD or BCLAD credentials at the same university between 1994 and 2001. Although they finished their programs in different years, the main elements of the credential program remained constant during that time. This was due, in part, to the program's accreditation granted by the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing. I also taught in the credential program at the university from 2000 to 2003. Colleagues who had taught in the program verified that the second language acquisition/ELD portion of the program as well as the materials used in the courses remained the same from 1994 to the time of my study.

Although the teachers were not teaching ELD all day long based on the CDE definitions, their perception that they were may have been influenced by their study in their teacher preparation program. The fact that classrooms were called "ELD classrooms" (Díaz-Rico & Weed, 1995, p. 72) might also have supported teachers' beliefs that they were teaching ELD all day long, especially those in self-contained classrooms at the elementary level. Moreover, teachers' understanding of what teaching ELD encompassed, which they derived from their teacher preparation program, may have influenced their decisions regarding what to teach during ELD, including whether or not it was important to teach ELD at all.

ELD as an Issue of Equity versus Equality. Teaching ELD in classrooms that included both English Learners and English-only students pitted the needs of English Learners against the needs of the English-only students, raising issues of equity and equality among the teachers and parents (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/16/03, 7/24/03, 9/26/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03). Teachers were required by the Clarksville School District to teach ELD to their English Learners for 30 minutes each day, as highlighted in Chapter 4. This meant that the teachers had to find independent activities for their English-only students to do while they were teaching ELD to their English Learners.

Those who considered this an issue of equity might argue that ELD is necessary for English Learners to acquire higher levels of proficiency in English, as measured primarily by the CELDT, and to be able to comprehend more of their instruction in English. In turn, students should be able to attain higher levels of academic achievement

on the California Standards Test (CST), a goal for all students under No Child Left Behind (NCLB), as discussed in Chapter 4.

Those who considered this an issue of equality might argue that teaching ELD to English Learners was unfair because doing so excluded the English-only students in the classroom. Rachel's English-only students complained that it was unfair that the English Learners were able to do an art project to display a poem that they had written during ELD, so she allowed the English-only students to write a poem and do the art project, as well (field notes from classroom observation, 11/12/03). Her English-only students also complained that they did not think it was fair that they had to do extra work while the English Learners were being taught ELD. Rachel assured them, "Don't feel bad, the others [English Learners] will have to do it, too, so it's not like you have to do something extra" (field notes from classroom observation, 7/24/12). Parents also raised concerns regarding equality for their English-only students. In Paula's classroom, she had the English-only students do silent reading while the English Learners were receiving their ELD instruction from another sixth grade teacher during teaming time. As seen in Chapter 4, a parent, whose son was in the school band, lodged a complaint, asserting that teaching ELD during teaming time was unfair to her son because it meant that he had to miss science instruction several days a week because the band met during the time allotted for science. The parent argued that the sixth grade teachers should move ELD to the band time slot and move science to the ELD time slot. That way, her son would not miss out on science instruction to participate in band. Even though Paula explained that

doing so would effectively exclude all English Learners from the band, the parent was not dissuaded (field notes from informal interview, 10/8/03).

In sum, upper grade teachers' interpretation of ELD policy within the sociopolitical context of their local community, school sites, and classrooms cast ELD as curriculum-driven, something that they did all day long, and pitting equity versus equality in regards to the students' learning experiences. With no direct reference to the ELD standards in the adopted curriculum, teachers allowed the curriculum to drive their instruction. They also believed that any time they taught English Learners in English they were providing ELD instruction, which meant that they provided, in their own estimation, ELD all day, every day. This belief was supported by the challenge they faced in providing equitable access to the content in English and equal treatment for all the students in their classrooms as ELD pitted the needs of English Learners against those of English-only students.

The teachers' interpretation of ELD policy was similar to that of Mrs. Oublier's (Cohen, 1990) interpretation of the policy regarding the new approach to teaching mathematics. Although she believed her practice to be transformed and fully embracing the policy, Cohen (1990) found very little evidence of this transformation. Instead, her transformed teaching was not unlike the way she had always taught mathematics in the past. For the teachers in my study, they interpreted the policy regarding teaching ELD as not requiring them to do anything different except to teach from the ELD curriculum for 30 minutes a day, which they often cancelled when they were not team teaching, as described in Chapter 5. They did made a strong connection, however, between teaching

ELD and teaching English Learners in English as one in the same endeavor. Therefore, the transformation that the ELD policy may have intended to occur in classrooms regarding the explicit teaching of the English language did not make it past the classroom door, as teachers believed that they were teaching ELD all day long, which was one way to justify them not teaching ELD explicitly while at the same time diffusing the tension between equity and equality that arose as a result of teaching ELD each day in their classrooms that included both English Learners and English-only students. Notwithstanding, the accountability that accompanied ELD, including the trimester assessments and reporting the results to their principals and district, made not teaching ELD less of a viable option for them.

Adaptation

Researchers have puzzled over the failure of educational reforms and policies to make it through the classroom door (Coburn, 2001; Cohen, 1990; Cuban, 1993; Darling-Hammond, 1990; Datnow et al., 2002; Fullan, 2001; Jennings, 1996; Kennedy, 2004; Kliebard, 2002; Tyack & Cuban, 1995; van den Berg, 2002). Instead of being adopted, reforms are often adapted by teachers for use in their classrooms. Teachers' interpretation of the reform is a contributing factor in their decisions regarding adapting rather than adopting educational reform. Kennedy (2004) argues that "…teachers' interpretations of classroom situations, and the beliefs and values that contribute to those interpretations, could account for the long-recognized failure to adopt reform ideals" (p. 27). However, teachers' interpretation is not the only factor that influences their adaptation of

educational reform. Tyack and Cuban (1995) assert that teachers often hybridize educational reforms, adapting them to suit the sociopolitical context within which they teach. Kliebard (2002) highlighted the role of the context in teacher decisions regarding adapting educational reforms. He asserts that "pedagogical practice is highly contextual, making the success of every reform contingent on the extent to which it can be interpreted and adapted in the light of particular conditions" (p. 137). Darling-Hammond (1990) noted that these conditions are not static and are causal in how a policy is adapted, arguing that "local ideas and circumstances always vary (therefore local agencies must *adapt* policies rather than *adopting* them)" (p. 341). Thus, Fullan (2001) asserts, teachers make a connection between the sociopolitical context of where they teach and "develop meaning in relation to the new ideas, programs, and reforms, and the meaning they develop is an adaptation of the reform, not a straight adoption" (p. 92). Moreover, Tyack and Cuban (1995) argue, because "reforms do not replace existing classroom practice but instead add complexity…reforms add new demands of time and effort on teachers who are already heavily burdened" (p. 83). The responsibilities that teachers are charged with in their classrooms and daily practice continue to increase (Easthope & Easthope, 2000), and often contribute to their decisions to adapt reforms rather than adopt them (Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

Although I was aware that Patricia might adapt instead of adopt the ELD policy and curriculum as well as the instructional methods she learned in her credential program (Cohen, 1990; Page, 1999; Tyack & Cuban, 1995), I did not expect her to teach the lesson as she did. Moreover, the other teachers also adapted the ELD policy, curriculum,

and lessons they taught similar to the way Patricia did by teaching less of the ELD program curriculum, teaching to the test, and reducing the rigor of the curriculum as they presented it.

Teaching Less. The upper grade teachers felt that the High Point curriculum (Schfini et al., 2002b) was too difficult for their English Learners. During my study, the teachers learned that the curriculum was written for older students, which I highlighted in Chapter 6. Teachers commented frequently about High Point's level of difficulty. Paula summarized her feelings one afternoon.

> I would like the ELD program to change because…it's way too hard for them [her English Learners]. If the district could get a program that's actually more in tune for what they need, that would be best, but then again, we have what we have *(chuckling).* We deal with what we have. (transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03)

Therefore, the teachers adapted the curriculum by only teaching the reading and writing portions of the lessons, as these two domains were the only ones tested on the High Point trimester assessment, which will be discussed in the following section. Moreover, the teachers selected what they deemed to be the less-demanding reading and writing portions of the lessons to present to their students. Furthermore, when they taught the lessons, they often reduced the level of difficulty even further through the scaffolding they used during the lesson presentation (field notes from classroom observations, 7/16/03, 7/24/03, 9/26/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03), as was highlighted above in Patricia's

lesson. Thus, the difficulty of the ELD curriculum may have influenced their decisions to teach less of the curriculum.

The upper grade teachers also faced time constraints which, in turn, influenced the decisions they made regarding the amount of the ELD curriculum they taught. Schfini et al. (2002b) included more content in each unit in the High Point curriculum than could typically be taught during the 30 minutes of ELD instruction each day. Thus, the teachers and students were impacted by the amount of curriculum to teach and learn, respectively. This made teaching less of the curriculum more understandable. However, the amount of the curriculum that the teachers did decide to teach also had an effect on the students. Patricia reflected on the cumulative effect that the High Point ELD and language arts curriculum had on the students:

> The way that High Point works is that it's a lesson a week, a different set of vocabulary words a week, plus they [the English Learners] have their regular language arts [curriculum with] about 25 words plus the 10 or 12 from ELD, I mean, that's overwhelming to the kids! (transcript from formal interview, 11/20/03)

Wanting to better understand the decisions that Patricia made regarding which portions of the High Point curriculum she chose to teach in her lesson, I analyzed the various components provided in the program (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). I found that each High Point unit contained a unit introduction lesson, two separate themes with 12 to 16 different lessons each, along with a writing section that typically included 3 to 5 lessons. In addition, there was a review lesson at the end of each

unit. In the unit that Patricia drew her lesson from, Unit 1: “A Very Unique You,” there were a total of 36 lessons. These lessons included the introduction to the unit lesson, 14 lessons in Theme 1: “Discover Yourself,” 16 lessons in Theme 2: “Many Kinds of Smart,” 4 lessons on writing poetry, “Writing that Describes,” and the one review lesson at the conclusion of the unit (field notes from document analysis, 12/10/03).

From the first day of school, there were 44 days of instruction until beginning of Trimester 1 assessments, including the ELD assessment on Unit 1 (field notes from document analysis, 12/10/03). However, Patricia and her colleagues did not begin ELD instruction until the second week of school, leaving 39 days of instruction. Moreover, they each taught it in their own classrooms until they decided to include ELD in their teaming time the third week of school. During the second week of school, Patricia reported canceling ELD three times (field notes from informal interview, 7/21/03). Therefore, she had 36 days of instruction to teach the 36 lessons in the unit. What Patricia and her colleagues found was that teaching each lesson in the High Point curriculum took more than the 30 minutes of time allotted to ELD, especially for those students who were at CELDT levels 1 and 2, as were the majority of the students Patricia had in her ELD teaming group. Moreover, the 30 minutes allotted for ELD typically ended up being 20 minutes because it would take the first 5 minutes for students to enter the classroom and find seating in their appointed area: English Learners in the front of the classroom, English-only students in the back, often on the floor. Then the teacher would orient the English-only students to the independent work that they would be doing during ELD time and get them started. The teacher would then return to the front of the classroom to begin

the ELD lesson with the English Learners. Finally, it would take an additional 5 minutes to close the lesson, collect the books and materials, and dismiss the students. Therefore, the teachers were not able to teach one full High Point lesson each day. In fact, the pacing guide called for them to teach only one lesson a week (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03), which meant that they would only teach a maximum of nine lessons per trimester (if they taught ELD every day from the beginning to end of the trimester). The impact of this plan was that the students were assessed on content from all 36 lessons even though they had only had 9 of the lessons taught to them, which made Patricia's apparent decision to teach to the test more understandable.

Teaching to the Test. By virtue of the fact that the ELD trimester assessments were taken directly from the ELD curriculum adopted by the Clarksville School District, it appeared that the district expected that teachers would use the curriculum to teach ELD to their English Learners. Students would benefit from teachers' presentation of the curriculum that explicitly focused on teaching the English language by attaining higher levels of proficiency in English and thus be able to score higher each trimester on the ELD assessments, which were based on the ELD curriculum they were to be studying each trimester. However, it appeared that the upper grade teachers used what they knew about their students and the ELD assessment to select the portions of the ELD curriculum to teach their students.

Unlike at the primary grades, there was a pacing guide for the upper grade High Point ELD curriculum. Initially, I thought that the pacing guide would influence the decisions the upper grade teachers made regarding which lessons to teach and thus their

adaptation of the curriculum. However, Rachel shared her thoughts on the pacing guide during an early morning meeting with several of her colleagues. Although they all had hoped that the pacing guide would help them identify the most critical lessons to focus on to make teaching the curriculum more doable for them, and to best prepare the students for the assessments from the curriculum that they were required to administer each trimester, the teachers were disappointed in the pacing guide, as highlighted above (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03). As a result, none of the teachers I spoke with reported using the pacing guide when making decisions as to what to teach during ELD.

My analysis of the High Point curriculum, described above, helped me better understand how it made sense for the teachers to disregard the district ELD pacing guide. Not only were there 36 lessons in the unit but each lesson also had several different components that covered reading, writing, listening, and speaking (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). With only 30 minutes a day to teach ELD, teachers were left to decide for themselves which lesson, or part thereof, to teach and when to teach it. Therefore, the High Point assessment that the district required the students to take at the end of the trimester seemed to have a greater influence on teachers' decisions regarding what to teach during ELD. As highlighted in Chapter 6, the teachers were concerned about the content of the assessment. Rachel commented on the scope of the assessment one morning. "What's it testing? Grammar and spelling like the mini-lessons [in the curriculum]! It's all vocabulary in isolation! But where's the [assessment of] oral language development?" (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03). Thus, although the curriculum had activities that focused on listening and speaking in each unit (field

notes from document analysis, 12/10/03), I did not observe any of these activities being taught during my study (field notes from classroom observations, 7/16/03, 7/24/03, 9/26/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03). Instead, teachers focused their teaching primarily on reading and writing.

However, it was not merely the focus on reading and writing that seemed to influence teachers in selecting the lessons to teach during ELD. The afternoon after Patricia taught the ELD lesson highlighted earlier, she shared with me was that the district-mandated trimester assessments in mathematics, language arts, and ELD would begin the following week. She was visibly upset that it was going to take a full week of extended ELD time (45 minutes a day[instead of the usual 30], for a total of 225 minutes, or 3¾ hours) to administer the test (transcript from formal interview, 9/26/03). Other teachers also reported that they extended their ELD time for students to complete the test, which was described in Chapter 6. Curious, I inquired as to why it would take so long. Her response was an immediate and sharp, "It's 14 pages long!" I was momentarily taken aback, as the English Language Arts test that fourth graders took each trimester was only 7 to 8 pages long, as discussed in Chapter 6. Patricia continued, her voice rising with each word. "The [ELD] test's so hard!" (transcript from formal interview, 9/26/03). The intensity of her response made me question if Patricia was the only one who had strong feelings about the test. As the week went on and the appointed dated for administering the test grew nearer, I learned other teachers shared her sentiments, as well. Paula pulled me aside several days later after she learned that the High Point curriculum was written for students at the middle school level. She was incensed after reviewing the test,

arguing, “Even my GATE students would have a hard time passing it!” (transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03). Rachel also objected to the rigor of the test, arguing that, “The test is hard; it’s totally unfair! It’s harder than the ELA [English Language Arts] test they take each trimester!” (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03). As the teachers shared their views on the ELD test, I wondered how it made sense that English Learners be required to take such a long and rigorous test. As I continued to listen, I learned that the length and rigor of the test were not the only issues that may have influenced how teachers adapted the curriculum and their instruction. They also questioned the test’s purpose and rationale for giving it.

Test purpose.

Patricia argued that the reason for teaching ELD every day should be to help students improve their proficiency in English, and that an ELD test should serve to measure the students’ improvement in English and provide teachers feedback on their instructional effectiveness toward that end (transcript from formal interview, 9/26/03). However, the district only reported the scores that the students earned in the form of the percent of correct responses students provided on the test, not the proficiency level of each student, which will be discussed at length below. Nevertheless, the Clarksville School District directed teachers to heavily weigh each student’s test score in determining his or her ELD grade. Patricia and her colleagues felt this policy was unfair, since all English Learners had to take the same High Point unit test[69] (transcript from formal

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[69] The High Point program levels used by grade level were: third graders were to be taught the High Point Basics Level; fourth graders; Level A; fifth graders, Level B; and sixth graders, Level C.

interview, 11/19/03). This meant that CELDT level 1 and 2 students, such as the ten at level 1, fourteen at level 2, and three at level 3 in Patricia's class, took the same test as those at level 5, which the teachers felt set the level 1 and 2 students up to fail, as they received correspondingly lower scores on the High Point test and would continue doing so until such time as they were able to attain a higher level of proficiency in English.

When considered in this manner, it didn't seem fair, the teachers reasoned. Moreover, they felt that English Learners were being held to higher expectations than English-only students (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03; transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03). From their perspective, because academic standards for any given subject matter are based on what students are expected to master during one academic school year, the grade that a student receives in a particular subject should be based on what all students at that grade level are expected to learn and master within that year. The ELD standards, however, are not grade-level specific (Education, 1999a); instead, they are grouped by grade spans.[70] Moreover, students are expected to master the ELD standards for the next proficiency level up each year, as their CELDT level reflects the level of standards that they have already demonstrated mastery of on a previous administration of the CELDT. For instance, a student at a CELDT level 3, or Intermediate level, has already demonstrated mastery of the Intermediate ELD standards. For this student, the goal for mastery by the end of the year should be the level 4 ELD standards, the Early Advanced level. However, the High Point test did not differentiate expectations by proficiency level. Instead, all English Learners, regardless of their

[70] ELD standards cover Kindergarten through second grade, third through fifth grade, sixth through eighth grade, and ninth through twelfth grade.

proficiency level, were held to the same expectations for mastery for grading purposes in Clarksville.

English Learners, then, seemed to be in a double bind. Students who were learning a second language as they were learning subject matter in the new language would understandably face a greater challenge in mastering the academic content standards until they were able to achieve a high level of fluency in the new language. But if they were progressing in their language acquisition at the normative rate and were able to demonstrate mastery of the ELD standards for the next CELDT level up, it seemed to the teachers that they should then be able to receive a grade reflecting their normative progress and higher level of mastery. For instance, English Learners at a CELDT level 2 should be able to earn an "A" in ELD if they master the ELD standards for level 3, the next level up, and not have to reach a level 5 in order to earn an "A." Such was not the case in Clarksville, and the upper grade teachers did not support the use of the ELD trimester test to determine the students' ELD grades, which ultimately seemed to influence their decision to adapt the curriculum and their instruction thereof.

Test rationale.

Beyond the fairness in grading issue, teachers did not understand the rationale for giving the test. The upper grade teachers expressed concern regarding the reason why they were giving the High Point test. Although they could determine students' raw scores on the test, they were not able to determine if the scores represented an improvement in the students' English proficiency (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03; transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03, 11/20/03). Patricia argued that, "If the test doesn't tell

me if the students are increasing their proficiency in English, then why give the test?" (transcript from formal interview, 11/20/03). Rachel and Paula concurred, adding, "It's pointless!" (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03; transcript from formal interview, 11/19/03). I then inquired as to whether or not the district had provided a chart with the High Point test score ranges and corresponding CELDT levels, but neither Rachel nor her colleagues had received one (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03). Moreover, the teachers were required to submit the students' test to the district for official scoring but the score reports they received from the district in return did not show a CELDT level-equivalent score. Alternately, teachers could not just compare the students' scores from one trimester to the next because the test changed, making such a comparison impossible.

I could not imagine that there was not a way to determine if they students had improved in their English proficiency or not, so I called English Learner Services at the Clarksville School District office and spoke with an English Learner Instructional Specialist (field notes from phone conversation, 12/4/03). She insisted that there indeed was a correlation between High Point tests and the CELDT, but confirmed that the district did not have a chart to support her claim.

The fact that the district did not have a correlation chart did not surprise the teachers. Rachel and her colleagues argued that even if there was a chart, the results of the two tests could not possibly be correlated since the CELDT assessed all four language domains: (a) listening, (b) speaking, (c) reading, and (d) writing, while the High Point test only assessed two, reading and writing (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03).

Rachel and Olivia Collins, another 5th grade teacher at Del Sol, noting the discrepancy in the test, asked, “Where’s the oral language development?” Instead, “It’s spelling and grammar like the mini-lessons in the text!” Ramona Contreras, another 5th grade colleague, added her thoughts on the test content, “Yeah, vocabulary…it’s all vocabulary in isolation” (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03). Again, the upper grade teachers did not see the ELD trimester test as a viable manner in which to receive valuable information regarding their English Learners’ progress in attaining higher levels of proficiency in English. This, along with the teacher’s concern over the test purpose and other factors discussed above, converged and seemingly influenced their decision to adapt the curriculum and their instruction. Undeterred by the district’s inability to explicitly connect the ELD assessment and the CELDT, I continued my analysis of the High Point ELD assessment, searching for a link to the CELDT.

Determining a link to the CELDT.

The upper grade teachers had raised some important issues regarding the High Point test. However, I wanted to see if I could determine if there was a link between the High Point test and the students’ CELDT levels. I first reviewed the CDE publication, *The CELDT Blueprint* (2006a), which identified the ELD standards assessed on the CELDT. As I analyzed the different categories and proficiency levels of the 26 standards cited, I realized that there were several errors on the Blueprint.[71] Once I corrected these errors on my copy, I sought to identify which of the remaining 24 ELD standards were

[71] Two of the standards were correctly listed in the “Fluency and Vocabulary Development” category and incorrectly repeated in the “Word Analysis” category. Additionally, the proficiency level of one of the incorrectly categorized standards was listed as applying to those at an “Early Advanced” level of proficiency when it was also listed as an “Early Intermediate” and “Intermediate” level standard in the original CDE ELD Standards document.

identified as being assessed on the High Point test Patricia was to administer. I located a copy of the *Level A High Point Assessment Handbook* (Schfini, Short, & Villamil Tinajero, 2002a), which the Clarksville School District used as a source for the fourth grade trimester ELD exams, and scanned through it. I did not find a list of the standards that each test assessed (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). Thinking that perhaps they were listed elsewhere, I reviewed the Teacher's Edition and other ancillary materials, as well. I was not able to find any references to the ELD standards in any of the High Point curriculum, which surprised me (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03).

I knew that the CDE's process for approving curriculum for adoption by school districts included verifying its alignment with California content standards (Education, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c). In the case of the High Point curriculum, the publishers would have had to demonstrate the program's alignment with the California ELD standards to garner CDE approval, as discussed earlier. However, I could not find any evidence of this alignment in the teacher's edition (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). The only other place that I could think of where I might find this information was the publisher's website. I navigated the Hampton-Brown website and finally found a correlation chart ("Level A: Lesson-by-lesson correlation to California ELD content standards,") that included the ELD standards assessed on the High Point test that Patricia would be administering. Four of the standards assessed in the test were among the 24 assessed on the CELDT. Even though I was able to establish a link, albeit minimal, between the ELD standards on the High Point test and the CELDT, there still was no hint of how the scores

on the test were correlated to the CELDT. I continued investigating, but even after exploring multiple avenues over several weeks, including many hours analyzing and comparing documents and standards (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03, 12/4/03, 12/5/03), I still was not able to find a correlation between the High Point test scores and CELDT levels.

The upper grade teachers, then, were most concerned about the rigor of the High Point test. They also felt the test was of no practical value as it was not linked to the CELDT and could not be used to determine if students had improved in their English proficiency. Even though I understood the teachers' perspective on the High Point test, I still was not sure why Patricia chose to teach the ELD lesson as she did. It did not appear that she was just teaching random parts of the curriculum. Instead, it appeared more purposeful, yet the purpose was not yet clear to me. Therefore, I searched the teacher's edition and ancillary materials to see if there were any directives that may have been guiding her in designing the lesson (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03, 12/4/03). Not finding any, I turned to the test Patricia was to administer to see if there was a link between it and the choices she made in teaching the lesson (field notes from document analysis, 12/4/03). What I found was that Patricia was not only reviewing for the upcoming test, she was also teaching portions of the test directly.

Linking the lesson to the test.

On the High Point test, there were 38 multiple-choice questions, along with three short-answer questions and a writing prompt that required a short essay (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03; see Appendix D). Of the multiple-choice questions, fifteen

assessed the students' vocabulary knowledge. Patricia included five of the vocabulary words in her lesson: (1) "accept," (2) "decide," (3) "express," (4) "features," and (5) "portrait." The first three were cognates,[72] which would assist the students in understanding the meaning of the words. Patricia also included two of three multiple-choice questions that assessed the students' categorization skills and vocabulary knowledge. The test asked students to select a title for a category of words or add a word to a given category, similar to what Patricia had done in the lesson. In fact, she used the exact words from the test for the "body" category in her lesson, but used different ones for the "brain" category. One of the three short-answer questions required students to contrast elements in a short reading selection, akin to the activity in which Patricia had the students compare and contrast the self-portraits of George Littlechild and Nancy Hom. In all, the students directly reviewed 7 of the 38 multiple choice items and 1 of 3 short-answer questions on the test during this lesson (field notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03; field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03).

After learning more about the upper grade teachers' perspective on and examining the High Point test, I began to understand why Patricia chose the particular sections for the lesson. She had a copy of the test in advance, which allowed her to preview the specific items on the test (field notes from informal interview, 9/26/03). The research literature tells us that when teachers believe that the content of a test is not valid, they frequently teach the items directly off the test (Popham, 2001; Smith, 1991). Patricia, like

[72] Cognates are words from different languages that are spelled similarly and have the same meaning. For example, the Spanish cognate for the English word, *association*, is *asociación*. The two words are spelled similarly and mean the same thing in both languages.

her colleagues, did not believe the High Point test was a valid measure of students' overall level of English proficiency. They believed that an ELD program and any assessment to measure student progress in ELD should address all four language domains, as did the CELDT, not just reading and writing like the High Point test (field notes from informal interview, 9/26/03). Moreover, there was no direct link to the ELD standards in the High Point curriculum or to the CELDT levels (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03, 12/4/03, 12/5/03). However, teachers felt that ignoring the test was not a viable option given the accountability attached to it by the Clarksville School District (field notes from informal interviews, 7/29/03, 9/26/03). Instead, Patricia taught items directly from the test the week prior to its administration. Her lesson, which originally was incoherent to me, now seemed to have a purpose: to review for the test. However, her lesson did not match the level of rigor on the test, which made her decision to adapt the curriculum and her instruction even more interesting.

Reducing the Rigor. The upper grade teachers seemed to be influenced by the level of difficulty of the ELD curriculum and test in that they reduced the rigor of the sections of the High Point curriculum that they taught (field notes from classroom observations, 7/24/03, 9/26/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03). For instance, in Patricia's lesson highlighted above, instead of asking the students to read and respond in writing to the questions in the review lesson, she read the questions to them and asked them to respond orally, often accepting one-word answers (field notes and transcription from classroom observation, 9/26/03). Moreover, not every student participated in the lesson, as many sat, silent, throughout the entire lesson. Although they were present to hear the lesson,

there was no evidence that they understood the lesson or were cognitively engaged in the lesson and thus able to derive any benefit from the review (field notes and transcription from classroom observation, 9/26/03).

Upon further analysis, moreover, the manner in which Patricia conducted the review seemed incongruous with the expectations for student performance on the test (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). Given that the High Point tests assessed the students' reading and writing skills, why then did she reduce the rigor and focus only on listening and speaking? For instance, the students did not have to read the lists of words and the sentence completion activity she put on the whiteboard. Instead, Patricia read everything out loud, mitigating the need for them to use their reading skills to understand the questions. Moreover, the students did not pick up a pencil during the lesson (field notes and transcription from classroom observation, 9/26/03). It would have perhaps been a more appropriate, rigorous review to require students to read the lists and sentences to themselves and independently make their choices for the category titles or the most suitable word choice.

However, when I considered that ten of the English Learners in the class were at CELDT level 1, fourteen were at level 2, and three were at level 3, Patricia's decision to conduct the lesson orally made more sense to me. The first language domain that students begin to develop in a second language is listening, which is followed closely by their ability to speak the second language. As their proficiency grows, so does their ability to read, followed by the development of their competence in writing (see Appendix A). The majority of students in Patricia's group were not yet able to read or write independently

in English, which may have influenced her decision to reduce the rigor of the review by not including reading and writing in the lesson. Given the high level of language used and required in the High Point lesson as outlined in the teachers' edition (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03), her choice to focus on listening and speaking was more understandable.

Although I felt I now better understood why Patricia taught to the test by choosing the sections that she did and why she reduced the rigor of the review by focusing on listening and speaking in presenting the lesson, I began to wonder if my hypothesis that her sole objective was to review for the test was tenable. Although Patricia reviewed or directly taught many of the items on the test, it did not seem likely that the students would be more capable of reading the test prompts and questions and responding to them appropriately in writing as a result of her lesson (field notes and transcription from classroom observation, 9/26/03). Moreover, several of the components from the review were not directly linked to the test and were not rigorous at all for the students, including the categorization of colors and fruit, which all the students responded to resoundingly (field notes and transcription from classroom observation, 9/26/03). (I continue my analysis of Patricia's lesson in the next section.)

In conclusion, I found that the teachers adapted the ELD curriculum and their instruction within the sociopolitical context that they taught (Kliebard, 2002). As Tyack and Cuban (1995) argue, reforms, such as the CLAD and BCLAD credential and the additional responsibility of teaching ELD, add to the increasing complexity of what goes on in a typical classroom (Easthope & Easthope, 2000). The upper grade teachers

appeared to adapt their ELD curriculum and instruction based on the ELD programs and assessments they were using. Thus, as Fullan (2001) asserts, the teachers made a connection between the sociopolitical context of where they taught and continued to develop their own meaning regarding the district's ELD policy and program, including how to adapt the curriculum and their instruction to meet the assessment accountability requirements of the Clarksville School District.

Implementation

Teaching ELD was considered significantly different from teaching other content areas so much so that it required a special certification in California, including a CLAD or a BCLAD credential. The main tenets of ELD instruction include providing students with multiple, context-embedded opportunities to use and develop the English language, both with the teacher and with their peers (Díaz-Rico & Weed, 1995), which the teachers in my study were taught in the program where they all earned their CLAD or BCLAD credential.[65] However, this reform, requiring regular education teachers also to be responsible for teaching ELD, was also subject to the teachers' interpretation and adaptation, which would perhaps be most evident in how they implemented ELD in their own classrooms. Moreover, the influence of the teachers' past experience as teachers (Calderhead, 1996; Shulman, 1987) and learners (Cuban, 1993; Lortie, 2002) may have also influenced how they implemented ELD. Therefore, after Patricia's lesson was over, I considered it in light of what I now understood about how the teachers had interpreted and adapted ELD and the other ELD lessons I observed during the course of my study

(field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 7/22/03, 7/24/03, 7/29/03, 8/14/03, 9/23/03, 9/26/03, 10/7/03, 10/14/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03, 12/2/03). As required, the teachers used portions of the district-adopted ELD curriculum. They all taught large groups of English Learners, and many, like Patricia, had to manage a group of English-only students while they were teaching ELD study (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 7/22/03, 7/24/03, 7/29/03, 8/14/03, 9/23/03, 9/26/03, 10/7/03, 10/14/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03, 12/2/03). The upper grade teachers all used direct instruction in presenting their lessons, and as a result, there were limited interaction and limited language development opportunities. Therefore, after each lesson, especially Patricia's that I have re-presented above, I came away with the impression that teaching ELD at the upper grades was not very different from teaching other subject matter.

Limited Interaction. In the lesson, Patricia employed an initiation, response, and evaluation (IRE; Mehan, 1979) interaction pattern (see Table 10). IRE is perhaps the most prevalent interaction structure in U.S. schools (Cuban, 1993; Lortie, 2002; Mehan, 1979; Metz, 1978), and therefore, Patricia's use of an IRE structure in her ELD lesson did not surprise me. In an IRE, the teacher engages students by requesting through questions or other means some sort of information. The teacher then selects a student to respond and follows up by evaluating the student's response, a move that can include ignoring the response (Mehan, 1979). The teacher controls the talk and the interaction in the lesson. For instance, Patricia initiated interaction when she prompted the students for a category title for the words "eyes," "nose," "lips," and "mouth." A student responded with, "Face!" to which Patricia offered her evaluation, "No, not quite!" (transcript and field

notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03; see Table 10). In another exchange, she initiated the interaction by writing "I can draw each <u>portrait/feature</u> like my nose and eyes." on the whiteboard. She had previously directed the students to respond by indicating which one of the two underlined words they thought was the correct choice. A student offered "Portrait!" which Patricia evaluated by issuing a corrective, stating, "Remember, a portrait is a whole picture. Here it's only talking about your nose and eyes" (transcript and field notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03; see Table 10). A final example of Patricia affirming a student's response to additional words that would fit in the category occurred when she was listing various words and asking the students to provide the title for the category into which the list of words would fit. She reminded the students, "Remember, these are from the words we've been studying!" and then proceeded to write "memory," "learn," and "think" on the white board, reading each of the words out loud. A student responded, "Brain!" which Patricia affirmed by nodding her head as she recorded "brain" on the board (transcript and field notes from classroom observation, 9/26/03; see Table 10).

Table 10

IRE Chart of Patricia's ELD Lesson

Initiation	Reply/Response	Evaluation
P writes *categories* on board, then *eyes*, *nose*, *lips*, and *mouth,* reads words out loud	---	
P: What category do these four words belong to?"		
P: Remember? …from the words we've been learning?	S: face!	P: No, not quite!
	S: body!	P: No!

Initiation	Reply/Response	Evaluation
	S: brain!	P: No! P writes *features* on board
P: Remember, these are from the words we've been studying!		
P writes *memory, learn,* and *think* on board, reads words out loud.	María: brain!	P nods head, writes *brain* on board
P writes *move, grows,* and *eats* on board, reads words out loud	S: body!	P writes *body* on board
P writes *apple* and *strawberry* on board	Ss (multiple): fruit!	P writes *fruit* on board
P: Now I am going to ask you and you're going to tell me what belongs to what category. P writes *colors* on board	S: purple! S: yellow! S: orange! S: red!	P writes *purple*, *yellow*, *orange*, and *red* on board
P: Give me a sentence that shows how we express ourselves. P writes *express* on board	S: I express when I	P records on board as student dictates: *I express when I* P: (cutting her off) Not quite! P erases sentence
P: How do people express themselves?	S: talking?	P writes *talking* on board P: …like an artist
	S: working?	P writes *working* on board
P: Turn in your books to page 46. We're going to do these together.		
P writes *I want to paint a feature/portrait of myself.* What's the correct word?	S: portrait!	P: portrait
P: *I can decide/accept to use pencils or paints.*	S: decide!	P: decide
P: *I can draw each portrait/feature like my nose and eyes.*	S: portrait!	P: Remember, a portrait is a whole picture. Here it's only talking about your nose and eyes.
	S: feature!	P: *no response*
		P: nods head
P: *A picture is a way to express/decide my ideas.*	Ss (chorus): express!	P: express
P: *I hope that my teacher will decide/accept my picture.*	Ss (chorus): accept!	P: accept
P: On page 50, there's a portrait of George Littlechild.	S: because they're different colors	P writes *colors* on board

Initiation	Reply/Response	Evaluation
Why are there four views?		
	S: he wants to sell them	P writes *wants to sell them* on board
	S: he's an Indian	P writes *Indian* on board
	S: because he's from Japan	P: No, he's Indian, not Japanese. P writes *He's in Japan* on board
	Ss: he's in a war	P: The hat he's wearing is a beret, and soldiers and artists both wear them. But he's an artist. P writes *artist's hat* on board
P: Look at the portrait on page 48. How is it the same as this one?	S: the colors?	P: Uh-huh P writes *colors* in "Same" column on chart on board
	S: their eyes?	P: not eyes, but features P writes *features* in "Same" column on board
P: Now tell me something different.	S: feathers?	P: Okay.
P: Now find three different things. Talk with the person next to you. *(pause)*		P: Okay, but that's not how they're different. That's the same.
P: So what did you come up with?	S: They have short hair	P writes *short hair* in "Same" column
	S: She has flowers	P writes *flowers* on board P writes *flowers* in "Different" column
	S: One's a boy and one's a girl	P writes *boy/girl* on board Ss correct her, insisting that they are man and woman P erases *boy/girl* and writes *man/woman* in "Different" column
	S: He has stars	P writes *stars* in "Different" column
	S: One has four pictures, the other has one	P writes *4 pictures/1 picture* in "Different" column on board
	S: They're artists	P: that's the same P writes *artists* in "Same" column

Patricia's choice to use an IRE structure in her lesson was not unusual, given its prevalence in U.S. schools, highlighted above. It also made sense in light of my hypothesis going into this next level of analysis that her purpose in the lesson was to review for the ELD test. However, the limited interchange between teacher and student in an IRE seemed counterintuitive to me as ELD is intended to provide students with multiple, context-embedded opportunities to use and develop language, both with the teacher and with each other. That the lesson's primary purpose may have been to review for the test and not that the students use the language they've acquired should not have precluded Patricia from providing language development opportunities in the lesson, as well.

Limited Language Development Opportunities. This issue led me to consider whether language development may have been a second objective in Patricia's lesson, one that I may have overlooked in my previous analysis of the test and its correlation to the content of the lesson as well as the interaction structure of the lesson. Therefore, I returned to my data to identify and examine any language development opportunities that Patricia may have provided students amidst her review for the test and the interaction with students in the IRE structure of the lesson. To identify language development opportunities, I considered using more current second language acquisition theories and methodologies in considering my data. However, I chose to focus on the theories that the teachers were taught in their CLAD and BCLAD credential programs[65] for my analysis, as they did not report pursuing further study in second language acquisition theory or methodology. Therefore, I drew upon Krashen's (1981a) Monitor Theory and Cummins'

(1981) Five Principles of Second Language Acquisition, which were discussed at length in Chapter 3, which formed the theoretical framework of the instructional methodology taught in CLAD and BCLAD credential programs (Díaz Rico & Weed, 1995), to identify elements of ELD methodology to consider in analyzing my data. These included (a) formal academic language learning through direct teaching of rules and corrective feedback; (b) the development of students' Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP; Cummins, 1981); and (c) establishing and maintaining a low affective filter (Krashen, 1981a) so that students feel free to take risks in responding orally in their new language.

Formal academic language learning.

I first considered whether formal academic language learning was occurring through direct teaching of rules, then examined the type of feedback English Learners received. In this lesson, Patricia did not teach grammar directly. In fact, in every other ELD lesson I observed during my study, none of the other teachers taught grammar directly (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 7/22/03, 7/24/03, 7/29/03, 8/14/03, 9/23/03, 9/26/03, 10/7/03, 10/14/03, 11/4/03, 11/12/03, 12/2/03). English is challenging to learn as a second language because it has many rules and even more exceptions to those rules. It did not make sense to me that the teachers would not teach at least one lesson (or a portion thereof) focusing on one or more of these rules (and their exceptions) during my participant-observation in their classrooms. Two possibilities occurred to me: perhaps there were no grammar lessons in the High Point curriculum for the teachers to draw from or these grammar rules were not being assessed directly on the

test. If there were no grammar lessons in the curriculum, it would make sense that teachers would not go beyond the curriculum to teach grammar, as they already struggle to get through the High Point curriculum in the 30 minutes a day of ELD instruction. Also, even if there were lessons available in the curriculum, if grammar rules were not being assessed on the test, it would make sense that, in prioritizing their daily ELD instruction, teachers would focus on the knowledge and skills that were being assessed. I decided to investigate each possibility.

I searched the High Point curriculum to see if there were lessons on grammar available in Unit 1, the unit that Patricia just finished teaching, I found three such lessons in the student text ("Present tense verbs; Adjectives"; "Learn about verbs"; "Present tense verbs"; document analysis, 12/3/03). There were also three lessons in the ancillary texts that came on overhead projector transparencies to display ("Learn about *am, is,* and *are*"; "Present tense verbs"; "Learn about adjectives"). Although the Clarksville School District did not purchase the transparency set for teachers to use, there was an image of each transparency in the teacher's edition which teachers could have recreated and used. There were also six mini-lessons available in the teacher's edition ("Present tense verbs" [twice; two different sets of verbs], "Nouns," "Articles," "Adjectives," "Proper adjectives"). Each teacher in my study, then, had access to the student text and the teacher's edition, bringing the total to 12 available lessons. With many grammar lessons to choose from, I realized that not having lessons available could no longer be considered one of the possible reasons why Patricia chose not to teach grammar in her lesson.

My examination then turned to the High Point test (see Appendix D) to determine if grammar rules were being assessed. My analysis revealed that 4 out of the 38 multiple-choice questions assessed grammar, specifically subject-verb agreement in present tense verbs, which aligned with several of the grammar lessons in the unit (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). The rubric for the writing prompt also cited the use of correct verb tenses as a scoring criterion. Overall, selecting and using the correct present tense of verbs counted for 16 of the 100 points possible on the test (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). Therefore, I had to eliminate the possibility that grammar rules were not assessed on the High Point test as a reason why Patricia chose not to teach grammar directly in her lesson.

Another possibility that I considered was that Patricia may have felt that her students did not need the type of grammar instruction or review that the High Point curriculum offered. However, her students' CELDT levels ranged from 1 to 3, which meant that they had not yet mastered English grammar rules (see Appendix A). The grammar lessons in the curriculum were especially well suited for students such as hers, as the present tense is what English Learners hear most often and need to master first.

Her students needed this type of instruction, yet she did not provide it in this lesson. Although formal academic language learning was not occurring through direct teaching of rules in the lessons I observed, Patricia did provide feedback for the students. I decided to analyze the type of feedback she offered to determine if it was corrective in nature, and to establish if there was any grammar teaching, direct or indirect, occurring in her feedback.

My analysis of the feedback during the lesson revealed provided three types of feedback: (a) affirmative, (b) corrective by negation, and (c) corrective with explanation. Patricia provided affirmative feedback verbally and nonverbally. Verbally, she affirmed the students' responses with, "Uh-huh" or "Okay." Most frequently, she repeated the student's response in affirmation. Nonverbally, Patricia nodded her head or simply recorded the student's answer on the board. She provided corrective feedback by negation by saying, "Not quite!" or "No," which informed the student that the response was incorrect, but did not tell the student why. She also cut one student off mid-sentence, apparently because it did not represent the correct meaning of the word in question. Patricia's corrective feedback included comments such as "…like an artist" to clarify a student's response. She also offered reminders about the meaning of the words that students offered, such as, "Remember, a portrait is a whole picture. Here it's only talking about your nose and eyes." In the compare and contrast exercise, Patricia responded to student offerings with explanations that assisted them in understanding why their answers were incorrect. For example, one student asserted that George Littlechild was "in the war." Patricia responded, "The hat he's wearing is a beret, and soldiers and artists wear them. But he's an artist" (transcript from classroom observation, 9/26/03). The corrective feedback that Patricia provided in this lesson focused on the content and not the form or grammar of the students' responses and thus did not provide direct or indirect grammar teaching. In short, formal academic language learning through direct teaching of rules and corrective feedback did not occur in Patricia's lesson. I then shifted my analysis to whether Patricia provided opportunities for the students to develop their academic

language, more specifically, their Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency, the second element of ELD methodology taught in the CLAD and BCLAD program.[65]

Developing students' Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP).

I knew the level of the language in the exercises taken directly from the High Point text and test, along with the other examples that Patricia used in the lesson, was more advanced than what would be expected of students at CELDT levels 1, 2, and 3 (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). Given Krashen's (1981a) Input Hypothesis,[73] in which he asserts that people acquire a second language informally through understanding language that is just beyond their current level of competence, I questioned whether the language used in Patricia's lesson was just beyond the students' level of competence. Moreover, I wanted to determine if the language used would be considered academic and thus contribute to the development of the students' CALP.

To ascertain the level of language used by Patricia and the students, I first listed all the words they spoke or wrote during the lesson (transcript from classroom observation, 9/26/03; see Tables 11 and 12). I then researched the grade-level difficulty of the words to determine if they were appropriate for fourth grade students. Ninety-two of the 163 words used by Patricia and 30 out of the 55 words used by the students in the lesson were accounted for either on (a) the Dolch Sight Word List ("Dolch Sight Word List," 2008), which includes the 220 most commonly used words in English; (b) Fry's 300 Instant Sight Words list ("Fry's 300 instant sight words," 2008), which includes the

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[73] Krashen's Hypotheses were described in detail in Chapter 3.

300 most frequently used words in English, or (c) the pre-primer through third grade word lists in the John's (2001) Basic Reading Inventory (see Tables 11 and 12).

Table 11

Grade-Level Difficulty of Words Used by Patricia in ELD Lesson

Words used by Patricia	Dolch Sight Word List[a]	Fry's 300 Instant Sight Words List[b]	John's Basic Reading Inventory[c]
A	PP[d]	First 100	---
About	3rd grade	First 100	PP
Accept*	---	---	---
Am	P[e]	Second 100	---
An	1st grade	First 100	---
And	PP	First 100	PP
Apple	---	---	PP
Are	P	First 100	P
Artist/Artists*	---	---	---
Artist's*	---	---	---
As	---	First 100	---
Ask	1st grade	Third 100	P
At	P	First 100	PP
Been	2nd grade	First 100	2nd grade
Belong/Belongs*	---	---	---
Beret*	---	---	---
Body*	---	---	---
Books	---	Second 100	PP
Both	2nd grade	Second 100	---
Boy	---	First 100	P
Brain*	---	---	---
But	P	First 100	P
Can	PP	First 100	PP
Category/Categories*	---	---	---
Colors	---	Second 100	---
Come	PP	First 100	P
Correct*	---	---	---
Decide*	---	---	---
Did	P	First 100	P
Different	---	---	2nd grade
Do	P	First 100	---
Draw	3rd grade	---	---
Each	---	Second 100	---
Eats	P	First 100	P

Words used by Patricia	Dolch Sight Word List[a]	Fry's 300 Instant Sight Words List[b]	John's Basic Reading Inventory[c]
Express*	---	---	---
Eyes*	---	---	---
Feature/Features*	---	---	---
Fifty*	---	---	---
Find	PP	Second 100	PP
Flowers*	---	---	---
Forty-eight*	---	---	---
Forty-six*	---	---	---
Four	P	Second 100	---
From	1st grade	First 100	P
Fruit*	---	---	---
George*	---	---	---
Girl	---	Second 100	PP
Give	1st grade	First 100	---
Going	1st grade	First 100	PP
Grows	3rd grade	Third 100	1st grade
Hair*	---	---	---
Hat	---	Third 100	---
Here	---	---	1st grade
He's*	---	---	---
Hope	---	Third 100	---
How	1st grade	First 100	1st grade
I	PP	First 100	---
Ideas*	---	---	---
In	PP	First 100	P
Indian*	---	---	---
Is	PP	First 100	P
It's	---	---	2nd grade
Japan/Japanese*	---	---	---
Learn/Learning*	---	---	---
Like	P	First 100	PP
Lips*	---	---	---
Littlechild*	---	---	---
Look	PP	Second 100	PP
Man	---	First 100	PP
Me	PP	First 100	PP
Memory*	---	---	---
Mouth*	---	---	---
Move*	---	---	---
My	PP	First 100	1st grade
Myself	3rd grade	Third 100	---
Next	---	Second 100	1st grade

Words used by Patricia	Dolch Sight Word List[a]	Fry's 300 Instant Sight Words List[b]	John's Basic Reading Inventory[c]
No	P	First 100	P
Nose*	---	---	---
Not	PP	First 100	PP
Now	P	Third 100	P
Of	1st grade	First 100	P
Okay*	---	---	---
On	P	First 100	P
One	PP	First 100	PP
Only	3rd grade	Second 100	
Or	2nd grade	First 100	1st grade
Orange*	---	---	---
Ourselves*	---	---	---
Page*	---	---	---
Paint/Paints*	---	---	---
Pencils*	---	---	---
People	---	Second 100	---
Person*	---	---	---
Picture/Pictures	---	---	P
Portrait*	---	---	---
Purple*	---	---	---
Quite*	---	---	---
Red	PP	Second 100	P
Remember*	---	---	---
Same	---	Third 100	---
Sell*	---	---	---
Sentence*	---	---	---
Short*	---	---	---
Shows	3rd grade	Third 100	P
So	P	First 100	---
Soldiers*	---	---	---
Something*	---	---	---
Strawberry*	---	---	---
Studying*	---	---	---
Talk/Talking*	---	---	---
Teacher	---	---	2nd grade
Tell	2nd grade	Second 100	---
That	P	First 100	PP
That's*	---	---	---
The	PP	First 100	PP
Them	1st grade	First 100	---
Themselves*	---	---	---
There	P	First 100	---

Words used by Patricia	Dolch Sight Word List[a]	Fry's 300 Instant Sight Words List[b]	John's Basic Reading Inventory[c]
There's*	---	---	---
These	2nd grade	Second 100	---
They're*	---	---	---
Things	---	Second 100	1st grade
Think	1st grade	Second 100	---
This	P	First 100	P
Three	PP	First 100	---
To	PP	First 100	PP
Together	3rd grade	---	---
Turn	---	---	2nd grade
Up	PP	First 100	PP
Use	2nd grade	Second 100	---
Views*	---	---	---
Want/Wants	P	Second 100	---
Way	---	Second 100	---
We	PP	First 100	PP
Wear/Wearing*	---	---	---
We're*	---	---	---
We've*	---	---	---
What	P	First 100	P
What's*	---	---	---
When	1st grade	First 100	---
Whole*	---	---	---
Why	2nd grade	Second 100	---
Will	P	First 100	P
With	P	First 100	1st grade
Woman	---	Third 100	---
Word/Words	---	---	P
Working	2nd grade	First 100	1st grade
Yellow	PP	---	---
You	PP	First 100	PP
Your	2nd grade	First 100	P
You're*	---	---	---

[a] Downloaded from http://gemini.es.brevard.k12.fl.us/sheppard/reading/dolch.html on 6.20.08
[b] Downloaded from http://www.usu.edu/teachall/text/reading/Frylist.pdf on 6.25.08
[c] Johns, J.L. (2001). *Basic reading inventory: Pre-primer through grade twelve and early literacy assessments.* (8th ed.) Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing.
[d] Pre-Primer level (lowest level; approximately early Kindergarten)
[e] Primer level (one level above Pre-Primer; approximately late Kindergarten)

Table 12

Grade-Level Difficulty of Words Used by Students in ELD Lesson

Words used by Students	Dolch Sight Word List[a]	Fry's 300 Instant Sight Words List[b]	John's Basic Reading Inventory[c]
A	PP[d]	First 100	---
Accept*	---	---	---
An	1st grade	First 100	---
And	PP	First 100	PP
Artists*	---	---	---
Because	2nd grade	Second 100	2nd grade
Body*	---	---	---
Boy	---	First 100	P
Brain*	---	---	---
Colors	---	Second 100	---
Decide*	---	---	---
Different	---	---	2nd grade
Express*	---	---	---
Eyes*	---	---	---
Face	---	Third 100	2nd grade
Feathers*	---	---	---
Feature*	---	---	---
Four	P[e]	Second 100	---
From	1st grade	First 100	P
Fruit*	---	---	---
Girl	---	Second 100	PP
Hair*	---	---	---
Has	P	First 100	1st grade
Have	---	First 100	P
He	P	First 100	PP
He's*	---	---	---
I	PP	First 100	---
In	PP	First 100	P
Indian*	---	---	---
Japan/Japanese*	---	---	---
One	PP	First 100	PP
One's*	---	---	---
Orange*	---	---	---
Other	---	First 100	---
Pictures	---	---	P
Portrait*	---	---	---
Purple*	---	---	---
Red	PP	Second 100	P

Words used by Students	Dolch Sight Word List[a]	Fry's 300 Instant Sight Words List[b]	John's Basic Reading Inventory[c]
Sell*	---	---	---
She	P	First 100	P
Short*	---	---	---
Stars*	---	---	---
Talking*	---	---	---
The	PP	First 100	PP
Their	2nd grade	First 100	---
Them	1st grade	First 100	---
They	P	First 100	P
They're*	---	---	---
To	PP	First 100	PP
Wants	P	Second 100	---
War*	---	---	---
When	1st grade	First 100	---
Working	2nd grade	First 100	1st grade
Yellow	PP	---	---

[a] Downloaded from http://gemini.es.brevard.k12.fl.us/sheppard/reading/dolch.html on 6.20.08
[b] Downloaded from http://www.usu.edu/teachall/text/reading/Frylist.pdf on 6.25.08
[c] Johns, J.L. (2001). *Basic reading inventory: Pre-primer through grade twelve and early literacy assessments.* (8th ed.) Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing.
[d] Pre-Primer level (lowest level; approximately early Kindergarten)
[e] Primer level (one level above Pre-Primer; approximately late Kindergarten)

The level of competence in English --varied among the English Learners in Patricia's ELD teaming group. The students at CELDT level 1 had minimal comprehension in English and were capable of limited responses, such as (a) nodding to acknowledge answers to questions, (b) pointing to objects or print, (c) categorizing objects and pictures, (d) drawing cartoons and pictures, (e) moving to demonstrate their understanding, and (f) matching words or objects. Students at CELDT level 2 had limited comprehension, and were able to respond using one or two words. Their responses included (a) listing and categorizing words, (b) using routine expressions independently, and (c) repeating memorable language. Finally, students at CELDT level 3 had good comprehension in English and were cable of responding in simple sentences with errors.

They were capable of (a) describing events, places, and people; (b) recalling facts; (c) explaining academic concepts; (d) defining new vocabulary; (e) retelling information from text; (f) summarizing; and (g) comparing and contrasting (see Appendix A).

Another challenge I faced in my analysis was that I could not find any resources to assist me in determining if the remaining words not found on the word lists described above were academic language or not. I decided to first find a definition of academic language to give me a frame of reference in my analysis. In my review of the literature, I found that the definition of academic language, or Academic English, is contested. Cummins' (1981) original conceptualization of CALP as context-reduced and cognitively demanding has been criticized as not specific enough (Scarcella, 2003; Valdés, 2004). Scarcella (2003) argues that Academic English as "a variety or a register of English used in professional books and characterized by specific linguistic features associated with academic disciplines" (p. 9). Valdés (2004) asserts that Academic English is not a universal variety or register of English with a unified set of standards for all the disciplines. Instead, she contends that it is discipline-specific, and thus there are multiple varieties of Academic English, each with its own set of standards.

With Academic English a slippery concept, I examined words in the lesson to see if they were, at the very least, discipline-specific (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). Several words from the lesson are used in life science, including (a) body, (b) brain, (c) eyes, (d) hair, (e) lips, (f) mouth, and (g) nose. Other words are used in the study of art: (a) artist, (b) draw, (c) paint, (d) picture, (e) portrait, (f) views, and (g) features. However, many of these words, although discipline-specific, seemed rather

basic and below a fourth grade reading level. The exceptions were (a) body, (b) brain, (c) portrait, (d) views, and (e) features. With no way to determine the grade-level difficulty of the remaining words, and given that none of them pertained specifically to any discipline, I could only conclude that they were not particularly "Academic English."

In Patricia's lesson, the students did have an opportunity to acquire language informally by having language just beyond their level of competence used. However, the students did not have the opportunity to advance in their mastery of more academic or discipline-based language in her lesson.

Establishing and Maintaining a Low Affective Filter. I also analyzed whether Patricia provided a risk-free environment, and thus a low affective filter, for her students, the last element of ELD methodology taught in the CLAD and BCLAD program.[65]

The onus is on the teacher to establish and maintain a social environment in the classroom in which English Learners feel safe to take the personal risks necessary to learn and respond in a second language (Díaz-Rico & Weed, 1995). Establishing this type of environment requires the development of mutual respect and trust between the teacher and the students. Once established, the safe social environment is easier to maintain when the teacher and the students are together consistently over time.

Patricia struggled to establish a safe social environment in her classroom. At Terra Bella, there was ongoing tension between the English-only students from the local neighborhood and the English Learners who were bused in from across town. Neighborhood parents were open and often vocal about not wanting the English Learners at the school, as highlighted in Chapters 4 and 5. This sentiment carried over into the

classroom as students openly made remarks about English Learners' accents, imperfect English, and responses during instruction and presentations (field notes from classroom observations, 7/21/03, 7/24/03, 7/30/03, 9/26/03, 10/6/03, 10/17/03, 11/4/03, 11/14/03). Patricia, an English Learner herself, was not exempt from their critiques. Students also made derogatory comments about her occasional mispronunciations during instruction, uttered only loud enough for those around them to hear and to cause a disruption, as discussed in Chapter 5. With the de-tracking at Terra Bella, neighborhood parents questioned whether Patricia, who previously taught only English Learners on C track, was qualified to teach their children. They also had concerns as this was her first year teaching fourth grade, also highlighted in Chapters 4 and 5. All of these factors contributed to the struggle Patricia faced in developing mutual trust and respect with and among all the students in her classroom.

The challenge Patricia faced in establishing a safe social environment in her classroom was compounded by the teaming that the fourth grade teachers agreed to. Out of the four hours and 10 minutes each day of planned instruction time that the fourth grade teachers had set up, teaming took up two and one-half hours, including passing periods (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). Patricia taught two 45-minute sessions of mathematics and a 30-minute session of ELD. She only spent two hours and 10 minutes instructing her just own students, one hour 15 minutes in the morning and 55 minutes in the afternoon. With the interaction with her students broken up, along with the other issues that were present in the classroom, Patricia was not able to establish such an environment.

Although Patricia attempted to extend her efforts to establish a safe social environment in her classroom into each teaming session, there were several factors that made it even more challenging than with her regular class. First, she did not know each student's name in all her teaming groups, as the groups were comprised of students from all four classrooms, as was discussed in Chapter 6. This problem was made even more challenging because the students in the groups changed often. The mathematics and language arts groups were based on student achievement levels on district-mandated assessments. As students improved on these assessments, they typically were moved to a higher ability group. As a result, teaming group lists were often outdated within one or two weeks of being issued, which brought new students into the teaming groups (field notes from classroom observation and document analysis, 11/14/03). Second, Patricia found it difficult to establish mutual trust and respect among the students in the teaming group. This was due, in part, to the issues between neighborhood students and English Learners that were prevalent in other classrooms, discussed in Chapter 4, as well as the limited amount of time allotted for each teaming session, which was highlighted in Chapter 6. As a result, the social environment in Patricia's classroom during each teaming session was not "safe," especially during ELD.

In conclusion, the English Learners were not able to advance their language proficiency during Patricia's ELD lesson as she did not provide formal academic language learning through direct teaching of rules with corrective feedback. Moreover, she did not provide an opportunity for them to advance in their academic English.

Finally, the environment in Patricia's classroom constrained opportunities for the English Learners to take the risks necessary in the lesson to increase their proficiency in English.

Different Program, Similar Challenges

The English Learners in Felicia Rodríguez's second grade classroom enjoyed the poems, songs, and chants in Hampton-Brown's *Into English!* ELD program. Reciting, singing, or chanting along with the audiotapes and large, colorful posters that accompanied the program were regular features in the 15 to 20 minutes of ELD instruction each afternoon. Even with a different program, Felicia still faced many similar challenges as her upper grade counterparts, including how they interpreted, adapted, and implemented ELD. Notwithstanding, the lack of rigor in the Into English! program and the ELD assessment that had the greatest influence on how Felicia taught ELD.

Interpretation. Felicia, much like Patricia, interpreted ELD to be curriculum-driven and just teaching the students in English. Similar to the High Point curriculum at the upper grades, the Into English! program also did not have any direct connection to the ELD standards (field notes from document analysis, 12/3/03). Felicia, like Patricia, also believed that, by virtue of her teaching the students for the majority of the day in English that she was providing ELD "all day long!" (field notes from informal interview, 10/7/03). For example, she had her students alternate languages in their writing assignments to help them improve in English, and provided all writing support materials available in both English and Spanish, as highlighted in Chapter 6. With all her students English Learners, Felicia did not have the dueling priorities in her class that pit the needs

of the English Learners against English-only students during ELD time (field notes from classroom observation, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 10/7/03, 10/14/03, 12/2/03) like Patricia did. Given that her interpretation was very similar to that of Patricia and her colleagues, it was not surprising that her adaptation of ELD paralleled theirs, as well, except that it was for the opposite reason: a lack of rigor.

Adaptation. In Felicia's estimation, the lack of rigor in the reading and writing sections in the ELD curriculum, as well as the assessments that accompanied the program, were problematic for her. "They're so easy, my kids are beyond that already. I need to challenge them if they're going to improve!" (field notes from informal interview, 10/7/03). She believed that the use of the Into English! curriculum alone would not improve the students' proficiency in English or raise their CELDT scores, much like Patricia and her colleagues, which were the primary goals she had set for her students as she was responsible for preparing them to transition to all-English instruction in third grade. Therefore, Felicia augmented the English reading portion of the Into English! curriculum, adding multiple titles of more advanced texts in English to the books that students could read during ELD. She also felt that her students needed to be challenged at a higher level in their reading in English, so she designed additional reading opportunities for them outside of her ELD instruction (field notes from informal interview, 7/22/03). For example, she enhanced the reading material each student used for silent reading each day. Felicia had the students sit in groups in her classroom, and on each of the group tables, there were two tubs of reading books, one that contained Spanish books, the other, English (field notes from classroom observation, 7/8/03). She would direct the students to

either the English or the Spanish books at various times throughout the day. In the afternoon, she would typically give them free choice as to which books to read (field notes from classroom observation, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 10/7/03, 10/14/03, 12/2/03).

Felicia also did not use any of the writing components from the Into English! curriculum, instead choosing to use the writing activities that the students did as a part of their language arts, social studies, and science instruction. For instance, she had them alternate the language they used for their writing prompts across these content areas. If they wrote a report for social studies in Spanish, then the next report would be done in English (field notes from classroom observation, 12/2/03). Even though the students were still receiving their language arts instruction in Spanish, Felicia had them alternate the language they used in their written literary responses, as well (field notes from classroom observation, 12/2/03). She felt this was important as they would be moving into English language arts in third grade and would be expected to be able to write well in English. Since Felicia was addressing their writing and reading in English outside of ELD, it did not surprise me that the only things she addressed during ELD time was their speaking in English, repeating the chants and songs from the Into English! curriculum (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 10/7/03, 12/2/03).

Although there were grammar lessons and language skills activities in the Into English! curriculum, Felicia chose not to use them due to her concern over their lack of rigor. Consequently, she also did not give students corrective feedback within the context of ELD instruction, similar to Patricia. Instead, she substituted social studies and science reading and writing activities for those in the Into English! curriculum, as described

above. Similar to Patricia's upper grade ELD instruction, there was no formal academic language learning through direct teaching of rules or corrective feedback for the students during ELD instruction in Felicia's classroom (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 10/7/03, 12/2/03).

Felicia more fully embraced the oral language development lessons and activities in the Into English! curriculum (field notes from classroom observations, 7/8/03, 7/15/03, 10/7/03, 12/2/03). Her students preferred to speak Spanish in the classroom during the day and she felt that the ELD curriculum offered appropriate lessons and activities, such as the poems, songs, and chants, to assist her students in improving their oral English fluency. However, the ability of the Into English! curriculum to support the development of students' CALP, or academic language (Cummins, 1981), is drawn into question when the substance of the language development program is found in text put to rhyme or music. The focus of Into English! was more on fluency and correct pronunciation, not learning academic language.

Felicia's belief that the Into English! curriculum was not rigorous enough was reinforced by the assessments that accompanied the program and that were used each trimester to assess the students' progress in ELD (field notes from document analysis, 12/2/03; see Appendix E).[74] She was able to preview the assessment which helped her in selecting the lessons to teach, much like Patricia. Three of the four sections on the assessment focused on oral language skills. Felicia shared that she made sure to teach the poems, songs, or chants that were going to be assessed. The last section focused on

[74] The Into English! program levels used by grade level were: first grade: Level B; second grade: Level C; third grade: Level D; fourth grade: Level E; fifth grade: Level F; and sixth grade: Level G.

writing in a journal. Felicia did not use any of the Into English! writing lessons to assess her students because she felt they would not reflect the students' true writing abilities in English. Instead, she substituted student writing from her language arts program for the trimester assessment. Felicia evaluated and selected the lessons that she believed would assist her students in improving their proficiency in English, their scores on the CELDT, and the ELD trimester assessments. Therefore the lack of rigor in the Into English! program and the ELD assessment influenced Felicia's adaptation of how to teach ELD.

Implementation. Felicia had several advantages over her upper grade counterparts in implementing ELD. First, she was able to establish and maintain a low affective filter (Krashen) in her classroom of all English Learners so that they felt free to take risks in responding in English. Another advantage she had was that the Into English! program assessment rendered a raw score that the district was able to correlate to CELDT proficiency levels. However, with the CELDT measuring all four language domains (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), and Into English! only measuring speaking and writing, Felicia felt that she could not use the Into English! scores to measure improvement in students' proficiency in English. To support her reasoning, she cited the fact that even though the students showed improvement on the Into English! assessment, it did not translate into gains on their scores on the more rigorous CELDT, which further validated Felicia's assertion that the assessment was not rigorous enough (field notes from informal interview, 10/7/03).

Conclusion

Patricia and Felicia interpreted ELD very similarly, viewing it as curriculum-driven and perhaps most significantly, something they did whenever they were teaching their English Learners in English. For Patricia, the presence of English-only students in her classroom, ELD was an issue of equity versus equality, with English Learners and English-only students alike vying for her attention during ELD lessons.

Both teachers adapted their ELD curriculum and instruction in similar ways, as well. They taught less than the recommended amount of their ELD program: Patricia, because it was too rigorous for her students; Felicia, because it lacked rigor. Both taught to the test, with Patricia teaching the exact questions off the test. Felicia taught only those portions of the ELD curriculum that were being directly assessed. They both adapted the curriculum and their instruction in this way because they did not believe that the test was a valid measure of their students' English proficiency. With no link to the CELDT, both teachers questioned the rational for administering the tests. Patricia responded by reducing the rigor of her ELD instruction to present it more at the linguistic level of her students. Felicia enhanced her ELD instruction to support her students toward higher levels of English proficiency.

In both classrooms, the teachers' implementation of ELD was similar in that there was limited interaction during ELD. Patricia used an IRE pattern in her lesson, which limited student interaction, while the chants and songs that the students chanted limited their interaction in Felicia's ELD lessons. There was no formal academic language learning in either teacher's ELD lessons, and the students were thus challenged to discern

those rules and patterns in English on their own to move to higher levels of proficiency. Establishing and maintaining a low affective filter seemed out of the range of possibilities in Patricia's classroom during ELD instruction with the large and diverse teaming group she taught, but seemed to be something that Felicia was able to establish in her classroom, which was comprised exclusively of English Learners.

Although ELD was taught more consistently when teachers teamed together to teach it, there was surprisingly little, if any, language development occurring in the lessons I observed, even in Felicia's, with the songs and chants that the students repeated along with the audiotape. The teachers admitted only teaching the ELD curriculum, deemed too rigorous by upper grade teachers and not rigorous enough by primary teachers, to comply with administrative mandates and assessment accountability measures. The curriculum treated English Learners as a homogeneous group and provided little substantive support to differentiate based on student English proficiency level. Even with grammar lessons available in the ELD curriculum, teachers did not teach grammar directly or offer corrective feedback on the students' grammar usage. The vocabulary of the ELD curriculum, which did not align with what the research tells us academic language is (Scarcella, 2003; Valdés, 2004), became the de facto corpus of academic language that students were to learn. The CELDT, with its integral link to schools' Annual Yearly Progress (AYP) and Academic Performance Index (API)[75] scores, became the ultimate measure for the ELD programs. If the program could not demonstrate how its curriculum and assessments were correlated with the CELDT, then

[75] AYP and API were discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

its value was brought into question by the teachers. Teachers adapted to the mandated teaching of and assessment by the adopted ELD curriculum by picking and choosing lesson parts that were being assessed.

As I considered how it was sensible that the teachers taught ELD as they did within the sociopolitical context of their classrooms and school sites, I remembered Rachel's and her colleagues' comments to me regarding their opinion of the value of ELD instruction. "We teach ELD all day long!" They considered content area instruction in English the same as formal language development instruction for English Learners, thus diminishing the importance of dedicating themselves to teaching any ELD program consistently or with fidelity. With no direct link between the ELD programs and the CELDT, the door was left open for teachers to adapt their conceptualization of ELD to what they did every day in class, teaching English Learners in English.

With regard to Patricia's lesson, in particular, given the sociopolitical context at Terra Bella, this focus on instruction in English as meeting the language development needs of English Learners made sense, as it in effect drew less attention to Patricia's identity as a teacher of English Learners. Put another way, by teaching ELD in a traditional structured manner, similar to how she taught other content areas to all her students, Patricia presented herself as a teacher of all students, a status enhancer at her school.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

In this study, I have endeavored to learn what teaching English Learners meant to teachers to better understand why they taught English Leaners as they did. I situated my inquiry in the social and political context of the Clarksville School District, a large, socially and ethnically diverse district in southern California, five years after the passage of Proposition 227, the *English for the Children* initiative (1998). The proposition's passage signaled a shift in the social and political context in the education of English Learners in California, marking the first time that an educational program for students was decided by the voting populace in the state. Moreover, the proposition changed, in many cases radically, who teachers taught and how they were to teach the English Learners in their classrooms. It was in the midst of this social and political context that I sought to learn what teaching English Learners meant to teachers in Clarksville. The growing population of English Learners in Clarksville made their presence in its schools and classrooms a significant issue regarding compliance with the mandates of the proposition as well as their academic achievement, or lack thereof, in the assessment accountability system under No Child Left Behind ("No Child Left Behind Act of 2001," 2001).

Guided by my research questions and using a sociocultural lens, I focused my inquiry on four teachers in the district, two each from Terra Bella Elementary and Del Sol Elementary, to learn what teaching English Learners meant to them. What I learned was that teachers faced many challenges when teaching English Learners, especially with

regard to teaching English Language Development (ELD). These challenges, in turn, contributed to the meaning they made of teaching English Learners. Moreover, within the social and political context of each school, being considered a teacher of English Learners by both their colleagues and the neighborhood parents meant that the teachers had their pedagogical competence questioned and were often deemed incapable of meeting parents' expectation for the educational experience they expected the school to provide their children. This situation contributed to and was intertwined with their teacher identity and their sense of their social status at the school.

Below, I summarize the findings from my study specific to each research question posed in Chapter 1. I then discuss the study's implications for research and for the field of English Learner education.

What effect, if any, does teaching English Learners have on teachers' professional identity, including their sense of their social status within the social system of the school? How does their teacher identity and social status contribute to the meaning that they make of teaching English Learners? How is this meaning connected to both the classroom and school as well as to the wider sociopolitical context?

The effect of teaching English Learners on teachers' professional identity and their sense of their social status was easier to identify at Terra Bella, a school situated in a middle-class neighborhood that was transitioning to a single-track, modified traditional school schedule. Social status was important both in the neighborhood and at the school. Therefore, parents and teachers alike jockeyed to maintain or gain higher status in the

social system at the school that was emerging through the transition. Moreover, there was great social class diversity among the students at Terra Bella, with nearly 40% being bused in from a working-class neighborhood across town. Paula Ahern, who was considered a teacher of all students, that is, not a teacher of English Learners, by her colleagues and the neighborhood parents did not have her pedagogical competence questioned by either group. In addition, the neighborhood parents deemed her capable of providing their children the excellent educational experience they expected from the school. She did not appear to experience any impact to her teacher identity or social status because she taught English Learners. However, Patricia Lopez's experience was very different from Paula's. She was considered to be a teacher of English Learners by her colleagues and neighborhood parents, and her pedagogical competence was drawn into question by the same. As a result, the neighborhood parents did not deem her capable of providing their children with the excellent educational experience they expected from the school. Her teacher identity and social status were impacted as a result of teaching English Learners.

The impact of teaching English Learners on teachers' professional identity and social status was more difficult to discern at Del Sol, as the social system there was relatively more stable. Moreover, there was less social class diversity, as all the students lived in the local working-class community. Rachel King, who was considered a teacher of all students by her colleagues and the neighborhood parents, did not have her pedagogical competence questioned by these two groups. Moreover, the neighborhood parents believed her capable of providing their children a better education than they had

been afforded. Equally important to them, their children were now more proficient in English and Rachel taught them exclusively in English. Rachel did not experience any impact to her teacher identity or social status because she taught English Learners. The same did not hold true for Felicia Rodríguez, who was considered a teacher of English Learners by her colleagues and the neighborhood parents, and her pedagogical competence was drawn into question by both groups. The neighborhood parents did not deem her capable of providing their children a better education than they had been afforded; she only taught second grade, which did not eclipse their own educational experience. Moreover, Felicia would not have their children fully proficient in English by the end of the year, as she taught them in both Spanish and English. Her teacher identity and social status were impacted as a result of teaching English Learners.

In sum, although all four teachers taught English Learners, two were able to position themselves such that they were not considered to have an identity as a teacher of English Learners: one embraced it, and another tried in vain to change it. For each teacher, their teacher identity was consequential, similar to Yoon (2008), and intertwined with their social status and whether they were deemed capable of meeting the educational expectations parents held for their children within the social and political context of their school site in the Clarksville School District. Teaching English Learners, for many teachers, meant taking a “hit” to their teacher identity, social status, and others’ perception of their teacher competence and subsequent ability to meet parental expectations for providing the type of educational experience they expected the school to provide.

What are the challenges teachers perceive in teaching English Learners? How do the challenges contribute to the meaning that they make? How is this meaning connected to both the classroom and school as well as to the wider sociopolitical context?

There were many aspects of teaching English Learners that challenged teachers, including the extra work that it entailed and reaching all the diverse students in their classroom during instruction, similar to Gersten (1996). In addition, teachers found keeping track of English Learners' educational programs and requirements to avoid civil penalties and liabilities and the assessment and accountability provisions for their overall academic achievement as well as progress in ELD challenging. The extra work that teaching English Learners required included identifying, creating, and/or providing additional instructional materials in both English and Spanish, and creating an environment that was text-rich in both languages, which cost teachers both time and money. For teachers such as Felicia in Structured English Immersion (SEI)[76] classrooms in the primary grades, where Spanish language instruction took place, English Learners were diverse not only along the English language acquisition continuum but also along the Spanish language acquisition continuum. This dual diversity was more challenging for teachers when also considering that the students were also diverse with regard to their academic ability in both languages. The range of academic ability and English proficiency was wide in other classrooms with English Learners, as well, which further challenged teachers, who were held accountable for moving them to higher levels of academic achievement and English proficiency. Teachers attempted to meet the challenge

[76] The SEI program was discussed in Chapter 3.

by teaming[77] to reduce the range of ability among the groups of students they taught, but teaming created additional challenges. Also, the pace of instruction made reaching all students challenging for teachers, as there was little time to extend their instruction on particular concepts that students struggled with. Instead, the teachers had to move on to prepare the students for upcoming high-stakes district and state assessments. In the midst of these challenges, there was another layer of complexity for teachers: keeping track of which English Learners for whom they were to differentiate instruction, and with whom they could use Spanish to clarify their instruction without risking possible civil sanctions and the loss of their teaching credential, as outlined in the proposition.

All of these challenges were linked to the local social and political context in Clarksville and to the wider social and political context in the U.S., and contributed to the meaning teachers made of teaching English Learners. As Paula aptly stated in an interview one afternoon, “It’s hard; it’s really hard!” a sentiment she repeated eight times within the space of five minutes.

Yet there was one challenge that stood out among all those that teachers encountered that had not previously been reported in the research literature – teaching ELD. Teachers perceived teaching ELD as especially challenging, citing constraints and school-related encroachments on instructional time, and often cancelled it when teaching it to their own English Learners. During my study, teachers added ELD to their teaming schedule to ensure that ELD was taught each day, and once ELD teaming was put into place, teachers did not cancel it for the remainder of my study. However, what I learned

[77] “Teaming” was defined in Chapter 1.

was that teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented the policy reform of ELD. The reform arose from the creation of the Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD) and Bilingual CLAD (BCLAD) credentials[78] in 1993 (Swofford, 1994), which combined the responsibilities of regular education teachers and the English as a Second Language teachers. All of these challenges had implications for English Learners in their classrooms, which I describe below.

How do teachers interpret, adapt, and implement policy regarding teaching English Learners? How does the social and political context influence teachers' interpretation, adaptation, and implementation of policy? How do teachers' policy interpretations, adaptations, and implementation contribute to the meaning that they make?

The most specific policy regarding the education of all English Learners in California is that they receive ELD instruction each day to provide opportunities for them to become more proficient in English. Therefore, ELD was the focus of my inquiry into how teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented English Learner policy. What I learned very quickly was that only two of the teachers in my study, Patricia and Felicia, actually taught ELD. Paula and Rachel sent their English Learners to a colleague's class for ELD while they taught a different subject during teaming time.

Consistent with the findings in Cohen (1990); Cuban (1993); Fullan (2001); Kennedy (2004); Page (1999); Saranson (1996); Tyack and Cuban (1995), the teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented the policy regarding teaching ELD. Patricia and

[78] The CLAD and BCLAD credentials were discussed in Chapters 1 and 3.

Felicia did teach ELD daily, and even though they each used a different curriculum to deliver their ELD program, they interpreted ELD very similarly, viewing it as curriculum-driven and perhaps most significantly, something they did whenever they taught their English Learners in English, not only at a designated ELD time. For Patricia, ELD was also an issue of equity versus equality, with English Learners and English-only students alike vying for her attention during ELD lessons. Patricia and Felicia also adapted their ELD program and instruction in similar ways. They taught less than the recommended amount from their ELD program. Patricia taught less because she believed the program was too rigorous for her students, while Felicia taught only select portions because, in her judgment, the program lacked rigor. Both taught to the district's ELD trimester tests, with Patricia teaching some of the test questions directly and Felicia teaching only those portions of the ELD program that were being assessed. Neither believed that the test was a valid measure of their students' English proficiency. Moreover, with no apparent link to the ELD standards and the California English Language Development Test (CELDT), both teachers questioned the rationale for administering the district ELD tests.

Patricia's and Felicia's implementation of ELD was similar in that there was limited interaction during their ELD instruction. Patricia followed an IRE pattern in her lesson, thus limiting student interaction, while the chants and songs that Felicia's students recited and sang limited their interaction in their ELD lessons as well. There was no formal academic language learning in either teacher's ELD lessons, thus limiting the students' ability to learn the rules and patterns in English needed to move to higher levels

of proficiency. Although Patricia was unable to establish and maintain a low affective filter during ELD instruction with her diverse group of English Learner and English-only students, Felicia was able to do so in her classroom of English Learners, perhaps because students were not being asked to take great risks when only chanting and singing the prescribed material during ELD.

Given the teachers' interpretation, adaptation, and implementation of ELD policy, I found little evidence of language development occurring in the lessons I observed and analyzed. The teachers admitted only teaching the portions of the ELD program that they did to comply with administrative mandates and assessment accountability measures. Teachers did not teach grammar directly or offer corrective feedback on the students' grammar usage. Moreover, the vocabulary of the ELD program became the de facto corpus of academic language that students were to learn, which, upon analysis, did not appear to be very academic or grade-level appropriate.

As I considered how it was sensible that Patricia and Felicia taught ELD as they did within the social and political context of their classrooms and school sites, I remembered Rachel's and her colleagues' comments to me regarding ELD. "We teach ELD all day long!" (field notes from informal interview, 7/29/03). They considered content area instruction in English the same as formal language development instruction for English Learners, thus diminishing the importance of dedicating themselves to teaching any ELD program consistently or with fidelity. With the teachers not seeing a direct link between the ELD program, its assessments, and the CELDT, the door was left

open for them to interpret and adapt their conceptualization of ELD to what they did every day in class, teaching English Learners in English.

With regard to Patricia's lesson, presented within the social and political context at Terra Bella, her interpretation of ELD as teaching in English made sense as it drew less attention to her identity as a teacher of English Learners. Moreover, by using an IRE interaction pattern to teach ELD, similar to how she taught other content areas to all her students, Patricia was in effect presenting herself to her colleagues and the neighborhood parents as a teacher of all students, not a teacher of English Learners, and thus addressing her social status at the school.

Teaching ELD as teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented it, contributed to the meaning they made of teaching English Learners. ELD was a lightning rod in my study, drawing many inquiries and spawning many commentaries among study participants and their grade-level colleagues. What I took from their comments, coupled with the data from their ELD lessons, was that teaching ELD was hard and that it stigmatized both the students and the teachers, especially those with an identity as a teacher of English Learners. Teaching ELD was especially difficult for teachers when they had English Learners and English-only students in the same classroom, as the parents of the English-only students, and the students themselves, did not like being without the interaction with their teacher for 30 minutes out of each six and one-half hour school day. Moreover, for the English Learners, it highlighted their inadequacies regarding their proficiency in English. For teachers, it meant navigating the needs of these two groups of students in their classroom, with both groups ultimately not receiving

the teacher’s full attention. Teaching ELD was situated within an assessment and accountability context under NCLB and district mandates, with teachers held accountable for demonstrating student progress in raising all their students’ academic achievement as well as their English Learners’ proficiency in English.

What, ultimately, does it mean to teachers to teach English Learners? How is this meaning connected to both the classroom and school as well as to the wider social and political context?

The meaning that teachers made of teaching English Learners varied, depending on several interrelated factors, including their teacher identity and social status at the school site. Moreover, being deemed capable of meeting the educational expectations of the parents from the local community within which the school was situated was also a factor, intertwined with their teacher identity and social status.

Teaching English Learners also meant many additional challenges, including extra work to provide differentiated materials in both English and Spanish, reaching all students amidst a wide range of academic and linguistic diversity, keeping track of the educational programs that they were authorized to use with certain students or face civil liability and possible loss of their credential, assessment and accountability issues regarding additional measures of language acquisition that were required under current California and federal laws, and finally, teaching ELD.

In short, teaching English Learners impacted teachers personally and professionally within the social and political context of the district and schools they

taught in. Being considered a teacher of English Learners had the greatest impact, one that teachers were not able to distance themselves from once they were ascribed that identity. Only the teachers who managed to send their English Learners out for portions of the day or who taught students who were considered the elite on campus were able to position themselves to escape the impact to their teacher identity and social status. Even so, the challenges remained, and each teacher in my study, regardless of her teacher identity and social status, had to navigate those challenges, with some able to do so more successfully than others.

Implications for Research

Researchers have sought for years to identify the most effective way to teach English Learners in the context of today's educational settings and amidst the many reforms in English Learner education. The ultimate goal in many of the studies was to determine how long it takes English Learners to learn sufficient English to equal the academic achievement of their native English-speaking peers and which program or instructional model supported that achievement in the shortest amount of time. Many of the studies lacked methodological rigor and the descriptions of the programs they were evaluating were ambiguous at best, which limited comparisons between programs (Baker & De Kanter, 1983; Greene, 1998; Ramírez et al., 1991; Willig, 1985), while others showed only minimal effect on student achievement by program model (Thomas & Collier, 2002). However, the research that has examined the various reforms and related educational programs by and large has not considered what teaching English Learners

means to teachers, and how that meaning affects how they teach English Learners. Therefore, the field of education was left without clear direction as to which type of instructional program or model was best suited to accomplish this goal for English Learners. Instead, a series of reforms in California, the most recent being Proposition 227, have sought to define how best to teach English Learners to accomplish this goal of rapid acquisition of English and correspondingly higher levels of academic achievement in English.

Understanding the link between human meaning and action (Erickson, 1986), this study explored what it meant to teachers to teach English Learners in light of the reform mandated in Proposition 227. Consistent with previous research on educational reform (Cohen, 1990; Fullan, 2001; Page, 1999; Tyack & Cuban, 1995), this study found that each of the teachers interpreted, adapted, and implemented the reform within the local context of their classrooms, many of which included English Learners and English-only students alike, which were also situated in the wider context of their school site and the Clarksville community. Moreover, in all the settings in this study, English Learners had the lowest social status of all the students, which influenced the meaning that teachers made of teaching them, as well. Thus, the study's findings extend previous studies by suggesting that the meaning that the teachers make of teaching English Learners influences the decisions they make as they interpret, adapt, and implement their instruction for the English Learners in their classrooms.

Future research into English Learner education, including program effectiveness, should consider addressing what teaching English Learners means to the teachers within

the social and political context in which they teach so as to better understand why it is that teachers teach English Learners as they do, especially with regard to their the implications to their teacher identity and social status. What was an interesting finding in this study, and could be a valuable topic to pursue further, was that two of the teachers, Paula and Rachel, were able to position themselves in such a manner that they were able to avoid being considered a teacher of English Learners even though they had English Learners in their classrooms. A valuable research question would address how and within what social and political contexts teachers are able to avoid or, alternatively, embrace the impact of teaching English Learners on their identity and social status within the sociopolitical context that they teach.

Moreover, research regarding the education of English Learners should also consider the politics of language that are present in the social and political context of American schools. To consider programs and their effectiveness or how teachers teach English Learners without examining the role that language politics play would limit the validity and generalizability of such studies in that the hegemony of English has been documented over many years (Adamson, 2005; August & García, 1988; Burns, 1981-82; Cummins, 2000; Dicker, 2000; Fishman, 1966; González, 2001; Lippi-Green, 1997; Macedo et al., 2003; McCarty, 2004; Merino & Faltis, 1993; Ovando, 2003; Padilla, 1998; Schmidt, 1998; Secada, 1990; Varghese & Stritikus, 2005; Wiley, 2002).

Implications for Educational Practice

Although identifying effective pedagogical practices and training pre-service and in-service teachers in those practices is a valuable endeavor, certifying teachers in those practices does not mean that they will use them in their classrooms to meet the academic and linguistic needs of students such as English Learners. Teachers bring beliefs and values with them into the classroom and those become lenses for considering the educational policies that try to make it through the classroom door (Calderhead, 1996; Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992; Virginia Richardson, 1996). Instead, teachers interpret, and adapt even the practices that they learn in their credential or certificate programs before implementing them in their classrooms. Moreover, they tend to teach as they were taught through their *apprenticeship of observation* (Lortie, 2002). Therefore, turning the focus of educational research toward inquiring what teaching English Learners means to teachers may enlighten those who are interested in identifying best practices and effective programs, which will ultimately impact the pedagogical practice of future teachers of English Learners.

A critical examination of the responsibilities that teachers hold under their credentials is also warranted, as simply collapsing the responsibilities of the regular education teacher with those of the English as a Second Language teacher clearly has implications for teachers and students alike, based on the findings from this study. Although combining the responsibilities may have made sense from an administrative point of view, enacting both sets of responsibilities within the classroom was extremely challenging for the teachers in this study, both personally and professionally. This study

highlights the need to open a dialogue about the scope of the responsibilities of teachers of English Learners, and the unintended consequences and necessary compromises that attempting to fulfill the myriad of responsibilities of and reforms to English Learner education entails.

A significant development in the preparation of teachers of English Learners occurred just as I was entering the field to do my research. In the latest restructuring of teaching credentials in California, authorized by the passage of SB 2042, all teachers seeking certification in California are required to become certified to teach English Learners, whereas previously, obtaining the CLAD credential was optional. In other words, prior to June 2003, teachers could opt for a credential that did not certify them to teach English Learners. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, many districts in California, like Clarksville, required their teachers that did not have their English Learner authorization to secure it within a specific time frame or face possible loss of their teaching position in the district. As a result, what has emerged has been more an implementation gap than a knowledge gap. Teachers have learned how to differentiate instruction for their English Learners but many continue to teach just as they always have, calling into question the ability of teacher preparation programs to adequately prepare teachers for the reality of teaching the diverse students in California classrooms. What has emerged is a standoff: the state has the ability to legislate that teachers be prepared to teach English Leaners but teachers ultimately control whether or not they do implement what they have learned in their preservice or intern credential programs to differentiate instruction for their English Learners. Given the findings of my study, their

choice to not differentiate, especially given the implications to their teacher identity, social status, and whether they are deemed capable of meeting parents' educational expectations for their children may be more understandable. Teacher preparation program standards should consider how best to influence preservice and intern teachers to reconceptualize what teaching in California schools entails and to use what they have learned in their preparation programs to differentiate instruction for their English Learners.

The credential requirements under SB2042 also changed significantly in that they no longer require future teachers in California to learn a second language to at least an intermediate level (the equivalent of one year of university study), as was required for a CLAD credential (Swofford, 1994). Previously, teachers were required to experience a small portion of what the English Learners in their classrooms would be experiencing as they sought to learn English while they were also learning academic content in English. Therefore, the current teacher preparation requirements in California are even further removed from the reality of what teachers will encounter in their classrooms. One of the most critical aspects of my preparation to teach was the experience I had learning Spanish as my second language. I decided to pursue my Bachelor's degree in Spanish, which required me to learn academic content in Spanish at the same time that I was learning Spanish. I would often come home at the end of a long day at the university and complain to my husband about how hard it was for me to keep up in my Spanish classes. He had no sympathy for me as he quickly reminded me that I was experiencing exactly what my future students would be experiencing in my classroom. So much of what influenced me

regarding differentiating instruction for the English Learners in my classroom arose as a result of that journey I took to become proficient in Spanish. A point that I believe is often lost on teachers is that we are asking very young children to accomplish what the majority of Americans have avoided their entire life: learning a second language. Without background on what the journey takes to become proficient in a second language, teachers have little to draw upon when considering the importance of differentiating instruction in English to make it more comprehensible for the English Learners in their classrooms. Teacher preparation program standards should reflect this requirement to best prepare teachers.

That being said, language politics are inescapable in the social and political context of classrooms and schools in the U.S. The presence of students who do not speak English as their first language can influence teachers in their decisions regarding differentiating instruction. Public sentiment regarding those who do not speak English as their first language often strongly opposes any type of accommodation of their language needs, such as bilingual ballots, with organizations such as U.S. English leading the call to make English the national language in the U.S., which was discussed in Chapter 3. Those language beliefs also make their way into the classroom, as teachers who ascribe to such also may be influenced by them as they make decisions regarding differentiating their instruction for their English Learners.

Limitation of the Study

I endeavored to present a detailed account of the data I collected during my study. In my interpretation of the data, I present what is happening as teachers teach both ELD and subject matter, in English, to the English Learners in their classrooms, and the meaning they make of doing so. I recognize, however, that all interpretations are partial (Agar, 1996; Erickson, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) in at least two ways. First, the sample is small and not statistically representative of all teachers at every school. Instead, qualitative researchers seek a specific sample (Bellack, 1978), as did I, to represent a range of teachers and a variety of settings, which, in turn, allowed me to study them in depth and to gain insight and to understand the nuances of what teaching English Learners meant to the teachers. Second, interpretations are subject to reinterpretation (Spindler & Spindler, 1982). It is in part up to the readers to interpret what teaching English Learners means to other teachers from the data presented and the interpretation offered, and ultimately decide on its applicability to any other educational setting they know or have read about (Wehlage, 1981).

Although the focus of this study was limited to these two sites and four teachers, it is my hope that the findings from my study will be able to provide practitioners and researchers alike who are interested in what teaching English Learners means to teachers an opportunity to reflect on the many issues involved in English Learner education, in general, and teaching English Learners, in particular. This study does not provide a definitive answer to what teaching English Learners means to teachers because definitive answers to such issues do not and cannot exist. Instead, this study hopes to encourage

readers to reflect on the role that teacher identity and social status play in determining what it means to teach English Learners within the local and wider sociopolitical contexts of their classroom, school, and community.

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Appendix A: Levels of English Language Proficiency[a]

Language Level:	Students have:	Students can:	Teachers should:
Level 1: Beginning	Minimal comprehension No verbal production	Nod answers to questions Point to objects or print Categorize objects/pictures Pantomime & role play Draw cartoons & pictures Move to demonstrate understanding Match words or object	Provide listening opportunities Create a classroom full of language Use mixed ability groups Create high context for shared reading Use physical movement Use art, mime, & music
Level 2: Early Intermediate	Limited comprehension One/two word responses	Identify people, places, and things Repeat memorable language List and categorize Listen with greater understanding Use routine expressions independently	Ask *yes/no*, *Who? What? Where?* type questions Provide listening opportunities with rich context Have students complete sentences w/1-2 words Have students label, manipulate pictures and objects Do shared reading with props, build on prior knowledge Use predictable & patterned books Introduce dialogue journals
Level 3: Intermediate	Good comprehension Enough proficiency to make simple sentences (with errors)	Describe events, places, and people Recall facts Explain academic concepts Define new vocabulary Retell information from text Summarize Compare and contrast	Ask open-ended questions Model, expand, restate, and enrich student language Use patterned and predictable books Support the use of content-area texts with retelling, role-play Have students describe personal experiences Create books through language experience activities
Level 4: Early Advanced	Excellent comprehension Few grammar errors	Give and defend opinions Justify views or behaviors Negotiate with others Debate with others Defend actions and persuade Express the results of synthesis, analysis, and evaluation	Structure group discussions Guide use of reference materials Provide more advanced literature Ask students to create narratives Provide for a variety of realistic writing opportunities Publish students' writing
Level 5: Advanced	Near-native fluency	Produce written and oral language that is comparable to that of native speakers of English of the same age	Continue on-going language development through integrating language arts and content-area activities

[a] Document from Clarksville School District ELD training team, 2003; no known author

Appendix B

Principal Interview Questions

1. What credential(s) do you hold?

2. Where/when did you earn it(them)?

3. How long have you been teaching?

4. How long have you been an administrator?

5. Where have you been an administrator?

6. What is your greatest challenge as the principal here?

7. Team meetings?

8. Lesson plans…turned in?

9. Grade levels “on same page”?

10. When were the new attendance boundaries established?

11. How may buses?

12. How many new teachers here?

Appendix C

Teacher Interview Questions

1. Where/when did you earn your Bachelor of Arts degree?

2. Area of specialty?

3. Where/when did you earn your any degrees beyond the BA?

4. What credential(s) do you hold?

5. Where/when did you earn it(them)?

6. How long have you been teaching?

7. How long have you been teaching English learners?

8. What language(s) do you speak other than English?

9. Where/how learned?

10. What is your greatest teaching challenge?

11. What is the most challenging subject to teach to English learners? Why?

12. What is the easiest subject to teach to English learners? Why?

13. What strategies do you use regularly in teaching English learners?

14. Where/how did you learn them?

15. Are your English learner students able to reach grade level academic standards?

Appendix D

Name______________ Date__________ Score________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1
FIRST TRIMESTER TEST

Unit 1: Identity

CONCEPTS AND VOCABULARY

DIRECTIONS: Read each item carefully. Then choose the best answer.
(30 points—2 points each)

Sample

Large is another word for—
- ● big
- ○ old
- ○ lazy
- ○ happy

1. When you accept something, you —
- (a) look for it
- (b) pull it apart
- (c) try to change it
- (d) believe it is all right

2. When you adapt, you —
- (a) build
- (b) scare
- (c) advise
- (d) change

3. Your character is what you are —
- (a) really like
- (b) always doing
- (c) thinking about
- (d) strongly against

4. When you create something, you —
- (a) buy it
- (b) find it
- (c) make it
- (d) carry it

5. A country's culture is its —
- (a) size and area
- (b) customs and beliefs
- (c) beaches and mountains
- (d) temperature and climate

6. When you decide, you —
- (a) ask for help
- (b) deliver something
- (c) change your looks
- (d) make up your mind

7. To discover means to —
- (a) speak in a low voice
- (b) learn something difficult
- (c) find out for the first time
- (d) move through a small space

Name________________________ Date______________ Score__________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

CONCEPTS AND VOCABULARY, *continued*

8. **Enjoy means —**
   - (a) return home
   - (b) perform in a play
   - (c) embarrass someone
   - (d) like something very much

9. **When you express an idea, you —**
   - (a) share it
   - (b) ignore it
   - (c) change it
   - (d) criticize it

10. **Features are part of a person's —**
    - (a) face
    - (b) habits
    - (c) family
    - (d) education

11. **When you figure out something, you —**
    - (a) write about it
    - (b) keep it a secret
    - (c) learn how to do it
    - (d) share it with others

12. **When you improve something you —**
    - (a) study it
    - (b) give it back
    - (c) throw it away
    - (d) make it better

13. **An island is land that has —**
    - (a) no rain
    - (b) many people
    - (c) water on all sides
    - (d) only a few trees or flowers

14. **A portrait is —**
    - (a) an actor in a movie
    - (b) a color in a pattern
    - (c) a picture of a person
    - (d) a friend of the family

15. **A situation is something that —**
    - (a) moves
    - (b) grows
    - (c) breaks
    - (d) happens

Name________________________ Date____________ Score________

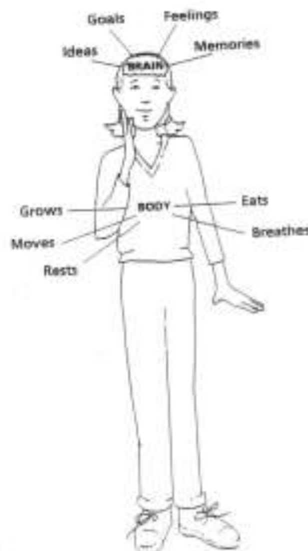
HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

READING COMPREHENSION

DIRECTIONS: Read the passage. Study the picture and the list.

Special Years

- Your body and brain are like machines. You have to take care of them so they work well.
- Your body needs good food and exercise to stay healthy. Your brain needs rest in order to think clearly.
- Your body goes through a lot of growth when you are a teenager. Your emotions may sometimes feel like a bouncing ball. You may feel angry one minute, then happy the next.
- Teenagers need to take good care of themselves as they grow and change.



THE BRAIN

Sets goals
Thinks
Has ideas
Remembers
Dreams
Hopes
Imagines
Feels
Creates
Learns

Name____________________ Date__________ Score________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

READING COMPREHENSION, *continued*

Directions: Read each item carefully. Choose the best answer. Mark you answer.
(24 points — 3 points each)

Sample

This passage is about —
- ○ food and cooking
- ○ sports and games
- ● the brain and body
- ○ machines and work

16. The passage compares your body to —

- (a) a brain
- (b) a machine
- (c) a skeleton
- (d) an emotion

17. Your body changes because you are —

- (a) playing
- (b) growing
- (c) studying
- (d) dreaming

18. Getting enough rest helps you —

- (a) think clearly
- (b) bounce a ball
- (c) eat healthy foods
- (d) laugh with your friends

19. A teenager's feelings are like a bouncing ball because they —

- (a) a move slowly
- (b) grow smaller
- (c) exercise often
- (d) change quickly

20. When teenagers become young adults their bodies will probably

- (a) a move slowly
- (b) grow smaller
- (c) exercise often
- (d) change quickly

Name________________ Date__________ Score________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

READING COMPREHENSION, *continued*

Directions: Read each item carefully. Choose the best answer. Mark you answer.

Study this chart.

BRAIN	________
Ideas	Grows
Goals	Moves
Feelings	Eats
________	________

21. Which word is the best heading for column 2?

- (a) BODY
- (b) SPORTS
- (c) HEALTH
- (d) EXERCISE

22. Which of these goes with the other words in column 1?

- (a) Foods
- (b) Bones
- (c) Muscles
- (d) Memories

23. Which of these goes with the other words in column 2?

- (a) Rest
- (b) Hopes
- (c) Thinks
- (d) Dreams

Name__________________ Date__________ Score________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

LANGUAGE SKILLS

DIRECTIONS: Below is part of Ellie's letter to a friend. Read the letter. Then read each Item carefully. Choose the best answer. Mark you answer.*(7 points—1 points —each)*

> Marisol are (1) my good friend. She looks a lot like my grandmother in mexico. (2) That is why I call her my "grand-friend." Marisol has a big garden. The garden are (3) full of beautiful flowers and vegetables. Every saturday, we plant flowers (4) and pull weeds. Marisol pick (5) the tomatoes and beans. We eat them for lunch. Sometimes Marisol takes (6) pictures of me and the garden. She sends (7) the pictures to my grandmother. I is (8) lucky because I have a grandmother and a grand-friend. Now I know a lot about gardens, too!

Sample

In number 1, Marisol are best written —

- ● Marisol is
- ○ Marisol be
- ○ Marisol am
- ○ as it is written

mech

24. In number 2, my grandmother in mexico is best written —

- (a) my grandmother in Mexico
- (b) My grandmother in mexico
- (c) my Grandmother in mexico
- (d) as it is written

25. In number 3, The garden are is best written —

- (a) The garden is
- (b) The garden be
- (c) The garden am
- (d) as it is written

Name____________________ Date__________ Score_______

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

LANGUAGE SKILLS, *continued*

DIRECTIONS: Below is part of Ellie's letter to a friend. Read the letter. Then read each Item carefully. Choose the best answer. Mark you answer.

mech

26. In number 4, <u>saturday, we plant flowers</u> is best written —

ⓐ saturday, We plant flowers
ⓑ Saturday, we plant flowers
ⓒ saturday, we plant Flowers
ⓓ as it is written

27. In number 5 <u>Marisol pick</u> is best written —

Verb - PT

ⓐ Marisol picks
ⓑ Marisol picking
ⓒ Marisol are picking
ⓓ as it is written

28. In number 6, <u>Marisol takes</u> is best written —

Verb - PT

ⓐ Marisol take
ⓑ Marisol taked
ⓒ Marisol is taking
ⓓ as it is written

29. In number 7, <u>She sends</u> is best written —

Verb - PT

ⓐ she send
ⓑ she is send
ⓒ she is sends
ⓓ as it is written

30. In number <u>8, I</u> is best written—

ⓐ I be
ⓑ I am
ⓒ I are
ⓓ as it is written

Name________________________ Date_____________ Score_________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

READING AND LEARNING STRATEGIES

DIRECTIONS: Read each item carefully. Then choose the best answer. Mark your answer. *(12 points — 4 points each)*

31. Luis is reading an article. Before he reads, he wants to make a predication. What should he do first

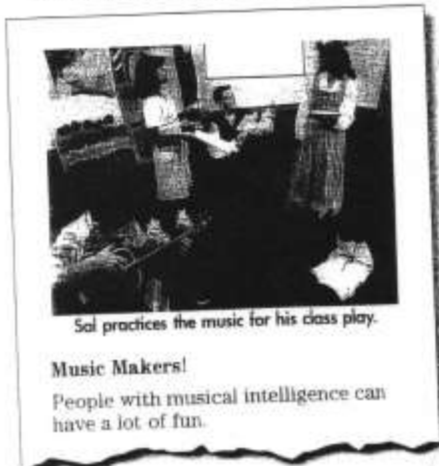
ⓐ Read the article.

ⓑ Do some research.

ⓒ Take notes about the article.

ⓓ Look at the title and pictures.

32. Luis predicts that he will learn how musical people have fun. Preview the article to see if Luis's prediction is correct?



Sal practices the music for his class play.

Music Makers!

People with musical intelligence can have a lot of fun.

ⓐ No, because the picture shows kids practicing for a play.

ⓑ No, because the introduction talks about intelligence.

ⓒ Yes, because the words and the picture are about people acting in a play.

ⓓ Yes, because the words and part of the picture are about having fun with music.

Is Luis's prediction correct?

Name____________________ Date__________ Score________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

READING AND LEARNING STRATEGIES, *continued*

33. Luis reads the next part of the article.

People with musical intelligence can sing and play music. Some people play a musical instrument, such as the guitar. Learning how to play the guitar is fun.

Which of these is the best prediction for Luis to make next?

(a) The article will describe different violins.

(b) The article will explain how to play the guitar.

(c) The article will give the music and words of a song.

(d) The article will show how to make costumes for a play.

Name______________________ Date____________ Score__________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

WRITING

DIRECTIONS: Read about the description Armin plans write. Read each item Carefully. Then choose the best answer. Mark your answer. *(5 points — 1 point each)*

Armin wants to write a description of a friend. First, she makes a 5Ws chart like this one:

Who? ____________
What? ____________
Where? ____________
When? ____________
Why? ____________

Then she makes a list of colorful adjectives and verbs. After Armin writes her description, she will give it to her friend.

34. The goal of a good description is to —

- (a) share your personal feelings
- (b) persuade your reader to agree with you
- (c) teach your reader how to do something
- (d) help your reader to see what something is like

35. Before Arimn starts to write, she should —

- (a) add a picture of the friend
- (b) share her work with others
- (c) choose a person to describe
- (d) correct the spelling of the words in her list

Name__________________ Date__________ Score________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

WRITING, *continued*

DIRECTIONS: Read about the description Armin plans write. Read each item carefully. Then choose the best answer. Mark your answer.

36. The 5Ws chart will help Armin plan her wiriting because it —

- (a) shows pictures and words
- (b) gives adjectives and nouns
- (c) asks questions and organizes information
- (d) explains revising and proofreading marks

37. Which of these gives the best description of Armin's friend?

- (a) Tushar has brown eyes.
- (b) Tushar tells funny stories.
- (c) Tushar laughs at his own stories
- (d) When Tushar laughs, his bright eyes shine.

38. Here is a sentence Armin wrote about her friend.

Tushar dances to the music

Which of these paints the most colorful picture?

- (a) Tushar dances.
- (b) Tushar twirls to the fast music
- (c) Tushar moves to the fast music
- (d) Tushar dances to the fast music.

Name________________________ Date____________ Score_________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

WRITING ON YOUR OWN

DIRECTIONS: Read the writing prompt, then write your description on a separate sheet of paper. *(12 points)*

39.

WRITING PROMPT
Write a description for your class to read. Tell about a friend or someone in your family.

Name________________________Date____________Score_________

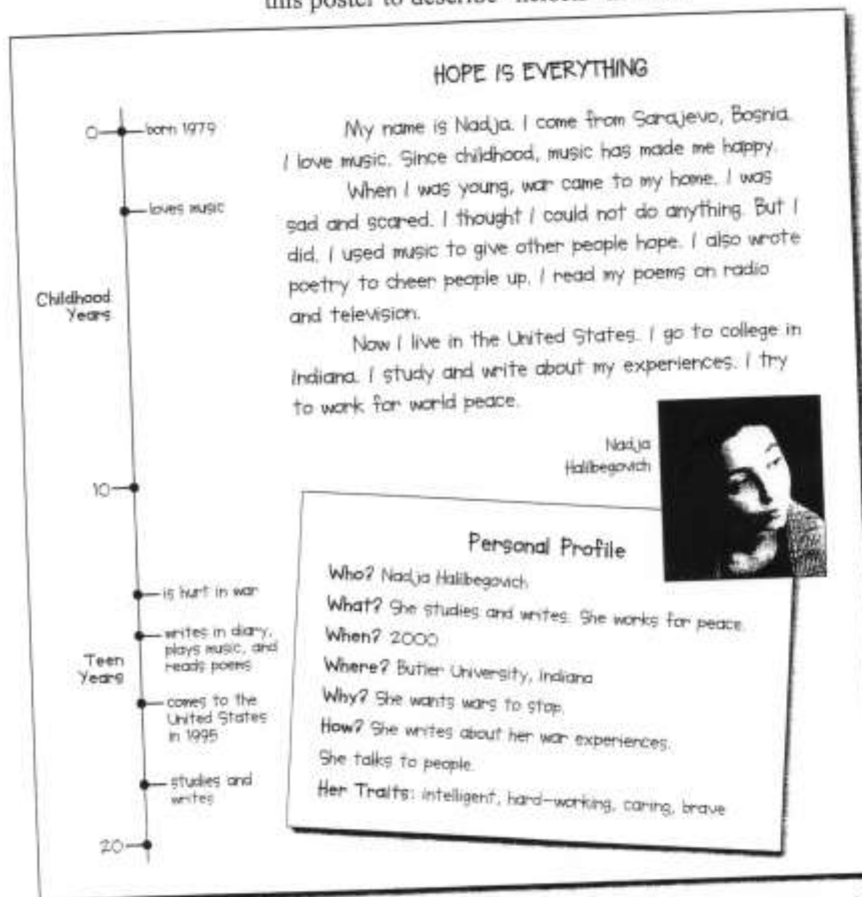
HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1

READ, THINK, AND EXPLAIN

DIRECTIONS: Read about special Teen Day. Then read the poster.

Special Teen Day

Everyone is celebrating Special Teen Day. Karen has Chosen to pretend she is Nadja Halibegovich. She prepared this poster to describe "herself" in class.



Name________________ Date__________ Score________

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1 *Continued*

READ, THINK, AND EXPLAIN

DIRECTIONS: Read each item and write your answer. *(10 points)*

40. How is Nadja's life different now?

During the war, Nadja______________________________________

____

but now she____

____

41. Fill in the chart. Write three details about Nadja in each column.

Nadja during the War	Nadja now
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

42. How did Nadja's life change because of the war? Explain what she did. Tell why.

____

____

____

____

____

____

HIGH POINT LEVEL A UNIT 1
FIRST TRIMESTER
ANS

#1 "accept" 15
#6 "decide" mtch
#9 "express" 5/15
#10 "features"
#14 "portrait" vocab words on test in lesson
C/c?
~#41 (contract, no compare)

Unit 1: Identity

CONCEPTS AND VOCABULARY
(30 points—2 points each)

1. d
2. d
3. a
4. c
5. b
6. d
7. c
8. d

READING COMPREHENSION
(24 points—3 points each)

16. b
17. b
18. a
19. d
20. a
21. a
22. d
23. a

LANGUAGE SKILLS
(7 points—1 points each)

24. a
25. a
26. b
27. a
28. d
29. d
30. b

READING AND LEARNING STRATEGIES
(12 points—4 points each)

31. d
32. d
33. b

WRITING
(5 points—1 points each)

34. d
35. c
36. c
37. d
38. b

WRITING ON YOUR OWN
(maximum of 12 points)

READ, THINK, AND EXPLAIN
(maximum of 10 points)

Appendix E

Authentic Assessment Opportunities

Student Progress Form 6
SHIP TO SHORE

Name ______________

Date ______________

Poetry Time ► page 190

FLUENCY: Poem During a recitation of "The Pollution Solution," the student

1 participates through body language only (clapping, making gestures, marking rhythm, etc.)
2 repeats or recites key elements of memorable language
3 repeats or recites longer phrases
4 recites a complete or an almost complete poem
5 produces a recitation comparable to that of native-speaker peers

Pronunciation and Intonation The student's language approximates native English.

☐ yes
☐ not yet

Let's Do Something! ► page 208

CRITICAL THINKING: Relate Cause and Effect
During the presentation of the antipollution posters, the student relates causes and effects

☐ yes: 1 nonverbally (by pointing to elements on the poster as you speak)
2 with a few words (*trash kill fish*)
3 with short phrases (*pesticide make water bad*)
4 with connected discourse which includes the language of cause and effect and few errors (*Oil makes the water dirty and it killed many sea animals.*)
5 comparably to native-speaker peers

☐ not yet

Passports to Friendship ► page 212

LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS: Express Feelings and Ideas During the information exchange, the student expresses feelings and ideas

1 nonverbally (pointing to illustrations or using facial expressions)
2 with one or two words (*good; not like*)
3 with short phrases (*My favorite food is apple.*)
4 with connected discourse and few errors (*My favorite place for visit is my grandmother's house.*)
5 comparably to native-speaker peers

LANGUAGE PATTERNS & STRUCTURES
The student uses the following:

- questions
  ☐ yes ☐ not yet
- exclamations
  ☐ yes ☐ not yet
- plurals
  ☐ yes ☐ not yet

If the student doesn't use questions, exclamations, or plurals as they exchange information, conduct this **Performance Assessment** and then mark the appropriate box.

PERFORMANCE ASSESSMENT

- **Questions** Display **Poster 24**, point to the factory smoke, and say: *If you wanted to find out what makes this smoke, what would you say?*
- **Exclamations** Point out the man in the boat, then say: *How could you tell him to stop littering?*
- **Plurals** Ask: *What are these?* as you point to the fish skeletons and cans.

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WRITING The student's writing includes

1 mostly drawings with some isolated words or phrases that often reflect the symbols or structures of the home language
2 short phrases and simple sentences with invented spellings; text may reflect the symbols or structures of the home language
3 complete sentences with grammatical inaccuracies and awkwardness, but text tells about something, describes, compares, etc; conventional spelling begins to appear
4 connected text with conventional English spelling and more extensive vocabulary as well as few grammatical errors
5 text which is comparable to that of native-speaker peers

DIRECTIONS: Make a copy of this form for each student. As you conduct each activity, observe the student's language use and circle or fill in the box by the description that corresponds most closely to the student's performance. Place the completed form in the student's portfolio. For more detailed information on recording and interpreting results, see **Authentic Assessment** on pages 217–227.

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