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Conflicting Ideologies about Using and Learning Spanish across the School Years: From Two-Way Immersion to World Language Pedagogy

By

Sharon Merritt

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Sarah Warshauer Freedman, Education, Chair
Assistant Professor Laura Sterponi, Education
Professor George Lakoff, Linguistics

Fall 2011

Conflicting Ideologies about Using and Learning Spanish across the School Years:
From Two-Way Immersion to World Language Pedagogy

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Abstract

Conflicting Ideologies about Using and Learning Spanish across the School Years: From
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Sharon Merritt

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Sarah Warshauer Freedman, Chair

As Two-Way Language (TWI or dual language) Immersion programs, located most often in elementary school settings, have continued to increase across the nation over the last three decades, educators and researchers have raised questions regarding what will happen to students' bilingual language development as they move from these programs to secondary school classrooms (Garcia, 1995; Montone & Loeb, 2000). Few secondary TWI programs exist today, and to continue their language development in school, most former TWI students must enter middle and high school World Language courses. While the focus of study in World Language classes is the nature and learning of a particular language, the focus in TWI programs is on the use of the target language (most often Spanish, in the U.S.) as medium of instruction in elementary content areas and literacy activities. These differences in focus reflect differences in ideologies regarding language learning and use in these contexts, differences which sometimes come into conflict between teachers, administrators and students as students move from TWI programs into World Language classrooms. Students who may have been cast as competent learners and users of language in the TWI context may be recast as having significant linguistic deficits when they enter the World Language classrooms where encapsulated forms of school learning take precedence (Engestrom, 1991). These differing ideologies inform both de jure and de facto language policy as school districts make efforts to resolve the conflicts that arise from them. Such language policy decisions have an impact on both English-dominant and minority-language dominant students with serious repercussions for both groups.

Using qualitative interviews, participant observations, and a student focus group, this study provides an account of the trajectory of language learning and use experienced by Spanish Immersion students over the course of their years in school as they move from an elementary TWI program to secondary World Language classes. It considers the differences and conflicts in ideologies of language learning and use of teachers and administrators in both Spanish Immersion and World Language programs, and how they affect students. It further recounts the practices of language learning and use that characterize both educational contexts. The data capture an historical conflict in a school district that houses a Spanish Immersion elementary program which brought about a district-wide program review of the middle school segment of the Spanish Immersion

program, which was tasked with preparing students for the high school World Language program. Using Cultural Historical Activity Theory as an analytical lens, the study examines the sources of failure of the expansive learning (Engestrom, 1987) necessary to enact real program reform and language policy change.

While Spanish Immersion teachers and administrators affirmed the abilities of their students to learn and use Spanish for a variety of academic and social purposes, World Language teachers took a negative view of former Spanish Immersion students in their classes, focusing on specific linguistic features to recast those students as having significant deficits that disqualified them from enrolling in higher level Spanish language classes as they entered high school. Despite their resounding success on the 2009 Spanish Language Advanced Placement exam, former Spanish Immersion students in high school World Language classes expressed significant dissatisfaction with their experiences of language learning and use in secondary school as they encountered greater emphasis on encapsulated forms of school learning rather than a wide range of language uses. The difference in ideologies about language learning and use contributed to the historical conflict in the school district over this program, and led to a program review to reform the middle school Spanish Immersion program. The two ideologies of language learning and use continued to prevail during and after the program review, preventing the expansive learning necessary to resolve the conflict. The program reform effort has led to very little real change in the Spanish Immersion middle school program.

As the number of TWI programs continues to grow across the country, this dissertation contributes a study of students' experiences of language learning and use across the years of schooling, and of the language policy problems encountered by a school district as it attempts to provide the best long-term language education experience it can to its students

Dedicated to my mentors and teachers,
my students, and especially
mi familia.

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Acknowledgments

So many individuals and groups have contributed to this dissertation in ways both material and spiritual. First, I owe a debt of gratitude to all the teachers and administrators who have participated in this study. They granted me unfettered access to classrooms, students, meetings and themselves. They are all highly professional individuals who love students and their work, and I appreciate the time they graciously afforded me in classrooms and outside of them. I hope that I have portrayed their work and concerns in ways that will help many school districts with TWI programs grapple with the decisions they must make to best serve the language learning and use of their students.

Of course, I owe many thanks to my dissertation committee. Deepest thanks to my advisor, Sarah Warshauer Freedman, for listening to my earliest ideas about what I thought I was seeing in TWI education and this Spanish Immersion program, for her continued encouragement as my ideas began to form more clearly, and for her enthusiasm as I worked through my data analysis and writing. Thanks also to Laura Sterponi for providing a vision of literacy that helped me understand the ideological nature of what happens in elementary school classrooms. And finally, thanks to George Lakoff, whose work in metaphor has revolutionized the thinking of so many of us, for his help in understanding the profound importance of the metaphor in this study. I feel humbled to have received help and support from each of them in this process. I would also like to thank Jabari Mahiri and Guadalupe Valdés for serving on my orals committee, and for their encouragement along the way.

During the past few years, I have participated in Sarah Freedman's research group, and can say that without them, I don't know if I could have succeeded in accomplishing this work. They all have been so unfailingly supportive and encouraging in this work and in life in general. I will miss meeting with them, but will look forward to hearing of their successes in the coming years. Many thanks Agnes, Amy, Betina, Dafney, Emily, Gabriela, Grace, Kate, Katie, Kim, Liz, Logan, Maria, Paul, Rose, Suzanne, and Tony, among others.

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In reality, I began my process of thinking about what it means to learn a second language when my local elementary school began teaching Spanish to 4th, 5th and 6th graders as part of a Federal effort to fund foreign language and area studies. I thank my elementary Spanish teacher, Mrs. Wilson, for introducing us to basic conversational Spanish, and everyday language domains that would help me succeed in my junior high

Spanish classes, and later in high school. Though I did not have AP courses available to me at my suburban Sacramento, CA high school, I did have a great teacher who showed us that Spanish could be used for the intellectual work of understanding Art History and literature. Through Nancy Smith I caught the vision of living a bilingual life, of using Spanish for understanding myself and the world. Her mentoring led me to my next language adventure, earning a bilingual/bicultural college degree from Elbert Covell College, University of the Pacific. While a student at ECC, I never thought that what we were doing, studying all the material of the core curriculum and many major courses in Spanish, was as complex a process as I now know it was. I thank all my ECC professors and *todos los Covellianos*, in particular those who have fought to reinstate the bilingual college experience at University of the Pacific. Maybe now I will have time to join you in the fight!

I have been tremendously encouraged by the growing interest in multilingual writing in my professional field of Composition Studies. My decision to pursue a Ph.D. in Education and literacy studies was greatly influenced by my time serving as Assistant Editor of *College English* under Jeanne Gunner's leadership. Not only was Jeanne's mentorship crucial for my professional and academic development, my work at *College English* provided me a vision of some of the pressing language policy issues relevant to teaching composition at the college level. I thank Jeanne for the opportunity to develop a new professional vision for myself.

During my doctoral studies, the English Department at Santa Clara University has been a source of moral support. As I continued to work full-time teaching First Year Composition classes during the whole of my doctoral program and dissertation study, many colleagues have pulled for me, and will cheer for me as I finish the process. Some of them have been encouraging as I explore ways to bring bilingual writing instruction to SCU, and I thank my Modern Language colleague, Jill Pellettieri, for her work with me on developing a sequence of writing courses in Spanish and English. Many of my students have been supportive as well, showing patience as I have juggled my own deadlines and course work with reading their essays. In particular, I thank the students in my Fall 2011 classes who have been eager to call me "Dr. Merritt."

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have not mentioned have contributed. While they do not appear here, they are in my heart.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

Introduction

Winter 2009: Learning *Biología* in Mexico

      In the warm February sun, in Erongarícuaro, Michoacán, México, a small group of 5th grade students from California sits on the ground in a large circle together with several Mexican middle school students, and the lean, forty-something biologist who is leading their *taller* (workshop) on biology and the natural history of the area. Ignacio has led such groups of American and Mexican children in explorations of their surroundings most weeks during the year, for somewhere near 20 years. He is a staff member of El Molino, a camp dedicated to giving children an active learning experience in science and local Michoacán culture. As he animatedly waves his hands toward the nearby mountains and lake, explaining how the ground on which they are sitting was a lake-bed only 20-some-odd years ago, the kids listen, ask and answer questions, and laugh at his stories and analogies, made exaggeratedly humorous to appeal to pre-adolescent sensibilities. Ignacio smoothly transitions from telling about local natural history, to getting the kids to think about how the same principles at work in Mexico are at work in their own home town, to urging them to make sure they study hard, because they will have to solve all the problems that their parents' generation has only just begun to identify. Later, Ignacio will take the group down to the nearby stream to "hunt" for leeches (by putting their bare feet in the water on the muddy shore!), and, facetiously, will try to convince them that, now that doctors have rediscovered the value of leeches in medicine, they should start a new business, called Sangüi-BlockBuster, to rent out leeches to hospitals.   During the *taller*, Ignacio has engaged in this wide array of topics and discourse entirely in Spanish, and all the Californian students, most from English-dominant homes, have participated fully in the process, following even his most circuitous stories, which sometimes lead to outrageous punch-lines. Several of these students have chosen to attend this *taller* because their older siblings, who attended this camp in past years, remember Ignacio fondly, and told them they just had to take his *taller* on *biología*.

      While Ignacio runs his *taller*, once in the morning, once in the afternoon, other Midville students are attending *talleres* in homes, on farms, in studios, all over Erongarícuaro. Some are learning to care for farm animals, others making local artisan crafts, others learning to produce a radio show, all in Spanish. In four sessions, they listen to and learn new ways of thinking and using language, new ways of being, associated with semiotic domains important in the history and current lives of the people of Erongarícuaro.

      Here on their annual 5th grade trip, the Californian students are from Midville School District, and have participated in the Midville Spanish Immersion (SI)[1] Program

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[1] I will use the term "Spanish Immersion" and its abbreviation "SI" in referring to the specific program of this study. I will use the term "Two-Way Immersion" or "TWI" in reference to programs that use a dual-language approach to learning and using languages.

since they were in kindergarten. Many of their siblings also formed part of the Spanish Immersion program before them, and some of them are now in high school. Students from the Midville program have been attending El Molino every year since 2001, when the first cohort of 5th graders came to experience the Montessori-influenced camp and its hands-on, socially- and linguistically-immersive education. The kids keep a journal every day, commenting on the new experiences they are having, and will return to their classroom after a week to finish up their final year of elementary Spanish immersion education.

In Ignacio's *taller*, it is obvious that the Californian 5th graders and the Mexican middle schoolers, from a Montessori school several hours away, have become comfortable with each other as they hold hands, laugh and chat during their walks through the fields. While they may be aware of cultural differences between them, language is not a barrier, but a resource all the kids share and use to learn from each other. During the week, they use it to play *futból* (soccer), make purchases in the local grocery stores, visit a local day care center and read to pre-schoolers, and end the week with a dance party. Many former Midville Spanish Immersion students remember this week as the most outstanding highlight of their elementary experience and can recall very clearly the *talleres* they attended, the friends they have made. They will return to their classroom to write about their experiences, and will finish their final year of elementary school reading *La gran Gilly Hopkins* and talking about bullying, writing about all the usual 5th grade curricular materials, and producing short fictional works in both English and Spanish.

Spring 2009: Preparing for the Spanish Language AP Exam

In April of this same school year, Mr. Mann's Spanish 4 Advanced Placement (AP) students are immersed in preparing for the Spanish Language AP exam scheduled to take place in early May. Close to 30 students are jammed into his medium-sized classroom, in which he has arranged desks so that tables of students can face each other, but still focus on his centrality as the most experienced Spanish-speaker, reader, writer and grammarian in the class. Mr. Mann is an experienced, well-loved teacher, who knows how to orchestrate his class through various practice exercises that will prepare them for the exam they are going to take soon. To encourage spoken participation, he rewards answers from students with *dólares*, small slips of paper that they can trade in later for participation points that will boost their class grades. Many students participate in discussion, though the differences between the students' fluency, the linguistic complexity of their responses, the naturalness of their accents, is marked. A few of the more fluent students in the class come from Spanish-dominant or bilingual homes, and are, along with a few students who are from English-dominant homes, former students from Midville's Spanish Immersion program. They participate the same as other students, responding to Mr. Mann's promptings, receiving rewards, even though they have had a significantly different experience of language learning and use than have had the students who have arrived here through traditional Spanish Language classes they began sometime between 7th and 9th grade.

One of this class's culminating experiences of language study will be the Spanish Language AP exam, administered on the same day all over the United States, in the same

way in each location. At Midville High School, where 100+ students will take the exam, all the students will be placed at tables in the school's library, in view of all the proctors, none of whom speak Spanish. All the students will be issued, along with their test booklets, a tape recorder to be used with the oral exam. After two hours of reading comprehension and essay writing sections, the students will finish with their oral exam. During the two oral portions of the test (one that requires students to engage in a dialogical conversation, one that requires them to give a short speech on a topic about which they receive information from two written and one spoken text), all 100+ students will have two minutes to deliver an oral address, all at the same time. They will bend low over their recorders or bring the recorder close to their faces, as they work to shut out the voices of their neighbors and speak over the din in the large room. Fortunately, Mr. Mann's students have practiced with these tape recorders in this room in order to reduce the strangeness of the situation. Today, these students are met with one oral exam that seems fairly familiar, responding to a friend's telephone invitation to meet for dinner at a local restaurant, *La vaca loca*. However, the other oral task, the short speech, must be based on two readings about the history of Spanish as a language, and one audio text, entitled *Español: Una lengua mestiza,* a radio interview of a linguist who discusses her relationship to the Spanish language, and her career as a linguist, the honors she has received. An observer might be left pondering whether these students have ever heard about or discussed the history of the Spanish language, linguistics or linguists before in their Spanish classes? How could their Spanish Language 4 AP class possibly prepare them for the range of topics they might be tested on during the exam? How will the Spanish Language AP teachers who will grade the exams in June receive their efforts? What does such decontextualized language production say about these students' abilities to engage in other discourse in Spanish? It would seem that the student with the widest range of language experience, the longest exposure to written and spoken Spanish would be the one who would dominate this test.

Despite the challenging and perplexing nature of the exam, the former Spanish Immersion students leave the exam fairly confident, if a bit bemused by the topics they had to read, write and speak about. One of them comments that she was glad she at least recognized that one of the major readings for the essay had to do with "red tides" and not butterflies as one of her friends thought, a friend who had not been through the immersion program. In general, they seem upbeat about how the test went, though they confess not knowing very well how to deal with the final oral topic, what the readings, and especially the audio text was really about. But later in the summer, most of these students will hear that they have passed the AP exam with a score of 4 or 5, enough to get them college credit that will allow them at many colleges to pass out of any further language study requirements.

But Mr. Mann's time with these students is not over yet; they still have a month or more of class to go and he will provide them with another culminating activity for the course. Together they will read *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, by 20th Century Spanish poet and playwright, Federico García Lorca. This will be their longest reading all year, though they have read short stories, poetry and essays earlier. For former Spanish Immersion students, who during their elementary and middle school years regularly read multiple novels, memoirs, and non-fiction books in Spanish, and write extensively about them, reading a play does not present too much of a challenge. Day-by-day, in short

sections, Mr. Mann guides the class through the reading, asking questions, explaining terms, interpreting characters' behavior, in an engaging academic discussion, and following each section with the corresponding portion of a film version of the play, the sort of discourse and activities one might imagine in a college literature course.

In his practice, Mr. Mann, one of the former Spanish Immersion students' favorite high school teachers, seems unaware of the differences in experience the former TWI students have had from the other students in his course. He knows that a couple of them, from Argentine and Venezuelan families, practice bilingualism at home, but he is not aware of several others of his former immersion students. They don't seem to stand out in his thinking as having different needs or experiences, nor do they seem to be identified to the other students, as having resources the other students could benefit from. In one of his classes, twin Mexican-origin students, Mateo and Marcos, graduating seniors, have not been identified as former immersion students by the end of April, and when they are, Mr. Mann expresses surprise. Earlier in her high school career, Vanessa, now a sophomore, was approached by Mr. Mann as a good candidate for his Spanish-for-Spanish-speakers class. When she realized that the course was aimed at Spanish-speaking students with little or no literacy experience in the language, she declined, inasmuch as she perceived she would have to "start all over again" in instruction in reading and writing in Spanish. Even by the end of the school year, Mr. Mann had not identified her as having been through the Spanish immersion experience. Mr. Mann's main point of reference with regards to former SI students is their parents' desire to see them enter Spanish 4 AP as freshmen, something Mr. Mann discourages, and which has caused significant conflict in the past. He knows well the former SI students whose parents have advocated their early entry into the course. And one wonders why he sees these students, who seem to pass the AP exam in consistently high proportion, as not fitting into the course until they are at least sophomores. His explanation is developmental; they are not ready for the sophistication of the material they will be presented or for the sort of synthesis expected of their writing efforts. But others might say they are not prepared in other ways, that their SI experience has left them with gaps in their language development, gaps that should have been addressed during their upper elementary or middle school education.

Two Learning Settings, Two Ideologies

The differences that stand out between the Midville 5th grade Spanish Immersion elementary school class, and the high school Spanish Language AP class draw attention to historical tensions over the nature of language learning and the question of language use in this program. In this study I will explore the differences between the two learning settings, two activity systems, to try to understand the sources of the tensions that have occupied much of the conversation and educational efforts of parents, teachers, administrators in the Midville School District. To try to understand the effects of the tensions on students, I will examine the trajectory of Spanish Immersion students' experience of language learning and use as they move from the culmination of their

elementary TWI experience, toward their traditional high school World Language[2] courses, represented by the Spanish Language AP course. During the period of this study, the historical tensions in this program erupted into a crisis during which the middle school segment of the program was put on hiatus so that the district could engage in a prolonged program review and reform of the middle school segment. Using data from program review meetings, I will examine the process of program review, the ideologies (beliefs) about language learning and use that emerged among all the constituent members of the program, and the sources of continued impact de facto language policies on the program.   I will employ Cultural Historical Activity Theory as an analytical tool to consider the differences between the activity systems represented by the elementary and high school settings, as well as to consider the possibilities for and obstacles to the achievement of expansive learning in the activity of program reform. As in any language education setting, both overt and covert language policy play a role in the shape that language learning takes. This study will consider the impact of both overt attempts to affect language policy and covert forms of language policy on students' language learning and use.

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Review of Literature

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In this review, I will theorize how and where to look for de facto language policy in Two-Way Immersion (TWI) programs, focusing on specific language policy models (Spolsky 2004) and theorized mechanisms of language policy (Shohamy, 2004) and argue that using Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) as a framework can aid in further defining what those mechanisms may be in a TWI classroom and program. But first I will review literature related to specific areas of study pertaining to TWI education.

Two-Way Immersion Language Education

Characteristics of TWI education: Dual language or elite immersion education?

Two-way immersion (TWI) or dual language education programs distinguish themselves from other types of language education programs by their use of two target languages as the mediums for instruction in all the major curricular areas characteristic of monolingual schooling. Language arts, social studies, math, science, art, even music and physical education may be conducted in two languages, one of which is English, the other of which is most frequently Spanish or Chinese in the U.S. TWI education differs from both Foreign Language in Elementary Schools (FLES), aimed at teaching a second, foreign language to elementary school students, and traditional bilingual education, often

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[2] What I refer to in this study as "World Language" education might traditionally be referred to as "Foreign" or "Modern" Language education. Though the origins of the use of the term is not clear, in recent years several Western U.S. states (Alaksa, California, Colorado, among them) have adopted the term for their efforts to instruct students in languages other than English to better represent the global social realities of the languages being learned.

aimed at transitioning non-English-dominant students to English-only education, a subtractive model of bilingualism. (Lindholm-Leary, 2001) suggests that a two-way immersion program is a form of dual language education, whose aim is to provide the opportunity for English speakers "to learn a second language through immersion, with the added advantage of using the language with, and learning about the culture from, target-language speakers" (p. 30). For minority language-dominant students, TWI can represent an additive model of bilingual education, encouraging development of academic language and school literacies in both target languages. Lindholm-Leary prefers the name "dual language" and suggests that the term "immersion" is used "to affiliate [a program] with enrichment or elitist programs" as well as to "de-emphasize the 'bilingual' nature of the program because of the political connotations of bilingual education as compensatory or lower quality education program" (p. 30). These dual language programs also differ from other types of bilingual or immersion education programs in their student composition: "In dual language programs, English-dominant and target-language-dominant students are purposefully integrated with the goals of developing bilingual skills, academic excellence, and positive cross-cultural and personal competency" (p. 30). However, Lindholm-Leary also points to the existence of what she calls "elite" programs that do not serve a "diverse population" of students.

Further, various models of TWI education apportion different amounts of time spent in either language over the course of a school day/week, year, and from year-to-year. One model is the 50/50 model… But the model which Lindholm-Leary and (Howard & Sugarman, 2007) most affirm, and which (Thomas & Collier, 2002) point to as the most effective in aiding academic achievement of all its students, is the 90/10 model, in which language immersion begins with Kindergarten and 1st Grade classes dedicating approximately 90% of their school day to learning through the target second language (Spanish, Mandarin, etc.). As students proceed through the grades to the end of their elementary school experience, the amount of time spent learning in the target second language is reduced by 10% each year, until 5th grade when, in theory, students are spending an equal amount of time in each language. In this model, literacy in English is delayed until second or third grade in order to focus on developing literacy in the target minority language. By the end of 5th or 6th grade, TWI students have accumulated a significant amount of experience in learning in the full array of academic subject areas in two languages, have read many books, both for pleasure and academic purposes, have produced many types or genres of written work, have participated in many classroom discussions about a range of topics, belonging to both personal/social and academic domains. By some definitions of the term, they have become bilingual[3].

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[3] As (Myers-Scotton, 2006) and (Wei, 2000) point out, though we use the terms "bilingual" and "bilingualism" to refer generally to individuals or groups who know and/or use two languages on a regular basis, what is meant by those terms is open to interpretation. As I will discuss in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, individuals will have different definitions of these terms, often referring to what it means to be "truly" bilingual, implying the possibility of varying degrees of bilingualism. Definitions of bilingualism, then, are often influenced by the variations in language beliefs and ideologies individuals hold about language learning and use.

Recent research into four model TWI programs and schools (Howard & Sugarman, 2007) revealed that several qualities characterize the most effective TWI programs. These programs promote bilingualism through developing a culture of intellectualism, which includes a "commitment to ongoing learning," to "collaboration and the exchange of ideas," to the "fostering of independence," and to the "promotion of higher order thinking" (pp. 82-83). They also encourage a culture of equity that values and protects time spent in the minority language, includes students with special needs, addresses the needs of English-dominant and minority language-dominant students in a balanced way, and fosters an appreciation of the multiple cultures represented in the classroom. Finally, these successful schools develop a culture of leadership, challenging teachers, administrators and students alike to take initiative in their own learning, make public presentations, respond to the needs of others, and build consensus and share leadership.

Many proponents of TWI education see it as having potential to produce students well on their way to becoming bilingual and biliterate, whether they entered as English-dominant or minority language-dominant students. However, few TWI students have the opportunity to continue with this model of language and literacy acquisition into secondary school, so that potential is limited. Later in this review, I will discuss secondary language education for TWI students as a language policy question.

Growth of number of TWI programs nationwide.

Hornberger (2006), citing Lindholm-Leary (2001), points out the growth of the number of such programs over the course of just over 20 years, "from 30 in 1987 to 176 in 1994 and expanding to 261 in 1999" (p. 230). Much of that growth was due to increased funding of bilingual programs under the 1994 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act. However, even at the time of the enactment of NCLB in 2002 with its English-monolingual bias, the number of TWI programs had continued to increase to 266 (Center for Applied Linguistics [CAL], 2002). As of October 2011, CAL reports a total of 398 programs in 30 states. Growing interest in TWI education has also been indicated by the wide distribution of the award-winning documentary *Speaking in Tongues* (Schneider & Jarmel, 2009).

As TWI programs have increased, research into the features, problems and benefits of them has also increased steadily in recent years. (Howard *et al.*, 2003b) point to increasing focus on various aspects of TWI programs, including program design and implementation (Garcia, 1995), ((Montone & Loeb, 2000); student achievement and outcomes (Cazabon *et al.*, 1993); (Lindholm-Leary, 2001); (Thomas & Collier, 2002) language and literacy practices and outcomes (Howard *et al.*, 2003a); (Montague & Meza-Zaragoza, 1999); (Stein, 1997); (Gort, 2001); (Carrigo, 2000); social and cultural features (Cazabon et al., 1993); (Freeman, 1994, 1998); (de Jong, 1996a, 1996b); and parent, teacher and student experiences within and attitudes toward such programs (Cazabon et al., 1993), (Valdés, 1997); (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Some argue for the need for more longitudinal studies of bilingualism, biliteracy and cultural attitudes of students, as well as studies involving ethnographic methods and discourse analysis which can provide important information about how students are grouped and language policies are enacted, what teacher attitudes and practices are regarding language instruction, and

how language is actually used by both teachers and students (August & Hakuta, 1997); (Canagarajah, 2006); (Howard et al., 2003b). Because most TWI programs are limited to elementary schools, little research has been conducted beyond 5th grade classrooms, and even less beyond 8th grade to examine the language and literacy outcomes and academic achievement of students when they enter high school and college.

TWI at the secondary level

One of the most problematic language policy issues, involving both de jure and de facto policies, that has faced TWI education is whether it should be implemented at the secondary level, as well as how it has been and should be implemented. (Garcia, 1995) have considered the question of what will happen to TWI students and their language acquisition once they exit elementary schools for middle school and how to establish and maintain middle school TWI programs. While teachers, researchers and school districts have placed some focus on these middle school programs, and how they will work within the traditional structures of middle school to extend language learning and literacy from the elementary programs, a survey done in 1992 indicates that only four school districts nation-wide had established language immersion programs beyond 8th grade (p. 62). As of October 2011, the Center for Applied Linguistics reported that only 12 TWI programs existed in high schools, and only one program in the nation spanned K-12.

Generally, whether they exit at 5th grade or 8th grade, most TWI students will not find a TWI program in high school, so if they want to continue learning in and about the minority language, they are bound for traditional high school World Language programs. Many are able to enter the higher-level language courses because of their language and literacy proficiency, and many enter Advanced Placement courses early in their high school years.

By observing the structure and content of high school World Language programs and the high value placed on exiting those programs through the structure of Advanced Placement classes, we can see how a conflict with the practices and ideologies of language and literacy inherent to TWI education could be created. The middle school TWI program may become a transitional, even contested, site, as teaching may shift from one model of language and literacy instruction to another, and as literacy learning becomes narrowed to a less diverse range of academic and social genres and tasks, in order to focus on the study of grammar and national literature, the traditional focus of the World Language class. The TWI students' high level of proficiency in the minority language across a wide range of academic disciplines and social situations is actually cut short through this movement into traditional World Language classes, no matter how advanced they may be. In the end, even the potential for World Language learning that advocates might see in TWI education is compromised, as students have more limited opportunities to continue to develop high levels of language proficiency in disciplines like science, social studies, and math.

In short, in contrast with the focus of the World Language class, the focus of the TWI classroom is not on language learning per se, but on acquisition of language and literacy through the use of the language as a medium for academic instruction. By the time TWI students reach 5th or 6th grade they have potentially had the opportunity to speak, read and write about the full range of academic subjects, and to produce a rich

range of spoken and written genres associated with them.   However, when TWI students leave their elementary school programs, and enter middle school, the path their minority language and literacy acquisition will take is not so clear. Despite their early experiences with a wide range of genres and language uses, they frequently find themselves in traditional World Language courses with relative beginners. The TWI students from both language minority and majority backgrounds at times become restricted to the limited spoken and written genres of the beginner/intermediate World Language classroom. If they enter higher-level World Language classes, such as AP classes, their use of language is still restricted to the study of grammar or national literatures. Instead of continuing their maturation toward more complex, academically contextualized speech and writing, TWI students may not be challenged to continue the development of spoken and written genres associated with the full range of academic disciplines, math, science, social science and arts, but are limited to genres common to the social context of traditional second language learning. In order to understand fully this restrictive process and to consider ways to take fuller advantage of the linguistic resources many TWI students bring with them to secondary school, I will examine TWI education through the lens of genre studies to provide a means of understanding the complexity of what TWI students could potentially learn about language, how it is used, and how language use is tied to social conditions, in both academic and non-academic domains, as well as to structures of power and privilege.

TWI implementation in secondary school: Structural and ideological issues.

Few studies have been done to understand the problems related with implementation of TWI programs at the middle or high school level. However, the few that have been undertaken examine both structural obstacles to effective implementation, and the related problems that emerge when monolingual English schools attempt to integrate TWI programs into existing school structures and culture.

Montone & Loeb (2000) report on some of the significant challenges to the implementation of secondary school TWI programs across the country, including structural policies such as limiting the size of an elementary TWI program to only one cohort of students. Since middle school is structured differently from elementary school with teachers focusing on single academic subjects, students having greater freedom to choose their courses, and TWI courses having to compete with both mandated core courses and popular electives, TWI programs often suffer from student attrition at the middle school level. Such attrition can endanger the fiscal viability of a middle school TWI program. However, they report the benefits of implementation of middle school TWI programs as providing a continuation of the benefits of an elementary program, along with advancing students' language development and preparing them for high school advanced language classes, International Baccalaureate and Advanced Placement programs.

McCollum (1994) ethnographic study of a middle school TWI program in which 77% of the students were Latino/Hispanic, focuses on the cultural capital connected with language use, revealing the devaluation of minority language students' vernacular, "non-standard" Spanish. This devaluation, along with the higher valuation of testing in English, the use of English for all-school purposes, such as announcements and bulletins,

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and the resulting peer pressure to "misbehave" by using English instead of Spanish, indicates the complex learning situations that can result from the unexamined language ideologies, hidden curriculum and program policy present in a TWI program. This study connects some of the structural problems of integrating a small TWI program into larger middle school environment with the impact of English-monolingual language ideologies on TWI students.

       Freeman (2000), in her study of Puerto Rican and African American students in the Julia de Burgos Middle School TWI program in North Philadelphia, discovered similar devaluation of student learning through Spanish (the language of instruction for math and science classes). Through her ethnographic research into how both English and Spanish-dominant Puerto Rican students used Spanish in their everyday classroom interactions and class work, she realized, first of all, that the dichotomous view many teachers and researchers have of Latino or Hispanic students as "Spanish-dominant" and other students from other groups (in this case, African American) as "English-dominant" did not hold up in this TWI program where some Puerto Rican students were clearly English-dominant, and did not want to identify with the Spanish-dominant students, because of the social stigma attached to the use of Spanish by their community. Further, she found "conflicts and confusions about what bilingual education means, who the target populations should be, and what the goals of the program are for those populations" that existed among the teachers at de Burgos, with some teachers feeling that low achieving, Spanish-dominant students should be learning in their content courses in English. Even in this program aimed at supporting Spanish-dominant and bilingual students, whose language ideologies are presumably defined by the TWI model, the structural issues involved in incorporating the program in an English dominant environment caused stresses on students in the program, and the larger cultural values surrounding the school informed the conflicting language ideologies observed in the school.

Language minority students in TWI programs.

       Since one of the identified goals of TWI education is cross-cultural awareness (Howard *et al*, 2003), researchers might ask how such awareness is made manifest through language use in the TWI classroom. Oyster School in Washington, D.C. stands out as a model of implementation of policies and curriculum of equality and respect (Freeman 1994, 1998). Its program combines an affirmation of additive bilingualism, "the development of minority students' native language and culture", multicultural curriculum and alternative forms of assessment of achievement to create an inclusive environment for both majority and minority language students (Howard *et al*, 2003). But, even though such a program seems to point to the positive benefits of TWI education on cross-cultural awareness, the question remains as to how consistently across programs TWI teachers, parents and administrators convey to their students that they are engaged in a social endeavor, one which will allow them to use both their target languages for not only academics but everyday uses as they progress through their learning.

       One of the complicating factors in the consistency of implementation of cross-cultural awareness through language use is the fact that majority and minority language students enter TWI programs for significantly different reasons, the former to add instrumental language skills to their portfolios of academic and social abilities, the latter

to maintain and extend their home languages while learning to use both English and the minority language as the language of academic institutions. While research reveals that the actual implementation of practices that provide sufficient input in and valorizing of the minority language can be problematic in many cases (Delgado-Larroco, 1998); (Carrigo, 2000); (Alanis, 2000); (Amrein & Peña, 2000); (McCollum, 1994, 1999), in theory, during all the years of their TWI education, but especially in the early grades, the minority language and the multiculturalism with which it is associated are to be privileged over English and monoculturalism in the classroom, not just between teacher and student, but also among the students themselves (Cazabon *et al*, 1993); (Freeman, 1994, 1998); (Arce, 2000). In the 90/10 model TWI kindergarten and first grade classes, only about 10% of the students' classroom time involves the use of English, and in some TWI settings, during their English language time the students interact with another teacher, not their regular classroom teacher, whom, they are to presume, only speaks the minority language. This valorizing of the minority language not only helps provide intensive exposure to and regular input in the minority language, but some feel it may help place the minority language students in a position of increased social status, as they bring with them social and everyday language uses and speech genres that the teacher may not be able to teach.

From the proponent's point of view, TWI education at its best emphasizes growing proficiency in a wide range of language uses and domains, both those belonging to all the academic disciplines of school and those belonging to the social and cultural realms of the students in the program. However, further research is needed to examine the actual status of minority language students and their language in particular TWI classrooms at particular times, and what attitudes toward the minority language and its multiple cultures are transmitted and learned, another reason to approach TWI by examining the language domains obtained in TWI classrooms, and learning what each language is used for.

Language policy in TWI programs.

In her 1997 *Harvard Education Review* "cautionary note," Valdés expresses deep concern regarding the project of TWI education because she understands its participants to be involved in forming and enacting de facto language policy. She is concerned that the teachers, administrators, parents and students involved in TWI programs are unaware of the long-term effects of the program they advocate, specifically on the Mexican-origin students in them. She draws attention to the potential TWI education has to take away ownership of language from minority language students and families, putting power over that language into the hands of the majority English-speaking educational communities and parents. She warns that, though TWI education may be promising for Mexican-origin students, their prospects for academic achievement are not just tied to factors of language, but are much more complex, and that such programs could have detrimental academic and social effects unanticipated by their proponents. Further, she points to the fact that the stakeholders in TWI programs, teachers, parents, administrators, while engaging in de facto language policy in the implementation of the programs, often do not understand the implications of the policies they are enacting.

Implicit in Valdés's warning, as well as McCollum's (1994) and Freeman's (2000) middle school studies, is the idea that TWI program stakeholders are handling and transmitting language ideologies and practices to their children and communities, and that these ideologies and practices often are not seen clearly or discussed openly. Parents, teachers, administrators and students all hold beliefs about the importance of one language over another, how language may or may not be used, what it means to be bilingual, and what the goals are for language learning and use in TWI programs. (Mora *et al.*, 2001) point to the problem of conflict over ideologies, terminology, and concepts of implementation in TWI programs, arguing that alignment of ideology with implementation is essential in a successful TWI program. They further assert that the model of instruction of a TWI program must not only be pedagogically sound, but take into account the specific resources and realities of the whole school community, as well as provide consistency of implementation of the instructional model, and a means of identifying and remedying a lack of consistency in implementation. Their study considers these issues within the bounds of a TWI program, but not as TWI students exit programs for other language learning and use environments, such as World Language classes in secondary school.

In light of Valdés's warning and these studies, I will propose ways of understanding language policy formation and the language ideologies and beliefs that inform it across a TWI program, and beyond into high school World Language classes into which former TWI students enter.

Research Methods for Studying Language Policy Formation

Recently, language policy researchers and theorists have been focusing on mapping out the full extent of factors involved in the creation and enactment of language policy in a wide range of social spaces. Recognizing the fact that language policy is formed and enacted in not only traditional spaces and ways that result in de jure or overt language policy, Spolsky (2004) expanded our understanding of language policy formation to include a consideration of individuals' and groups' language practices, language beliefs (or ideologies) and language management, which usually takes the form of corpus and/or status management. While Spolsky's model could help in examining aspects of language policy in a TWI program, because of the complexity of TWI programs and the variation in their implementation, we need further delineation of factors in each of Spolsky's categories. For instance, we might observe language practices among several overlapping social groups as they meet in classrooms, on the playground or cafeteria, in teacher/administrator meetings, in parent association meetings and in the front office, or from classroom to classroom or school to school. All of these groups and social spaces are important to any TWI program. And language practices might look very different across the language learning settings involved in a multi-school TWI program.

Further, to understand the impact of language ideologies and beliefs on the enactment of policy in a TWI program, we must not only talk with teachers, but students, parents and administrators as well, and in each educational setting involved. Howard *et al (*2003) have previously reported on a variety of attitudinal surveys of some of these groups, but we would also need to consider how their commonalities and differences in

ideology create consensus or conflict in a TWI program. In order to understand language management in TWI programs, we would need to consider ways in which all these stakeholders work together or against each other to control both what "good" language is in their context (corpus), as well as "what language is good for" (Garrett, 2005), that is what status and uses each target language have in the lives of students and in the classroom and school. The language and pedagogical ideologies of teachers are of utmost importance in TWI programs. (Jackson, 2001) in her study of the relationship between teacher beliefs and TWI program implementation, found that teachers relied on their own experiences and beliefs rather than research or program design, and while they held to beliefs characteristic of TWI programs, their beliefs often did not square with their practices. (Wright, 2001), in her study of Eritrean second language teachers, found that even teachers whose pedagogical choices might seem ineffective or counterproductive made their choices "based on their own concerns about what is best for the students, what is possible given the constraints of their material circumstances, their beliefs about the students and their families, and in some cases awareness of their own capabilities and limitations as teachers" (p. 62). However, parent language ideologies and policies are also important. King & Fogle (2006) explored how parents made decisions about pursuing additive bilingual education for their children, based on their own experience of language learning or loss and their concepts of what it means to be a "good" parent. These studies indicate that language management decisions are made based on language beliefs and ideologies and must be considered within the context of the entire school if the TWI program only forms one part of the school's academic and social life.   Not only do stakeholders in a TWI program affect various aspects of language policy, but, as Howard *et al* (2003) point out, TWI programs function in an environment of "tension that arises between the ideal of two-way immersion and the reality of implementation in the U.S., a monolingual English society" (p. 48). They point to literature on TWI education which "documents the way TWI programs struggle to work within the reality and approach the ideal, and the ways in which the [monolingual English] reality impacts student outcomes, classroom discourse, instructional strategies, and attitudes of students and parents" (p. 48). Both McCollum (1994) and Freeman (2000) point to these realities and the way English monolingual ideologies can affect students in TWI programs. A full understanding of the language management pressures on a TWI program should, therefore, also consider whatever evidence might be gathered about the language ideologies of the greater community in which the program resides.

Language policy mechanisms and CHAT.

Continuing to build on previous efforts to delineate sources of language policy, (Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999) further define language policy by distinguishing it from language beliefs and language practices, and describing it as entities (groups or individuals) planning specifics of language practice for other entities (groups or individuals). While we most often think of language policy as belonging to the realm of linguists, politicians and educators, many others, not so immediately identifiable, are involved in language policy as well, including families and communities and their leaders. Spolsky & Shohamy (1999) consider policy to be different from practices with "'policy' [restricted] to cases where one person with authority attempts to control the

practice of others" (p. 36), whether that person is an adult who decides when and how languages will be used in the home or in public by her children, or lawmakers who enact legislation regarding languages to be used in public documents or educational settings. The expansion of the concept of policy from the commonly held one that applies to public policymakers opens up the need to think about how varieties of policy come into contact with each other and conflict, resist, or coalesce. Not all language policy comes in the form of written statements but as Shohamy (2004) argues "the real [language policy] of a political and social entity should be observed not merely through declared policy statements but rather through a variety of devices that are used to perpetuate language practices, often in covert and implicit ways." She goes on to say that these devices are what exert a strong influence on de facto language policy, and that "it is only through the observations of the effects of these very devices that the real language policy of an entity can be understood and interpreted" (p. 46). These devices, or "mechanisms," stand as tools of control between language ideologies and practices. Their existence provides an argument for examining both what individuals say about their language ideologies, the alignment between language ideologies and practices, and the reception or effects of practices on individuals and groups of people at whom language policies are aimed.

Both Shohamy (2006) and (Schiffman, 1996, 2003) point to the difference between overt (de jure) and covert (de facto) language policy, and to ways in which the two may come into conflict or contradict each other, the former "motivated by the highest ideals" while the latter "may show ulterior motivations" (Canagarajah 2006: 160). Overt language policies are those which are "explicit, formalized, de jure, codified and manifest," while covert policies are "implicit, informal, unstated, de facto, grass-roots and latent" (Shohamy, 2006: 50). This difference is significant since, unlike explicit/overt language policy, "implicit language policy is an integral part of the culture of the specific entity and is supported and transmitted by the culture, irrespective of the overt policy" (Schiffman 1996: 13). This concept of overt/implicit language policy allows us to consider the ways that individuals and groups whose language is being controlled by overt policy mechanisms may respond with their own "bottom-up" policy of resistance meant to open up ways of enacting their own policy agendas (Shohamy 2006: 51). We can observe the real, de facto language policy by isolating "a variety of mechanisms that indirectly perpetuate [language policies] and that serve as a tool to turn ideologies […] into […] policies" (Shohamy, 2006:53). Even though policy and practice are different, Spolsky (2004) argues that, when it comes to language management, "the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than in management. Unless the management is consistent with the language practices and beliefs, and with the other contextual forces that are in play, the explicit policy […] is likely to have no more effect on how people speak than the activities of generations of school teachers vainly urging the choice of correct language" (qtd. in Shohamy, 2006: 53).

Though Shohamy (2006) has identified language education as one of the language policy mechanisms that leads to de facto language policy on a societal scale, the question remains, still, of how to isolate specific mechanisms in educational settings, in order to understand the interaction of top-down and bottom-up policy. Canagarajah (2006) argues that ethnographic methods must be used to "unrave[l] the largely unconscious 'lived culture' of a community" so that we can distinguish between the "how things 'ought to

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be'" of explicit policy and the reality of "what 'is'" of language policy on the ground (p. 153). He suggests that ethnographic method, the most central of which is participant observation, can be used at various points in a language policy cycle to understand not only how policy is formed and implemented, but "the ways in which what is on paper shapes everyday life and interpersonal relationships" (p. 158). In particular during implementation of language policy, "ethnography may explore how different agencies and institutions function in promoting the policy […]; specifically it can bring out the tensions in the role of institutions at different levels of society, and the ensuing compromises in realizing the policy" (Canagarajah, 2006: 158).

   I would add to Canagarajah's affirmation of ethnographic methods that a specific theoretical framework of research methodology is particularly well-suited to identifying and studying language policy mechanisms in the complex systems in which they are found: that is, Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT).

   I will not trace the full history of CHAT here, but will refer to the work of Yrjö Engström and the Center for Activity Theory and Developmental Work Research at the University of Helsinki (http://www.edu.helsinki.fi/activity/) in mapping out three generations of CHAT work. First is (Vygotsky, 1978) work which led to the early conceptions of CHAT which connected individual subjects with learning objects through means of mediating tools, including language, in order to understand the cognitive processes of individual learners. The second generation of CHAT theory (Figure 1) complicated that model significantly by including other mediating elements in the learning process, including the learner's community, the rules developed for work within that community, and the roles and responsibilities assigned to its members. This expansion allows us to look at learning processes in social settings and to take into consideration the complex learning environments in families, communities and schools
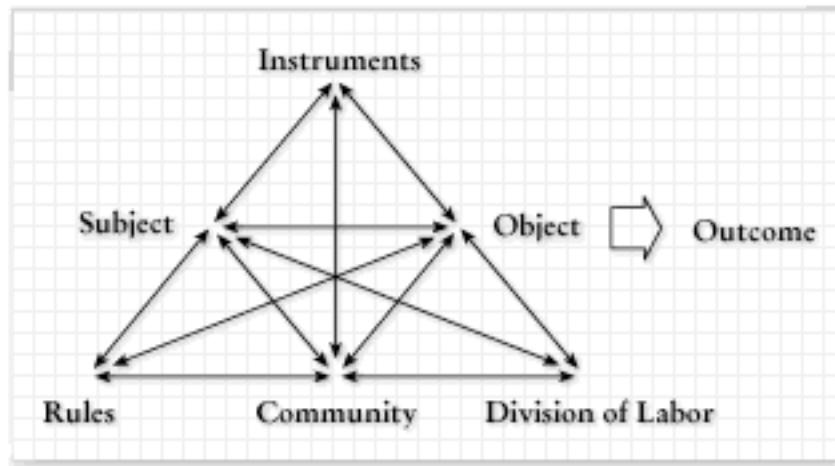
Figure 1.1: 2nd Generation CHAT (from
http://www.edu.helsinki.fi/activity/pages/chatanddwr/chat/)

   This second generation model of CHAT affords a rich field in which to consider the location and nature of language policy mechanisms in learning environments. To begin with, through it we can trace the sources of language ideology to the individual subjects in the system, the community as a whole, as revealed through their objects

(outcomes for language use and learning) and the rules that they develop for managing language use and learning in it, as well as the participant roles they develop and occupy. The model highlights the complex interaction that surrounds language ideologies and provides a way of thinking about how they compete with each other through social structures. In addition, we can examine both overt and covert outcomes for language use and learning as they affect both individuals and communities, and determine the development of specific participant roles and responsibilities. The same can be said for the rules of language use and learning developed by the individual subjects and communities. Finally, we can consider the roles played by material tools, including those traditionally considered in educational settings, such as texts, tests, curricular models and plans, and various forms of technology, but also space and its configuration and use (built environment) as it is allocated to the activities of the individual and community[4]. These tools or instruments also act as covert mechanisms of language policy, particularly in school settings where teachers must adapt their activities to the space allotted their classes.

Third generation CHAT provides a way of understanding networks of activity systems, connecting one activity system to another as they relate to potentially shared goals or outcomes or as different but connected communities work toward a shared object (Figure 2). This model allows language policy researchers to compare language mechanisms across a variety of activity systems for possible conflict or consistency in language ideologies and practices. It facilitates identifying the location of the overt or "imagined" language policy of a community, and any rifts between overt and covert policy mechanisms in a program occupied by different communities engaging in a variety of activities.
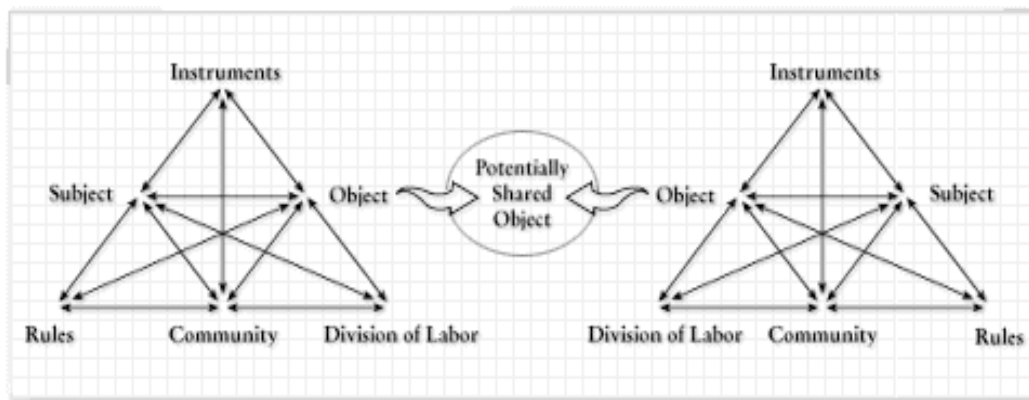
Figure 1.2: Third Generation CHAT (from http://www.edu.helsinki.fi/activity/pages/chatanddwr/chat/)

The CHAT model seems particularly well-suited to study language policy mechanisms in a TWI program, not only because of the ways that activity theory has been applied to language socialization and literacy learning in school environments, but

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[4] See (Sterponi, 2007) for a discussion of the importance of built environment in the clandestine literacy practices of elementary school students.

because it accommodates the social and structural complexity of a typical TWI program. Language policy mechanisms are located in and utilized by a wide variety of social groupings within such a program, from the school board as it makes decisions about the size, location, and funding of a program, to each classroom teacher from kindergarten to the exit grade, to the parent association as it supports, questions or influences the decisions of teachers and administrators, to the cultural and linguistic communities that send their children to study in it, to the students themselves who decide which languages they will use in their social interactions in the classroom and playground. CHAT provides a means of isolating various social groupings and the individual subjects in it to consider how they are actively involved in enacting both overt and covert language policy.

Language policy reform and expansive learning.

Finally, third generation CHAT and (Engestrom, 1987) development of the concept of expansive learning provide a useful model for considering the process of resolving conflicts that arise as a result of variation in de facto language policies within a TWI program. (Engestrom *et al.*, 1999) presents expansive learning as "a historically new type of learning which emerges as practitioners struggle through developmental transformations in their activity systems, moving across collective zones of proximal development" (p. 3). While large-scale cycles of expansive learning take place over the course of years, and therefore may be difficult to observe as they take place, (Engestrom, 2001) has also used the theory to examine medium and small scale cycles of expansive learning in working team settings. In his study of the systems of children's health care in Helsinki, Engestrom (2001) sets out specific principles for using activity theory to understand the process of expansive learning. First, the primary unit of analysis for studying this process is "a collective, artifact-mediated and object-oriented activity system, seen in its network relations to other activity systems" (p. 136). The second principle emphasizes the "multi-voicedness of activity systems," which necessarily involves "multiple points of view, traditions and interests" (p. 136). Thirdly, activity systems are historical in nature, and expansive learning necessarily involves studying the "local history of the activity and its objects" (p. 136). Principle four is the "central role of contradictions as sources of change and development." However, contradictions are not the same as mere conflicts or problems: "Contradictions are historically accumulating structural tensions within and between activity systems," that is the "double bind potentially embedded in everyday actions" (p. 137). Finally, the fifth principle predicts the possibility of expansive learning or transformation in activity systems. Though the process may take a long time, when contradictions in activity systems arise and become intensified, some individuals within the activity system may begin to question and make changes. This initial process can lead to a collective zone of proximal development, a "collective envisioning and a deliberate collective change effort" (p. 137). Change takes the form of a re-conceptualization of the object and motive of the activity system, so that participants adopt and accept a more expansive view of the possibilities for the activity than in earlier times. This model implies a movement toward new ways of accomplishing activities, new insights into the objects and reasons for those objects,

toward collaborative reconsideration of all the activity systems involved, including all the elements of those activity systems.

The application of expansive learning to educational reform efforts seems clear, and provides a means of considering, even during a reform process itself, what activity systems are implicated in a reform effort, who the subjects are, what objects they share (or believe they share), what objects they have that create contradictions, how community alignments, rules, tools, division of labor, may contribute to or interfere with expansive learning. I will use this theory of expansive learning and its process to analyze the Midville Spanish Immersion middle school Program Review/reform effort, and will suggest locations in the process where and reasons why expansive learning may be thwarted.

"Spheres of Human Activity," Language Domains and Speech Genres in Activity Systems

In using CHAT as a way of theorizing how we might observe and understand language policy mechanisms in operation in an activity system focusing on language learning and use, I will further propose that we must examine the role that language itself (as a Tool in the activity system [Vygotsky, 1979]) becomes a mechanism of language policy. As Garrett (2005) points out, a particular language used for specific purposes, can become a tool of social resistance for a group of people in situations of language shift and loss. He emphasizes that through using language in particular ways, we convey ideas about "what language is good for," that is, what activities a particular language is associated with. Specific spoken genres (Bakhtin, 1986) pertain to certain language domains, or "spheres of human activity." While it is beyond the scope of this study to suggest any taxonomy of speech genres that pertain to specific language domains or spheres, Bakhtin (1986) did propose that any development of categories of primary and secondary speech genres would depend upon our understanding of their connection to specific "spheres of human activity." Further, Bakhtin argues that we are "given these speech genres in almost the same way that we are given our native language, which we master fluently long before we begin to study grammar" (1986: 78), that is through participating in "spheres of human activity." While Bakhtin was not using "activity" in the same way as Vygotsky (and CHAT theorists), it is not difficult to see ways in which we can connect "spheres of human activity" to the CHAT triangle, and therefore, see speech genres as both the Object of participation in an activity, as well as Tools for accomplishing the activity.

The most obvious connection between "spheres of human activity" and the TWI language learning and use environment would be found in the various language domains obtained through the academic content areas in a TWI classrooms[5]. These academic language domains carry with them specific ways of using language, specific vocabulary,

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[5] These content areas provide a network of pre-existing, relatively discrete categories of activities related to language use, while the many social language use domains in a classroom would be more difficult to identify and categorize, though they might be recognized through the speech genres themselves. See Bakhtin (1986) for some of the difficulties in establishing a taxonomy of speech genres.

related to specific socially validated activities. (Gee, 2003) calls these social groupings and the practices that belong to them "semiotic domains," pointing to the various ways we read, think and learn differently according to the situations characteristic of these domains. A TWI classroom involves a wide variety of semiotic domains connected to academic "spheres of human activity," including those pertaining to science(s), mathematics, the arts (plastic, musical, dramatic), social studies (including history), language arts (literacy, language awareness). In each of these domains, students learn ways of thinking and speaking, as well as a variety of "secondary genres," in the form of types or genres of written work, reports, lab write-ups, personal and persuasive essays, short stories and poetry, multimodal writing, presentational writing. They begin to master these genres before they fully understand their function within the domains they belong to. However, they are involved in reproducing those genres that carry the most value and power in specific domains.

As Gee's (2003) discussion of semiotic domains implies an ideological (rather than autonomous) model of both language and literacy (Street, 1985) in which language is used in ways consistent with the values of the people who inhabit the semiotic domain, (Bakhtin, 1981) argues that as speech genres come into contact with each other, they reveal the tensions that exist between the centripetal and centrifugal forces that vie for control over a language. Centripetal forces are those which "serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world," emphasizing the importance of "correct language" that will ensure the "victory of one reigning language" (pp. 270-1). Centrifugal forces, in contrast, are located in "the fleeting language of a day, an epoch, a social group, a genre, a school and so forth," and represent language as it is used in "the authentic environment of an utterance" (p. 272). In other words, centripetal or centralizing forces of language emphasize a static, autonomous, "correct" view of language, while centrifugal or decentralizing forces emphasize language in its actual context, as used by individuals and groups. In Chapters 3 and 4, I will focus on these emphases within the context of the TWI 5th grade classroom and the high school Spanish Language AP classroom, and their respective culminating experiences.

The centripetal, centralized view of language, I argue, results in a static representation of a language, one that is represented in World Language classes by the version of the world language presented in a textbook. (Engestrom, 1991) examines the problem that (Resnick, 1987) raises with regards to learning in school environments.

> The process of schooling seems to encourage the idea that the "game of school" is to learn symbolic rules of various kinds, that there is not supposed to be much continuity between what one knows outside school and what one learns in school. There is growing evidence, then, that not only may schooling not contribute in a direct and obvious way to performance outside school, but also that knowledge acquired outside school is not always used to support in-school learning. Schooling is coming to look increasingly isolated from the rest of what we do (p. 15).

Engestrom focuses his concern on the presentation of a concept from astronomy, the phases of the moon, in textbooks and the way the concept is misconceived in them, so that students disassociate that presentation with the reality of the moon they see in the

sky. Using CHAT, Engestrom identifies the problem of this mis-learning as related to a change in the Object of the activity system, from developing a realistic explanation for the phases of the moon as motivated by curiosity, to mastering knowledge of the textbook's explanation of the phases of the moon as motivated by desire to successfully answer the teacher's questions about it. In Chapter 4, I will demonstrate student perceptions of encapsulation of school learning in the context of high school Spanish Language courses, and contrast it with language learning in the TWI context.

Speech genres, their domains, and their orientations toward differing views of language become a means of understanding language policy in an educational context. The secondary genres consumed and produced (and by extension, the primary genres of which they are composed) are Tools in the activity systems to which they pertain, inasmuch as they are used to accomplish specific Objects, or social actions, as (Miller, 1984) would see it. At the same time, they are also mechanisms of language policy in a classroom, since decisions about which genres to use and teach, and which domains will be relevant in a classroom, relate to how students will acquire language, what they will "master fluently" and be able to use in the future. In a TWI classroom, the question will be which language to use for which domains. As (Horner & Trimbur, 2002) point out in their study of U.S. monolingual English language policy, in many World Language classrooms, language use is limited to the domains of language arts (linguistics), history and national literatures. Even if students have the opportunity to use a World Language for a wider range of domains, most World Language teachers have not received formation in the use of their language in domains such as the sciences and mathematics. While the common practice in TWI classrooms seems to be to use the minority language for a wide range of domains and secondary genres, little, if any, attention has been paid to the connection between minority language learning and use and the academic domains of the TWI classroom. For this reason, in this study I will pay particular attention to the "spheres of human activity" or language domains that obtain in a 5th grade classroom and its culminating experience, as well as in a high school Spanish Language AP class. I hope that this attention to language domains and genres will expand upon (Potowski, 2002) study of language use in a 5th grade TWI classroom, in which she argues that students follow a diglossic pattern of use of Spanish and English. She observed students using more or mostly English in peer-to-peer social situations, while they used mostly Spanish in their academic tasks and with their teacher. As I will try to argue in Chapter 3, the 5th grade students in this study sometimes did not use Spanish in social situations (such as playing soccer) because those situations represented language domains with which they were not familiar in Spanish.

The Current Study and Research Questions

In this study, I will examine both de jure and de facto language policy formation and enactment in relationship to a TWI program in the Midville School District. Using CHAT, I will identify three school-based activity systems involved in policy formation and enactment, and will attempt to characterize language learning and use in two of them, a 5th grade SI class, and a high school Spanish Language AP class, in order to understand the differences and conflicts in language ideologies and practices between the two systems. Those differences and conflicts, I will argue, asserted themselves in the TWI

middle school program, and led to a crisis that brought the district into a Program Review aimed at reforming the middle school program. CHAT will again serve to reveal persistently varying language ideologies among the stakeholders that prevented them from achieving the expansive learning necessary to enact real reform in the SI Program. This study will be guided by the following research questions:

Question 1: What are the conceptions (beliefs, ideologies) and practices of language learning and use in the Midville Elementary TWI program?
- What are the conceptions of language learning and use held by teachers and administrators in the Midville Elementary TWI program?
- What does it mean to be a competent learner and user of language in the final year of the Midville Elementary TWI program?
- What "spheres of human activity" or domains are related to the language learned and used in the 5th grade class (final year of the elementary program)?

Question 2: What are the conceptions and practices of language learning and use in the Midville High School Spanish Language Program?
- What are the conceptions of language learning and use held by teachers and instructional supervisors in the Midville Spanish Language program?
- What does it mean to be a competent learner and user of language in the Spanish Language AP class?
- What "spheres of human activity" or domains are related to the language learned and used in Spanish Language AP classes (final language course for many language students)?

Question 3: How did conflicting conceptions of language learning and use among members of the Midville TWI Program Review group affect the reform of the Midville Middle School TWI Program?
- What are the conceptions of language learning and use held by constituent members (district admin, site admin, teachers [elementary TWI, secondary World Language]) of the Midville TWI Program Review group and the Communities they represented?
- What conflicting conceptions of language learning and use emerged during the process of program review, policy formation, and curriculum development?
- How did the lack of resolution of these conflicts lead to continuing production of de facto language policies in the Midville Middle School TWI program?

Chapter 2: Models of Language Learning and Use Study Methods

Summary

To answer my research questions, I used multiple qualitative methods in the context of two school sites and a district-wide Program Review for the Spanish Immersion program. The qualitative methods I used included in-depth interviews with teachers and/or administrators from two school sites, the elementary school that houses the immersion program and the secondary school into which these students feed. In addition, since the middle school program was suspended during the research year, I collected data at meetings related to its suspension. I was a participant observer in the fifth grade Spanish Immersion class and their culminating experience at El Molino; in the high school Advanced Placement Spanish Language class and in the May 2009 Advanced Placement (AP) test for Spanish Language. I conducted a focus group with former Spanish Immersion students on the day of the Spanish Language AP exam; and observed during the course of the Spanish Immersion middle school Program Review in fall 2008. Finally I conducted a series of interviews with administrators concerned with the varied programs. This study utilized a comparative approach, in which teacher/administrator language beliefs and ideologies were brought alongside classroom practices and culminating experiences to analyze the possible sources of conflict among the various constituents in this multi-site program. To fully comprehend the methodology of this study, one must understand the nature of the crisis that led to it.

Background: The Middle School Crisis

The crisis this 8-year-old middle school Spanish Immersion program was undergoing had been ongoing, even though it only manifested itself publicly in spring 2008. It had been requiring the active intervention of district personnel for the previous several school years, as Midville middle school TWI teachers, parents and students had expressed growing dissatisfaction with the quality/ies of the educational experiences in the varied programs. Teachers had complained of being burdened with having to develop many of their own materials for their courses, including translating English-language social studies and language arts materials into Spanish, and of the isolation that came with being in a small bilingual choice program within a traditional monolingual middle school. Some of the teachers found the students that came to them from Midville Elementary School's program annoying (the result of the kids' having been together in class for six years already) and ill-prepared for the level of language development they expected of students who had been using Spanish since Kindergarten. A series of teachers had worked in the middle school TWI classrooms, but no one had continued in the program more than five years, most fewer than that. Several stayed in the middle school after leaving the program, moving into other positions with better support, positions that fit more clearly into the school structure and culture.

Parent dissatisfaction with the program played a part in these teacher decisions as well. Parents fretted about many things related to their students' middle school experience: the fact that to continue in Spanish Immersion classes, students had to give up one of their much-coveted electives in 7th and 8th grades; that students expressed a

sense of boredom with the repetitive quality of their 7th and 8th grade curriculum, and even with each other after six or seven years of being together; that there seemed to be little oversight of the program that would resolve problems affecting the quality of instruction in the classrooms; that the quality of the language modeled by the Spanish Immersion teachers (grammar, usage and accent) did not meet the high standards of some Spanish-speaking parents. Still, as one parent expressed it in the program review meetings, they "felt it was their patriotic duty to keep kids in the program so that the program will continue" (Fieldnotes, 10/18/09). Persistent messages from the Midville School District administrators and board about the necessity to maintain a minimum number of students in the Spanish Immersion classes had taken their effect on these parents, who were very aware of how many parents before them had fought with the district to establish the program, and how many more parents down the line would like to see their children participate in the program. Teachers, at once dependent upon parents for funding and resentful of their empowerment in the program, had to find ways to manage not only their classrooms, but their relationship with parents as well.

The growing tensions of the previous eight years came to a head in the spring of 2008 when the middle school found itself without a teacher for the 6th grade class for the following year. Though the district had realized that the teacher who was currently filling this position needed support and had begun to work with her, providing her training, funding and mentoring, she announced that she would not participate in the Spanish Immersion program soon after a confrontational meeting with school administrators and a small group of parents of incoming 6th grade Spanish Immersion students. While the specifics of that meeting have not been made public, the then-Associate Superintendent for Educational Services sent her letter out to the school communities and Spanish Immersion Parent Association to inform them that the district had decided to put the entire middle school Spanish Immersion program on hiatus for the 2008-2009 school year, and to convene a group of program stakeholders to reconsider the whole of the middle school program before reinstating it.[6] The advent of this crisis both confirmed the need to study the nature of the conflict that led to it, and affected the shape that this study would take.

Rationale for Study Design

This study was originally prompted by earlier participant observation work I had done in the Midville Middle School Spanish Immersion classes as part of my graduate courses in Language, Literacy, Society and Culture. During 2005-2006, I participated and observed in both the 6th (spring 2005) and 7th (fall 2005-spring 2006) grade Spanish Immersion classes, and while my participation in those classrooms did not result in any formal findings with regards to the teaching and learning that took place in them, they did leave me with questions about the differences between the two learning settings, about the factors, aside from individual teacher differences, that exerted influence upon each of

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[6] This is the narrative I heard from a variety of sources over the course of months of research. While this story includes many of the sources of conflict related to the middle school program, it does not include the complaints secondary teachers made about some of the issues that this study will reveal in Chapters 4 and 5.

the two classes. Having seen the tensions teachers, students, administrators and parents experienced in the middle school Spanish Immersion program, I began to wonder to what extent those tensions proceeded from differences between the Two-Way Immersion model of language education characteristic of the elementary program (and extended into 6th grade) and the Spanish as a World Language programs into which many of the Spanish Immersion students entered in high school, and after which the 7th and 8th grade courses offered to Spanish Immersion middle schoolers were modeled. I had heard many teachers, parents, and students make distinctions between the two models, and wanted to understand their different characteristics, practices, and ideologies of language learning and use. Further, I had begun to hypothesize that 7th grade had become the year in which tensions between the models were at their most intense, and wanted to test that hypothesis through more focused research.

The research design I would have proposed to answer my research questions necessarily included data collection in three school settings, Midville Elementary School's Spanish Immersion 5th grade class, Midville Middle School's Spanish Immersion classes, and Midville High School's Spanish Language Advanced Placement course, in order to provide data on the full trajectory of language learning and use many Midville Spanish Immersion students experienced in school. Aside from the classroom work students participated in, each setting had provided an outside culminating experience for students, and each of those experiences would provide data that would illuminate the ideologies, beliefs and practices characteristic of each setting. Each year since 2000, the 5th grade class had attended El Molino, a language immersion science/culture camp in Michoacán, Mexico for a week in mid-Winter; the 8th grade class began organizing what was originally intended to be an annual graduation trip to Spain in 2004; and the final experience for many Midville Spanish Language AP students had been the Spanish Language AP exam each school year in May. I had hoped to participate in each of these culminating activities to add non-classroom language use data to what I would gain from classroom observations and teacher and administrator interviews.

However, as the program underwent its crisis in spring of 2008-2009, the year of my data collection, I was forced to consider other ways of gathering data on the middle school program. When I was informed that the district would be engaging in its own study of solutions to the middle school program, that they would hold a complete program review aimed at revising and reconstituting the middle school program, I sought permission from the district to participate in the Program Review group meetings, and to interview select participants in the process. While I was not able to see classroom practices, student language learning and use in the middle school Spanish Immersion classes, I did participate in conversations that focused on the goals for the middle school program, and highlighted the various ideologies and beliefs of site and district decision makers, administrators, teachers and parents. This situation allowed me to see both the creation of de jure language policy through the development of policy statements, as well as the movement from de jure to de facto language policy through curriculum development.

The process of Program Review surfaced some of the very tensions I was interested in understanding, the desires of elementary Spanish Immersion teachers and some parents to see the TWI model of language learning extended into high school, and the sense of dissatisfaction of secondary school teachers with the quality of Spanish

learned in the Spanish Immersion program. It involved a research setting which brought together members of all three school sites, three broad activity systems, to which I was able to apply Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) to consider the role that identification with a particular professional or school Community affected individual Subjects' views of the Object of TWI education. In his study of expansive learning in a Finnish hospital setting, Engestrom (2001) applied CHAT to a "collaborative redesign effort" aimed at resolving problems related to the treatment of children with long-term illnesses who were moving between health care entities that were not tracking together the trajectory of a child's treatment. Together with researchers from Engestrom's Boundary Crossing Laboratory, members of the different medical service entities involved worked together to try to resolve the internal contradictions in their interactions with patients. Engestrom points to five principles of CHAT and expansive learning that were in operation during this process: 1) the prime unit of analysis is a "collective, artifact-mediated, object-oriented activity system; 2) an activity system is always multi-voiced, "always a community of multiple points of view, traditions and interests"; 3) an activity system is historical, so that "[t]heir problems and potentials can only be understood against their own history"; 4) the central sources of change and development within an activity system are the contradictions, that is "historically accumulating structural tensions within and between activity systems"; and 5) the potential for "expansive transformations in activity systems" exist as individuals in them begin to question the contradictions and take action. Expansive transformation is accomplished when "the object and the motive of the activity are reconceptualized to embrace a radically wider horizon of possibilities than in the previous mode of the activity" (pp. 136-7). I began to see the possibility that these principles of expansive learning were at work in the middle school Program Review process, and wanted to understand what the process of expansive learning might look like in the context of educational reform.

In the end, this study involved collecting data from all three sites: Midville Elementary's 5th grade Spanish Immersion classroom and its experience in El Molino (Winter/Spring 2009, Chapter 3); one Spanish Language AP class at Midville High School and the final experience of taking the Spanish Language AP exam (Spring 2009, Chapter 4); and Midville School District's Spanish Immersion middle school program review meetings and the final policy documents and curriculum development efforts resulting from them (Fall 2008-Spring 2009).

Based on data collected from each of the three major settings, this study focuses on the differences between language learning and use in the 5th grade Spanish Immersion class and the Spanish Language AP class, and in their respective culminating experiences. It also examines the various ideologies of language learning and use of members of the middle school Program Review group and how unresolved differences in those conceptions affected the effort to achieve program reform, the development of de jure language policy, and the continued reliance on de facto language policies. In analyzing the data, I focused on elements of expansive learning and CHAT, specifically the role that differing language ideologies and classroom practices have played in both the conflict between two Communities, TWI and World Language educational Communities, and in the failure to achieve expansive learning through the Program Review. As I presented in Chapter 1, very little research has been conducted in secondary TWI programs or classrooms (Montone & Loeb [2000], Freeman [2000],

McCollum [1994]), and, to my knowledge, none has spanned TWI program sites, or connected TWI programs to other language learning programs. Since so few secondary school TWI programs exist, and students have to access World Language classes to continue their study of minority languages in secondary school, it is crucial to study the articulation between TWI and World Language programs.

Background on the Spanish Immersion and Spanish Language Programs in this Study

The Spanish Two-Way Immersion program, a choice program of the Midville School District, was initiated in 1995 at the request of parents. In 1995, the program began with one Kindergarten class, and grew by one grade level each year until 2000, when the 5th grade class was added. It was initially resisted by the Board of Education because of its concern about the cost of choice programs in the district. In fact, the Spanish Immersion program remained in pilot status from 1995-2000, when the Board finally determined that it should become a permanent district program. This extended pilot status, and the district's emphasis on keeping costs to a minimum contributed directly to the crisis in the middle school, as Spanish Immersion parents, teachers and Mr. Foster, the elementary principal, received almost no direct support from the district during those years.

In 2000, the Board of Education approved the expansion of the program to include 6th-8th grade classes at Midville Middle School at which time an intense period of contentious debate over the nature of the middle school program took place; since then, it has spanned elementary and middle school sites, drawn children from all over the district, as well as from a neighboring district, Cross-Midville, and involved many parents through its active parent association. While the Spanish Immersion program officially ends at 8th grade, for all practical purposes students no longer receive TWI model education after 7th grade, as their 8th grade class has been a traditional World Language Spanish class that prepared them for high school World Language courses.

Most of the former Spanish Immersion students entered high school Spanish Language courses, many eventually completing the Advanced Placement Spanish Language course, some continuing on to Advanced Placement Spanish Literature, and some even to a special Spanish 6 class held during lunch time once a week. The first group of former Spanish Immersion students graduated from high school in 2008[7].

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[7] Midville Unified School District has not kept clear records on the movement of SI students through their schools. The records I gathered for the discussion of former SI students' performance on the Spanish Language AP exam from 2006-2010 for Chapter 4 indicate that a total of 68 former SI students took the Spanish Language AP exam between these years. However, an undetermined number of other former SI students may have taken the Spanish 4AP course, but did not take the exam, took a Spanish for Spanish Speakers course at one of the district's high schools, or ended their Spanish Language studies after either Spanish 2 or 3 courses. It was even challenging determining the number of students who had passed through the elementary program since its inception. Having received class photos from Midville Elementary School, I found that from 2001-2005, the first five years that 5th graders were promoted from the program, only one class

The Midville Spanish Immersion Parent Association (MISIPA) was formed at the inception of the program to be a support structure for all levels of Spanish Immersion education in the district. While it is most active at the elementary school, parents are also involved in the middle school program, and care a great deal about the whole of the program, as well as about what happens to students when they enter high school and leave the program. Run by a small board of officers, MISIPA holds monthly meetings open to all parents, and has been instrumental in raising funds for Spanish language materials, library books, and field trips, including the annual 5th grade trip to El Molino in Michoacán, Mexico. During its first six years, MISIPA officers made a great effort to include low-income Spanish dominant parents in meetings and leadership by providing child care for parents who couldn't afford their own, and making sure all materials and meetings were translated into Spanish. The effort to provide translation has fluctuated over the years, depending upon the availability of bilingual parents who could serve as translators.

To understand the experience of language learning and use for current and former Spanish Immersion students, I had to become familiar with three settings, determine key participants to include from each in the study, and gather and analyze appropriate data from each. My aim has been to examine how the activity systems associated with the three settings interact with each other, how their language ideologies, policies and pedagogical practices support or conflict with each other. I have organized the following presentation of study methods, therefore, by the study setting in which it took place. Each of these study settings corresponds to the findings chapters of this study, as I will discuss at the end of this chapter.

The Settings

Setting 1: Midville Elementary School, Spanish Immersion 5th Grade

Students complete their first six years of the Spanish Immersion Program, from Kindergarten to 5th grade, at Midville Elementary School. Midville Elementary is a neighborhood school serving the northwestern segment of the city of Midville, an upper-middle class community in Northern California. It serves about 500 students, 30% of whom come from outside the neighborhoods surrounding the school, including from the

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(2001) consisted of only 5th graders who numbered 26. Each year after that until 2010, at least one class with 5th graders was a combined 4th/5th class. From 2002-2005 there were no single grade classes for 5th graders, but each year two or three combined classes were formed, with the total number of 4th and 5th graders fluctuating between a high of 56 (three 4/5 classes in 2005) and a low of 31 (two 4/5 classes in 2003), with the 2004 class consisting of 38, and the 2002 class consisting of 50 4th/5th graders. If the numbers of 4th and 5th graders were equal in these combined classes, we could approximate that from 2001-2005, 114 5th grade SI students had been promoted to middle school. These students would have entered high school between 2004-2009. Since I could not locate data on former SI students who took the Spanish Language AP exam in 2005, I am estimating that more than the 68 students I could account for had taken the exam, a majority of those who were promoted from 5th grade between 2001-2005.

neighboring town of Cross-Midville, whose students come to the district through a court-mandated equity transfer program. The school's website describes the school as highly diverse, international in nature, with 48% of its students representing ethnic minorities (Hispanic, Asian, African-American, Native American, and Pacific-Islander), and representing 32 countries and over 25 different languages. Because of its highly diverse student population, the school emphasizes global awareness and multiculturalism through classroom and all-school activities

Contributing heavily to the 30% of students from outside the Midville Elementary neighborhoods, the Spanish Immersion program was relocated to Midville Elementary from another school in the district after its first two years. Initially, the SI program consisted of only one strand (one classroom in each grade level), but, in part in response to statewide class size reduction measures, was allowed to grow to one and one half strands in the mid-1990s, which called for the creation of mixed grade classrooms from grades 2-5. Parent demand for more space in the program led to a decision to expand to two strands beginning with the 2009-10 academic year. The Midville SI elementary program follows a 90/10 model of TWI education[8]. Kindergarteners and first graders spend approximately 90% of their class time in Spanish. Each year the amount of time teachers conduct class in English increases by 10% until, by 5th grade, students reach a 50/50 balance of Spanish and English. Students' first literacy experiences take place in Spanish, and English language literacy is introduced in 2nd grade. Both Spanish and English are used for the full range of curricular areas. I collected data from the fifth grade Spanish Immersion class at Midville Elementary since they represent the highest level of language and literacy development at the school, the closest to the level represented by middle school students.

Ms. Gomez's portable classroom was located in the far back portion of campus alongside Ms. Flores's combination 4th/5th grade class. It faced on the back play field where many of the upper grade students ate lunch and played at recesses. Ms. Gomez's room seemed very spacious for the 18 students in it, with plenty of room for students to get up from their assigned seats to move to tables placed around the room to focus on their individual work, or to work in small groups other than the ones they were regularly assigned to through their seating arrangements. In addition, the classroom afforded a great deal of space for storage, display of student work, special displays related to specific curricular areas or projects (Appendix A).

5th grade culminating experience: Science and culture camp at El Molino.

Each winter since 2000, the 5th grade Spanish Immersion class at Midville has attended a week-long camp at El Molino, run by the *Centro de Actividades y Servicios Educativos*, a non-profit organization in Erongarícuaro, Michoacán, México. Located near Lake Patzcuaro, in an ideal situation between the rural outskirts and the center of

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[8] The 90/10 model of TWI education refers to the proportion of classroom time devoted to instruction in Spanish and English, with 90% of instructional minutes in Kindergarten taking place in Spanish, and 10% in English. Each year thereafter, the amount of time dedicated to instruction in Spanish decreases by 10%, until by 5th grade, the goal is to divide class time equally between Spanish and English language use.

town, El Molino affords its campers the opportunity to experience life in a small Mexican town.   Founded nearly 30 years ago, El Molino can house about 90 students at a time on its *finca*, where kids sleep, eat and play sports.   The current director is a North American, but El Molino really involves much of the town of Erongarícuaro. The camp's counselors include specialists in elementary education, in various fields of science, including ecology, biology, horticulture and animal husbandry, and in local handicrafts, culinary arts, music, even radio production. Some of the counselors work with the kids at the camp, teaching and leading activities; others welcome groups of students into their homes to teach them in small groups, or lead them into the fields around the *finca* to study the natural environment. El Molino students are often seen walking through town or riding on the small cross-town buses to arrive at one of their *talleres*, or workshops. Students get to know a wide variety of adults, of various ages, occupations and economic situations, but also get to mix with kids from Mexican schools. During the 2009 trip, Midville students participated with students from a Montessori elementary school in Cuernavaca. Social activities include bonfires, storytelling, singing, and a final celebratory dance party.

Workshops (*talleres*) form a significant part of the El Molino experience and each year Midville students attend a variety of *talleres*, with some carryover in offerings from year to year. During the 2009 camp, students were offered *talleres* in *cuidado de animals* (animal husbandry), *deshilado* (a form of needlework), *producción de radio* (radio production), *sombrerería* (weaving straw hats), *biología* (biology/natural history), *ecología* (ecology), *alebrijes* (local sculptural art), and *diseño geométrico* (geometric design). Each student was allowed to choose two different *talleres*, one for the morning, one for the afternoon, each of which met four times for about an hour and a half each time.

Setting 2: Midville High School, Spanish Language AP Class

In its 2010-11 profile sheet found on its website, Midville High School presented itself as having a "national reputation for academic achievement," and as a school whose student body "reflects the community's socio-economic status and education level." The school provides evidence for its academic rigor by pointing out the number of Honors (13) and Advanced Placement (18) courses offered each year. They point to the high percentage of students who graduated in 2010 to attend 2-4 year colleges (88.7%) and the percentage that went directly to a four-year college (79.5%). They provide yet further evidence of the academic achievements of their students through a summary of test scores on the ACT, SAT, and APs, as well as through the number of National Merit Semifinalists and Commended Scholars, based on performance on the PSAT exam taken during students sophomore or junior year. (Appendix B). The profile provides no information about the socio-economic status of the Midville community, and points out that of the total student enrollment of 1867 students, a total of 61.2 % would identify themselves as Caucasian. Students of color or of non-Caucasian ethnicities include Asian (23.3%), Latino (8.8%), African-American (4.6%) and Other (2.1%).

In the 2008-2009 school year, Midville High School offered courses in four World Languages, Spanish, French, Japanese and Chinese (Mandarin), taught by over 10 faculty members. Each language program offered Honors level and AP courses, with

Spanish offering both Language and Literature AP courses. During 2008-2009, Midville offered at least three sections of Spanish Language AP and one section of Spanish Literature AP.

Mr. Douglas Mann taught at least two of those sections that year, while a female colleague taught at least one. The 2nd period section I observed consisted of 32 students, 17 male and 15 female. Of the total number of students in the course, four students, all male, were former Midville Spanish Immersion students, and two male students identified themselves as former Spanish Immersion students, but had evidently participated in an immersion program other than Midville's, since they did not show up on lists of former Spanish Immersion students supplied to me by Midville Elementary School. Located in one of the sections of campus furthest from the administration building at the front of the school, in the wing designated for World Language classes, Mr. Mann's classroom seemed small for the number of students he taught in it (Appendix C). Once students found their seats during class, they did not move around, pairing up only with the student next to them for specific activities assigned. Space in the room was so tight, the space I was assigned for observing and taking notes felt confining and I would not have had room to move around the classroom had it been appropriate to do so.

Culminating activity: Spanish Language AP exam.

The Spanish Language Advanced Placement test is offered at Midville High School each year in early May, and took place on May 5, 2009 at Midville, as it did on that same day across the nation. It was administered by seven proctors, non-teaching staff at the high school, and supervised by one of the Assistant Principals. None of the students' teachers were allowed to be present during the administration of the exam. Held in the school library, it required significant logistics to fit the 102 student test takers into the space allotted for them. Once students checked in for the exam in the morning, they were assigned a seat from which they were not allowed to move, except during the assigned break times during which they were allowed to go to the bathroom, eat a snack or get a drink. In total, the test lasted approximately three hours, with another hour of preparation, breaks and transitions from section to section of the test.

According to the College Board website for the Spanish Language AP exam, the test consists of both multiple-choice and free response sections, each of which counts for 50% of the final score on the exam. In the multiple-choice sections, students must answer questions based on texts they both read and listen to. In the free response sections, they must compose two written responses (one presentational, one interpersonal) and two spoken responses (one presentational, one interpersonal). The presentational responses are based on multiple texts, at least one written and one audio source, which must be synthesized into an essay-like response.

The test is designed and administered each year by the College Board of the Educational Testing Service with the participation of many Spanish Language teachers all over the United States. Mr. Mann is one of the many teachers nationwide who read and scored the essay portions of the exam the June following the administration of the exam.

Setting 3: Midville Middle School and Program Review Group

Midville Middle School: Midville Middle School was one of three middle schools serving the Midville School District community. During the 2008-2009 academic year, it served approximately 940 students according to data from Ed-Data (http://www.ed-data.k12.ca.us). No data was available on either Ed-Data or the school's website regarding where Midville Middle School students come from within or outside the district. Unlike Midville Elementary School, the middle school does not make mention of having a diverse student body, and data from Ed-Data seemed to indicate a less diverse population of students than that of the elementary school, even though Midville Elementary fed almost all of its students into this middle school. Ed-Data reported that Midville Middle School had an Ethnic Diversity Index of 36, and that a score of 0 representing a 100% White school population and 100% representing an ethnic diversity spread evenly over seven groups (American Indian, Asian, Pacific Islander, Filipino, Hispanic, African American, and White). Ed-Data has reported that no schools upon which it reported reached a score of 100%, with the highest score being 78. In 2008-2009, Midville Middle School was composed of approximately 57% White students, 20% Asian, 7% Hispanic, 2% African American, and under .5% Pacific Islander and Filipino. Nearly 13% of students were designated "Multiple/No Response" in the database. Their website claimed that their school climate "provides a positive and supportive environment in which students can explore, learn, grow, and use their skills to become independent learners and thinkers. Midville is a place where students and the school community link into the larger real world. Special outreach projects foster a sense of social responsibility to complement students' curricular knowledge."

Midville Middle School's website reports that the school is "known for its high expectations and innovative programs," though in none of the schools' public documents (website, school reports on accountability, future goals, and site plans) was the presence of the Spanish Immersion program (presumably one of those "innovative programs") mentioned. One might explain that lack of mention as a result of the small proportion of Spanish Immersion students in relationship to the total population of the school. At its peak, the Spanish Immersion classes (6th, 7th, 8th) only consisted of approximately 60-75 students out of a population of 940 students, a mere 6.4-8% of the school population. The Spanish Immersion program at the middle school had consisted of a sixth grade core class of approximately 25 students. That class focused on the core curriculum in Language Arts and Social Studies (Ancient Cultures), and was paired with a non-immersion class that shared the same two teachers, one for Language Arts and Social Studies, one for Math and Science. Both classes were taught Math and Science in English by an English-speaking teacher. The Spanish Immersion teacher taught one class in both English and Spanish and the paired class in English only. The Spanish Immersion 7th and 8th graders had consisted of few enough students at one point that the two grades had been combined for their Spanish Immersion classes. The 7th grade class had been taught more like a World Language course, with a focus on grammar, culture, and some reading and writing. The 8th grade class was considered to be a gateway course to high school World Language courses and focused even more on grammar features the students would be expected to control for their entry into either Spanish 3 or 4 courses at one of the high schools. During the year of the study, all Spanish Immersion classes had been suspended pending the new plan to be developed by the middle school Program Review group. To compensate for their suspension, parents of Spanish Immersion students had

improvised ways of offering a Spanish language experience for their students, with some students meeting with a parent/teacher in the mornings before school, and others meeting after school.

Spanish Immersion middle school program review.

As a result of the crisis experienced by the Spanish Immersion Program in spring 2008, the district determined the need for a group of stakeholder to review the various points of view on the problems experienced by the program, students, parents and teachers, and to recommend to the Superintendent measures to take to successfully reinstate the middle school program in the 2009-2010 school year. The Program Review group was comprised of district officials (Ms. Fisher, Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education; Mr. Bell, Director of Secondary Education and Supervisor of World Language Education), site administrators (Mr. Worth, Midville Middle School Principal; a middle school Assistant Principal; Mr. Foster, Midville Elementary School Principal; Mr. Sanchez, World Language Department Administrator, Midville Middle School; Mr. Mann, World Language Department Administrator, Midville High School), teachers (two Lead Spanish Immersion teachers; two World Language teachers, Mr. Sanchez and Mr. Mann), three Spanish Immersion parents, and two university consultants. The group began their meetings in September 2008 with two meetings of a limited group of district personnel (minus all parents, Spanish Immersion elementary teachers and university consultants) to set the agenda for the larger group meetings which began in late October. The aim of the group was to produce a policy statement recommending reinstatement and changes in the program which needed to be made for the success of that reinstatement. All the meetings took place in district offices, with the larger group meetings being held in the Boardroom (Appendix D).

Culminating activity: Curriculum development meeting.

In May 2009, at the end of my interview with Ms. Fisher, Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education, I discovered that she had worked closely with Ms. Gomez, 5th grade Spanish Immersion teacher, in the development of a curricular plan for the 6th grade class that was to be reinstated in fall 2009. I received permission to attend that meeting, which was led by Ms. Gomez, in which two middle school teachers, Ms. Sanchez, World Language teacher and Department Administrator, and Ms. Morelli, Spanish Immersion and World Language teacher, would be introduced to the proposed model for the 6th grade Spanish Immersion class. While the Program Review group had produced a policy document for the Superintendent outlining their recommendations for the future of the program, it did not provide any specific suggestions for curriculum for the reinstated courses. I saw this meeting as an opportunity to observe the move from the de jure language policy proposed by the group, to the development of de facto language policy represented by the values enacted through possible curricular choices. The approximately 90-minute meeting took place after school at Midville Middle School in Ms. Morelli's classroom.

Participants

Midville Elementary Spanish Immersion Program

At Midville Elementary School, study participants included the school principal, Mr. Foster, two teachers who taught 5th grade Spanish Immersion, and 28 5th grade Spanish Immersion students. Fifth graders in the Spanish Immersion program during the 2008-09 school year were members of two different classes, one consisting of only 5th graders, the other made up of both 4th and 5th graders. During this school year, Ms. Gomez taught the single-grade class of 18 students, while Ms. Flores taught the 4th/5th combination class, which included 10 fifth graders. Of those 28 fifth grade students, 23, 14 girls and 9 boys, participated in the El Molino trip in January-February 2009.

Midville Elementary principal, Mr. Foster.

Midville Elementary's principal, Bill Foster, had served there for 15 years, since before the Spanish Immersion program relocated to his school in 1997. He had been an enthusiastic endorser of the Spanish Immersion program, and himself a parent of a former Midville Spanish Immersion student. He was not a Spanish speaker, though he had picked up some elementary Spanish through his contact with teachers, students and parents over his years as principal. I wanted to interview him in relation to his role as principal teacher at Midville Elementary, as well as his participation in the middle school Program Review in fall 2008, as one of the participants who represented the beliefs and ideologies of the Spanish Immersion program and TWI education.

Focal 5th grade teacher, Ms. Gomez.

Since the fifth grade class in 2008-2009 was divided between two teachers, I had to choose which class I would observe most frequently, and with which teacher I would conduct a formal interview. Since Ms. Gomez had been at Midville Elementary longer than Ms. Flores, taught the class with the most fifth graders in it, and had been recommended to me by more district officials for her professionalism and pedagogy, I chose to work most closely with her and her class. I did observe one class session in Ms. Flores's class, as I wanted to observe a lesson in a social studies unit, and she and I had some informal conversations during my observations at El Molino. But the majority of the teachers' perspective on the elementary Spanish Immersion program, the middle school and its problems, and TWI pedagogy came from Ms. Gomez.

Veronica Gomez had been teaching elementary school since 1996, and had taught in a variety of schools, including in transitional bilingual programs, and in other full-school TWI programs in Northern California. She began teaching after completing her undergraduate degree in Psychology at a Northern California university and her California teaching credential at one in Southern California. Her teaching experience covered 2nd through 5th grade classes, and she had taught 5th grade at her other Spanish Immersion school as well. She had taught at Midville Elementary in the Spanish Immersion program since 2002, and, therefore, would be considered a veteran teacher. While she was not a Lead Teacher at the time of the study, she was involved in providing

professional development at one of the local universities through the local affiliate of the National Writing Project, to teachers in English and Spanish dominant schools.

A Southern California native, she grew up in an English dominant home, but to bilingual parents. Her parents had felt it would be better for her to learn English, so spoke it exclusively at home. Her father, whose parents had emigrated from Chihuahua, Mexico, grew up in Southern California, in a Spanish dominant home, and spoke English outside of it. Her mother came from Belen, New Mexico, where her extended family continues to speak the Spanish dialect of the area, one that is close to Castillian Spanish. She emphasized the way Spanish speakers in that area "start their sentences in one language and finish them in the other" (Email communication, 12/10/10). Her own parents did introduce Spanish idioms into everyday conversation, engaging in one form of codeswitching.

Ms. Gomez has continued to sing with a local cover band in her free time, and commented that she has regularly sung with younger Spanish Immersion students to teach language and concepts important to the content areas she taught. She reported feeling very tolerant toward classroom noise as a function of student communication, as long as the talk happened in Spanish.

Class members, focal students.

During the course of my study, I had contact with 28 5th grade students in the two classrooms, 23 of whom attended the camp at El Molino. Ms. Gomez's 18 students included eight boys and ten girls. I observed them in the classroom as a whole during my early observations, but wanted to focus on a smaller group of students during the camp experience and afterwards. I arrived at a final group of students through the process of choosing which *talleres* I would participate in at the camp, which I will describe fully in the following section on Data Collection. I aimed at choosing a total of 4-6 focal students, three boys and three girls. In the end, I focused on seven total, four of whom were members of Ms. Gomez's class and two who were in Ms. Flores's class. Each of these students was in at least one of the *talleres* I observed at El Molino, some in two. I also aimed at choosing focal students from both English dominant and Spanish dominant or bilingual families. The students, their teachers, gender, languages, ethnicity or nationality, and *talleres* attended are summarized in Table 2.1 below

Table 2.1: Fifth Grade Focal Students

Name	Teacher	Gender	Home Language	Ethnicity or Nationality	*Talleres*
Betsy	Gomez	Female	English dominant	Non-Hispanic White	*Cuidado de animales Deshilado*
Emilia	Flores	Female	Bilingual	Hispanic/Venezuelan	*Biología*
Georgia	Gomez	Female	English dominant	African American	*Alebrijes*
Gustavo	Flores	Male	Bilingual	Hispanic/Argentinian	*Biología Sombreros*

Jacob	Gomez	Male	English dominant	Non-Hispanic White	*Alebrijes*
Marta	Gomez	Female	Bilingual	Non-Hispanic White/Mexican	*Producción de radio*
Michael	Gomez	Male	English dominant	Chinese	*Biología Sombreros*

After the camp, during my later classroom observations, I noted Ms. Gomez's students in my fieldnotes, and collected written work from their teachers. While I was only able to collect the journals Emilia and Gustavo kept at El Molino, I had access to more written work for Ms. Gomez's students.

Midville High School Spanish Language AP

Focal teacher and World Language department administrator, Mr. Mann.

While two teachers were assigned to teach Spanish 4AP in 2008-2009, I chose to include Mr. Douglas Mann in the study because of his role as a Department Administrator (DA, similar to a Chair) and as a member of the middle school Program Review group. As DA, Mr. Mann was Lead Teacher for all World Language teachers at Midville High School. In addition, he had served in past years as DA at Midville Middle School for the World Language department, including all the Spanish Immersion classes. Mr. Mann was a veteran Spanish Language AP teacher, who had participated in several AP teacher-training events in off-campus venues, and had served several years as a reader for the essay portions of the AP scoring process. At the time of the study, Mr. Mann had been teaching at Midville High School for 12 years, where he had been assigned Spanish classes ranging from Level 1 to 4 AP, as well as German 1 and 2, something he no longer taught as the district had limited the few German classes it taught to a different high school. He had previously taught 7th and 8th grade Spanish for four years at Midville Middle School.

From an English monolingual family, Mr. Mann began to learn Spanish as a second language during his years at a high school in a neighboring Northern California community, and "took to it like a duck to water" (Interview, 6/19/09). During those high school years, Mr. Mann immersed himself in reading, writing, and listening to Spanish as he wrote to pen pals, read the newspaper, watched television, and participated in a homestay exchange in Mexico. During his junior year, when he might have been in an AP course himself, because he was participating in his Mexico exchange experience, his teacher advised him to skip over Spanish Language AP and go directly to Spanish Literature AP instead. During his senior year, he took both exams and passed them. As a result, when he entered a Northern California university, clearly with an eye to majoring in Spanish, he was placed in a third year Spanish class, which was being taught in English. Describing himself as having been a bit "snotty," he challenged his teacher in Spanish, asking why a third year class should be taught in English. Feeling that he didn't fit in, but having been accommodated by his Spanish professors, and having done his junior year in a university in Madrid, he graduated with his degree in Spanish.

Mr. Mann is a popular teacher on campus, known for his interest in students and his pleasant demeanor in class. The former Spanish Immersion students who participated in the focus group after the 2009 AP exam identified him as one of their favorites.

Mr. Mann's 2nd period Spanish Language AP class.

One of three Spanish Language AP courses Mr. Mann taught in 2008-2009, his 2nd period class consisted of 32 students, 17 of which were male, and 15 female. They ranged from freshmen to seniors, with perhaps one of the widest age ranges of any course on campus. Four of the students in this class were former Midville Spanish Immersion students, all known as such by Mr. Mann. Two other students, both seniors of Mexican origin, identified themselves as former Spanish Immersion students, to Mr. Mann's surprise. Through examining lists of names of former Midville Spanish Immersion students, and not finding their names in them, I concluded that these two students had participated in an immersion program in another district, though I was not able to confirm that with them. Two of the Midville Spanish Immersion students were freshmen who had negotiated their way into his class with the help of their parents. While Mr. Mann's policy was not to allow freshmen into the course, he had allowed them in because they were from Spanish dominant families, both from Argentina.

The class as a whole only participated as a group in the context of my participant observations. However, all of the former Midville Spanish Immersion students in this class participated in the focus group I held the day of the AP exam in May.

Focus group: Former Spanish Immersion students who took AP exam in May 2009.

On May 5, 2009, the day of the national administration of the Spanish Language AP exam, I met with a group of 10 former Midville Spanish Immersion students to discuss their experience of preparing for and taking the exam that day. Besides the four male students from Mr. Mann's 2nd period class, another two male and four female students met with me in a side room of the library over pizza and soda. All of them had taken Spanish Language AP classes that academic year, some with Mr. Mann and some with another teacher. I recruited these students by making announcements in as many of Mr. Mann's and the other teacher's classes as possible. I relied on Mr. Mann to inform the students in his sections that met at times when I could not attend. However, neither Mr. Mann nor the other teacher were aware of how many former Spanish Immersion students were in their classes, and expressed surprise in finding out that some of their students had been in the program. Several of the students completed consent and parent permission forms in advance of the meeting, but several showed up because they had heard about the meeting from friends. One of them was in one of Mr. Mann's other sections, but because he had not identified her as a former Spanish Immersion student, he did not inform her. The students who met were all freshmen or sophomores.

Midville Middle School Spanish Immersion Program Review

Focal district and site administrators.

While all of the participants in the Program Review were present at meetings at which I gathered qualitative data, and were, therefore, participants in the study, I chose very carefully who would become the focal participants in the study, with whom I would conduct in-depth qualitative interviews. Many of the participants in the meetings had made a contribution to the discussions held in them, but had no role in the final formation of the policy statement, curriculum development or implementation of the reinstatement plan. I, therefore, chose three administrators who were responsible for one of these areas for these interviews.

Ms. Beverly Fisher, Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education. Ms. Fisher had been responsible for calling together the Program Review group and for conducting all of their meetings, working with individual members to set the agenda, and assigning roles and responsibilities to some of the members. After the Program Review was complete and the report was submitted to the Superintendent, Ms. Fisher worked behind the scenes with Ms. Gomez to develop a possible new curriculum model for the 6th and 7th grade Spanish Immersion classes. Ms. Fisher was beginning her second of three years in her position with Midville School District, having come from another Northern California school district with a Spanish Immersion program. She was familiar with that program as both a district administrator and a parent of three children who had been students in the program in that district. A former middle school science teacher, Ms. Fisher had been a student at Midville High School nearly 40 years prior to taking the job as Assistant Superintendent.

Mr. Gerald Bell, Director of Secondary Education and Supervisor of World Language Education. Mr. Bell had been a district administrator in Midville for approximately a decade at the time of the study, and was responsible for researching possible language assessment tools and programs for use in the Spanish Immersion program in advance of the meetings, and for drafting the final policy statement and report for the Superintendent. A former Spanish and French teacher, at both the high school and college levels, Mr. Bell was from the Midwest, and had participated in ACTFL and other professional World Language teaching organizations over the years, and had been involved with the International Schools movement as well. He was acquainted personally with both of the university consultants who participated in the Program Review through their contact in professional associations.

Mr. Robert Worth, Principal, Midville Middle School. Mr. Worth had only been hired as Principal of the middle school in June 2008, and was becoming familiar with the district, his site, and the Spanish Immersion program even as he began meeting with the Program Review group that fall. His role was first to represent the interests of his site in the possible reinstatement of the program and then to oversee the implementation of the new iteration of the program once it had been reinstated. He consulted with teachers as the Program Review unfolded. A former elementary teacher, Mr. Worth had recently completed his Ph.D. in Educational Policy and Reform at a Northern California university. As a young person, he had had experience teaching ESL in Malaysia.

<div align="center">**Data Collected**</div>

Summary of Fifth Grade Data Collected

During the period of data collection in the 5th grade classroom (January-May 2009), I gathered a variety of qualitative data connected to my research questions as outlined in Table 2.2 below. Following the table, I describe the specific data collected by type of data.

Table 2.2: Overview of Data Collected from Spanish Immersion 5th Grade Classes, Winter-Spring 2009

Research Question	Pertinent Data Collected
What are the conceptions of language learning and use held by teachers and administrators in the Midville Elementary TWI program?	• Fully transcribed audio recording of approx. one-hour interviews with Ms. Gomez, teacher and Mr. Foster, Principal. • Handwritten field notes from six classroom observations (1-3 hours in length) in fifth grade classes.
What does it mean to be a competent learner and user of language in the final year of the Midville Elementary TWI program?	• Handwritten field notes from six classroom observations (1-3 hours in length) in fifth grade classes. • Handwritten field notes from observations of 4 (1.5-3 hour) talleres and other activities at El Molino. • Coded video recordings of 4 talleres at El Molino, and of visit to preschool. Portions transcribed. • Samples of focal student work: Libretas de lectura, final fiction writing, and El Molino journals
What "spheres of human activity" or domains are related to the language learned and used in the fifth grade class?	• Handwritten field notes from six classroom observations (1-3 hours in length) in fifth grade classes, and from one parent meeting. • Handwritten field notes from observations of 4 (1.5-3 hour) talleres and other activities at El Molino. • Coded video recordings of 4 talleres at El Molino, and of visit to preschool. Portions transcribed.

Teacher/administrator interviews.

I conducted one in-depth qualitative interview each with Mr. Foster and Ms. Gomez lasting approximately one hour each. I also had an informal introductory interview with Ms. Gomez prior to making my first visit to her classroom, and some informal conversations both at the school and at El Molino. I spoke informally with Ms.

Flores twice at school and twice at El Molino. Each of the two formal interviews was based on a protocol (Appendix E), and was recorded (audio only) and transcribed in full. I wrote notes about my informal interview and conversations with Ms. Gomez. In interviewing both Mr. Foster and Ms. Gomez, I hoped to arrive at some understanding of their beliefs and ideologies about language learning and use, their experiences with TWI education (as well as their understandings of the goals of this Spanish Immersion program), their sense of the differences between TWI and World Language models of language teaching and learning, and their concerns about the future reinstatement of the middle school Spanish Immersion program. Each of their interviews took place after the district's formal Program Review of the middle school program had ended.

Participant observations: 5th grade classrooms and El Molino.

Fifth Grade Classrooms: I began my participant observations in Ms. Gomez's class in January 2009, several weeks before the 5th graders would leave for their trip to El Molino. My purposes in observing the class before the trip were multiple: to observe ways in which the students were preparing for the trip, to understand the character of language learning and use in 5th grade Spanish Immersion, to identify specific practices that reflected Ms. Gomez's beliefs and ideologies about language learning and use (to serve as data to triangulate with that collected in her interview), and to observe student language use and learning in various academic disciplines and domains (Language Arts, Science and Social Studies). I made three 1.5-3-hour visits to Ms. Gomez's classroom before the trip, and one 1.5 hour visit to Ms. Flores's (to observe a Social Studies lesson). After the trip to El Molino, I made two more 1.5-hour visits to Ms. Gomez's class to observe a lesson she had developed for her students' final writing workshop, an important culminating classroom experience of this 5th grade class. During my observations, I took extensive typed and handwritten fieldnotes which I reviewed post-observation and about which I wrote memos focusing on specific elements of the classroom experience.

El Molino: Because the experience of students, teachers, and myself as a researcher promised to be very intense and diverse at El Molino, I prepared myself well in advance for my observations at the camp. I attended a session held by Ms. Gomez and Ms. Flores in which they discussed with all the 5th grade participants how they should prepare, and what *talleres* (workshops) were likely to be offered that year so that the students could ponder their selections in advance. The *talleres* took place four of the five days of camp, and lasted 1.75 hours each, totaling 7 hours for each taller. Using the list of possible *talleres* provided to the students by Ms. Gomez, I developed a protocol for my choices as well (Appendix F). I wanted to observe language use in a variety of domains, some more like the academic domains of school subjects, some less, some which might appeal more to girls, and some which might draw boys. Out of my choices of *talleres*, I planned to determine some of my focal students. I planned to attend four *talleres*, but in the end, attended six. In most cases, I made one visit to each, but because some ended a day earlier than usual that week, I attended *Cuidado de animales* twice, once on my first day at camp and once on my last. I recorded at least a portion of each taller I attended on digital video; for two *talleres*, *Sombreros* and *Deshilado*, I only recorded a short portion of the session as an establishing record of the sites at which they took place and the configuration of the activity. For *Cuidado de animales*, *Biología*, and

Producción de radio, I recorded the entire 1 hour 45 minute sessions; for *Alebrijes*, I recorded the first hour and took handwritten notes for the final 45 minutes. I took handwritten notes in *Sombreros*, *Deshilado*, and *Producción de radio* as well, but the settings for *Cuidado de animales* and *Biología* did not allow me to take notes. I produced post-observation memos for those two *talleres* instead. In each *taller*, I focused on student and teacher language use and the domains of language use involved in the subject matter covered.

While a major focus of the experience at El Molino revolved around the *talleres*, the students participated in other experiences, some of which I observed, though, because I was commuting from Patzcuaro to Erongarícuaro each day, I did not stay past dinner each night. During the day, I observed students stopping to make purchases at the local grocery store, chatting during free time, riding or walking to their *talleres*, preparing for a special musical performance, talking with teachers and camp counselors about plans and issues related to the running of camp or activities they would engage in, and playing sports. Other than the *talleres*, the most significant activity I observed was a morning-long community service experience all the campers participated in at a local pre-school, an activity I recorded in digital video.

Sample student work.

At the end of the school year 2008-2009, I asked Ms. Gomez for access to student work in Spanish, including their *Libretas de lectura* and the final product of the fiction writing workshop for as many students as possible in her class. All of the writing gathered was written in Spanish. I gathered *Libretas de lectura* from four students, including three of the focal students identified in El Molino, Betsy, Michael and Marta; I received the final short stories from the fiction writing workshop from 14 of Ms. Gomez's 18 students, including 4 of the focal students in Ms. Gomez's class, Jacob, Michael, Georgia and Marta. Conducted entirely in Spanish, these two activities reflected the language use and learning practices characteristic of this class, and the sample work represented the focal students' engagement in these practices. In addition, in gathering these data, I hoped to be able to compile the genres the focal students had read and written, and the themes and domains about which they had read and written during a significant portion of the year to add to the classroom and El Molino observation data. I also used three focal students' short stories from the fiction writing workshop, along with that of one non-focal student, in my June 2009 interview with high school Spanish Language AP teacher, Mr. Mann, at which I asked him to read and react to each of them as a means of adding to my understanding of Mr. Mann's language beliefs and ideologies, and his impressions about the language competency of these students. Incidentally, I gathered some student writing in English, as some of their entries in their *Libretas de lectura* were written in English about English-language books they had read. In addition, Ms. Gomez's class wrote final short stories in both English and Spanish, and a few English-language stories were included in the collection of their fiction writing. I did not, however, use any of this data in my analysis, as my focus was only on Spanish language learning and use.

Summary of Midville High School Spanish Language AP Data Collected

During the period of data collection on AP Spanish Language (April-June 2009), I gathered a variety of qualitative data connected to my research questions as outlined in Table 2.3 below. Following the table, I describe the specific data collected by type of data.

Table 2.3: Overview of Data Collected from Midville High School Spanish Language Advanced Placement Course and Exam, Spring 2009

Research Question	Pertinent Data Collected
What are the conceptions of language learning and use held by teachers and instructional supervisors in the Midville Spanish Language program?	• Transcribed audio recording of approx. 1-1/2 hour interview with Spanish Language AP teacher and Instructional Supervisor, Mr. Mann. • Handwritten field notes from 5 hour-long classroom observations in Spanish Language AP class, along with written artifacts used in class
What does it mean to be a competent learner and user of language in the Spanish Language AP class?	• Handwritten field notes from 5 hour-long classroom observations in Spanish Language AP class, along with written artifacts used in class. • Coded video recording of AP exam practice session with test proctor. Portions transcribed. • Handwritten field notes from 2009 Spanish Language AP exam at Midville High School. • Coded video recording of approx. one-hour focus group with 10 former Spanish Immersion high school students the day they completed the Spanish Language AP exam. Portions transcribed.
What "spheres of human activity" or domains are related to the language learned and used in Spanish Language AP classes (final language course for many language students)?	• Handwritten field notes from X classroom observations in Spanish Language AP class, along with written artifacts used in class. • Coded video recording of AP exam practice session with test proctor. Portions transcribed. • Handwritten field notes from 2009 Spanish Language AP exam at Midville High School.

Teacher/department administrator interview.

In June 2009, after the school year had ended, I conducted a 1-½ hour long in-depth qualitative interview with Mr. Mann, using a protocol very similar to the one I used with Mr. Foster, Ms. Gomez and the subjects from the Program Review group. This interview was transcribed in full and coded. I also had an informal interview with him prior to visiting his class for the first time, and made handwritten notes on that conversation.

A distinguishing feature of the formal interview with Mr. Mann was his evaluative reading of several short stories written by Ms. Gomez's 5th grade Spanish Immersion students the month before. Because I had identified Mr. Mann as belonging

to the high school World Language community involved in the Program Review, and had hypothesized from that review that one of the values of that community was language correctness over language use, I wanted to test my hypothesis by recording his reaction to several pre-selected writing samples. I selected four writing samples to share with him, three coming from focal students from Ms. Gomez's class, Jacob, Michael and Georgia, the fourth being another girl. I chose stories based on gender, theme, and qualities of language and language use, including grammatical/orthographic control, range of grammar features, and creativity and fluidity of expression. He willingly participated in an open-ended evaluation of four short stories; I did not lead him to take any particular perspective on them, only asking him to comment on whatever he saw as significant about them as pieces of writing in Spanish. After his reading and evaluation, I explained that I had chosen them based on their differences in control of language, among other factors, and he affirmed that they did represent such differences.

Participant observation: Spanish Language AP classroom and exam.

Spanish Language AP Classroom: I began my participant observation visits to Mr. Mann's class in April 2009, several weeks before the May 2009 AP exam, with the intention of making weekly visits to his class to see what classroom activities characterized the period leading up to the exam. My purposes were the same as those I had in making the observations in the 5th grade classroom. I made a total of three visits before the exam, for each of which I took typed and handwritten notes and collected collateral materials involved in that day's activities. My third visit (4/30/09) occurred on a day when the class would be practicing the spoken portion of the AP exam with one of the proctors in the library, which happened to be the day I planned on video recording the class session. It turned out to be propitious since I was not allowed to video record during the exam itself, and this allowed me to capture the experience of managing the technology necessary to complete the exam, and to record sample test items used for practice.

Just as I had made a couple of classroom visits to Ms. Gomez's class, after the class trip to El Molino, to observe one of her culminating classroom activities, the fiction workshop, I also made one final visit (5/22/09) to Mr. Mann's class after the AP exam, to observe a class session related to his culminating classroom activity, the reading of *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (*The House of Bernarda Alba*) by Federico García-Lorca. I hoped to add further texture to my understanding of the character of language learning and use by doing so.

2009 Spanish Language Advanced Placement Exam: I felt fortunate to be able to gain access (if only to observe and take typed and handwritten notes) to the Spanish Language AP exam at Midville High School. I attended the entire exam, arriving with the students at 7:30 a.m., observing the process of registering, finding a seat, taking all the sections of the exam, taking breaks, and finishing the exam at approximately 12:30 p.m. I participated by helping proctors make sure that all students had the materials they needed at a couple of points in the exam, and by alerting proctors to student needs and even to minor errors in understanding in their administration of the exam. I was the only Spanish-speaking adult in attendance; none of the proctors spoke or understood enough Spanish to follow either the Spanish version of the exam instructions or the audio texts

the students listened to as part of their exams. I had access to a computer on which I took typed notes related to the administration of, student participation in and content of the exam. I have since supplemented those notes with the data from the student focus group and with the free-response questions and related audio and text files from the College Board website dedicated to the exam.

Focus group of former Spanish Immersion students who took May 2009 exam.

In order to get an emic perspective on the 2009 Spanish Language AP exam, I ran a 90-minute focus group the afternoon of the exam, after school, with a group of 10 former Spanish Immersion students. In preparation for the event I prepared a detailed protocol (Appendix G), and arranged to video record the discussion with a wide-angle lens to capture all of the students seated around the group of rectangular tables. This procedure provided supplementary qualitative data (Morgan, 1997) to my participant observation of the exam administration, and the exam scores I would later gather from the school district. I hoped to hear the students discuss some of the items on the exam, how prepared they had felt for it, some of their impressions of the course itself and their motives for taking it and the exam. Ultimately, I was interested in how confident they felt about their performance on the exam. I coded the video using HyperResearch and transcribed salient portions of the recording.

Spanish Language AP exam scores: 2006-2010.

The process of getting access to Spanish Language AP Exam scores for Midville Spanish Immersion students and their non-Spanish Immersion peers took me much longer than I had imagined it would. I had gathered from conversations with district personnel and teachers that nothing distinguished Spanish Immersion students from other students in the district databases, so I anticipated that someone from the district would likely need to review lists of former Spanish Immersion 5th graders available from the elementary school. I did not, however, anticipate that the scores from two of the years I was interested in, 2005 and 2006, would be lost. Neither the World Language department nor the administration of Midville High School nor the district data administrators were able to locate those lists, which had likely been discarded as a result of changes of administrators. In the end, a couple of site administrators were able to reconstruct partial data on 2006, and to identify the scores of all the former Midville Spanish Immersion students who took the exam from 2006-2010, including all the students I had identified as former Spanish Immersion who had taken it in 2009, the year of the study. Complete data from 2007-2010, including all student scores, were available. From the raw numbers they provided me, I was able to calculate percentages, and run t-tests to determine the significance of difference in the scores of the Spanish Immersion students in relation to non-Spanish Immersion students.

Summary of Midville Middle School Spanish Immersion Program Review Data Collected

During the period of data collection from the Program Review (October 2008-May 2009), I gathered a variety of qualitative data connected to my research questions as outlined in Table 2.4 below. Following the table, I describe the specific data collected by type of data.

Table 2.4: Overview of Data Collected from Midville Spanish Immersion Middle School Program Review, Fall 2008-Spring 2009

Research Questions	Pertinent Data Collected
What are the conceptions of language learning and use held by constituent members (district admin, site admin, teachers [elementary TWI, secondary World Language]) of the Midville TWI Program Review group and the communities they represent?	- Transcribed audio recordings of approx. one-hour interviews with Assoc. Supt of Elementary Education; Director of Secondary Education, Principal of middle school. - Handwritten field notes from 2 2-hour preliminary meetings with small group of district officials - Handwritten field notes from 3 2-hour meetings of full program review group. - Copies of program review research materials on middle school models and assessment programs/guidelines; of materials on middle school models developed during program review; of drafts of report to superintendent.
What conflicting conceptions of language learning and use emerge during the process of program review, policy formation, and curriculum development?	- Handwritten field notes from 2 2-hour preliminary meetings with small group of district officials - Handwritten field notes from 3 2-hour meetings of full program review group - Copies of program review research materials on middle school models and assessment programs/guidelines; of materials on middle school models developed during program review; of drafts of report to superintendent. - Transcribed audio recordings of approx. one-hour interviews with Assoc. Supt of Elementary Education; Director of Secondary Education, Principal of middle school.
How does the lack of resolution of these conflicts lead to continuing production of de facto language policies in the Midville Middle School TWI program?	Transcribed audio recording of 1-1/2 hour middle school curriculum development meeting.

District and site administrator interviews.

Once again, using a protocol very similar to that I used with Mr. Foster, Ms. Gomez and Mr. Mann, I conducted hour-long in-depth qualitative interviews with each of the focal subjects of the Program Review. In them I focused on their experiences of language learning and teaching, their understandings of bilingualism, of TWI and World Language education, and of the goals of the Midville Spanish Immersion program. I transcribed the entirety of the interviews.

Participant observation: Program review meetings and Spanish Immersion middle school curriculum development meeting.

I began my participant observations with the Program Review group in September 2008, meeting the first two times with the smaller group of teachers and administrators to observe their focus in planning for the later meetings with the larger group. Beginning in October, I met with the larger group three times until their work was completed. At each meeting I took typed and handwritten fieldnotes, and collected materials distributed to the members, including information on language assessment programs, district documents on the history of the Spanish Immersion program, and drafts of the policy statement. I was more of an observer than a participant in this group, though I did contribute in two specific ways, providing the group with several articles on the implementation of TWI programs in middle schools, and reading and commenting on the draft of the final policy document, focusing primarily on issues of clarity and composition.

In May 2009, I attended the meeting on the possible curricular plan for the reinstated Spanish Immersion program, having had only a couple of day's notice that it was taking place. During the meeting, I took typed and handwritten notes, and audio recorded the entire meeting, and later transcribed the entire recording. My purpose in attending was to learn about the movement from de jure language policy statement to de facto language policy represented by pedagogical planning. I also wanted to get a sense of the reception of the plan by middle school teachers involved in its implementation.

Data Analysis

As the beginning of my data analysis process, I created an Excel spreadsheet to track all of the data from the three settings. I organized data by setting first, then by date, and logged each data source into columns for specific types of data (fieldnotes, interviews, documents/artifacts, student work, video and audio recordings). As I reviewed, transcribed and/or coded each data source, I indicated having done so on the spreadsheet. I organized the data sources themselves into folders by setting first, and then data source type. I listened to and viewed audio and video recordings multiple times, with space in between for reflection on my observations and codings (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). I conducted coding of the data sources using HyperResearch, creating coding systems based on the following categories for the data from the elementary setting.

Language Beliefs and Ideologies

I have taken my understanding of the relationship between language ideologies and language policy in educational settings from Spolsky and Shohamy (1999) who, in turn, draw from other theorists for their definition of language ideologies as "a speech community's consensus on what value to apply to each of the language varieties that make up its repertoire" (p. 34). Language policy is informed by the language ideologies of a community, and enacted through language practices. Therefore, in developing my analytical framework and the coding system related to it, I attempted to interrogate the language ideologies or beliefs of two focal decision-making subjects of the elementary TWI community, Mr. Foster and Ms. Gomez, of Mr. Mann in the World Language community, and of Ms. Fisher, Mr. Bell and Mr. Worth as members of the middle school Program Review. In addition, I focused classroom observations on specific activities and practices characteristic of the Spanish Immersion setting (and Ms. Gomez's language ideologies and beliefs) and the Spanish Language AP setting (and Mr. Mann's language ideologies and beliefs).

My analysis actually began with the design of my interview protocols for these two focal subjects. In each case, I began with questions related to the focal subjects' understanding of what it means to be bilingual, based on the knowledge that individuals may have very different understandings of this language phenomenon (Wei, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006). I also focused on their views about the goals of TWI education, their hopes for their students' future uses of Spanish, their concerns for the future of the middle school Spanish Immersion program, and their sense of the differences between the TWI model of language education and the high school World Language model. In focusing my questions on these themes, I hoped to be able to see clearly their language ideologies and beliefs.

In developing a coding system for my work with subjects' language ideologies and beliefs, I began with categories related to Bogdan and Biklin's (1998) large categories of "Perspectives Held by Subjects" and "Subjects' Ways of Thinking about People and Objects" (p. 173). My overarching category was "Conceptions of Language Learning and Use," and as I coded I created sub-codes based on emerging understanding of the actual responses of the subjects to my questions.

Characteristics of Language Learning and Use in Classroom and Culminating Experience

In order to further develop my understanding of Ms. Gomez's language ideologies and to identify consistencies or inconsistencies in classroom practices, I developed a code for interviews and participant observation fieldnotes focusing on the characteristics of language learning and use in the classroom. Through them I paid attention to the teacher's role, students' roles, specific uses of Spanish and English for various purposes, and focus on grammar and correctness, among other concerns.

Spheres of Human Activity or Domains of Language Learning and Use

Based on Bakhtin's (1986) writings about the connection of primary speech genres with various "spheres of human activity," I developed codes related to domains of language learning and use, including both academic (Language Arts, Science [biology, chemistry], Math) and social (camp culture, classroom culture, home and family), and used those codes with data from both the classroom and El Molino.

Through this analytical process I developed a sense of the breadth of language learning and use, and of how language ideologies filter down to students in specific classrooms and learning activities.

Data Analysis Particular to the Spanish Language AP Setting

I also compiled all the raw quantitative data pertaining to the Spanish Language AP Exam scores into a table, subtracting the number of former Spanish Immersion students who took the exam each year from the total number of students, and calculated percentages of former Spanish Immersion students and non-Spanish Immersion students who had passed (with scores of 3, 4, or 5), who had scored 4 or 5, who had not passed (score of 2 or 1) and whose score had not been reported. I then ran a t-test to determine the significance of the differences between the percentages of Spanish Immersion students and non-Spanish Immersion students for each category. I reported the t-test results in the table of scores.

Data Analysis Particular to the Middle School SI Program Review Setting

Language Beliefs and Ideologies: In processing the fieldnotes from the Program Review meetings, I focused on how individual members of the groups contributed perspectives characteristic to the Communities they were present to represent (i.e., elementary Spanish Immersion; middle school or high school World Language; parents; teachers; administrators). My hypothesis was that those Communities represented different language ideologies, and that those ideologies might represent different understandings of the Object of language learning in a TWI program, that those language ideologies might come into conflict. In developing a coding system for my fieldnotes, I used the CHAT triangle as an analytical framework, connecting differences in understandings of the Object of TWI education and language learning with the ideologies or beliefs expressed by individual members of the group, or Subjects of the activity of program review. I also coded for uses of metaphor by members of the group to gain an understanding of how certain metaphors might express an ideological stance or belief about the problem the group was trying to solve, or about language learning and use. I also examined carefully the final policy statement submitted to the Superintendent for conflicting language beliefs and ideologies, representing the different Communities involved in the Program Review, and for the use of the overriding metaphor, middle school as bridge.

I used a similar coding system with the interview transcripts, looking for language beliefs and ideologies and their connections to the Communities Ms. Fisher, Mr. Bell and Mr. Worth represented. Considering King and Fogle's (2006) study of the influence of parents' language learning experiences on their choices for their children's language learning, I added to the other codes a focus on the language learning and teaching

experiences of each subject to add depth to my understanding of their beliefs and ideologies.

Researcher Role

I entered into this study from a complex position in relation to the Midville SI Program in that I had been a parent of an SI student in it from 1996-2004. This position afforded me access to all the classrooms and individuals involved in the study. While I already had significant knowledge of aspects of the program from the parent perspective, I had not followed many of the issues and events in it between 2004 and the beginning of this study. During my years as a parent, I had the opportunity to witness both de jure and de facto language policy being formed by teachers, parents, students, administrators and district personnel since almost the inception of the program. I was present at many of the parent, teacher, administrator meetings at which debates took place regarding the formation and extension of the SI middle school program. My own understanding of the implications of our decisions has developed and changed as I have seen the results of those decisions, and the unexpected consequences of them as well.

My role has changed significantly from one of parent to researcher over the course of the intervening years. Early in my doctoral studies, I read Guadalupe Valdés's (1997) Harvard Review opinion piece cautioning advocates of TWI education of ways that parents, teachers and administrators might be experimenting with de facto language policy to the detriment of Mexican-origin students participating in TWI programs. I was stirred to understand what that process of language policy formation might be, and how it might be studied. I have found in Cultural Historical Activity Theory one way of studying the elements of the process, as I have discussed in Chapter 1.

As do all the subjects of this study, I also bring my own language learning experience into it. That experience informs my beliefs and ideologies, and, therefore, my ideas about language policies. I began my language studies, as TWI students do, in elementary school, proceeding through traditional World Language classes in junior and senior high school. I value those years of language learning very highly, and credit them with having learned academic reading and writing in Spanish. I learned enough through them to be able to attend a bilingual college, Elbert Covell, at the University of the Pacific, where I took nearly all my general education classes, and many of my major courses, in Spanish. This experience also informs my language ideologies, as does the experience of having lived for five years in Spain, where I worked with university students in Santiago de Compostela, during the post-Franco era when language policy in the Autonomous Community of Galicia was in flux, and political, civic, media and educational entities began to recover the use of Gallego after many years of suppression of that language through the official policy of elevation of Castillian in those contexts.

My experiences have produced a complex set of language ideologies in me, not one that pits grammar instruction against language use in a false dichotomy. I understand experientially the value of learning grammar, of having a structural knowledge of language. But I also believe that students of language need exposure to a variety of language uses connected to valued activities, both academic and everyday, in other words, that language is learned in order to be used. The final measure of competency in a language is the ability to use it in a variety of social situations. During the course of my study, I have worked to maintain a balanced, disciplined approach to research, hoping to

represent fairly and completely the different points of view on the problems students, teachers, parents and administrators experienced in the program, and relying on rigorous methodology to aid me in doing so.

Chapter 3: Playing Soccer in Spanish: Language Learning and Use in Midville's 5ᵗʰ Grade Spanish Immersion Class

Introduction

In January 2009, Ms. Gomez's classroom was a very busy place. Not only were her Spanish Immersion 5ᵗʰ graders busy practicing "standard" grammar forms and argumentative writing about problems that need attention on their campus, as well as reading a variety of fiction and non-fiction books and responding to them in their reading logs, they were researching Native Americans in five regions of the U.S., following the same math curriculum as all the other 5ᵗʰ graders at the school, and learning about and experimenting with the concept of saturation of solids in liquids. All of these activities took place in Spanish, since Spanish is a regular medium of instruction in Ms. Gomez's Spanish Immersion class. At the same time that all the regular academic and social learning was taking place that January, Ms. Gomez, and her colleague, Ms. Flores, were preparing their 5ᵗʰ grade students (and their parents) for the week-long immersion experience they would have at El Molino, the science and culture camp they would attend in Michoacán, México, at the end of the month. Students needed to do thinking about some of the rules they would have to follow – that they needed to speak nothing but Spanish during the week, and had to write in their journals every day – and about the opportunities they would have to participate in the various *talleres* (workshops) which form the centerpiece of the El Molino experience. All of this activity, and the students' and teachers' use of Spanish in conducting it, represented the character of Spanish Immersion language education at Midville Elementary School, and reflected the conceptions of language learning and use implicit in both that educational model and in the stated philosophies of both Ms. Gomez and her principal, Mr. Foster.

This chapter will examine how those teacher/administrator philosophies informed the 5ᵗʰ grade Spanish Immersion experience, what were the characteristics of language learning and use in this 5ᵗʰ grade class, and what it meant to be a competent learner and user of Spanish in it. Finally, it will consider the range of social and academic domains or "spheres of human activity" (Bakhtin, 1986) that obtained in this classroom and the fifth grade (and, thus, elementary school) culminating experience. Through interviews of both Mr. Foster and Ms. Gomez, I found that their ideologies of language learning and use led to a pedagogical model that emphasized life-long learning, pleasure, student competency and autonomy. Howard and Sugarman (2007) call this atmosphere a "culture of intellectualism" and argue that this must be one of the hallmarks of high quality TWI education. Through participant observation in Ms. Gomez's classroom and El Molino, I found that model worked out through the practice of regular literacy activities, both reading and writing. In addition, I found that the students engaged in language learning and use in an extremely wide range of academic and social domains, through use of Spanish in various academic disciplines, regular reading of books and writing about them, and their participation in both *talleres* and social activities at El Molino. I will first turn to discuss the ideologies of language learning and use of Mr. Foster and Ms. Gomez.

Administrator and Teacher Conceptions of Language Learning and Use: Beliefs and Ideologies

Mr. Foster, Principal of Midville Elementary School

Mr. Foster, principal at Midville Elementary School, and of the Spanish Immersion program, for 13 years at the time of this study, had been known district-wide for his collection of colorful ties, and his strong commitment to the elementary Spanish Immersion program. Before he became principal of the program, he was a parent of a Kindergartner in it when it was located at another district elementary school site. His long association with the program had resulted in a consistent message he has presented publicly about its value: learning in this program was about more than the stated goals of most Two-Way Immersion programs, the development of bilingualism, biliteracy and the appreciation of cultures associated with the Spanish language. For him, bilingualism was connected with student pleasure, both social and academic uses of language, and biliteracy.

Mr. Foster's view of bilingualism: Pleasure, the social/academic uses of language, biliteracy.

One of the primary characteristics of bilingualism for Mr. Foster was connected with pleasure in the use of Spanish. He saw as "kind of an unwritten goal" a positive affective experience of language learning and use, which he describes as "an enjoyment of the language for the kids […] for them to really feel like its a natural part of their language […] and that there's a comfort level in which they can express themselves in Spanish" (Interview, 5/21/09). He saw the achievement of a certain "skill level in two languages" that would allow students to "navigate in cultures, societies, countries, successfully and comfortably" as "intertwined" with a "joy of the language and appreciation of having that bilingualism" (Interview, 5/21/09).

In fact, those elements, the achievement of an ability to navigate in various social situations and the enjoyment and appreciation of that ability, comprised the foundation of his definition of bilingualism, a definition that seemed almost inseparable from the TWI model he advocated at his school and in the district. In elaborating on the bilingual ability he saw kids developing, he pointed to some of the earliest language learning that happens in Kindergarten when "after two months [the kids are] really understanding what the teacher is saying enough to follow her directions" (Interview, 5/21/09).

Further, he pointed to anecdotal material to illustrate the goals for children in their bilingual language learning and use in the program, some drawn from their earliest experiences in kindergarten, some from later experiences in out-of-school settings. He described taking parents of potential kindergarten students into the classroom at the end of the school year.

> Foster: When you see those [Kindergarten] kids-when I bring those parents through at the end of Kindergarten that are visiting the school for registration next year and they actually hear these kids speaking in Spanish, the kids understand everything. It's really powerful for them.

They see that all the kids are functioning almost completely in Spanish, "speaking in Spanish, understand[ing] mostly what's going on." He also described his own experience of doing teacher observations in kindergarten classrooms, as a monolingual English administrator.

> Foster: I can understand mostly what's going on, can pick up words here and there. A lot of times I'll whisper to a student, "What did Maestra R just say about that? What is she having you do on that picture?" And they'll tell me in English cuz they don't have that language yet. In one observation, the kids started at this little table, and I reach over to another little girl, "What are you doing in those boxes?" She told me in Spanish so I had no clue. Next to her was a little boy, an English speaker, and I asked him, "Could you tell me what you're doing?" He told me everything in Spanish, also. There's immersion. One kid was a bilingual kid, the other is an English only kid, but their comfort level was such that they were gonna tell me what they were doing in Spanish.

As he continued, he added stories he had heard from "families that go with first graders or third graders to Spain or Mexico or Chile or someplace, some Spanish-speaking country, and the kids really communicate," some providing translation services for their English-monolingual parents. He saw these achievements or abilities being developed in the context of "this English world here, this English culture" where "kids are kids and […] they're always drawn to that English," so that the work of the program involves "pulling them back and getting them over that hump to say, 'OK, wow, I really feel comfortable with Spanish, with speaking it, with reading it, with writing it'." We can see in his views of bilingualism in his program the source of the sense of guided autonomy I will discuss later in this chapter.

It is abundantly clear that from Mr. Foster's point of view, bilingualism and biliteracy go hand-in-hand in their program goals. Spanish Immersion practices "integrate the reading, the writing, the speaking" in a way that doesn't isolate language learning from the important curricular areas students must master. Yet he also described efforts to consider what students need to be taught directly about language. He described the development of the program over the years in terms of how teachers have learned what students need at various stages of their development as users of Spanish. Teachers in his program have learned about the grammar needs, vocabulary that should be taught, and orthography features generations of kids need to work on. Each year at their faculty retreat they attempt to answer the question, "How do we make the program better?," a question that has involved not only vocabulary and grammar, but core literature they should use, and how to decide which reading should happen in Spanish and in English and in which grades. He described a school culture of making clear to new teachers what happens in each grade in terms of "literacy, spelling, grammar" so that the new teacher can say "OK I know in third grade these are the materials I use for literacy, spelling, grammar, here's the materials, here's the strategies we use, here's how we evaluat[e] it." Their goal is to all be "on the same page" in terms of curriculum.

Cultural component: Diversity in Spanish Immersion program.

In describing typical Spanish Immersion students, Mr. Foster responded that he would describe them as "typical Midville Elementary student[s]," not only "the best and the brightest" from the district, as, he said, might have been the perception of many in the community in the early years of the program. He expressed awareness of the program's reputation for being an "elite" one, but pointed out that just as the whole school had been defined by its diversity, so had been the Spanish Immersion program. From his point of view, the students in Spanish Immersion classrooms "are as diverse [as in non-immersion classrooms], they have behavior problems, they have special ed problems, speech language problems, those issues come up whether you are in immersion or non-immersion." He pointed to former students who struggled academically in the Spanish Immersion program, just as he felt they probably would have in English only classes, emphasizing the idea that all students should have access to learning in the program, and that the program had supported them to succeed academically as many of them had in the end.

He described diversity in terms of ethnicity and language as well: "You can go into immersion classes and find Hispanic kids, Caucasian kids, Chinese kids, African-American kids, French kids, trilingual kids -- I can go into the classroom next door, that non-immersion [classroom], and I see French kids, Russian kids." When asked directly about the participation of Mexican-origin kids in the program, he responded that while there was a period when fewer Mexican-origin kids (mostly from Cross Midville) participated in the program, in the past three or four years more families from Cross Midville have applied to the program, and, since they receive priority for getting into the program, all of the six of seven kindergarten applicants would be enrolled. These kids occupy the role of language models in the classrooms, following the TWI model, and for that reason all the Spanish-dominant students are assessed before entering the program to verify that they really do understand and speak Spanish. The program had been in such high demand by families of Hispanic-origin that Mr. Foster and the teachers had found it necessary to screen to make sure that a sufficient proportion of students in each class were really Spanish-dominant or bilingual.

Differences between Two-Way Immersion and World Language models.

Mr. Foster expressed a clear sense of his perception of the differences in language ideologies between the Spanish Immersion program and high school World Language education. In the Spanish Immersion program "the kids are living the language, they are immersed in it. I'll look at our Kindergarten classes. Every part of their instructional day is in Spanish. Every part of any communication is in Spanish. You do not get that without knowing anything about foreign language." He presented a picture of Spanish Immersion education that "integrated" reading, writing and speaking into the everyday life of the classroom, saying "you don't get [that kind of language experience] that in a foreign language class." He added, "I suspect a lot of foreign language is perhaps done in isolation and not integrated into their entire days and a foreign language model might have one period a day in 7th grade for 45 minutes and you've got kids here that are 5-1/2 hours of nothing but Spanish."

The portrait of high school World Language teachers he presented focused on what he understood as their deficit view of Spanish Immersion students' language production.

> Foster: I think from perhaps the high school perspective they may not view these kids as bilingual truly bilingual because they haven't acquired XY or Z maybe their grammar's not good enough and developmentally they probably shouldn't be at that point.

He contrasted this deficit view with what he imagined World Language teachers could say about former Spanish Immersion students:

> Foster: Instead of the view of, "Wow, we've got all these really talented kids, wow, let's take them here," it's like "Oh no, you don't fit our traditional [World Language] kids coming into high school. OK, you can't be as good as we hear you are." […] It's frustrating to me because I think you've got this gold nugget moving along and why do you tarnish it then when they get to high school.

He represented the possibility of World Language teachers seeing the students for what they can do with language as being overwhelmed by the problems caused because these students don't fit the traditional World Language model of language learning and use.

The contrast between elementary Spanish Immersion language and secondary World Language ideologies came into the starkest contrast through Mr. Foster's use of metaphors to describe what happened in the middle school program and his view of bilingual learning. In regards to the problems experienced in the middle school program, he compared the problems to a "disease" which put "obstacles and blockades" in the way of student success, rather than providing what would "enhance" what the students already had achieved. Rather than asking "How do we keep [what the kids have begun in Spanish Immersion] going?," unnamed middle school teachers complained that the elementary teachers were "sending me all these little kids" or that "they shouldn't be in the program" because of their language deficits. In contrast, Mr. Foster explained his view of language learning, bilingualism, as a "road […] and you're traveling down this road to different levels of proficiency and ease in which you access a language, and you may be here, and middle school you're here, and high school you're up here." This metaphor emphasized the concept of bilingual language learning as a long-term project, a life-long one that has begun for these students in childhood. He expressed a serious view of childhood bilingualism, in which a second language "becomes part of them" in such a way that calls into question the appropriateness of the message of World Language teachers who had said "you're not bilingual" to former Spanish Immersion students who enter into their classrooms. Mr. Foster wondered at what he saw as an effort to "cut [the] lifeline" to language learning by deeming them inadequate for certain World Language courses.

Ms. Gomez: 5th Grade Spanish Immersion Teacher

Ms. Gomez's commentary on language learning and use was consistently grounded in her experience as a long-time teacher in this and other TWI and transitional bilingual programs, her own experience of language learning and use, and her understanding of the connection between language learning and social issues. She brought a different perspective to discussions of the meanings of bilingualism, the goals of Spanish Immersion education, and the differences between the Two-Way Immersion and World Language models than Mr. Foster, though her responses echoed some of the same values and practices mentioned by Mr. Foster. Providing a veteran teacher's point of view, she framed the meanings and problems of student language learning and use in concrete, practical terms.

Bilingualism: Language use, biliteracy, language awareness, and authentic motives.

Ms. Gomez's most basic definition of bilingualism involved language use, though she clearly valued language awareness and "mastery" of language features for her fifth grade students. When I asked her to give a definition of bilingualism, she responded that it meant "being able to use two languages; a multilingual would be able to use multiple languages" (Interview, 4/2/09). She turned to her own experience as a multilingual to provide ways of understanding the meaning of bilingualism, explaining that on her first resume, she had stated that she was bilingual in English and Spanish, and "had a working knowledge of Italian." For her, that meant that she "could function in Italian," while she "was more comfortable in English and Spanish," "felt more fluent" in those languages. Elaborating on the concept of "fluency," she made a distinction between academic fluency and "interactive, personal interaction fluency," a relatively dichotomous view of bilingual language use and mastery, grounded in Cummins's (1979) concepts of BICS and CALP. She did, however, acknowledge that language use for Spanish Immersion students meant having been exposed to a wide variety of topical/curricular areas over the course of their years in the program, and that students use specific language to demonstrate mastery of content in various curricular areas, such as science and social studies. She also referenced her experience teaching Business English students in Spain who "just had to get used to the idea of talking about their business matters in English." So while Ms. Gomez made a distinction between academic and interpersonal uses, she also seemed aware that language use involved various domains and activities.

A few minutes into our discussion, Ms. Gomez pointed out that in our consideration of what it means to be bilingual, we had not yet broached the subject of biliteracy, which, judging from the frequent references she made to reading and writing in Spanish, formed the heart of her thinking about bilingualism in her classroom. This emphasis on biliteracy grounded her class's language experience in academic forms. As a member of the National Writing Project, Ms. Gomez had trained other teachers (from both traditional English-only schools and TWI programs) in teaching writing. She expressed satisfaction with the progress she had made, becoming a "better teacher" of literacy, and having had more literacy materials and a high-quality writing program available. The aim of writing in Spanish (as in English) was to become "more fluent" in the target language, to be able to express oneself in a way that would generate even more fluency. The writing program had been accompanied by "very clear leveled Spanish

books […] that have enabled [her] as a fifth grade teacher" to deal with the problems of fifth grade readers. She continued that "it always stinks trying to find reading materials in fourth and fifth grade; It's just, they're not good or they're not available, so the few things that we have that are great are fantastic." She explained kids' language acquisition in terms of literacy, that they would build vocabulary through reading and writing practices, such as taking notes on vocabulary, responding to literature through writing or presentation, "something that after they've taken in language, they produce it again, so that it gets stuck in their brains in the meantime."

For Ms. Gomez, biliteracy had its obvious language acquisition benefits for students from English-dominant homes, but she grounded her initial introduction of the theme of biliteracy in terms of the needs of students from Spanish-dominant homes. She stated the goal of the program as "to get them literate, reading and writing, functioning in those languages in that sense as well" because "a lot of families that will be in a program like this, may have a working knowledge, and be fluent speaking, orally, fluent in one of their languages, maybe their native tongue and then never have really learned very much." That learning implied literacy for Ms. Gomez. She further emphasized, "some of these kids are getting this opportunity to understand the literacy aspect in both languages," indirectly referencing the importance of literacy to kids from Spanish-dominant homes. As I will discuss later, Ms. Gomez continually circled back to connecting bilingualism and biliteracy to social consequences and issues, something that was also apparent in her classroom teaching, and in her contributions to curriculum development in the middle school program.

Bilingualism and, its counterpart, biliteracy were also connected in Ms. Gomez's view to a growing language awareness for her students. In explaining some of the students' foundational experiences with biliteracy, she pointed toward practices that highlighted awareness of Spanish language forms and features. She recollected hearing teachers discuss these practices among themselves:

> I remember one of the teachers saying, "When I make word banks for the beginning of the month, for October, and we're talking about *calabaza* and *murcielagos* and whatever, *cuervos*, anything else that's related to fall," she would say "You have to put that article on, because they have to get used to it, 'cuz right now we're not doing that." And it's that little extra step that will help them to understand how to use the language, so in that sense, with that fluency and understanding the language.

Grammar awareness also formed part of Ms. Gomez's conception of bilingualism in her classroom and the Spanish Immersion program. She pointed to the direct instruction in both Spanish and English grammar that took place in her classroom, pointing out the benefits of learning grammar in one language for developing knowledge of grammar in another.

> It's really neat when they-we have two grammar programs, we have the Spanish, we have the English. And when I say you guys have already studied that in Spanish, so we don't have to do that in English, they're like, "Yay!" And I say, "I mean look at it. Does that sound familiar?" "Oh, you know what, that's just like in Spanish, when

you have to do this and this and this." "Great! We're done." Skip that lesson, move on to the next, so they have this understanding that, "OK, language does function in similar ways" and so that helps them when they get to a situation where they don't know how to say something or they don't know how something would be expressed but, like, "I'm gonna try it anyway." So they get to be very good problem solvers.

This ability to solve communicative problems was connected in Ms. Gomez's thinking to their ability to learn a third language, something she emphatically affirmed as well, as someone who had taken on her third language in college. She expressed the hope that

they would even take a break [from learning Spanish] and start over again, with the basics of another language, and see that "Oh my gosh! The grammar kind of works the same. You have to keep this in mind when you're expressing yourself in another language. Or this is how another language sounds and that's different from this other one because I've already got this other one." Categories like this, and by doing that making each language that they know even stronger, making their expression even stronger, so I would hope they would get that kind of thing.

Ms. Gomez also pointed to the way language awareness could contribute to a changing sense of identity in her students. Walking a line between critiquing students for developing an arrogance about their language learning and affirming them for having done something that relatively few other Americans do, she argued for the need to present students with a picture of themselves as doing something different when they exercise their bilingual abilities.

I've said it before that I think it's super cool. I think it's amazing that one week I tell them "Write this and I expect this in very good 5th grade Spanish," and the next week I'll expect this very good 5th grade English. And I'm teaching them these very advanced concepts for essay writing, whatever, and they don't realize when they hand me these things. I'm so impressed, 'cuz no matter what it is, it's still so impressive. I tell them "Good job, great effort," and "Wow! You're doing what you're supposed to be doing." But at the same time I'm like, "Other people can't do this. Do you understand that? Other people cannot do this, and I don't want to swell their heads and everything, but every now and then, you go, "Whoa! This is-other people cannot do this."

Ms. Gomez mentioned twice that these students were "our little ambassadors" of the ability to learn more than one language, "cuz they freak people out. 'Oh, Americans aren't all those stereotypes that isn't interested in anybody ever learning another language.'" Once again, Ms. Gomez connected bilingualism with its social implications, revealing her vision for language education and social change.

Finally, Ms. Gomez frequently referred to the need for authentic motives behind bilingualism and language learning and use. In thinking about how she might wish her students to use either of their languages inside or outside the classroom, Ms. Gomez responded first with her wish for "an authentic reason to use their Spanish," a need to communicate that went beyond their knowing she was insisting on their using Spanish

"just to get them to practice, not because I need them to." She pointed to the problem of authentic language use at Midville, a school where the majority of teachers and students spoke English, which meant that the kids knew that all the teachers, including Spanish Immersion teachers, could speak English. At a former Spanish Immersion program which occupied a whole school, she did not see this problem, since teachers, administrators, everyone, could maintain the conceit of needing to speak Spanish much longer, or could present the use of Spanish as something normative on campus. She saw the experience that her students had in the camp at El Molino as fulfilling that need for authentic motives for communication in Spanish.

> And in *El Molino,* they were so excited because they had this authentic reason to speak Spanish to the kids and to the counselors and to the teachers in their class because they didn't know who in that group are the authentic Spanish speakers who don't speak any English, and who are the ones who you can get away with some bilingualism. They really had to step up to that and I thought it was just a great experience for them. I wish they had more of that.

But authentic motivation for language learning went beyond setting up situations that required the use of Spanish for Ms. Gomez. She also envisioned authentic motivation residing in relationships with a wide-range of people, where the students were engaged in embracing other people not like them. She told a story of an English-dominant second-grader at her previous school who befriended a new student from Mexico, someone yet unable to speak any English. Because they shared enough Spanish in common, they could become fast friends, providing the newcomer a sense of belonging and access to English. She imagined having an elderly person, a Spanish speaker, who served on campus as an "authority figure" to check up on kids, make sure they were taking responsibility for themselves and others. Having a figure like this, she believed,

> would be so sweet -- not just sweet, but again you cover so many things that-you cover respect for elders, and responsibility with each other and keeping each other out of trouble and having some--having a check in the system where you--there's an expectation that you're gonna be responsible about what you need to do and to have that going on in the [target] language, in this language where it's being used in a natural way. That'd be so great.

Finally, Ms. Gomez envisioned a future for her students in which authentic motives for language learning became more apparent, the way adults appreciate having taken piano lessons more than they did when they were kids. Her vision included serving those with language needs in various situations.

> I would hope they would use [their bilingualism] for good, help somebody out who didn't--help the *señora* out who was on the plane that couldn't read in Spanish to fill out her *formulario* and so--being able to help somebody like that out because they can. "Oh, wow! I can do this." Or help out a group, lead a group because the group doesn't--is traveling and doesn't know Spanish, or to be the go-to person in a company. "Can you work on this with me because I can't. I don't have that type of

language facility?" "Yeah, sure, I learned that when I was in 5th grade. Hooray! Good thing I did!"

In the meantime, Ms. Gomez hoped that as her students moved on to middle school, the Spanish Immersion program there would involve a sense of "something they can do with the language," and for her that meant practicing literacy for social justice purposes, to grapple with social issues both inside and outside the school. She argued for connecting their language use to their social action in middle school, for "us[ing] your language to make change, trying to make it a little--I can use my language for something besides just turning it into the teacher. 'Cuz they have something to say--middle schoolers have a lot to say." She referenced two books she would assign as part of that effort, *Blubber* (*Ballena* in Spanish) and *Seeds* (*Semillas* in Spanish), both books about difference and social tolerance. Her own use of *The Great Gilly Hopkins* (*La gran Gilly Hopkins* in Spanish) that spring in her class served as evidence of her commitment to using Spanish language literacy to address social issues, such a bullying, important to the students in her class and to the school community.

Cultural component: "Open your horizons."

While Ms. Gomez did not reference the cultural or linguistic diversity of the Spanish Immersion program or her current class as Mr. Foster did, she focused her comments on the cultural goals of the program in the same practical ways she did in discussing bilingualism. In fact, Ms. Gomez tied bilingualism and cultural knowledge very closely together. For her, it began with "that bit of multicultural understanding" that

> to function within the global climate you're probably going to have to speak more than one language. You're very fortunate if you speak English, because right now it is a dominant language, so it would be worth it to get that. But to have more than one language, to be able to open your horizons by being able to understand and express yourself in a language is one of the goals, having that multicultural appreciation.

She thought in much the same way about the cultural component of the Spanish Immersion program as she did about the language component, that learning about one culture opens up possibilities for learning about another. In describing a common curricular focus on *Día de los Muertos* (Day of the Dead), she outlined the progression of comparative cultural knowledge students would build up over the course of their elementary years.

> [T]here are just certain traditions that we have at the school, that the students are exposed to, like, first of all, we do candy skull day every year and the kids understand *Día de los Muertos,* and they do a comparison between *Día de los Muertos* and Halloween, and that leads to maybe in the first--in the primary grades, they build this understanding, "Oh, there are two different holidays that happen around the same time. They both have to do with death but they have totally different views on it." And they develop that within third grade and fourth

grade, and they get to fifth grade and we start looking at, ok, where does Halloween come from, and, let's go back to that *Día de los Muertos* and what does that say about the Aztecs that had these images of monarch butterflies, and what they meant, and spirits coming home, and such? And how does that compare with Halloween which has these Irish immigrant roots, and such? And so we can each year keep building onto these routines, these rituals, not rituals, these traditions that they get throughout the program, and it goes beyond just, "Well, this is Latin America, and these are these Latin American customs." It helps them understand, "Well, if I understand these customs that I'm not used to, it helps me look at my own customs and then it looks--and then it helps me make connections to other customs that I might learn." So that's just a great benefit to the program I feel, you're used to other people being different than you are. "Ah, interesting!"

Once again, Ms. Gomez's view of the project of Spanish Immersion circled back around to the social uses of knowledge, whether linguistic or cultural, placing the potential for social change at the heart of her understanding of teaching and learning in her classroom and the program.

Differences between Two-Way Immersion and World Language models.

While Mr. Foster focused his comments about the differences between the TWI and World Language models of language learning and us on teacher attitudes toward former Spanish Immersion students, Ms. Gomez focused on differences in goals, methods of instruction, and student attitudes toward language learning. While she saw the goal of World Language instruction as "getting that language into people" through the use of classroom content, she explained the approach of TWI as providing a "natural context" as it uses the target language to convey curricular content the children would be learning in fifth grade. She used as an example the way language came into play in a lesson she had just taught about cellular biology.

I'm holding up something I've taught this year, something from science--holding up the model of a human cell or something like that vs. a plant cell, and we're talking about the cell--and how it's different and the plant cell has no walls. But we're using all this vocabulary--and the kids are using the language skills that they know to be able to talk about the difference between the cells, animal and plant cell. In the end I understand that they understand by the way they're showing me with their language skills and with activities that they do that they understand the difference between animal cells and plant cells and they've been doing it in Spanish. Great! Could they do it in English? Yeah, sure, if I wrote up the same vocab in English too. "Oh, by the way, "vacuole" is called *"vacula"* in Spanish -- or "organelles," *"organelos."* Oh, look at that! They're very similar." They understand that the focus is on "Did you understand that there's differences between animal and plant cells? And by the way, these are the vocabulary words that go with it and you caught on to that. Good. When you imagine the different organelles of these things, you're thinking of this vocabulary."

In this "natural context," students use the language they already have acquired to demonstrate their understanding of the content of a lesson on cells, emphasizing the need for language production and language use in activity to measure learning the content of science.

In contrast, Ms. Gomez framed the goals of World Language education using a Container Metaphor in which teachers are aiming at "getting that language into people," which meant for Ms. Gomez, "a situation where it's like, 'Well, I have to get these kids to understand basic intercommunication skills.'" She envisioned World Language teachers having to begin with the basic intercommunication skills appropriate to a high school Spanish Level One class.

> "Do they understand '*Hola, señorita. ¿Cómo te llamas? Me llamo Mike, me llamo Mike.*'" Do you know this song? Look up "One semester Spanish, Spanish Love Song" on YouTube. It is genius because it is Spanish 1. […] "*Me llamo Mike. Mi casa es muy blanco. Vivo en la casa roja. Mi gato es muy blanco.*" It is hilarious, but it's these basic intercommunication skills that you need to have to start functioning and have an end to that language, but are you really concerned about teaching them about this science topic or that? No, not really. You're more interested in teaching them about the culture. So read about Teotihuacan in Mexico, and you use that so kids can learn about pyramids and such, but they're just learning something cultural that is associated with the language.

Ms. Gomez considered not only the bottom of the World Language continuum, but the top as well, as represented by Advanced Placement Language and Literature courses in which teachers and students "have the literature. We need to talk about the history of this literature and the context and cultural background and such and why these things are expressed this way so that just seems more history related, but--and social studies related." She saw the AP courses as the place within the World Language model where content mattered in language learning. Otherwise, she said students are "going to get a lot of interactive skills and not so much content." She described the orientations of TWI and World Language models as representing a "total 180-degree [turn], one from the other."

It is perhaps not surprising, given her view that World Language teachers have as their goal "getting that language into people," that Ms. Gomez would see significant differences in student attitudes and orientations toward language use and learning in each context. She viewed Spanish Immersion students as, generally, "willing to try and make mistakes and figure out how to use language while making mistakes, while not doing the most--without being absolutely perfect with their language usage, but they want to express themselves, they know that the boundary or the expectation is that they do this in Spanish and even though they may not have all the skills, they're still gonna try." She explained that they had been trained into this orientation from the beginning of their time in the program.

> So they're just used to it. It's just what we do here. It's an expectation. So that is great, that they function naturally with that expectation. So they're kind of eased into that in that kinder first--actually just kinder, into that kinder situation. In first grade

there's more of that expectation "You need to speak to me in Spanish. I mean, you know how to do it. You can repeat after me." By second grade, it's like, "Why are you speaking English?"

She viewed this attitudinal difference as "probably the biggest thing that I compare with language classes later on," something that is indicative of both adult and adolescent language learners. These older learners (and by extension, their teachers) struggle with the difficulty of learning a language and the lack of time necessary to learn one. She contrasted language learning in World Language classes and their "focus on (correct) language usage," with language learning in Two-Way Immersion settings, where students and teachers "use the language to ride the lesson to get into the content and expand your language sort of involuntarily because you're focusing on something else."

The beliefs and ideologies of language learning and use expressed by Mr. Foster and Ms. Gomez revealed an idealistic view of life-long, socially, academically and personally meaningful language learning and use. Neither of them expressed views of language learning and use that focused only on school forms or academic uses, pointing toward a model that escapes the problem of encapsulation (Engestrom, 1991). Both members of the Midville Spanish Immersion community emphasized the empowerment of students through the learning and use of language as a result of their involvement in the program. In the following section, I will consider the character of language learning and use in Ms. Gomez's fifth grade classroom, and whether student empowerment through language learning and use was as characteristic of the classroom as these two leaders envisioned it to be.

Ms. Gomez's Classroom, Winter/Spring 2009: Characteristics of Language Learning and Use

Ms. Gomez's commitment to students' growing mastery of literacy in Spanish was evident from the wide range of literate activities the students took part in during the classroom visits I made in winter and spring 2009. These activities were frequently accompanied by regular practices the students had been introduced to early in the year, and which were aimed at providing them principles and procedures for reading and writing. Such practices afforded the students a great deal of autonomy in their own learning and language development, served to decentralize control over language use, resulting in both a mixture of Spanish and English use in the classroom, and an atmosphere of student empowerment in the accomplishment of academic tasks.

Classroom Structure and Activities: Flexible Predictability and Decentralized Control

At our very first meeting, Ms. Gomez provided me with a weekly schedule of her classroom activities. I needed the schedule to be able to know when I could make my observations of the various curricular activities in her classroom. But the schedule served her as a way of accounting for time her students spent learning in Spanish, something that increased in importance as upper grade students participated in more activities outside her classroom (P.E., music, art, etc.) in English and she had to fulfill her own mandate to

provide a certain amount of curricular input in each language. Her weekly schedule indicated not only when the students would be in her classroom, but what percentage of their time in certain curricular areas (language arts and science) would be conducted in English and in Spanish.

Figure 3.1: Daily and Weekly Schedule in Ms. Gomez's Class

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday (Early release day)	Thursday	Friday
8:10-10:00 Spanish Lang Arts (100% Sp) 10:20-11:00 Math (80/20% Sp/E) 11:00-12:05 Music (100% E) 12:50-2:45 SI Classroom*	8:10-10:00 Spanish Lang Arts (100% Sp) 10:20-11:20 Math (80/20% Sp/E) 11:20-12:05 English Lang Arts (100% E) 12:05-12:50 Lunch 12:50-1:10 English Read Aloud (100% E) 1:10-1:50 Ciencias Sociales (100% S) 1:50-2:30 Ciencia (70/30% Sp/E) 2:30-2:45 Actividad Final	8:30-9:20 School Assembly (100% E) 9:20-10:20 Music (100% E) 10:20-12:05 SI Classroom 12:05-12:50 Lunch 12:50-1:30 Actividad Final	8:10-10:00 Spanish Lang Arts (100% Sp) 10:20-11:20 Math (80/20% Sp/E) 11:20-12:05 English Lang Arts (100% E) 12:05-12:50 Lunch 12:50-2:10 PE/Library (100% E) 2:30-2:45 Actividad Final	8:10-10:00 Spanish Lang Arts (100% Sp) 10:20-11:20 Math (80/20% Sp/E) 11:20-12:05 English Lang Arts (100% E) 12:05-12:50 Lunch 12:50-1:10 English Read Aloud (100% E) 1:10-2:30 SI Classroom 2:30-2:45 Actividad Final

* Indicates open times for supplementing work in various curricular areas, including for meeting in *Club de libros*.

She also provided me with a model daily schedule for a day when her students would be in her classroom the whole day. Each time I visited her classroom, I observed a similar daily schedule on the board. While keeping a daily schedule on the board is a common practice in elementary classrooms, providing students a sense of predictability and routine, in Ms. Gomez's classroom, it also served as a way of knowing when each of the target languages would be used and for what. On my first visit which coincided with the beginning of the school day, as the students entered the room chatting away in English, Ms. Gomez reminded them that that were now in the "Spanish Zone." But at other times, that same space would be dominated by English, when Ms. Gomez needed to

present material or conduct activities in English, to fulfill a curricular mandate, or because she had English-language materials for a particular activity. The daily schedule, then, served as a way of managing language use in the space.

Organization of space: Regular activities of pairs and small groups.

The daily schedule served as a central mechanism for controlling language use in the classroom space, but the physical organization of that space served to decentralize it, giving students control over their own use of language. (Appendix A). The spacious portable classroom was organized into zones, including a homey area with rug and sofa in one corner; several rectangular tables along the sides for storage and display of work; several round tables set apart from the students' desks to which kids could go when they were distracted from their work by other kids; a kidney-shaped table Ms. Gomez used with individuals and small groups for instruction; and in the main zone of the room, groups of four or five desks where students sat side-by-side and across from each other.

During my observations I saw students work in pairs at their table groups in sharing their writing at various stages of drafting and revision. During one of my early visits, Ms. Gomez asked students to share pre-writing they had done for an argumentative essay in Spanish on some aspect of school culture that needed attention, either to be preserved or changed (Fieldnotes, 1/13/09). Once they had read each other's initial ideas, Ms. Gomez asked them to tell their partners something they had done that was *fantástico*. Later in the spring semester, her students regularly shared the short stories, in both English and Spanish, they worked on at various stages of drafting and revision. They read and reread their stories to different partners to get feedback on them, and animatedly discussed each story after they finished reading. Those discussions took place in both English and Spanish, at their table in pairs.

Ms. Gomez also used the table groups in her science curriculum to allow students to conduct experiments, sometimes quite complex, using special equipment, involving multiple steps and requiring careful measurement. During the science lesson I observed, the class was studying the concept of saturation of liquids. After reviewing work they had done in preparation for the lesson with them, Ms. Gomez instructed the groups of four in using the materials for their experiment, previously assembled on their desks, designed to help them determine the amount of salt necessary to saturate a specific amount of water, and then set them to work on the experiment, with no further intervention. While the activity was loud and the possibility for failure in accomplishing the task seemed high, dependent as it was on careful focus and group coordination, the groups did manage to conduct their experiments and get results.

Reading, writing and learning practices: Guided autonomy.

Ms. Gomez's classroom structure was designed to facilitate student autonomy both in small groups and for individual students, and, therefore, afforded her students a great deal of independence in their language use. However, the independent and group-oriented literacy and learning activities also provided clear guidance in those activities. Ms. Gomez's commitment to working to provide guidance through authentic contexts for

language use was apparent from two practices in particular: *Libretas de lectura* and *Club de libros*.

Libretas de lectura*: Conversations with the teacher.* During regular days in class, when Ms. Gomez's class time was not broken up by activities the students had outside of class (music, P.E., assemblies or library sessions), the school day began with a nearly two-hour block devoted to Language Arts in Spanish. Ms. Gomez used a short portion of that block for focused language awareness or grammar lessons (something I will discuss later in this chapter), but the bulk of the time was used for the practice of *Taller de lectura* (Reading Workshop) and writing in their *Libretas de lectura* (Reading Notebooks). During that period, individual students read silently books of their own choosing (occasionally, a book the whole class was working on together). This practice afforded students a chance to engage in frequent, regular, extended, pleasurable, meaningful reading of books in Spanish. By the time I began observations in January, the students seemed to know exactly how to participate in this practice, how to balance their time between silent reading and writing in their notebooks. A review of Betsy's (one of the focal students) final *libreta* revealed many of the pages through which Ms. Gomez had guided her students into this practice and how she balanced the pleasure of reading with the challenge of reading a wide range of types of books in an increasingly focused, critical way.

Guided autonomy in reading. Each student's *libreta* consisted of a pre-bound notebook with pages for student records their reading goals, actual reading, and writing about their readings. The notebook included various pages prepared by Ms. Gomez to provide guidance in both reading and writing. Her pages related to reading included "*Pautas para Taller de lectura*," the rules for participating effectively in the classroom practice of the Reading Workshop, which included the charge to use the time given to read and/or write, advice for how to behave, permission to select books that really interested them, and to abandon ones that they discovered did not, after having given them "*una buena oportunidad*" (a real chance). Others addressed their need to continue growing in their comprehension, providing them "*Estrategias para Mejorar Comprensión*" (Strategies for Better Comprehension), and suggestions for "*Maneras de codificar texto*," how to code a text according to connections the made with the text, questions they had, ways they visualized it, and deductions or predictions they made. Even more significant was the handout "*Leer es Pensar*," which outlined a variety of ways a reader interacts with a text, including the ability to read the text aloud accurately, to "*vivir en el cuento*," or connect with the text personally, visually or emotionally, to understand the text, to be able to analyze it in various ways, and to apply what one had read to new thinking or action (Appendix H). This handout outlined the tasks involved in writing about reading, and had its corresponding rubric sheet, attached to the writing students accomplished in their *libretas*. "*Leer es Pensar*" became both a byword of the classroom practice, and a way of evaluating student growth in reading. That this handout and the concepts therein stood at the heart of Ms. Gomez's Spanish literacy practices was further evidenced when she provided it to the middle school teachers at their late spring meeting to plan the new curriculum for the reinstated middle school Spanish Immersion program (See Chapter 5).

One of the important goals for reading in Spanish was the expansion of the types of books the students read. This goal was reflected in another handout, "*Géneros de mirada*," (Genres at a glance) and in the students' annotations in their *libretas* of the number of each type of book they committed to read during the school year. Each student set a personal goal to read a certain number of books for the year; Betsy set her goal at 40, but other students set theirs lower, at 30 or 35. Within that number of books, according to their own goals, they were to select a certain number of books in the following genres: traditional literature, fantasy, science fiction, realistic fiction, historical fiction, informative, and biography (including autobiography and memoir). The handout explained what constitutes each genre of book, serving both to guide student choices and instruct them in basic literary knowledge.

> ***Guided autonomy in writing about reading.*** At the point of writing about the reading they were engaged in, students in Ms. Gomez's class had available to them a number of pages in the *Libreta* that afforded them guidance into secondary generic forms of writing, primary genres (in the form of sentence starters) to help them focus their writing, and an array of topical choices for the content of their writing. These resources were all intended to help students produce regular letters to Ms. Gomez about the reading they were doing. They provided a flexible predictability to the writing students might do about their books. Pages related to the generic forms of letters included a visual presentation of the three-paragraph structure of the letter, including a salutation and closure; a form letter from the teacher with each students' name inserted describing the parameters of the letter-writing assignment, following some of the generic forms of the letters they would be writing; a checklist of tasks associated with revision and editing of the letters, including attention to letter-writing forms; a sample letter written in the teachers' hand about a book that she enjoyed reading; and the "*Leer es Pensar*" rubric of qualities of a letter for the *libreta*. The rubric focused on six elements:

1. Generic features of a letter (date, greeting and closure);
2. Opening sentence, including the underlined title of the book and the author's name;
3. Paragraph 1: a short response to the teacher's questions about the book;
4. Paragraph 2: a short summary of the main plot points of the section read;
5. Paragraph 3: use of the "*Leer es Pensar*" strategies outlined previously for them; and
6. Editing their work for punctuation, spelling and grammar.

All of these pages provided guidance into the habitual practices associated with writing about reading using a particular genre of writing, while emphasizing the conversational nature of the genre and the practice of sharing reading with others.

While Ms. Gomez instructed her students into the practices of writing within a particular genre, she also suggested to them a number of possible topics to write about, over which the students seemed to have complete autonomy of choice. Though the page "*Posibles tópicos para tus cartas*," she listed 31 possible topics for the third of the three paragraphs in their letters. Nearly all the possible topics provide material for analysis of the book, and many focus as well on ways of interacting with the text, connecting the text

to other texts, demonstrating ways of understanding the text, and applying that understanding to some aspect of their lives outside the text. To help students further with their choice of topics, Ms. Gomez provided a page of *"Comienzos de oraciones para cartas de lectura,"* short sentence starters which covered many of the topics on the previous page, and modeled syntactical and grammatical features of beginning those discussions in Spanish.

Students wrote weekly letters to Ms. Gomez from early September to early May, turning them in on the same day each week, with groups of students staggered throughout the week, so Ms. Gomez never received letters from all students on one day. Receiving small numbers of letters each day meant that Ms. Gomez could respond to the letters with questions, suggestions, instructions, and exhortations about thinking and writing. Through this practice students could learn to have a written conversation about their reading, a real audience for their writing. Ms. Gomez tracked the development of her students' interaction with the texts they were reading and their written expression in Spanish. She commented on their content, approach to writing (use of the principles of *"Leer es Pensar,"* following of the letter writing conventions, and need to edit their writing more carefully. This regular writing prepared Ms. Gomez's students for other writing they would do about books and for having conversations with each other in their *"Club de libros."*

**Club de libros*: *Conversations with each other.* Ms. Gomez's practice of having her students write letters to her about their reading encouraged their developing autonomy in their reading, but also provided them with her guidance into their critical thinking about the books they read. She extended that guided autonomy further by providing them with a model for how to talk about books together, to guide each other into understandings of the reading they did. To do this, Ms. Gomez's students participated in a *"Club de libros"* at least three times during the year, once in the fall, winter and spring. Formed by four or five students all reading the same book, the club met twice a week to discuss them over the course of several weeks. Students took leadership roles in the group, leading discussions and presenting the book to the rest of the class at the end of the sequence of meetings. Each student's *libreta* contained pages of suggestions and considerations for preparing to lead a book discussion and to present a book to a group. At the end of a cycle of group reading, each student would write a five-paragraph essay on the book. While I did not observe a book club meeting in this class, I have seen book clubs at work in previous class observations outside the scope of this study. *Club de libros* has been a regular practice of upper-grade elementary and sixth grade middle school Spanish Immersion classes in Midville for more than a decade.[9] During winter and spring 2009, some of the book clubs were reading *El dador*, *El hacha*, and *¿Quién cuenta las estrellas?* Betsy included in her libreta book club notes about *20,000 leguas de viaje submarino* (fall 2008), *El dador* (winter 2009), and *La gran Gilly Hopkins* (spring 2009).

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[9] During the focus group after the May 2009 Spanish Language AP exam, former Spanish Immersion students pointed back to their experiences of the *Club de Libros* model as one that was both helpful and satisfying in learning and using Spanish.

In preparation for group meetings about books, each student prepared by filling out a "4-3-2-1" form for the section of the book read in advance of a club meeting. They were instructed to take notes while they read and to then share their notes with the *Club de libros* when they met in class. The "4-3-2-1" activity referred to each reader having to summarize 4 main plot points, to clarify 3 complicated sections of the text, to ask 2 questions about the text, and to make 1 prediction about the possible outcome of some of the events they read about in that section. For her first Club de Libros meeting in October, Betsy included the following responses for her "4-3-2-1" activity:

Figure 3.2: Betsy's First 4-3-2-1 Activity for *20,000 leguas de viaje submarino*

Resumir 4 Acciones Principales	Clarificar 3 secciones complicadas
Invitan a Señor Arronax en su expedeción. Caen del barco Sr. Arronnax, Ned y Conseil. Entran al submarino como prisioneros. Van de caza cerca de una isla.	¿Qué paso antes de que Sr. Arronax, Ned y Conseil caen al agua? ¿Como entraron al submarino? ¿Porque los que estaban a bordo del barco no rescataron a los 3 hombres?
Preguntar 2 Preguntas	Predicir 1 predicción de algo que posiblemente pasará como resultado de los eventos
¿Que es el intención de Capitán Nemo? ¿Porque construyó el Nautilus?	Yo predigo que talvez Sr. Arronax, Ned y Conseil escapan.

In her notes, Betsy covered the first five chapters of the book, including the major plot points (inviting Mr. Arronax on the expedition; falling overboard; becoming Nemo's prisoners on the Nautilus; going hunting), several questions that would need clarifying when the group met (how they fell overboard; how they found themselves on the submarine; why they weren't rescued by others on the expedition ship), two questions that needed answering in the future reading (what Captain Nemo's intentions might be; why he built the Nautilus), and one prediction about future events (that the three prisoners might escape). These four areas comprise the building blocks of critical thinking about reading, and the use of this form for *Club de Libros* pointed to the practice of critical thinking being developed regularly in Ms. Gomez's class. However, most interesting was the fact that Ms. Gomez, while she reviewed these forms regularly, relied on the students themselves to shore up each other's understandings of the books they were reading. In particular, they served as the first source of clarification of the elements of the plot that confused their peers. Once again, this practice emphasized the philosophy of guided autonomy that characterized Ms. Gomez's classroom.

Both literacy practices, the "*Libreta de lectura*" and "*Club de libros*" afforded students a socially-based approach to reading, and meant that literacy competency in

Spanish would mean much more than either the ability to decode text or to write grammatically proper prose. Students were learning to use Spanish as the language of critical thinking, of sharing ideas with readers, writers and conversation groups.   They were also learning to use Spanish to address some of the social problems surrounding them through writing about problem situations at their own school.

　　　"Using their bilingualism for good": Guided autonomy in argumentative writing. Ms. Gomez demonstrated very early in my observations that she was willing to act on her language ideologies with her students, giving them an opportunity to use their Spanish language abilities for the purpose of bringing about positive change in their world and school. She did this by giving them the opportunity to choose a problem situation in their school and write an argumentative essay about how to address it. In the process of engaging in this activity, the students continued to develop their critical thinking skills, had the opportunity to think for themselves, and stretched their language knowledge to include school domains they had not written about before.

　　　On my first day of classroom observation (1/13/09), after a short grammar lesson on accents, Ms. Gomez redirected the class to begin work on *escritura* (writing) in Spanish at exactly the time indicated on the board, 8:30. To mark the change in activities, she rang a bell and called specific students to form groups of two or three to sit together on the couch and rug in the corner of the room. She announced, in Spanish, that they would be working on a writing activity involving argument, one related to activities or themes at their school. She reminded them throughout the preparation of what writing argument involves, using terms such as *acierta* (assert), *razonamiento* (reasoning), and *evidencia* (evidence). After she asked the students in the pairs to greet each other and reintroduce themselves, she asked them to work together to choose a theme about which they would form an opinion and provide evidence. To organize their thinking they would use a *tabla de tres* (table of three), with columns for *pro* (pros), *con* (cons) and "*una vez*" (once, one time). Her reference to this tool seemed to refresh something the students were already familiar with, but she explained the meanings of pro and con, as "*en favor*" (in favor of) and "*lo malo de algo*" (the problem with something) and encouraged them to use personal experience as "*tu evidencia*" (your evidence). Encouraging students to include themselves in their writing, to form an opinion and to use their experience as evidence, is a practice they might not be exposed to again during much of their secondary school experience.[10]

　　　She continued by providing them an example they might write about. Many of the boys in the class were very interested in sports, and played *baloncesto* (basketball) regularly during recess. She suggested this as a writing theme, and began to discuss what they might say *en favor de* (in favor of), or on the "*pro*" side of kids playing basketball at school. One of the boys began to complicate the meaning of "*pro*" in relationship to basketball, and several other students chimed in to affirm that that term had a special

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[10] Based on my experience as a first-year college writing instructor, I would argue that few students have the chance to develop opinions based on their own experience in writing in high school English classes. My own students are often surprised that in college they will have the chance to do so, and have adapted to a style of writing that allows no use of "I" or expression of a personal point of view.

meaning in that context. Ms. Gomez acknowledged that difference in meaning, but returned to illustrate one of the "*pros*" of kids playing basketball at school, "*niños dando complimentos a otros niños*" (kids giving each other compliments), reinforcing the meaning of "*pro*" in this writing context. She proceeded to suggest a "*con*" might be the fact that kids will sometimes begin to fight (*luchando*). As the kids processed her examples, one boy's voice was heard saying in English "major arguments," to which Ms. Gomez predictably responded, "*Español*." When she asked for other ideas about themes in the school about which they might write, the discussion seemed to focus primarily on sports, and mostly boys participated in the discussion. As they became more animated and engaged in the process of generating ideas and imagining themselves writing about them, they began to codeswitch more frequently, specifically breaking into English as they told stories about sports on the playground. Ms. Gomez was not put off by their tendency to lapse into English in this situation, as evidenced by her next instructions.

This codeswitching in the classroom discussion might have served as an indicator of how during the next phase of the idea generating activity the kids would use primarily English among themselves. However, Ms. Gomez assigned the pairs/threes to "*caminar por la escuela por ocho minutos*" (walk around campus for eight minutes) to reflect on various activities on campus, think about "*pro y con*" and "*tomar notas*" (take notes) so they would be able to begin to write their argument when they returned. As the kids returned after their eight minutes, wiping their feet on the rug, all of them were speaking English to each other. Many of them were on task, still talking about activities on campus, but in English. Ms. Gomez quickly got them to work on writing about their observations, assigning them 10 minutes to begin. As the students began to settle down, one girl asked "*¿inglés o español?*," giving another indication of the extent to which their walk around campus immersed them into the use of English. As expected, Ms. Gomez responded "*Español*" with a tone of "*cómo no*" (of course) in her voice.

As the kids settled down to write, Ms. Gomez reminded them of several ways of opening a discussion of their evidence: *un ejemplo es* (an example is); *por ejemplo* (for example); *además* (besides or in addition); *esto es porque* (this is because); *yo creo que* (I believe that); *a lo contrario* (on the contrary or on the other hand). From this point on, the kids worked quietly, writing in Spanish for most of the assigned 10 minutes, a few finishing early to reread their work. Once the 10 minutes were up, Ms. Gomez had the students stop and read their writing to each other.

This activity demonstrated both the potential for teaching students to think critically in Spanish about something that mattered to them, their school community, and for testing and stretching the extent of their abilities to do so in Spanish. While Ms. Gomez provided them with the tools to use to build an argument, even the Spanish stock phrases we might use when we do, she also allowed them the freedom to walk around the school on their own for a few minutes, something that clearly tested their ability to continue using Spanish as the language of argument. As Ms. Gomez had indicated in her interview, one of the challenges to Spanish language development at a school like Midville was the fact that English was the language spoken on the playgrounds, everywhere but in the Spanish Immersion classrooms. By allowing the students to survey the campus for a Spanish language activity, she gave them the chance to see what they knew how to say and what they did not. Some of the kids, upon returning, had to ask for help with Spanish words for some of the play equipment on campus, things they had not

regularly talked about in Spanish. She never expressed doubts about their ability to write about these themes in Spanish, and she provided them with what they would need to do so. This practice could potentially bring them to greater awareness of their own strengths and weaknesses in spoken and written Spanish, but Ms. Gomez's classroom practices also included direct instruction and practice in developing awareness of Spanish grammar and certain language features.

Language Awareness Practices: "Stop! It's Grammar-time!"

During a meeting Ms. Gomez attended with middle school Spanish Immersion and World Language teachers in spring 2009, she described a practice she engaged in regularly in her classroom, one that I saw evidence of in my classroom observations. She often referred to it playfully as "Stop! It's Grammar-time!," an allusion to MC Hammer's 1990's hip-hop hit. In the meeting she described it as short, focused grammar practice, aimed at drawing students' attention to grammar rules they had already been exposed to, reminding them again of language features they had practiced previously. During my first classroom visit, before the students began work on generating ideas for an argumentative essay, Ms. Gomez spent about ½ hour reviewing homework the students had completed on the use of accents, specifically focusing on accentuation of homynyms (such as *se*/*sé* or *tu*/*tú*) and words used in asking questions (*cómo, cuándo, qué*). As she moved around the room checking student work on this aspect of spelling, she told them that they needed to be aware of their use of accents since at the middle school, teachers don't want them to make errors in accents. Later in the semester, she brought back out the specific rules for using accents, the types of accentuation based on Spanish phonology. On a day when the students worked on their fiction writing in Spanish, she displayed a large sheet on the board with categories of uses of accent marks:

> *aguda -- buzón, café, comer, mitad, papá*
> *llanas -- hermano, azúcar, árbol, comida*
> *esdrujulas -- película, último, exámenes, relámpago*
> *sobresdrujulas -- préstamelo, rápidamente*

On another day, I observed that she had scheduled another ½ hour block for this practice. Evidence of previous grammar and spelling reviews were all around the room in the form of written usage and grammar rules, such as rules for forming and using the preterite and imperfect tenses, and verbs that change endings in the preterite (*buscar, pagar, tocar, llegar, empezar, tropezar*). Ms. Gomez extended this language awareness practice into their writing by commenting on and drawing their attention to misuse of accents and infelicities of grammar in their *libretas de lectura* and multi-draft essays.

Language awareness practices: Learning primary speech genres and language of specific domains.

Ms. Gomez's concern for her students' developing language awareness went beyond spelling and grammar conventions, however. During their week in El Molino, Ms. Gomez began to think about specific domains in which her students had not learned

to use Spanish and relied on their English language knowledge instead, ways in which they engaged in codeswitching to resolve communication or composition problems (See discussion later in this chapter). I had already observed some of the limits of their Spanish language knowledge as I have discussed above. Ms. Gomez began to apply her awareness of how their language limitations might be connected to specific domains of language use in the spring after their return. In one particular day in class, she revealed both her own growing awareness of what language domains her students might be familiar with or not, and how her pedagogy might address some of their missing knowledge and experience.

In April of that year, she developed a lesson on the use of interjections in dialogue for the fictional pieces her students were writing in the spring, and was very excited about the possible outcomes and the way it addressed a problem she had seen in her students' writing. As I observed on April 28, I saw that she had in an earlier class session used an episode from the cartoon series *El Chavo*, based on a Mexican sitcom famous for its use of *modismos* (idioms), to provide students' input on the variety of interjections used in dialog in everyday conversation and fictional writing, and generated a list of common interjections with the students. On the day I observed, she and the students made a more extensive list of words, including ones that she associated with religious expression (*hóstia, diablos, demonios, ójala*) and emotional states (*caramba* [anger], *ay* [fear], *huy* [surprise], *bravo* [excitement]). She combined this instruction with a lesson on the conventions of writing dialog in Spanish, the use of *guiones*, dashes, rather than quotation marks to highlight changes in speakers in dialog in Spanish language fiction. Her aim was to wean students off their use of English conventions and idioms in this writing project.

On the day I observed, she planned to give the students a chance to do some of their writing, and then to share what they had done with peers in their seating pairs. In preparation, she called them over to the rug in the corner to remind them of their use of interjections, beginning their conversation in Spanish. But first, she asked them about another writing project they were working on, one based on research, what they were calling their "I-Search." She asked about how much time they had spent on it, hearing that some had done nothing, and some had spent as much as four hours researching and typing. Jacob commented on how long it took him to type his material, and another asked how their middle school teachers could expect them to type all their work if it was going to take so long. Ms. Gomez told them that teachers at the middle school understand that the students have learned to type, and so will expect them to do so. Several students then began to discuss programs they have used to learn to keyboard. While the conversation continued mostly in Spanish, the kids began to codeswitch as they named the programs they had used. As they continued, more and more codeswitching took place, including references to parts of computers like screens and keyboard, until Ms. Gomez finally said aloud "¡Ustedes no saben las palabras para las partes de la computadora en español!" (You don't know the Spanish words for the parts of computers!) As Jacob continued referring to elements of video games (treasure chest, zombies) in English, switching back and forth from Spanish, Ms. Gomez seemed to have the realization that one of the areas Spanish Immersion teachers would have to work on in the future had to do with language associated with the technology the kids used

everyday at home. Both teacher and students were learning about Spanish language use and the domains they were or were not familiar with.

Despite the impression that some of the middle school and high school Spanish Immersion and World Language teachers might have had that Spanish Immersion students did not receive direct language instruction in elementary school, Ms. Gomez's practices revealed a consistent approach to developing language awareness in her students, one with a rationale based in both ways she felt students were using language, and the demands middle school teachers would make on them for precision in grammar, spelling and punctuation.

Language Competency in the Fifth Grade Classroom: Situated Mastery and Wide-Range of Language Use Domains

In Midville's elementary Spanish Immersion program, the meaning of language competency was complex and reflected both the students' growing mastery of curricular content and their development of knowledge and uses of both of their target languages. As Ms. Gomez pointed out in our interview, she measured language competency in terms of mastery of content in specific curricular areas, and, vice versa, mastery of curricular content by language competency. Satisfactory language competency included the ability to use the appropriate language for specific curricular areas, but also to consistently use Spanish in the classroom situations in which it was required, whether with the teacher or with other students for a variety of purposes. In fact, I discovered from Ms. Gomez that permission to participate in the fifth grade trip to El Molino depended upon each students' consistent use of Spanish in the classroom, and students were assigned to the various *talleres* based on their use of Spanish in the classroom, as I will discuss later in the chapter. Most of the assessment of language competency took place in each classroom, conducted by each teacher as part of her regular assessment of curricular competency. As I will discuss in Chapter 5, I found through participating in the fall 2008 middle school program review, neither the district, nor Midville Elementary, had ever instituted regular, standardized assessment of language competency or proficiency. The only standardized assessment related to the use of Spanish that took place at Midville Elementary was the Spanish-language version of the STAR test, APRENDA, which had been applied to all 2nd-5th graders beginning in 1998. All Spanish Immersion 2nd-5th graders took both tests every year, but the product of those tests was not knowledge about the specific language competency of individual students.

However, the language and literacy practices Ms. Gomez and her students engaged in, as described above, indicate very high expectations for language competency. Students were expected to use Spanish on a regular basis in class, to maneuver smoothly between times when English use was allowed, and when it was not. They engaged in high levels of literacy, both reading and writing, on a regular basis, taking responsibility for their own learning, but also engaging in written conversations with Ms. Gomez about the reading they were doing.   They were expected to grow in language knowledge associated with different domains of language use. And grammaticality, while never the only measure of competency in Ms. Gomez's class, was certainly another expectation conveyed to the students through both their dedication of class time to short grammar and

orthography reviews, and Ms. Gomez's attention to errors in their writing over the course of drafts of essays and stories.

Beyond Diglossia: Domains of Language Learning and Use in Midville's 5th Grade Spanish Immersion Class

When examined through the lens of the "spheres of human activity" (Bakhtin, 1986) or domains associated with specific ways of using language, the language use of Midville 5th grade Spanish Immersion students appeared much more complex than Potowski's (2002) model presents the language use of the 5th graders in her study. While her study addressed an important aspect of language use, whether and how students use one or the other of the two languages of a TWI program, in order to more thoroughly interrogate the learning taking place and the competency being gained in the two languages, I argue that we must go beyond a diglossic view to consider the "spheres of human activity" or domains associated with students' knowledge of specific language forms and of "what language is good for" (Garrett, 2005). The following incident at the 5th grade science and culture camp, El Molino, will serve as an illustration of my argument.

"Playing soccer in Spanish": A social activity language use domain.

On February 4, the third day of the seven day camp, during one of the students' breaks, I had a conversation with Ms. Gomez regarding her frustration with some of the Midville students who persisted in speaking English to each other while they played soccer against teams of Mexican students from the Montessori school they shared the camp with that week. That day she had witnessed her students using English during a game, and clearly alienating some of the Mexican students as they did so. While we felt certain that most, if not all, of the Midville students were well versed in playing soccer, I wondered whether any of them had ever played against Spanish-speaking students, whether they had ever played "in Spanish," and I asked Ms. Gomez whether she knew the answer to that question. We discussed the fact that soccer has its own set of vocabulary and *frases hechas* (idiomatic expressions), and that perhaps her students had never learned or practiced any of them, but had only played in English. The heat and emotion of play might have added as well to their turning to English to communicate quickly with each other. She admitted that she did not know the answer to either question, but went away with an idea for her students.

Later that day, she approached me to tell the story of her response to our conversation. She had seen some of the soccer-playing students and asked them why they used English when they played with Spanish speaking students, and whether they knew some of the common phrases used on the field. They said they did not, so she suggested their asking the other team how to say some of the things (to choose five things) they would want to say on the field, so they could practice using the terms while they played, to demonstrate good will and to learn some new Spanish usages. The kids followed through on her suggestion, and the next time she watched them playing soccer, she reported noticing an increase in their use of Spanish during the game. In part, this change might be explained by their paying more attention to their language use on the

field, but they did not know some of the important terms associated with the domain of playing soccer before asking their Mexican counterparts, so at least part of the change could be attributed to their having acquired new knowledge about how language was used on the field. While these students had been exposed to a wide range of both social and academic uses of language in their classrooms, many of their non-academic activities were consistently conducted in English, both at school and at home.

While Potowski's (2002) study may help us understand that students use English for some purposes (mostly social), and Spanish for others (mostly academic), it is important to understand the reasons for their use of one or the other to be able to refine Two-Way Immersion pedagogy, and to expand curriculum and language use opportunities for students. An examination of the domains associated with the language use of Midville students must begin with those associated with their classroom. I will first consider school and curricular domains, but will continue on to examine the various domains they encountered at El Molino, and will describe the qualities of language use within the varied domains they encountered there.

Language domains in 5th grade classroom: Curricular, social, literary.

The obvious place to begin in considering language use connected to domains of activity is with the traditional curricular material of the 5th grade classroom. While the theoretical model of a 90/10 Two-Way Immersion program would suggest that by 5th grade, students are using English and Spanish in equal proportions in their classrooms, according to Ms. Gomez's outline of the classroom activity for a typical week, most of the curriculum within her class was delivered in Spanish. Her use of Spanish can be explained in part by the fact that 5th grade students are pulled out of class for several curricular areas and experiences, including physical education, music, art, and library sessions. According to the schedule Ms. Gomez provided me for a typical day with a 2:45 release time, when student were not pulled out for activities outside the classroom, her class would have spent approximately 241 instructional minutes working in Spanish out of a total of 330 total instructional minutes. Ms. Gomez reported providing both Spanish and English Language Arts (110 minutes in Spanish, 45 minutes in English), math (80% Spanish/20% English), and science (70% Spanish/30% English) for her class. While Ms. Gomez taught science to all the 5th graders, Ms. Flores taught Social Studies, that is California and American History, for all of them. Math, science and social studies all followed the California curricular standards for these subjects, and the teachers utilized approved materials, including Spanish translation state textbooks, for their teaching. During my observations, Ms. Gomez taught a science lesson on saturation of solids in liquids, including both a review of concepts and vocabulary, and a student-conducted experiment, as I have already reported. She also led the class in a supplementary social studies activity related to early American history, an embroidery project in which the students learned various typical stitches, and used all the terminology necessary to that domain. Ms. Flores's class was just finishing up a multimodal report on Native American tribes in five regions of the U.S., and had her students engaged in the process of finding appropriate visuals for them. All of these curricular activities took place in Spanish, and were typical for these classrooms.

Social domains: School culture and social issues. As I have indicated earlier in this chapter, Ms. Gomez demonstrated considerable concern that her students learn to use Spanish for important social purposes, including bridging cultural differences, and service to others. During the timeframe of my study, she incorporated such language use into her classroom in at least three ways. First, early in my observations, her students were engaged in writing an argumentative/persuasive essays focused on issues of school culture, that is things they observed on campus that needed changing or reinforcing to improve the school experience for kids. As I observed her students work in pairs and as a whole class to generate ideas for their essays, they sometimes struggled to know what various features of their surroundings were called in Spanish. As they returned from a campus reconnaissance they did in pairs to generate ideas to write about, nearly all the pairs returned speaking English. Playground equipment they had only named in English had to be renamed in Spanish. Several of the boys had to find the appropriate language to discuss the sports they played on the playground, and the problems associated with those sports (Fieldnotes, date). The assignment seemed from the very outset to stretch their language into new contexts and domains.

The second way in which Ms. Gomez connected language use to social issues involved the kids' reading of *La gran Gilly Hopkins*. Ms. Gomez made a concerted effort to help the kids see the book as having relevance for them in how they treated social differences among students on campus. She further connected their reading to the anti-bullying program the whole campus was participating in that spring (Fieldnotes, date). She presented this model of literacy to the middle school teachers during their curriculum development meeting that May, as I have indicated earlier in the chapter.

Finally, she taught the students how to use Spanish interjections in socially appropriate ways in their fiction writing. While this lesson was not directly connected to the resolution of social issues or conflict, it did represent how to engaged in socially appropriate conversation, how individuals in another Spanish-speaking culture would talk to and position each other.

**Taller de lectura/Libreta de lectura*: Literary domains.* As Ms. Gomez had intended when she included the sheet *Génaros de mirada* in each student's *Libreta de lectura*, three focal students, Betsy (Appendix I), Marta (Appendix J), and Michael (Appendix K), made concerted efforts to include a variety of genres of books in their year's reading goals. While they did not all meet their stated goals, they read books from all but one genre (Betsy did not read any biographies in Spanish and Michael did not select any informative books to read. Marta, however, read from each genre). Some books on their lists could have been assigned to more than one genre; for instance, Jules Verne's *La vuelta al mundo en 80 días* showed up on Betsy's list as Traditional Literature, but on Michael's as Science Fiction.

The students were exposed to a variety of domains or "spheres of human activity" through both non-fiction and fiction genres. Non-fiction genres were clearly classified according to specific domains. The informative genre included books about science, music, insects, and inventions; biographies covered the lives of sports figures (Derek Jeter and Alex Rodrigues, both Major League Baseball players), figures from American history (David Crockett), and the story of an individual who had lived through the attack on Pearl Harbor. Fiction genres, including Realistic, Historical, Fantasy, and Science

fiction, involved a much more complex constellation of domains, since they all included an emphasis on relationships (i.e., family, work, social), life during particular periods of time (i.e., 17th-19th Century America, World War Two, the Renaissance, Middle Ages, Pre-Columbian Latin America), specific social problems (i.e., the Holocaust, relations between pioneers and Native Americans, race/racism, wars, intergenerational conflict, youth culture and school). In the category of Fantasy, these three read about witches and wizards, vampires, ghosts, dragons and other talking/magical animals. Betsy and Marta tended to read more fiction books with romantic themes, while Michael read more biographies and sports themed books. For the purposes of this study, I have not examined each book in detail, so I will not comment on all the possible domains involved in the nearly 30 books each student read. However, I would argue that through reading full-length books, in particular novels, these students were exposed to primary genres Bakhtin (1986) associated with individual characters from a variety of "spheres of human activity," professions, social classes, generations, which provided them with an introduction to language differences and the generic features of language associated with these different domains and identities.

     Domains in final fiction writing. The final fiction writing project the students participated in during the spring also provides another source of information about the language domains in which they were engaged. A review of writing of 12 of the 18 students in Ms. Gomez's class revealed a balance of subgenres of fiction: five wrote about themes related to Realistic Fiction, four wrote Fantasy pieces, and four wrote pieces of Magical Realism (magic entering into a realistic setting and situation). In their Realistic Fiction and Magical Realism pieces, students focused on warfare/combat (Medieval, Revolutionary War), family and friendship, ethics (honesty, theft), illness and loss (death/funerals, cancer, sports injury), school and teachers, and sports (baseball). In their Fantasy and Magical Realism pieces they wrote about creatures from Greek Mythology (Cyclops, hydra) and other planets (Mercury), magical animals (serpents), magical objects (rocks, pencils), traditional fairytale characters (giants, miniature people), animals with human characteristics (penguins who want to change colors), magical lands (Candy Island). Some of the students may have drawn material from their reading; for instance, Marta wrote about creatures from Greek Mythology, and had read several books on that subject for her *Libreta*; books about sports (baseball and soccer) had made their way around the classroom; and several students had read books from the *Harry Potter* and *Twilight* series, both of which focus on friendship, ethics and magic. The students had freedom to choose their themes for these fictional pieces, and their choices reflected a very wide range of domains of language use.

     This brief categorical overview of the domains of language learning and use obtained in Ms. Gomez's classroom (from observing language use in the traditional curricular areas, a socially-oriented writing project, and focal students' literacy practices) reveals the complexity of what it meant to learn to use Spanish in this TWI program. It demonstrates the great reserve of language resources that students have been exposed to and have built up over the course of their years in a TWI program, and adds further texture to our understanding of their language competency and autonomy as language

learners. I will now add to that reserve of language domains some of the domains the students participated in through their activities at El Molino in February 2009.

Language domains at El Molino: The role of language in specific activities.

During their week at El Molino, Ms. Gomez's class participated in a wide variety of activities, both on their own with their teachers, and alongside their Mexican counterparts from the Montessori school in Cuernavaca. Early and late in the week, students had the opportunity to engage in purely touristic activities such as sightseeing and shopping for gifts. During the course of the week at the camp, portions of each day were dedicated to social activities, such as storytelling around a campfire, sports (soccer, primarily), dancing and a farewell party. They also prepared songs in Spanish to share with their Mexican friends as part of that farewell. Each of these activities implied some differences in language use, depending on the social domains involved in each. Polite or socially appropriate language varied from situation to situation: asking for help in buying a gift, knowing how to take a turn at storytelling, asking a peer to dance, expressing appreciation for friends newly made. Each situation implied different language forms and registers.

As part of the camp experience, they also participated in a visit to a small pre-school for children of one of the indigenous groups in Erongarícuaro. The students had prepared in advance of their visit, back in California, by choosing a book, *Bellisario*, to share with the younger children. *Bellisario* was the story of a tiger who served as the baker for a small town, and who behaved like a human being most of the time. Bellisario was beloved by all the town's children, but when, one night, he shed his human clothes and danced in the streets in his tiger form, the children's parents began to feel their children were in danger, and decided to strip Bellisario of his role as town baker, and to send him to jail. In response, the children, grieving and angry, decided to paint their faces like tigers, and marched through the streets protesting, arguing that even though they had faces like tigers, they were still their parents' children, and their parents still loved them, just as, in all but appearance, Bellisario was a human being loved by the children. The children convinced their parents to release Bellisario and reinstate him as town baker. Peace was restored to the town as they did so. The Midville 5th graders gave a copy of this book to each child at the school, and they and the students from Cuernavaca shared it with them in two other ways.

First, each Midville and Cuernavaca student was paired with a pre-schooler for conversation and to complete an art project, a stick puppet of Bellisario. The kids worked alongside the pre-schoolers to color a picture of Bellisario, cut it out and paste it on a wooden dowel. I observed students talking with pre-schoolers about their plans for colors, about how to best execute the project, about the tools and techniques they needed to use. When they were finished with their projects, they chatted with their pre-schoolers about their school, activities they liked, and the food they then shared during snack time. Some of them enjoyed the swing set together, others played with the gifts they exchanged or talked more about the story of Bellisario.

The students finally participated in a reenactment of the story of Bellisario. As one of the El Molino teachers, Jairo, read the story aloud, adults and students played the roles of parents and children in the story, and, of course, one adult played Bellisario. Jairo acted

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as narrator, and various actors had short lines to deliver throughout. All of the pre-schoolers in the audience waved their Bellisario puppets to encourage the character and affirm their love for him as well. The play ended with the release of Bellisario, and the event at the preschool ended with surprise gifts from the Cuernavaca students and formal thank you's to the Midville and Cuernavaca students from the preschoolers and teachers. These activities led the Midville students into the domains of children younger than they were, and of the small town world of Bellisario.

These social experiences provided the Midville students with opportunities to learn from teachers and their Cuernavaca friends. The range of language domains involved are too numerous to elaborate, but the activities themselves, I believe, indicate many complexities of social language uses, how to talk with children younger than they, with friends their age, with adults in a variety of language use situations.

Talleres*: Learning the role of language in activity and domains of language use.* The highlight of the El Molino experience for many students was the opportunity to participate in two different *talleres*, or workshops, focusing on a variety of different activities and subjects relevant to life in the part of Michoacan that surrounds the camp. Several of the high school students I spoke with after they took the Spanish Language AP exam, referred to El Molino as the highlight of their experience in the Spanish Immersion Program, and of specific *talleres* as the highlight of the camp (Focus group, 5/5/09). Through the active, hands-on experience of these *talleres*, the students learned what role language had in completing the activity, and were exposed to specific domains of language use, some of which were familiar to them, but most of which were new. Ms. Gomez, Ms. Flores and the staff of El Molino expected all the students to use only Spanish in these *talleres*, and while students were prepared to make choices in *talleres* ahead of time, they were also assigned to them based on the amount of language use expected of them in each *taller*. My observations led me to conclude that some of the leaders of the *talleres* preferred that students do little talking in order to complete a project, such as *deshilado* (needlework) or *sombreros* (weaving hats from reeds). These *talleres* seemed to focus more on the cultural value of engaging in the manual activity itself, and since the students had limited time in which to finish the project, the leaders saw chatting as a distraction from the primary goal. Several times during my observations in these two activities, students were told not to talk so much, to focus on their work. However, even in these low-language activities, students were exposed to specific domains related to the production of cultural materials, the language of needlework and weaving, and to complete the activities, they needed to be able to follow the instructions of the teachers as they talked about their craft.

However, in other *talleres*, Spanish language use was absolutely essential, in terms of both receiving information and instruction, and producing knowledge, or engaging in the activity. Three *talleres*, *Cuidado de animales* (Caring for farm animals), *Biología* (Biology)*,* and *Alebrijes* (a local sculptural art form), involved a good deal of listening to informational explanation, storytelling, and instruction or direction. The vision of each teacher seemed to be to teach both activity and content about that activity, and often to engage the students in wide-ranging conversation, sometimes only peripherally related to the activity itself. One other *taller*, *Producción de radio* (Radio production), was all about language inasmuch as the final product of the taller was

discourse-oriented, a radio program that included music, jokes, and an invented interview with a celebrity. Not only did this teacher engage students in conversation, he focused their attention on how things should be said in a radio show, what DJs talk like, how to ask good interview questions, and how to keep in mind the interests of an audience. In other words, this taller revolved around discourse, and emphasized awareness of language use. These four *talleres* involved high language-use activities.

Topics of discussion in **talleres***: Range of domains and sub-domains.* In this section, I will discuss the range of language use domains and sub-domains in the four high language-use *talleres*. In each *taller*, the sub-domains of language use were relatively easy to identify, either because the teacher had divided the days of class to focus on specific sub-domains of the larger activity (i.e., *Cuidado de animales*), the activity itself involved different language use domains or genres (i.e., *Producción de radio*), or because the teacher engaged the students in conversation to connect an activity with themes or experiences outside the activity (i.e., *Biología* and *Alebrijes*).

Cuidado de animales. Jairo, the local farmer who taught this class, had developed a very organized curriculum for his students over the years he had been teaching the course for El Molino. He presented the activity and content from the perspective of farming/ranching, veterinary medicine and sporting (hunting, cock fighting), and would make reference to these specific domains. He had further divided up the activities/content of the course into caring for animals in several ways: feeding, cleaning/curing, mating, and preparing for sport. During my observations, he further focused his taller around three different animals, his horse, Fiona, his rabbits and his fighting cocks and chickens (Fieldnotes, 2/2/09, 2/5/09). Certain activities and content took precedence in relation to certain animals; for instance, he only discussed mating and territoriality in relationship to rabbits and sport in relationship to cocks. But cleaning and curing he discussed in relation to Fiona (washing a horse; stomach parasites and the problems they cause), his rabbits (ear mites), and his cocks (surgery to prevent injury during fights). On the first day of the *taller*, he introduced the students to the feeding of animals by showing them the kind of feed appropriate to each animal, and discussing why that kind of feed was so important, what these animals would eat in the wild, how their digestive systems worked differently (Fieldnotes, 2/2/09). Prior to each activity, he would sit in a circle with the students and explain the rationale for the practices they would engage in, and give specific instructions on how to carry them out. Then he would supervise as each student took turns in the activity or watched him carry it out, connecting talk and action. Though Jairo did more talking than the students did, I observed an increase in the students' use of Spanish over the two days I participated, as they increased their knowledge of the language of the farm and caring for animals.

Producción de radio. Paolo, who taught the *taller* on *Producción de radio*, ran a very organized class, and took the role of producer of the students' radio show, giving clear direction, manning the recording booth, and guiding the students into an understanding of how radio professionals think about their work. He had, over the years, developed a highly organized workspace for the kids, with a fully sound-proofed recording booth on one side of the workshop, an ample table for the kids to write their

scripts and draw their CD covers, and lots of storage to organize his many music CDs and recordings of previous groups of students. He affirmed the choices students made in what music to include in their programs, demonstrating knowledge of the most current popular music and artists. He also critiqued their choices of jokes, their need to better understand their audience, their interview questions. While he focused on making the process of producing a show fun, he clearly was thinking about what the kids would learn about the discourse of radio programs.

By the day I observed (Day 3 of the *taller*, 2/4/09), the students had already selected some of their music, recorded an opening sequence welcoming their audience, selected and recorded a segment of jokes (in both English and Spanish), and determined that their invented interview would be with pop star Avril Lavigne. As the taller began, the kids finished up work on the artwork for their CD covers, while Paolo coached them on how to make them look professional. At the same time, they decided on an opening song to play, and Paolo helped them think through the need for an energetic opening. They eventually chose Pink's "I'm Coming Out." He then prepared to help them draft their interview script and record the interview. To draft the interview questions quickly, Paolo worked with the whole group to generate ideas and shape the language a dj would use with a celebrity, as he typed up the script, rephrasing student ideas to fit the discourse of a dj or to be more idiomatic. The students came up with questions about Lavigne's life and work (how she liked touring, how her current album was selling, how she liked Mexico, what her love life and experience as a mother was like, even why she dressed as a "punk"), and Paolo would help them shape both the questions and the answers through dialogue. Once the final interview was drafted with all its parts (greeting, order of questions, farewell), each student was assigned a role, with one student playing Lavigne and all the others taking turns with segments of the interview or with questions. Recording took place efficiently, but required careful attention to Paolo's technical directions and instructions involving everything from vocal quality and volume, to technical issues with mics and his soundboard. Marta was assigned the role of Avril Lavigne, and as one of the English-dominant students, she had trouble with pronunciation of some words, so Paolo helped her with the problem by changing the wording at times. Through his attention to detail and direct instruction, he directed the kids to produce a high quality radio program, and instructed them in a variety of sub-domains important to radio production.

Biología. In Chapter 1, I introduced Ignacio, the teacher in charge of the *taller* on *Biología*. In his taller, students encountered a wide variety of domains of language use based on the interdisciplinary nature of the course, and on his efforts to connect that material to the lives of the kids in it. While the *taller* was called *Biología*, his larger focus seemed to be on environmental science, which included themes from sub-domains such as natural history, local history, philosophy/ethics, and popular culture. He told stories about what had happened to the environment, including the mountains, lake, plants and animals, surrounding the site of El Molino over the course of several hundred years. He explained his personal history with that locale, his own observations over the past 20 years. He challenged the students to think about the problems related to the environmental changes taking place there and in other parts of the world, urging them to improve on the research many adults had done on the problems but taking action to

preserve the environment. He drew from students' life experience (going away on vacation, keeping a house clean, going to school) to create analogies or examples to help them understand the science he presented. During their activity of hunting for *sanguijuelas* (leeches), he described the use of leeches in medicine in the past and the present, and connected that use to both the domains of business and popular culture by inventing the idea of the kids developing a chain of stores to rent leeches to doctors and hospitals called "Sangüi-Blockbuster." The larger context, a humorous one, for this discussion had been connected to students and their families, the way families might call one of its members *inútil* (useless) sometimes when they make a mistake or don't do something they've been asked to. Hunting for leeches, which would be required to get the business started, would be proof that no one was *inútil* since we can all attract leeches!

Ignacio's freewheeling style and the subject matter's interdisciplinary nature required students to follow a complex web of language use, some technical, some hypothetical, some imaginative. This *taller* provided students with a challenging mix of domains, one which the group I observed very willingly followed. Further, several students in the Spanish Language AP focus group that spring reported Ignacio's *taller* to have been the highlight of their El Molino experience. While the *taller* was challenging from a language use perspective, it was also clearly engaging to students.

Alebrijes. Unlike the *talleres* focusing on *deshilado* (needlework) and *sombreros* (hat weaving), in which talk was not encouraged for the sake of completing the manual project, the taller on *Alebrijes* taught by Victor, involved a good deal of talk by both Victor and the student participants. *Alebrijes* is a local art form, sculptures of mythical lizard-like creatures, woven from reeds, adorned with clay and paper maché, and painted bright colors. By Day 3 (2/4/09), when I observed that day's session, the students had already done the work of weaving reeds into a figure, and were working on adorning and painting them. Victor gave instructions that day on how to apply the decorative elements, the best ways of applying glue or paper maché, and made sure students had access to all the paint colors, colored pencils and brushes needed. But as the students worked, he also allowed them to bring up topics for conversation, and seemed inclined to engage in open-ended talk about a variety of topics.

One of the focal Midville students, Jacob, was particularly interested in themes of battle and warfare (later in the spring he would write his final fiction piece about a medieval battle), and drew Victor's attention to armor he wanted to apply to his dragon-like creature. He and Victor discussed the behavior of dragons in battle, and the vulnerability of the throat area. This brief conversation seemed to open up Victor's thinking about human warfare and politics, and between giving instructions to the group on how to adorn their creatures, and explaining the source of certain paint colors and the properties of clay and mud, Victor opened up a discussion of how nations might resolve global conflicts by requiring the leaders of those nations involved to compete in Olympic-like sports competitions. He suggested that the students imagine what it would be like if President Obama had to resolve the Iraq or Afghanistan wars through such competition. Through an imaginary situation, much as Ignacio had during his *taller*, Victor moved from focusing on the activity at hand to thinking aloud about larger social issues and a philosophical stance on them. Both of these two teachers engaged students

in language use that went far beyond the instruction necessary for the activities of their *talleres*.

Some of the language domains involved in these four *talleres* overlapped with domains the students might already have been familiar with from their classroom in California (i.e., *Biología* and *Producción de radio* [technology]); however, others introduced them to completely new domains (*Alebrijes* and *Cuidado de animales*). These talleres also illustrated the way domains of language use are connected both to specific activities, and to the social questions that will often naturally arise as we are engaged in activity with peers and adult mentors. The *talleres*, because of their association with learning how to engage in real human activity, with specific semiotic domains (Gee, 2003) into which the students were introduced, provided an interesting hybrid language use experience, at once something like language use in classroom curricular areas, and like language use in social settings outside the classroom. Once again, as in Ms. Gomez's classroom, they presented the students with language use that escaped school forms of encapsulation, revealing how people use language in the world.

Conclusion: How Language Ideologies Work in Classrooms

In this chapter, I have attempted to provide a clear portrait of the language ideologies and practices that characterize Spanish Immersion 5th grade classrooms at Midville Elementary School. Mr. Foster, as principal, led his teachers in a concern for the life-long love of language learning, a valuing of biliteracy as a fundamental part of bilingualism, and defended his elementary students against what he saw as a devaluing of their bilingual experience by secondary Spanish Language teachers. Ms. Gomez provided a nuanced way of understanding what biliteracy meant for students at the end of their elementary Spanish Immersion experience. Most remarkable was her commitment to providing her students both guidance and autonomy in the literacy practices in her classroom, and to encouraging them to learn to use Spanish for many different purposes, including those associated with social justice and change. Her students seemed happy and productive and grew in their knowledge and use of Spanish as they engaged in regular reading and writing in Spanish. Ms. Gomez was also committed to providing direct instruction in Spanish grammar, orthography, and domain related aspects of language use, such as how to use interjections in writing fictional dialogue. The students' classroom experience illustrated the many ways language learning and use are connected to specific activities and academic domains, and that illustration was extended to their experience in Mexico at El Molino. There they encountered many different social and activity systems in which language use differed, presenting complex relationships between language from specific semiotic and social domains. Ms. Gomez's students spent their last year of elementary Spanish Immersion education immersed in a rich and challenging language environment in which they developed confidence and competence with the language they were learning.

Chapter 4: "There's no reading of books": Language Learning and Use in Midville's Spanish Language AP Class

Introduction

On May 5, 2009, over 100 Midville High School students stand in the early morning rain, waiting anxiously for high school staff to open the doors to the library where they will spend the next four hours taking the 2009 version of the Spanish Language Advanced Placement exam. At 7:30 sharp, the head proctor, an energetic middle-aged woman, ushers the students in from the breezeway, reminding them to visit the bathroom one last time, get out their ID cards, #2 pencils, and turn off their cell phones before they find a place among the evenly spaced seats at the rows of tables prepared for them. Among the many students that day are 23 former Spanish Immersion students, 21 from the Midville Spanish Immersion program.[11] They seem just as jittery as all the other students there, and later in the day will express bemusement and some under-confidence as they reflect on the nature of and their performance on this exam. In July, when their scores are released to them, they will discover that each of them has passed the exam, most with the highest score of 5.

As the previous chapter examined the language ideologies and practices associated with the 5th grade Spanish Immersion class, the culmination of the whole of the Spanish Immersion elementary school program, this chapter will examine the language beliefs and ideologies of one of the Spanish Language AP teachers and Department Administrator, Mr. Mann. As a veteran teacher of Spanish, who regularly taught the Spanish Language AP class, and participated in professional development and the reading of AP exam essays, Mr. Mann's view of the Spanish Immersion students had been informed by the language ideologies and beliefs of World Language teachers in his department and the district as a whole in the 2008-2009 school year. Further this chapter will consider some of the practices Mr. Mann engaged in to help students fulfill the goals of this course and to prepare for the exam which represented for many its culminating experience. These practices reflected the character of language learning and use in this educational context, and were the outworking of his language ideologies and beliefs. I will use the reflections of ten former Spanish Immersion students, four from Mr. Mann's courses, gathered during a focus group conducted the afternoon of the exam, to further illuminate the experience of former Spanish Immersion students in Spanish Language AP courses at Midville High School. Finally, I will present the range of social and academic language domains or "spheres of human activity" (Bakhtin, 1986) that obtain in this classroom and the Spanish Language AP exams from 2007-2011 to consider how the experience of students in the Spanish Immersion program may have prepared them for this culminating experience.

Teacher Conceptions of Language Learning and Use: Beliefs and Ideologies

Mr. Mann was a well-liked teacher among students, who described him as "relaxed" (Focus group, 5/5/09), and compared him very favorably with his colleague

who taught other sections of Spanish 4AP. He frequently demonstrated interest in students in class, and revealed a somewhat indulgent attitude toward them, inquiring about their early morning sleepy unresponsiveness in class, urging them to try to get more sleep (Fieldnotes, 4/16/06). At the time of our interview, he had been teaching at Midville High School in the World Language department for 12 years, having taught at Midville Middle School for the previous 4 years. He had taught every level of Spanish offered in the district, except for the AP Spanish Literature course, along with two levels of German, something he never envisioned teaching when he took courses in it as a requirement for his Spanish major at a Northern California public university. As a Spanish Language AP teacher, Mr. Mann was well connected to his professional communities, attended professional development events for AP teachers in and outside the district, and was beginning to serve regularly as an AP exam reader. Though he expressed language beliefs and ideologies that sometimes dovetailed with those of Ms. Gomez and Mr. Foster, that might have contributed to his awareness of the experiences and capacities of former Spanish Immersion students, his focus and practices had been formed and were more consisted with those prevalent in the community of World Language teachers, promoting various ideologies of the World Language model of education, and the unexamined beliefs about the deficits of the Spanish Immersion program, and by extension, its students.

Mr. Mann: Language Ideologies and Beliefs of a Spanish Language Teacher

Mr. Mann held beliefs about bilingualism that dovetailed with some of the ideologies characteristic of the Spanish Immersion program, seeing bilingualism and biliteracy as essentially connected, that language learning and becoming bilingual were highly pleasurable experiences. He demonstrated that he understood the goals of TWI education, and that his students had achieved a certain level of bilingualism by the time they reached 5th grade. However, even though he recognized that former Spanish Immersion students brought significant language learning and use experiences with them to high school, his positive language beliefs did not seem to function to create a sense of what those students' experiences might mean for his own teaching. Instead he held a predominantly deficit view of the students who came to him out of the Spanish Immersion program, and of the program itself, as evidenced by his determination that "they don't really fit that well" into World Language classrooms, that parental and student expectations had to be reduced when they entered high school, by his focus on patterns of error in the writing of 5th grade Spanish Immersion students, and his assumption that their deficits had to be explained by some deficit in teaching and learning in the Spanish Immersion elementary program.

Biliteracy: Being "truly" bilingual means being biliterate.

Some of Mr. Mann's language ideologies seemed to favor the Spanish Immersion students in his courses. For instance, when asked to provide a definition of what it meant to be bilingual, Mr. Mann could not separate it from biliteracy, a perspective he shared in common with both Mr. Foster and Ms. Gomez of the Spanish Immersion program.

Mann: When I think of truly bilingual I also think of biliterate.
Merritt: OK
Mann: Um so not only being able to uh speak a lang--two languages at a very high level but also being able to read and write and uh and understand um
Merritt: umhm
Mann: So that--I mean I know they have a separate category for that and that's why they say biliterate too, but for me bilingual is not just the oral component
Merritt: umhm
Mann: but reading and writing as well.

This definition of "true" bilingualism as biliteracy seemed to proceed as much from Mr. Mann's own experience of language learning as from his role as a teacher of the AP Spanish Language course, in which reading and writing featured so prominently. Mr. Mann only began his learning of Spanish in 9th grade, and it almost immediately involved both reading and writing. His early experience of learning Spanish took place in the context of a school-based exchange program with a community in Mexico, through which he participated in a homestay exchange, and made friends with whom he wanted to communicate when he returned home.

Mann: …it was just-just great, got me so excited. I wrote letters, pre-email days of course. I would just keep up with—I would have all these pen pals—of kids that I would meet in the school and then they—the families that I would stay with—and so I was constantly badgering my mother for more stamps because I was always just constantly writing letters. And, of course, I was writing and writing and writing and reading and reading and reading and watching telev—just immersing myself as much as I—without really being consciously aware of what I was doing. It was just interesting to me so I was watching television, I was reading newspapers, I was writing letters.

Even in explaining what he meant by achieving a "high level of language" in defining bilingualism, reading and writing took a prominent role.

Mann: Well, by "high level" I mean that you could watch a news broadcast, for example, and understand, well, what uh the news report was being—that you could pick up a newspaper—that you could pick up a novel and uh or some other book and leaf through it and-and understand it. That you could have a conversation with a variety of different people in different registers and um and understand.

In this definition, he emphasized the ability to read and understand different media and genres of print text, even before mentioning conversational ability. Just as his Spanish Language AP course would emphasize listening, speaking, reading and writing, Mr. Mann built all of those modes into his definition, but gave reading and writing a special place not as a separate category, but as essential to development of bilingualism from the very beginning of learning a new language. This emphasis might have provided him an understanding of Spanish Immersion students' experiences of becoming simultaneously

bilingual and biliterate, of their "high level of language" after years and years of reading and writing, but he did not seem to acknowledge the positive differences in their experience or abilities.

"Like a duck to water": The pleasure of language learning.

If Mr. Mann defined "true" bilingualism as involving biliteracy, he characterized his own experience of language learning through the pleasure it brought him. In some ways, though his language learning experience had begun much later than the former Spanish Immersion students he taught, his description of the pleasure he experienced in learning Spanish seemed to echo the vision Mr. Foster expressed for his Spanish Immersion elementary students. Mr. Mann described his language learning in strong metaphors that implied how natural, motivating and visceral it had been for him to learn Spanish.

> Mann: As a 9th grader in high school and I'd had no language experience before that and just took to it like a duck to water—fell in love. It was like turning on something that I had no clue about before, and I just lapped it up—just couldn't get enough.

His metaphor "like a duck to water" called up both a sense of immersion that he referred to directly during our conversation, and the implication that it was a natural act for him, that he was built for the experience. He became enthralled, and "couldn't get enough." His final metaphor, being immersed expressed a physicality that runs through several of the metaphors—being immersed, a light going on, eating really delicious food.

However, Mr. Mann, in his enthusiasm and success in learning a second language through school-based experiences, represented a very small percentage of language learners. His experience was a rare one, and raised Mr. Mann's expectations for his college Spanish courses; however, he found them deeply disappointing. After having skipped his high school's Spanish Language AP course (but passing the exam), he took its Spanish Literature AP course, and passed that exam, giving him one of the benefits many AP students experience, entry into upper division courses.

> Mann: I started in Third Year, like a Third Year class, and I was mad because the teacher spoke in English … Of course you know in retrospect, I was a snotty little—I wasn't even 18 yet. I raised my hand and said in pretty good Spanish, you know, why was she speaking to us in English if this was a Third Year class?

A bit abashed, Mr. Mann went on to explain that because of his objection, "they didn't really know what to do" with him in his program, an interesting phrase in light of later comments he made about Spanish Immersion students "not fitting" into the World Language courses at Midville High School. Eventually, his professors "were very accommodating," allowing him to do "a lot of different things" to fulfill his requirements.

"They don't really fit that well": Linguistic diversity In World Language classes.

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These experiences might have led Mr. Mann to develop a philosophy and some practices that would accommodate former Spanish Immersion students just as his professors in college had worked eventually to accommodate him. However, not only did he not differentiate instruction for them, he and his colleague who taught other AP sections had not identified which or how many students were from the Spanish Immersion program. On the days I addressed students in each of their classes to invite former Spanish Immersion students to participate in a focus group the day of the AP exam, both Mr. Mann and his colleague expressed mild surprise to know that several students in their classes had been in the Spanish Immersion program. Mr. Mann knew of three former Spanish Immersion students in his second period class, but did not know of three others who identified themselves that day (Fieldnotes, 4/21/09).

Though he was not aware of all the former Spanish Immersion students in his classes, he had developed a clear picture of the problems Spanish Immersion students, in general, posed in World Language courses. In thinking about the differences between the goals and approaches of TWI and World Language models of education, Mr. Mann turned to consider the challenges the Midville Spanish Language teachers had faced in trying to integrate the former Spanish Immersion students into their classes.

> Mann: Well, I mean and then eventually when those-the-the-the challenge has been when you have the uh kids that have had the immersion experience coming into high school.
> Merritt: mmm
> Mann: That's like, where do they go?
> Merritt: yeah
> Mann: How do they fit?
> Merritt: yeah
> Mann: Well, they don't really fit that well. You know, we're trying to sort of make them fit into a program that wasn't designed for students who've had the kind of experiences they've had, so, we've done our best.

Mr. Mann, while recognizing that the Spanish Immersion students had had a different language experience than his other students, took a "language as problem" orientation (Ruiz, 1984), and, generally, did not express a positive view of that experience, but expressed a view of them as posing a programmatic problem, how to make them fit.[12] In fact, he seemed benignly intolerant of the linguistic diversity of his students, including

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[12] Mr. Mann's comment "we're trying to sort of make them fit into a program that wasn't designed for students who've had the kind of experiences they've had," may have been an indirect reference to the district decision not to extend the Spanish Immersion program into high school, a decision that put students and teachers into the dilemma he identified in our interview. Though Mr. Mann and the other Spanish teachers may have felt constrained by this decision, I would argue that they still had more options for incorporating Spanish Immersion students into their courses. They were not limited to a dichotomous choice of either having a high school Spanish Immersion program or enacting the status quo in Spanish language courses.

heritage language students, focusing on their deficiencies rather than on their strengths. Further discussion revealed what some of the challenges had been for making the Spanish Immersion students fit into the Spanish Language program. Mr. Mann understood this problem as a significant one, less for the students themselves than, perhaps, for the teachers, whom he implied had a more realistic view of these students than they or their parents did, and upon whom fell the task of convincing parents and students of the students' "gaps" that needed "bridging."

> Mann: Well, I think we-we, I think sometimes the students and-and perhaps their parents too, were a little overly ambitious in thinking of what they could all, as a general group, what they could do as 9th graders. And so most, I think the general assumption [of parents] in the past has been, well, they should start in AP language, and um, we have worked hard, sometimes successfully, sometimes not, in-in-in help--trying to help them understand that that's not the best place to start. So we've kind of steered them more towards Level 3, and I think what I've always tried to do and I think what my colleagues have tried to do is ha--is to have a conversation with the students and the parents to a lesser degree and say, "You know what? You're coming with a lot of experience, but there are some things you're going to know and there are some things you're not gonna know. So the things you're going to know--you know, you've got a free ride basically, feel good about that. But pay very close attention to the things that you don't know. So if you see something that's new or you say 'Oh gee, I'm not familiar with that.' Or 'I'm not sure about that.' That's where your area of focus needs to be."

Mr. Mann implied here that the "gaps" in Spanish Immersion students' knowledge were enough to hold them back from taking Spanish 4AP for a year, and that the Spanish 3 class would serve as a place to bring these students into alignment with what other students knew about and could do with Spanish. While he continued to superficially affirm the language experiences these students brought with them, he did so only briefly, focusing instead on the "gaps" in knowledge or "challenges" they posed.

> Mann: So we've tried patiently to (chuckling) kind of you know explain and to say, "Well you've got some great stuff here that you've learned, but you haven't learned everything until—let us help you try to bridge some of those gaps."
> Merritt: umhm, umhm, yeah, so in-in general, uh-d-have you seen patterns in those gaps, or ar-d-would you say that they're sort of idiosyncratic to certain students?
> Mann: Um -- I would s—there are some patterns.
> Merritt: umhm
> Mann: In terms of uh writing, uh some challenges in orthography that—not some—there are some uh similarities with native speakers. In-in fact some of the-as you know-you know, some of the um the kids in immersion come from heritage language backgrounds, so they-they ha-they have some of those same challenges, um
> Merritt: umhm

Mann: (breath) I think there's uh what we—I mean we-we teach the subjunctive a lot more uh explicitly in high school and I—and we would have expected them to have a better grasp, not explicitly of course, not knowing all of the terminology, (first thing), but being able to use it I think a little better than what we've seen. That's been a little surprising, because it's such a basic building block of the language. It's so infused you know throughout Spanish, that you clearly can't get by, I mean you <u>can</u> get by without it. I know somebody who speaks without the subjunctive. It's very interesting to hear her. (Chuckling)

Merritt: Oh, to get--to circumlocute around the subjunctive?

Mann: Yeah, it's very strange, yeah, challenging.

Mr. Mann pointed to two problematic patterns in the Spanish Immersion students' language use: orthography and misuse of the subjunctive tense. By orthography, he meant use of accent marks and some spelling errors typical of heritage language students, as revealed later in his comments about Spanish Immersion 5th graders' short stories. Here, for the first time in our interview, he associated Spanish Immersion students with heritage language students, in terms of both the composition of the Spanish Immersion program, and the types of problems these students bring with them to the Spanish Language classroom.

Mr. Mann also taught a 1st period Spanish for Spanish Speakers class, which I observed was filled with mostly Mexican and Central American origin students (Fieldnotes, 4/21/09). The emphasis in this course was also literacy, focusing on moving students with mostly spoken Spanish experience toward skills in reading and writing in Spanish. During one of my classroom observations, he had invited a student from that class to observe his Spanish 4AP course, to see what the students were doing with *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (Fieldnotes, 5/22/09). She was impressed with how much "better" these students were at Spanish than she and her classmates were, perhaps because this class was discussing an early 20th century novel in an academic way. Her comments made me wonder what her class focused on, how they used language in it, And what Mr. Mann's attitude toward their language was. In the focus group (5/5/09), I had heard from one of the former Spanish Immersion students of Mexican origin that she had been invited to join the Spanish for Spanish Speakers class, despite having been through the immersion program from kindergarten all the way through 8th grade. She did not even consider it because she had the impression that "you had to start all over again" in learning to read and write. She was among the students who earned a 5 on her AP exam that year.

Mr. Mann's view of linguistic diversity in his Spanish classes stood in contrast with Mr. Foster's view of diversity in their TWI classes at Midville Elementary. Mr. Foster rejected the "elite" label many applied to the Spanish Immersion program, describing the program as reflecting the same diversity of ethnicity and learning needs as his whole school, and pointing to the future incorporation of more Mexican-origin students in Spanish Immersion classes. This contrast raised the question of when students with special learning needs, or varieties of language experience, such as those of Spanish Immersion or heritage speakers, would begin to feel their difference. That difference, and the view that it created problems that had to be resolved, was very apparent in the high school World Language context.

Differences between TWI and World Language models: "Functional level of literacy" vs. "Some level of proficiency."

One of the sources of conflict in Mr. Mann's language ideologies may have proceeded from the unexamined contradictions in his understandings of the goals of TWI education and of the World Language model of language education. Mr. Mann expressed a textbook definition of the Two-Way Immersion model of language education in our interview. While he had never taught in or supervised a TWI program, and had never evaluated the Midville program, other than his experience in the fall 2008 Program Review, he expressed a basic understanding of the emphases and structure of 90/10 TWI programs.

> Mann: OK, well I think the general goal is to um at the end of the, if you're talking about a primary program, so K-5, that by fifth that those students are going to be basically um bilingual, biliterate, for a fifth grade kind of student
> Merritt: umhm
> Mann: um in the target language and in-and in English in the United States
> Merritt: umhm, umhm
> Mann: um that they would have a functional level of literacy and fluency for their appropriate age group
> Merritt: umhm
> Mann: in both languages, and that the target language would be a vehicle to give them content, uh to teach them, in other words, mathematics, or uh science, or what have, or social studies or language arts,
> Merritt: umhm
> Mann: and that I believe, if I-if I remember correctly the model is that in Kindergarten it's almost 100%, and then as it slowly goes up through fifth grade then it-then it the English gets developed gets introduced so that it's eventually, I think, 50/50.
> Merritt: umhm
> Mann: roughly

Mr. Mann seemed to recognize that what bilingualism or fluency would mean at 5th grade would be different from what it would mean for high school students, which might have raised questions about how students must develop to reach high school or college levels of bilingualism, a very relevant question given the focus of the middle school Program Review the previous fall. However, as we moved on to discuss how he understood the differences in goals of TWI education and World Language education, he seemed to realize that it was difficult to compare goals for students from the two systems.

> Mann: Well, I uh you know the difference, how are those interacting (nearly under his breath), um um we want to eventually--I mean our goal is for students to become, I-I don't know, if, you know, in only four years, if we're talking about just 9-12, if we can say "bilingual" by the end of four years because there-there're gonna be significant gaps still. They just haven't had enough time and experience,

(breath), you know, they haven't had enough exposure compared to if you start your whole school day as a five-year-old, obviously you're gonna have a lot more time than you are having 50 minutes a day, four days a week. So, um, but I mean our goal is to develop some level of um proficiency, let's say, in terms of language acquisition in Spanish, or whatever the second language is um at high school, or if they start in 7th grade then they, of course, they've got a leg up because they've had more time. But the way that we deliver the -- we don't deliver content in the same fashion that that-they do in-in an immersion program, obviously, and we do it more thematically, um, and you-you start with you know it's all about me, so it's about, talking about, what do you like? And what do you--what's your school like? And you know all the typical Level One kind of themes that you have in a second language--your school, your family, your friends, things you like to do, things you don't like to do, um and learning the structures along the way as you build in vocabulary, so…

Mr. Mann's description of the thematic approach to "delivering" Spanish Level One was quite similar to the description Ms. Gomez gave of her understanding of the goal of "getting that language into people," beginning with basic interpersonal communication, in a Spanish Level One class. Because a 9th grade student might be starting from zero in learning Spanish, from Mr. Mann's perspective, the highest expectation one could have for traditional World Language students, given how little time they spent learning in Spanish, was to reach "some level of … proficiency." This highly qualified explanation of goals seemed to reflect a reasonable expectation for traditional World Language students, but he did not seem aware of the implication of his statement, that Spanish Immersion students would have reached a significantly higher level of bilingualism and biliteracy by the time they had entered traditional World Language classes than most traditional World Language students would be able to hope to achieve after only four years of language learning. Or perhaps this contradiction had occurred to him, as, on the heels of this discussion, Mr. Mann entered into his discussion of the "overly ambitious thinking" both Spanish Immersion students and parents had had for their students, and of their orthographic and grammatical deficiencies.

Evaluation of writing of Spanish Immersion 5th Graders: A (predominantly) deficit view.

Because Mr. Mann had been initiated into the professional group of teachers who read and score the Presentational Writing element of the Spanish Language AP exam, I asked him if he would read and comment on the short stories four of the 5th grade Spanish Immersion students had written in Ms. Gomez's class that spring. I also wanted to understand whether he was aware of and what he thought about the level of language and literacy the 5th grade Spanish Immersion students had achieved by this time. At the end of our June 2009 interview, I provided him with those short stories, providing only the name of the student, and explaining that Ms. Gomez had been working with them on some of the conventions of fiction writing in Spanish (the use of *guiones* [dashes] instead of quotation marks in dialogue, and of idiomatic interjections to replace their use of English idioms in their dialogue). Mr. Mann read all four short stories making comments

on each of them after he did. While he affirmed several aspects of the students' writing and language development, his comments consistently returned to their deficits, what they lacked, rather than their strengths. His focus on these issues seemed to surpass what a reader of would be able to focus on in the holistic reading of AP essays. In particular, he focused consistently on their "control" (use, lack of use or misuse) of accent marks, one of the language development issues associated with both heritage Spanish learners and Spanish Immersion students. He questioned the instruction these students had received in accentuation, which pointed to what seemed to be a mistrust of the language development education they had received in elementary school, and to a privileging of the values of the World Language model of instruction. The language ideology which emerged most clearly from this activity was his emphasis on student control of certain language features, a concern which confirmed Ms. Gomez's impression that the focus of World Language education was on how teachers "got language into" students. This emphasis on control obviously proceeded as well from the language of the AP system itself.

     "A couple hundred a day": The reading practices of AP essay scoring. Before he read the students' written work, at the beginning of our interview, we chatted about the process he had recently been through in reading the 2009 AP Presentational Writing essays. He described the process, commenting on the rather overwhelming volume of reading they had to do each day and the effect it had on him as a reader.

> Mann: You read a couple hundred a day. (By the) end of the day it all looks the same. I would read the whole thing, get to the end, have no idea what I had just read, and start over again.

His description of losing track of what he had just read led me to wonder how he could distinguish some of the finer points of language use and keep himself observant of all the aspects of writing they were looking for in each essay. In addition, knowing that in many standardized essay test-scoring sessions, the readers are encouraged to read at a certain speed, I asked how much time they were allowed to read each one. Mr. Mann emphasized the reasonable expectations the leaders had for them.

> Mann: They were good about (not) pressuring us, to say, "You should read one a minute or one every two minutes." They never said, "You should complete this many a day." They just said, "Read." And they monitor it really closely so they know how we're doing, but they would never say, "Read faster," they just encouraged us to do the best we could.

While they did not pressure the readers to read more quickly, the volume of essays they were trained and expected to read in one day necessarily would mean very little time spent on any one essay[13], a fact which raised questions about how the readers would be able to read for a multiplicity of features, including the more fine-grained features of

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[13] If a reader worked for 8 hours and read 200 essays, he would average 2.4 minutes per essay.

language such as spelling, grammar errors and accentuation. The AP rubric[14] Mr. Mann provided me before my first visit to his class focused evaluation on both Topic Development and Language Use and included five items in each of those larger categories for each numerical score from 1 to 5, a significant number of features to focus on at once. The 2007 Presentational Writing Scoring Guidelines include under a score of 5 in Language Use:

- Control of a variety of structures and idioms; occasional errors may occur, but there is no pattern
- Rich, precise, idiomatic vocabulary; ease of expression
- Excellent command of the conventions of written language (orthography, sentence structure, paragraphing and punctuation)
- Register is highly appropriate

Mr. Mann did not comment on the problem of how to focus on each element of the rubric when reading two hundred essays a day, but it seemed obvious that reading that many examples of student work would mean having to read them holistically, not being able to focus on any one feature of a particular student's work. As I will discuss later, in his reading of the 5th graders' short stories, Mr. Mann was clearly influenced by the elements of the AP Presentational Writing rubric, but also focused on "conventions of the written language" in a way that seemed unrealistic for the essay scoring of the AP exams. In other words, he seemed to focus special attention in his reading of the Spanish Immersion students' work on accentuation and other written conventions, and interpreted the variation of student performance in accentuation as a result of deficient teaching on that language feature.

> ***Influence of AP Presentational Writing rubric on Mr. Mann's evaluation of 5th graders' writing.*** That Mr. Mann's evaluative practices had been informed and influenced by this rubric became obvious as he evaluated the short stories of the four 5th graders. As he read he focused on each of these language use features, emphasizing the students' control of each. In fact, late in the discussion of the students' work, he used the rubric directly to characterize their work.

In commenting on each of the students' written work, Mr. Mann focused on specific characteristics associated with the four AP rubric items, emphasizing the concept of "control" in various ways, both positive and negative. He pointed to Jacob's and Michael's control of verb tense (Rubric Item 1), Michael's "good control of paragraphs," Georgia's having her paragraphing "down," and Jacob having better control of paragraphs than some native speakers (Rubric Item 3). He praised several of the students

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[14] Mr. Mann provided me with a rubric he had at hand, one for Presentational Speaking; however, he commented that it was very similar to the rubric for Presentational Writing. I have since consulted the 2007 Spanish Language AP Presentational Writing Scoring Guidelines, and have found them similar in the area of Topic Development, but not in Language Use. Whereas the Speaking guidelines focus on fluency and pronunciation, the Writing guidelines focus on "conventions of the written language (orthography, sentence structure, paragraphing and punctuation)" (College Board website).

for their use of "rich vocabulary" (Rubric Item 2), comparing Jacob's vocabulary favorably to that of native speakers. And though he did not discuss register (Rubric Item 4), he did comment on the appropriateness of the themes the students had chosen to write about and the emotion they expressed in writing about them. Though he expressed a number of positive comments about the qualities of their writing in Spanish, when it came to the elements of Rubric Item 3: "Excellent command of the conventions of written language (orthography, sentence structure, paragraphing and punctuation)," he began to make more negative comments, mostly focusing on native-speaker like errors in orthography, in particular what he saw as a troubling pattern of error in accentuation. Eventually, the issue of accentuation seemed to loom over all the positive qualities of the students' writing, as I will discuss in the next section.

Accentuation: "An important little piece." In the Presentational Writing rubric, accentuation (the use of accent marks in written Spanish) would fall under the item Rubric Item 3: "Excellent command of the conventions of written language (orthography, sentence structure, paragraphing and punctuation)." It is an element of orthography; however, nowhere in the rubric is accentuation mentioned specifically. Yet, from the very beginning of his evaluation of the students' writing, Mr. Mann paid special attention to accentuation, viewing it as a significant pattern of deficit in their writing, and speculating as to the cause of this pattern. Even though he tried to downplay its importance at points, admitting "it's just one little piece (of language use)," he could not escape his view that it was "an important little piece" that was lacking in their use of Spanish.

While Mr. Mann affirmed a wide range of language use features in the 5th graders work, the language he used to express his affirmation of them was measured and downplayed in comparison with the language he used in connection with accentuation. He described their writing as "very creative," "very good," "very nice," "very typical," "very cute," "very fluid," and "very rich."   His repetition of "very," while it might serve to characterize their writing as above average, approaching excellent, could also lose some of its power in its overuse. This consistent and measured expression of affirmation stood in contrast with some of the language Mr. Mann used in relation to the students' uneven use of accentuation. Almost immediately after he evaluated Jacob's story as painting a "very clear picture of [a] medieval battle" which was "very nice," he pointed out that "the other thing that I think is really striking is the almost complete lack of accentuation." He used the word "striking," a strong word [15]. The strength of his response to Jacob's accentuation was then confirmed by his next comment.

Mann: Um it's astounding because he--I-I found one or two examples of where he DID put an a- *"habían sacado"* This is in the fifth paragraph on the first page, *"habían sacado sus espadas."* There's an accent on the "i," and I think I saw one--he

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[15] It was a strong word, but may have been suggested to him by my own language in our interview. I had suggested that he could comment on "anything that strikes you as-as worth commenting on" when he said "but um so I don't know what aspect you'd like me to comment on" after he read Jacob's essay.

put an accent on the "i" in "*días*" on the second page which is about the tenth line from the bottom, and that I believe is the only accent mark.

He described the lack of accentuation in Jacob's writing as "astounding," dramatically surprising. As he continued to evaluate Jacob's command of written conventions, he contrasted his accentuation with his control of punctuation and paragraphs. While Jacob seemed to have better "control" over these elements, even better than some of Mr. Mann's heritage speakers, Mr. Mann repeated that his lack of accentuation was dramatic.

> Mann: Um but I'm-I'm astounded, frankly, that he-he seems to have no clue of accents, none. But like I said, I mean it's, so he obviously has some deficiencies there. Um It would-it looks like writing, frankly, that I would see in my native speakers' class in terms of the lack of accentuation.

Later he claimed that Jacob's spelling was good, with very few errors, but repeated that accentuation seemed to be "the only convention that he really seems to have no clue of." Even though Mr. Mann could point to cases where Jacob had used accents correctly, he presented his use of accents as dramatically deficient.

As Mr. Mann moved on to read Michael's work, he began to explain the lack of accentuation as a lack of understanding.

> Mann: (About Michael's story): Uh big lack of understanding of conventions of accentuation. There's no--apart from one example I gave out-I don't think there's any-there are any accents.

By the time he finished reading Georgia's story, he focused his very first response on the problem of accentuation, beginning to see a pattern.

> Mann: Well, I think it's interesting. They all three--there doesn't seem to be any-there's no accents. So I mean, that's-there doesn't seem to be any instruction given to them about how to use accent marks.

After having seen what seemed to be a pattern of error, Mr. Mann then began to theorize that the students had not received any instruction in accentuation during their earlier years of language development, an unreasonable theory given the number of years that these students had been reading and writing in Spanish.

While I had not anticipated the strength of his response to this one language use feature, because I had been aware that the problem of accentuation had been one that World Language teachers had focused on in the past, I had observed carefully in Ms. Gomez's class what work she did with the students on the feature. She had given them systematic direct instruction (Fieldnotes, 1/13/09) involving categories of words (pronouns and words used in forming questions), provided rules for use (including the very categories of words Mr. Mann referred to in our conversation) (Fieldnotes, 4/28/09), and regularly responded to accent errors in comments on student writing. When I pointed out that I had observed "a lot of instruction" on the issue in the 5th grade class, Mr. Mann asked

> Mann: Is it sor- is it systematic, I mean does it start when they start writing?
> Merritt: You know, that I don't know, uh because I have only been looking at the fifth grade classroom so-
> Mann: Well, I'm just curious, because if they haven't been getting it from when they start writing probably I'd say in first grade and it goes without any sort of you know without any mention, and then all of a sudden in fifth grade she's got all these charts and corrections and things, it's probably too late.

Once again, Mr. Mann presented an unreasonable theory regarding the problem. The idea that fifth grade was "probably too late" to learn correct accentuation must have flown in the face of his own experience of teaching heritage speakers in his high school courses. He seemed to have no language development theory to help him understand this problem. When I mentioned that I didn't know how accentuation is taught in schools in to Spanish speakers, he pointed to the way it was taught in World Language classes.

> Mann: No, I think that, I mean, you'd start writing and then they would-I think what they would do is show you how to um that's kind of what we do with native speakers is we-we show them the different categories of *palabras*, *graves, llanes, esdrújulas*, and you know how to-so you know counting bits the syllables and where does the emphasis on the syllable lie and which one is it, and learning the basic, there's only really three rules, for basic things that you need to know, and then does it break the rule, then it needs an accent mark, does it follow the rule then it doesn't. So it doesn't have to be that onerous of a task. That doesn't mean that it doesn't take time because when native speakers, you know, over the course a year-we're no where near perfect by any stretch of the imagination, but they at least had more of a clue than these kids do. Um and then I'm not trying to criticize because it's hard to do that, but I wonder how systematic it is or if it's just something that the fifth grade teacher kind of says "Oh well, I've got to really emphasize it this year," you know, cuz if-if they're waiting 'til fifth grade to do it, it's too late, I would say.

With what seemed to be no knowledge of how accents are taught in Spanish-as-a-first language context, Mr. Mann had no place to turn but to the methodology of the World Language classroom. Though he recognized the difficulty of teaching accentuation, he persisted in arguing that it might be too late for these students.

In putting together a set of short stories for Mr. Mann to read, I had selected what I thought were some of the stronger students essays, reflecting a range of strengths, including one in which the student, Joyce, was fairly adept at most of the conventions of writing in Spanish. While I had not chosen it because of her accentuation, that feature became the focus of our conversation, and challenged Mr. Mann's perceptions about this pattern of language use. When he read Joyce's story, he once again focused his first comment on accentuation, but recognized the difference in her writing. Yet he still turned to interpret it in deficit terms.

> Mann: Well, she does use-I'm looking at the second page and she does use accent marks with a lot more accuracy, but then she-she also has what I always called

accentoitis because then she starts putting them on just sort of-all sorts of words that accent mark on "*vos*" and on "*su*" and on, you know--which often happens and they think everything needs an accent mark, you know, but she's got-I mean "*alguién*" has an accent mark here so there's some-she's certainly got a lot more control than those other examples didn't have any accent marks or maybe just one, you know?

He seemed genuinely surprised to see Joyce's "control" of accentuation, and began to speculate about why she used "accent marks for some reason a lot more than-than the other students," asking "I wonder what the difference is. Do we know?" When I responded that we didn't have any information that would help us understand this difference, he returned to her writing to consider the ways she had used accentuation accurately.

> Mann: H- well I think it's very curious because I mean these three (Jacob, Michael and Georgia) have nothing basically, and this one (Joyce), she even includes um I mean she's got-where was it? I saw it on page 4, towards the top where it says *No la ví por ningún lado*," she's even got an accent mark on "*ningún*," you know. Uh "*es más*," she's got an accent on "*más*", "*no pensé en ese tópico*," she's got the accent on "*pensé*" and "*tópico*," "*perdón*," "*dejé*," I don't know.

Mr. Mann might have recognized this contradiction as something worth investigating, though he did not express any further desire to study this. As we ended our conversation about the students' writing, he reaffirmed the same focus on the need to learn accentuation.

> Mann: They did a good job
> Merritt: Great
> Mann: They need to learn their accents.
> Merritt: Yeah, ok.
> Mann: It just makes it seem-it's just so striking.
> Merritt: Yeah.
> Mann: Just because they-the language that they use is so rich sometimes and um everything else they use is good, but it's like "Whoa!" We're really missing-I mean I know it's-it's one little piece, but it's-it's an important little piece.

When I had observed Ms. Gomez's class for the first time, and saw that she was addressing the issue of accentuation directly during her "Grammar Time!," it had occurred to me that she seemed very aware of what World Language teachers had said and would say about her students' language use, the conventions of written Spanish they were aware of and used. During my interview with Mr. Mann, I could see how the focus of World Language teachers on one feature of language use could have significant implications for teaching and learning at the elementary school level. And it explained why three of the former Spanish Immersion students from bilingual families, Mateo, Marcos and Daniel, had all responded the same way when asked what they felt they would like to be able to do with their Spanish: get better at using accents (Focus group,

5/5/09). They had internalized the concerns conveyed to them by Mr. Mann and other World Language teachers during middle school and their first year of high school.

Mr. Mann's Language Ideologies and Attitudes: Informed by Experience, Professional Community and Local Attitudes

Mr. Mann's language ideologies were complex and sometimes seemed contradictory. His own language learning experience, one he characterized as pleasurable and in which his desires as a student had been accommodated, informed many of his ideas about bilingualism and biliteracy. However, his professional experiences as a member of the community of World Language (specifically AP) teachers, and the unresolved problems associated with the presence of the Spanish Immersion program in his district, also informed his language ideologies, specifically the ones that he accessed in thinking about Spanish Immersion students. The fact that district leadership had taken the possibility of extending the Spanish Immersion program into high school away from teachers, parents and students created a problem in how to help these students fit into his classes. For Mr. Mann, helping them fit in might have involved acknowledging and accessing the language resources they brought with them, accommodating them, even utilizing them as a resource for other students. However, Mr. Mann seemed to be constrained by several aspects of language education in his context: by the teacher-controlled model of language learning inherent to his department; by the encapsulated school learning inherent to the AP system; and by his having absorbed the deficit view of the Spanish Immersion program and its students held by some of the secondary World Language teachers in Midville.

Mr. Mann's Classroom, Spring 2009: Characteristics of Language Learning and Use

Mr. Mann was clearly a conscientious, professional and amiable teacher whom students liked and from whom they learned sufficient Spanish to do well in his course and on the AP exam. However, as he indicated some aspects of the Spanish language "program," or activity system, did not favor the incorporation of former Spanish Immersion students. In fact, elements of that activity system created a centripetal (Bakhtin, 1986) orientation to language learning that stood in vivid contrast to the centrifugal orientation of guided autonomy students experienced in the 5th grade Spanish Immersion class. From the built space Mr. Mann and his students had to work with, to the highly unnatural, decontextualized assessment of language learning and use in the AP exam, generally, the activities and practices of the Spanish Language AP course did not provide a satisfying or challenging extension of the language experience former Spanish Immersion students brought with them to the class.

Built Space: Encouraging a Teacher-Centered Classroom

On the first day of my observation in Mr. Mann's class, I was surprised to see how small the classroom was for the number of nearly fully adult-sized students who occupied it with Mr. Mann. With barely room for the desks and chairs necessary to

accommodate the 32 students in the course, Mr. Mann had not even room for a desk, but instead used a podium as his space in the room (Appendix C). Knowing that in a Spanish class, students need to practice talking to each other and working together on projects that emphasize authentic language production, Mr. Mann had organized the desks in pairs, putting two students together in partnerships. That organization seemed to alleviate the problem that would have been caused by student movement around the room during class. The pairs of desks were so close to other pairs that once students were in their seats, any movement would have been disruptive to others' comfort and focus, and to the flow of class. The pairs of desks were organized in a U-shape, so that students faced each other, and so that Mr. Mann's podium was central to all the students. Mr. Mann seemed to have done what he could to create a classroom that emphasized both his role as language authority, and students' role as practitioners of language learning and use. In contrast with the spacious 5th grade Spanish Immersion classroom, which facilitated the decentralized guided autonomy characteristic of the activities in which Ms. Gomez engaged students, this classroom seemed to assume a teacher-centered orientation to activity. Though Mr. Mann had made some attempt to compensate for this, there was only so much he could do in this small room.

Teacher's Role: Primary Source of Language Input, Teacher Control, and Rewards

One of the salient characteristics associated with TWI programs is how language input in the two target languages is distributed among the teachers and students (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). While the teacher might remain the arbiter of "how to say" things in the target languages, the dual language or two-way model means to bring students who are dominant in each of the target languages together to provide other sources of language input, resulting in some positive and some problematic aspects of language learning[16]. In Ms. Gomez's 5th grade class, this underlying assumption contributed to the characteristic freedom and autonomy students had in engaging in literacy practices. However, since most of the students in high school World Language classes are not yet bilingual, and have only been exposed to the target language for a relatively short time, the role of teacher as primary source of language input is larger. Mr. Mann occupied that role in his Spanish 4AP class, as I observed in a number of ways.

During all of the classes I observed, Mr. Mann initiated conversation, determined the specific content of class time, and regulated language use through questioning, providing answers and rewarding participation in class discussions. Of course, all of my observations took place during a time in the year when the class was most occupied in preparing for the AP exam, when Mr. Mann's input was most critical for students. However, the organization of his room, the attitudes of students regarding speaking

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[16] Some researchers identify the phenomenon of interlanguage as one of the problematic aspects of learner language input (Selinker, 1972). Since Selinker's early work on interlanguage a number of scholars have been "wrestling" with the role that context plays in language acquisition (Selinker & Douglas, 1985; Tarone, 1983, 2000b). In the context of language immersion education, recent scholarship has focused on the phenomenon of language play as a possible alternative explanation for some of what researchers have cast as language deficits in the past (Broner & Tarone, 2001; Tarone, 2000a).

Spanish in class, and his practice of rewarding participation with slips of paper, called *dólares*, led me to believe that his role during these class sessions was characteristic of much of their time spent together.

Mr. Mann provided several types of language input during the classes I observed. He modeled forms of politeness, formally greeting his students at the beginning of each class, and asking how they were. Answering with customary stock phrases, the students seemed well trained to respond to his *"Buenos días. ¿Cómo estan?"* each morning. As the authority in the classroom, Mr. Mann had the freedom to inquire about the absence of students, their wellbeing, even how much sleep they had been getting (Fieldnotes, 4/16/09). Among the many posters on his walls, he included one with *Expresiones Útiles* (Useful Expressions), polite and frequently used phrases students might forget:

> *Me permite ir al bano?*
> *Me permite tomar agua?*
> *Repita, por favor*
> *No entiendo*
> *Gracias/De nada*
> *Por favor...* (Fieldnotes, 4/21/09)

He also contributed information and began discussions about cultural material in practice readings for the AP exam. After the class had completed a reading on *Día de los Muertos* (Day of the Dead), a cultural celebration former Spanish Immersion students were quite familiar with, he anticipated that students might not know what the various meanings of *cohete* (jets, rockets, fireworks) were and provided background information about both the military and celebratory uses of the word. He further told them about the original uses of *piñatas*, whose seven points represented the Seven Deadly Sins. During a discussion of a chapter of *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, a novel they read after the AP exam, he focused class discussion on understanding the point of view of one of the main characters and her experience of living in a small Spanish town, where gossip was common and took its effect on the lives of individuals and families. As part of these discussions of reading material, he provided information about vocabulary students asked about and answered questions about verb forms and grammar.

While a significant portion of the classroom talk was the responsibility of Mr. Mann, as a professional language teacher, he appreciated the importance of students producing language themselves, and worked to overcome student reticence through a system of participation rewards, what he called *dólares*. He gave them out whenever students volunteered to answer questions or contribute examples of their work for discussion in class. The students accumulated them, and turned them back in for participation points that formed part of their course grades. That students were reticent to produce language, especially spoken language, in class was apparent when he had them practice the Interpersonal and Presentational Speaking they would have to do for the AP exam. After they completed the Interpersonal Speaking exercise, Mr. Mann asked who would dare to share their recordings. When Mateo, a former Spanish Immersion student, volunteered, Mr. Mann asked how many *dólares* his high-risk participation would cost. Mateo did not seem uncomfortable with offering his example, and so the reward did not seem so necessary. But after the Presentational Speaking exercise, a much more complex

task that involved synthesis of two sources, one print, one audio, when Tim, a non-Spanish Immersion student, volunteered his example, a female student near him said, "*Claro que es Tim. Es muy ...*" and asked for the Spanish word for "brave" from Mr. Mann. The classroom exchange was filled with words like "dare," "brave," and jokes about volunteers being "victims" (Fieldnotes, 4/21/09). While Mr. Mann's practice of rewarding participation with *dólares* may have been intended to help students overcome their reticence, and distribute language use around the classroom, it also aided him in controlling who used language and how it was used.

Mr. Mann's classroom discussions were highly orderly, and marked by his good humor, and encouragement of student participation. However, the classroom order seemed to be based on the assumption that he was the only adequate source of language input in the class. With six former Spanish Immersion students, who had had significant experiences of reading, writing, speaking and listening in Spanish, he might have taken advantage of their experiences and language acquired to facilitate more distribution of input among the class members, to encourage more guided autonomy among them.

In fact, some of the former Spanish Immersion students seemed to long for greater natural engagement and guided autonomy in their high school Spanish classes. In their focus group, they pointed to two activities that had allowed them to focus on their language use in connection with academic content or with guided conversation. When I asked them what had been some of the highlights of the Spanish Language AP course, Teresa mentioned their study of the work of Pablo Picasso, which involved teaching from their teachers (both Mr. Mann and his colleague) about Picasso's work, student production of a still life based on one of his works, and a class session in which they held a mock gallery showing, and had to discuss their work with teachers and students. Teresa's recollection prompted Virginia and others to recall how much they had enjoyed a role playing activity that took up a block period (1 ½ hours) during the year. In that activity, they were assigned roles for a "Love Boat" style mystery cruise, and had to circulate around rooms in the library where they would converse with other students to solve the mystery. They recollected that activity as pleasurable, because it allowed them freedom to talk with others. While the former Spanish Immersion students willingly submitted to Mr. Mann's control over the class, they would have enjoyed and could have benefited from more freedom of language use in their Spanish language courses.

Literacy Practices: "There is no reading of books"

The students in Mr. Mann's class regularly practiced reading and writing in Spanish, much of it focused, during this late part of the school year, on the types of reading and writing the students would be required to complete for the AP exam[17]. The exam implied an autonomous view of reading and writing (Street, 1984), assuming that the successful student would be able to read and write about any subject as well as any other. None of the readings on the exam were much longer than a page, with many as short as a few short paragraphs. After they took the exam, several of the focus group

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[17] Students in the focus group perceived that in Mr. Mann's class they had only spent the second semester preparing directly for the exam, and only practicing the various elements of the exam in the month before it took place (Focus group, 5/5/09).

participants agreed that the reading comprehension section of the exam seemed just like the standardized exam they had taken throughout their elementary school years, and it brought back memories of that APRENDA test for them (Focus group, 5/5/09). While the students in Mr. Mann's class had read short stories from a textbook and one play during the course of the year leading up to preparation for the exam, the short, highly decontextualized literacy practices they engaged in during my observations seemed to underestimate the literacy abilities and experiences of the former Spanish Immersion students, and represented encapsulated learning of language, learning that did not reflect the realities of language use outside the classroom, nor the capacities of the former Spanish Immersion students.

Focus on Preparation for AP Exam: April-May 2009

Though shortly after Mr. Mann's students took the AP exam in early May, they began to read a novel together[18], most of the spring quarter was occupied by practicing the skills involved in the various elements of the AP Spanish Language Exam.[19] The students practiced listening, speaking, reading and writing, with heavy emphasis on their Spanish language literacy abilities. Even in order to accomplish the Presentational Speaking section of the exam, they would have to read, and the Presentational Writing section of the exam required them to read two short sources (and listen to another) on that year's writing theme. While both the Presentational Speaking and Writing sections required longer readings than the comprehension sections did, none of the reading they did during the exam or class practice was contextualized within studies of specific academic content areas, nor did their practices allow them time or suggest strategies for making personal or disciplinary meaning from the readings. Most of their in-class practice activities were drawn from previous year's AP exams, which had been compiled in a preparation textbook they used. In this way, the reading and writing the students accomplished that quarter stood in contrast to the highly contextualized and personally meaningful reading fifth grade Spanish Immersion students engaged in.

AP Reading, Speaking and Writing: Demonstrating comprehension, limited ways of meaning-making.

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[18] They read *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, by Federico García Lorca, a major figure of 20th Century Spanish literature. Mr. Mann mentioned that they would read this book in preparation for the AP course in Spanish Literature, which many of the former Spanish Immersion students would take the next year. Other than a play they read earlier in the year, this would be the only lengthy work his class read that academic year. Mr. Mann seemed to anticipate that his students would not fully comprehend the book, and so supplemented the reading of each chapter with a viewing of the corresponding portion of a film version in class.

[19] The 2009 version of the Spanish Language AP exam included both listening and reading comprehension sections, which required answering multiple choice items, as well as two writing and two speaking activities, one each considered "Interpersonal" and "Presentational."

Reading and writing at this point in the year was dominated by the limited forms and purposes of literacy represented by the AP exam, encapsulating the learning in Mr. Mann's class (and the other sections of Spanish Language AP) into artificial school forms. Mr. Mann's class practiced reading several times during my observations, for both the purpose of demonstrating their reading comprehension in a variety of content areas, and for use as the content of spoken or written products. Class discussions of reading (and listening) on the days I observed were limited to comprehension, including understanding of background information, and some inference. In practicing writing for the exam, even though Mr. Mann urged them to produce a synthesis of sources in their Presentational Writing, the writing prompts they practiced with and wrote about in the exam, did not invite such synthesis, but led many students to produce "sophisticated summaries" (Mann Interview, 6/19/09). The methodology of the exam created unnatural individualized reading, speaking and writing situations that stood in contrast to the highly contextualized language use former Spanish Immersion students had experienced in their elementary years.

While the literacy practices of 5th grade Spanish Immersion students allowed them to make meaning of texts over the course of entire books or in the context of curricular subject areas, through multiple modes of expression, using multiple tools or instruments, the Spanish Language AP students read only short texts (the longest being only a few pages), switched from text to text, subject to subject, every day, or even several times in a class session, using a very limited range of tools for making meaning of them. The longest texts they used while I observed (and the only ones not taken directly from AP preparation materials) were two short stories related to the theme of school and family assigned as homework. The activity they engaged in as part of reading the two stories (*El beso de la patria* by Sonia Rivera-Valdés and *Al colegio* by Carmen Laforet) involved looking up several new vocabulary words for each and answering several basic comprehension and inference questions, including describing the setting, explaining what had happened (Who? Where? When? What? How?), explaining what happened at the end of the story, and discussing what school represented in each of the two stories (Field notes 4/16/09). While Mr. Mann might have led them in a discussion related to their background knowledge of and experience with schooling in the following class session, he did not give any indication that their thinking about how they understood the two stories through their own experiences would be relevant when he assigned them to be read. He only explained that each focused on the theme of school, and pointed out that the tone of one of the stories was "*amarga*" (bitter) at the end because of the feelings the narrator had about how the teacher in the story favored another student over her. This commentary could have been an opening for discussing the story in a personal way; however, instead the students were reading these two stories in preparation for a short exam the next class session. Students used to the highly personalized, critical thinking and reading practices of the 5th grade Spanish Immersion class, might have found these reading practices superficial and uninteresting, lacking the richness involved in applying knowledge gained to their academic and social lives. However, responding to readings through personal meaning-making was not relevant to the reading practices the students engaged in on the AP exam, as there was not time for them to reflect on readings during the exam. To prepare them for the exam, Mr. Mann kept them focused on the limited range of skills and strategies that might be useful to them.

Spanish Immersion 5th graders had the opportunity to share in each other's meaning making of books through their *Club de Libros*, while, in contrast, Spanish Language AP students focused all their attention during this period on the individualized understandings dictated by standardized testing. Though they engaged in class discussions of readings, texts they listened to, and writing, they focused primarily on individual questions they had, in discussions orchestrated by Mr. Mann. Though they shared their spoken responses to Interpersonal and Presentational Speaking prompts they practiced in class, the emphasis in their discussion was on evaluation of individual performance, not on the significance of the content of their spoken language or of the sources they used for them. Only once during the classes I observed did students have a chance to work in pairs with the purpose of inventing their own response to a prompt, and that was a very short period at the end of class in which they practiced conversing with their table partners using a hypothetical scenario for the sake of preparing for the kind of Interpersonal Speaking they would have to do for the exam. This activity, however, was not as highly unnatural as the activities of Interpersonal and Presentational Speaking the students would have to engage in during the exam, when they would not speak to an individual, but to a cassette recorder which they would have to hold close to their faces to assure that it captured their speech, and no one else's, over the din of 100+ other test takers.

Writing[20] in Mr. Mann's class was equally limiting with little room for student reflection on or response to the content of the essays they crafted, and emphasizing only one academic form. Mr. Mann emphasized several times to me, and to his students, that for the Presentational Writing and Speaking sections of the exam, they would be expected to produce college-level writing/speaking in the form of a synthesis of the sources they read and listened to. The students practiced this form of writing and speaking on several occasions (4/9/09; 4/16/09; 4/30/09), and discussed as a class several students' recordings of practice Presentational Speaking responses. On the first day I observed, the class practiced Presentational Speaking on the following topic:

> *En una presentacón formal, discute los diferentes aspectos de la industria de las flores (en Colombia).*

> In a formal presentation, discuss the different aspects of the flower industry (in Colombia).

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[20] Though the example I provide focused on oral language production, it very closely mirrored the same process as the Presentational Writing section of the exam, requiring the same academic genre of synthesis. The students engaged in very similar preparation for each of the activities, reading and listening to short sources, taking notes, and using their notes to craft a written or spoken synthesis. On 4/9/09 (a class session I did not observe), the class had practiced taking the 200-word Presentational Writing section, focusing on the following prompt: *"La lucha de los indígenas en muchas partes del mundo continúa hasta nuestros días. ¿Les debe algo la sociedad a los grupose indígenas por el traamiento que recibieron en el pasado?"* (Even today, in many parts of the world, indigenous people continue to struggle. Does society owe anything to these indigenous groups because of treatment they received in the past?)

This topic, taken from the AP preparation text, was accompanied by a short text, "*Flores para el mundo*" ("Flowers for the world") based on an article published in the magazine *Ecos*, and an audio version of a second text, "*Colombia adorna el mundo con flores*" ("Colombia decorates the world with flowers"), published in the magazine *Nexos*. Mr. Mann emphasized the need to look for a way to synthesize the sources, to at least make a comparison of what the two sources said, but during the classes I observed he did not explain how a synthesis would differ from summarizing. After reading and listening to the two sources, Mr. Mann reminded them that the prompt asked them to "*discute los diferentes aspectos*" (discuss the different aspects) of the flower industry, a prompt which could produce either synthesis or summary, depending upon the distribution of information across sources. The class had two minutes to plan their presentation, and another two minutes to speak it into their cassette recorders. Once they had recorded their responses, Mr. Mann asked them to share their products (with the students' reticence I discussed earlier in this chapter). Once students shared some products to discuss, Mr. Mann focused primarily on evaluating whether they had produced mostly summary or something approaching a synthesis. When Mr. Mann asked the class how the activity went for them, two students offered that they had produced what seemed like a lot of summarizing to them, that it seemed hard not to summarize. The "brave" student, Chris, seemed to have found a thesis that synthesized the sources around the negative effects of flower growing, including labor and human rights problems, as well as environmental concerns. The rest of the discussion focused on how they might find other organizational constructs that would produce less summarizing and more synthesis. None of the discussion focused on the meaning of the theme, the viewpoints of the sources or any other aspects of critical thinking they might be confronted with in college level courses. The focus was on how to produce the kind of language (and thinking) required for the AP exam.

However, after all his effort to help students recognize and produce synthesis in their Presentational Writing and Speaking, Mr. Mann discovered that the effort he had put into training his students in synthesis was not necessary. During his training to read the 2009 Presentational Writing essays, he realized that a score of 5 on that essay did not actually require such a synthesis of sources, but might only require a "sophisticated summary" of them, and that the essay prompt itself invited such summarizing. The topic for the 2009 Presentational Writing was "*¿Cómo afecta el cambio climático a algunos animales?*" ("How does climate change affect some animals?"). Mr. Mann pointed out that each of the three sources they were required to use focused on different animals.

> Mann: So the first *fuente* (source) was a newspaper article about *los osos pardos* (brown bears) en *el norte de España*, (northern Spain) and how the fact that climate change had made the winters more mild. They had been milder so the bears were less likely to hibernate so some of the mothers with their cubs weren't hibernating at all. And the second article – and they're all the same sort of theme – so the second one was about birds in Central Europe that weren't migrating long distances, change in seasons wasn't as strong to signal to them that they needed to move. And then the audio *fuente* was about off the coast of *Mar Cantábrico* in 2008 there had been a

spawn because of these blue fish called – can't remember the name of the fish – but they had spawned, and it caused *la mancha roja* (the red spot).

The fact that each of these sources presented the effects on different animals and the prompt asked how climate change had affected some animals, made a difference in how the students understood the product of their writing and thinking.

> Mann: Their job was to then integrate those three sources, somehow synthesize them and write their 200+ word essay in 45 minutes. What I really found – it was interesting because they didn't really give us a lot of examples of synthesis and they did – We had sample essays. These are the benchmarks. This is scale 0-5 – but we didn't really see a lot of examples of synthesis even in the benchmarks. What we were really seeing was really elegant summarization. I would say almost all of the essays basically had an introductory paragraph, the thesis was "*El cambio climático afecta los osos, los peces y las aves*" (Climate change affects bears, fish and birds") and then the first paragraph was about the *osos* (bears), the second about the *aves* (birds), and the third was about the *mancha roja* (the red spot), and then they had a conclusion, and almost all of them were like that.

When I suggested that someone who teaches writing might ask how much the prompt invited that kind of writing, Mr. Mann energetically agreed that it had, but that what he saw as summarization, his table leader at the reading saw differently.

> Mann: No! It totally-it completely steered them in that direction! But like I said, I didn't-I had conversations with my table leader and said-we would read a pretty good example and she would say, "You see all that synthesis in there?" And to me it didn't look like synthesis. They were summarizing, but using better vocabulary. It didn't really look like synthesis to me.

It was evident that Mr. Mann, himself an insider to the AP exam and its evaluation, felt frustrated with apparent shift in evaluative standards he encountered in the 2009 essay reading, and began to consider making changes in the emphasis of his course as a result.

> Mann: I felt that we had spent a lot of time in our classes, trying to steer them away from exactly what everybody ended up doing, which makes me kind of-and I shared this with the other teacher. Well, to heck with that! If basically they can write a standard five-paragraph essay and summarize elegantly with few errors and have good transitions, and use good vocabulary and some subjunctive, they're probably going to get a 4 or 5, so why waste all our time agonizing -- because sometimes we agonized about "No, don't summarize like that" -- but that's kind of how it came out. So I squirmed a little bit as I sat there and read.

This shift in the focus of evaluating writing might seem to have few consequences for Mr. Mann's students, for former Spanish Immersion students in particular, since it would seem to favor students' being able to earn high scores on the exam. However, it could have had a significant effect on all his students, and former Spanish Immersion students

in particular. All of Mr. Mann's students had been affected by the fact that he spent significant effort and class time working toward their producing synthesis, when he could have spent it on other kinds of writing, or on other ways of thinking about reading and writing. Former Spanish Immersion students would have appreciated having more time to simply talk about what they were reading in a more open-ended way (Focus group, 5/5/09). Less time for working on perfecting synthesis might have meant more time for other more compelling literacy activities, with a significant impact on learning and student engagement.

However, the even greater implication for former Spanish Immersion students came from the connection between this issue of synthesis writing and Mr. Mann's policy regarding when students were ready to enter Spanish Language AP. For several years, Mr. Mann and the other AP teachers had argued that freshman students should not be admitted to Spanish Language AP courses because they were not developmentally ready to produce college level, synthesis writing[21]. Some former Spanish Immersion students and parents had fought this policy, and argued their way into these classes. In 2009, three freshman students were in Mr. Mann's second period class, took the exam and passed it. They had all passed an exam developed by the Spanish department as a screening device for their entry into the AP course. While the exam tested grammar and orthography, mechanical aspects of the language, Mr. Mann still argued that their need to engage in college level writing was one of the main reasons that they should not be admitted. The former Spanish Immersion students in the focus group did not seem aware of that policy, though one student, Mateo, did comment on his own immaturity as an academic writer, commenting that perhaps he was not quite ready for the type of writing on the exam.[22]

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[21] The question of whether or not 9th grade students can/should take AP courses is an interesting one and the source of conflict for parents, students and schools across the U.S. While a search of the College Board website does not yield a clearly stated policy regarding this question, the organization does present the courses and exams as being aimed at juniors and seniors, as college level courses. Midville High School's student handbook does not state that 9th grade students may never take AP courses as some other school districts seem to, but it does point out that "AP tests can be taken as early as 10th grade," while it also urges students with "special strengths in a subject" to consult with their counselors about taking an particular AP course and exam. Other school districts point out that "As a 9th grader, students not only do not receive weighted credit for AP courses, but are not prepared for the emotional maturity or analytical skills necessary and expected from the workload, course rigor, and writing requirements they face in an AP course. AP exams are also graded in a norm-referenced structure, meaning 9th graders would be compared to older students, placing them at a distinct disadvantage" ("Frequently Asked Questions for Incoming Ninth Graders," San Dieguito Union High School District, North San Diego County).   This argument is one that can be heard in the Midville School District as well, and from Mr. Mann and other Spanish Language AP teachers, leading me to believe that it is one propagated by the College Board.

[22] Other former Spanish Immersion students felt that the dividing line for getting into Spanish Language AP was the ability to use the subjunctive tense in their writing, and that the exam Mr. Mann administered for placement was really meant to measure that language feature (Focus group 5/5/09).

As Mr. Mann told me about his thinking about putting less emphasis on the quest for synthesis writing in his course, he did not seem to be aware of the implications for his policy regarding former Spanish Immersion students and I did not feel that such a change would make any difference in his thinking about their suitability for his classes.

Dissatisfied Students: What Former Spanish Immersion Students Believed about Their Language Learning and Development

Though the former Spanish Immersion students who participated in the post-AP exam focus group all affirmed that both Mr. Mann and their other Spanish AP teacher were very good teachers, in particular how much they liked Mr. Mann, most of them also expressed varying degrees of dissatisfaction with their secondary Spanish language courses, related to the many limitations placed on their language learning and use by the World Language model of language learning and use. Their experiences as Spanish Immersion students had left deep impressions on them, and they wished for a return to some of the language use practices of that model, including reading and talking about books, opportunities for greater autonomy in using Spanish, and more natural, less artificial, ways of using the language resources they had brought with them to their Spanish classes in high school. The effects of their high school Spanish language experiences had been to reduce their sense of ability and confidence in their use of Spanish, rather than to increase their sense of control over their language use.

Role of Reading and Talking About Books

During the focus group of former Spanish Immersion students who had just completed the 2009 Spanish Language AP exam, the 10 students in attendance expressed a variety of perspectives on their experiences as both Spanish Immersion and AP Spanish Language students; however, a predominant theme in their talk about how those experiences compared was the artificiality of language learning in the AP course (and previous Spanish Language courses). They located that artificiality in the absence of book-length reading, their lack of autonomy in their language use, as well as in the focus on learning for the sake of the exam, or of the grammar texts they had used in their Spanish classes. In each of these elements of the World Language model of language learning, they identified problems associated with the encapsulation of school learning.

This group of students made significant comments about the way reading had changed from their elementary Spanish Immersion experience to their high school Spanish language courses. When I explained to them that I was interested in what happened to former Spanish Immersion students when they go on to study Spanish at the high school level, Mark, a freshman, volunteered

> Mark: I think that there's like no reading of books afterwards
> Merritt: No reading of books?
> Mark: After elementary school like they like suggested that you read books in middle school, but they didn't really enforce it-
> Merritt: umhm
> Mark: -and then in high school there's just absolutely none.

As a freshman who had entered directly from middle school into the Spanish Language AP course, Mark had not had exactly the same experience as some of the sophomores who had taken the exam that day, who had spent their freshman year in Spanish 3 Honors (3H). However, even in that course, which had been the pipeline course into Spanish 4AP, the only longer works the students had read were two plays (Focus group, 5/5/09). Some of the students, Mark and Virginia, seemed to experience this retreat from reading books as a loss, and expressed a desire to see changes in the experience of former Spanish Immersion students that would include reading more longer works. Mark felt the loss of the practice of *Club de Libros* in particular. As the focus group discussed their perceptions of their own language development and ways it had slowed since they left the Spanish Immersion 5th grade class, Mark attributed the perception that his language development had "kind of stopped in middle school" to the movement away from the practice of book groups, something he saw as "really good for the teaching of Spanish and for reading." His comment spurred a lively discussion of the problems of reading in their middle school Spanish Immersion classes, their resistance to one of the books chosen for them by their middle school teacher, Mrs. Morelli (the same book she suggested be used in the revised middle school curriculum), and the provision of Spanish-language picture books for daily reading activities. Mateo felt it was "kind of insulting honestly that she expected us to be at that (low) level." The impression they gave in discussing extended reading from middle school on was that it no longer served as a significant focus of their Spanish (immersion or otherwise) courses, but became a sort of add-on to their language development experience. Books were provided or inserted into their classes, but extended reading was not understood by them to be an integral part of their language courses. It became something that Mark pointed out was "suggested" (supplemental) rather than "enforced" (central and integrated).

These students showed obvious enthusiasm about returning to reading books again. Virginia expressed a desire to have a class in which they could focus on reading books or discussing current events, one in which the focus was less on learning specific grammar features, using a Spanish grammar textbook, or preparing for an exam, and more on using and expanding upon the language they had already acquired (Focus Group, 5/5/09). They discussed energetically the Spanish 6 course they would take during their junior or senior year with the teacher who taught the AP Spanish Literature course (which many of them would take the 2009-10 school year). The Spanish 6 class met once or twice a week during lunch, and focused on reading and discussing works of Spanish and Latin American literature. Mateo recalled his older brother as having read Gabriel Garcia-Marquez's novel *Cien años de soledad* (*One hundred years of solitude*) in that class, and having loved it. The lunch-time format, combined with a teacher who ran the class as a more open-ended discussion of literature, and the fact that the only purpose of the class was to read and discuss together, made the course seem appealing to this group of students.

Desire for More Autonomy in Language Use: "What You Want to Know for Spanish"

During the post-AP exam focus group, several students expressed opinions about what had been satisfying in their high school Spanish language courses, and what they had been disappointed with. They focused some of their comments on what they perceived as their own language loss, their loss of self-confidence in using Spanish, and their appreciation of and desire for experiences that allowed them autonomy in using Spanish.

Several students pointed to their own sense of language loss, arguing that they had felt most able as Spanish speakers at the end of their 5th grade year. Following up on Mark's comments about secondary school World Language classes involving very little reading of books, the students seemed to agree that their Spanish Immersion experience really ended in 5th grade, even though their middle school Spanish classes were labeled as "Immersion."

> Chris: I didn't really think of middle school though as like an immersion sort of program. It just seemed like a (World Language class).
> Kyle: Yeah, I mean we had "Spanish."
> Virginia: Yeah, I think the immersion really ended up in fifth grade.
> Merritt: umhm
> Kyle: Yeah, I mean like honestly.
> Anne: I think 6th grade-it was ok because like some of the--
> Virginia: Oh yeah
> Anne: --stuff were still in Spanish. Like after that it was-it was only grammar.

Though later in the conversation Anne expressed an appreciation for having gained some grammar knowledge in secondary school, they generally saw the changes they had experienced as connected with a loss of their language skills.

> Virginia: Still in 6th grade I would like accidentally start speaking to my English like teachers in Spanish. It was still to that point where I was like-
> Anne: Yeah
> Merritt: And that was in sixth grade.
> Virginia: Yeah but then in 7th grade it -- I lost a lot of my Spanish.
> Chris: I think I was best at Spanish right after 5th grade.
>
> Kyle: I think, honestly, like people, good students who started in seventh grade, with you know Spanish 1A are just as good as me at Spanish now.
> Virginia: No.
> Kyle: Well, than ME.
> Anne: Well, only at grammar, like in the classroom.
> Virginia: At grammar, but not in speaking.

They further made a connection between the dichotomy of grammar knowledge vs. ability to speak with learning for school vs. learning for other purposes. Kyle pointed out that he felt that students who had spent fewer years studying Spanish performed better in the high school courses than he had, but Virginia objected to his perspective.

Kyle: Well, then, they're better at the assess--they're better at the courses that we're taking.
Virginia: Yeah, but that's not the p-that's not-that's not necessarily what you want to know for Spanish. It's not like-
Anne: -It's like what you're being tested on.
Virginia: It's not that you can do really good on the tests, yeah, like
Merritt: umhm
Kyle: Yeah, so I guess it's possible I have a bigger vocabulary, but it-it-it didn't help me in any of the Spanish classes.
Virginia: I think it was bad going through all the grammar stuff.
Kyle: Yeah, cuz that wasn't even on the AP test at all.
Virginia: No not-not only because of that, but because now-like it used to just like naturally come to me like what tense I was supposed to use or whatever just cuz that's how I knew it. But now I start like trying to think about it or like I forget.

Later, Anne picked up Virginia's suggestion that the courses did not focus on "what you want to know for Spanish," when she added her sense of slipping self-confidence in her Spanish use.

Anne: I think in elementary school it's more natural like you can go to another country and talk to them, like, you wouldn't have a problem. But now you're always thinking about whether you're saying the right verb tense.

These students looked back on their elementary school Spanish Immersion experience as affording them the opportunity to speak the language they were learning with a level of confidence and freedom, while their secondary school experience, rather than building upon that confidence with a sense of being able to use Spanish with more precision for a wider range of purposes, led them to feel less in control of their language use, less able, less confident. Virginia expressed her assessment of the Spanish Immersion experience this way:

Virginia: This is just my opinion. I think for Spanish-I think Spanish Immersion had the right idea. It's like it doesn't have to be like you get all the grammar perfect, but if you can like easily communicate and understand people and you aren't necessarily using the subjunctive at the exact right time or like whatever, I think as long as like you can have a good accent and you can like communicate clearly and very ably with like another person in Spanish then you-then that should be all you need to do.

The ability to "communicate clearly and very ably with another person in Spanish" was something they felt they did not get a chance to practice very often. When I asked them to think about some highlights from the Spanish Language AP course, their attention turned to two experiences that seemed to focus on language use as they had experienced it in elementary school. Teresa recalled having studied Picasso during a unit on Spanish artists and art history.

> Teresa: I liked studying Picasso
> Merritt: Ok, so you-you studied-you studied some art.
> …
> Teresa: Well, yeah, I liked it because we like-we came in here and we like were looking at paintings and we had to be like (to talk about them), and it was just like more fun.

Before my first visit to his class, Mr. Mann had shown me some of the artwork the students had produced, still hanging in his room. They had held a mock gallery showing of their work, getting a chance to talk about the qualities of the paintings in terms of what they had learned about Picasso's work. Teresa's recollection of that experience prompted several other students to tell about another activity in which talking freely with other students in Spanish had been the focus.

> Mateo: Oh, oh I loved that (the art gallery activity). I liked the Love Boat!
> Virginia: Oh the Love Cruise!
> (Several students make positive comments, talking over each other.)
> Virginia: It was this thing where we came in here and we like had to-it was like, I don't know if you've heard of the-the soap opera, like the Love Boat or whatever, it was that in Spanish and we each got a secret role that we had to play and so basically the entire hour and a half block period we were just walking around and we had to like make conversation with people in Spanish. It was just like natural talking in Spanish.
> Anne: I think that really helped.
> Virginia: Yeah that really helped.

These two highlight experiences seemed to point to the desire of some of the students to have more autonomy and purpose in their use of Spanish, to be able to "make conversation with people in Spanish" and to focus their language use on content other than Spanish grammar or AP exam practice. Virginia added later that she would have welcomed a course that allowed them to read books and talk about them, or even focus on current events as the source of discussions in Spanish. Though they did not all have the same opinions about the role that grammar knowledge played in their own language development, the majority of the group was interested in language courses that involved using and extending the language they had learned during their Spanish Immersion experience.

Encapsulated Learning: Artificiality in Language Use

In his examination of the encapsulation of school learning in the context of understand the process of the phases of the moon, Engestrom (1991) begins his consideration with Resnick's (1987) argument about the relationship between learning in school and thinking, reasoning and problem solving outside of school.

The process of schooling seems to encourage the idea that the "game of school" is to learn symbolic rules of various kinds, that there is not supposed to be much continuity between what one knows outside school and what one learns in school. There is growing evidence, then, that not only may schooling not contribute in a direct and obvious way to performance outside school, but also that knowledge acquired outside school is not always used to support in-school learning. Schooling is coming to look increasingly isolated from the rest of what we do (Resnick, 1987, p. 15).

In this expansion on Resnick's argument, Engestrom uses Cultural Historical Activity Theory to illuminate how school learning can come to mean not learning about the reality of the phases of the moon, but about what the textbook (or the teacher) says about the phases of the moon. He explains that in the activity system of learning about the phases of the moon in school, the object has shifted from deriving an adequate explanation for the natural phenomenon to experiencing success in answering the teachers' questions about the phenomenon. The outcome of the activity has changed because of the encapsulation of school learning in a textbook representation of the phases of the moon, which has meant a reduction in the tools used to understand the phenomenon to only "'study skills', pencil and eraser" (p. 248). Engestrom, turning to Wagenschein, uses the term "synthetic stupidity" to explain the effect of the encapsulation of school learning on the learner: "[The learner] had mislearned through so called learning" (p. 246).

I would argue that such encapsulation of school learning was in effect in the Spanish Language AP courses at Midville High School; that its effects were identified by former Spanish Immersion students by virtue of their earlier experiences with language use; and that it was inherent to the AP Spanish Language courses because of their emphasis on academic forms and processes, as well as a lack of clarity of the Object of the activity of language learning on the part of teachers.

During the focus group, the students discussed at length what they saw as some of the differences between their language learning in their immersion program and in their secondary World Language classes. In their discussion, they emphasized their sense that they were "relearning" Spanish, not in expansive ways that fit with the learning they had accomplished earlier, but in "artificial" ways that created doubts about their earlier language learning and use. Mark began by emphasizing the role of memorizing rules in high school.

> Mark: In high school it's all about memorizing the specific rules for different verb tenses and like-like it sort of like ruins what you think about it sort of.
> Merritt: OK. How does it-how does it ruin it? What does it do to you?
> Mark: It like makes it seem more artificial-
> Merritt: hm
> Mark: -and not like-
> Virginia: -and you don't actually learn how to-
> Anne: -you don't actually speak.
> Kyle: You're sort of relearning.
> Chris: Yeah, in elementary school it's much more just speaking and talking and just always talking in Spanish and not in English.

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Anne: I think in elementary school it's more natural. Like you can go to another country and talk to them. Like you wouldn't have a problem. But now you're always thinking about whether you're saying the right verb tense.
Teresa: And it's like you can usually feel what's like right when you're (…) you naturally just like feel what tense you're supposed to be using or whatever but now you just have to think about all the rules and it just sort of slows you down a little bit.

While Teresa softened the effect of this "relearning" on their language use to simply "slow[ing them] down a little bit," Virginia added another layer to the effects of encapsulated school learning, self-doubt.

Virginia: I know last year like, I was fine through middle school but um in last year I started like whenever I was like-like on a test or whenever I was talking I would always like just have to like I would second guess myself, like I would think well am I actually saying this right? Like maybe what I think is wrong, because I don't know, like especially in (my) class like it had to be exactly the way it was in the book.
Kyle: Yeah
Virginia: And not it like-like even if you do something right, like the right way on the test, if it's not the way they have it in the book then you get it wrong on the test.
Kyle: *bastante* and *suficiente*
Teresa: Yeah, yeah exactly.

Virginia's self-doubt was directly connected to the role that the book and teacher came to play in what was considered acceptable language use. While the students didn't posit a theory as to why the book (and by extension, the teacher's ways of using language) became so central to the determination of correctness, one can speculate that wanting all the students to learn the same structures, vocabulary and usages could have motivated that emphasis, as could the teachers' need to be able to grade student work quickly, without having to think too much. Kyle's example of having to use "*suficiente*" rather than "*bastante*" (both meaning "enough," but representing different registers) could be explained by the teachers' desire to see the students expand their repertoire of vocabulary; however, that was not the way the students understood it; rather, they saw the practices of the classes as arbitrary, and recognized the potential for "synthetic stupidity" in the practices. Even though they learned to adapt their language use to comply with these practices, their perception was that the practices had to do with the teachers' having imparted certain knowledge themselves, an emphasis on knowledge acquired through a specific school experience, rather than on the reality of how language was learned and used.

Anne: Like if it wasn't actually taught (to) you, she wouldn't expect you to know it.
Virginia: Yeah.
Chris: Thus it's wrong on the test.

Virginia: And it's wrong.

Anne identified the persistent problem of not acknowledging or recognizing what language knowledge and use they brought into the classroom with them, that teachers "wouldn't expect you to know" how to use Spanish or what possible answers would satisfy a test question. And in this high-achieving school environment, being "wrong on the test," even tests with little value in a course grade, was to be avoided at all costs. Virginia and the other students learned by trial-and-error not to rely on their own language use and knowledge, but to relearn what they thought they already knew in order to perform well in the class.

> Virginia: Or just even the way-there were just different ways to say stuff in gra-like with grammar and stuff so like I don't know. After last year like because of that, I would like-I didn't do very well on the first few tests, because I would just do it the way I thought it was supposed to be and like not-like I would never memorize the stuff in the book because I was like "I already know this stuff." But then-so then whenever I was-was like talking and stuff I would always second guess myself and think "Well, is this the way that she would want it?" Or like, I don't know, it just slowed me down a lot and made it less-a lot less natural.

Concern about doing things "the way she [the teacher] would want it] began to take precedence over communicative language use for Virginia and the other students. The final effect did not seem to be a sense of how their language use had improved or matured but a sense of diminishing confidence in their ability to use Spanish. As Kyle expressed it, he felt that "good students who started in seventh grade, with you know Spanish 1A are just as good as me at Spanish now." However, as we will see later in this chapter, the former Spanish Immersion students outperformed their non-Spanish Immersion counterparts on that day's AP exam.

The encapsulation of school learning of Spanish proceeded from the reliance on textbook versions of language usage, which necessarily had to represent a version of Spanish. While all Spanish Language textbooks today attempt to represent variations of Spanish, the fact that the language is represented in and by a textbook in a course will mean that the language uses will be limited to the representations chosen by the authors. A teacher can try to overcome that encapsulation, and some models of World Language instruction do try, but in a school atmosphere in which language use is limited to academic activities such as reading texts, writing essays and taking tests, it will be more difficult to overcome encapsulation.

In addition, if teacher understandings of the outcomes of language learning are unclear, as they seemed to be for Mr. Mann, it will be more difficult to recognize encapsulation of school learning when it occurs. Mr. Mann's lack of clarity on the outcomes of high school World Language learning (in comparison with those of TWI education) were significant in understanding how encapsulation of school learning could become the focus of a World Language course.

> Mann: Well, I uh you know the difference, how are those interacting (nearly under his breath), um um we want to eventually--I mean our goal is for students to

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become, I-I don't know, if, you know, in only four years, if we're talking about just 9-12, if we can say "bilingual" by the end of four years because there-there're gonna be significant gaps still. They just haven't had enough time and experience, (breath), you know, they haven't had enough exposure compared to if you start your whole school day as a five-year-old, obviously you're gonna have a lot more time than you are having 50 minutes a day, four days a week. So, um, but I mean our goal is to develop some level of um proficiency, let's say, in terms of language acquisition in Spanish.

If the outcomes of the AP course are set by the exam and by the College Board's view of appropriate curriculum, there may be little reason for a teacher to examine this encapsulation of school learning. Teaching an AP course could contribute to a lack of clarity of the larger outcomes of World Language learning, the outcomes associated with life-long language learning and use.

Finally, we might understand the experience of Spanish Immersion students in high school World Language classes, their sense of having to relearn, their reduced sense of confidence in using Spanish, through the way a teacher uses encapsulation of school learning as a limit on what students can and should be able to do with language. In discussing some of the issues Spanish teachers had had with Spanish Immersion students and parents as the students entered middle school, Mr. Mann emphasized the students' and parents' sense of overconfidence, of unrealistic expectations which needed to be scaled back significantly.

> Mann: … the expectations I think of the parents in the past have been, in general, that when the kids are finished from 6th grade, that they're fluent in both languages.
> Merritt: hm
> Mann: And that means that they're ready for anything. You know, I remember taking questions from parents when we'd have question night, or I don't know, we did this at (the middle school) many times, and one of the times it was about well, you know, "When they're in 6th grade or they're in 7th grade, will they start reading *Don Quixote*?" Um we said, "Well, no, of course not. Seventh graders in Spain don't read *Don Quixote*. That's-that's not the way it works. It's-seventh graders in the U.S. don't read Shakespeare, as a rule. Um it's too advanced. It's not appropriate to their level." So I think the idea that some parents have is that after they've had six years of Spanish, they're fluent, and they can do anything. Versus being able to kind of reframe it, and say they've had six years and well even, I think that-that the language used was-that they had "a language experience" in quotation marks, "a language experience" so that it wasn't, which is really lowering the-the bar.
> Merritt: Yeah
> Mann: I think communicating that over and over and over and over and over with parents is going to be crucial be-lowering their expectations in some cases, because, if they think that their kids are, whatever, fluent, they think fluent means that they can do anything.
> …

Mann: So being more realistic with what can they do, what kinds of things and then-and then also sharing expectations with parents and students about you know, the middle school years, "These are important years for you to work on A, B and C" instead of having it be kind of nebulous and just well now this is what we'll study.

The solution to the problem of unrealistic expectations and overconfidence for Mr. Mann seemed to be the definition and application of the "A, B, and C" that the students would have to work on in middle school in preparation for high school, and the parameters of what school practices allowed students to do with language. Whether or not a student might be able and willing to read *Don Quixote,* since it was not traditionally read in middle school, these students would not be reading it during those years. While Mr. Mann perceived unrealistic expectations to be an ongoing problem of parents and students exiting the Spanish Immersion program, the former Spanish Immersion students at Midville High School seemed to have conformed to those lowered expectations, having struggled to maintain a sense of their autonomy and confidence in using Spanish in this academic setting.

Domains of Language Learning and Use in Spanish 4AP: Dichotomized View of Language Use, Autonomous View of Literacy

In much the same way that Potowski's (2002) use of the dichotomy of academic and interpersonal language to consider how Spanish Immersion 5th graders limited understanding of the wide range of domains or "spheres of human activity" involved in language learning in an immersion setting, the AP exam (and the preparation for it in the course) emphasize two major categories of language use: "interpersonal" (conversational) and "presentational" (academic). However, in order to perform well on the exam, both teachers and students recognize that a student must be familiar with both a variety of registers and social situations within the "interpersonal" tasks, and a wide range of domains of knowledge within the "presentational" tasks. In this section, I will first present the range of social situations and subject domains obtained in the Interpersonal and Presentational Writing/Speaking prompts in the exams from 2007-2011. I will then consider the responses of both teachers and students to that range of situations and domains.

Language Use Dichotomy: Interpersonal and Presentational Writing/Speaking, AP Exams 2007-2011

The Interpersonal and Presentational Writing/Speaking sections of the AP exam are what many students, including former Spanish Immersion students, consider the most challenging (Focus group, 5/5/09), in part because of difficulty in predicting what the exam will demand in the way of the social situations (Interpersonal) and domains of knowledge (Presentational) for each communication situation. On the one hand, the exam assumes an autonomous view of literacy and language use, in that the conceit of the exam is that the students should be able to speak and write about any topic or in any situation presented them on the exam. However, the exam preparation practices also

seem to imply the importance of familiarity with a wide variety of social situations and topics, and so preparation often involves practicing writing and speaking about past prompts. Still, teachers and students all seem to recognize that students would be much better prepared if they were given some range of topics from which the exam prompts would be selected for each year's exam, that performance on the exam depends upon familiarity with the language associated with that social situation or domain. An examination of the Interpersonal and Presentational prompts over the course of five years reveals the wide range of language and domain knowledge needed to perform well. (See Appendices M-O)

The Interpersonal prompts often involve communicating with family or friends either in writing or speech about a range of social activities, from parties, hobbies, outings, travel, to books read. They involve expressing opinions (about books, about the importance of people in their lives, about personal preferences), feelings (about people, activities, changes in life), accepting or turning down invitations, suggesting or describing activities, among other language uses. Many of these social activities involve the same informal register since the context is one of friendship or family. However, in some cases, the situation is much more formal, involving a significant power differential between the writer/speaker and the recipient. On the regular version of the 2010 exam, for example, the Interpersonal Speaking prompt read as follows: "Imagine that after class, your Spanish teacher talks with you about plans to celebrate a 'Language Week' to promote the study of Spanish." While a student may think of a teacher in friendly terms, and so this prompt would not involve language that is a great deal more formal than the prompts involving friends and family, other prompts move further away from familiar, informal situations. In 2009, the Form B (the version of the test given to students who had to retake the exam for a variety of reasons) Interpersonal Speaking prompt read: "Imagine that you find yourself in the office of Diego Carrasco, the Director of International Studies, to interview as a possible leader of a group of students who are going to Costa Rica, where you studied last summer."   The 2008 Interpersonal Speaking prompt was: "You have applied for an internship with Nuestravisión, a television network. Imagine that you receive a phone call from the director of the network to discuss the job." These two prompts represent much higher risk situations, ones that high school students would be much less familiar with, and in which the students would have much less power than their interlocutors. And yet, in theory, students' performance would be judged similarly for each spoken task.

The Presentational Writing/Speaking prompts, inasmuch as they represent academic writing and thinking, involve reading, speaking and writing about a range of subjects which are important in both the academic and public realms. The writing situations involve composing an answer to a complex question about a particular theme or issue. The students' written response is based on three texts, two written and one audio, from which they must compose a synthesis of material. The texts themselves are often taken from real world sources, newspapers and magazines. From 2007-2011, the questions covered by the prompts for Presentational Writing[23] included:

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[23] The prompts listed above are for the Regular exam. Form B, the alternative exam, included questions that were meant to be similar in some ways. For instance, the alternate question for 2007 was "What is the importance of sport as an expression of a

- 2007: How does tourism affect culture and environment?
- 2008: What is the impact of business and international investments on some countries?
- 2009: How does climate change affect some animals?
- 2010: What impact does music have on the lives of young people?
- 2011: What is the impact of the use of bicycles in different places in the world?

The domains involved in the reading and writing for these prompts vary widely from tourism, international business and investment, climate change and animal behavior, popular and youth culture and development, and the impact of technologies of transportation. Some students will be more familiar with one domain than another in English, depending upon their family, life experience and the classes they've taken or other educational experiences they've had. Writing about popular and youth culture may be significantly easier for them than writing about either business and investment in foreign countries or the effects of climate change would be.

The Presentational Speaking prompts have tended to be even more challenging given the difficulty of producing a coherent synthesis of sources with two minutes of planning and two of delivery, and the technical challenge of recording one's voice with a cassette recorder in a room with 100+ other students all doing the same. As with the Presentational Writing prompts, the final product has been the same for the last five years, a comparison of either the two sources themselves, or of how the subject is treated in them. The prompts provided from 2007-2011 were:

- 2007: Compare the differences and similarities in how the two groups discussed (Puerto Ricans and Paraguayans) maintain their cultural identities in the United States.
- 2008: Compare the similarities and differences in the lives and artistic work of musicians Carlos Santana and Gustavo Santaolalla.
- 2009: Compare the differences and similarities between the ideas presented in the two congresses on the Spanish language.
- 2010: Compare the life and experiences of writers Juan Marsé and Gabriela Mistral.
- 2011: Compare the ideas expressed in the two sources about health.

While three of the prompts might relate more closely to work the students have done in their AP course on Latin American cultural groups, music and writing, the 2009 and 2011 prompts revolve around subject matter that many students may have had no experience with in Spanish, and perhaps little in English.

Compared to the wide range of domains of language use to which Spanish Immersion students were exposed during their six years of elementary school, these prompts represent an equally wide variety of academic domains, history/social science, science/environmental studies, culture, but also introduce new sub-domains such as

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people?" While "sport" is a different domain than "tourism" they are both connected in the question to "culture."

economics, health sciences, and linguistics with which even many high school students would have little exposure to in English. And the subject matters represented by the prompts and sources are decontextualized from their social (whether personal or academic) situations in a way might give students very few resources to work with in creating a response.

Teacher/Student Responses to Domain Demands of Exam: "Everything under the sun"

So how can teachers help students prepare for the wide range of language use domains possible in the AP exam? From my observations in Mr. Mann's class, the answer that seemed apparent was to practice as wide an array of past exam elements as possible, and to read as much as possible. Mr. Mann's students did both (See Appendix P), though as I have pointed out earlier, all of their reading up to the exam came in the form of short readings, either drawn from their text of short stories and poems or from the AP exam prep book. Since teachers have no idea what domains might be encountered on the exam, the only way to address the question of domain-related knowledge and language use would be to follow Mr. Mann's practices.

During our interview, Mr. Mann explained that the College Board left the question of what reading to do to prepare for the exam entirely up to the individual AP teacher. While that afforded him a great deal of autonomy in selecting readings, he also saw problems related to the College Board's lack of direction in relationship to the Presentational Writing prompts.

> Mann: There was no reading list. You could basically read anything. It could be on any theme under the sun, practically, as long as it was in Spanish, and in fact some of the-it was interesting, because, obviously the theme of the Presentational Writing this year was about climate change. Last year it was about globalization, so they're broad themes.

He commented that in the previous year's exam prep readings "globalization was not something that came up a lot," which he and his fellow AP teachers saw as a problem that needed to be accounted for in their teaching. He implied that College Board might consider ways it could have made it clearer when a particular domain should receive their focus in exam preparation.

> Mann: But it [globalization] could [come up in the readings] if that were something that they [College Board] felt we really needed to explore more.

However, given the silence of College Board on what subject matter or language domains might appear on the exam in any year, Mr. Mann and his colleagues were left with trying to choose the readings their students did carefully, mining them for all the language domains they could.

> Merritt: Yeah so-how is it that you all have chosen what will be the thematic material or the readings [you use for practice in class]?

Mann: Well some of the readings-we actually-the AP literature reading list-we've taken from there and then what that does is it lessens the burden for [the AP Spanish Literature teacher] when he has them in AP Lit. Then some of those-we do some short stories, we do a play, we do some poetry, and so some of those things they'll already have read and explored and talked about and written about and so on. And um less work for him, but they're also very rich materials. So they-so, for example, we read "*Un día de estos*" which is a classic Garcia Marquez story which is just this little microcosm of society but him reflecting on the whole topic of *la violencia* in Colombia and it lends itself to such huge conversations giving them a lot of history about Latin America, Colombia in particular, about violence, the different political extremism-ists, I should say, that exist not only there but all over the place and sort of contrasting that with well how do political differences tend to get resolved in the U.S. That's just one story. You can do so much with just that one story.

Even though many AP teachers have learned to improvise in this way to expose their students to as wide an array of language domains as possible, Mr. Mann shared how his colleagues are aware of the need for more direction from the College Board to help them prepare their students realistically for the exam. He recollected an interchange between AP teachers and presenters from the College Board at one of the training sessions he had attended that year.

Mann: We did-someone asked or I guess they [College Board reps] asked the audience, "Would it be helpful to have a list of possible themes so that it weren't so broad that it could be anything?" We all nodded and said "That would be really nice-to have-maybe give us 25 possible themes and maybe we can see how we can integrate those instead of everything under the sun."

Even 25 themes seemed more reasonable to Mr. Mann, though one could imagine that finding readings that would touch on that many themes over the course of even the majority of a school year would be challenging. Since as Mr. Mann pointed out, many traditional World Language students would have many knowledge gaps to fill before they might be considered bilingual, having to interact with the language domains of 25 themes, while not as burdensome as feeling the need to learn "everything under the sun," would still be challenging for his students.

The focus group students also commented on the unpredictable nature of the Presentational Writing and Speaking prompts. While several of them felt that the Presentational Writing prompt of the 2009 exam was easier than some of the prompts they had practiced in class (in part because of how it would be scored as compared with how teachers had scored theirs), they felt baffled by the Presentational Speaking prompt.

Kyle: … on the formal presentation-that was that was my worst part. It was bad.
Chris: I think we really didn't know what to do on that one.
Kyle: Yeah, I was just like "Uh Spanish is a language and …"
Merritt: What was the formal presentation about?

Anne: Like you read a source and you hear a source and you have to compare them.

Kyle: It was compare and contrast the two Spanish speakers' conferences' or congresses' view about Spanish.

Several of the students faulted the poor audio source (which featured multiple speakers, background music, and fuzzy audio quality) for their inability to understand how to address the prompt, but Kyle recognized his own lack of knowledge of the subject matter.

Kyle: And I didn't even understand what the differences were.

…

Kyle: I think it was a really hard topic.

…

Kyle: I don't think I got the gist of it.

While Kyle acknowledged his struggle with the unfamiliar subject matter, and talked about his strategy to talk more about the source he had read, and only devote 20 seconds of his discourse to the audio source, other students felt that they had understood the audio source sufficiently to make some use of it.

Teresa: …I got all the information I needed from the audio source in like the first 20 seconds and didn't need to listen to the rest of it.

The discussion of this prompt led Virginia to think of non-Spanish Immersion students and how they might have navigated the task.

Virginia: I feel like if I hadn't been in Spanish Immersion though that that audio part would have been really hard. Like I don't think I could have followed any of--or maybe picked up [only] some parts of it.

Even these students who had experienced years of Spanish language use in many different domains, both academic and social, because of the unfamiliarity of the subject matter, combined with the conditions of the test, questioned their ability to succeed in the task. How much more difficult would it have been for traditional World Language students?

Though they struggled with the Presentational Speaking and Writing prompts in various ways, as Virginia implied, their experience as Spanish Immersion students did help them in succeeding on the exam. Teresa saw herself as capable of thinking in Spanish, being able to process spoken language in a way that emphasized understanding rather than relying upon notetaking to be able to reproduce language she had received through the spoken source.

Teresa: Yeah, I can like think in Spanish and when I hear a word I can-I just like know what it means and I think that helped a lot with like the listening sections cuz we just like we could just write down cuz we knew what it meant.

Virginia: I didn't have to-yeah I never took notes on that.

Both Teresa and Virginia could see themselves depending more upon deeper understanding of the language they heard, and having to do less work to process language in order to produce their own version of what they had heard in making the comparisons necessary for the exam prompt. Teresa's appreciation of her ability to understand the meaning of the language she heard stood in contrast to the lack of understanding she observed in non-Spanish Immersion students near her during the exam. As the focus group chatted before our session began, Teresa shared an amusing story about several girls near her who had confused the reference to "*mancha roja*" (red spot) in the audio source for the Presentational Writing task, with "*mariposa*" (butterfly). The students laughed about what they saw as a confusion of terms they would not make. Teresa later commented about her own language abilities: "at least I understood that there was red water and not butterflies."

In fact, their discussion of the "mancha roja" during this chat focused not on what it meant, but on what processes had brought it about.

> Kyle: And I didn't know that the fish eggs-see I thought that they decided that it was chemical and it wasn't-
> Virginia; What?-
> Unknown: -No the ( ) was chemical-
> Virginia: (inaudible)
> Kyle: It means the red, it means that the water-
> Chris: The red tide
> …
> Virginia: I thought they laid their eggs and all their eggs were red
> ?? : I couldn't understand what they were saying
> Virginia: Yeah, well I just thought that they laid-
> Mark: I definitely heard "chemicals."
> Kyle: Yeah, it did say that.
> Virginia: It used to be-they thought it was *biológico*
> Kyle: But then it was chemical or something, yeah
> Anne: People like-one thought it was like natural and some thought it was-
> Kyle: -and then and then-
>
> Anne: -chemical
> Kyle: Yeah, exactly, exactly.
> Anne: I wasn't sure what they were telling us.
> Chris: So there was confusion [about the cause].
> Kyle: Yeah, so that's what I said. I just said "The confusion surrounding this is because of global warming."

Though Anne admitted that she wasn't sure "what they were telling us," in general, the group's understanding was focused much more on the larger meanings of the content of the text, the very confusion scientists had experienced in understanding the source of the "*mancha roja*." They engaged the texts as containing important content related to knowledge about global warming. This discussion reflected clearly the way they had

been used to using language in their Spanish Immersion experience, not as a system to be memorized, controlled and manipulated, but as the medium through which to understand the world, and the content of various knowledge and activity domains. This language experience and focus contributed to their success on that day's AP exam.

Why Spanish Immersion Students Were Prepared for High Achievement on AP Exam

Even though several of the focal students expressed doubt and under-confidence in their performance on that day's AP exam, in fact, they had been highly successful. Not only did all of them, and all the other former Spanish Immersion students, pass the exam, most of them passed with scores of 4 or 5, scores that would qualify them for credit at many colleges and universities, and would exempt them from further World Language study at some colleges and universities. If the measure of success in World Language study is passing the Spanish Language AP exam, these students were highly successful.

Overall Pass Rate of Spanish Immersion Students as Compared with Non-Spanish Immersion Students

This study represents the first time Spanish Language AP scores of former Spanish Immersion students have been gathered and compared to scores of non-Spanish Immersion students in Midville School District. While the high school World Language teachers have expressed concern about the quality of language these students use and produce in high school, as far as I could tell, they had never gathered data on the performance of the former Spanish Immersion students on this exam.

Table 4.1: 2007-2010[24] Spanish Language AP Exam Pass Rates (3, 4, 5), Spanish Immersion (SI), Non-Spanish Immersion and Total

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2007-10
SI % Pass	100.00 (N=13)	100.00 (N=8)	95.65* (N=22)	100.00 (N=12)	98.21 (N=56)
Non-SI % Pass	75.16 (N=121)	76.87 (N=113)	78.77 (N=141)	78.57 (N=143)	77.43 (N=518)
Total % Pass	83.23 (N=134)	82.31 (N=121)	91.06 (N=163)	85.16 (N=155)	85.65 (N=573)

*One student's score was not reported that year.

As Table 4.1 shows, these students and their Spanish Immersion peers were more successful than the other Spanish Language AP students from the classes at the two

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[24] Midville's former Spanish Immersion students had taken the Spanish Language AP exam since Spring 2005; however, data from that year was missing for all students, and data from the Spring 2006 exam was missing for non-SI students. In Spring 2006, 100% (N=12) of the former SI students passed the exam with a 4 or 5.

Midville high schools. In fact, their scores helped raise the overall pass rate, and removing them from the total number of students who passed the exam reveals a much lower pass rate among non-Spanish Immersion students. Their participation in the exam, then, helped Spanish AP teachers' pass rates appear higher, which is an important way in which these teachers measure their own success and in which their success is measured by the site and district. The table also shows that year after year since the first groups of Spanish Immersion students entered the districts' high schools, the Spanish Immersion students performed better on the exams.

Rate of 4/5 Score of Spanish Immersion Students as Compared with Non-Spanish Immersion Students

Table 4.2: 2007-2010 Spanish Language AP Exam Pass Rates (4, 5), Spanish Immersion (SI), Non-Spanish Immersion and Total

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2007-10
SI % 4/5	69.23 (N=9)	100.00 (N=8)	95.65* (N=22)	100.00 (N=12)	91.07 (N=51)
Non-SI % 4/5	59.01 (N=95)	58.50 (N=86)	67.04 (N=120)	65.38 (N=119)	62.78 (N=420)
Total % 4/5	64.60 (N=104)	63.95 (N=94)	79.33 (N=142)	72.00 (N=131)	70.40 (N=471)

* One student's score was not reported that year.

Table 4.2 includes the proportion of students who passed with 4 and 5, the scores which can earn them college credit. In this case, it reveals that the former Spanish Immersion students were significantly more successful at this higher level than their non-Spanish Immersion counterparts. The difference in proportion between them is significant ($z = 3.54$, $P < 0.0001$).

What Contributed to Their Success?: Long-Term Literacy Experience and Content-Focused Language Use

Their own sense of the difference between themselves and non-Spanish Immersion students in this testing situation points toward one of the sources of their success. They had had enough experience with Spanish to know the difference between a "*mancha roja*" and a "*mariposa*." For many years, they had experienced literacy practices focused on understanding content and being able to use language to demonstrate understanding. As Ms. Gomez pointed out in our interview, the way that she knew that her students understood the concepts presented to them was their ability to use the language associated with those concepts and the domains that they belonged to. Language was not separate from content, but integral to it. Their long-term exposure to many academic and social language domains through their classroom lessons and highly contextualized reading and writing experiences contributed to their store of language available to them to draw from in decoding readings and audio texts, and encoding written and spoken texts. Though they expressed under-confidence about their

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understanding of the specific domains involved in the reading and writing on the exam, their experience with a wide range of language domains through their elementary years could not help but contribute to their ability to recognize and respond appropriately to language tasks from a variety of domains.

Their reading and writing practices in elementary school had focused on reading and writing for multiple meanings, academic, social, personal, and they had engaged in many conversations about the meanings of their reading and writing with each other and their teachers. They were used to reading and writing (and listening and speaking) for meaning, the skill the AP test was based on. Their ability to receive language (reading and listening) and produce language (writing and speaking) focusing on larger meanings rather than on the particles of language allowed them to save time and produce more reading and speaking during the time allowed.

As Kyle pointed out in the focus group, none of the direct instruction in grammar they had received in middle school and high school was tested directly on the AP exam. While the teachers who score the writing and speaking sections of the exam may have looked for specific grammar features or errors as they read and listened to the students' responses, the Spanish Immersion students' practical use of grammar in writing and speaking for meaning would have perhaps overshadowed any infelicities in their grammaticality.

Whatever the reason for their high success rate, the fact that, as a group, they succeeded on the exam is clear. Their success on this exam over the course of the first five years they took the exam may be one of the reasons students and parents in the program continued to have high expectations for their performance in World Language classes in high school. And since the AP exam is a significant measure of success among World Language teachers, it would be fair to assume that World Language teachers would have liked to know how these students performed on this assessment. One can speculate that the Spanish teachers may have sensed that the former Spanish Immersion students would outperform their non-Spanish Immersion peers, and that no one pursued the matter as it might have challenged some of their assumptions about these students. Or we could wonder whether the Spanish language teachers felt it was the responsibility of the district to compile such data since they, and not the Spanish language teachers, were responsible for this multi-site program. Either way, the fact that no one had compiled this data to use as a language assessment tool was highly ironic given the emphasis placed on the need for language assessment during the middle school Program Review, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

Conclusion: Student Performance Contradicted Teacher Attitudes

The former Spanish Immersion students perceived Mr. Mann and his colleagues to be good teachers, hard working and likeable. Mr. Mann was clearly a committed professional, looking for ways to engage students and improve his courses through participation in professional development and AP training courses. His courses compared favorably in the minds of students with the course of his colleagues. Mr. Mann liked students, treated them positively in class, and had positive things to say about the writing of 5th grade Spanish Immersion students. He expressed a clear understanding of the goals of TWI education, and acknowledged that the former Spanish Immersion

students brought significant language experiences with them to high school. So it seems surprising that, given all the positive understandings and good will between him and his students, he would focus so clearly and consistently on their language deficits and attribute them to faulty teaching in the Spanish Immersion program, and inflated expectations on the part of former Spanish Immersion students and their parents. The expectations that these students would achieve high levels of success in their Spanish Language studies in high school seem to be supported by their success in passing the AP test, one of the measures of success accepted by the Spanish Language teachers at Midville High School.

One way of understanding this disjunction between understandings and attitudes could proceed from the model of language education characteristic of the courses that prepare students for the AP exams. The emphasis on "control" of various elements of the Spanish language seems to take precedence over real-life language use, even though students have to read real-life texts in preparation for and during the AP exam. "Control" emphasizes a static view of language as represented in textbooks which can't hope to capture the complexities of dynamic, living languages as they are used in the world. The predominance of encapsulated school forms of learning over the reality of how people who know and use Spanish do so contributes to the gap between what TWI students have experienced of language learning and use as compared to what traditional World Language students have experienced.

Another way of understanding the disjunction proceeds from understanding the historical situation of the Spanish Immersion program in this district. Because the district leadership resisted the program from its inception, did not provide sufficient support for it, and refused to consider extending the program into high school, Spanish Language teachers were left to determine how these students, with their unique language learning and use experiences, could be fit into the existing World Language model of learning. They did not receive any more support in making that determination than the Spanish Immersion program did in establishing itself in the district. However, the Spanish Language teachers, even good ones like Mr. Mann, seem to have retracted into a defensive position against the entrance of Spanish Immersion students into their classes. They acknowledge the differences in experiences of these students in their classes, but do not cast those differences in terms of resources, but in terms of problems. In fact, some of these students might have served as a resource to their traditional Spanish Language students, might have become language informants in the classroom, sharing what they know about Spanish with their peers, demonstrating the complexities of the dynamic, living Spanish language, or tutors to help struggling students with the literacy they were learning to practice. Taking advantage of the resources of these students would mean, however, loosening control, raising hard questions, and changing how a class is run.

In the next chapter, I will focus on the effort to resolve the historical problem posed by the Spanish Immersion program and its students in Midville, by examining the district's Program Review of the Midville Middle School segment of the Spanish Immersion program. Though that examination, we will see how the differences between the Spanish Immersion experience and the World Language experience lead a leadership group to reinforce the attitudes about how to make the Spanish Immersion students fit into World Language classes.

Chapter 5: "A Bridge to Somewhere": Revision of a Middle School Spanish Immersion Program

"We will frame the debate." – Associate Superintendent for Secondary Education
"We need to craft something uniquely different." – Associate Superintendent for Elementary Education
"No one has really figured out the master plan for [Two-Way Immersion] middle school." – Director, Secondary Education
"[Language] doesn't have to be learned, but it has to be acquired. That didn't happen in elementary school." -- Spanish teacher, Midville Middle School
 "[Spanish Immersion] has never been about the pursuit of language." -- Spanish Immersion Teacher, Midville Elementary School.
"[Spanish Immersion] parents have felt it was their patriotic duty to keep kids in the program so that the program will continue." -- Parent of Midville Middle School Spanish Immersion student.
"We are initially sketching out the bridge to get from the [elementary school two-way immersion] experience to the high school world language classes." – Principal, Midville Middle School
"What's a better word than 'bridge'?" – University consultant

Introduction: "We will frame the debate"

Late one mid-October afternoon in 2008, a group of 14 members of the Midville Spanish Immersion Program Review group gathered for the first of three meetings in which district officials intended to bring resolution to the crisis in the Midville Middle School Spanish Immersion Program. Everyone present at the meeting--district and site administrators, elementary, middle and high school teachers, parents, and consultants from universities—agreed that the middle school segment of the program had undergone a crisis in the past two years, though they would not necessarily agree on its source. Guiding the discussions, District administrators held these meetings to allow program constituents to air their concerns, consider some of the historical programmatic problems (but not all of the particulars of the specific situation that led them to this place), and provide a means of resolving those problems and reinstating the middle school Spanish Immersion program, on hiatus for the academic year 2008-2009. Everyone would likely have agreed that the district's leadership in conducting these meetings, and in taking responsibility for the oversight of the Spanish Immersion program, was very much overdue.

In the weeks just before this first meeting, district and site administrators, and secondary World Language teachers had met twice to set the agenda for the three larger group meetings that were about to begin. As the Associate Superintendent for Secondary Education put it in one of the planning meetings, "We will frame the debate," a statement that seemed to indicate the need for district and site personnel to carefully control the endeavor to avoid encountering unproductive conflict over past experiences in the program (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). Several members of the program review emphasized to everyone participating in these early meetings that they would not be discussing the events that most recently had led to the suspension of the middle school program, and

parents, perceived to be at least in part responsible for the crisis, were noticeably absent from these early meetings. Ms. Fisher, Associate Superintendent for Elementary Education, indicated that the entire existence of the middle school program was on the table, pointing to a letter written to the Spanish Immersion parent community by the former Associate Superintendent for Education Services, in which she set the agenda for the group to "examine the viability of sustaining a middle school immersion program in the future" (6/10/08). The final recommendation of the program review group would go to the Superintendent in December 2008.

Using CHAT to Examine Language Ideologies and Metaphor in Program Review

In this chapter, I will examine the process of Program Review, from the series of Program Review meetings held in Fall 2008, to the attempt to present an adequate middle school curriculum to the potential middle school Spanish Immersion teachers in spring 2009. During the course of this process, I observed how, by the end of spring 2009, some of the same sources of conflict persisted and emerged as Spanish Immersion and World Language teachers met to discuss and develop a curriculum for the newly reinstated middle school program, despite the efforts made from September-December 2008 by all the parties involved in the Program Review process. Though they had made decisions, drafted a policy statement, and set a curricular direction, faculty charged with enacting the new program did not seem settled, and even argued about the very nature of TWI education. These persistent conflicts invited examination to understand the nature of the possible failure of real reform for the middle school program. Therefore, in this chapter, I will examine the activity of reshaping a program, reviewing/revising policy, using the lens of Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) to consider "places" in the process, locations in the activity triangle, where the expansive learning necessary to resolve the issues involved in the crisis failed to be achieved and what the possible factors that contributed to its failure were.

First, I will study the understanding of the Object of the activity of Program Review (and of Spanish Immersion education itself) by specific Subjects participating in it, using their contributions during Program Review meetings. These Subjects were chosen to participate in the process at "stakeholders," who were aligned with various Communities represented in the Spanish Immersion Program, some professional, some school sites, and some communities-at-large. Their alignment with these Communities, while representing certain expertise or interests valued by the district, also reinforced certain orientations toward the Object of the activity, orientations which often came into conflict, and which were never sufficiently resolved through the process of review.

To further understand some of those differing orientations and ideologies, I will examine the differences in experiences in and beliefs about language learning and teaching, as well as beliefs about the nature of bilingualism, of three Subjects of the activity system of program review, all major actors in the enactment of the new program, and how their differences may have affected their view of the Object of the activity system in which they were participating. I will argue that these differences in beliefs/ideologies worked against the process of expansive learning necessary to resolve a problem at the heart of the program review process.

I will also consider some of the language used in program review meetings, in the resultant policy statement, and in interviews with the focal Subjects, to discuss and define the possible nature of the new middle school program. That language served as a Tool in the activity system of program review, but demonstrated that not all Tools are as useful as others in accomplishing the Objects of the activity system. Specifically, I will consider the overriding metaphor adopted by the program review group--the middle school program as a "bridge" between the elementary school TWI program and high school World Language courses--and how that metaphor indexed a frame that limited possibilities and even contradicted a stated Object of the activity system.

Finally, I will move from focusing on the activity of Program Review and policy formation to discuss development of new curriculum by teachers and administrators charged with enacting and supporting the new middle school program. In doing so, I will examine another activity system, connected to the activity of program review, in which the expansive learning necessary to resolve programmatic problems also failed, and I will consider some of the possible reasons for that failure.

Through these examinations of the activities of program review and curriculum development, I will argue that the Subjects who form part of an activity system will have different perceptions of the Object of that system, and each Subject's understanding of the Object/Goal depends upon not only discussions of the Object/Goal with other members of the activity system, but their individual prior experiences and their ideologies (beliefs, world views) related to the system. The Subjects and their different perceptions of the Object of an activity can inhibit resolution of the problem they are addressing, with the learning necessary to resolve it. The Tools used in the activity, specifically language Tools, can also inhibit expansive learning, if they represent unexamined frames that poorly represent the actual problem and solutions to it. While Engestrom (1999) points to the possibility that expansive learning in an activity system can lead to new thinking, new ideologies, in contrast, I will argue that old thinking, old ideologies based on prior experience, or close alignment with a particular Community can lead to failure in an expansive learning cycle, even when all the Subjects involved express a desire for change and even a belief that they have successfully achieved the Object of their activity system.

The Activity of Program Review: Multiple Activity Systems Representing Multiple Communities

The Midville Spanish Immersion Program Review represented a clear activity system, in which the object was presumably to understand the nature of the conflict that led to the suspension of the middle school element of the SI Program, and to consider the problems that needed resolving in order to reinstate the middle school SI Program. As I indicated above, the Subjects of the Program Review activity had been selected from each of the Communities considered stakeholders within the program, and brought with them the values and concerns of their respective Communities (Figure 5.1). As I will discuss later in the chapter, in order to understand the Object of the activity of Program Review, and to achieve that Object in a way that satisfied all the Subjects involved, the group used various Tools, including documents relating to the history of the SI Program, information about language assessment, discussions during their Program Review meetings (language, including metaphors), and a final report to the superintendent. As

the activity of Program Review came to a close, as I will discuss later in the chapter, a new activity, the development of a new curricular model for the middle school Spanish Immersion 6th and 7th grade classes, took place.

Figure 5.1: CHAT Triangle for Activity of Program Review

Tools
Discussion (language, metaphor); historical documents; assessment information; final report

Subject(s)
District, site administrators, teachers, parents,

Object
To reinstate middle school SI Program

Rules (values, ideologies)   Community   Roles (div. of labor)

elementary school SI teachers;
middle school SI/Foreign Lang. teachers;
high school Foreign Lang. teachers;
parents;
administrators (site and district)

Multiple Communities in Program Review: Conflicting Objects Among Subjects

Considering the fact that the Midville Spanish Immersion Program had spanned two school sites, an elementary and middle school, and taking into account the role that the Midville High School World Language Department played in the Program Review, and in the academic lives of former Spanish Immersion students, I viewed the Program Review as involving multiple activity systems (See Appendix Q). The activity system of Spanish Immersion, as we saw in Chapter 3, involved a model of language learning and use that emphasized language as a medium of instruction, while the activity system of high school AP Spanish Language class focused on traditional World Language models of language learning and use, including those represented by the AP course and exam. As I discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the goals (or Objects) of these two educational models differed, as did the language beliefs and ideologies of the teachers. As Appendix Q indicates, both the elementary Spanish Immersion activity system and the high school World Language activity system, through their representative Subjects in the Program Review activity, exerted pressure on the middle school Spanish Immersion program during and after the middle school Program Review.

Members of each of these activity systems, and their constituent communities, were involved to varying degrees in the activity of program review in an effort to involve all the stakeholders in programmatic change. Representatives of each group of

stakeholders attended the series of meetings, as represented by Appendix D, a map of the meeting room on 11/6/08, the second of three meetings of all stakeholder groups, at which the largest number of stakeholders were in attendance. Members of all three educational settings, as well as district administrators, representatives of the parent association, and a university consultant familiar with the program's history, were all present. These individuals represented sometimes their school setting, sometimes another Community, whether parental or professional, sometimes both. Often the school setting to which a member belonged coincided with membership in a professional community as noted in Appendix R. Generally, the professional Communities to which school district participants belonged broke down along the lines of Elementary Two-Way Immersion Education, Secondary World Language Education, and general Middle School Education. As will emerge in the following discussions of each of the Communities and the Subjects representing them, the Elementary TWI Education Community and the Secondary World Language Education Community had been engaged in a struggle over the nature of the middle school Spanish Immersion program for several years, and that struggle had been manifest in the middle school 7th and 8th grade Spanish Immersion classes, as well as at the moment of students rising to high school Spanish Language classes.[25]

Community 1: Midville Elementary School/Two-Way Immersion education.

While multiple representatives from Midville Elementary School and its Spanish Immersion program were included in the list of program review participants given out at the first meeting, none of these representatives were present at the first two planning meetings. In fact, all of the program review meetings from September to December 2008 had been planned for Tuesday afternoons, the day for regularly scheduled faculty meetings at Midville Elementary School. Not even the principal, Mr. Foster, was able to attend the whole of the meetings, and when elementary representatives did attend, they arrived late. After one of the program review meetings adjourned, Ms. Fisher held the elementary representatives, along with a few others, to review what they had missed earlier in the afternoon. During the weeks surrounding the planning meetings, Mr. Bell, Director of Secondary Education, and Supervisor of World Language instruction, had been charged with meeting with the elementary participants to discuss the review process and inform them of plans. He was called on in program review meetings to report on his meetings with them.

The decision to schedule meetings for the Program Review group on days when the elementary Spanish Immersion teachers and Mr. Foster had previously scheduled staff meetings was surprising, and gave the impression from the beginning that this Community was not as highly valued in the Program Review process as were the other

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[25] Parents formed another community involved in the Program Review, and while several parents representing the MISIPA attended the Program Review meetings, they had very little say in either the policy statement the group produced, or the new curriculum developed for the middle school classes. While some of the Program Review participants might have said that parents had played a major role in the crisis in the middle school program, and participants seemed to be aware of the importance of parents in the program, they had a very limited role in this activity system.

Communities. During most of the Program Review process, the elementary Spanish Immersion Community seemed to play a peripheral role. However, during the times when they did participate in Program Review meetings, they clearly articulated the values and ideologies of their Two-Way Immersion Community.

Two-Way Immersion teachers: Advocates of Spanish Immersion in middle school core courses. All of the participants from Midville Elementary School were strong advocates of this Spanish Immersion program and of Two-Way Immersion education in general, as they understood and had experienced it. The two teachers, one 3rd grade and one Kindergarten, were long-time Spanish Immersion lead teachers, having responsibility for coordinating teaching efforts and professional development alongside the principal, Mr. Foster. One of them had seen her own child proceed through the elementary program. In the past, both had been involved in discussions with site and district administration arguing for the extension of the Two-Way Immersion model of language education all the way through high school. They were also critical of the choice Midville Middle School teachers and administrators had made to program the 7th grade Spanish Immersion class as an elective rather than as a course based on core curricular materials. From their point of view, the choice to make the middle school TWI course an elective meant that it would not be given the same importance as core courses like Language Arts, Math, Social Studies or Science. In such an elective course, emphasis would traditionally be placed on language acquisition, not on the use of language as the medium of instruction for some core content. The two teachers indirectly raised this issue during the first meeting they attended when they both commented on the problem of Spanish Immersion having been structured as an elective in 7th and 8th grades, a structural choice they felt reflected the way the district had made "programmatic decisions for students." They were concerned about the inequities created because, in these elective courses, Spanish Immersion students had been not only graded in ways most elective students are not, and had been held to a higher academic standard than in most elective courses, but had not been given the opportunity to use their language resources for important core content purposes. This historical conflict over policy decisions that affected language learning and use for Spanish Immersion middle school students more clearly surfaced as Mr. Bell adamantly responded to them, declaring that the option of extending the TWI model into high school was simply not available, that "the idea that the immersion program will go all the way through high school [was] not on the table" (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08).

Midville Elementary Principal, Mr. Foster: Spanish Immersion students and families across three school sites. Mr. Foster had been Midville Elementary School's principal since before the Spanish Immersion Program was located there in 1997. He had worked alongside parents and students as they had struggled to ensure that the program would be extended from grade to grade, and to see it advance from pilot to permanent program status after six years of effort. Mr. Foster had also known the program as a parent as his son had completed it and was a senior at Midville High School at the time of these meetings. As the administrator with the most experience with the Spanish Immersion program, Mr. Foster expressed a wide range of concerns during the three meetings he attended: how to understand the needs and motivations of students and

families as they made their way through the program and on to secondary school; what the overall outcomes should be for Spanish Immersion students and how those outcomes would provide clear articulation from grade to grade and school to school; how they should be assessed and placed in high school World Language courses; how to think about the relationship between curriculum design and the hiring of a new teacher for the middle school program. Mr. Foster consistently raised questions and brought discussion around to the overall functioning of the three educational settings as they served Spanish Immersion students. Frequently, Mr. Foster raised concerns which got no definitive answer, and the resolution of many of them depended upon the future implementation of assessment tools being considered, the development of middle school curriculum by district faculty and administrators, and the efforts on the part of teachers at the three sites to understand the differences and overlaps in the teaching they do.

Mr. Foster's concerns about the needs and motivations of students and families in the Spanish Immersion program mirrored his comments in our interview (Chapter 3) in which he reflected on the experiences of families as they observed the growth in language learning and use of their children both inside and outside of school. Moreover, his concern for the overall outcomes for Spanish Immersion students dovetailed with the efforts he and his teachers had made over the years to smooth out the articulation of language learning and use from grade to grade. Mr. Foster brought with him a long-term view of language learning and use that posed the question "How do we keep [what the kids have begun in Spanish Immersion] going?" (Interview, 5/21/09)

Associate Superintendent for Elementary Education, Ms. Fisher: The Spanish Immersion "Experience." Ms. Fisher, Associate Superintendent for Elementary Education, had also seen two of three of her now adult children complete a Two-Way Immersion program in another Northern California community. As the main representative of the elementary school setting in the first two program review meetings, Ms. Fisher set the tone and focus for the discussion of the nature of TWI education in the district, demonstrated the effort to "frame the debate," to keep control of the diverse interests represented. At the same time she orchestrated the participation of the various stakeholders in the process and assessing the current situation of students, parents and the program at the middle school, she consistently expressed concerns about two major themes: inclusion of all students in TWI education, including special needs students; and the need to define the middle school Spanish Immersion program as experiential rather than academic. Regarding the inclusion of all students, Ms. Foster referred to her own experience as a parent of a special needs student who participated in a TWI program, defending the idea that the outcomes of TWI education are not all academic, not all related to the trajectory of high achieving World Language students, as "some kids will not go on to AP [Spanish]," and that all students should have access to choice programs regardless of their academic performance or challenges. She clearly aligned herself with Midville Elementary TWI teachers as she reported that they were looking for a middle school program providing a "bridge that involves language use, not just grammar." She argued that when grammar becomes the focus, the middle school program "ceases to be an immersion experience and accelerates into a language course." She suggested that incorporating some community service element to the program would give kids an opportunity to use Spanish in non-academic social contexts, as they did in their 5th grade

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camp experience in Mexico. Often, Ms. Fisher's point of reference for thinking about such an experiential approach was her own kids' experiences with TWI and language use and learning. She referred to her daughter's community service as a positive example of how an experiential approach can serve language development (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). Repeatedly, Ms. Fisher insisted that not all Spanish Immersion students would go on to AP Spanish courses, rejecting that academic trajectory as the natural outcome of TWI education.

However, while Ms. Fisher consistently expressed the desire that the middle school program provide an experience in language use for students, she also seemed to see one of the program's goals as being the development of academic language. When the Associate Superintendent for Secondary Education asked what the outcomes for the 7th grade Spanish Immersion course should be, she responded with "exposure, fluency, academic language," an indication of a duality in her thinking about the nature of TWI education at the middle school level. (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). Later, at the first meeting of the whole program review group, Ms. Fisher explained that the Spanish Immersion middle school component would be a bridge experience, not academic in nature (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08).   Whether she used the word "academic" in different ways in these two situations remains unclear, and sets up a possible conflict over the nature of the curriculum she would later help develop with other members of the TWI/Elementary Communities. I will further discuss this apparent conflict in Ms. Fisher's thinking later in this chapter.

The elementary TWI community in brief: Equivocation and disempowerment.

The comments made by members of the TWI/Elementary Communities during the program review meetings generally confirmed their alignment with values of TWI education: emphasis on language as the medium for instruction (rather than as the focus of study), and, therefore, language use for a variety of academic and social purposes. However, Mr. Bell's assertion of the Secondary/World Language Communities' refusal to consider extending the Spanish Immersion program to high school ruled out any meaningful discussion of how high school Spanish teachers could adapt to the needs of incoming Spanish Immersion students. While Ms. Fisher's institutional authority should have been sufficient to empower the TWI/Elementary Communities to pursue resolution of their concerns, her equivocation regarding the middle school program's focus on language experience and social uses vs. academic language development blurred the differences in orientation between Communities, and, therefore, deferred their resolution.

Community 2: Midville High School World Language education.

In contrast to the absence of members of the elementary Spanish Immersion Community in the early meetings of the Program Review, the High School World Language Community was well represented at every meeting. This Community consisted of Mr. Mann, Spanish Language teacher and soon-to-be Department Chair of World Languages at Midville High School and Mr. Bell, Director of Secondary

Education, and District Supervisor of World Language Education.[26] Both Mr. Mann (as I have discussed in Chapter 4) and Mr. Bell represented the interests of Secondary World Language education.

Midville High School World Language Teacher, Mr. Mann: "Language as resource" or "language as problem"? While he was only one member of the Midville High School faculty or administration attending all of these meetings, Mr. Mann, as both the upcoming Supervising Instructor for World Languages for both Midville High and Middle Schools, and one of the Spanish Language AP teachers at Midville, carried a lot of weight. Though he said quite little during the series of meetings, he had been charged with carrying out the placement of former TWI students into high school Spanish courses for their 9th grade year. His role placed him at the center of one of the controversies between the high school/district and parents: whether former TWI students should be allowed to enter Spanish 4AP during their first year of high school. It also placed him between school sites as the quasi-administrator who would supervise the faculty who taught the 8th grade TWI classes, as it would serve as a pre-high school Spanish-as-a-World-Language course as it had for the last several years. Mr. Mann was also charged with supervising the 7th grade course offering for TWI students, whether that course followed a TWI or World Language model. As the supervisor of the faculty teaching these courses, he seemed aware of the importance of understanding the TWI experiences students brought with them to middle school. In the first planning meeting, he confessed a lack of knowledge of what the K-5 TWI experience is like (Fieldnotes, 9/16/08), though he had taught former Spanish Immersion students for four years. In particular he expressed interest in what Spanish Immersion students had read, information that would be readily available from either Spanish Immersion fifth grade teachers or the middle school faculty he supervised. At a later meeting, he returned to the theme of understanding the effects the elementary Spanish Immersion experience had had on students who would enter high school. When Mr. Foster raised a question at a November meeting about whether the middle school plan the program review group was "putting together [was] a natural progression to the next step in high school," presumably referring to students' entry into World Language courses, Mr. Mann suggested that the work the program review group was engaged in would provide "an over-arching vision" of the experience of Spanish Immersion students, one that would "help high school teachers know what they are coming with" when former Spanish Immersion students enter World Language classes (Fieldnotes, 11/6/08).

These two comments seem to point to the possibility that Mr. Mann was taking a "language as resource" (Ruiz, 1984) approach to the experience of Spanish Immersion students who enter high school World Language courses. He was, at very least, aware

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[26] Several other members of the group also represented the interests of World Language education, either by their alignment with Midville's Spanish Language program, with programs that train World Language teachers, with the professional organization, ACTFL, or with the academic discipline of Applied Linguistics. Mr. Sanchez, a Midville Middle School Spanish Language teacher was closely aligned with the Spanish Language program in the district, while the two university consultants who attended were aligned with the professional community of World Language pedagogy.

that they had had significant literacy experiences in Spanish, that they "[were] coming with" past experience, knowledge and language resources. However, these comments could also point toward a "language as problem" orientation (Ruiz, 1984), as they could be read through the lens of Mr. Mann's continuing concern with assessment of students entering high school World Language classes. As we have seen from Chapter 4, Mr. Mann's orientation tended toward seeing Spanish Immersion students as having significant deficits. So while his comment may have seemed to recognize their language resources, they were more likely motivated by how these students did not fit into the traditional World Language courses.

Mr. Mann raised the question of high school World Language placement of former Spanish Immersion students at the first planning meeting (Fieldnotes, 9/16/08), an indication of how important this question was to him. As I have discussed in Chapter 4, he frequently reported having to discuss this issue with parents who believe their students should be able to enter Spanish 4AP during their freshman year, and each year some former Spanish Immersion students do just that. This question of placement was central enough to the high school World Language program and Mr. Mann, that it was taken up by the Associate Superintendent for Secondary Education at the only planning meeting he attended. In a discussion between the Associate Superintendent and Ms. Fisher about outcomes for 7th grade Spanish Immersion students, Mr. Mann focused on Ms. Fisher's mention of language "exposure." He told the group that seeing "exposure" as one of the outcomes was "encouraging to hear" and that they "need to communicate that to parents," implying that, if the middle school program focused less on traditional language acquisition, parents should not expect their kids to be placed automatically in Spanish 4AP (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). He consistently expressed this concern that parents' unrealistic expectations for their students' language development and use be adjusted by middle and high school Spanish Language teachers, both in the Program Review meetings and in my interview with him (See Chapter 4).

Director of Secondary Education, Mr. Bell: Assessment for language correctness. Mr. Mann's concern with placement in the high school Spanish classes was reflected in Mr. Bell's concern for assessing the language competency of the TWI students in elementary and middle school. Mr. Bell served a dual role in the program review meetings. He attended as Director of Secondary Education, and as such answered to the Associate Superintendent for Secondary Education, who only attended one of the early planning meetings. Mr. Bell also represented World Language instruction in his role as Supervisor of all World Language instruction for the district. A great deal of Mr. Bell's contribution to the program review focused on language assessment and assessment tools. While he drew upon the more extensive experience of other states and districts with TWI education, and, therefore, seemed to support the work of the elementary TWI program, he and other members of the Secondary School Community consistently connected assessment to either the quality (correctness) of students' Spanish language in middle school or placement in high school World Language courses. Mr. Bell's orientation toward World Language studies and secondary school was evident from the first meeting when he defined the task facing the Program Review group as focusing on providing middle school TWI students with a "continuation of language studies and accommodating 8th and 9th grades" (Fieldnotes, 9/16/08). His relationship

with the university World Language consultants, from whom he received material on language assessment, even further reinforced this orientation. Because of this strong association with the World Language community, I have located the discussion of assessment in this section, even though it references members of all the communities present at the meetings.

History of language assessment in Midville's Spanish Immersion Program. In Midville's elementary Spanish Immersion program, the meaning of language competency was complex and reflected both the students' growing mastery of curricular content and their development of knowledge and uses of both of their target languages. As Ms. Gomez pointed out in our interview, she measured language competency in terms of mastery of content, and, vice versa, mastery of content by language competency. Satisfactory language competency included the ability to use the appropriate language for specific curricular areas, but also to consistently use Spanish in the classroom situations in which it was required, whether with the teacher or with other students for a variety of purposes. In fact, I discovered from Ms. Gomez that permission to participate in the fifth grade trip to El Molino depended upon each students' consistent use of Spanish in the classroom, and students were assigned to the various *talleres* based on their use of Spanish in the classroom. Most of the assessment of language competency took place in each classroom, conducted by each teacher as part of her regular assessment of curricular competency. That assessment included a focus on Spanish language usage in the context of their writing and speaking activities. However, neither the district, nor Midville Elementary, had ever instituted regular, standardized assessment of language competency or proficiency across the entire program. The only standardized assessment related to the use of Spanish that took place at Midville Elementary was the Spanish-language version of the STAR test, APRENDA, which had been applied to all 2nd-5th graders beginning in 1998. All Spanish Immersion 2nd-5th graders took both tests every year, but the product of those tests was not knowledge about the specific language competency of individual students. However, one external study of the language competency of one class of students had been conducted in 2000, by a member of the Midville High School World Language department as part of her Master's degree in Multicultural Education.

Comparative language competency: Spanish Immersion 4th graders and high school Spanish 4. Gemma Menand (pseudonym), a well-respected teacher of high school French and Spanish, conducted her study during the fall of 2000 with a group of 22 fourth grade Spanish Immersion students, from the first cohort of students to complete the program, and 18 Spanish 4 (non-AP) students from Midville High School. Her purpose was to compare the competency of students whose language learning had taken place under two different methods of instruction, Two-Way Immersion and the communicative approach to World Language education, at that time the dominant model of World Language education at Midville High School. To make that comparison, she used two well-established methods of assessment, an oral interview, the California Oral Competency Interview (COCI), and a written exam, the California Writing Competency Assessment. Each of the two assessment tools assessed student competency in terms of increasingly complex and creative ways of using language; their categories were

1) Formulaic: lists of words and formulaic expressions that are memorized and sometimes broken and recombined,
2) Created: various sentence types are in evidence and ideas begin to flow across sentences,
3) Planned: created expressions and ideas begin to flow in a planned paragraph.

These three categories were employed for each assessment, and each was further broken down into low-mid-high ranges, indicating a continuum of competency with "Formulaic low" at one end and "Planned high" at the other.

Menand reported that as a result of the writing assessment, she could conclude that the 4th grade students in the study were more proficient in Spanish language writing skills than were the high school students, based on her data which indicated that nearly twice as many high school students ranked in the Formulaic level than did 4th grade Spanish Immersion students (55.54% vs. 27.27%), fewer high school students than Spanish Immersion students reached the Created level (38.82% vs. 54.53%), and significantly fewer high school students than Spanish Immersion students reached the Planned level (5.5% vs. 18.18 %). She further concluded that the 4th graders surpassed the high school students in several ways, including their vocabulary and sentence structures. They revealed, she argued, that they had learned Spanish as a result of regular exposure through their daily use of the language for their content learning. In all, they compared favorably in their written fluency to native speakers of Spanish.

Ms. Menand reported similar findings related to her oral language competency assessment. High school students placed mostly in the Formulaic (42.84%) or low-mid Created (42.84%) levels, while Spanish Immersion students placed mostly in the Created (59.08%) and Planned (27.27%) levels. While her study was a simple one, limited to a small group of students, the results might have raised interesting questions for district official as middle school Spanish teachers lodged complaints about the language competency of Spanish Immersion students entering their classes. However, the study was never used to try to understand what language competency meant within the Spanish Immersion program, in comparison to what it meant in the high school World Language classes. Even as the middle school Program Review took up the topic of assessment of the language growth and competency of Midville Elementary's Spanish Immersion students, no one raised the possible contradiction between the results of Menand's study and the perception held by middle school teachers that the Spanish Immersion students lacked basic language competency.

Secondary Spanish Language education: Assessment as gate-keeping tool.
Having been charged with bringing materials on assessment to the Program Review group, Mr. Bell presented assessment tools to the group at the second large group meeting (10/21/08), focusing on an initiative of the St. Paul Public Schools in support of language assessment in their K-12, 900+ student program. Having received a Foreign Language Assistance Grant in 2003, the St. Paul Spanish Immersion program developed a comprehensive assessment plan, based on clearly defined goals, the first of which was to "define common beliefs and find common ground around assessment in order to develop an inclusive atmosphere in which participants could feel ownership of the work" (Arabbo, 2006) They developed an assessment plan for reading, writing, listening and

speaking that focused on "what students do with language, determining what they have learned as well as how well they are learning it" (Arabbo, 2006). Their dual focus on what students do with language and how they learn it, and their reference to "specific areas of weakness in language learning," seemed to point to some of the same tensions the Midville program had experienced over the years, and was experiencing in these meetings. While elementary Spanish Immersion program teachers and administrators may have been interested in "what students do with language," Mr. Bell commented that up to now there had been no mechanism in place to assess "the language capacity" of Spanish Immersion students as they moved from 5th to 6th grade (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08).

During his presentation of the St. Paul initiative, Mr. Bell raised the question of "how [to] get an appropriate set of goals that address transitions that are acceptable to parents, students and educators" and identified that question as being fundamental to developing an assessment plan. He pointed the group to one possible goal, Spanish Immersion students' entering Spanish 3 Honors in their 9th grade year, and asked whether the program review group wanted to consider that or a whole different set of goals. Though he entertained the possibility that assessment goals could focus on something other than high school World Language placement, he oriented the group toward that concrete goal, even pointing them toward St. Paul's preference for high school International Baccalaureate programs over Advanced Placement courses as fitting better with the goals of their Spanish Immersion program (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08).

It seemed reasonable that Mr. Bell would look toward the concrete goal of high school World Language placement as a way to try to unify the divergent interests of the Program Review group, given their wide range of interests in and orientations toward assessment, and his orientation toward World Language education. The elementary Spanish Immersion teachers oriented toward content-area and literacy assessment, and had been using APRENDA, a Spanish-language version of the California STAR test, to measure both literacy and curricular knowledge. Reinforcing the elementary Spanish Immersion orientation, Ms. Fisher further drew a connection between assessment and curriculum, arguing that alignment in assessment could mean an alignment in curriculum. However, in the context of Midville's program, a new assessment plan could only serve to inform elementary and early middle school curriculum, since secondary school district officials had made it clear that changes in high school curriculum were off the table.

Highlighting the conflict between the elementary Spanish Immersion and the secondary World Language communities, parent participants expressed interest in assessment that connected to their perceptions of their children's language learning. One parent member told the group that, after their kids had left the elementary program, parents asked themselves whether their kids were learning Spanish. She felt the need for clear benchmarks for what sorts of language kids would learn in middle school (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). The parents' perception that students were learning less Spanish in middle school, seemed to come into conflict with the perception of middle school teachers who had been critical of the quality of students' Spanish language production, who questioned how well students had learned Spanish in elementary school. According to parents and elementary Spanish Immersion teachers, Ms. Morelli, the most recent middle school Spanish Immersion teacher, instituted her own placement practice to control the quality of students' language as they entered 8th grade World Language courses. She began using final course grades for the 7th grade Spanish Immersion course

to determine whether a student should be allowed to enter the highest level of Spanish in 8th grade, Spanish C, a course designed for Spanish Immersion students. A student with a B- would be allowed to enter; one with a C+ would not, but would be directed toward Spanish 1B, a course populated by students studying Spanish for only the second year (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08). The problem of mixing such students with those who had been learning about and in Spanish for eight years was evident, and the practice was clearly meant to be punitive, and emphasized perceived language deficiencies.

Further reinforcing this deficit orientation, Mr. Sanchez, the middle school Spanish language teacher, expressed an interest in beginning language assessment in kindergarten (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). In response to a discussion about how students develop language skills and knowledge from elementary through high school, Mr. Sanchez stated directly that some students had not acquired adequate language in elementary school (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08). Mr. Bell's response, that the group needed to find a "weaving between correct language usage and using language" could not mitigate the overwhelming emphasis on the need to assess students' Spanish language acquisition to understand what the students lacked in language knowledge and correctness by the time they entered high school, and where the elementary Spanish Immersion program was going wrong in developing the students' language.

The secondary World Language community in brief: "Language as problem" and assessment as gate-keeping tool.

Though past content-based assessment through APRENDA, years of elementary teacher data from their classrooms, and the teachers's study of 4th grade Spanish Immersion students' language development might have provided positive data related to the elementary students' language development and competency, the concerns raised by the middle school Spanish Language teachers, and taken up by Mr. Mann as the students entered secondary Spanish Language classes prevailed in the discussions of assessment of Spanish Immersion students' language development. A "language as problem" orientation during the Program Review contributed to the presentation of assessment tools as a means of gate-keeping for the secondary Spanish Language classes. While the lack of data from standardized assessment could have led the participants to want to know what Spanish Immersion students could do with their Spanish language, no one expressed interest in knowing how competent these students actually were. Instead, the focus on assessment assumed the identification of specific language acquisition problems.

Community 3: Midville Middle School/Two-Way Immersion and World Language education.

The Midville Middle School community was represented at the meetings by three individuals, two of whom would have important responsibilities in implementing the

program developed by the group.[27] However, neither of these individuals, Midville Middle School Principal, Mr. Worth, and Spanish Language teacher, Mr. Sanchez, directly represented the interests of the Spanish Immersion program. As Midville's principal, Mr. Worth represented the varied interests of the whole school community, of which the Spanish Immersion program formed only one small part. As I will discuss, he presented an approach that was neutral to the interests of the Spanish Immersion program, but focused on the structural problems such a program presented for the running of a school. Mr. Sanchez, while having had experience with the Spanish Immersion program, currently represented the interests and ideologies of the World Language program, and functioned as an extension of that program in the middle school. Mr. Sanchez expressed a deficit view of the Spanish Immersion students and elementary program, one that Mr. Worth could not effectively address or counter because of both his inexperience and focus on the global school environment.

Midville Middle School Principal, Mr. Worth: Logistics and school structures.

Vital to the future implementation of the new program, Mr. Worth was Midville Middle School's brand new principal, on the job for only two months prior to the first planning meeting. While he had attended one of the meetings between district and school officials and Spanish Immersion parents the previous June, he had little experience at the time of the Program Review with either parents or students of the Spanish Immersion program. He was most concerned with questions of how the new program would fit into the larger school programs and structures from the very beginning of the planning meetings. Leaving the work of curriculum development and assessment planning to others, Mr. Worth returned frequently in meetings to discussions of how logistically viable their plan would be. He conceived of viability broadly, in terms of existing school structures, the overall nature of middle school experience for students, the expectations of parents for academically rigorous programs, the role of both curriculum and individual teachers in creating an academically successful program. He argued for the value of "providing a bridge from elementary to high school" for Spanish Immersion students and argued that past conflict over the quality of language learning characteristic of the program [could] be attributed to normal program variability, and should not be "enough [of a reason] to cut the program" (Fieldnotes, 9/16/08). He balanced concern for parents who had "expressed a desire to have Spanish Immersion reinstated," and saw the Program Review as an opportunity to improve the program, with students who would benefit from the social mixing that middle school affords them, and who did not want to lose out on other electives because of having to continue in the Spanish Immersion program (Fieldnotes, 9/16/08, 10/21/08). He recognized that the program they would be developing would pose challenges in hiring or finding the right current staff member to teach a course focused on specific content or on advanced literacy in Spanish. In short, Mr. Worth seemed to value all the aspects of middle school life and learning.

However, Mr. Worth expressed the most consistent concern with the program's logistical viability. He returned to questions of how to make the program fit into the

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[27] Ms. Valente, one of two Assistant Principals at the school, carried the institutional memory of the relationship between the school and the Spanish Immersion program, but played a very small role in the Program Review meetings.

already existing school structures nearly every meeting, and confessed at an early meeting that it would be "much easier to shift to Spanish classes" than find a way to fit a special Spanish Immersion class into the larger school structures (Fieldnotes, 9/16/08). In particular, the 6th grade structures posed special problems in accommodating the needs of Spanish Immersion students, since 6th grade involved special structures, such as sheltered team-taught core courses in Math, Science, Language Arts and Social studies and a rotating series of short elective courses called "The Wheel." Much less concerned about the 7th and 8th grade Spanish Immersion courses, Mr. Worth felt the current school structures accommodated them much more easily. Resolving the problem of incorporating the new Spanish Immersion 6th grade experience into the rest of the 6th grade structures required some creative thinking, and resulted in what Mr. Worth referred to as a "frozen" period option.

Mr. Worth presented the "frozen" period as a strategy that was being piloted by 6th grade teachers at the time, but that had to be sold to them in the first place (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). The idea proceeded from the problem of needing to pull special needs and resource students out of their 6th grade core courses to receive special programs and services. Teachers and administrators determined one hour per day that could be "frozen" for other students while special needs students were pulled out of class. During the "frozen" period, teachers would not introduce any new material in any core subject areas, but would provide an extension activity related to previously introduced material. Mr. Worth proposed adding in Spanish Immersion students as those being pulled-out for a special program. They would receive their extension activities in Spanish, satisfying the requirement that significant content material be presented in Spanish, and solving other problems proceeding from the fact that 6th graders do not have the kinds of elective courses 7th and 8th graders do. The Program Review group, relying on Mr. Worth's expertise in resolving the middle school's programming challenges, adopted this structural solution, but not without concerns about a variety of issues, including student social perceptions about being "pulled-out" of class for special classes, and, of course, who would teach this course, and what the curriculum would consist of. Mr. Worth expressed concern about the idea of teaching science in Spanish, as finding staff qualified to teach this subject area could result in "fluffy science and fluffy Spanish" (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). Having surveyed his faculty to find anyone with BCLAD certification in specific content areas to find that no one fit the bill, he seemed to doubt the group's ability to find a teacher who could teach specific content in Spanish, whether science, language arts or social studies, favoring instead an undefined "bridge activity" (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). Perhaps he had in mind some of the types of activities promoted by Mr. Sanchez, who had informed him about teachers' past experiences with the Spanish Immersion classes. He saw in the "frozen" period the possibility of greatest flexibility in content for the potential teacher of the course, and once the group accepted his proposal, he continued to focus on the logistics of its enactment.

Mr. Worth's focus on structural solutions, while essential in a school setting where Spanish Immersion represented a small proportion of the school population, did not contribute to the resolution of the conflict between the elementary Spanish Immersion and secondary World Language Communities. His lack of experience in the district and with the Spanish Immersion program meant that he could only draw from general administrative experience to resolve a limited set of problems related to school structures.

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He was dependent upon others, including his Spanish teacher, Mr. Sanchez, to inform him of other problems related to the Spanish Immersion program at his school.

          World Language teacher, Mr. Sanchez: Deficits and lowered expectations. Mr. Worth revealed early that he had relied on Mr. Sanchez for the teachers' perspectives on the Spanish Immersion program. Mr. Sanchez had been a Spanish Immersion middle school teacher for several years, but had most recently occupied a position teaching traditional Spanish Language courses to 7th and 8th grade non-TWI students. During the planning and Program Review meetings, Mr. Sanchez raised many problems with Spanish Immersion middle school students as well as teachers and pedagogy across the program. From the earliest meetings, he argued that the level of Spanish Immersion teachers' language has been inadequate, citing complaints from Spanish-dominant parents who were concerned about having to "[undo] grammatical problems" that had been learned in elementary school because of errors made by English-dominant students (Fieldnotes, 9/16/08). Additionally, he felt concerned that some Spanish-dominant students might be "more proficient than the teacher in Spanish" (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). He expressed a bleak view of the language use, skills and knowledge of English-dominant students. In response to one parent's anecdote about her daughter's having struggled to learn the subjunctive tense through elementary and middle school, and having only begun to master it in high school, Mr. Sanchez asserted that such a grammatical feature of Spanish "doesn't have to be learned, but should be acquired" and that "that didn't happen [for students] in elementary school" (Fieldnotes, 10/21). He questioned whether or not Spanish Immersion middle school students were "ready to take the course completely in Spanish," despite their having successfully completed at least half of their daily hours in school learning in and through Spanish for the previous six years (Fieldnotes, 11/6/08). He countered perceptions that, by middle school, Spanish Immersion students had achieved a high level of Spanish language ability and knowledge when he raised issues regarding parental and teacher expectations. In a discussion with Ms. Fisher, he gave voice to possible parent expectations that Spanish Immersion students should be placed in the highest levels of high school Spanish courses, and seemed satisfied with the idea of "not expecting [Spanish Immersion students] to be fully competent" by the time they leave middle school (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). He reported that the 2008-09 teacher for the 8th grade class was "under the impression that it [was] going better because expectations [had] been lowered" as she focused more on language instruction as preparation for high school Spanish classes (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08). When he was the teacher for the middle school 7th and 8th grade Spanish Immersion courses, he found they "couldn't talk in Spanish" and "had lots of problems with the grammar." He felt these faulty language acquisition problems were severe enough to hinder his being able to engage the students in some of the more creative projects he had designed—"drama, cooking, making movies"—and led him and future teachers to the use of a Spanish language textbook to address the problems (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08).

          From Mr. Sanchez's viewpoint, many factors were responsible for the language deficits of middle school Spanish Immersion students, beginning with the problem of "having the same [elementary and 6th grade] teacher teaching in the two languages" (Fieldnotes, 9/16/08). He was concerned about how reading was taught in Spanish, how it should be taught differently from reading in English, about the "lack of academic

rigor—homework," and about student behavioral problems and "teachers who don't want to teach" (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08). The language acquisition problems of Spanish Immersion students were serious enough to him that he would have liked to see language assessment begin in Kindergarten and to see a "whole host of criteria" imposed on students' continued participation in Spanish Immersion classes in middle school (Fieldnotes, 10/7). While his supervisor, Mr. Mann, may have seemed more ambiguous in his assessment of students' Spanish language knowledge and skills, Mr. Sanchez expressed a consistent "language as problem" view of Spanish Immersion students' experience with Spanish.

The conflict between the different orientations to language learning and use were most apparent in Mr. Sanchez's concerns. While Spanish Immersion students may have brought many important experiences in Spanish with them into middle school, and while the Program Review participants would generally affirm the need to recognize and value those experiences, the learning most valued by Mr. Sanchez, with an orientation toward specific grammatical knowledge and control, the kind of learning that takes place in Spanish Language courses, led to a deficit view of Spanish Immersion students. Mr. Sanchez's concerns informed the discussions of assessment, and questions of high school Spanish Language placement, as well as what the curriculum for the middle school courses should and would be.

Middle School community in brief: Spanish Immersion represented multiple problems.

In the end, both Mr. Sanchez and Mr. Worth expressed concerns about the Spanish Immersion students and program at the middle school that oriented toward the problems they posed. For Mr. Worth the problems involved in fitting a small program into a larger school structure overrode any other policy concerns, and inasmuch as he had had no experience with the Spanish Immersion program, students or parents, he found it necessary to rely on the past experience of his Spanish Language teachers, including Mr. Sanchez. While Mr. Worth maintained a neutral view of the past problems involved with the program, Mr. Sanchez brought to the discussion a purely negative view of the students, their parents and the elementary program as a whole. Mr. Sanchez openly embraced lowering expectations for what Spanish Immersion students could do with their language, and how competent they might be (and become) in middle school. Mr. Worth did not, and could not, counter his negative ideology because of his lack of experience with the program and his concern for being the principal of the entire school community.

Communities in Program Review: Conflicting Objects, Little Resolution

By the end of the series of Program Review meetings, each of the stakeholder Communities had been able to have their say about the virtues and problems related to the middle school Spanish Immersion program. However, in the process, very little real listening had taken place. Each group remained firm in its convictions about what the problem was, and how it should be addressed. Some of the same concerns were raised in the final meeting as in the first, and members of each Community seemed focused on continuing to draw attention to their own values and concerns, and to see the Object of

the activity of Program Review through the lens of their Community's values and needs. By late November 2008, they would turn to the production of a proposal to be given to the Superintendent, and to serve as their next effort to resolve their differences in viewpoints. However, before I turn to a discussion of the process of production of that policy statement later in the chapter, I will consider three individual Subjects (in relation to their Communities) and their experiences with and beliefs about language learning and teaching.

Individual Subjects in Program Review: Differing Language Experiences and Ideologies

By December 2008, the Program Review group had completed their work, produced their policy statement and program plan, and charged several individuals with the work of implementing the new reenactment of the middle school program. In theory, the group meant for them to use the policy statement as a guide; however, in reality, the statement continued to reflect some of the conflicting visions of language learning, ideologies that differed along the lines of the various Communities represented in the review process. It did not provide specific direction for implementation, nor did it resolve some of the issues that would have an impact on future curriculum development and assessment. The Program Review group left the specifics of implementation and the resolution of ongoing differences up to several administrators and teachers. I focus this section on three Subjects in the activity of program review, the administrators who would take an essential role in implementation: Ms. Fisher, responsible for working with teachers to development 6th and 7th grade curriculum; Mr. Bell, charged with developing an appropriate assessment plan; and Mr. Worth, responsible for the overall functioning of the program in the middle school, and for the final decision on teacher hiring/placement in the three Spanish Immersion classes.

These three individuals represented the continued influence of three different Communities, Midville Elementary School/TWI, Midville High School/World Language, and Midville Middle School/TWI and World Language. In their implementation of the new Spanish Immersion program, the program review group's policy statement would provide them few concrete directions, and much of the shape of the program would still depend upon their contingent decisions made in the midst of day-to-day conditions of their district and school site. The highly contingent nature of their decision-making environment and the nature of the policy statement would mean that they would at times depend upon their prior experience, beliefs, and ideologies as they enacted the new program. Yet another location in the Activity of Program Review and enactment at which expansive learning can fail can be found in the work of such individuals, the extent to which they rely upon their own experiences and beliefs, making, in the process, de facto policy, rather than on the intentions of the policy statement, the source of de jure policy. In this section, I will focus on several areas of experience and belief which could have an impact on their actions in implementing the new program: their language education experiences; their understandings of the nature of bilingualism; and their vision of the goals of TWI education and of the new middle school program.

Language experience and ideology: Personal language learning.

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The three focal subjects represented interesting and radically different personal language learning experiences, ranging from Ms. Fisher, who is English monolingual, to whom school-based language learning "made no sense," to Mr. Bell, who majored in Spanish and French in college and had made a profession of learning languages, with Mr. Worth somewhere in the middle.

Elementary TWI community: Ms. Fisher. Ms. Fisher had the least to say about her own language learning experience, which involved taking high school Spanish classes at Midville High School several decades earlier. She represented the experience of many students who begin language learning in high school and end up thinking they are "really crummy at languages." She understood her very unsatisfactory experience as the result of having no relevant social context for learning, and felt that she "could have learned it a whole lot better if [she] had just been […] put on a train and sent south and said, you know spend the summer there. [She] probably would have done a whole lot better." Ms. Fisher ended her discussion of her own language experience with the summary statement "I don't speak another language" (Interview, 5/21/09).

Her own experience could easily explain both her commitment to her children's bilingual language development (much like the parents in the study done by King and Fogel [2006]), and to the Midville Spanish Immersion program and TWI education in general. Though she did not express regret over her own struggles with language learning, she had developed a theory of what kind of language learning might have served her better, one focused on language use in social contexts, very similar to the kind of language learning that takes place in TWI classrooms.

High school World Language community: Mr. Bell. Mr. Bell, in contrast, represented that small percentage of language students whose classroom language learning experience leads to a high level of satisfaction and success in acquiring and using languages. Unlike Ms. Fisher, Mr. Bell began his learning in elementary school, as a "Sputnik kid" in the 1950s, when the Federal Government was investing heavily in not only math and science education, but in teaching kids World Languages early in their schooling. He began with French in 3rd grade, Spanish in 5th, continuing his studies "virtually seamlessly" all the way through high school. He described his language study as "pretty intense" inasmuch as his elementary school instructors came from the local state university, which also was involved in early childhood language acquisition research in his school. Mr. Bell saw his experience as giving him important insights into TWI education, though he recognized that his experience would not be considered the same as TWI (Interview, 12/18/08).

Though he felt that his experience of language learning in elementary school helped him understand the situation of Spanish Immersion students in Midville, in fact his experience represented a very different model, one that focused on language learning more than language used as a medium of instruction. Though his experience differed from Mr. Mann's in that they began their language studies at different times in their schooling, they were similar in that they both represented that small proportion of World Language students who succeed in learning language through school instruction.

Middle School community: Mr. Worth. Mr. Worth seemed to represent a middle road experience with language learning in school, having taken Spanish for five years in middle and high school, ending with an AP Spanish Language course in 11th grade, though not with the AP exam. This middle road is one that many secondary students follow, one that might even be considered the norm in many school districts from which a significant percentage of students go on to college. However, he also represented a very different language learning experience than either Ms. Fisher or Mr. Bell, in that he "became familiar with Indonesian" as a result of teaching English there shortly after his undergraduate experience. Though some of his learning of Indonesian happened in classrooms as preparation for his in-country experience, much of it happened during his two years there. Though he "didn't become quite as fluent or proficient as [he] anticipated or would have liked, [it] served [his] purposes." His focus was primarily on learning spoken Indonesian, though he learned to write "thank you notes, […] requests, or […] basic instructions for neighbors or friends or things like that." He described himself as "functionally literate," though not one who "was gonna pick up a book or a magazine in Indonesian and try to read it" (Interview, 12/18/08). Mr. Worth experienced the widest range of language learning, including both the kind of school-oriented learning of Mr. Bell, and the sort of contextualized learning imagined by Ms. Fisher.

His experience represented an interesting mix of moderate success in both environments and realistic practicality in approaching language learning and use. However, from his comments about his language learning experiences, it was hard to tell how either of them would impact his view of the Spanish Immersion students or program. His experience in Indonesia could potentially have helped him understand the differences between learning language for the purpose of using it and learning language for the sake of learning a language, as one does in most World Language classes.

Language experience and ideology: Language teaching or education.

As they described their experience with language teaching or their understandings of language education based on the experiences of others, each of these Subjects drew on very different types of experiences and took different stances on how those experiences had contributed to their expertise in understanding TWI education. Ms. Fisher, informed by her children's experience with TWI education, expressed an ideology clearly based in language use for social purposes. Mr. Bell, in contrast, talked about language teaching and learning in the context of academic programs, drawing from his association with traditional World Language teaching. These two Subject's views represented the conflict that existed between the two models, language learning for use in the world vs. language learning in a purely academic context. Mr. Worth might have provided a viewpoint on language teaching and learning that mitigated this conflict, but he would not claim any authority in resolving the conflict, but indicated his hesitancy to view himself as authoritative.

Elementary TWI community: Ms. Fisher. Ms. Fisher, a former middle school science teacher, had no experience of teaching focused on language learning, and did not connect her experience of teaching science with language learning or use. As she did in the Program Review meetings, she drew upon her experience as a parent to help her

understand the value and purpose of the Spanish Immersion program. Because of her experience as a parent, she felt she was "a good spokesperson for immersion programs, because it's not just the language. It's the whole awareness that kids get of world cultures. And to [her] mind, [her] children came out as global citizens." She reiterated her sense of the purpose of TWI education as being something outside or beyond the classroom, something each of her children had experienced. Both of them, a daughter and a son, had spent "a good deal of time working with extremely poor people in different countries" after college, her son laboring in agriculture in Chile, her daughter "work[ing] with children in the slums of Guatemala City." While her daughter had majored in Spanish in college, and "did really well with it," her son had seen his language improve as a result of his work in Chile. In both cases, "these [were] not things [she] would have expected [her] children to do," implying that something about their language learning in their TWI program would explain this choice, their becoming such "global citizens" (Interview, 5/21/09). Ms. Fisher continued to represent and explain the value she placed on experiential learning during the Program Review meetings, and claims certain expertise based on it.

High school World Language community: Mr. Bell. Mr. Bell also drew on his own experienced for understanding "what programs can do for students," referring to his "many year perspective" of language learning that spanned elementary, middle and high school years, and his understanding of "the entire continuum [of] students' developmental stages" as both a former student and former teacher. He emphasized the way teachers can see students' earlier accomplishments, and take them all the way to the "capstones […] when students really acquire [the language] and are able to be [fluent]." In this statement, Mr. Bell reveals his orientation toward the upper levels of a World Language program, his belief that students "really acquire" language at this end of a language program. After 40 years of "professional experience in dealing with curriculum, instruction, assessment," Mr. Bell felt the middle school Program Review project was "near and dear to [his] heart even with the challenges that [they] had to address" (Interview, 12/18/08). Framing his experience in clearly academic and programmatic terms, Mr. Bell expressed a sense of his professional and personal expertise informed by many years of World Language study.

Middle school community: Mr. Worth. Mr. Worth, on the other hand, eschewed any sense of expertise with regards to thinking about models of language learning, the conflict between TWI and World Language orientations to language education. His two years of teaching English in Indonesia did not provide him with sufficient experience to comment upon conflict, because the teaching he had done "was for a more specific purpose," that of preparing Indonesian teachers of English. In his teaching, he "either follow[ed] the outlines of the course description or the course guidelines or um help[ed the teachers] feel more comfortable um with their uh skills and understandings um given how, given the manner in which they planned to use those-those skills." His hesitancy to claim expertise can be seen in his direct statements about how his "objectives were a little bit more narrowly defined" than in the TWI or World Language classes, as well as in his hedges and hesitancy in speaking about his experience. He had not considered the possibility that his experience of teaching English for Specific Purposes could inform his

thinking about TWI education and its emphasis on language learning through content knowledge. Mr. Worth's hesitancy to claim authority in thinking about the nature of language teaching and learning explained his reliance on Mr. Sanchez in understanding the problems of the Spanish Immersion program at Midville Middle School. Not only had Mr. Sanchez had experience with the program that Mr. Worth lacked, but he also had the sort of disciplinary expertise Mr. Worth valued.

Language experience and ideology: Conceptions of bilingualism.

Ideas and beliefs about the nature of bilingualism must inform each Subject's sense of the Object of the activity of program review and implementation. After all, the aim of TWI education, often called dual language education, is to learn content in and use two languages, to function, if not bilingually, then at least as serial monolinguals. As I have discussed in Chapter 4, the Object (or goal) of the Spanish Immersion program was generally understood by some as leading students to become bilingual, while the Object of World Language education was much less clear, at least in the mind of Mr. Mann, the Spanish Language AP teacher. Ms. Fisher, Mr. Bell and Mr. Worth touched on some of the same themes as they responded to questions about the nature of bilingualism, but their viewpoints emphasized different qualities of the bilingual individual.

Elementary TWI community: Ms. Fisher. Even though Ms. Fisher frequently pointed to language learning and use outside of school as being central to her thoughts about her own language learning and her children's language education, when she discussed the concept of bilingualism, she pointed to the ability to use language in academic contexts as the marker of "true" bilingualism. Using her son's struggle with Spanish literacy as her touchstone, Ms. Fisher made a clear distinction between "the oral [and] the written" in defining what it meant to be bilingual, perhaps a reference to the dichotomy between BICS and CALP in language development. She viewed learning a second language as following "the same stages [when] children learn any language when they're very young." This view had led her to see a "continuum of how 'bilingual' people are," with literacy further along the continuum toward true bilingualism. She felt that people who are "truly" bilingual "have the ability [to] use academic language in two languages," a definition grounded in schooled forms of language use. The source of the duality in her thinking about the outcomes of middle school TWI education may have resided in her dual focus in defining bilingualism and its connection to school settings and academic achievement. While she felt her own language learning would have been more successful had she learned it outside school, and her son had experienced more success in language learning outside school, she still valued most highly the use of language inside school, for school purposes.

High school World Language community: Mr. Bell. Mr. Bell's definition of bilingualism represented an elite view of language development, whose implication would be that very few people would qualify as bilingual. Mr. Bell defined bilingualism as an "arrival" point at which an individual "shows no effort whatsoever in being able to use and apply everything you need to use and apply" in order to be "communicative." His belief in the ability to "show no effort whatsoever" in bilingual language use, may have

proceeded from his view of the cognitive development of bilinguals, whose language "systems are so hardwired in the brain that you are speaking as though you have actually grown up within that culture." His language and focus seemed to reflect an idealized view of what it means to be bilingual.

While he emphasized the goal of being "communicative" in a general sense, like Ms. Fisher, he also referred to the "entire continuum [of] students' developmental stages" of language learning. Bilingualism involved not only being able to manage all the particulars of a language for Mr. Bell, but also demonstrating an understanding of the language and culture learned. As a bilingual, "you understand the vocabulary or the usage, the structures, all of those things. You understand the cultural home of the language. And how that is used and all the many varying different situations, the appropriate application of vocabulary structures." In this discourse, Mr. Bell represented bilingualism in such as way that very few second language learners would qualify to be described as bilingual as few would have learned "all" of the language, culture, and communicative situations he seemed to have in mind. He held a view of bilingualism that could easily have come into conflict with the ways of viewing bilingualism held by the teachers, parents and students in the Spanish Immersion program. He defined bilingualism in such a way to open up questions about how Midville's TWI students would be assessed in their own language learning and use, what system of assessment he would put in place as the district manager charged with developing a language assessment plan.

Middle school community: Mr. Worth. Mr. Worth's experience teaching English in Indonesia led him to a definition of bilingualism that recognized that bilingualism can develop in different ways, not following the continuum that Ms. Fisher and Mr. Bell referred to. In general, he saw bilingualism as the ability to communicate in two languages, specifying that to communicate meant to "speak, listen, read and write." Like Ms. Fisher, he saw these different modalities of bilingualism as indicators that "obviously there's gonna be […] different […] levels or gradations to someone's proficiency." At first he seemed to share the same point of view as Ms. Fisher, that "speaking and listening […] come first," adding that they "are a little more easy than reading and writing." But he quickly qualified that position based on his teaching experience, pointing out that "it depends upon how you learn the language," referring to how "a lot of my students in Indonesia had done a lot of their English learning through book learning and were more proficient at reading and writing than […] speaking and listening." Careful to point out that though it is not "universally true," he saw language education in the U.S. as "favor[ing] speaking and listening." Mr. Worth's experience of teaching English among future English teachers provided him a similarly academic source for thinking about bilingualism as we see for Ms. Fisher.

Language experience and ideology: Goals of TWI education and concerns about the middle school program.

As Lindholm-Leary (2001) and other experts in TWI or Dual Language education indicate, the goals of TWI programs are multiple, and connect language learning and use with the development of cultural knowledge and appreciation, both inside the classroom

as students from different language and cultural backgrounds interact, and as they learn about the cultural meanings and practices involved in the languages they are learning. Both Ms. Fisher and Mr. Worth expressed an understanding of the full range of goals within a TWI program, while Mr. Bell focused on the sorts of concerns characteristic of the World Language classroom.

Elementary TWI community: Ms. Fisher. Though Ms. Fisher obviously saw the goals of TWI education involving language learning and use, she connected students' language learning and use to their developing awareness of culture on the small scale, in the classroom community, where students from different cultural and language groups mixed. Ms. Fisher focused her thinking about the goals of TWI education on the "blend of native speakers and non-native speakers" in TWI classrooms for the purpose of "really understand[ing] one another, to learn about one another and to grow up together," presenting a vision of social equality and understanding. It was easy to imagine Ms. Fisher picturing the Spanish Immersion students in the same way she represented her son's experience in Chile, emphasizing social equality and understanding.

High school World Language community: Mr. Bell. It was not surprising, given Mr. Bell's own language learning experiences and his beliefs about bilingualism, that he expressed his understandings of the goals of TWI education strictly in terms of language acquisition. Mr. Bell focused his consideration of goals around the English-dominant students in the Spanish Immersion program. He saw those students as having already acquired "great facility" in speaking, and as having at that point an "opportunity with their classmates to really get into what I call true language communication," an "opportunity to practice […] to have the ear accustomed, so that they don't look quizzically at accents." Mr. Bell referred to a social process of interaction between English-dominant and Spanish-dominant students in the program, but never referred to the second group, nor suggested what opportunity the Spanish-dominant students would have.

Middle school community: Mr. Worth. Mr. Worth also embedded his understanding of the language learning goals of TWI within the students' "skills and knowledge [and] understanding of the world so that they are […] not just bilingual but […] bicultural." He further framed his understanding of the social goals of TWI education in terms of multiculturalism, and the need for students in an "increasing[ly] multicultural society" to have "communication skills as well as cultural understandings in a […] culture and language other than their own." Like Mr. Bell, he saw the Spanish Immersion program as having opportunities for "modeling" language, but on "either side of […] the two way model," in which both Spanish dominant and English dominant students serve each other as language models. One of the challenges of the program then would be for students to "build trust" with each other, "so that the Spanish speakers felt comfortable trying English and the English speakers felt comfortable trying Spanish."

Individual subjects' language experience and ideologies in brief.

Each of these three Subjects in the activity of program review and policy enactment retained a consistent stance toward the Spanish Immersion middle school program, the value of TWI education, the interests of their school and professional communities, and the work of the program review process, including the focal metaphor of the bridge. Ms. Fisher's duality of thinking about the nature of language learning in TWI settings, Mr. Worth's focus on how the Spanish Immersion program would fit into the structures of the middle school, and Mr. Bell's orientation toward the Midville World Language community and its concern with the quality of students' language imply a lack of unifying vision of the outcomes of the program for students. While some might see their division of labor within the activity system as practical and natural, that division is connected with a division in the ways they conceive of the Object of the activity system as well, and contributes to the failure to achieve the expansive learning necessary to bring about real program reform. That failure is evident in the activity that proceeds from the effort to reform, curriculum development, and was observable in the discussion of curriculum that took place in May when three teachers met to make a curricular plan for the following year.

Conflicting Objects among Subjects: The Problem of Metaphor as a Policymaking Tool

In any group with such a broad range of interests, priorities and beliefs, the members will search for ways to resolve differences and solve problems, sometimes sooner than is productive for bringing about the expansive learning necessary to make significant programmatic change. Many of us have experience with reading policy statements that clearly mean to resolve differences of opinion or priorities through accretion of value statements, but which only serve to delay resolution of conflicting points of view. The conversations that took place during Program Review meetings revealed substantive differences in understanding of the Object of program reform among members. Those differences were further revealed in the subsequent policy statement the group produced for the Superintendent. At the same time that their differences and tensions were evident in their report and plan, the document featured a language Tool the group used to try to bring about some unity out of their diversity, a metaphor to describe the nature of the middle school program they envisioned. In the end, the reliance on that metaphor meant that a point of view, a frame, prevailed and was formulated and crystallized into a policy document. While the participants in the Program Review seemed to believe that the document represented the collective thinking of the whole group, and that the concerns they needed to address from the end of the review onward, while significant, were mostly logistical or practical, the policy statement still revealed a troubling mixture of differing points of view. That the document did not resolve the conflicts between the elementary school TWI Community and the Secondary World Language Community became apparent several months later, during their spring meeting to discuss and finalize curriculum for the sixth and seventh grade Spanish Immersion middle school classes. The metaphor of the middle school Spanish Immersion program as a "bridge" did not satisfy everyone's desire for unity and clarity of thinking, and contributed to the failure of expansive learning in activity of Program Review.

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Metaphor in the Program Review meetings: Middle school as "bridge."

As Lakoff (2004) points out in his discussion of metaphor in political contexts, telling people "Don't think of an elephant" will establish a cognitive frame from which they will find it difficult to escape, even if they want to.   How much more powerful might a metaphor be when people want to use it and believe it accurately represents their thinking in framing a discussion of policy! Metaphor can be perceived as a shortcut to the development of policy, a sort of shorthand for the thinking of a group, and so is a very powerful Tool in the activity system of a group of policy makers. However, reducing complex thinking to a single metaphor can eliminate alternative ways of thinking about and representing ideas that are essential to resolve a complex problem. It can imply that a problem is simpler than it really is (Reddy, 1979/1993). And, perhaps, more importantly, the frame that is activated by a metaphor brings along with it confounding entailments that, if unexamined, can lead a group to establish a policy that satisfies some expectations, while stymieing others. What may seem like a unifying concept that resolves conflicts in differing points of view can actually result in the favoring of one particular point of view over another. The Spanish Immersion Program Review group produced such a metaphor during its meetings, and that metaphor found its way into the final policy statement presented to the Superintendent at the end of the review: the middle school Spanish Immersion program as "bridge."

It seemed fitting that Mr. Worth should have first introduced this structural metaphor during the initial planning meeting, given his consistent, understandable concern with structural issues at the middle school, with how to make the Spanish Immersion program fit into the larger structures of the school. He asserted that there was "value in providing a bridge from elementary [TWI] to high school [World Language]" and by doing so affirmed his school's position in the middle between the two other educational settings. He further reinforced the structural metaphor by emphasizing the key role of the Spanish Immersion middle school teacher, calling that person the "linchpin," a metaphor that evokes a vehicular frame, implying forward movement (Fieldnotes, 9/16/08). He emphasized the importance of that teacher in the 6th grade classroom in particular, in revising "the way things were set up in 6th grade," as he saw the former 6th grade program, located in the core Language Arts and Social Studies classes, as "inherently flawed". Returning to the metaphor later to consider curriculum development for the middle school program, he emphasized that a "bridge activity lines up better with content," that content perhaps being the material of World Language courses, as indicated by his suggestion that they could use assessment "to decide where the kids should fit into the continuing language courses" (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08).

Further discussion in the Program Review group would point toward 7th grade as being the true center between elementary TWI and high school World Language. During Mr. Worth's discussion of the problems involved in the 6th grade curriculum and in recruiting that "linchpin" teacher, the Associate Superintendent for Secondary Education asked whether the 7th/8th grade Spanish Immersion course is "a language course or a content course" (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). At the time of the first full group meeting, the question of how to understand the 7th grade class remained unclear. Mr. Worth presented a graphic representation of the unidirectional flow of possible middle school courses offered to Spanish Immersion students, a "[sketch of the] bridge to get from the Midville

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Elementary experience to the high school World Language [program]." Both 6th grade, a "multiple subject Spanish Immersion" course, and 8th grade, a "high school Spanish" course, were clearly defined, but the 7th grade course was left as a "Spanish Elective." The group focused on this 7th grade course in several ways. Ms. Fisher suggested that it could be a place where students could "go beyond traditional" electives to study subjects like art history, social studies, science, even biotech, in Spanish. One of the parents expressed concern that the importance of the 7th grade class not be overlooked, as it could represent the "meat in the middle of the sandwich." The group debated the nature of the course through questions about student placement in it, the possibility of new Spanish-speaking students being allowed to enter it, the role that grades would play in such an elective, whether it would continue to focus on "exposure" to Spanish language or begin to focus on a more "academic" approach to language studies. While both the elementary Spanish Immersion community and the high school World Language community had annexed either end of the middle school "bridge," the struggle over the nature of the middle school program relocated to 7th grade, the very middle of the middle.

Though the bridge metaphor consistently emerged during every program review meeting, members of the group expressed different views about the nature of the middle school bridge. Mr. Worth initially introduced it as a mechanism for students to move from the elementary TWI program to high school World Language courses, but while some members affirmed that view of the bridge, others resisted their understanding of the metaphor. Mr. Bell, after consulting with TWI program officials in St. Paul, Minnesota, affirmed the difficulty of the activity they were engaged in, inasmuch as "no one has really figured out the master plan for middle school [TWI programs]." However, for Mr. Bell, the difficulty resided in the question of how to enact what he had already taken as a given, that the middle school program will be "transitional" as the students will "bridge […] into traditional [World] Language programs." At that point, once again, he reaffirmed the district restriction on considering high school TWI education (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08). By an early November meeting focusing mostly on questions of language assessment, Mr. Foster asked whether "what we're putting together [is] a natural progression to the next step in high school?" Using another bridging metaphor, Mr. Mann responded that their "overarching vision" would provide important information about the language resources of incoming high school students (Fieldnotes, 11/6/08).

Ms. Fisher was the member who most questioned and resisted the idea of the bridge metaphor as implying transition into "traditional" high school World Language courses. While she affirmed the bridge metaphor through use of the term, she informed the group that the elementary TWI teachers "[were] looking for a bridge that involve[d] language use, not just grammar [instruction]" (Fieldnotes, 10/7/08). She urged an understanding of the bridge as not being "academic" (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08). And at least twice, she asserted that the bridge would not lead automatically to Advanced Placement courses for all students, a stance that was informed by her own children's experience in TWI education, as she explained in her interview. Her point of view was picked up in the language of the final policy document, drafted by Mr. Bell, so while she was the only one consistently resisting the general direction of much of the Program Review group, her stance remained an important one. Since she was instrumental in the development of the curriculum that would be used in the new 6th and 7th grade courses, her stance would continue to complicate the meaning of the metaphor well into the future.

The group continued to express widely varying views of the metaphor, even as they planned to present it to the Superintendent and program parents as representing the thinking of the whole group. In the final minutes of that final meeting, as the group considered the draft of the policy document to be presented to the Superintendent, one of the parent members implied that the document seemed to fit within the values of the district, as "the district seems to understand [the idea of a] bridge" since all of high school was often presented as a "bridge to college." Her comment seemed to provoke one of the university consultants to ask a question that could have been useful at a much earlier stage in their process: "What's a better word than 'bridge'?" His question received no direct response, other than a somewhat humorous observation by another parent that everyone would want to know that it's a "bridge to somewhere" (Fieldnotes, 12/2/08). Concern about the nature of the metaphor came too late in the process, and would have meant a significant revision of the group's most important Tool, their report and policy statement.

Metaphor in the policy statement: A bridge to maintain the status quo.

The final policy statement was drafted by Mr. Bell and submitted to all the group members for their input before they discussed it at their final meeting. It is characterized by language aimed at resolving differences through the accretion of value statements affirmed by the Program Review group. It describes the "Goal/Vision" of the SI Program Review group as:

> To provide a Spanish language experience bridge between K-5 SI to secondary world language programs currently in operation in Midville SD. Additionally, to provide an SI experience that is a pathway for students to continue in the middle school SI program.

> This bridge can be taught in a core subject area such as social studies or science for communicative competency that includes fluency and academic vocabulary. The 5 modalities of communicative competency are listening, speaking, reading, writing, and cultural awareness. This is not a traditional second language acquisition program but an immersion experience to connect the K-5 immersion program to secondary level courses.

The phrase "Spanish language experience bridge" was clearly meant to satisfy the elementary TWI teachers' (as most consistently represented by Ms. Fisher) concern that the middle school bridge provide experiential "exposure" to the Spanish language (with an emphasis on language as a medium for content learning), more than take a traditional "academic" approach to language studies. The document's language further emphasized this idea in the second paragraph by affirming that "[t]his is not a traditional second language acquisition program but an immersion experience." However, in both cases, the language also affirmed the direction that the bridge leads, to high school World Language courses "currently in operation." Such language, combined with metaphors of "bridge," "pathways," and "transitions," undercut the language of experience and exposure and even the idea of "honoring [students'] current competencies." In this use of the

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metaphor of the bridge, the future consistently won out over the present time of middle school. While the bridge metaphor might seem to affirm the importance of the middle school TWI experience, the larger frame activated by the metaphor and the related terms used in the document led to a different assessment of the middle school experience.

Framing the middle school TWI Program: A one-way bridge. The metaphor of a bridge activates a spatial frame involving land areas. On either end of a bridge, we can picture a land formation, and the purpose of the bridge is to facilitate movement from one formation to another. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) point out that we impose a container metaphor upon objects, including land formations, so that we envision ourselves in or out of those formations, depending upon our relationship to their boundaries. A bridge allows us to move from being in the land on one side, to being in the land on the other side.   Underneath the bridge, we envision the reason for the bridge, a gap, or chasm that prevents our movement from one land formation to another, and makes the bridge essential to our continued movement.

The first, and perhaps most obvious, mapping of the bridge metaphor on to the situation it described would have the K-5 Spanish Immersion program and its academic content on one end of the bridge, and the "secondary world language programs" and their academic content on the other end. Where then are the children's middle school years located? The metaphor seems to provide two alternatives, one unthinkable, in the chasm between the two land formations, where there is no academic content, and the other, the only reasonable alternative, on the bridge. The metaphor implies that without the proposed bridge, there is no movement from the land of elementary school Spanish Immersion to high school world language studies. Middle school, then, represents a gap in the visual field of students' educational experience, and in particular in the language development of Spanish Immersion students. Both Mr. Bell and Ms. Fisher expressed the idea of middle school as chasm, whether academic or social, in their interviews. In discussing the need to move students into high school World Language classes, Mr. Bell pointed to the need for the middle school bridge, since "we can't ask them to jump the Grand Canyon" of their lack of preparedness for high school (Interview, 12/18/08). Ms. Fisher, in discussing the tensions involved in affirming the value of middle schools apart from the way they prepare students for high school, declared that middle school aged students find themselves in "varying stages of unpleasantness. And unhappiness." She asserted "no adult in the world wants to go back and be in 6th, 7th or 8th grade" (Interview, 5/21/09). In both cases, the only conceivable action is to move forward toward high school, to cross the bridge, not to linger on it.

The Program Review policy statement attempted to further define the bridge in several ways, as a "pathway," a "transition" and an "experience to connect" the two ends of students' language learning. Each of these definitions proceeds from the nature of the metaphor they are using, a Location-Event Structure Metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). In such a metaphorical framing, we use the literal domain of motion-in-space, what we know about how we move in and through space, to understand and explain events and how changes occur. Many of the movements we experience in the literal domain take us to destinations, locations to which we desire to arrive. Sometimes we move from one bounded space to another bounded space, for instance, in the case of a bridge, from one land formation to another land formation. We conceive of the

movement from one location to another as following a path. And we conceive of problems or impediments that keep us from arriving at our destination as obstacles or land features that stand in our way. Within this metaphorical system, various elements of the framework correspond to the way we perceive reality. Each of the following elements, and perhaps more, are activated in the Program Review statement's use of the bridge metaphor, as outlined in Table 5.2.

Table 5.1: Location-Event Structure in Middle School Bridge Metaphor

States are Locations	Elementary School TWI is land formation on one side of chasm; the land is the content of learning in TWI education High School World Language courses is land formation on other side of chasm; the land is the content of learning in World Language courses Middle School is in the chasm or on the bridge; there is no land, and therefore, no content associated with the Middle School SI program
Changes are Movements	Development of Spanish language knowledge and abilities, continuation and addition of experience is movement across the bridge Academic development is movement Proceeding through a series of courses is movement
Actions are Self-Propelled Movements	Students naturally move forward, enter into new land formation, high school
Purposes are Destinations	Possible destinations: Destination 1: Completion of high school World Language courses for academic purposes—ends in high school or, perhaps, college Destination 2: Ability to use Spanish for personal growth and social service purposes—continues on past all schooling
Difficulties are Impediments to Motion	Impediment is chasm; Chasm is middle school
Means are Paths	Bridge/Path as Means to continued language development and entry into high school World Language courses Path allows uninterrupted Self-Propelled movement Multiple Destinations of "pathway"

In the frame activated by the bridge metaphor, various kinds of impediments to motion can arise to keep someone from making headway to the desired destination. In this case, the impediment is the chasm of middle school, and the bridge is the means for overcoming that impediment, for continued self-propelled motion toward the land formation of high school World Language courses.

In the event structure represented by the bridge between Elementary TWI and Secondary World Language, we understand that the movement involved in crossing the bridge is one-way motion, proceeding along a developmental path from childhood and elementary school to adolescence and high school. While, in theory, a bridge can enable bidirectional movement, this bridge must lead one direction only, to high school. So while the policy statement affirmed the value of "honoring [students'] current competencies" in Spanish, the skills, knowledge and experience they bring with them from their elementary TWI experience, the middle school bridge fairly compels them toward what will be expected in high school, where their most reasonable option for continuing to develop their Spanish language knowledge and experience is in World Language classes.

This movement across the bridge to high school World Language classes also involved the movement away from the content of learning within the TWI model in elementary school. That learning focused on a variety of content areas and, as I demonstrated in Chapter 3, a wide range of language uses, both in and out of classrooms. In Chapter 4, I argued that the content of language learning in high school World Language classes became focused on encapsulated forms of school learning, including testing. The bridge metaphor makes clear what was being traded in the movement from elementary Spanish Immersion to high school World Language: the possibility of learning and using language for real-life purposes vs. the reality of learning and using language for limited school-oriented purposes, like tests, grades and college credits.

While we understand the bridge in terms of elementary TWI students moving toward high school World Language classes, we could also envision the bridge of middle school as enabling the movement of teachers back and forth from both land formations, since teachers are not involved in the same developmental journey that students are. In fact, professional development could easily involve TWI teachers crossing over to the high school Spanish Language side to understand where their students will head after middle school, and the high school Spanish Language teachers crossing over to the elementary TWI program to participate in professional development to help them gain the "over-arching vision" Mr. Mann felt would "help high school teachers know what [TWI students] are coming with." However, in its section on "Professional Development," the policy statement only mandates that TWI teachers/administrators receive professional development, all of which focuses on "understanding how students acquire language proficiency using the content subject matter as the vehicle to building a second language." The statement argues that TWI teachers/administrators "need to have additional time for professional learning, curriculum development, and attendance at professional workshops/conferences." Recommended professional development focuses on three different areas: assessment training to learn to use the yet-to-be chosen assessment tools; curricular and pedagogical development that "align[s] with best practices in immersion delivery systems and […] with Midville SD World Languages best practices"; and program implementation reviews based on "student achievement

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assessment data and staff reflective practice observations." No professional development is recommended or required for high school Spanish Language teachers/administrators to understand the nature of TWI education or the language experience with which Midville's Spanish Immersion students enter high school. Thus, movement across this bridge happens in only one direction, favoring the high school World Languages model of education.

Several other elements of the bridge metaphor reveal problems in the representation of the students' experience of language learning and development. First, in terms of how it presents Changes as Movement, the bridge metaphor implies smooth, untroubled movement across the years of middle school. The Program Review group put into place mechanisms through its policy statement that they meant to ensure student movement across the bridge. However, what the specific changes associated with this movement might have been remained undefined, despite the effort to put into place mechanisms that would guide and measure student movement across the bridge. However, TWI students might need to change in different ways depending upon their Purpose for learning their second language, a question of what their final Destination is in the metaphor. The policy statement once again attempted to reconcile differences between the TWI teachers/administrators and the high school World Language community by pointing to the Program Review group's understanding that

> The program focus and intent is to provide a meaningful *transition* for students honoring their current competencies in Spanish language through the K-5 Midville Elementary program and the operating structures in Spanish language studies in Midville SD middle schools and high schools. Assessment data demonstrating student achievement in both content acquisition and Spanish language competencies will inform program design […].

Despite the effort to explain this "transition" and its curriculum design as "a balanced pathway between second language acquisition and content specific learning in the middle school," the predominance of the guiding principles, student achievement being assessed and tools for assessment, gives greater weight to the second language acquisition side of the balance. In particular, the policy statement provided the greatest detail in discussing the projected focus of student assessment, "language acquisition in the following modalities[…]:"

- Comprehensibility – How well are they understood?
- Comprehension – How well do they understand?
- Language Control – How accurate is their language?
- Vocabulary Use – How extensive and applicable is their vocabulary?
- Communication Strategies – How do they maintain communication?
- Cultural awareness – How is their cultural understanding reflected in their communication?

Though these modalities of assessment are characteristic of the progressive movement of World Language instruction away from grammar/translation pedagogy toward valuing multiple language competencies, they all focus on the material of second language

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acquisition, not toward domains of "content specific learning" nor even specific genres of language acquired through that content. Only one of the suggested assessment tools focused on content learning assessment, APRENDA, the Spanish Language equivalent of California grade level standardized tests, which had been used in the Midville Spanish Immersion program since 1997. The bulk of assessment of TWI students would, then, focus on their language acquisition in ways traditionally associated with World Language education, and could, therefore, overlook some of the "current competencies" TWI students carry with them, competencies associated with domain specific experience with language.

Various assessment tools can measure the change Spanish Immersion students should undergo during their middle school years, but curriculum they are offered can also shape the change in their language development. The policy statement acknowledged the importance of curriculum, and outlined the courses the middle school program would offer them. Spanish Immersion A (6th grade) and B (7th grade) were both presented as a "literacy enrichment class" with no reference to specific content of either course. Neither course description mentioned any specific focus for language acquisition, but each focused on the use of "interactive strategies" such as "drama, simulations, field trips, guest speakers, and collaborative projects" to "provide an immersion experience." These strategies are characteristic of many World Language classrooms, and imply more concern with language acquisition than with student interaction with specific content. In contrast, Spanish C (8th grade) would focus clearly on "language structures covered in the high school courses Spanish 2 and Spanish 3," the actual content of the Spanish Language classes. The problem of what changes students should go through in 6th and 7th grade was, therefore, deferred to the moment of curriculum development, and the conflict over the day-to-day shape of the program would surface again in the spring curriculum development meeting, as we will see later in this chapter.

In the bridge metaphor, as in all Location-Event Structure metaphors, the Destination of the bridge is an expression of the Purpose of the movement, in this case, as explicitly stated, to successfully enter high school Spanish Language courses. However, in Program Review meetings, members frequently questioned that Purpose as the only natural Destination of the middle school bridge. Ms. Fisher repeatedly stated that AP Spanish Language courses were not the automatic outcome of participation in TWI courses, and argued for opening up the middle school TWI courses to broader outcomes. One of the elementary TWI teachers went so far as to assert that TWI education "has never been about the pursuit of language" alone. Ms. Fisher's discussion of her own children's experience seemed to focus on a Purpose outside of or beyond schooling, one characterized by personal growth and social service, connection to experiences and needs in the world outside of classrooms. This sort of Purpose would imply language learning that focuses on language use in a wide variety of domains, more socially than academically driven, though certainly not excluding various academic domains. While the Program Review group made an effort to affirm different trajectories of student language learning and use, to acknowledge that the "bridge " or "pathway" could lead to more than one Destination, they did not engage in discussions of how those destinations might differ or overlap, and how the bridge to them might be different.

Though the group may have affirmed the value of broader Purposes for participating in the Spanish Immersion program, and for continuing to foster students'

long term relationship with the Spanish Language, I believe it is difficult to re-conceive of language learning in high school outside the structures of World Language courses, and the lack of a programmatic focus that opens up another way of interacting in and with Spanish during high school means that the default choice for most families and students will be traditional World Language courses. As I have discussed in Chapter 4, the culmination of language study in the traditional World Language program is the AP course, whether the student has pursued the AP exam or not. Inasmuch as colleges encourage students to take a healthy number of AP courses for admission, and former Spanish Immersion students have an advantage in completing World Language AP courses successfully, they will be naturally drawn to them. If, as Ms. Fisher argued, the natural outcome for Midville Spanish Immersion students should not be to take Spanish AP courses, some other clear-cut sequence of high school courses or experiences would be needed as an alternative to traditional World Language learning. Otherwise, former Spanish Immersion students and their families would be left to figure out their own ways of continuing their language learning and experiences.

As a result of the complex, conflicting understandings of the "bridge" metaphor among the Program Review group members, the expansive learning necessary for true programmatic reform failed to occur. The metaphor contributed to the failure of expansive learning because of its confounding entailments, and served as a code for a disunified corporate understanding of the Object of TWI education and the changes necessary for students to arrive at the different possible Destinations at the end of that bridge. The Program Review policy statement deferred many important decisions regarding the nature of the bridge to the future work of implementation of the new program. That implementation depended most heavily upon the three individuals presented earlier in this chapter, Ms. Fisher (curriculum development), Mr. Bell (assessment plans), and Mr. Worth (site administration and supervision), each of whose views of the Purposes and Means of achieving them were influenced by their own language learning experiences and beliefs/ideologies of language learning, as I have discussed earlier in this chapter.

Individual subjects' use of the bridge metaphor.

In moving from their understandings of the goals of TWI education to their current concerns about the Spanish Immersion middle school program, each of the Subjects I interviewed returned directly or indirectly to use the bridge metaphor for understanding what needed to happen to the program moving forward. However, each saw the bridge in quite different ways.

Elementary TWI community: Ms. Fisher. Seeing the bridge of middle school as a place to retain what the students had learned and experienced in the elementary Spanish Immersion program, Ms. Fisher was more focused on the maintenance function of the bridge, than on its final academic destination of high school World Language courses. While she did refer to the bridge as a "transition between the K-5 elementary immersion program and the academic secondary high school program," she focused on the value of the time spent on the bridge in a couple of ways. She hoped the students "really enjoy" the "wonderful transition" in middle school, emphasizing the middle school experience

itself, more than anticipating the place it would lead to. She saw that experience giving students a chance to "maintain their Spanish," to "maintain some friendships," "to stay connected with Spanish speaking cultures." She hoped they would be able to say that their "language skills didn't recede during this time," and that they would be "eager to go on and take more Spanish or another language." For Ms. Fisher, the bridge served to extend the elementary experience in a way that would produce language growth necessary for the next phase of language development in high school.

Secondary World Language community: Mr. Bell. Mr. Bell, having drafted the policy statement, naturally saw the bridge in terms of movement down "pathways that are gonna change from what [their elementary] experience was." He affirmed the intention to "honor what the students have experienced in K5," but emphasized that the middle school program would be a "transition bridge to the programs that are already there" at the district's high schools. Several times, in several ways, he emphasized that the programs of the district would not change for Spanish Immersion students, but that those students would need to change for the programs of the district. The students would experience change in "the way language acquisition is approached," in "methodologies," in "standards" and "expectations." His only look backwards from the bridge to elementary school was to suggest that the middle and high schools would need to collaborate with the K-5 Spanish Immersion program, and that the "basis for that collaboration is really being able to assess the students during this bridge." He focused his thinking about those assessments on language deficits the Spanish Immersion students brought with them, "speaking patterns that are not necessarily appropriately correct in structure," a "type of language breakdown which happens." Those speaking patterns, he said, are not "appropriate to academic language" and "sometimes even to spoken language," both of which the program must make sure students have acquired. Some students would even have to "de-learn certain patterns in order to re-learn patterns that are more appropriate to the academic language." In his view of the bridge, just as in his definition of bilingualism, Mr. Bell voiced a purist view of language learning, reflecting ongoing concerns of the World Language community in Midville.

Middle school community: Mr. Worth. Mr. Worth's return to the bridge metaphor focused upon his role as the site administrator responsible for "mak[ing] it happen" and "maintain[ing] the intent [and] integrity of the program without letting it throw a monkey wrench in the rest of the […] school functions and programs." Talking about the use of the frozen period and the "structures we've put into place at the 6th grade," Mr. Worth returned to the same practical concerns he may have had in mind when he first introduced the bridge metaphor early in the review process. Mr. Worth clearly saw himself as the bridge builder, and the bridge involved all of the middle school's programs and people. Though he was aware of the conflict between the proponents of TWI education and the World Language community at his school and in the district, his professional stance would not permit him to comment on the nature of that conflict, because he felt that he didn't "have enough experience or […] enough […] done enough thinking to really […] comment in depth about what the differences are because I, you know, have only interacted for the most part with the World Language teachers here."

For Mr. Worth to build a successful bridge for Spanish Immersion at his middle school, he would need to move beyond the structural issues to understand how that bridge could represent resolution of the conflict between the two communities, work that had not been accomplished by May when his teachers met with Ms. Gomez, the 5th grade Spanish Immersion teacher, to determine the curricular direction of the middle school program.

Developing 6th and 7th Grade Spanish Immersion Curriculum: "It's a paradigm shift"

Past, Present and Future Spanish Immersion Teachers

Late in May 2009, three teachers, Ms. Morelli, Midville Middle School Spanish/TWI teacher, Mr. Sanchez, Midville Middle School Spanish (and former Spanish Immersion) teacher, and Ms. Gomez, Midville Elementary 5th Grade Spanish Immersion teacher, met after school in Ms. Morelli's classroom to discuss possible curricular models for the new middle school Spanish Immersion program. Ms. Fisher indicated in our earlier interview that in all likelihood Ms. Morelli would return to teach all three grades of Spanish Immersion students, though she did not suggest why a teacher from outside the district had not been found for the courses, despite the Program Review's discussions about hiring someone from outside to take the courses. The previous December, Mr. Worth also had indicated that one of his greatest concerns was hiring the right teacher, someone with a "firm and comfortable grasp of the Spanish language," experienced, but also "still interested in experimenting and trying new things." Though Mr. Worth's focus in Program Review had been on the structures of the middle school, he had also been thinking about the need for the new teacher and himself to be "reflective practioners who are committed to […] learning and […] modifying things so that […] they work out […] for the kids in the room" (Interview, 12/18/08). Ms. Morelli clearly met some of his criteria, having taught in various positions in the district, including elementary Spanish Immersion at Midville Elementary, middle school Spanish Immersion, and middle and high school Spanish Language courses. During the 2008-2009 hiatus year, Ms. Morelli had been the teacher for the 8th grade Spanish Immersion section of pre-high school Spanish Language, and, according to Mr. Sanchez, had felt that because of the lowered expectations of students and parents, and her focus on teaching grammar, the course had gone better than past Spanish Immersion classes had (Fieldnotes, 10/21/08). Time would tell whether or not she would be the "reflective practitioner" Mr. Worth was hoping to find, and her disposition toward "learning and modifying things" would be tested at this curriculum meeting. In fact, this meeting would require both Mr. Sanchez and Ms. Morelli to adapt their curricular and pedagogical inclinations to the TWI curricular model brought to them by Ms. Gomez. This meeting represented yet another location in the activity system of program reform at which expansive learning could succeed or fail, a location where de facto language policy was once again formed. The conversation that took place during the meeting provided evidence of the current failure, but also a small hope of possible future success, of meaningful program reform.

Communities in competition: Who would dominate?

Both Ms. Gomez and Mr. Sanchez began the meeting with obvious concerns about the dominance of either the TWI or World Language Community in the discussion of curriculum for 6th grade. Mr. Sanchez had anticipated that his supervisor, Mr. Mann, would also be in attendance at the meeting, and expressed real concern when he was informed that Mr. Mann would not attend because of another district event. He openly admitted his desire to have Mr. Mann there as he had anticipated beginning the discussion of curriculum with the 8th grade Spanish Language class to work their way down to the 6th grade Spanish Immersion class. His clear orientation toward the high school World Language community extended the tension between him and Ms. Gomez who countered with her own understanding of the meeting, that they would begin with the 6th grade curriculum since, as an elementary TWI teacher, she was not qualified to provide input into the 8th grade World Language curriculum. To someone familiar with the bridge metaphor, their positions suggested that they were exercising a claim over either end of the bridge, hoping to gain ground for their particular model of language learning, their solution to the problem of Spanish Immersion in the middle school.

Extending the influence of Spanish Immersion: Literacy-based curricular plan. While Mr. Sanchez seemed to want to claim a larger portion of the middle school Spanish Immersion bridge, Ms. Gomez was much more prepared to stake a claim on her end of the bridge as she brought with her a fully developed curricular plan, the product of earlier meetings with both Ms. Fisher and Mr. Foster, to whose authority she appealed as she explained her work. The plan followed the judgment of the Program Review group, which had decided in the end to opt for a Language Arts approach to the 6th grade course, including several short Social Studies units relevant to 6th grade curriculum. As a 5th grade Spanish Immersion teacher who regularly incorporated the reading of novels and writing about them into her own class's curriculum, Ms. Gomez had prepared a flexible, multi-week plan that included time for reading group meetings, writing assignments, student research, and multi-genre projects related to the themes of the books selected by the 6th grade teacher. Armed with several handouts, some of which outlined both longer Language Arts units and shorter Social Studies units, listed a number of recommended novels, and presented a schema for the two middle school teachers to learn about the critical thinking and writing work the students had been doing since third grade, she presented the plan in long, rapid-fire, energetic spurts of discourse, dominating the early minutes of the meeting. Most importantly, she emphasized that each unit should be based upon a theme that would connect a novel the students read to some real-life social issue, to give students' reading and writing "a social context […] a social meaning so that way the kids will connect to it, especially in sixth […] grade because […] they're so much more aware of so many more things and they're not as sheltered as they are in, you know, second, third, fourth grade" (Transcript, 5/28/09). As an example, she explained the work her own 5th graders had done with the novel *La gran Gilly Hopkins* (*The Great Gilly Hopkins*) that spring, how they had discussed "kids, you know, just kids who feel, you know, lost and what would you do for, you know, this kid who, you know, is adopted-- adoption system and such-- who doesn't feel um like she's loved at all and so she acts out and so we're talking about bullies and trying to understand other people and trying to get their background and not just judging people right away" (Transcript, 5/28/09). She tied the work of the 6th grade class to what the students had done in 5th

grade in terms of the kinds of literature they were familiar with as well, books that would extend their language and social learning experience.

   Resistance and silence: Problems with the plan. Following Ms. Gomez's initial presentation of the curricular model under consideration, a series of starts and stops in the conversation ensued, all of which involved problems raised by either Mr. Sanchez or Ms. Morelli. They raised these problems in ways that slowed down the discussion, introduced only peripherally related questions, revealed both their need to process the dense curricular plan, and their resistance to it. Eventually, they began to consider the possibility of implementing the plan as Ms. Gomez systematically countered their concerns.

   That Ms. Gomez had anticipated resistance from the middle school teachers was apparent in a number of ways, besides her dominance of the beginning of the meeting. Anticipating their concern with grammar instruction, she pointed out how she had incorporated times for short, contextualized focus on language instruction in the plan. She talked about her own practice of holding 15-20 minute "grammar warm-ups" and "BICS warm-ups" that focused on genres of language the students might need in everyday encounters with Spanish speakers, "some things that in an academic environment the kids lose and they don't really have in their systems" (Transcript, 5/28/09). She had also thought through the possible objection that the middle school teachers did not have the materials and books available to them to complete the plan. She suggested that they choose as their first novel for the fall a book which she knew they had in a full class set, Mildred Taylor's *Lloro por la tierra* (*Rolling Thunder, Hear My Cry*), and discussed with them what books they did have available to them, and that interested them. Appealing to her conversations with Mr. Foster and Ms. Fisher, to the work that past teachers had done with Spanish Immersion 6th graders, and to the types of reading and writing the students had accomplished in elementary school, Ms. Gomez attempted to present a fully-formed vision of the flexible 6th grade curriculum.

   However, Mr. Sanchez and Ms. Morelli did raise a variety of concerns and, through doing so, slowed down the conversation about the curriculum plan. Mr. Sanchez raised concerns about process, what they were going to accomplish in the two hours they had to meet that day, how they would collaborate. He had envisioned the meeting as involving planning for all three grades. He expressed concern about who would be teaching the classes, what specific resources and materials they would be using. He suggested that if they could "brainstorm" and come to agreement on a "good model [they] could use the same model, for the most part, for all three." Ms. Gomez countered by presenting her curricular plan as her "brainstorm," and returned to explaining both her rationale for the model she presented, and her conversation with Ms. Fisher who "was very excited about this idea." Mr. Sanchez next raised concerns about the inclusion of units on Social Studies topics, since the nature of the 6th grade class had changed from being a Social Studies core class to a "a pullout class, a Spanish class, basically." However, within a couple of turns in conversation, Mr. Sanchez had resolved the issue of Social Studies units by suggesting himself that "if [they] want to include a couple of units in there" they could, "if [they] deem [it] appropriate." Even this specific objection to the curricular plan, then, might be seen as Mr. Sanchez's concern about how collaborative the development process would be.

As Ms. Gomez continued to present her vision and rationale, Mr. Sanchez's and Ms. Morelli's desire or need to slow down the conversation came in the form of long stretches of silence, over 30 seconds at one point (Transcript, 5/28/09), during which they looked at the handouts provided by Ms. Gomez. At the end of one long silence, Mr. Sanchez, wishing for the support of a member of his Secondary World Language Community, raised the problem of "not having Mr. Mann here [as he] was hoping Mr. Mann was gonna be here because we-we did say we were gonna start with the planning first for eighth grade and do backwards." Ms. Gomez responded that she "was told this was for 6th grade right now so cuz I don't have anything to do with 8th grade 3, do you know what I mean? Like I'm just the connection between 5th grade 6th grade and then you and Mr. Mann were going to do the 8th grade the high school 8th grade and work down from there you know what I mean?" Mr. Sanchez then conceded that since Mr. Mann was not there, they could work on 6th grade and perhaps extend the model to the other two grades.

Though Ms. Gomez had presented the model as "flexible," Mr. Sanchez then raised the need to adapt the curriculum to include specific grammar instruction on the subjunctive tense, and seemed to be slowly thinking through the idea of adapting the curriculum to the specific needs of the students, or to teacher perceptions of student weaknesses, an idea that Ms. Gomez had presented earlier as characteristic of the plan.

As Ms. Gomez turned to discuss some of the recommended books for the curriculum, Ms. Morelli raised the next concern, one that had surfaced many times in the history of the Spanish Immersion program, and which reflected ideological differences between TWI teachers and World Language teachers, the problem of books in translations. World Language teachers value what Mr. Sanchez called "authentic Spanish literature," that is books that were originally composed in Spanish. The reason for valuing such literature has to do with students' being presented non-Native expressions in print, infelicities of translation. Both Mr. Sanchez and Ms. Morelli assumed that Ms. Gomez understood this problem, so did not present her with a rationale for making their choices, other than the idea that students should eventually get used to reading books written originally in Spanish, at least in part because they will encounter such literature in high school World Language classes. Ms. Gomez had, however, done some thinking with Ms. Flores, the other 5th grade Spanish Immersion teacher, about the relative merits of books in translation versus original Spanish-language literature. She reported on a conversation they had had the previous February in a bookstore in Morelia, as they looked for literature to take back for their classroom libraries. They "were talking about um translations and their utility versus and their quality [and] er-er any book and how appetizing it is for the students to read do you know what I mean? So we were talking about how and even [a TWI lead teacher] was laughing. She was just saying, you know sometimes you'll pick up a book and you're just not used to that kind of style of writing from from say South America or whatever and you're just like wait what is going on you know why would they write in this style and such so sometimes it's just hard to get used to the style where it's good to know that." Ms. Gomez revealed her orientation toward making literacy socially relevant to students in her concern with the "style of writing," while Mr. Sanchez and Ms. Morelli were more concerned with the purity of language development of the students. However, in what might be seen as recognition of the problem Ms. Gomez brought up, Mr. Sanchez suggested that the middle school had

access to the works of two bilingual, bicultural authors, Isabel Allende and Francisco Jimenez, whose works had been widely read in secondary school settings. While none of the teachers discussed the difference between writing by bilingual and monolingual authors, everyone seemed satisfied with these literary alternatives, one of the few signs of productive compromise.

Ms. Gomez came to the meeting prepared to address resistance, but also showed that she was willing to consider some of the preferences of the middle school teachers. When Ms. Morelli introduced a book that she had been wanting to use with her classes, a pre-teen novel focusing on the problem of immigration from North Africa to Spain, Ms. Gomez affirmed its value, only suggesting that Ms. Morelli think about how little 6th graders would know about the European context of the book.

Ms. Morelli was the source of one of the most important questions raised that day, one that neither Mr. Sanchez or Ms. Gomez has considered. In discussing the books they could use as thematic vehicles in the 6th grade class, she began suggesting that they needed to find out what the students would be studying in their English classes, since the 6th grade class continued to be connected to the core Language Arts curriculum in a very ambiguous way. Considering the class from the viewpoint of the students themselves, Ms. Morelli argued that "if these [novels] are related to the things [in] the sixth grade it's gonna feel like they have extra work because now it's being it's become a frozen period so they go out and they're gonna have this extra class with extra work" (Transcript, 5/29/09). She also considered the other side of this problem, that students might feel that they "already did that in [their] English class why [are they] doing that here?," that the work from their English classes to their Spanish Immersion pullout is repetitive. Helping the group think through how the Spanish Immersion content would relate to both Language Arts and Social Studies content in the different middle school grades, Ms. Morelli provided the most comprehensive view of the students' experience, one that neither Ms. Gomez, informed by elementary classroom structures, nor Mr. Sanchez, focused upon the content of World Language classrooms, would consider.

Unresolved ideologies: What is Spanish Immersion education? However, the relatively productive discussion that took place between Ms. Gomez and Ms. Morelli over questions of curriculum and middle school structures was followed by the most divisive segment of conversation during the meeting, when the irresolvable differences between Ms. Gomez and Mr. Sanchez would surface. Mr. Sanchez became unsettled by the amount of time they were spending discussing the content of the curriculum, since he kept "thinking about the activities [of 6th grade] more than uh the curriculum per se." He argued that in "Sixth grade you have some of those [curricular] components, but it doesn't have to be heavily on those." Ms. Gomez reacted immediately, perceiving Mr. Sanchez's suggestion as related to his World Language perspective, and argued that "Yes, it does actually, that's what-that's what immersion is. So we're talking about the 8th grade is a language class, 6th grade's an immersion class, and 7th grade is a transition class." She explained that a "paradigm shift" would occur during middle school as the students moved from the TWI model to World Language classes. However, Mr. Sanchez countered with "all of them are immersion classes. The way we teach is immersion. Immersion is when you immerse the kid in the language and the culture and we do that every single day in class." The disagreement continued through several turns of

conversation, with Ms. Gomez holding her ground in the end, defending the difference between Spanish Language and Spanish Immersion education. She argued that

> immersion teaching based on this model, this 90/10 model, is teaching-is teaching content with the language. It's not-it is-it's-it's two different definitions that we're talking about here. If you spend an hour in a-in a class only speaking Spanish you are immersed in Spanish but you're n- that's not defining that you're teaching content. Do you understand? 60 minutes in Spanish is not necessarily a content class.

Insisting that TWI education must involve the teaching of content through the medium of the target language, Ms. Gomez tried to draw a clear line between teaching Spanish as a content area and teaching other curricular content with Spanish. However, Mr. Sanchez continued to resist, responding with a single word, remaining noncommittal, as Ms. Gomez continued her argument.

> Sanchez: Well
> Gomez: So it could be-you could be teaching nothing but exercises and it-you're s- and that's being-that's being exposed to Spanish during that time. The Spanish Immersion model, the 90/10 model we're talking about coming in from Midville Elementary, is teaching content. Content. That's the focus and using the Spanish as the vehicle and I think that's the biggest misunderstanding that's still going on between, you know, how we're-we're trying to get this-this program going. And so again just because they're gonna spend 55 minutes in Spanish in 6th grade doesn't mean that it's immersion. The focus is to get the content down and then and understand that it needs to be provided in Spanish.

Ms. Gomez recognized that she was working in the space between the two conflicting sides, the space in which misunderstanding still prevailed, and that this misunderstanding was the most important obstacle to "trying to get this […] program going." Mr. Sanchez next raised what seemed like a non-issue, a red herring, but which opened the door for him to posit once again that grammar instruction might be considered "content" for a course.

> Sanchez: But the content-we have not choosed what the content is going to be.
> Gomez: That's what we're doing.
> Sanchez: Even if the content is grammar-is Spanish grammar, that's content.
> Gomez: Right
> Sanchez: And we know it's gonna be taught in the in the target language.

Ms. Gomez once again returned to her argument, this time emphasizing the claim she had to develop curriculum that mirrored the elementary Spanish Immersion experience for the 6th grade class. At the same time, she conceded the 8th grade class to the Mr. Sanchez and the World Language model.

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Gomez: Right. Right. OK. So anyway just I'm saying that just because they spend 60 minutes in Spanish doesn't mean it's an immersion class. We're working for content in 6th grade. By 8th grade it can be totally different and they can spend their 60 minutes doing whatever, but as long as it's in Spanish. Seventh grade is supposed to be transition but sixth grade is still this model based off of what's going on at Midville Elementary so the kids have a transition into Midville Middle School. By 8th grade it can be, again, it can be whatever, just as long as it's still in Spanish. But 6th grade is still supposed to be off you know married to the Midville Elementary program. So that is why, I know-I me-I know you're saying, like you know, it's not as important to you for the social studies but that is an area of content that breaks up the fact that what we're studying up here if we took off any social studies then all we have is book groups. OK, we'll take a nice Spanish book group class ok and that's not as-that's not as appetizing to the kids. It's not as relevant as a class and what we're trying to do is make sure the kids do have something that's appropriate for 6th grade that's an extension of 5th grade that still teaches them Spanish and gives them an application for it.

That Mr. Sanchez and Ms. Gomez were at an impasse was evident from both the repetition of points of view and effort each of them made to reason the other into conceding their point. Mr. Sanchez took the point Ms. Gomez made about what was "appetizing to the kids" and turned it around to support his point of view, that what mattered was including activities that facilitated language production, no matter what the content of the language.

Sanchez: Well, I can tell you it's more appetizing to them if you have then projects to do.
Gomez: Absolutely.
Sanchez: Fun for them to do, and as long as you do them in the target language…
Gomez: Yes.
Sanchez: And you focus on certain aspects with this grammar, whatever we need to work with them it would be appropriate I guess.
Gomez: Right, […]

While it seemed that Ms. Gomez agreed with the principle of including specific projects as part of the curriculum, it wasn't clear that Mr. Sanchez was thinking of those projects in the same way that Ms. Gomez was. In fact, the curricular model Ms. Gomez had presented that day included the possibility of ending each unit of study with a final product related to the book they had read or the social studies unit they had completed. In her original plan, she had suggested having them write essays, but during the conversation, she had suggested that essays could be replaced with other projects, videos or various forms of multimodal composition. So it wasn't clear why Mr. Sanchez placed such strong emphasis on the use of "projects."   However, this emphasis opened up the opportunity to introduce the role of grammar instruction and production in his curricular vision, to return to his World Language ideology which valued language correctness over language use.

Would a compromise be reached?: Continued prevalence of conflicting models of language learning and use.

During the remainder of the meeting, the three teachers fluctuated between approaching a compromise in the development of the curriculum for 6th grade, and for part of 7th grade, and getting derailed because of significant differences in their vision. Ms. Gomez continued to hold firm to her culturally-sensitive, content-driven curriculum, making some concessions to Mr. Sanchez and Ms. Morelli in the specifics of how the curriculum would be designed, but also sometimes emphasizing Ms. Fisher's endorsement of the plan. At times, Ms. Morelli seemed to capture the vision that Ms. Gomez was offering, adding in suggestions of books that focused on some of the content themes, and contributing significantly to the discussion of aspects of the social studies curriculum, but getting off course when the question of the availability of materials came up. Mr. Sanchez even began to grow in his enthusiasm for the curriculum, though he continued to return to the question of how grammar instruction would be incorporated into it. Despite their differences, they reached some hopeful notes at times during their discussion, but ended closer to earlier views of the Spanish Immersion middle school program and its students than to the new paradigm Ms. Gomez was proposing.

A review of the second half of their nearly two-hour meeting revealed the consistent prevalence of their differing points of view that required Ms. Gomez to reemphasize several times the overall vision of the curriculum. During the closing minutes of the meeting, Ms. Gomez summarized their discussion.

> Gomez: So now you have one-two-three-four-five-six books of literature to choose for 6th grade that you can hand to a teacher and say. "Here," you know, "this is how you do book groups twice a week. Here's some, you know, social applications that need to go with that and the kids are gonna have to, you know, use technology to find information or you use technology to present information to the kids and they're supposed to be doing responses to that and applying-applying it to the world around them and the school around them and their community around them. Figure out a current event-a weekly current event that goes with your theme and have the kids reflect on that or write-or write a current event or something like that or that kind of thing, and you've got five weeks to get through the book. Write an essay at the end and do a project." I mean it's like badabing badaboom and then you move on to the next book. So it sounds like you have six titles fo- that make sense in sixth grade.

In this discourse, she emphasized the organized approach to literacy, the ease of following the model she proposed, but most of all she focused her comments on the socially relevant nature of the curriculum that involved "applying it to the world around them and the school around them and their community around them." She envisioned a curriculum that would escape the classroom, and help the kids use language to take on the problems around them, using it to build knowledge they could use to live, and be enjoyable for them. She presented an expansive vision of language education that built on what students brought with them to 6th grade, and her choice of materials followed that vision.

In contrast, Mr. Sanchez and, to some extent, Ms. Morelli, returned to concerns related to school structures, materials, specific activities, and generally encapsulated forms of school learning. During the discussion of novels to use for the 6th grade reading, a great deal of the discussion revolved around either whether the school already had class sets of the texts and exactly how many copies they owned, or whether the students would be reading or studying something in their English or Social Studies classes. They never suggested that they might purchase a set of books they did not have if it would serve the purpose of the curriculum. Mr. Sanchez was particularly concerned with teachers not having to produce materials for some of the social studies units being proposed.

> Sanchez: One of the problems we have is that we don't want to teach units if we don't have the materials-the appropriate materials, including the development of the materials. We're going to get into the same problem we got when [the first 6th grade Spanish Immersion teacher] was here, the translation, the-this-that-that was a big problem.

Though he seemed satisfied with Ms. Gomez's solution to turn to technology to answer the problem, to have students find appropriate materials on Spanish-language Internet sites, he found other problems related to materials and textbooks. Specifically, he raised the issue of what they would use for assigning homework

> Sanchez: So the way we see it now 6th grade is-they wouldn't have a book where you can assign homework from.

In this comment, we can see Mr. Sanchez's encapsulated view of language learning, the same view that the former Spanish Immersion students in high school struggled with in their Spanish Language classes.

Immediately, the connection between encapsulated forms of language learning and grammar instruction made its way back into the focus of their discussion, when Mr. Sanchez brought up new materials being adopted by the district for Spanish Language classes.

> Sanchez: You know there is one thing that might happen to us that I was thinking about that the other day. Uh we just adopted a Spanish book [for] One and Two and covers all the basic grammar and it's One and Two and hopefully we'll get even though we are not using Level Two in high school it's just-we're gonna make the transition. It does have wonderful online resources.
> …
> Sanchez: It's a lot of stuff in there: good authentic commercials, videos and then you have tons of activities that we assign students to do and they get graded immediately. It can be something that will give feedback.

While Ms. Gomez responded with an affirmative "Yep" as Mr. Sanchez enthused about this new language learning resource, she was quite silent as Mr. Sanchez continued on about the capacity of the program to provide instruction on the subjunctive, its availability to students who had been absent from class, the humorous teacher who

presented material through PowerPoint and videos. While they would not use the books that accompanied this new program in 6th grade, clearly Mr. Sanchez and Ms. Morelli both saw these online resources as a solution to the problem of grammar instruction, in particular, as Ms. Morelli pointed out, "if you have lower kids," who need more direct grammar instruction. Mr. Sanchez seemed particularly enthusiastic about the automated nature of the program.

> Sanchez: It allows you to assign stuff and the students have to do it and all you have to do is click and it tells you the time they are-what their grade-you-

While the three seemed to have made some progress toward understanding the new literacy-based, content-driven curriculum Ms. Gomez proposed for 6th grade, this return, in the last few minutes of the meeting, to the view of language learning that predominated in Spanish Language classes seemed like a throw-back to an earlier view of the Spanish Immersion middle school program. Their return to such a focus on grammar instruction seemed to justify Ms. Gomez's earlier adamant explanation of how to present grammar to Spanish Immersion students.

> Gomez: I start my mornings-I'm not gonna, you know, have an entire class dedicated unless it's extremely necessary. They just need these warm-ups that focus on things because, quite honestly, as far as the grammar and the spelling and the accents and whatever is concerned, they need a little warm-up, a little reminder, and then lots of application and their application isn't gonna be as effective coming from the Immersion program, you know, with, you know, forty exercises that they do and call it a day and that was their school class.

By the end of the meeting, though all the individuals involved in the development and implementation of the new curriculum received an outline of the curricular elements from Ms. Gomez, the question of whether this curriculum would be implemented effectively or not remained open. Given the fact that Mr. Sanchez and Ms. Gomez would be the two teachers left in charge of daily implementation of this new curriculum, its fate and the fate of the next year's 6th grade Spanish Immersion students seemed extremely unclear.

The Precarious Bridge: How Expansive Learning and Reform Could Fail

This chapter has focused on the long, complex process of Program Review, from review of the reality of the problems facing the Spanish Immersion middle school program to the development of new curriculum for its reinstatement, as well as the many places at which the expansive learning necessary to bring about real reform could fail. By using Cultural Historical Activity Theory, I have identified the various Communities whose language ideologies and beliefs came into conflict leading up to and during the Program Review meetings. Those Communities, while engaging in discussions meant to resolve the historical problems of the program, actually simply reinforced the same structural and attitudinal problems the program had suffered from for several years leading up to the crisis they were trying to address. Though they believed that they had come upon a metaphor that would help them resolve the conflict between the Elementary

TWI Community and the Secondary World Language Community, their use of it and the policy document built upon it, did not bring about or reflect real expansive learning. My interviews with the principle administrators responsible for the implementation of the program also revealed persistent differences in language ideologies that could be the source of future unresolved conflicts. And the conflictive discussion of a new curriculum for the Spanish Immersion middle school program, while providing "a new paradigm" for the 6th and 7th grade classes, also pointed to future problems that might result from unresolved differences in teacher ideologies of language learning and use. A great deal of effort, time and attention had been invested in reforming the Spanish Immersion middle school program, but little had really changed in the conditions that contributed to the conflict between the Elementary TWI Community and the Secondary World Language Community. The change in ideologies necessary for expansive learning had not occurred, and, in contrast, those ideologies had interrupted the process, leading to the forced changes represented by the new curriculum developed and presented just a few months before the new program would begin. This study ended before that new curriculum was implemented, but in the final chapter I will touch on one version of what occurred in the two years following.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Language teachers, whether they work in the context of TWI or traditional World Language education, hope to see their students learn their target language to be able to use it inside and outside the classroom. However, what "learning" and "use" of a language means varies greatly from one language-learning context to the next, from one teacher to the next. Those meanings differ because of differing understandings of what the object of the activity of language learning might be. These differing understandings are also informed by teachers' own experiences of language learning and use, as well as their deeply held, but often unexamined language ideologies and beliefs.

A TWI program that spans more than one school site, and that interacts with traditional World Language programs at the secondary school level (whether middle or high school), involves a complex network of stakeholders, including elementary and secondary teachers, site and district administrators, parents, students, and community members. All of these individuals also have language ideologies and beliefs that affect the development of a TWI program. As Valdés (1997) points out, all of these individuals and groups are engaged in the process of language policy formation, sometimes de jure or overt, but more often de facto or covert. Therefore, to understand this complex language policy ecology, one must examine the language ideologies and beliefs of individual and groups of stakeholders as they interact with each other. These stakeholders make day-to-day decisions about what language learning and use should and will look like in a TWI program, and beyond, in the World Language environment into which most TWI students will enter as they seek to extend their learning of the target language into adolescence and adulthood.

The purpose of this study has been to bring to light some of the elements of language policy formation in a TWI program by examining the variety of understandings of the object of the activity system of language learning across the school sites involved in Midville's TWI program. Through it, I hoped to gain understanding of the problems that might arise when different language learning activity systems come into contact, and to see more clearly what elements of the activity systems might have contributed to the crisis this program experienced. By focusing on the language ideologies of individuals responsible for language policy formation and enactment, as well as practices in classrooms, and domains of language use obtained in them, I hoped to be able to characterize the differences between TWI and World Language education in this school district, and, perhaps, in general.

As demonstrated through this study, program stakeholders who identified with the different communities did bring different language ideologies to discussions of the meaning of language learning and use in TWI settings. The most significant difference was apparent between teachers and administrators who identified with the TWI community, and those who identified with the World Language community. These differences were based in contrasting ideologies of student autonomy of language use and teacher control of language learning. In general, the two communities represented Bakhtin's (1981) concepts of centrifugal and centripetal language forces, as they came into dialogic contact with each other through school district structures. Their emphasis on language learning and use led to very different ideas about the outcomes of the object of language learning. The TWI teachers and administrators emphasized the use of

Spanish as a medium of instruction in a wide range of academic and social domains, in the development of literacy practices and critical thinking, and in ways that allowed students significant autonomy over their own learning and language use. The teachers and administrators who identified with the World Language community emphasized control of certain features of the Spanish language, concentrating on, as Ms. Gomez put it, "getting language into" the students, and seemed particularly concerned with two language features, the use of the subjunctive tense, and control of accentuation. These different ideas were observable through the regular classroom practices of a TWI 5th grade teacher and a Spanish Language AP teacher. These differences in ideologies and practices had a significant and observable impact on current and former TWI students, whether English or minority-language dominant. Former TWI students experienced a significant devaluing of their previous language learning experience by secondary World Language teachers.

These deeply held and unresolved differences in language ideologies contributed to the failure of real program reform, the presumed aim of the middle school Program Review. While district leaders represented the process of Program Review as having successfully addressed the concerns of all the stakeholders, the persistent difference in language ideologies among them, and the effort to avoid conflict among the Program Review participants, led to the use of a flawed unifying metaphor of the middle school SI program as a bridge between the elementary TWI experience and secondary World Language classes to resolve their differences. They subsequently produced equally flawed policy statement that attempted to create consensus by attempting to give attention to concerns on both sides of the middle school "bridge." Finally, district officials tried to bring further resolution to the differences between the communities by the imposition of a curricular plan on middle school teachers. However, even a few months before the new middle school TWI program would be rolled out, teachers disagreed about the very nature of "immersion" education and argued about what an appropriate curriculum would look like.

Discussion of Key Issues

Interconnectedness of Issues and Analyses: A Program Comprised of Interacting Activity Systems

To understand the implications of this study for language policy, one must see the elementary TWI program, the middle school Program Review, and the high school World Language program as representing three separate, but interrelated, activity systems that form the whole of the language learning and use experience of Midville's SI students over the course of their K-12 education. While many issues may have caused the crisis that led to the suspension of the middle school SI program in 2008-9, one of them, the significant differences in language ideologies between the TWI Community and the World Language Community, was never identified during the period of Program Review. By bringing these activity systems alongside each other as this study does, we can see the unresolved areas of conflict and how the two models of language learning and use on either end of the educational trajectory of SI students have an impact on the middle school SI experience, and contribute to student dissatisfaction and teacher frustration.

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Differences in Language Ideologies in Elementary TWI and Secondary World Language Communities

The language ideologies of Mr. Foster, Principal of Midville Elementary, and Ms. Gomez, 5th grade SI teacher emphasized life-long language learning and use, and the importance of biliteracy to the development of the bilingual individual. Both individuals envisioned language learning that escaped the classroom and language uses connected to serving students' families and larger communities, and empowering students to learn new language and to attain high levels of academic achievement. Mr. Foster emphasized the pleasure students experience in learning language and envisioned language learning as a journey. Ms. Gomez pictured students using their Spanish for social change, to serve others in their community. In contrast, they viewed the language ideologies of the World Language Community as devaluing former SI students' past experience of language learning and use (Mr. Foster) and as focusing on "getting language into students" rather than on using language as the medium of content instruction (Ms. Gomez).

The language ideologies expressed by Mr. Mann, the Spanish Language AP teacher, were complex and conflicting. He at once affirmed that former SI students brought significant language learning and use experiences with them to his class, but persistently returned to expressions of deficit views of the quality of their language use and learning, calling into question not only their learning, but the teaching that had produced it. Though he did not know who all the former SI students in his classes were, he described SI students, generally, as "not fit[ting]" into the Spanish Language program at the high school because of those experiences. He focused most of his deficit attention around two issues: their learning the subjunctive tense and their inability to use accent marks, an orthographic issue. In doing so, he also associated the SI students he knew with heritage language students, both in their fluency and in the sorts of orthographic and grammatical errors they made in their work.

Though he affirmed the importance of biliteracy in the development of bilingualism, just as Mr. Foster and Ms. Gomez did, and though some of his own language learning experiences might have informed his thinking about the situation of former SI students who had high expectations for their language learning experiences, he seemed to be unable to escape his deficit view of former SI student, connected to what he saw as a lack of control over certain features of Spanish. This view seemed to indicate an alignment with centripetal language forces (Bakhtin, 1981) and stood in contrast to the views of SI language learning and use expressed by Mr. Foster and Ms. Gomez.

During the post-AP focus group, students expressed appreciation for their high school Spanish teachers, in particular for Mr. Mann, at the same time that they expressed dissatisfaction with some aspects of their language learning and use after leaving their SI elementary program. They deplored the learning they had had to do from grammar textbooks, struggled to meet the expectations of teachers, especially when they were asked to reproduce specific language forms they knew could be expressed in multiple ways. Some of them had absorbed the language ideologies of their teachers, saying that they thing they most wanted to do with their language was to use accents better. They showed appreciation for the few activities in which they could express themselves freely, and wished for language experiences that would allow them to use their language for

more than school-related purposes. One student said she would just like to have a class that allowed them to read books, and talk about them or about other topics of interest. Even though the former SI students expressed disappointment with their language learning and use in secondary school, they all passed the Spanish Language AP exam that year, as have nearly all the other former SI students who have taken it since 2006.

Differences in Language and Literacy Practices in SI and Spanish Language AP Classes

Ms. Gomez's classroom language and literacy practices emphasized high levels of student autonomy based on guided socialization into literacy practices shared by the whole class. Students read many full-length Spanish language books of their own choosing, and, following the *Leer es Pensar* rubric provided to them, wrote about them regularly in dialogic journals, *Libretas de lectura*. During the period I participated in the classroom, students demonstrated their knowledge of and ability to participate in these practices, as well as high levels of motivation and personal engagement with their reading. The built environment of Ms. Gomez's classroom allowed students to work independently and in small groups to accomplish the work they engaged in, easily accommodating the atmosphere of student autonomy.

The literacy practices Ms. Gomez's students engaged in were characterized by what Howard and Sugarman (2007) call a "culture of intellectualism," in which students develop a sense of "commitment to ongoing learning," to "collaboration and the exchange of ideas," to the "fostering of independence," and to the "promotion of higher order thinking" (pp. 82-83). In particular, students' use of the *Leer es Pensar* rubric and of the 4-3-2-1 activity sheet in preparation for *Club de libros* meetings encouraged active reading and critical, personally-engaged thinking about texts and the content they represented. Ms. Gomez also introduced books that emphasized social issues relevant to the students' lives, such as *La gran Gilly Hopkins*, and made connections to school-wide social issues, like bullying. She also practiced her commitment to teaching her students to "use their bilingualism for good," by asking them to write argumentative essays about social issues and problems they identified at their school.

The culture of student autonomy and intellectualism in the SI 5th grade class stood in contrast to the character of language learning and use I observed in a Spanish Language 4AP class. Mr. Mann's classroom practices emphasized his centrality in the classroom as the source of both correct language input and student motivation. His extremely small classroom, affording only limited student-to-student work, contributed to his centralized practices. But his role as the source of vocabulary and cultural information for students also reinforced this centrality. Finally, his use of *dólares*, rewards for class participation, also reinforced his central role in the class. During the period I observed, very little (if any) literacy activity took place that involved more than decoding and comprehending text. Correctness took precedence over critical thinking in the Spanish Language AP class.

Importance of Domains of Language Learning and Use in SI and World Language Classes

Language learning and use in Ms. Gomez's class were characterized by their connection to a wide range of language domains, made even wider by their participation in the 5th grade culminating experience at El Molino, in Michoacán, Mexico. In addition to the use of Spanish in a wide range of academic domains such as sciences, social studies, math, and humanities (culture, language arts, grammar, music, art), they were encouraged to read a wider range of genres of books than they had in their previous elementary experience, and had the opportunity to write short stories that touched on a variety of language domains.

In addition, Ms. Gomez engaged her students in social domains related to problems on their campus through their writing. Their experience in El Molino added to those social domains, as they guided pre-schoolers in art and drama activities; traveled through town to their *talleres*; made purchases in various shops; met, learned and played with a group of peers from a school in Cuernavaca; and learned to talk with a variety of adults who led their *talleres*. The *talleres* themselves added even more language domains to their experience, and led them into complex practices of mixing domains related to the activities they engaged in with social domains necessary to carry on conversations with interested adults.

During the period of the study, Ms. Gomez began to develop an awareness of her students' need to learn Spanish connected to specific domains, such as playing soccer. She realized that some students did not have Spanish terms related to computers, language they would need for middle school. She taught grammatical and orthographic features she knew they would be expected to know in middle school. And she developed a lesson on Spanish interjections they might need to use in their fiction writing. She, herself, practiced the same "culture of intellectualism" she expected of her students.

During my observations in the Spanish Language AP class, Mr. Mann's class read and wrote within a broad range of domains of language use, and they were challenged to interact with such a broad range as they completed the 2009 Spanish Language AP exam that May. However, the material from those domains was approached as decontextualized or autonomous (Street, 1984) rather than contextualized within their content domains. The AP exam itself confronted students with material from language domains they had never encountered before, including linguistics. Mr. Mann, and the other AP teachers with whom he participated in AP training, recognized the problem of students' never having been exposed to some of the domains students would encounter in the exam. However, apart from hoping that the College Board would provide AP teachers with a limited list of possible topics for writing and speaking on the exam, and trying to expose his students to a wide range of domains in preparation for the exam, Mr. Mann did not consider ways of addressing domains of language use. The decontextualized or autonomous view of language use and literacy pointed to the reliance on encapsulated forms of school literacy (Engestrom, 1991) in the Spanish Language AP program. Further, literacy practices involved almost no reading of books, instead focusing on shorter genres such as short stories, poems, and articles they used to practice literacy skills for the AP exam, and to prepare for the Spanish Literature class some students would take the following year. Former SI students commented on both the lack of book-length reading, as they had become so accustomed to it in their elementary program, and on the frequent reliance on learning from textbooks, as well as other forms of encapsulated forms of school language learning and use.

While Potowski (2002) developed a clear picture of the diglossic nature of language use in a 5th grade TWI classroom, I hope this study has added another layer of understanding to the complexity of language use in TWI programs by arguing that language learning and use is connected to different and specific domains, both academic and social, and that students increase the use of their minority language as they learn about its use in specific domains. As Gee (2003) argues, when people read, think and learn, they always do so *about* something, in some *way* that is connected with specific semiotic domains of activity. As Street points out, language learning and its relation to domains of language use is ideological work, and the choices we make to teach language use in some domains, but not others, reflect ideological choices. Through those choices we convey values about "what a language is good for" (Garrett, 2005), or, in contrast, what a specific language is *not* good for.

Spanish Immersion Middle School Program Review and the Failure of Expansive Learning

During the period of the SI Middle School Program review, my aim had been to understand whether real reform would take place, and by using activity theory as an analytical lens, I came to understand that the expansive learning necessary to resolve the historical crisis of the SI program failed.

Through my analysis, I identified several sources that contributed to the failure of expansive learning: in the persistent alignment of individual members of the Program Review with particular communities and their ideologies; in the use of a metaphor whose entailments would not lead to an equitable view of the elementary SI program; in the production of a faulty policy statement which relied on the mixing of language associated with the ideologies of TWI education and of World Language education; in the lack of clarity in the ideologies of language learning and use of administrators charged with enactment of elements of the new program; and finally, in the space between de jure policy formation and the de facto policy formation represented by curriculum development and enactment.

The structure of the Program Review, from the beginning, emphasized the role that various communities played in the process. Representatives from communities of parents, TWI elementary education, secondary World Language education, and three school sites came to the process with differing concerns, goals and ideologies of language learning and use. Because the Program Review group was not given the opportunity to 1) discuss the historical nature of the crisis they were addressing, nor 2) allowed to think about wide-ranging structural changes that could benefit the SI program, expansive learning was unlikely to occur from the very beginning of the process. Further, during the Program Review process, members of various communities held tight to their language ideologies, and did not examine the conflicts caused by these differences. The differences in ideologies were apparent in the three district and site administrators I interviewed, Ms. Fisher, representing Elementary TWI education, Mr. Bell, representing Secondary World Language education, and Mr. Worth, representing the middle school site. Ms. Fisher's equivocation about the nature of TWI education at the middle school level, Mr. Bell's emphasis on a perfectionistic view of language learning, and Mr.

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Worth's focus on school-level structural issues all contributed to the lack of resolution of the ideological issues that contributed to the middle school crisis.

As the Program Review group conducted their work, they developed and came to rely on a metaphor to try to unite the communities: the middle school SI program as a bridge. While the use of this structural metaphor might have led them to a view of the middle school program as a means of bringing together both ends of the trajectory of language learning and use of SI students, as it was combined with the unidirectional force of movement from elementary to secondary school, it only reinforced the power of the Secondary World Language program over the Elementary TWI program. One of the practical effects of this metaphor came in the policy statement the group drew up. It stipulated that Elementary TWI teachers should receive professional development related to language learning and use, but did not mention any such training for Secondary World Language teachers. Teacher learning and development would be unidirectional toward the Secondary World Language program, even though the Secondary World Language teachers would have benefited from movement toward the SI program through learning about what characterizes TWI education.

This lack of movement from Secondary World Language educators to understand the character of TWI education in general, and this SI program in particular, was most obvious during the spring 2009 curriculum meeting in which Ms. Gomez presented a curriculum plan for the 6th grade SI class to Mr. Sanchez and Ms. Morelli, Midville Middle School SI and Spanish Language teachers. Ms. Gomez presented the curriculum, calling upon the institution authority of Ms. Fisher to help bolster her presentation. Because the two middle school teachers continued to focus on problems related to both the lack of fit of the SI middle school program in the larger school structures, and of the SI students themselves, whom Mr. Sanchez, in particular, perceived in deficit terms, they struggled to understand and accept the curriculum Ms. Gomez presented. Even in the end of this study, Ms. Gomez and Mr. Sanchez could not agree on the meaning of "immersion," and the tentative agreement about the specifics of the future curriculum provided only a tenuous hope that the middle school SI program would move beyond the crisis it had experienced in the previous years.

Implications and Future Directions for Research and Practice

Inasmuch as the number of TWI programs continues to grow at a steady pace across the U.S. (Center for Applied Linguistics), we can anticipate the need for ongoing research, both qualitative and quantitative, in that context. Of course, new research will be needed to continue to track student achievement during and after a student's participation in TWI programs. But other research will need to focus on areas not yet considered, and that fall outside the focus of this study.

For instance, more research is needed on the trajectory of TWI students who will or do exit secondary school and enter college, posing questions about both the effects of TWI programs on college achievement (Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2002) and on long-term language learning and use. Recently, college compositionists have been theorizing new ways of thinking about multilingualism at the college level. (Horner *et al.*, 2011) argue for more complex ways of treating the actual multilingual language uses represented by individual college students, describing the heterogeneity of language use

as "translingualism" (Kellman, 2003), and for developing more complex ways of understanding how students use their multiple languages in the college setting. New research might consider how former TWI students act as translinguals in college. In addition, research is needed to understand the continued pursuit of language learning and use of former TWI students during college and beyond.

Since most TWI programs exist in predominantly monolingual English school district and local community environments[28], we need more research on the problems TWI programs and their students experience as those students move from elementary programs to secondary school. More research that focuses on the best practices in programs that span elementary through high school would be useful, as would considerations of secondary school structures that might be transferred across districts. Further, in those complex program settings, more research is needed to understand the ideologies of language learning and use held by program stakeholders, including parents, who form an important part of most TWI programs (Lindholm-Leary, 2001), and students themselves as they take an increasingly important role in their own language learning and use and begin to make choices about their own learning in secondary school and beyond. Since these ideologies of language learning and use have an impact not only on English dominant students, but, in particular, on language minority students (Valdés, 1997), continued attention needs to be paid to the impact ideologies in TWI programs have on minority language students. Specific attention needs to be focused on the role that language ideologies and attitudes play in program and curricular development and evaluation of student academic and linguistic competency.

In addition, further research in TWI settings calls for the use of more interdisciplinary approaches to studying language teaching and learning, calling for, as (Valdés, 2004) argues, researchers from different disciplines, applied linguistics, English studies, ESL, different educational settings, elementary, secondary and college, to come together and bring their varying points of view and methodological approaches to bear on studying the complex language policy environment in which language learning and use takes place. This study points directly to the need for elementary TWI teachers and secondary World Language teachers to engage in self-study of the relationship between TWI and World Language education, to understand both their differing language ideologies and the conditions of their work in each setting. Since many TWI teachers experience a sense of isolation within their districts or schools, there is a need for more researcher/teacher collaborative research that crosses elementary and secondary sites, TWI programs in different schools and communities and even internationally, following methodologies like those of (Freedman, 1994, 1999).

Finally, this study has posited the use of Cultural Historical Activity Theory as a tool for study design and analysis, but has only used CHAT in a limited way to understand the nature of TWI Program Review and reform. Using CHAT, further work is needed focusing on 1) student/teacher roles (Division of Labor) in language use in TWI classes; 2) specific language learning Tools (how language is used as language learning tool; how technology might be used effectively; how built space affects language learning

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[28] A quick survey of Northern California TWI programs would reveal that many districts house only one school within a district or one program within a school devoted to TWI education.

and use); 3) assessment and how well it matches up with the Object of the activity system; and, 4) language ideologies of other Communities including English-dominant families, minority-language dominant families, and students themselves. In this study, I have taken the role of a participant observer, but CHAT could be used in TWI programs to conduct teacher action or interventionist research as TWI programs examine themselves for ways to improve and resolve internal conflicts (Engestrom, 2001).

As I outlined in Chapter 1, the field of language policy studies continues to develop new ways of understanding how de jure and de facto language policies interact, and what stands between individual and group language ideologies and specific language practices. Shohamy (2006) argues "the real [language policy] of a political and social entity should be observed not merely through declared policy statements but rather through a variety of devices that are used to perpetuate language practices, often in covert and implicit ways." She goes on to say that these devices are what exert a strong influence on de facto language policy, and that "it is only through the observations of the effects of these very devices that the real language policy of an entity can be understood and interpreted" (p. 46). These devices, or "mechanisms," stand as tools of control between language ideologies and practices. I proposed in this study to use CHAT as a means of examining some activity systems as possible language policy mechanisms in the educational context. While Shohamy identifies language education itself (and testing, specifically) as a mechanism of de facto language policy, I identified other types of mechanisms at work in the Midville TWI program and its surrounding language policy environment. The findings from my study point to several language policy mechanisms at work in Midville's TWI and World Language programs.

Specific literacy activities serve as language policy mechanisms in both the TWI and World Language context as they stand between language ideologies and language practices. Literacy activities, as Tools, mediate language learning in both contexts, so while some might point to them as a language practices, if the Object of any language learning activity system is truly language learning and use, the nature of the literacy activity will change the nature of the language learning and use that take place. Students will learn language differently by reading a discrete series of short, decontextualized passages than they will from a connected series of longer, more contextualized texts. As I have tried to demonstrate, different types of literacy activities, and the presentation of those activities as highly contextualized or decontextualized, will make a difference in how students orient themselves to the language they are learning, which will affect how they will learn it. Curriculum might be considered an extension of the mechanism of literacy activities, as well.

Connected to the use of specific literacy activities, specific domains of language learning and use also serve as language policy mechanisms. As I have indicated previously, Garrett (2005) points to domains of language use (and the spoken genres associated with them) in connection with cultural conceptions of what specific languages "are good for." Students learn from the identification or non-identification of domains of language use, either that language is always the same, no matter what domain of use, or that privileged domains count more than others. For instance, if a student never sees Spanish used to teach science or math, but only literature, culture or history, she could exit her language learning experience ignorant of how Spanish functions for the purposes of knowledge-making in science and math. The non-identification of domains of

language use, that is the promotion of autonomous views of language, denies students the opportunity to learn language uses that might lead them to knowledge-making in a variety of specific domains.

Language testing, most specifically, the Spanish Language AP exam, course, and the structure of the World Language AP system served as a third language mechanism relevant to language policy in TWI settings. Though the exam and preparation for it could expose students to language across a wide domain of uses, the exam presents language use as essentially decontextualized, never providing sufficient contextualization for the language students take in and produce. This policy mechanism did not seem to put Midville's former TWI students at a disadvantage themselves, likely because of their long-term exposure to language use in the context of many domains. However, the former SI students in the post-exam focus group perceived that it did perhaps put the non-TWI students at a disadvantage in their completion of the tasks of the exam.

In addition, the capital (both cultural and material) benefits of AP tests, I would argue, also serve as a mechanism of de facto language policy. Students who take AP courses receive positive evaluation by colleges, and when they take and pass the AP exam, they receive at least college credits, and sometimes credit for having taken specific required courses. The appeal to take AP courses is strong, and so is the pressure on AP teachers to make sure their students take and pass the exam. In addition, if Spanish Language and Literature AP courses are the highest-level courses offered at a high school, former TWI students, who leave their programs with long-term experience with Spanish, and generally higher levels of competency than most of their peers, may be drawn to those courses. If no other courses of equal or greater challenge are offered, the only choice students may have would be to continue language studies through the AP structure. This is not to say that the AP course or exam are inadequate for learning and using language, only that if passing the exam becomes the primary focus of the course, students who are interested in language learning and use outside the confines of schooling and testing may feel the sort of dissatisfaction the former SI students felt toward their secondary World Language experience. Spanish Language AP teachers have a great deal of leeway in how they teach their courses, making the test itself more or less the object of the course, so they engage in their own de facto language policy through their teaching choices. Further study of how language teachers engaged in de facto language policy in World Language classrooms is needed.

Valdés (1997) cautionary note about the possible unanticipated consequences of TWI education, and its de facto language policy, on Mexican-origin students is reasonable, and should make educators involved in the TWI project think carefully about the impact of programmatic and policy choices on all minority-language students. Her point that changing bilingual language policy is not enough to bring equity to Mexican-origin students also should cause TWI educators and parents to pause. (Moll, 1992) points out the value of bringing minority students' "funds of knowledge" into educational settings in ways that connect homes and classroom. Since home or heritage language is one of those "funds of knowledge," a powerful one that can either stand between minority-language dominant parents and English monolingual school structures and personnel, or serve as a tool of communication between these same groups, I believe its potential is worth the hard work necessary to ensure equity for all students. More research is needed on the

ways in which the minority language in TWI settings can be lifted up or devalued through de facto language policy decisions.

Though this study was limited in reference to minority-language students, the finding that a World Language teacher associated language "deficits" of TWI students with "deficits" of heritage language students raised concerns about the situation of minority or heritage language students in World Language classes in general. Finally, much more research into the variety of language ideologies and attitudes within minority-language communities (such as Freeman's [2000] middle school study) is needed to understand the motivations of minority-language families and students as they make de facto language policy choices. Finally, further research into the language ideologies that surround both TWI programs and minority-language students in English dominant schools would help us see how minority-language students may be framed in deficit terms.

Contribution of this study to theories of learning and activity.

Cultural Historical Activity theory has served in this study to examine language policy formation (both de jure and de facto) as an activity, specifically serving as a means to look at multiple language policy activity systems (such as de jure policy activities and de facto responses to them) as they come into contact and conflict with each other. Inasmuch as language policy formation involves different Communities (of speakers of different languages, of language educators from different educational contexts and professional groups), CHAT provides an analytical tool for examining the differing understandings of the Object of language policy formation, and of seeing patterns in ideologies associated with specific Communities, or in considering the different Tools used in the activity of language policy formation. Future studies might also focus on "third spaces" (Gutierrez *et al.*, 1999) in language learning and policy activity systems where problems of language learning and policy are solved through the opening up of new ways of understanding between groups with stable ideologies, scripts or roles (Engestrom, 2001).

While I have not framed my discussion of the Program Review process Midville School District undertook specifically in terms of the learning of the participants, I have consciously applied Cultural Historical Activity Theory to it to illuminate places in the structure of activity and activity systems where expansive learning was (and might be) put at risk. As I have done so, I have had in mind Engestrom's (2001) study of expansive learning in the resolution of problems related to costly health care delivery for chronically ill children in Finland. In it, Engestrom (2001) presents a portrait of individuals from three different activity systems (a children's hospital, primary care clinics, and children's families) as they come together to resolve the complex problem of tracking the health care delivered to children by different activity systems. At the same time that all of the members of the different activity systems recognized the perceived "double bind"[29] in which they found themselves, their multivoiced discussion of that historical problem took the form of defensive positioning, or blaming members of the other activity system for their failures in their respective activity systems. Expansive

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[29] Bateson (1972) points to the source of "double binds" as being "contradictory demands imposed on the participants by the context" (Engestrom, 2001:142).

learning only took place between the connected activity systems when the participants came to see the problem in its historical context, as well as the contradictions between the various activity systems involved with the problem. Learning in this study took place when the participants openly questioned each activity systems' contribution to the problem, including their positions toward the problem, when they began to move through an ideological process from understanding the problem as a "double bind," resistance to change, to realignment of their views, and when they began to model new solutions to the problem.

Using Engestrom's study allows us to see many places at which expansive learning in the Midville context failed. Though they brought together all the important participants in relevant activity systems (what they called "stakeholders") for the Program Review, their discussions never moved effectively past the defensive position stage, and in their effort to shorten, simplify and control the process of review and reform, district officials only reinforced that same defensive positioning throughout the process. At the end of the process, during the curriculum development meeting, I could see the same tensions and disagreements over the nature of immersion education and language learning and use as had characterized the problem in the first place. District officials who removed from discussion the questions of what had actually contributed to the middle school crisis in the past, and why members of the Elementary TWI Community would want to see the SI program extended into high school, only delayed reform and the expansive learning necessary to accomplish it to some future time.

Engestrom's health care study took place in the context of multiple activity systems in which practical and experiential problems within the individual activity systems were the focus of study. While members of each activity system carried with them the worldviews or ideologies characteristic of their activity system, based on the practices and experiences within those activity systems, they were examining a "double bind" in which those worldviews or ideologies did not clearly overlap with worldviews, ideologies or power structures at work in society-at-large. Everyone involved in the study seemed to have the same overall Object in mind, provide better health care for children while reducing the cost of services. In contrast, this current study took place in the context of multiple activity systems in which the focus of the study involved an Object less easy to define, and ideologies or worldviews influenced by both personal experiences outside the activity system of Program Review, as well as by social values related to the meaning of bilingualism and language learning and use. The language ideologies of the members of each of the Communities in Program Review were recognizable as connected with issues of social power and control, authority and hierarchy, language purity, and social construction of meaning and knowledge. Engestrom (1999) asserts that expansive learning (or Learning III) "may now be characterized as the construction and application of world outlooks or methodologies – or ideologies, if you will" in which imagination and consciousness allow learners to master activity systems "in terms of the past, the present and the future." Expansive learning, thus, means transformation of worldviews or ideologies. However, I hope this study demonstrates that ideologies or worldviews that go unexamined, or are highly durable because of an individual's strong association with a particular Community, can be the reason that expansive learning does not take place between activity systems. If ideologies are clearly representative of social values and beliefs, such as English-only language

policies or problematic views of bilingualism, they can stand in the way of the process of expansive learning. In short, ideologies can be transformed through expansive learning, or they can shut down that transformation. Further study might bring together Bakhtin's concept of "ideological becoming" (1981) in the context of multivoiced activity systems and efforts to achieve expansive learning, to examine how dialogism can produce new ideological stances, or simply reinforce old ones.

I hope that this study also contributes to our understanding of the importance of modeling in the expansive learning cycle, and reveals ways in which the study of metaphor and framing can help us see how modeling can contribute to expansive learning or how it can bring about failure in expansive learning cycles. Engstrom (1999) suggests that "momentary withdrawals" from professional activity (such as the suspension of the middle school SI program) "play a crucial role as the professional enters into a 'framing experiment', a reformulation of the problem with the help of analogy based on a 'generative metaphor'." However, as I hope to have shown in this study, not all "framing experiments" are the same and not all metaphors are as "generative" as others, or generate what the participants in an activity system of learning hope it will. If modeling is as crucial a part of expansive learning, as Engestrom presents it, we must continue to examine how metaphor is formed and used in bringing about expansive learning and the change it promises.

Limitations of the Study

This study presents various limitations, the first of which is that my observations only took place in each classroom during a limited time period during the school year in anticipation of what I had identified as the culminating activity of each class. I was aware of this limitation and tried to extend my time in each classroom by making observations after the culminating experience had ended. In my efforts to characterize language learning and use in each setting, I also added to classroom observations what teachers told me about their classes and practices, as well as what the former SI students told me about their experiences in their Spanish Language AP class earlier in the school year. I was able to see the language learning and use of the SI 5th graders over the course of the school year through their *Libretas de lectura* and materials from their *Club de Libros*; however, I did not have the opportunity to observe their language learning and use in other ways in their classroom earlier in the year.

As with any study using qualitative methods, this study is susceptible to certain weaknesses. The subjects of interviews and the focus group may have responded to questions in ways that they thought I wanted them to. Students may have acted differently in classrooms and at El Molino because they knew they were being observed. Because I am the parent of a former SI student from this program, teachers, administrators and students may have responded to me differently than they might have to someone not associated with the program. I attempted to mitigate these issues by adhering as closely as I could to a research plan and interview protocols, including asking the subjects the same interview questions.

Because this study focused on the particular problems of the Midville School District's SI program, the findings may not be generalizable to other populations of students. It points to the need to carry out more research of this type in other TWI

settings, and to consider other types of TWI programs, including ones that do extend from K-12th grade, to understand similar problems or questions raised in those environments.

"Not what you want to know for Spanish": Language Learning and Use in the Lives of TWI Students

By the time Midville's TWI students reached high school, they were already thinking about where their language learning and use would take them, and considering future directions as Spanish speakers, and as speakers of other languages as well. Some were considering study abroad as an option in college, others envisioning Spanish as something to use for everyday purposes in conversing with other Spanish speakers, or in business or other employment settings. While some of them had absorbed the deficit view of their orthographic and grammatical errors, some rejected the view of language presented to them in high school World Language classes as unnatural and artificial, representing encapsulated school forms, like completing assignments for teachers and taking exams, or as Virginia put it "not what you want to know for Spanish" (Focus group, 5/5/09). Where they would go with and how they would use their two languages was not clear to them. Little, if any research has been done to test out the view of life-long language learning and use, or the language ideologies and attitudes of former TWI students, so Mr. Foster's and Ms. Gomez's vision of students using language for pleasurable, socially responsible purposes long into the future may or may not be coming true in the lives of their and other former TWI students. It has been my impression that many parents of TWI students hope for them to love their second languages, and use them not only for instrumental purposes, for their own social and economic benefit, but for the benefit of their families, communities and society as a whole, as people whose horizons have been expanded, as Ms. Gomez said of the social consequences of her work. As the number of TWI programs continues to grow, only time and much more research will tell whether this language policy project has the sort of social benefits so many hope for.

Epilogue: What Might the Future of the SI Middle School Program Be?

Though Midville School District personnel may have felt satisfied with the SI middle school Program Review process and the new program it led to, whether the program has improved is still up for debate.

Several factors point to the possibility that very little has changed in the new program, other than how the SI middle school classes are structured within the larger school structures. Indeed, the policy document drafted by the Program Review group pointed toward the continued dominance of the high school Spanish classes in determining the focus of the SI middle school program. Though the main middle school curriculum developers, Ms. Gomez, the fifth grade teacher, and Ms Fisher, the district administrator strongly defended and promoted the middle school's literacy-based and elementary-TWI-oriented approach, Ms. Gomez explained to me in December 2010, that she believed that none of the middle school teachers fully implemented the curriculum. Instead, given their training as Spanish language teachers, they tended to orient to a

World Language model that prevailed in the high school classes. It is the case that there is some variation in how strongly they apply the World Language model but the bottom line is that the new approach did not take hold as Ms. Gomez and Ms. Fisher had hoped it would. The nature of language learning and use in the SI middle school classes continues to depend upon the ideologies of language learning and use held by the teachers.

A second factor in the long-term development of the SI middle school program was the loss of institutional memory (and, therefore, of understanding the nature of the historical crisis in the program) because of significant changes in administrative personnel. At the district level, Mr. Bell and Ms. Fisher retired in June 2009, having never seen the new program implemented. At the school level, Mr. Worth left as principal in June 2010, taking a position with the district as Assistant Superintendent of Secondary Education; his role at the district level would potentially put him in touch with the middle school SI program, however, given the breadth of concerns at the district's secondary school, and the relatively small size of the SI middle school program, his attention to the program could be easily overwhelmed. Even Mr. Foster, much to the surprise of his school community, left the principalship of Midville Elementary to take a position as principal at another elementary school in the district. These changes in many of the primary administrators who led the Program Review and were responsible for the SI Middle School Program implementation raise the question of what actions their replacements will take, and what ideologies of language learning and use might guide their decisions.

The personnel who have remained in place are the teachers, Ms. Gomez in the SI 5th grade class, Mr. Mann, in the Spanish Language AP class, and Mr. Sanchez and Ms. Morelli at the middle school, joined by one of two new middle school teachers hired in 2010. Given the lack of resolution in their differing ideologies of language learning and use, the same conflicts potentially exist, and only time will tell if they will surface again.

In June 2011, Ms. Gomez invited me to come see what the SI teachers at Midville Elementary had developed for implementing K-5 assessment of students' Spanish language development. Since Mr. Bell, who had been in charge of assessment efforts during the Program Review year, had left the district, it is easy to imagine that the language assessment effort was put aside temporarily. However, the SI teachers took up the challenge, and Ms. Gomez was enthusiastic about their efforts. She relayed, "We [teachers] are just itching to get this thing rolled out K-5 so that the parents and we, the teachers, have a better idea about where the students are with their oral language development and participation in Spanish" (electronic correspondence, 6/29/11). Given the historical conflict over the quality of the SI middle schoolers' Spanish language knowledge and skills, the information they would gain from this effort would mean the power to be able to counter the deficit messages they have heard about their students.

In the end, all the same historical tensions exist between the Midville Spanish Immersion Program and the Midville High School World Language program. There is a strong possibility that another crisis will erupt in the future, especially since there is so little coherence across the school years surrounding the ideologies about what using and learning Spanish should look like in the lives of Midville students.

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Appendix A: Map of Ms. Gomez's classroom, 1/13/09, with focal students
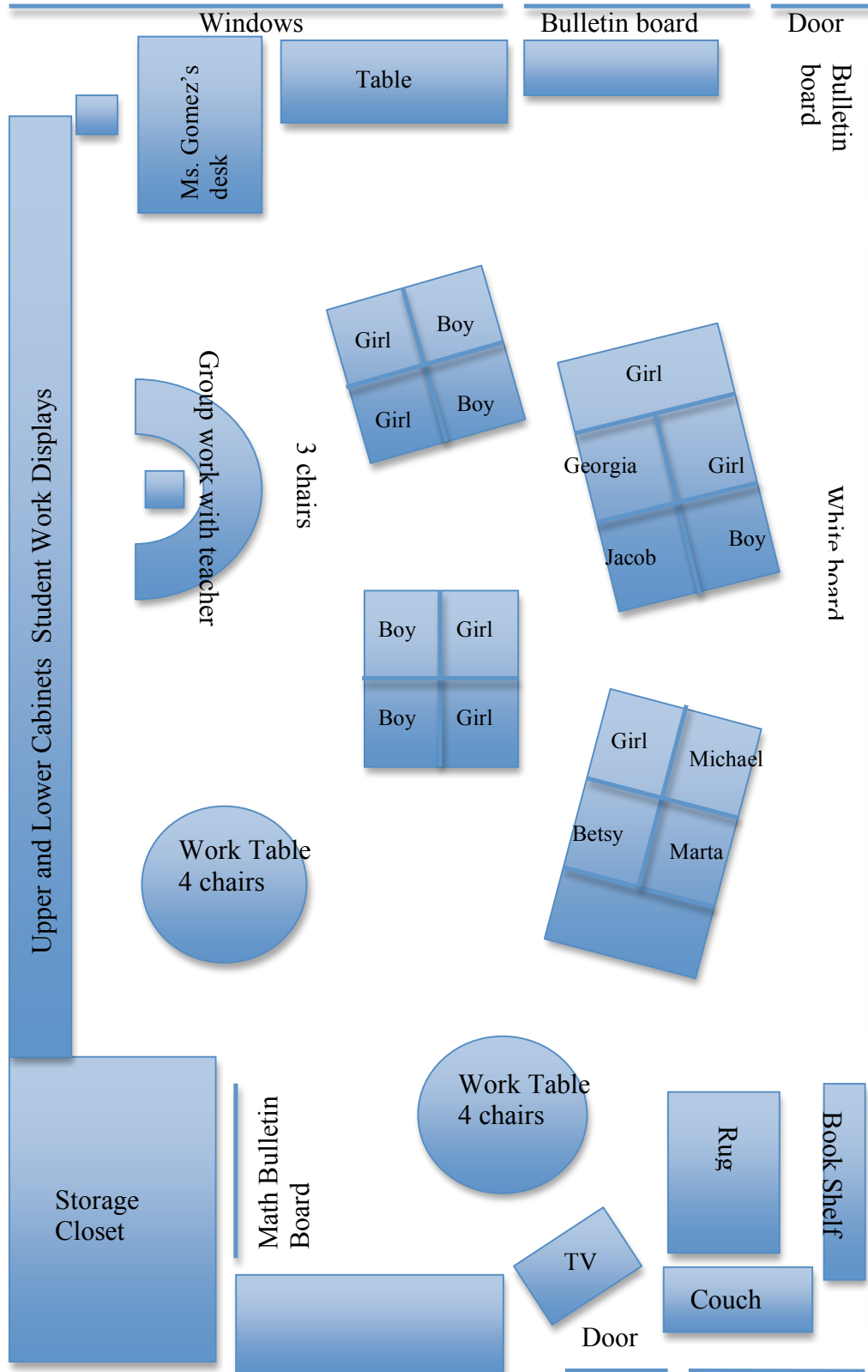
Appendix B: Midville High School National Test Scores and National Merit Program Participants, 2010-11

ACT Test Scores: Composite Average

Year	2008	2009	2010
Midville HS Scores	26.8	26.5	27.3
Nat'l Scores	21.1	21.1	21.0

SAT Reasoning Scores: Mean

Year	2008	2009	2010	Nat'l Mean
Verbal	629	630	637	501
Math	656	655	670	516
Writing	629	632	644	492

AP Scores (May 2010)

522 students took 1084 tests
93% scored 3 or higher
49% scored a grade of 5

National Merit Program

Year	2009	2010	2011
Semi-finalists	27	46	28
Commended scholars	55	52	48

Appendix C: Map of Mr. Mann's classroom, 4/16/09

Low cabinets with shelf for materials	Posters above	Armoir

Bulletin board with student art

Boy	Girl		Boy	Girl

Girl	Girl		Girl	Boy

Empty

Boy

Girl

Whiteboard

Wall with posters

Boy	Boy

Girl	Girl

Mr. Mann's podium

Boy	Girl

Boy	Girl

Girl	Girl

Boy

Boy

Boy

Boy

Boy	Boy		Boy	Boy

Door to hallway

Girl	Girl		Girl	Boy

Door to outside

Whiteboard
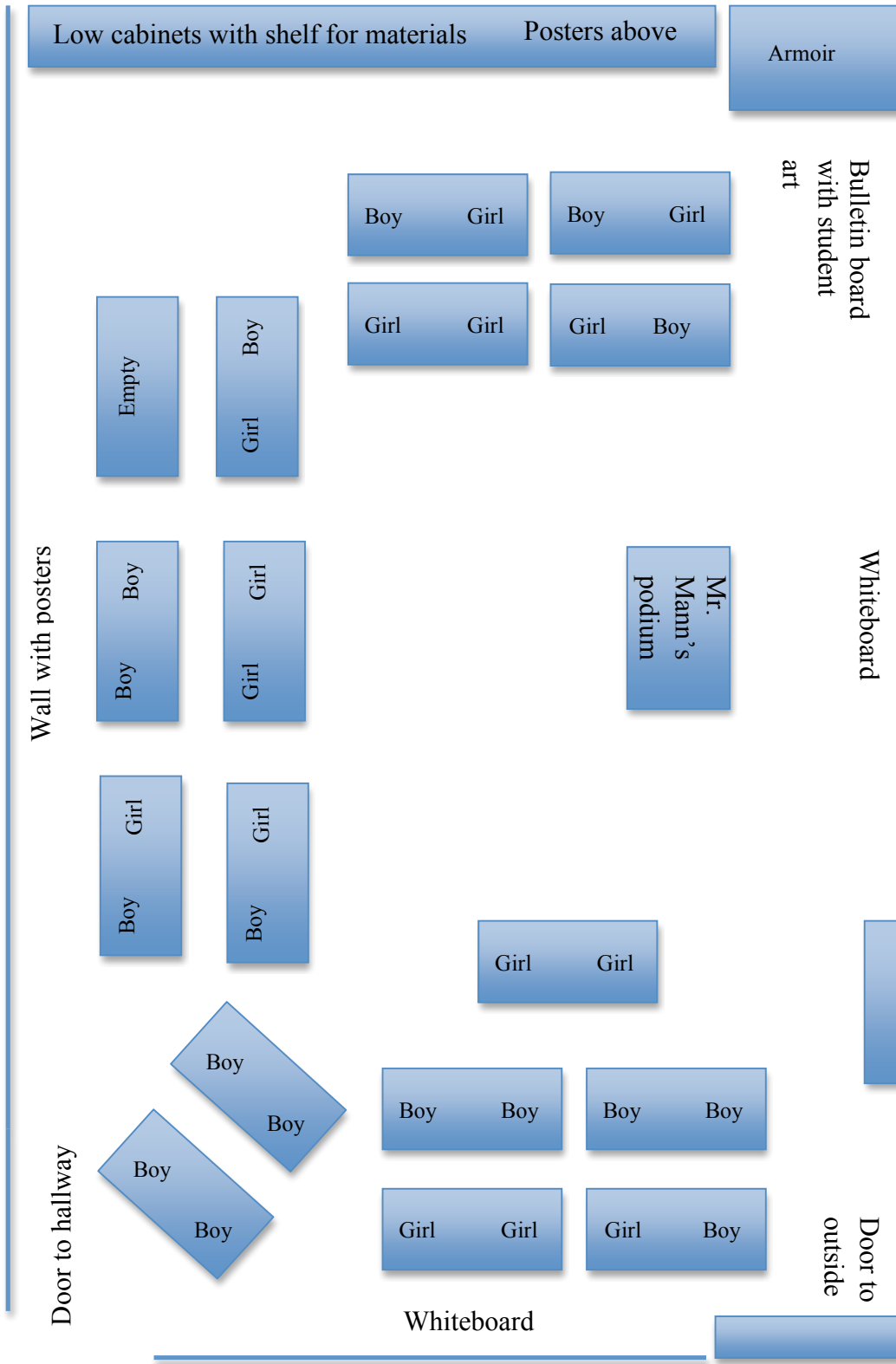
Appendix D: Room Map, Spanish Immersion Program Review Group, 11/6/08

Elem SI Teacher	SI Elem SI Teacher	Empty	Empty	Mr. Worth, Principal Middle School	Asst. Principal, Middle School

Empty

Male Parent

Empty

Female Parent

Mr. Foster, Prin., Elem School

Female Parent

Empty

Empty

Researcher

Empty

Empty

University WL Consultant

Ms. Fisher, Assoc. Supt for Elem Ed

Mr. Bell, Director Secondary Ed, WL Supervisor	Mr. Mann, High School WL Supervisor, AP Teacher	Mr. Sanchez, Middle School Spanish Teacher	Empty	Empty

Appendix E: Protocol for Interview of Teachers and Administrators in Study

(All probe material is hypothetical and will be adapted to particular subjects being interviewed).

The purpose of this interview is to understand:
Fifth grade Spanish Immersion Teacher
- the goals for your two way immersion class, about
- how the curriculum and practices you are using fit into those goals and
- how you feel about students' interactions with both target languages and the curriculum through which they are presented and which they mediate.

High School Spanish Language AP Teacher
- what you know about two way immersion education
- how you see TWI students fitting into your foreign language classroom
- what you see as the goals for your AP Spanish Language class (both those proceeding from the ETS and from your own philosophy)
- how you feel about students' interactions with Spanish and the AP curriculum

Administrators from Middle School Program Review
- the goals for a two way immersion program
- your understanding of the role of the middle school component in the program
- your understanding of the challenges facing the middle school program as it is reconstituted

Your participation in this interview is voluntary and the contents of your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

I. Teaacher and Administrator background

a) All: How long, where and in what situations have you been teaching?
    Probe: I know this is your _____ year at the elementary/middle/high school, and that you have/have not taught in the SI program before, but I don't know the details of your teaching background.

b) Teachers: How did you become a bilingual/biliterate in Spanish?
    Probe: I know that each of the teachers in the program has an interesting history with their first/second language.

    Administrators: Tell me a bit about your own experience with language learning and teaching

c) All: What is your definition of being bilingual?
    Probe: Theorists and researchers in bilingualism say that when we say we

are bilingual, it's not always clear what we mean. Tell me how you would define being bilingual.

II. Immersion Education

    a) All: What do you see as the goals of two way language immersion education?
        Probe: I know that you have had a lot of experience teaching language and other experience teaching in this program. How have you come to understand the purpose and goals of SI programs?

    b) All: What are some ways you have seen this program change and/or develop since you first came to know it?

    c) All: How do the goals of this immersion program compare with those you've experienced in teaching in other language arts/second language?
        Probe: Tell me a bit about your experience in teaching language arts or foreign language.

    d) All: How would you describe an "ideal immersion student"? "ideal foreign language student"?
        Probe: Ideas about what makes for a good immersion student:
        • one who talks a lot, uses Spanish more than English
        • one who writes well
        • one who is interested in how language works
        • one who speaks "correctly"
        • one who gets good test scores
        • one who is interested in cultural aspects of language learning
        • one who is from a Spanish-speaking or bilingual family; one from an English-speaking family
        How would you describe an "ideal immersion teacher"?

    e) All: Would you say ideal immersion teachers differ from ideal foreign language teachers? If so, how?

III. Foreign Language vs. Immersion Education

    a) All: How do you feel that teaching the core curriculum in the target language affects the language learning that the kids do?
        Probe: I know that immersion education is very different from traditional foreign language education and that many parents are happy that their kids are receiving core curriculum in Spanish.

    b) All: Are there special ways in which using the core curriculum as the mechanism for learning Spanish supports language learning?
        Probe: You have several years' experience with this program in classes that focus on core curriculum rather than elective classes.

c) All: Are there any ways in which teaching core curriculum complicates/interferes with/prevents language learning?

d) All: What are some ways in which you feel a Spanish as a World Language class differs from a Spanish Immersion class in how it interacts with the target language? (aside from how knowledgable and experienced they are)

e) Teachers: What are some of the practices you have developed that you feel most benefit language development goals of the class?
>   Probe: I've noticed you've used a variety of classroom practices this semester.

f) Teachers: How have you developed those practices? Have other teachers been involved? Have you attended any special professional development events?

IV. Students and Language Performance

a)   All: What are some of the ways you see students using Spanish/English either inside or outside the classroom?
>   Probe: I've been very interested in how and when students are using their English and Spanish in your classroom and would like to later find out how they are using it outside of it as well.

b) All: What are some of the ways you wish students would use Spanish/English in or out of class?

c) All: What are some of the experiences with language you wish students could have before they come into your class?
>   Probe: I'm sure that you've had some conversations with the elementary/middle school teachers about what they are doing in their classes and about students whom they have received from /are sending on to your class.

d) Teachers: What are some of the experiences with language that you try to encourage/enable in your class?

Administrators: What are some of the experiences with language that you think should be encouraged/enabled in SI students?

e) Spanish Immersion Teacher: What do you hope your students have learned or experienced before you send them on to high school Spanish classes?
>   Probe: What experience have you had with teaching/learning Spanish as a foreign language in the high school context?

f) Teachers: What do you feel the class I observed is doing particularly well in

its use of Spanish? or English?

[All this could lead to a discussion of spoken Spanish/English so I also need to be prepared with questions about Spanish/English literacy if we don't touch on it]

g) All: How do you think your students feel about becoming/being bilingual? about being Spanish learners? about being English learners?
    Probe: I am interested in how students of language develop identities around those languages.

h) Spanish Immersion Teacher/Administrators: What are their feelings about being in this program?
    Probe: Some of the kids in your class might be there mainly because their parents want them there. Others may have developed their own reasons for being in the program.

i) Spanish Immersion Teacher/Administrators: What do you think are the main reasons kids would want to leave the program?

V. History of middle school program

a) All: Tell me a bit about the factors that led to the middle school program being suspended this year.
    Probe: I know that the middle school program was suspended this year and that a variety of factors led to that suspension. And I know you may have limited knowledge about them, but I am interested in hearing about what you do know.

b) All: What most concerns you as the district reviews the program and considers how to reshape the middle school component?

c) All: What would you most like to see happen to the middle school component of the program?

Thanks for your participation in this interview. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix F: Protocol for choosing *talleres* to observe at El Molino, Winter 2009

List of typical *talleres* offered each year with 2009 offerings

Typical offerings	Offered in 2009	Observed	Focal Students
Alebrijes (local handiwork)	Offered	Yes	Jacob Georgia
Papel 3-D (3-D paper)	Offered		
Diseño (design)	Offered		
Producción de Radio (radio production)	Offered	Yes	Marta
Cocina (cooking)	Not offered		
Deshilado (needlework)	Offered	Yes	Betsy
Cuidado de animales (caring for animals)	Offered	Yes	Betsy
Hojas de maíz (corn stalk art)	Offered		
Botánica (botanicals)	Not offered		
Telar (weaving)	Offered		
Biología (biology)	Offered	Yes	Emilia Gustavo Michael
Ecología (ecology)	Not offered		
Bacteriología (beacteriology)	Not offered		
Joyería (jewelry making)	Not offered		
Perfumería (perfume making)	Not offered		
Sombreros (hat weaving)	Offered	Yes	Emilia Gustavo Michael
Exploración (exploration)	Offered		
Quesos y embutidos (cheese and sausage making)	Offered		

Rationale for choosing talleres to observe:
- Looking for a range of "spheres of human activity" or language domains in science/technology (producción de radio, biología), arts/handicrafts (alebrijes, deshilado, sombreros), domestic (cuidado de animales, deshilado).
- Domestic activities in which boys (cuidado de animales) and girls (deshilado) would be likely to participate.
- Looking for minimum of 2 boys, 2 girls as focal students.

Appendix G: Protocol for Spanish 4 AP Exam Focus Group

Selection of subjects: Focus group will include any and all former Midville TWI students who take the AP exam in May 2009. Total of 14 students invited.

Recruitment will take place through their Spanish AP classes and through individual contact with researcher.

Subjects will be offered a pizza lunch/snack immediately following the Spanish 4 AP exam. (Had to change to after school because students are in class in the pm.)

Researcher will make an effort to hear from as many students as possible, and be aware of the gender, ethnicity and language dominance of respondents. She will also ask whether group would prefer to conduct discussion in English, Spanish or both languages.

The one-hour group meeting will be video taped.

Preliminary questions for group:

1. Let's discuss the exam that you just finished. In general, how was it? (looking for their general characterization of level of difficulty, probing for particular areas of interest, confusion, ease, difficulty.)
2. Then on to more specific areas of the exam:
   a. What was the theme of the writing sections of the exam? Have you ever written about those subjects before? How did that writing compare with the writing you have done in your AP class? How did it compare with writing you have done in your middle school or elementary school TWI experience? What was difficult or easy for you in completing the writing?
   b. What were the themes of the listening sections of the exam? (dialogue/narrative) How familiar did you feel with that subject matter? What was difficult or easy for you in completing that part of the exam?
   c. What were the themes of the speaking sections of the exam? How familiar did you feel with that subject matter? What was difficult or easy for you in completing that part of the exam?
   d. How about the language knowledge, grammar section of the exam? How did you feel your AP class prepared you for that section?
3. Let's talk about the AP course you took this year.
   a. Why did you all decide to take this course? What did you feel would be the benefit to you? (wondering if any will mention parents' expectations)
   b. What were some of the highlights of the course for you?
   c. What did you find particularly interesting?
   d. What were some parts of the course that didn't interest you as much?
   e. How did you feel about your performance in the course as a former TWI student? How did you feel your experience with Spanish compared with that of the other students in the course?

    f.   I know the emphasis of the course is on grammar and composition—how well did you feel prepared for the course?

    g.   What difficulties did you have in understanding and learning about Spanish grammar?

    h.   How do you feel the language learning in this course compares with the language learning you were doing when you were a TWI student?

    i.   If a different kind of Spanish course had been offered to you, one that focused less on grammar and more on reading, writing, speaking about some specific subject matter, would you have been interested in taking it? What sort of subject matter would you have been interested in?

4. Now let's go back in time to talk about your experience at a TWI student.

    a.   What do you recall as some of the highlights of your experience in middle school TWI? In elementary school? (both social and academic)

    b.   Tell me about a writing assignment that stands out in your memory. Why was it an important assignment to you?

    c.   Tell me about your reading habits in middle and elementary school in both your languages. What's a Spanish-language book that stands out to you?

    d.   What important experiences in social studies and science do you recall? Were those experiences in which you used Spanish or English?

    e.   In TWI education, students learn IN and ABOUT two languages at once. Can someone tell a story about a time when you felt you were really learning in or about either language?

    f.   What are some of the things you think you learned about using Spanish and English in elementary and middle school?

    g.   What do you wish you could do better with either of your languages now?

    h.   How do you imagine using your two languages in the future (college or beyond)?

Will finally collect contact information for all students to follow up with future online survey after high school graduation.

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Leer es Pensar
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FLUIDEZ
- Descifrar y Pronunciar Bien las Palabras
- Usar la Puntuación y Ser Expresiv@

VIVIR EN EL CUENTO
- Visualizar y Hacer una Película en tu Mente
- Conexión Personal
- Reacción Emocional
- Predecir

ENTENDER
- Detective de Palabras
- Clarificar
- Resumir las Acciones Principales Continuamente
- Recolectar información importante
- Conexión T-Texto o T-Información General
- Inferencias

ANALIZAR
- Caractarísticas de los Personajes
- Conexión T-Temas Universales
- Componentes de Cuentos (Escenario, Enganche, Problem Central etc.)
- Mensaje
- Estilo de Autor (Cuento dentro de Cuento, Prefigurar, Metáforas, etc.)
- Opinión

APLICAR
- Ahora pienso/siento diferente de…
- Lo que leí y aprendí me inspira a hacer…

Appendix I: Betsy's List of books by genre

Genre	Total in Spanish	Titles	Author
Ficción realística	8	El bosque de los pigmeos	Isabel Allende
		La habitacion de los reptiles	Lemony Snicket
		El aserradero lugubre	Lemony Snicket
		Hoyos	Louis Sachar
		Le club de canguro	Ann M. Martin
		Historias de Franz	Christine Nöstingler
		La ciudad de las bestias	Isabel Allende
		La gran Gilly Hopkins	Katherine Paterson
Fantasía	6	Menuda bruja	Eva Ibbotson
		El concurso de brujas	Eva Ibbotson
		Harry Potter y la camara secreta	J.K. Rowling
		Harry Potter y #5	J.K. Rowling
		Amanecer	Stephanie Meyers
		Luna nueva	Stephanie Meyers
Ciencia ficción	3	20,000 leguas de viaje submarino	Jules Verne
		El professor Poopsnagle	Theresa de Cherisey
		El dador	Lois Lowry
Informativo	4	¡Qué fuerte es la música!	Jose Luis Cortes
		¡Da gusto inventar!	Felix Moreno
		¡Qué mágico es mi cuerpo!	Maria Menendez-Ponte
		La ciencia en un perique	Ricardo Gomez
Literatura traditional	4	La vuelta al mundo en 80 días	Jules Verne
		El principito	Antoine de Saint-Exupéry
		Historias de Andersen	Hans Christian Andersen
		Las aventuras de Tom Sawyer	Mark Twain
Ficción histórica	2	El signo del castor	Elizabeth George Speare
		La invención de Hugo Cabret	Brian Selznick
Biografía	0		

Appendix J: Marta's List of Books by Genre

Genre	Total in Spanish	Titles	Author
Ficción realística	4	Hoyos	Louis Sachar
		Pero, ¡qué chicas tan malas!	Cynthia Voigt
		Stargirl	Jerry Spinelli
		¿Quién cuenta las estrellas?	Lois Lowry
Fantasía	9	Escalofrios	R. L. Stine
		Harry Potter y #5	J.K. Rowling
		Puente hasta Terabithia	Katherine Paterson
		Le leon, la bruja y el armario	C. S. Lewis
		Crepúsculo	Stephanie Meyers
		Eragon	Christopher Paolini
		El catelejo lacado	Philip Pullman
		Eldest	Christopher Paolini
		Luces del norte	Philip Pullman
Ciencia ficción	3	El professor Poopsnagle	Theresa de Cherisey
		Alto secreto	John Reynolds Garner
		Fuera de este mundo	Lourdes Orred
Informativo	4	¡Qué fuerte es la música!	Jose Luis Cortes
		¡Da gusto inventar!	Felix Moreno
		La ciencia en un perique	Ricardo Gomez
		Hasta (casi) los bichos	Daniel Nesquens
Literatura traditional	4	El viaje al centro de la tierra	Jules Verne
		Hércules, Teseo, Édipo	Gustav Schwab
		Los doce trabajos de Hércules	Geraldine McCaughrean
		Cuentos de lugares encantados	Andres Bello (editor)
Ficción histórica	5	El signo del castor	Elizabeth George Speare
		Paolo, pintor, renacentista	Jacqueline Balcells y Ana Maria Güiraldes
		Esplandián, caballero andante	Jacqueline Balcells y Ana Maria Güiraldes
		Chimalpopoca, niño Azteco	Jacqueline Balcells y Ana Maria Güiraldes
		Como una alondía	Patricia Maclachlan
Biografía	1	El ataque al Pearl Harbor	Elizabeth Hudson-Goff

Appendix K: Michael's List of Books by Genre

Genre	Total in Spanish	Titles	Author
Ficción realística	6	La escapada de Ralph	Beverly Cleary
		El muchacho que bateaba solo jonrones	Matt Christopher
		El mediocampista	Matt Christopher
		Wu, un perro fantástico	Renate Welsh
		Lloro por la tierra	Mildred D. Taylor
		Hank, el perro vaquero	John R. Erickson
Fantasía	4	El superzorro	Roald Dahl
		Nemo	Gail Herman
		La llave mágica	Lynne Reid Banks
		El museo de los sueños	Joan Manuel Gisbert
Ciencia ficción	2	Alto secreto	John Reynolds Garner
		Fuera de este mundo	Lourdes Orred
		La vuelta al mundo en 80 días	Jules Verne
Informativo	0		
Literatura tradicional	3	Cuentos de lugares encantados	Andres Bello (editor)
		Huckleberry Finn	Mark Twain
		Robinson Crusoe	Jules Verne
Ficción histórica	4	Hermano lobo	M. Paolin
		Mi rincón en la montaña	Jean Craighead
		El hacha	Gary Paulsen
		La isla de los delfines azules	Scott Odel
Biografía	3	En el campo de juego con Derek Jeter	Matt Christopher
		En el campo de juego con Alex Rodrigues	Matt Christopher
		David Crockett (Historias de siempre)	Unknown

Appendix L: AP Spanish Language Free Response Questions, 2007-2011, Regular and Form B (in Spanish)

Item/Exam	2007 Regular	2007 Form B
Interpersonal Writing	Imagina que un amigo o amiga va a cumplir dieciocho años de edad la semana próxima y le han organizado una fiesta. Tú no puedes asistir porque tienes que participar en una importante actividad escolar ese mismo día. Escríbele una nota a tu amigo o amiga y • explica por qué no puedes ir • expresa deseos apropiados • haz planes para celebrar la ocasión en otro momento	Acabas de ir al cine y has visto una película que te ha gustado mucho. Escribe un mensaje electrónico a un amigo/a y • Cuenta lo que más te llamó la atención • Recomiéndasela a tu amigo/a • Haz planes par air al cine juntos
Presentational Writing	¿Cómo afecta el turismo a la cultura y al medio ambiente?	¿Cuál es la importancia del deporte como expression de un pueblo?
Interpersonal Speaking	Imagina que recibes un mensaje telefónico de tu amigo Eduardo quien te pide que lo llames por teléfono. Escucha el mensaje.	Imagina que estás en México y deseas comprar una prenda de ropa. Llamas a una compañía que vende por teléfono para comparar el artículo.
Presentational Speaking	Compara las diferencias y las semejanzas sobre cómo los grupos mencionados (Boricuas y Paraguayos) mantienen su identidad cultural en los Estados Unidos.	Compara las semejanzas y diferencias de las ideas reflejadas en las fuentes sobre los roles domésticos de hombres y mujeres.

Item/Exam	2008 Regular	2008 Form B
Interpersonal Writing	Imagina que te vas a graduar de la escuela secundaria. Escribe una carta a un maestro o una maestra que ha tenido una influencia positiva en tu vida escolar. En la carta debes • explicar el motivo por que le escribes • explicar su importancia en tu vida escolar • describir tus planes para el futuro • despedirte dándole las gracias	Escribe un mensaje electrónico a un amigo o una amiga, donde le cuentas brevemente tus planes para el verano. En tu mensaje debes • mencionar tus planes • explicar por qué te interesan esas actividades • comentar lo que más te entusiasma • sugerir una actividad que puedan hacer juntos o juntas en el futuro

Presentational Writing	¿Cuál es el impacto del comercio y las inversiones internationales en algunos países del mundo?	¿Cuál ha sido el impacto del ferrocarril?
Interpersonal Speaking	Has solicitado un puesto como aprendiz en la emisora de televisión Nuestravisión. Imagina que recibes una llamada telefónica de la directora de la estación para hablar sobre el trabajo.	Imagina que te encuentras con tu amiga Ana en la cafetería de la escuela temprano por la mañana para hacer los preparativos para una fiesta antes del fin del año escolar.
Presentational Speaking	Compara las semejanzas y las diferencias de las vidas y la producción artística de los músicos Carlos Santana y Gustavo Santaolalla.	Compara las semejanzas y las diferencias sobre los efectos del uso del etanol en los Estados Unidos y en México.

Item/Exam	2009 Regular	2009 Form B
Interpersonal Writing	Escribe un mensaje electrónico a un amigo o una amiga. Imagina que en breve te vas a mudar a la misma ciudad donde él o ella vive. En el mensaje debes • saludar a tu amigo o amiga • explicar la razón por la que tu familia se muda • expresar tus sentimientos por el cambio de escuela • expresar tu alegría de poder verlo o verla	Escribe un correo electrónico a un amigo o amiga a quien quieres invitar a un evento deportivo. En tu mensaje debes • saludarle • invitarlo o invitarla al evento • describir el evento deportivo y explicar por qué será divertido • pedirle que te responda lo antes posible • despedirte
Presentational Writing	¿Cómo afecta el cambio climático a algunos animales?	¿Cómo va a afectar el cambio climático a la economía y a la vida de América Latina?
Interpersonal Speaking	Imagínate que recibes un mensaje telefónico de tu amigo Rafael invitándote a un restaurante.	Imagínate que te encuentras en la oficina del señor Diego Carrasco, el director de Estudios en el Extranjero, para entrevistarte como un posible líder de un grupo de estudiantes que va a Costa Rica, donde estudiaste el año pasado durante el verano.
Presentational Speaking	Compara las diferencias y las semejanzas de las ideas presentadas en los dos congresos sobre el idioma español.	Compara las semejanzas y las diferencias sobre lo que expresan las dos fuentes sobre la fotografía.

Item/Exam	2010 Regular	2010 Form B
Interpersonal	Tu mejor amigo o amiga y su	Estás viajando por un país de

Writing	familia te invitan a pasar una semana de vacaciones con ellos. Escríbele un correo electrónico a tu amigo o amiga. En tu mensaje debes • saludarle • agradecerle la invitación • sugerir posibles actividades durante la semana de vacaciones • despedirte	habla hispana. Escribe una tarjeta postal a un amigo o amiga desde ese lugar. En tu mensaje debes • explicar por qué estás visitando ese lugar • contar lo que has hecho • describir lo que más te gusta de ese sitio
Presentational Writing	¿Qué impacto tiene la música en la vida de los jóvenes?	¿Por qué es importante la educación en el desarrollo de las sociedades?
Interpersonal Speaking	Imagina que después de la clase tu profesora de español te habla acerca de unos planes para celebrar una «Semana de Idiomas» para promover el estudio del español.	Imagina que vas de compras durante un fin de semana y te encuentras con tu amiga María en el centro comercial. Hablan de un producto que acabas de comprar.
Presentational Speaking	Compara la vida y las experiencias de los escritores Juan Marsé y Gabriela Mistral.	Compara las semejanzas y las diferencias de las experiencias de los autores Alfonsina Storni y Carlos Fuentes.

Item/Exam	2011 Regular	2011 Form B
Interpersonal Writing	Imagina que vas a participar en un programa de estudios en Quito, Ecuador. Escribe una tarjeta postal a la familia con quien vas a vivir. En el mensaje debes • saludar a la familia • explicar por qué quieres estudiar en el extranjero • averiguar acerca de las características de la ciudad • expresar tus sentimientos sobre el viaje de estudios • despedirte	Imagina que acabas de leer un libro. Escribe un mensaje a un amigo o una amiga. En el mensaje debes • saludar a tu amigo o amiga • darle información sobre el libro • expresar tu opinión acerca del libro • recomendar leerlo o no leerlo • despedirte
Presentational Writing	¿Cuál es el impacto del uso de la bicicleta en distintos lugares del mundo?	¿Por qué es aconsejable mantener una vida sana y activa?
Interpersonal Speaking	Imagina que recibes un mensaje de tu amiga Juana para pedirte que le devuelvas algo. Escucha el mensaje y devuélvele la llamada.	Imagina que estás en la escuela y te encuentras con una compañera que es estudiante de intercambio de un país donde se habla español. Ella te dice que acaban de invitarla a una fiesta.

Presentational Speaking	Compara las ideas expresadas en las dos fuentes sobre la salud.	Compara las diferencias y las semejanzas de las experiencias de los dos viajeros.

Appendix M: AP Spanish Language Free Response Questions, 2007-2011, Regular and Form B (in English)

Item/Exam	2007 Regular	2007 Form B
Interpersonal Writing	Imagine that a friend is going to turn 18 next week and your friends have organized a party for him/her. You can't attend because you have to participate in an important school activity that same day. Write a note to your friend and • Explain why you can't attend • Express your best wishes • Make plans to celebrate the occasion at some other time.	You've just gone to the movies and seen a film that you've liked a lot. Write an email to a friend and • Tell about what you liked best about the film • Recommend it to your friend • Make plans to go to the movies together.
Presentational Writing	How does tourism affect culture and environment?	What is the importance of sport as an expression of a people?
Interpersonal Speaking	Imagine that you receive a voice mail from your friend Eduardo who asks you to return his call.	Imagine that you are in Mexico and you want to buy a piece of clothing. You call a company that sells over the telephone to buy the item.
Presentational Speaking	Compare the differences and similarities in how the two groups discussed (Puerto Ricans and Paraguayans) maintain their cultural identities in the United States.	Compare the similarities and differences between the ideas reflected in the sources about the domestic roles of men and women.

Item/Exam	2008 Regular	2008 Form B
Interpersonal Writing	Imagine that you are going to graduate from high school. Write a letter to a teacher who has had a positive influence on your academic life. In the letter, you should • Explain the reason you are writing • Explain his/her importance in your academic life • Describe your future plans • Sign off, expressing your thanks.	Write an email to a friend in which you briefly explain your summer plans. In your email you should • Mention your plans • Explain why you're interested in these activities • Comment on what you are most excited about • Suggest an activity you can do together sometime.
Presentational Writing	What is the impact of business and international investments on some	What has been the impact of railroads?

	countries?	
Interpersonal Speaking	You have applied for an internship with Nuestravisión, a television network. Imagine that you receive a phone call from the director of the network to discuss the job.	Imagine that you meet your friend, Ana, in the school cafeteria early one morning to prepare for an end-of-the-school-year party.
Presentational Speaking	Compare the similarities and differences in the lives and artistic work of musicians Carlos Santana and Gustavo Santaolalla.	Compare the similarities and differences in the effects of the use of ethanol in the United States and Mexico

Item/Exam	2009 Regular	2009 Form B
Interpersonal Writing	Write an email to a friend. Imagine that soon you are going to move to the city where he/she lives. In the email, you should • Greet your friend • Explain the reason your family is moving • Tell about how you are feeling about changing schools • Express your excitement about seeing him/her.	Write an email to a friend you want to invite to a sporting event. In the email, you should • Greet him/her • Invite him/her to the event • Describe the sporting event and explain why it will be fun • Ask him/her to RSVP as soon as possible • Sign off.
Presentational Writing	How does climate change affect some animals?	How will climate change affect the economy and life in Latin America?
Interpersonal Speaking	Imagine that you receive a voice mail from your friend, Rafael, inviting you to a restaurant.	Imagine that you find yourself in the office of Diego Carrasco, the Director of International Studies, to interview as a possible leader of a group of students who are going to Costa Rica, where you studied last summer.
Presentational Speaking	Compare the differences and similarities between the ideas presented in the two congresses on the Spanish language.	Compare the similarities and differences between what the two sources say about photography.

Item/Exam	2010 Regular	2010 Form B
Interpersonal Writing	Your best friend and his/her family have invited you to spend a week's vacation with them. Write an email to your friend. In your email you should • Greet him/her	You are traveling in a Spanish-speaking country. Write a postcard to a friend from that place. In your message, you should • Explain why you are visiting

	• Thanks him/her for the invitation • Suggest some possible activities for the week • Sign off	that place • Tell about what you have done • Describe what you have liked best about the place.
Presentational Writing	What impact does music have on the lives of young people?	Why is education important in the development of societies?
Interpersonal Speaking	Imagine that after class, your Spanish teacher talks with you about plans to celebrate a "Language Week" to promote the study of Spanish.	Imagine that you are shopping one weekend and you run into your friend, Maria, in the mall. You talk about an item you have just bought.
Presentational Speaking	Compare the life and experiences of writers Juan Marsé and Gabriela Mistral.	Compare the similarities and differences in the experiences of writers Alfonsina Storni and Carlos Fuentes.

Item/Exam	2011 Regular	2011 Form B
Interpersonal Writing	Imagine that you are going to participate in a foreign study program in Quito, Ecuador. Write a postcard to the family you will live with. In the postcard, you should • Greet the family • Explain why you want to study abroad • Ask about some of the characteristics of the city • Tell about how you are feeling about studying abroad • Sign off.	Imagine that you just finished reading a book. Write a message to a friend. In the message, you should • Greet your friend • Tell him/her about the book • Tell him/her about your opinion of the book • Recommend that he/she read it or not • Sign off.
Presentational Writing	What is the impact of the use of bicycles in different places in the world?	Why is it advisable to maintain a healthy and active life?
Interpersonal Speaking	Imagine that you receive a message from your friend Juana to ask you to return something to her. Listen to the message and return her call.	Imagine that you are at school and you run into a classmate who is an exchange student from a Spanish-speaking country. She tells you that some people have just invited her to a party.
Presentational Speaking	Compare the ideas expressed in the two sources about health.	Compare the differences and similarities in the experiences of the two travelers.

Appendix N: AP Spanish Language Free Response Questions, 2007-2011, by Language Domains and Genres

Item/Exam	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Interpersonal Writing	Regular: 18th birthday party, excuse for not attending, personal note to friend	Regular: thank you, future plans, letter to high school teacher	Regular: family, moving cities, electronic message to friend	Regular: family, vacation, activities, accepting invitation of friend	Regular: study abroad in Ecuador, reasons, feelings, questions, postcard to family
	Form B: film, subject of film, electronic message, review, invitation to friend	Form B: summer plans, activities, electronic message to friend	Form B: sporting event, personal preferences, invitation to friend to event	Form B: travel in Spanish speaking country, activities, post card to family	Form B: book, electronic message, review, recommendation to friend
Presentational Writing	Regular: tourism, culture, environment, synthesis essay	Regular: commerce, int'l investment, globalization, synthesis essay	Regular: climate change, environ. studies, animal behavior, biology, synthesis essay	Regular: music, youth culture, academic performance, synthesis essay	Regular: bicycle use, impacts on societies, synthesis essay
	Form B: sports, cultural studies, synthesis essay	Form B: railroads, history, economics, synthesis essay	Form B: climate change, economics, Latin American society, synthesis essay	Form B: education, social/economic development, synthesis essay	Form B: health, obesity, exercise, synthesis argumentative essay
Interpersonal Speaking	Regular: Shakira concert, music, accepting invitation	Regular: employment, broadcast television, job application,	Regular: restaurant, accepting invitation, phone conversatio	Regular: school, event planning, promoting language	Regular: returning item borrowed, phone conversatio

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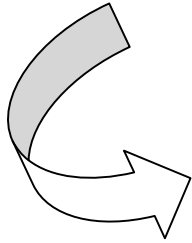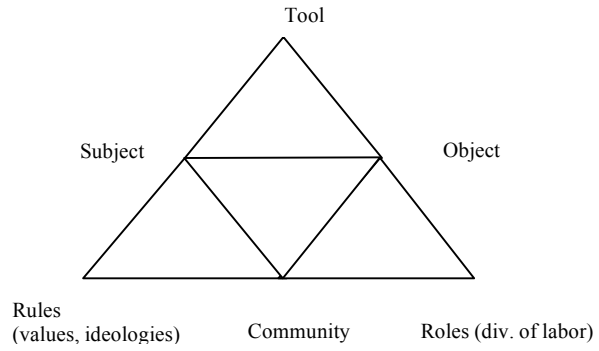|					
	from friend	phone interview	n with friend	learning, discussion with teacher	n with friend
	Form B: shopping, clothing, telephone call to clothing company in Mexico	Form B: party preparations, planning with school friend	Form B: employment, study abroad in Costa Rica, F2F interview	Form B: shopping, specific product, chatting with friend	Form B: school, exchange student, party, chatting with friend
Presentational Speaking	Regular: social, cultural identity, Puerto Rican celebration, Paraguayan dance, oral comparison	Regular: popular music production, life stories, oral comparison	Regular: Spanish linguistics, congress, oral comparison	Regular: writers, life history, writing, oral comparison	Regular: health, nutrition, oral comparison
	Form B: male/female domestic roles, oral comparison	Form B: ethanol use in Mexico and U.S., oral comparison	Form B: photography, oral comparison	Form B: writers, life experience, oral comparison	Form B: travelers and traveling, oral comparsion

Appendix O: Practice Exercises for AP Exam, Mr. Mann's class, by domains/genres (

Type of Practice/Data	4/9	4/16	4/21	4/30
Reading Comprehension		"El beso de la patria" (Spain) and "Al colegio" (Cuba) – short stories about memories of school, family and friendship	Short AP style reading: Fiction: Miguel, student in convent school, receives gift from the convent organist as he leaves for home (Spain).	
Listening Comprehension		Narrative: La significancia del Día de los Muertos en la cultura mexicana. (The meaning of Day of the Dead in Mexican culture.)		Dialogue: A couple looking for a house

Narrative: Minority languages and women in China. |
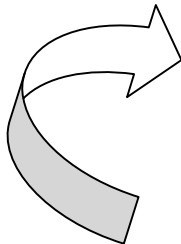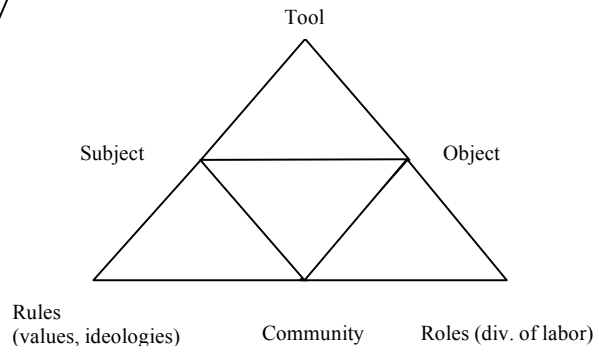| Presentational Writing | La lucha de los indígenas en muchas partes del mundo continúa hasta nuestros días. ¿Les debe algo la sociedad a los grupos indígenas por el tratamiento que recibieron en el pasado? | | | |
| Interpersonal Speaking | | Imagina que lllegas a clase muy temprano. Quieres hablar | | Imagina que recibes una llamada telefónica de |

		con tu maestro porque tienes un problema con el informe que tenías que hacer.		tu amigo Gilberto. (Has tenido un pequeño accidente mientras jugabas en el parque)
Presentational Speaking		En una presentación formal, discute los diferentes aspectos de la industria de las flores en Colombia y Latina América.		En una presentación formal compara la vision que tienes ahora de estas doe ciudades (Potosí y Bogotá).

Appendix P: Multiple Activity Systems of Spanish Immersion Middle School Program Review
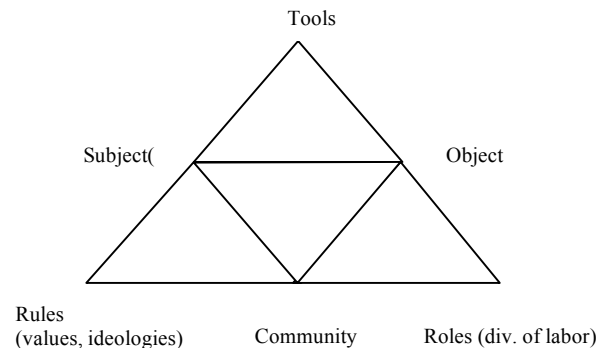
Elementary SI Program

Tool

Subject   Object

Rules
(values, ideologies)   Community   Roles (div. of labor)

Middle School SI Program

Tool

Subject   Object

Rules
(values, ideologies)   Community   Roles (div. of labor)

High School Foreign Lang. Program

Tools

Subject(Object

Rules
(values, ideologies)   Community   Roles (div. of labor)

Appendix Q: Overlapping Communities in Activity System of Program Review

Educational Setting and Community	Parent	Two-Way Immersion Ed	World Language Ed	Site Admin	District Admin
Elementary School		Ms. Fisher, Assoc. Supt., Elementary Education Mr. Foster, Principal Teacher 1, 3rd Teacher 2, K		Mr. Foster, Principal	Ms. Fisher, Assoc. Supt., Elementary Education
High School	Parent 1 (F)		Mr. Bell, District Supervisor World Languages Mr. Mann, Spanish Language AP Teacher Univ. World Languages consultant (M)	Mr. Mann, Supervising Instructor, World Languages	Mr. Bell, Director, Secondary Education
Middle School	Parent 1 (F) Parent 2 (M) Parent 3 (F)		Mr. Sanchez, Spanish Teacher	Mr. Worth, Principal Asst. Principal (F) Mr. Mann, Supervising Instructor, World Languages	Ms. Fisher, Assoc. Supt., Elementary Education (6th) Mr. Bell, Director, Secondary Education (7th/8th)