

Policy as Practice:
The Experiences and Views of Learners and Teachers
in Restrictive Language Contexts
by
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ABSTRACT

This study reports on research that explores local manifestations of Arizona's English-only language education policy by investigating the experiences of selected English language learners (ELLs) with reclassification into mainstream classrooms and four of their classroom teachers. In this study, I employed ethnographic methods (participant observation, document collection, interviewing, and focus groups) to investigate what practices emerge after ELLs are reclassified as “Fluent English Proficient” (FEP) students and moved from “the four-hour English Language Development (ELD) block” into mainstream classrooms. With a focus on the perspectives and experiences of twelve 5th and 6th grade elementary school students and four of their teachers, I examined how students and teachers viewed and responded to restrictive language policies and the practices that accompany them. One finding from this study is that students and teachers believed that the four-hour ELD block helped prepare students to learn English, but “proficiency” in English as determined by the Arizona English Language Learner Assessment (AZELLA) did not always indicate a solid understanding of the language used in the mainstream classrooms. A second finding from this study is that ideologies of language that position English over multilingualism are robust and further strengthened by language policies that prohibit the use of languages other than English in ELD and mainstream classrooms. A third finding from this study is that, in part because of the language restrictive policies in place, particular groups of students continued to engage in practices that enact ideologies of language that devalue multilingualism (e.g., “language policing”). At the same time, however, a close examination of student-to-student interaction indicates that these same students use their multiple linguistic and

communicative resources in a variety of creative and purposeful ways (e.g., through language crossing and language sharing). The close examination of policy as practice in a restrictive educational language policy context conducted here has implications for debates about English-only as a method and medium of instruction, about how the ideologies of language operate in situated interactional contexts, and about how youth might use existing resources to challenge restrictive ideologies and policies.

DEDICATION

To Darien, August, Leif, & Frank:

Thank you for all of your continued love, support, and encouragement.

I look forward to our next chapter.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The population of English language learners (ELL) continues to increase in the United States. Recent statistics report that between the 1997-2008 school years, the total number of ELLs enrolled in Pre K-12th grade jumped from 3,470,268 to 5,318,164, accounting for over 10 percent of the total student population (U.S. Department of Education, 2010). States with the largest percentages of ELLs include Nevada (31.3%), California, (24.3%), New Mexico (18.4%), Arizona (15.3%), and Texas (15%) (Batalova and McHugh, 2010). However, other states that traditionally do not have large numbers of ELL students, like Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, West Virginia, and Alabama, are also noticing a dramatic rise in ELL population growth, ranging between 50 percent and sometimes up to 200 percent or more (U.S. Department of Education, 2010).

As a result of these significant changes in demographics, public and charter schools must determine how to best educate students whose native language is not English. During the past fifteen years, several significant policies at the national and state level have been implemented to respond to the tensions surrounding the education of ELLs. Policies such as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) (2001), California's Proposition 227 (1998), Arizona's Proposition 203 (2000), and Massachusetts's Question 2 (2002) claim that language instruction in and through English is needed for "an accelerated path to success" in schools (Clark, 2009). These policies have brought attention to many of the challenges that ELLs face in schools today, but unfortunately, these policies also tend to originate from deficit perspectives (Valencia, 1997) that

suggest the multiple languages and cultures that ELL students bring to the classroom are problematic and interfere with the learning of content and the English language.

This study investigates how restrictive language policies are interpreted, implemented, and understood by teachers and students in a multilingual, multinational school located in Phoenix, Arizona. Focusing on the experiences and perspectives of students and teachers, this study demonstrates the complicated, dynamic, and contradictory ways that restrictive language policies might be understood and enacted in specific contexts.

One finding of this study is that teachers and students believed that the four-hour English Language Development (ELD) block helped students learn the English language; yet, it was not enough to prepare the learners for the academic demands of a mainstream classroom. A second finding is that the local language policy (English-only) appears to influence students' beliefs of language and language use, creating a hierarchy of languages that position English at the top, followed by Spanish, and then the other languages found in the mainstream classroom. A third finding is that in spite of the constraints of the restrictive language context, multilingual and multinational students in this study have a sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the value and utility of different languages in different contexts. This study's findings reveal the relationships between policy as practice and the learning experiences of reclassified ELLs in the mainstream classrooms.

Situational Context

In Arizona, voters passed restrictive language policies through Proposition 203, English for the Children in 2000. This mandate requires that all students designated as an ELL by the Arizona English Language Learner Assessment (AZELLA), the State's language proficiency test, shall be placed in an ELD classroom and be instructed through Structured English Immersion (SEI) methods for a minimum of four hours per day. Currently, SEI methods and the four-hour ELD block in Arizona solely focus on accelerated English language development in and through the English language. SEI methods have also been used in other states that have implemented English-only policies such as California and Massachusetts, but Arizona has been the only state to fully implement SEI *and* require the four-hour ELD block.

During the 2008-2009 fiscal school year, the state of Arizona served 150,078 K-12 students classified as ELL (Arizona Department of Education, 2009 June). How to best educate this robust and diverse ELL population has been a highly debated topic for many decades, especially in recent years with the passing of Proposition 203 by Arizona voters in November of 2000. This established a restrictive language policy, or English-only mandate, for all public and charter schools in the state. More support for the English-only policy came from the federal level, with the passing of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2001. Strict federal guidelines required all states to design and implement "high-quality language instruction educational programs" to assist ELL students in their English language development and proficiency (NCLB, 2001). The intent was to ensure all ELL students were proficient in English and could meet or exceed

the high demands of a challenging education without the lack of English language proficiency impeding their academic progress. The 2008-2009 school year marked the inauguration of SEI, as all public and charter schools were required to teach ELL students by using SEI methods in ELD classrooms for a minimum of four hours per day. This is the fourth year the four-hour block has been implemented by school districts across the state.

In recent years there has been a growing body of research that suggests there are numerous concerns surrounding the SEI model and the four-hour ELD block. Many researchers and educators of ELLs argue that this method of instruction and the restrictive language policies behind it encourage linguistic discrimination (Gándara, Losen, August, Uriarte, Gómez, & Hopkins, 2010), ethnic and linguistic segregation (Gándara & Orfield, 2010; Rios-Aguilar, González-Conche, & Moll, 2010), or negative consequences for achievement (García, Lawton, & Diniz de Figueiredo, 2010; Mahoney, MacSwan, Haladyna, & García, 2010; Rumberger & Tran, 2010; Uriarte, Tung, Lavan, & Diez, 2010; Wentworth, Pellegrin, Thompson, & Hakuta 2010). While some researchers argue that the negative consequences are due to a lack of quality teacher preparation (de Jong & Harper, 2005; de Jong, Arias, & Sánchez, 2010; Diniz de Figueiredo, Hammill, & Fredricks, 2011), others question the validity of the research supporting SEI methods and the four-hour ELD block altogether (August, Goldenberg, & Rueda, 2010; Florez, 2010; Krashen, Rolstad, & MacSwan, 2007; Lillie et al., 2010). There are compelling claims that SEI methods and the four-hour ELD block have serious implications for the academic achievement of ELLs even after students have been reclassified as Fluent

English Proficient¹ (or FEP) and are receiving content instruction in mainstream classrooms (August et al., 2010; Lillie et al., 2010; Mahoney, et al., 2010; Mahoney, Haladyna, & MacSwan, 2009).

In spite of this vast and growing scholarship on the limits of restrictive language policies, very few studies have closely examined the actual processes by which ELL students are reclassified and then monitored, and few studies consider the views and perspectives of those that are most affected: the English language learners and the teachers that work with them. More qualitative research that focuses on the student and teacher experiences with such methods and models of instruction and the impact of English-only instruction on the learning process during the reclassification period is needed to better understand how restrictive language policies are enacted in everyday classroom practices. This type of (qualitative) data can be beneficial in order to understand how students perceive and engage with policy and practice and this understanding can help to create policies and enact practices that better serve reclassified ELL students.

Personal Context

I came to this study with extensive education, training, and experience in the teaching of English language learners. My undergraduate studies focused on Spanish and elementary education; however, my goal was not to teach Spanish, but rather to work

¹ Fluent English Proficient (FEP) is a term adopted by the state of Arizona to refer to ELL students who have been reclassified from the four-hour ELD block as “Fluent English Proficient” by the AZELLA test. These students are then reclassified and monitored for two years in the mainstream classrooms. For this paper, I used the term reclassified ELL to refer to FEP learners.

with children who were labeled as ELL. My first year teaching, I worked in an inner-city school in Grand Rapids, Michigan, as a bilingual first grade teacher. This experience was very challenging and extremely rewarding. At the time, my greatest frustrations grew from not having the appropriate resources to work with the students. Basic supplies such as pencils, paper, and crayons were limited. I did not even have a chalkboard for the first month of the school and had to defend the need for one in my classroom. By the December break, there were no funds available to order classroom supplies and materials, so the teachers had to purchase their own or solicit donations from friends, family, and local businesses. These challenges were compounded by the unhealthy classroom and learning environment—lead paint peeling from the walls, rats running through the classroom, not to mention placing two separate first grade classes (40 students total) in a single classroom space. At the time, I was not aware of my role as a *bilingual* classroom instructor—I spoke Spanish and English randomly throughout the day to accommodate the native Spanish speaking students, the Spanish-English bilingual students, and native English speaking students. My principal supported my instructional approaches and I received positive comments on my formal teaching observations.

The following year I moved to McAllen, Texas, a border town approximately seven miles from Reynosa, Mexico, and taught in a third grade bilingual classroom. I was one of two Caucasians in a school of 950 Latino/a youth, teachers, and administrators. Some of my students were U.S. born, while others were Mexican nationals that lived with extended family during the week in order to attend school in the U.S. I found that my U.S. born students often spoke English and Tex-Mex, a Spanish

dialect that I was not familiar with. My Mexican national students generally spoke Mexican-style Spanish (a dialect that I was familiar with) and sometimes English. Though I was teaching a *bilingual* third grade classroom, again, I found the school district did not offer trainings to help teachers understand how to teach bilingual education, nor did it provide bilingual resources to help develop the students' bilingual abilities. Thus, I continued to use the Spanish language randomly throughout the day, naively thinking I was effectively teaching bilingual education. Again, I received positive comments from my administrators on my teaching observations and continued to think that bilingual education was simply allowing both languages to be used whenever needed—as long as the end resulted in English language proficiency.

I taught middle school in Tempe, Arizona, my third, fourth, and fifth year teaching. At the job interview and at the district office, I was informed that I would be teaching two blocks of SEI language arts and one block of mainstream language arts. Both the principal and the human resources staff explained that SEI was the new English as a Second Language (ESL) program. Both parties assured me that if I had experience teaching bilingual students, teaching SEI language arts would be easy. The first two years (2004-2006) teaching in an SEI context went relatively unguided by the individual school and the school district. The school district offered many different types of trainings for teachers, but the trainings were not specific to teaching in an SEI classroom. Every month, all SEI teachers were required to attend a meeting at the district office, but the information generally covered the paperwork requirements for the Arizona Department of Education (ADE)—not SEI pedagogy and best teaching practices for ELL

students. The following school year (2006-2007), I finished my M.Ed. in Curriculum and Instruction with an emphasis in ESL from Arizona State University (ASU). During this time, the school district also began to implement stricter guidelines for teaching in SEI contexts and teaching reclassified ELL students in mainstream contexts. Such requirements included mandated trainings for writing standards and language objectives, reflective lesson plan writing, and regular classroom observations by district ELL coaches. In addition, the school site purchased a prescriptive (English) language-learning program, “Language!” that replaced the literature-based reading program formerly used in all SEI language arts classrooms.

My sixth year teaching (2007-2008) was at a junior high school in Mesa, Arizona where I taught SEI language arts and beginning Spanish (for mainstream English speaking students). It should be noted that I was the only SEI teacher in the school and I taught 7th, 8th, and 9th graders who were grouped according to their (English) language abilities. During this particular school year, I began to feel the immense pressures of the English-only policies because the following school year, SEI methods and the four-hour block would become official policy for all schools with ELL students. Prior to my employment with Mesa Public Schools, the school district’s ELL program had received harsh criticisms from the ADE. Such criticisms included that some SEI teachers had “foreign” accents, students and SEI teachers were using Spanish in the classroom, and “foreign” language materials like books and posters were on display and used as instructional resources. To overcome the criticisms, the school district required SEI teachers to participate in extra meetings and trainings. For example, I was required to

regularly attend SEI meetings at the district office during the school day and after school several times per month; I worked closely with a district ELL coach to ensure my ELL students were receiving both language arts content and ELL standard-based lessons; and I participated in numerous SEI trainings required by the ADE. Throughout the school year, as more details regarding the implementation of English-only policies became available, more questions and confusion surrounding the quickly approaching school year surfaced. The school district moved toward another prescriptive language learning curriculum and mandated more training and meetings. At this time, I strongly opposed the upcoming policy and the school district's reaction to that policy, so I decided that I would not return to teaching the following year and I applied to the Applied Linguistics Ph.D. program at ASU.

Policy as Practice

This study is an investigation of policy as practice from a critical (applied) linguistics perspective. Guided by a socio-cultural perspective (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2006; Sutton & Levinson, 2001) and a historical-structural approach (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Tollefson, 1991) on language planning and policy, research from this area can show the relationships between power, (language) ideologies, language policy, and classroom practices. Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty (2006) define language policy as a

sociocultural process that includes official acts and documents as well as everyday language practices that express normative claims about legitimate and illegitimate language forms and uses, and have implications for status, right, roles, functions, and access to languages and varieties within a given polity, organization, or institution; the scholarly study of how decisions about language

are formulated and implemented, often considered a subset of language planning. (p. 5)

I also take a critical (applied) linguistics approach to language planning and policy, as I align myself with the work of Ricento and Hornberger (1996) who argue, “when governments or states decide to intervene in areas involving language, they usually have primarily nonlinguistic agendas...” (p. 404). Tollefson’s (1991) work clarifies the types of nonlinguistic agendas governments can create and sustain through language planning and policy as he writes, “In modern societies, language policy is used to sustain existing power relationships, i.e., it is ideological. With competency in specific language varieties and literacy skills essential to the exercise of power in modern states, policies that shape language and its use inevitably affect the distribution of power” (p. 11).

Crawford (2004) notes, “the United States has never had a language policy, consciously planned and national in scope. It has had language policies—ad hoc responses to immediate needs or political pressures—often contradictory and inadequate to cope with changing times” (p. 55). An example of how politics, (language) ideologies, and power coalesce in and through language policy comes from the case of the English-only language policy in Arizona. Though the students in this study have all been reclassified as FEP, all students were previously identified as ELL students and received English language instruction in the four-hour ELD block. A primary objective of this study was to document and analyze the extent to which restrictive language policies, such as English-only, carry into the mainstream context and impact classroom teaching and student learning.

To achieve this objective, I examined the role of the mainstream teacher in interpreting and transmitting (restrictive) language policies. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) suggest English language teaching (ELT) professionals play a significant role in language policy as the ELT professional can “promote policies reaffirming or opposing hierarchies of power that reflect entrenched historical and institutional beliefs” (p. 401). Garcia and Menken (2010) note, “Language education policies provide a structure or text, which then engages educators in behaviors situated in their own local contexts” (p. 256). Thus, *all* teachers create and enact classroom language policies; hence, one part of this study focuses on the types of language policies mainstream teachers create for the students in their classrooms. It was my goal that this study would illuminate how mainstream teachers working with reclassified ELL students engaged with restrictive language policies in the mainstream context. Through (in-depth) interviewing, focus groups, and (participant) observation, I was able to document what teachers say about the current restrictive language policies and provide an analysis of how each teacher interpreted and responded to the policies in the individual learning spaces.

In addition, I examined how selected students with recent reclassification from the four-hour ELD block into the mainstream classrooms responded to such policies and everyday classroom practices. Through interviewing and (participant) observation, I was able to document students’ perspectives of restrictive language policies, language learning in restrictive language contexts, and (student-initiated) classroom practices.

Policy mandates affect all levels of education; however, teachers and schools are responsible for knowing policy, interpreting it, and implementing it in the local context.

Students often assume a passive role of receiving the policies that teachers must enact at the classroom level. Thus, policy becomes part of the daily learning environment. The same can be said for (restrictive) language policies. Such language policies are mandated in the state of Arizona and teachers are required by law to implement a strict code of English-only instruction in the four-hour ELD classrooms. However, based on my findings from this study, restrictive language policies have also become part of the mainstream classrooms. The data collected from this study have allowed me to describe and analyze what happens during the reclassification process and the monitoring period and how state mandated restrictive language policies influence teachers' decisions to implement formal and informal restrictive language policies during this critical transition for recently reclassified ELL students.

Research Questions

This study arises from the need to better understand how restrictive language policies influence teaching and learning processes during reclassification and monitoring, the beliefs and practices of teachers as a result of these processes, and the language learning of students identified as reclassified ELLs. In response to the call from Hornberger and Johnson (2007) who request “for more multilayered ethnographic approaches to language policy and planning (LPP) research” (p. 509), my research questions include: 1) What do teachers say about reclassification policies and practices (AZELLA testing, mainstream placement, and monitoring)? 2) What do teachers do in their classrooms once students have been reclassified and placed in a mainstream classroom? 3) What do students say about reclassification policies and practices? What

do they say and do in response to their teachers' pedagogical choices?

Significance of the Study

This study has implications for research on language learning, language teaching, teacher preparation, and policy development. The qualitative data provided from the student' and teachers' perspectives illuminates how restrictive language policies influence the beliefs and practices of learners and teachers in situated contexts. Focusing on the experiences and perspectives of students and teachers, this study demonstrates the complicated, dynamic and contradictory ways that restrictive language policies might be understood and enacted in specific contexts. One finding of this study is that teachers and students believed that the four-hour ELD block prepared students for mainstream classrooms. A second finding from this study is that ideologies of language that position English over multilingualism are robust and further strengthened by language policies that prohibit the use of languages other than English in ELD and mainstream classrooms. A third finding is that despite the language restrictive policies in place, particular groups of students continue to engage in language policing, language crossing, and language sharing. This study's implications reveal the relationships between policy as practice and learning as teachers and students negotiate the language education policy landscape in Arizona.

Overview of Chapters

In Chapter 2, I provide a review of empirical studies that have examined restrictive language policies, SEI methods, and the four-hour ELD block. I also identify

gaps in the literature that this study attempts to fill. I then provide an overview of the theoretical lenses that inform my understanding of ideologies of language, language as a local practice, and the various forms of power and capital associated with language. I present scholarship on ideologies of language and their relationship to language policy and pedagogy. I also focus on theories of language, describing that practices of language crossing and language sharing. Lastly, I address Bourdieu's notion of capital and its relationship to language learning and language practices.

In Chapter 3, I describe the research design and methods of analysis that I used to explore the relationships between restrictive language policies and classroom practices. I describe the selection of the participants, the negotiation of access for the research site, and then I provide a rationale for using a case study research approach. To conclude, I describe the methods of data collection as well as the data analysis processes used to study the relationship between restrictive language policies and classroom practices and the teachers' and students' responses to such policies and practices.

Chapter 4 examines the teachers' talk about reclassification policies and practices (AZELLA testing, mainstream placement, and monitoring) as well as the actual classroom policies and practices that were enacted as a result of State's mandated restrictive language education policy. I also analyze teachers' comments about the challenges and limitations of the four-hour ELD block in relation to reclassification and monitoring.

Chapter 5 focuses on students' talk about language, language learning, and

classroom practices. I also analyze students' responses to the classroom policies and practices during the reclassification and monitoring period. This analysis demonstrates the complicated ways that students engage with language ideologies, language learning, and classroom practices.

Chapter 6 explores contradictory sets of student-initiated language practices that take shape through language policing, language crossing, and language sharing. Such practices demonstrate students' utility for languages other than English. In spite of the constraints of the context, multilingual students such as those in this study have a sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the value and utility of different languages in different contexts.

In Chapter 7, I review the findings of this study in relation to the larger research questions that I raised. I also present the pedagogical and methodological implications of the study as well as how these implications can inform the field of language policy. I conclude with a description of future research directions that could help inform our understanding of the relationship between restrictive language policies and the language and learning experiences of reclassified ELLs.

Chapter 2

FRAMING OF THE STUDY

This study is situated in the field of critical (applied) linguistics. Grounded in “the belief that language policies in education are not merely about choice of language as a medium of instruction, but instead are often central to a host of social processes” (Tollefson, 2002, p. x), I use critical language policy to analyze the impact of the current restrictive language policies in the state of Arizona on four twelve reclassified ELL students learning in multilingual and multinational mainstream classroom contexts and four of their classroom teachers. The use of critical (applied) linguistics as a lens allows me to “capture the complex social and political contexts of language policies” (Tollefson, 2002, p. 4) in contexts with a large number of multilingual and multinational students.

Review of the Literature

In this section, I provide a review of studies that have examined SEI methods and the four-hour ELD block, with a focus on those that have explored pedagogy and practice, ELL achievement, and alternatives to restrictive language policies. I include a review of empirical qualitative studies on restrictive language policies and the implications of such policies for pedagogy and ELL academic achievement.

SEI Methods and the Four-Hour ELD Block: The Case of Arizona

In Arizona, Proposition 203 stipulates that all ELL students must receive instruction using SEI methods. Pursuant to A.R.S. § 15-756.01(F), the Arizona ELL Task force determined the following:

‘Sheltered English Immersion’ or ‘Structured English Immersion’ means an English language acquisition process for young children in which nearly all classroom instruction is in English but with the curriculum and presentation designed for children who are learning the language. Books and instructional materials are in English and all reading, writing, and subject matter are taught in English. Although teachers may use a minimal amount of the child’s native language when necessary, no subject matter shall be taught in any language other than English, and children in this program learn to read and write solely in English. (2007)

However, there has been some confusion among researchers, teachers, and school administrators as to what SEI is and how it should be implemented in schools. Clark (2009) has suggested that an effective SEI framework should include the explicit teaching of the English language for “significant amounts of the school day” with English language ability grouping so that ELLs can receive appropriate instruction at their language proficiency level (p. 44). According to this model, English should serve as the core content and be taught as a foreign language, with all materials and instruction in English. Thus, ELLs are systematically and explicitly taught the rules and structures of the language in order to accelerate language acquisition with language, and not content, as the focus of instruction. The goal is for ELLs to become English proficient in approximately one year.

Currently, it is stipulated that Arizona students identified as ELL are grouped according to English language proficiency by the AZELLA test and placed in SEI

classrooms that focus on English language development in the four-hour ELD block. The four-hour ELD curriculum explicitly focuses on the teaching of reading, writing, listening, speaking, grammar, and vocabulary. It does not focus on core content areas like science, social studies, health, or math; rather, it focuses on the teaching of the English language through the forms and functions of the English language. The expectation is for ELLs to become proficient in English before transferring to a mainstream classroom. However, a growing body of research that examines the implications of such English-only policies on pedagogy and practice and ELL achievement has raised questions about the efficacy of this model. There have also been several articles that focus on alternative teaching methods and programs to restrictive language policies. In the next section, I describe and analyze key findings from these studies and the implications for language learning and educational achievement.

Pedagogy and Practice

Several recent studies that examine issues with the pedagogy and practice of SEI methods and ELD instruction illustrate a mounting body of research in the areas of identification and assessment, English language ability grouping, and teacher preparation.

Identification and Assessment

A.R.S. 15-756 requires all schools to immediately identify all enrolled ELL students. To facilitate this process, all students receive a Primary Home Language Other than English (PHLOTE) survey that a parent or guardian must complete. The PHLOTE survey asks three questions: 1) What is the primary language used in the home regardless

of the language by the student? 2) What is the language most often spoken by the student? and 3) What is the language that the student first acquired? (PHLOTE Survey, 2011). Responses that indicate any language other than English will result in the student having to take the AZELLA test.

The AZELLA is the Arizona's mandated English language proficiency test. It is comprised of four sections: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Students receive a composite score and will either be deemed "proficient" in English and placed in a mainstream classroom, or they will be labeled as an ELL and grouped according to English language ability in an ELD classroom. ELL students will receive SEI instruction for a minimum of four hours per school day until English language proficiency is achieved. All students must "AZELLA in and AZELLA out" of the SEI program, meaning "entry and exit is determined solely by AZELLA scores" (ADE, 2008 August). Although the stated purpose of the NCLB policy and the AZELLA testing process is to provide students instruction in English so that they can later manage the demands of the content in mainstream classroom, a number of studies (Mahoney, Haladyna, & MacSwan, 2009; Mahoney, et al., 2010; Florez, 2010) have critiqued this approach for placing so much emphasis on a *single* assessment and the limited type of instruction (focused on language rather than on content) that students will receive as a result. In addition, other studies show that the transition to the mainstream classroom has often been difficult for those who pass the AZELLA test, in large part because the heavy focus on language has prevented those students from acquiring the content-area knowledge needed (August et al., 2010; Lillie et al., 2010) for learning in mainstream classrooms.

Prior to the implementation of English-only policies, schools were allowed to use multiple indicators to measure the academic growth of ELLs. By using a single assessment like the AZELLA, Mahoney, Haladyna, and MacSwan (2009) have found an increase ELL reclassification rates and a decrease in academic achievement in the mainstream classroom, indicating that ELLs who receive ELD instruction are not fully prepared for mainstream instruction. They argue the use of a single assessment (such as the AZELLA) for reclassification purposes is inadequate.

In similar vein, Florez (2010) questions validity issues pertaining to the cut scores of the AZELLA test. According to Florez (2010), cut scores are defined as “the minimum score a child must obtain to fall into one of the five proficiency levels” of the AZELLA test: pre-emergent, emergent, basic, intermediate, or proficient. There are several methods used to establish cut scores, but test developers must document the selected method and procedures along with a justification for selecting such methods and procedures in the AZELLA test manual (p. 3). Cut scores for the AZELLA test were determined by the highly criticized Angoff method (for a review of the Angoff method, see Brown, 2000). The AZELLA manual provided no justification for this selection, and Florez (2010) concludes, “the rationale for the selected standard-setting procedure is judged to be inadequate, rendering the cut scores, and thus the high-stakes decisions based on them, of questionable validity” (p. 6).

The standard setting procedures are indeed important for establishing the cut scores, as is the selection and qualifications of the expert judges. As per the standard setting procedures, the requirements for creating cut scores for a language proficiency

assessment include selecting a panel of expert judges. Florez (2010) states that, “all standard-setting panels should include an expert in second language acquisition and development of English in non-native speakers” and this information should also be documented in the AZELLA test manual (p. 7). For example, reference to the educational levels and the demographics of the experts should be cited in addition to teaching experience, early childhood knowledge, and second language acquisition expertise. Florez (2010) found insufficient evidence cited in the AZELLA manual with regard to any of these areas.

The consequences of invalid cut scores can result in a trend that over-identifies kindergarteners and under-identifies older students. This is problematic because the over-identification of kindergarteners elevates the reclassification rates for first grade, exaggerating the effectiveness of the four-hour ELD block, while the under-identification of older ELL students limits the opportunity for students to receive support and services needed to be successful in school (Florez, 2010). Given that a single assessment such as the AZELLA will determine the educational opportunities of ELL students, it is imperative the assessments are valid and can effectively identify ELL students. This body of research is important to this study as I focus on 5th and 6th grade students who have been reclassified (labeled) as FEP. Based on findings from the previously cited research (Florez, 2010), there is a possibility the mainstream placement of reclassified ELLs in this study might be affected by inaccurate AZELLA scores.

English Language Ability Grouping

Because of the policies that stipulate that ELLs must be placed in the four-hour ELD block, ELL students and mainstream students are prohibited from learning together in the same classroom. The ADE justified this separation of learning based on the court ruling of *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981):

*Thus as a general rule, school systems are free to employ ability grouping, **even when such a policy has a segregative effect**, so long, of course, as such a practice is genuinely motivated by educational concerns and not discriminatory motives.*

This ruling gave schools a choice to either teach English through content-based instruction or to teach English independent of content. Arizona elected to adopt the latter option, citing that “English is fundamental to content mastery learning” (ADE, 2009, November) and should therefore be taught in an accelerated and sequential method in order to better facilitate the rapid learning of the English language prior to learning content.

Some scholars however, view this approach to teaching as nothing more than legalized segregation. For instance, Lillie et al. (2010) observed eighteen K-12 classrooms in five different school districts. The focus of the study was to analyze how the four-hour ELD block was organized and implemented in each school. Based on observations and interviews with school personal, one key finding of this study was that students and teachers believed that English language ability grouping encouraged physical, social, and educational isolation from mainstream students. This isolation then, restricted academic and social interaction with mainstream students and perpetuated a

negative image of ELL students among mainstream students and some mainstream teachers.

With a focus on the segregative nature of the four-hour ELD block, Gándara and Orfield (2010) describe the harmful effects of “linguistic isolation” on ELLs (p. 2). Drawing from recent research by Lillie et al. (2010) in addition to key court decisions regarding segregation in public schools, they argue that the political promise that suggests ELLs will only remain in the four-hour ELD block for approximately one year is inaccurate, citing that most students take longer than that—sometimes remaining in the ELD block for up to four years. They advise that these practices can be damaging to social and emotional development and while also jeopardizing the overall academic achievement of ELLs.

These studies demonstrate some of the unintended consequences of program methods and models that support restrictive language policies. They show that, even though ELLs are provided with explicit language instruction that is intended to help accelerate English language proficiency that will be needed for success in school, learning English in segregated environments often impedes language learning, and creates physical, emotional, and social isolation. Few studies have looked at how such segregation influences processes of language teaching, learning, and academic achievement, what happens after those learners “test out” of the segregated four-hour ELD block in Arizona schools, or how the learners and teachers themselves are reconciling the contradictions of the policy on a daily basis. This study seeks to provide a more nuanced understanding of students’ previous experiences in the four-hour ELD

block versus their current learning experiences in the mainstream classrooms while also recognizing and analyzing teachers' talk about the implications of language ability grouping on mainstream practices.

Teacher Preparation

Another area that has been closely examined is the impact of the SEI model on teachers and teacher education (de Jong et al., 2010). All certified teachers in Arizona must earn an SEI endorsement; however, due to the “watering down of the curricular requirements”, de Jong and colleagues (2010) question whether this endorsement is enough to effectively work with ELLs and recently reclassified learners (p. 122). For example, to complete an SEI endorsement, teachers need 90 hours (6 credits) in order to be eligible and considered highly qualified to work with ELLs. The previous requirement was a minimum of 360 hours (24 credits) in order to earn either an ESL or a Bilingual Education (BLE) endorsement. They are concerned that the current SEI requirements are not enough to adequately prepare teachers to work with ELLs.

Also reflecting this concern, Diniz de Figueirido et al. (2011) surveyed 23 pre-service teachers in a pilot study regarding SEI and teaching ELLs in a K-12 setting. Pre-service teachers were asked to respond to several open-ended questions that revealed attitudes toward teaching ELLs, anticipated future challenges, and their perceived level of preparation to work with ELLs. The results demonstrated that pre-service teachers had an emergent understanding of certain concepts like language fluency, but had limited knowledge in areas like effective language pedagogy and skills required to teach ELLs.

Diniz de Figuiereado et al. (2011) argue the current model for pre-service teacher training is not enough to effectively prepare pre-service teachers to work with ELLs. They suggest the current model needs to be more “consistent with both student needs and the current research in TESOL, SLA studies, and Applied Linguistics” (p. 15).

Gándara and Orfield (2010) addressed the issue of teacher preparation, and claimed that there needs to be an effort “to determine what the skills are that make a teacher highly qualified to teach English learners. Evidence suggested that these skills are not what are being taught in many credentialing and certification programs” (p. 224). Few studies examine how mainstream teachers perceive their preparedness to work with reclassified ELL students in restrictive language policy contexts (i.e., in Arizona) after receiving the 90 hours of state mandated trainings. Pre-service teacher training and teacher preparation are crucial to the academic achievement of ELLs—more scholarship that considers how teacher preparation and training impact classroom pedagogy is needed. This study can offer insights to the types of professional development training that teachers who work with reclassified ELLs may need in order to help such students learn academic content and continue to develop the English language while learning in a mainstream classroom.

ELL Achievement

Reclassification occurs after an ELL passes the AZELLA test. Reclassified to FEP, students are placed in mainstream classrooms with access to the core content areas. For two years, learners that are labeled as FEP are placed on monitor status, and each

year these students must retake and pass the AZELLA. This combined with standardized test scores determine if learners labeled as FEP continue to be monitored or if they need more ELD instruction. After a successful two-year monitoring period, FEPs are no longer observed as they are permanently mainstreamed and are not entitled to receive any additional academic support to advance language development. However, examining the academic achievement of ELLs, some studies suggest that ELLs who are reclassified and mainstreamed frequently continue to struggle in school (Mahoney, Haladyna, & MacSwan, in 2009; Mahoney, et al., 2010; Rumberger & Tran, 2010; Uriarte et al., 2010).

Mahoney et al. (2010) used the “third prong” test (Castañeda v. Pickard, 1981) to 1) evaluate reclassified FEP learners’ achievement before and after the implementation of English-only in Arizona and 2) to determine whether Arizona students are meeting the standards of learning after the English-only mandate (Proposition 203, 2000). Castañeda’s third prong (1981) evaluates the effectiveness of a given program by examining the students’ abilities to overcome language obstacles after a trial period. Building on prior research that evaluated the effectiveness of English-only policies (see Mahoney, Thompson, & MacSwan, 2004), Mahoney et al. (2010) examined the SAT-9 scores of two cohorts of FEP learners and one cohort of English Proficient (EP) learners to better understand FEP achievement before and after Proposition 203. The results to the first question were limited due to the lack of information regarding ELL’s previous learning placements prior to Proposition 203; yet, the researchers noted there was an increase in test scores over time for all cohorts of learners. However, a deeper analysis

revealed the test scores remained nearly the same pre and post Proposition 203, meaning this restrictive language policy did not significantly improve students' test scores. Data with regard to the second question of the study examined the students' Arizona's Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS) scores. Results found that there was an increase in third grade achievement post Proposition 203, but a significant decline in fifth and eighth grade scores. Mahoney et al. (2010) conclude that English-only instruction fails Castañeda's "third prong" test (1981) because it does not prepare students well enough to significantly improve their standardized test scores.

The stagnant impact of SEI methods on ELL achievement is not unique to Arizona, as similar results are also found in California and Massachusetts. Wentworth et al. (2010) examined the impact of English-only instruction (initiated by Prop 227) on the educational outcomes for the ELLs in California. Drawing on five years of data from the California Standards Test (CST), Wentworth and colleagues used regression analysis to compare the academic achievement of ELLs and English-only speakers from 2003-2007. The findings indicate that the achievement gap slightly decreased for some grade levels while the gap widened for other grade levels. Thus, there is not a positive correlation between the implementation of English-only on ELL achievement in California.

In Massachusetts, Uriarte et al. (2010) focused on data collected from Boston Public Schools (BPS) and compared the test scores of EP and ELL students using the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS). Overall, they found a significant decline in test scores for ELLs after the implementation of SEI methods, thus widening the achievement gap between ELLs and EP learners. Uriarte et al. (2010) also

found that, after the implementation of English-only policies, there was a decline in the number of identified ELLs; however, the researchers noted an increase in the number of ELLs in special education programs in addition to an increase in drop out rates among ELLs.

In the case of Arizona, as the previously cited research (Mahoney, Thompson, & MacSwan, 2004; Mahoney et al., 2010) suggests, English-only instruction is not providing ELLs with the language skills needed to be successful in a mainstream classroom. The negative consequences of such policies are verified through the results of state assessments that illustrate the achievement gap between ELLs and EP learners is still present. States with similar policies, such as California and Massachusetts, also disclose that ELLs are not making significant progress under English-only policies, and in some cases, the test scores of ELLs have significantly declined (Wentworth et al., 2010; Uriarte et al., 2010). These findings suggest a negative correlation between restrictive language policies (and practices) and an improvement in academic achievement. This study can offer a deeper and more nuanced understanding of what is contributing to existing and widening achievement gaps from the teacher and student perspective.

Tentative Conclusions

This review of empirical work conducted on the language learning progress and academic achievement of ELLs in restrictive policy contexts shows that restrictive language policies do affect classroom pedagogy and practice in areas such as

identification and assessment, English language ability grouping, and teacher preparation. The review also illustrates that there are no strong positive correlations between the implementation of restrictive language policies and the academic achievement for ELLs. Instead, the English-only policies that influence teaching and learning practices are situated in a language-as-a-problem orientation (Ruiz, 1984) that views languages other than English as a deficit, which has been shown to have an adverse effect on academic achievement. Although much recent research suggests the value of implementing alternative options to English-only instruction (e.g., bilingual programs that view language-as-a-resource (Ruiz, 1984), few studies have examined student and teacher perspectives on restrictive language policies and no one has yet examined what happens during the reclassification process and the monitoring period as this study does.

A growing number of research studies imply that restrictive language policies such as English-only do not provide ELLs with a quality education, in large part because the pedagogical approaches valued and fostered by such policies do not also promote content-learning. The premise of a quality education is for all children to have access to a comprehensive content-based curriculum that provides opportunities for students to participate in relevant and meaningful lessons that promote language development and complex thought through collaboration with classmates. Delivering content while supporting language development is a challenging task, and many teachers working with ELLs in Arizona schools have not been trained to do so. Instead the heavy emphasis on English-only policies, SEI methods and ELD instruction to the exclusion of academic content learning results in a situation where ELLs might pass the AZELLA test but still

have very limited opportunities for learning the content required for graduation of high school and securing employment afterwards.

Theoretical Framework

Having established the need and rationale for the present study, I now provide an overview of the theoretical lenses that inform my research design, collection of data, analysis of data, and representation of key findings. This overview makes clear that my theoretical lenses and methodological approaches are intimately connected and mutually influential. Reflecting a socio-cultural perspective (Vygotsky, 1978) on learning where learning is viewed as a socially constructed process that takes place in and across communities of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991) often through the use of symbolic materials and goods (Vygotsky, 1978; Scribner & Cole, 1981), this study is informed by and draws from three fields of scholarship. First, I rely on theories of language orientations (Ruiz, 1984) and ideologies and their relationship to language policy and classroom practices (Tollefson, 1991; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Second, I call on theories of language that explore language crossing (Rampton, 1995) and language sharing (Paris, 2011). Third, I rely on notions of linguistic and social capital (Bourdieu, 1977) that explores the power and positioning associated with language and language use. Together, such theories will help me to analyze the complex processes that occur when language policy, teaching practices, and student learning coalesce.

Language Orientations and Ideologies

Language Orientations

Language orientations are grounded in social beliefs that ultimately affect the language planning and policy imposed on the whole of a society (Ruiz, 1984). Ruiz (1984) argues it is important to understand how orientations and language attitudes affect how certain languages are perceived and received by the public. In his work, he defines three orientations that are prevalent in language planning with regard to bilingual education: language-as-a-problem, language-as-a-right, and language-as-a-resource. The language-as-a-problem orientation views language as an issue that needs resolution, while the language-as-a-right orientation considers the ability to use a native language as a fundamental freedom. In recent years, much scholarship has examined and endorsed the language-as-a-resource orientation in pedagogy and practice for both bilingual and multilingual learners. Language-as-a-resource assumes that one's native language is an overall asset to the individual and to society. It can also serve as a link to learning about other (dominant) languages and cultures. However, this orientation has not been well-received by those in the field of language planning nor by those who create language policy throughout the United States. Thus, the language-as-a-problem orientation continues to thrive in the field of language planning and policy, and the consequences of such orientations in language policy continue to seep into mainstream ideologies and practices regarding language.

Language Ideologies

What Ruiz defines as language orientations is similar to what others describe as language ideologies. This particular research landscape has become quite fertile in the past twenty years and has continued to gain momentum across disciplines—i.e., in linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, critical applied linguistics, and language planning and policy to name a few. Broadly defined, Silverstein (1979) describes ideologies of language as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (p. 193). Rumsey (1990) develops Silverstein’s definition calling ideologies of language “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world” (p. 346). Simply put, “language ideologies are belief systems shared by members of a group—ones that apply to language” (Wortham, 2001, p. 256).

Tollefson’s (2002; 1991) work emphasizes the role of power within the field of ideologies of language—in particular, how language ideologies affect areas of language planning and policy and vice versa. Tollefson (1991) argues that (language) ideologies can be used to “justify exclusionary policies and sustain inequality” (p. 10). These definitions of ideologies of language assume a connection between the use(s) of language to individual and group identity, while also noting that power relationships can exist and be reinforced within society because of different circulating discourses among and between different institutions representing different groups of people as well as the individuals within the society itself.

McGroarty (2002) calls for research that focuses more on ideologies and “the processes of educational decision making that affect language education programs” (p. 18). She also suggests there is a stronger focus on the "cultural shifts, structural factors, and local sociopolitical climates that have been less widely applied to discussions of language education despite their pertinence” (p. 18). Aligning myself with a critical approach to the concept(s) of ideologies of language, a primary goal of this study was to focus on the areas that McGroarty (2002) suggests warrant further attention: the interface of politics, policy, and classroom pedagogy in a state where anti-immigration legislation is on the rise. A focus on how ideologies of language operate in and through situated practices will reveal how ideologies of language influence restrictive language policies, teachers, and students.

My theoretical framework operationalizes the notion of ideologies of language in order to examine the ways in which language policies in educational contexts influence the experiences of multilingual and multinational youth living in complex social and political contexts (Tollefson, 2002). This study sheds light on the multiple and varied ways that multilingual and multinational students are positioned by language ideologies, restrictive language policies, and classroom teaching—and how those students’ multilingual identities conform to or contest such positioning. An understanding of language orientations and ideologies is important, as it contributes to how (restrictive) language policies are shaped, reinforced, and/or contested in everyday discourse and practice.

Theories of Language

Multiple theories of language inform my view of language as complex, unbounded, hybrid, and multiple (Ochs & Scheffelin, 1984; Rampton, 1995; Paris, 2011; Garcia, 2011; Pennycook, 2001). This study assumes that language is situated as a local practice. As Pennycook (2010) suggests, “everything happens locally. However global a practice may be, it still happens locally” (p. 28). Pennycook’s (2010) work—which explores how language, locality, and practice relate—will be a useful resource while analyzing how the language(s) used in the local contexts of the proposed study are influenced by a locality that is bound by restrictive language policy. Other constructs of a practice-based theory of language that inform this study include language policing, language crossing, and language sharing.

Language Crossing

A linguistic phenomenon that can occur in multilingual and multinational learning spaces is language crossing. Rampton (1995) defines language crossing as “code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using” (p. 485). In other words, learners from one language background own use words and/or phrases from a different language that is not necessarily their own to show an affiliation or belonging to another ethnic group. Rampton further suggests that language crossing can be used as a strategy to overcome ethnic and linguistic differences.

In this study, I assumed that language crossing is an everyday practice that students from different national and language backgrounds engage in. I

explored not only how the bilingual and multilingual students engage in language crossing practices, but also, how that engagement shaped their language learning experiences and social interactions. I also investigated students engaging in language crossing practices in relation to the restrictive language policies in place. All students in this study came from a range of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Though most of the students were bilingual, several students were multilingual (and multinational) and all students received mainstream instruction in English. Data from this study illuminate what language-crossing practices exist in contexts that have restrictive language policies.

Language Sharing

Paris (2011) has documented ways that multi-ethnic youth engage in language crossing and *language sharing* in common multilingual and multinational learning spaces as a way to “learn across differences” and to transcend ethnic boundaries. Specifically, Paris (2011) defines language sharing as “those momentary and sustained uses of the language that *are* ratified—when use of the language traditionally ‘belonging’ to another group is ratified as appropriate by its traditional speakers” (p. 14). Here, language sharing refers to instances when an individual uses words, phrases, or sentences of a language that is not his/her own, but the use of the language is accepted (or ratified) by the native speakers of the native-speaking language group. For example, in the multilingual and multinational mainstream classrooms of this study, at times I documented non-native Spanish speaking students use common words and phrases (i.e., “¿Cómo está amiga?” and “¿Por qué?”) during informal conversations with their native Spanish-speaking peers. During these instances, I observed that the native Spanish-

speakers would often ratify and share the use of the Spanish language by “helping” the non-native Spanish speaker with the appropriate pronunciation of the word.

For the purpose of this study, I extend the concept of language sharing to also include instances when groups of students actively engaged in the *teaching* of their language to students of other linguistics backgrounds. I also observed instances where particular students (i.e., native Spanish speaking students) initiated informal (Spanish) language lessons to other students who were non-native Spanish speakers. Typically, the “learners” of the new language ratified such practices too. I viewed such practices as an extension of Paris’s (2011) notion of language sharing.

Paris (2011) encourages students (and teachers) to not only use and develop funds of knowledge in the classroom, but he also encourages teachers to pay particular attention to the acts of *sharing* these valuable resources (i.e., native languages) within and across the multilingual and multinational students. I rely on this construct while trying to understand how multilingual and multinational students relate to each other and to the linguistic/cultural differences that they have, with a focus on how this occurs in environments with restrictive language education policies.

Linguistic and Social Capital

I draw on Bourdieu’s notion of capital (1987) to examine the students’ and teachers’ comments, reactions, and practices in response to the restrictive language education policy enacted at the local school site. Bourdieu (1987) states that:

The social world can be conceived as a multidimensional space that can be constructed empirically by discovering the main factors of differentiation which account for the differences observed in a given social universe, or in other words, by discovering the powers or *forms of capital* which are or can become efficient, like aces in a game of cards, in this particular universe, that is, in the struggle (or competition) for the appropriation of scarce goods of which this universe is the site. (pp. 3-4)

Thus, Bourdieu's notion of capital means that different properties (i.e., material and symbolic goods) are assigned different types of value that can afford individuals various forms of status or power. Specifically, I use the notions of linguistic capital and social capital to analyze the positioning of the students (and their languages) in relation to language policy and teacher and student-initiated practices. These notions allow us to understand the power relations that exist in and between policy and classroom practice.

Social Capital

According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), "social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (p. 119). Here, the notion of social capital refers to the connections between people or the quality of one's social network. According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital can provide each of its group's members with the backing of a collectively-owned capital, or a "credential", which entitles them to various forms of credit. For example, an individual with a high degree of social capital will have access to other individuals who are willing to invest personal resources (i.e., time, money, knowledge, or any other type of investment) that can help such individuals navigate, negotiate, or pursue life's endeavors. It is valuable to attend to differences of power as influenced by various

forms of social (and linguistic) capital when examining how ELLs are doing in an educational context influenced greatly by restrictive policies (and ideologies) of language.

In this study, social capital took shape in the local school context between the teachers, the students, and especially between the teachers and students. The findings of this study reveal that English-only language policy and ideologies of language that positioned English over languages influenced whether (and to what degree) some of the bilingual and multilingual students of this study valued learning languages other than English (i.e., Spanish). In certain cases, knowing a language other than English was perceived to increase one's access to other kinds of goods and resources (material and symbolic).

Linguistic Capital

Bourdieu (1991) defines cultural capital as “knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications” and linguistic capital is an extension of this concept (p. 14). Bourdieu (1977) argues that language is used for more than communication, as languages, words, and even accents are used to position people. In this light, language can be viewed as an instrument of communication, knowledge, and power. Thus, Bourdieu (1977) makes a connection between language and power dynamics—especially those found in schools, as the school “imposes the legitimate forms of discourse and the idea that a discourse should be recognized if and only if it conforms to the legitimate norms” (p. 650).

To fully become a member of a group (at school), one must learn the “legitimate language” of the social group (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 648). Thus, the notion of linguistic capital was important to this study, as having linguistic capital in a group (or in a mainstream classroom setting) signaled that the speaker (of a legitimate language) belonged to that group. Having linguistic capital then heightened the possibility that others (i.e., students and teachers) would accept the individual as a legitimate member of that particular group. This notion allowed me to be able to analyze talk and the practices of learners and teachers made and engaged in with regard to language.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODS OF ANALYSIS

New Frontiers Elementary School² (NFES) is a Title I school nestled in an urban neighborhood in the Southwestern United States. During my first visit to the school's office in February 2011, while waiting to talk with the principal, I browsed through the flyers located at the front of the office. First I noted the standard school documents, like the district calendar, the weekly Parent Coffee Talks, and a monthly school newsletter, written in Spanish and English. Then I began to look through other flyers regarding school policies on registration and uniforms, a school district apartment list (with apartment prices averaging between \$500-\$600 per month), and a flyer for the Community NeTwork for Accessing Shelter, a shelter for "victims of domestic violence and homelessness." Combined, these documents painted a revealing portrait of the population attending NFES: an urban school filled with students coming from different language backgrounds and youth of the working class. My estimates were correct when the principal later explained that 40% of the 691 students were refugees and the majority of the students were of Latino/a decent, many learning English as an additional language. I later learned that school-wide, students came from Burundi, Colombia, the Congo, Egypt, Kenya, Mexico, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, and Tanzania. Roughly 10 languages could be heard (at particular times) as spoken by the students: Arabic, Dinka, English, French Kirundi, Maay, Somali, Spanish, Swahili and other non-Indian languages.

² All names of places and people are pseudonyms.

Negotiation of Access

In February 2011, I met with Ms. Thomas, the (former) principal of NFES about volunteering and observing in an ELD classroom at her school for a course project at ASU. She gave me permission to volunteer and observe students for my course project, and I was placed with Mrs. Williams the (then) 5th/6th grade ELD teacher. I visited Mrs. Williams's ELD classroom weekly between March 7, 2011 and April 18, 2011. During that time, I collected information such as school documents, class assignments, student work, and classroom photos. I had documented (mostly by hand, but also voice-recorded) over a dozen hours of observations, participant observation, and interviews with students and teachers. After I completed my course project, I continued to visit Mrs. Williams's class weekly as a classroom volunteer.

At the end of April 2011, Dr. Warriner and I asked Mrs. Williams if she and her class would be interested in participating in an IRB approved short-term study focusing on how children from different language and national backgrounds negotiate meaning in everyday conversation. Mrs. Williams and the majority of her ELD students and their parents gave assent and consent for Dr. Warriner and I to audio-record their daily conversations during class work between May 23, 2011 and June 4, 2011. After this short-term study was complete, the students went on a six-week summer vacation and I indexed, transcribed, and analyzed over 50 hours of recorded interactions.

School resumed at the end of July with many new changes for the students and for the school. For example, Ms. Thomas resigned as principal and took another job as a

principal overseas and Mr. Sawyer replaced her as the principal for the upcoming school year. Furthermore, Mrs. Williams was no longer designated as the 5th/6th grade ELD teacher, but rather she was reassigned to teach the mainstream 5th grade classroom. In August, I resumed my position as a volunteer in her classroom, visiting one to three times per week. In September, I arranged a field trip for all 5th and 6th graders (100 students in all) to attend a motivational speech given by a refugee camp survivor at the local community college where I teach pre-service teachers. In addition to attending the talk, these students had a picnic lunch and took a tour of the campus under my supervision as well as some of the pre-service teachers at the community college. In all, Mr. Sawyer was very helpful in assisting with the details of the proposed fieldtrip and he was very grateful after the trip came to fruition. Currently, I continue to visit the school and serve as a classroom volunteer when time allows.

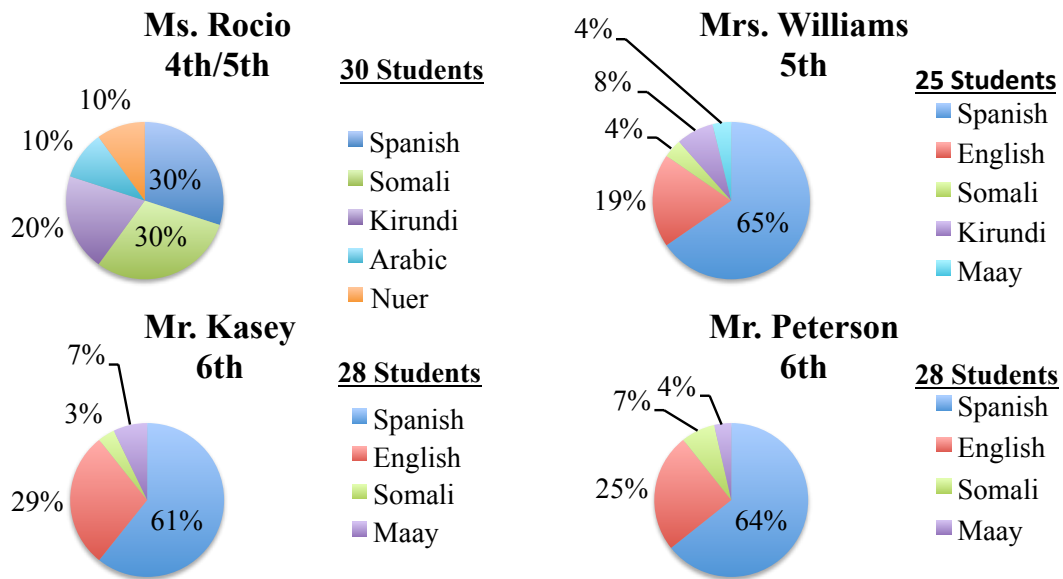
Classroom Demographics

This study focuses on the experiences of twelve recently reclassified ELL students and four 5th and 6th grade mainstream classroom teachers. All four of the classrooms I observed are mainstream classrooms, meaning all students placed in these classrooms receive grade-level content instruction based on the Arizona standards and are either native speakers of English or have been deemed proficient in English as per the AZELLA test. Looking at the demographics of the 5th and 6th grade mainstream

classrooms, it is apparent that the four classrooms of this study were extremely rich in terms of ethnic and linguistic diversity (see Table 1)³.

Table 1. *NFES Classroom Demographics*

NFES Classroom Demographics



During the 2011-2012 school year, Ms. Rocio taught twenty 4th graders and ten 5th graders, for a total of thirty students. Collectively, her students came to her class with nine different native languages—Arabic, English, Kirundi, Maay, Mandingo, Nuer,

³ The classroom demographic information was obtained from the school’s official class rosters that included students’ names, grade level, gender, ethnic code, and home language.

Somali, Spanish, and Swahili. However, for this study, I only focused on three of the ten 5th grade students of her class. Of the ten 5th graders, students spoke Spanish (3), Somali (3), Kirundi (2), Arabic (1), and Nuer (1) as a native language. Mrs. Williams had twenty-five students in her mainstream classroom. The majority of her students were native Spanish speakers (17), while other students spoke English (5), Kirundi (2), Maay (1), and Somali (1). Mr. Kasey and Mr. Peterson both had a total of twenty-eight mainstream students in their classrooms. Both classrooms had similar linguistic demographics in that the majority of Mr. Kasey's students spoke Spanish (17), followed by English (8), Maay (2), and Somali (1). Similarly, the majority of Mr. Peterson's twenty-eight students spoke Spanish (18), followed by English (7), Somali (2), and Maay (1). Thus, a general trend was that the majority of the mainstream classrooms were comprised of students whose first language was not English.

Selection of Student Participants

I knew Mrs. William prior to the start of data collection because I had served as a classroom volunteer, participant observer, and researcher in her classroom since February 2011. Because of that, I had already met all of the 6th grade students participating in this study before they were in 6th grade; I met them and talked with them when they were in Mrs. William's 5th/6th grade ELD block the previous year (the 2010-2011 school year). Conversely, all of the 5th grade students were in Ms. Rocio's 4th grade ELD classroom during that same year, so I did not know them as well when this study began. During the time of this study (2011-2012 school year) all of the students were designated by the state

of Arizona as a reclassified ELL student in their first year of monitoring.

Specifically, I asked six 5th graders (five boys and one girl) and six 6th graders (three girls and three boys) to participate in this study. The 5th grade boys included Ishmael, a Somali-speaking refugee from Somalia; Joseph, a Kirundi-speaking refugee from Tanzania; Malik, a Somali-speaking refugee from Somalia; Raija, a Kirundi-speaking refugee from Kenya; and Terrell, a Kirundi-speaking refugee from Tanzania. The 5th grade girl was Abilyn, a Kirundi-speaking refugee from Tanzania. The 6th grade boys included Juan, a Spanish-speaking U.S. citizen; Felipe, a Spanish-speaking immigrant from Mexico; and Joaquin, a Spanish-speaking immigrant from Mexico. The 6th grade girls included Anayeli, a Spanish-speaking U.S. citizen; Catherine, a (multilingual) Maay-speaking refugee from Somalia; and Brisa, a Spanish-speaking immigrant from Mexico. It is important to note that some of the African refugee learners also spent time in Kenyan refugee camps and immigrated to the U.S. via Kenya.

Selection of Teacher Participants

In order to gain the teachers' perspectives and reactions to restrictive language policies, I also invited the students' homeroom teachers—Mrs. Williams, 5th grade teacher; Mr. Kasey, 6th grade teacher; and Mr. Peterson, 6th grade teacher to participate as well. Thus, to qualify, the teachers had to be a 5th or 6th grade teacher of one of the 5th or 6th grade reclassified ELL students. Mr. Sawyer, the principal requested that I include Ms. Rocio, the 4th/5th grade teacher, so that all of the 5th and 6th grade classrooms were represented in this study.

For Ms. Rocio, education was her second career. Previously, she had been an accountant for twenty-two years, often working out of her home. Because of the flexible nature of her work schedule, she told me that she volunteered in her kids' classrooms and really enjoyed her time there. Eventually she returned to college and earned a Masters degree in Education at ASU. When she completed this degree, her neighbor was the principal at NFES and invited her to apply for a teaching position. For ten years, Ms. Rocio served as a 4th grade teacher—and four of those years she spent teaching the 4th grade ELD block. This was her first year teaching a 4th/5th grade combination class.

Mrs. Williams had the most seniority of all of the teachers of this study—with twenty-one years of teaching experience—all at NFES. Over the course of my study at NFES, I learned that Mrs. Williams taught at nearly all grade levels (K, 1st, 3rd/4th, 5th, 6th, 5th/6th grades) in a variety of contexts—mainstream, ESL, and SEI classrooms. Similar to Ms. Rocio, Mrs. Williams also taught the four-hour ELD block for four years. During some school years, she found herself outside of the classroom as well, sometimes acting as a Teacher on Assignment, serving as the assistant to the principal. Because of her extensive experiences as a classroom teacher and her academic achievements (she held an M.Ed. in Reading), Mrs. Williams was often looked to as a team and school leader. At the time of this study, Mrs. Williams was pursuing her National Board Certification.

During an interview, Mr. Kasey told me that he was originally from Pennsylvania but relocated to Arizona for college where he majored in elementary education at ASU. After he graduated from ASU in December 2006 (with a bachelor's degree), he was immediately offered a position teaching an “over-flow” 5th grade classroom at NFES and

he had remained there since. With a little over five years of teaching experience—all at NFES—Mr. Kasey had previously taught 5th, 6th and a 5th/6th grade combination mainstream class. During his second year teaching, Mr. Kasey even had the opportunity to teach a 5th grade SEI classroom for part of a school year.

Mr. Peterson, an Arizona native, was also an elementary education major at ASU. After graduation, he took a position at NFES teaching 4th grade. At the time of this study, Mr. Peterson had been at NFES for five years. During his time there, he taught 4th grade for three years, 5th grade for one year, and 6th grade for one year. Similar to Mr. Kasey, Mr. Peterson also spent one year teaching the four-hour ELD block. At the time of this study, Mr. Peterson was working on his endorsement in science to teach middle school in addition to his National Board Certification.

All four of the teachers of this study had completed the requirements for the State's required SEI endorsement. Some of the teachers, like Ms. Rocio and Mrs. Williams, participated in trainings completed at the school several years ago, while other teachers, like Mr. Kasey and Mr. Peterson, took online courses from a local community college to complete their endorsement. None of the teachers believed that the SEI endorsement helped them to better understand how to work with ELL students in the four-hour ELD block or reclassified ELLs in mainstream classrooms.

All of the teachers were also native speakers of English, with extremely limited proficiency in Spanish. Mr. Kasey joked about this during an interview when he told me, “I’ve gotten to the point where I can have parent teacher conferences with a parent who

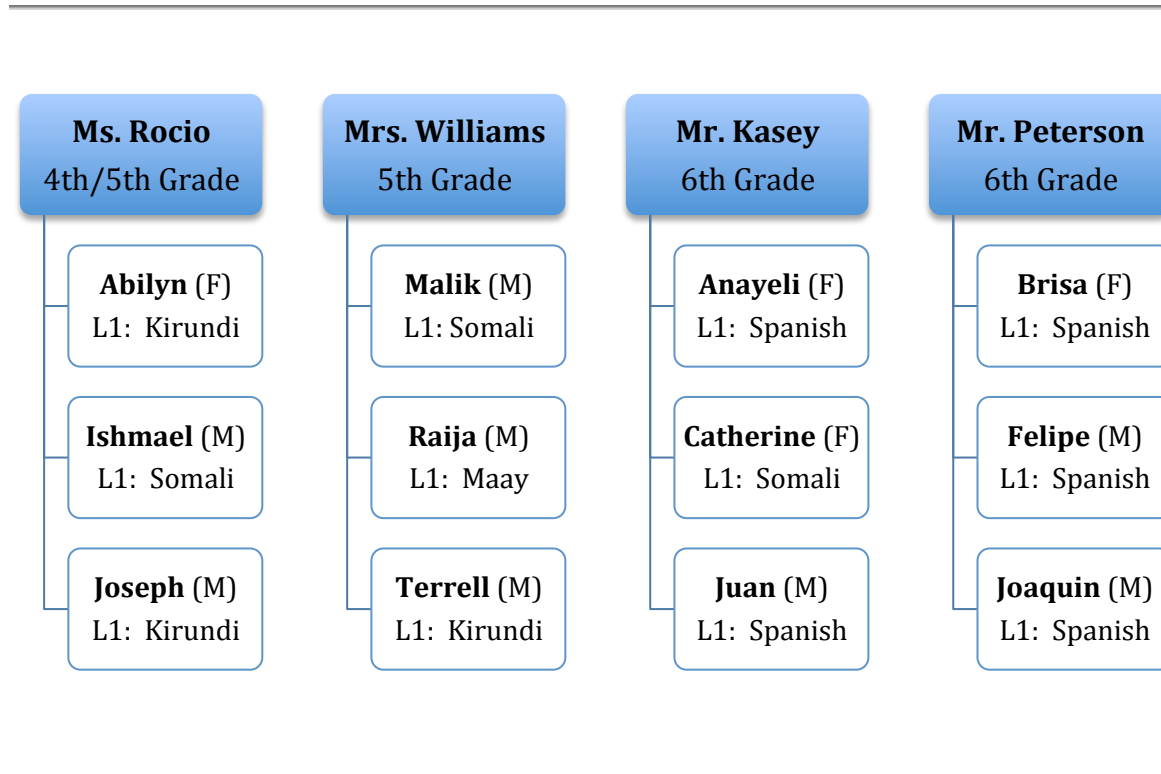
just speaks Spanish and we can come to an understanding...with really broken English and really broken Spanish!” (April 9, 2012). This was the case for all of the teachers who could understand some Spanish and typically produce even less of the language. Mrs. Williams clarified that she was not a proficient speaker of Spanish, but she could often tell what her students were saying based on their tone and body language (Interview, September 21, 2012). As a result of her ability to “translate” and “interpret” Spanish when occasionally needed in the classroom, she said that many of her students believed that she was a proficient speaker of Spanish. In this light, the teachers of this study had naturally acquired a certain understanding of the Spanish language, though none of the teachers claimed to be proficient Spanish speakers. None of the teachers were able to understand or use any of the other languages represented in their classrooms—though Mrs. Williams understood a few of the traditional greetings and phrases of the Maay language.

A Case Study Approach

This study employed qualitative research approaches that allowed me to explore the effects of restrictive language policies on recently reclassified ELL students and mainstream teachers. However, in order to provide what Geertz (1973) refers to as a “thick description” of events and patterns across cultures in a particular social group or physical learning space, I also drew heavily on ethnographic tools to collect and analyze data through direct observations, participant observation, (in-depth) interviewing, focus groups, audio recordings, and document collection.

I documented the experiences of twelve 5th and 6th grade reclassified ELL learners placed in four different mainstream classrooms with four different classroom teachers. Utilizing ethnographic methods and ethnographic data collection techniques revealed the effects of current restrictive language policy on ELL learners and teachers in mainstream classrooms from the student and teacher perspectives. In all of these ways, this study provided a “thick description” of this phenomenon from student and teacher perspectives that is lacking in the extant research (Geertz, 1973).

Table 2. *Student and Teacher Participants*



Data Collection Methods

I used a case study approach for the study, while also relying heavily on ethnographic tools for data collection. Specific ethnographic data collection methods include: a) direct observations, b) participant observation, c) individual (in-depth) interviewing, d) focus group, and e) document collection. These methods were used in all four classroom settings during the course of the study. I describe the data collection process in more detail in the following sections.

Direct Observations

Direct observations are essential to data collection in qualitative research. According to Marshall and Rossman (2011) this type of data collection is the “systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting” that can be completed informally, by simply “hanging out” or more formally, by using observational checklists and formal observation guidelines (pg. 139). Direct observations are useful for observing physical and verbal interactions among participants in the research context, but also for documenting voice intonations, facial gestures, and body movements during informal conversations, (in-depth) interviews, and focus groups.

During the first two weeks of data collection, I focused on direct observations within the classrooms. During this time, I positioned myself as a “quiet observer” of classroom practices so that I could take stock of the everyday classroom routines and (language) policies in action. I used the Observational Protocol (see Appendix I) to provide a visual representation of the physical classroom site and I kept a running record

of events (see Appendix J) throughout the direct observations. The running record provided space to document the direct observations, or fieldnotes, without my analytical stance. This document also provided a space for my interpretative comments. The separation between the actual observation and my analytical comments was useful so I did not confuse or conceal the actual event with my interpretation of the event. The majority of the direct observations were also audio-recorded and indexed. Random samples of the audio recordings in addition to significant events revealed through indexes were transcribed for future analysis. Heath and Street (2008) argue that the random sampling of audio recordings are important to help examine similarities and differences in language use and to ensure the researcher is not simply selecting examples to prove a preconceived notion or theory.

For the duration of the study, I continued to conduct direct observations every week. However, the amount of time directly observing the students and teachers varied day-to-day and class-to-class, depending of the lesson objectives and classroom activities for that particular day. This allowed me to better “discover the recurring patterns of behavior and relationships” within the research sites and across the case study participants, as I had access to the classrooms on different days of the week (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, pg. 139).

Participant Observation

Participant observation also played a significant role in this study. This type of observation allows the researcher to engage in and witness experiences with the

participants of the study. Participant observation can reveal “unusual aspects” of research that are concealed by direct observations or ignored during interview. This method can allow the researcher to explore topics that are uncomfortable for the participants to discuss during interviews and focus groups (Creswell, 2009). Though participant observation yields rich data, this type of data collection can have limitations. The most significant limitations include the intrusive nature of the participant observer on the research site and the participants, in addition to documenting confidential information that should not be shared. Nevertheless, the researcher can mitigate such limitations by developing a positive rapport with the participants and engaging in member checking practices with the participants.

Participant observation allowed me to gain first-hand experience of certain aspects of the teaching and learning that were taking place in the classrooms. After the first two weeks of direct observation, I began participant observation in all four classrooms. I actively participated in the classroom experience with the students and the teachers by sitting with the students, collaborating on school assignments together, completing basic tasks and assignments required of the students in (and sometimes out) of the classroom, and listening to and following teacher-prepared lessons and instructions.

Students as Participants

Collecting information from students often took shape through participant observation. I quickly learned however that despite students’ familiarity with me, I could

not interview them without engaging them in some type of activity, as students became quite uncomfortable and very quiet when separated from other students or sitting for a “formal” interview. In the classroom, I collected more detailed testimonies when I sat with the students as a participant observer, completing their daily work assignments as if I were a 5th or 6th grade student again⁴. Though the students and I were still aware of the power dynamics between us (i.e., adult vs. child, teacher-researcher vs. student), at times it seemed as though students thought of me as “just one of the students.” For instance, one day while I was conducting participant observation in Mrs. Williams’ class, a woman from the Assistance League came in to be a guest reader in honor of Dr. Seuss’ birthday. Before reading her story, Mrs. Williams instructed all of the students to put their pencils down. I saw this as an opportunity to catch up on a few important fieldnotes, so I switched into my researcher-observer role and began writing. In the midst of the silence, apparently some the students could hear my pencil moving across the paper, so Malik turned, gave me a look, and said, “Miss Daisy” in a tone that meant Mrs. Williams was talking to me too. I smiled shyly and so did Mrs. Williams. In this situation, I felt like “just one of the students” and apparently Malik viewed me in this light too, since he reminded me that I needed to follow the teacher’s directions just like all of the other students.

The playground was also another great place to interact with the students of this study. I often followed the students to recess right before their lunch break. Initially, my

⁴ Unfortunately, the participant observer role made me relive my own experiences as a “low-achieving” math student. At times I had to resort to “borrowing” answers from my neighbor only to be caught by my other 5th and 6th grade classmates who reminded me that was cheating and questioned why I didn’t know how to properly convert fractions!

presence on the playground was slightly awkward because I engaged the students by playing four-square⁵. This was awkward because the teachers who did not know about my study were not sure what to make of me “playing” with the students, as typically the playground monitors and teachers often grouped together and stayed in the shade away from the students. In addition, many of the students also seemed shocked that an adult actually wanted to play with them on the playground, rather than monitor their moves. After allowing the students to “teach”⁶ me the basics of the game, they continued to apprentice me into the special four-square rules (i.e., “cherry-bombing”⁷ and “toilet-bowling”⁸) at NFES. Initially, the students allowed me to stay “in”—even if I missed the ball and was called “out” by the other players. However, after they realized the level of talent I brought to their game, I became a marked player and the students would rally to get me out as soon as possible. It was during such interactions that I felt more like an “insider” at NFES with the students, rather than an “outsider” conducting research for my dissertation.

When I was not dominating the four-square court, I frequently sat at an outside table that overlooked the soccer field and the swing set on the playground. Different

⁵ Four-square was a popular game at NFES. There was a large box painted on the ground that was divided into four squares. One student was allowed per square and the goal was to get the other students “out” by bouncing the ball in their square so that they would not be able to return it to another player.

⁶ I am being modest here. I was an excellent four-square player in elementary school. I came to this study and to the playground with four-square in my blood.

⁷ “Cherry-bombing” at NFES is a form of returning the ball to another player by hitting it in such a fashion that it goes over the other player’s head, getting that player out.

⁸ “Toilet-bowling” at NFES occurs when the server rolls the ball to a player and the player must stop it by quickly dropping directly on the ball with their bottom. Yes, this move was especially difficult and risky for me, but I gained much respect by perfecting my “toilet-bowl” form.

groups of students would come by my table and sit to chat about their school day or to look at my recording devices. Some students, like 6th grader Catherine, would regularly sit by me and allow me to conduct informal interviews with her regarding her previous schooling experiences in the four-hour ELD block in contrast to her present experiences in the mainstream classroom. These interactions were generally quite brief (approximately 15 minutes), but extremely informative. Toward the end of the school year (when it was very hot outside) several of the students (in addition to other students who I did not know very well), would regularly sit by me, at the tables in the shade, to rest and to talk about home and school.

On certain days, I would follow students from the playground to their lunch break in the cafeteria. Initially, I felt awkward going into the cafeteria because I was afraid that I would not have a friend to sit next to. Several of the students (like 6th graders Anayeli and Juan) would “take me in” and invite me to sit next to them and their friends. Again, these small moments made me feel included in the student community—students were inviting me to sit by them to talk rather than ignoring me because I was a stranger or “authority” figure. During this time, I would also informally interview the students about their language use as well as their schooling experiences. However, I tried to limit my time with individual students during lunch because I quickly learned that they could not talk and eat at the same time. To be respectful of the students’ opportunity to eat, I tried to limit my lunch visits to about five minutes so that they could eat and talk with friends too. Limiting my timing with individual students allowed me to visit more of the students, thus gaining information from multiple perspectives.

Because I am not a recently reclassified ELL and I am significantly older with more experience in “doing” school and teaching in schools, my position relative to the school was much different than that of the ELL learners who participated in this study. Nonetheless, I still was able to gain significant insights from active engagement in the classroom, from the many informal out-of-classroom interactions we had, and from observing their language and policy practices across the classroom contexts.

Teachers as Participants

Over the course of the study, I gradually developed strong working relationships with all of the teachers; however, my role in relation to them and within their classrooms often shifted depending on what event was taking place. For example, during the in-depth interviews (Seidman, 2006), the teachers would sometimes feel guarded, and two teachers asked me if there was anything that they should or should not say, and I sometimes noted that some of the teachers were searching for the “correct” answer rather than simply providing an answer to the question. However, after the interview, I noticed that the power dynamics would shift and the teachers and I would revert to chit-chat that often centered on the various topics from the interview (i.e., administration, teaching practices, district requirements, etc.). It was through these brief, unguarded exchanges that the teachers would sometimes share their frustrations with the administration or teaching in general. It was in these moments when my role as researcher/participant observer shifted to professional colleague (and sometimes an empathetic friend) that I was able to forge stronger connections with all of the teachers because we were able to

connect and talk about our personal experiences teaching.

For example, during one interview, Mr. Peterson expressed that he was struggling with teaching his students grammar. After the interview, we began to discuss some of the materials that he was using and in the moment, I shared some practical ideas to help him plan for future grammar lessons. The next day, I brought him books from my personal collection to borrow so that he would have access to relevant materials and feel some sense of support for teaching grammar. In this instance, my role as researcher subtly shifted to professional colleague in a matter of minutes, but this was often accompanied by useful information. Being viewed as a professional colleague often afforded me more personal and honest insights from the teachers. Indeed, over time, the teachers, especially Mrs. Williams, came to view me as their friend, and I sometimes received text messages to keep me posted on important personal information (i.e., Mrs. Williams working on her national board certification test) or well wishes for different holidays (i.e., Thanksgiving and Christmas). To maintain my relationship with the teachers (that I cherish and value), I still go to NFES to stop in and visit or volunteer whenever possible. Whenever I visit the school, I bring the teachers a tasty treat, for which they are always thankful.

According to Heath and Street (2008), “though much is said about *participant observation* as the key means to collecting data as an ethnographer, the truth is that only rarely can we shed features of ourselves to be a ‘real’ participant” (pg. 31). All of these kinds of participant observation provided me the opportunity to personally reflect on how “to make the strange familiar and the familiar strange from the teachers’ and students’

perspectives ” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, pg. 141).

Interviewing

Interviewing is a data collection method that allows the researcher to gather large amounts of data in a relatively short period of time. By crafting carefully planned questions and following up with relevant questions at opportune times, the researcher can (to a degree) control the depth and breadth of information the participants share. For example, the researcher can ask questions that will guide the participant to give a historical account, a personal opinion, or missing details and information the researcher needs. Thus, interviewing is important to qualitative research because participants have the opportunity to share personal insights and voice their experiences.

There are several ways to conduct interviews, but the most common approach is the face-to-face interview method where the researcher and the participant agree to meet at a particular location and the researcher asks the participant questions. Utilizing face-to-face interviews, the researcher usually contacts the participant via phone, e-mail, or in person in order to clarify or gain additional information. Another interview method is in-depth interviewing. According to Seidman (2006), “at the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience” (p. 9). In order to accomplish this, Seidman recommends the three-part interview process. Each interview is approximately 90 minutes in length and focused on a specific informative segment. For example, the first interview often focuses on the participant’s life history, while the second interview usually focuses on the

participant's experience with a certain phenomena, and the third interview is used for the participant to reflect on the meaning from information provided in second interview.

However, there are several limitations to using this approach to data collection. For example, the information the participants share will be subjective and possibly limited. The researcher should conduct a follow-up interview with the participant if there are confusing or contradictory statements or questions that still remain. The researcher should also interview other participants to look for possible themes across the data or inconsistencies between participants. Another limitation to interviewing lies within power dynamics. Researchers are often in position of power and this is reinforced throughout the interview process. Researchers plan and ask the questions and control the direction of the interview through the questions asked. Sometimes participants will feel "put on the spot" or powerless during the interview due to the lack of control—especially when working with children or marginalized populations. To overcome this imbalance of power, the researcher should take care to engage (to a degree) with the participants. Engaging in "small talk" before and after the interview and sometimes (carefully and restrictively) sharing personal stories with the participant during the interview will help alleviate power tensions between the researcher and the participant by making the participant feel more comfortable. Also, letting the participant choose the interview location can sometimes offset tensions too.

I relied heavily on interviewing for this study. I conducted multiple (informal) interviews with each of the students, four in-depth teacher interviews, one principal interview, and multiple informal interviews with the teachers and the principal. The

twelve student interviews took place at school during participant observation in the students' classrooms as well as during the students' recess and lunch period. The time required to conduct an in-depth interviews was not appropriate for students this age, so all interviews were done face-to-face and informally. I had to interview students on several occasions to gain the needed information and I learned that the students were more forthcoming with information when they were engaged in an activity and a dialogue with me as the "classroom volunteer".

I also modified Seidman's (2006) format while conducting in-depth interviews with the four teachers of the school. Rather than conduct a series of three in-depth interviews, I conducted two interviews with each teacher and conducted a focus group for the third interview. This approach provided a deeper historical context and personal positioning to the restrictive language policy and the implementation of such policies in the classroom context. I was also able to document patterns and contradictions in the interview responses. My history as a classroom volunteer and a researcher at this school site, together with my previous teaching experiences in three K-12 contexts, helped to improve communication and build trust between the teachers and me. Thus, my extended engagement at this particular site with the different teachers and students was very important for being accepted as a member of the NFES community.

Focus Groups

Focus groups are an extension of interviewing that bring together different participants of a study. Like interviewing, focus groups often yield large amounts of

qualitative data that stem from focused questions that encourage open discussion and the expression of varying points of view (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Sometimes participants feel more comfortable sharing in focus groups than in individual interviews because of the supportive nature of group discussion and collaboration in focus groups. Participants are allowed to engage in a semi-natural discussion with others, while building or refining their own personal thoughts and opinions. However, Marshall & Rossman (2011) warn researchers that certain challenges might arise during this process. Such challenges can include unbalanced power dynamics between participants, irrelevant discussion, and a lack of researcher control. An awareness of these challenges can help to improve the focus and communication of the group, redirect the focus of discussion, or regain control when and if needed.

In this study, one focus group with all of the teachers was conducted at the end of the school year. The focus group was conducted in Mr. Peterson's classroom after school one day before school ended. I brought sandwiches to the focus group to thank the teachers for their time and willingness to participate in my study, and I gave them each a small gift (a reusable water bottle filled with candy) at the meeting as well.

At the beginning of the focus group, I shared my preliminary findings to elicit deeper responses from the teachers, and I encouraged the teachers to agree or disagree with my findings or to elaborate on selected quotes and themes. This approach served as a form of member checking that strengthened my understanding and interpretations of the data. After sharing my preliminary findings, I asked a series of open-ended questions that related to and expanded on my research questions and preliminary findings. This

approach also provided the time and space needed for the teachers to reflect and comment on a range of matters relating to the research project and the research project itself.

Collection of Print and Online Documents

Throughout the study, I collected a number of documents from the students and teachers, as well as from the administration at NFES and from the ADE. Such documents included photographs (of landscapes and material artifacts), examples of schoolwork, writing samples, in/formal teacher observations of students, report cards, AZELLA test scores, AIMS test results, reclassification and monitoring documents. I also collected archival data from the Office of English Language Acquisition Services (OELAS) and the ADE website. Collectively, these documents and resources supported and at times contradicted findings from direct observations, participant observation, interviews, and the focus group. Document collection and the retrieval of archival data was non-intrusive to the research site, but extremely telling of the context. However, as the researcher, I took extreme caution in the analysis of written materials, as I will strongly rely on “inferential reasoning” and interpretation of the collected materials (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

Data Analysis

The majority of the data collected was qualitative in nature. The majority of the observations and all of the interviews were audio-recorded for accuracy and for analysis. I also indexed (all) and transcribed (certain) data sets for analysis. Data was initially coded inductively based on my guiding research questions. I analyzed the first set of

codes to look for recurrent themes. From there, I continued to code within each theme. I also used thematic and narrative analysis to analyze certain sets of data and themes found within the data.

Narrative Analysis

To analyze some of the data—i.e., interviews and informal conversations, etc., I analyzed autobiographical narratives that emerged in classroom interaction and in recorded interviews. I align myself with the work of Wortham (2001) who argues, “the self can be partly constructed through the interrelationship of represented content and enacted positioning in autobiographical narrative, as narrators enact characteristic interactional positions while telling their stories” (p. xii). Like Wortham, I rely on Bakhtin’s (1981) dialogic approach to discourse to theorize (and analyze) how people use and engage in narratives to position themselves through the use of storytelling. This approach illuminates how language and language use in narratives and storytelling is a socially constructed event between the teller and the audience.

In this study I focused on the ways in which students’ and teachers’ narratives made visible otherwise implicit or unconscious ideologies of language—e.g., those that support or oppose restrictive language policies. And I examined how those narratives intersected with the personal stories shared by students and teachers about non-language-learning topics or phenomena. Based on preliminary findings from our analysis of interactional data (Warriner & Fredricks, in progress), I was interested in investigating how students’ and teachers’ everyday storytelling (Ochs & Capps, 2001) often reflected

the sociopolitical landscape of the community and the state. Capturing and analyzing authentic conversations among and between students and teachers in this mainstream context provided the opportunity to see if and how language ideologies and language policies intersected with personal stories.

Summary

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the present study's research design, my methods of data collection, and my approaches to data analysis. Because I am interested in surfacing the unconscious but influential ideologies of language that shape the beliefs and practices of teachers and students in a restrictive educational language policy context, it was important to conduct extensive participant observation, recorded interviews, focus groups, and document analysis. The triangulation of the data obtained allowed me to trace themes across the data sources and arrive at tentative interpretations which were later confirmed or disconfirmed by additional data collection (in the form of focus groups) and continued data analysis. In the next three chapters, I present some of the key findings of the present study along with a detailed analysis of how those findings inform and address the research questions that guide this study.

Chapter 4

TEACHERS' TALK ABOUT RECLASSIFICATION AND MONITORING: *POLICIES, PROCESSES, & PRACTICES*

To better understand what happens during the reclassification and monitoring period for reclassified ELLs, one goal of this study was to examine what teachers say about reclassification policies and practices like AZELLA testing, mainstream placement, and monitoring, while another goal was to analyze what teachers do in their classrooms once students have been reclassified and placed in a mainstream classroom. The first section of this chapter will analyze the specific processes of reclassification (AZELLA administration) that the teachers at NFES adhered to and the concerns that they raised with regard to the administration of AZELLA testing during reclassification. The second section of this chapter will describe some of the common challenges that teachers of this study associated with reclassification processes. The third section of this chapter will examine the everyday classroom policies and teaching practices the teachers enacted to support their reclassified ELL students. Focusing on the talk and practices of the four teachers that I observed and interviewed, this chapter demonstrates the complicated ways that reclassification policies, processes, and practices might be understood and enacted in specific contexts.

Reclassification and Monitoring at NFES

This section explores the reclassification policy enacted at NFES as well as the process of reclassification (i.e., scoring “proficient” on the AZELLA test for two consecutive years). I explore what teachers had to say about the AZELLA test as well as

how teachers responded when reclassified ELLs did not score “proficient” on this test. In this next section I will explain how teachers interpret and respond to the State’s mandated restrictive language policy and the processes associated with it.

Policy and Process

After school, on June 7, 2012, I conducted a focus group with the four teachers of this study—Ms. Rocio (4th/5th grade), Mrs. Williams (5th grade), Mr. Peterson (6th grade), and Mr. Kasey (6th grade). As the teachers snacked on their sandwiches, chips, and cookies, I asked questions about certain reclassification policies, processes, and practices that I had noted during my time observing, participating, and volunteering at NFES. Specifically, I wanted to better understand the formal process of reclassification for reclassified ELL students from the four-hour ELD block to the mainstream classroom, as well as the informal processes and practices that the teachers implemented and enforced. Ms. Rocio summed up the official procedures that all of the NFES teachers adhered to:

We just test them [reclassified ELLs] and **when they are tested as fluent** [in English], **they just move into the mainstream** [classroom]. They [instructional assistants provided by the district] continue to test them for two years after that. **As long as they continue to pass** [the AZELLA], **they continue to be in the mainstream**. If they fail, then we have to make a decision. (Focus Group, June 7, 2012)

Ms. Rocio’s explanation aligned with the language in the official reclassification and monitoring policies created by the state of Arizona, as reclassification occurs after an ELL passes the AZELLA test with a composite score that indicates the student is “proficient” in English. Once reclassified and re-labeled as FEP, students are placed in mainstream classrooms with access to the core content curriculum (i.e., science, social

studies, and math). For two years, reclassified ELLs are placed on monitor status, and each year these students must retake and pass the AZELLA test. AZELLA test scores independently determine if reclassified ELLs continue to be monitored or if they need more ELD instruction. After reclassified ELLs have scored “proficient” on the AZELLA test for two consecutive years, they are no longer observed as they are permanently mainstreamed and are not entitled to receive additional linguistic support to advance English language development. However, at NFES, reclassified ELLs that fail the AZELLA test are dealt with on a case-by-case basis.

Ms. Rocio explained the different options for the reclassified ELL students that fail the AZELLA test by providing personal examples of three reclassified ELLs from her class who did not score in the English proficient category during the 2011-2012 school year:

One of them, I recommended to the parents that they **sign him out** because there was no reason for him to repeat that class. The other two I recommended that they go ahead and **put them back in the ELD classroom for another year because they were doing okay in the mainstream, but it was with so much effort**. So I think that with one more year of ELD instruction, then hopefully, when they move back in the mainstream, and I know they will, then it won't be so much. It was really hard for them to get a “C”. (Focus Group, June 7, 2012)

As Ms. Rocio explained, at NFES when a reclassified ELL failed the AZELLA test during the monitoring process, the mainstream classroom teacher determined the best plan of action for that particular student. One option was that the teacher made a recommendation that parents/guardians sign a waiver to exit their child from returning to the four-hour ELD block. The option was that reclassified ELLs returned to the four-hour ELD block to continue to receive intensive English language instruction until the

student could score in the “proficient” category on the AZELLA test again. The teacher’s final decision was based on a combination of factors, including the student’s AZELLA test scores, AIMS scores, daily classroom performance, and teacher recommendation.

It is important to note that according to state policy, reclassified ELLs who do not pass the AZELLA test during reclassification are required to return to the four-hour ELD block until such students can attain “proficiency” on the AZELLA test again (and this requires that they go through the reclassification and monitoring period for two more years). However, at this local site, teachers and the administration took an active role in interpreting (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) the State’s policy to create *ad hoc* reclassification policies for their students enrolled in the local school site⁹. Mrs. Williams called the process of interpreting and creating *ad hoc* policy “doing what’s right by the child” (Interview, September 21, 2012), which means that teachers were aware that the mandated policy was not always in the best interest of the child. Thus, the teachers (and principal) decided to use a variety of measures (test scores, daily classroom performance, and teacher recommendation) to determine their students’ most appropriate learning placement. In this light, the teachers and the principal took an active role in promoting particular policies (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) that reflected the beliefs of the administration and faculty of the local institution—“doing what’s right by the child”—and allowing for multiple measures to guide teachers’ decisions for reclassified ELL students’ classroom placements. Long and Adamson (2012) argue that, “school

⁹ It should be further noted that the *ad hoc* policies created at NFES were local policies created by the teachers and the principal. Such policies were not enacted or enforced district-wide.

districts should have the freedom to discard those parts of the new curriculum they feel are irrelevant or even counter-productive, and to substitute appropriate instructional programs that will meet immigrant children's needs" (p. 51). The same argument should be made for mandated policy, as individual schools (like NFES) should be able to create, amend, or adopt policies that work to benefit their students.

AZELLA Testing

At NFES, each year self-appointed teachers administered the reading and writing portion of the AZELLA test to the reclassified ELLs while an instructional assistant provided by the school district administered the listening and speaking portion of the test. During the 2011-2012 school year, Mrs. Williams gave the reading and writing portion of the AZELLA test to the reclassified ELL 5th graders, while Mr. Peterson administered the reading and writing portion of the AZELLA to the reclassified ELL 6th graders. The school district provided instructional assistants to administer and evaluate the listening and speaking portion of the assessment for all grades.

When asked about the accuracy and validity of the AZELLA test as an instrument to assess the English language proficiency of the reclassified ELL students, two of the teachers (Mr. Kasey and Ms. Rocio) said that they thought that the assessment was mostly accurate. During an interview, Mr. Kasey explained, "I think it's a pretty solid test. We're never shocked where it's like, 'This student should not be in this class.'... So for the most part, I would say yes, I do think it's a pretty good test to show where the kids are at..." (Interview, May 22, 2012). Mr. Kasey also clarified that he did not utilize his

reclassified ELL students' AZELLA test scores for instructional purposes or for anything else outside of it as being the gatekeeper for reclassification and monitoring purposes.

Similarly, no other teacher reported using (reclassified ELL) students' AZELLA test scores outside of reclassification and monitoring purposes.

Mr. Peterson, however, was more skeptical of the AZELLA test, citing inherent flaws with standardized tests in general and observing specific issues with the AZELLA test:

I think it's a case-by-case issue. I don't think there's an incorporating test that would accumulate everybody to be fair and biased-free. So, it is what it is. **For some of the questions, I'm really shocked at how basic [they are]. They seem very, very easy to a 6th grader and a 5th grader. I know in the kindergarten test, they're actually asked to write things! @@. They don't even know their ABC's yet, so.** I know on that end it doesn't seem fair, but **it seems that for the upper grades, it just seems very, very easy for a student to pass.** (Interview, May 28, 2012)

Specifically, Mr. Peterson's comment, "it seems that for the upper grades, it just seems very, very easy for a student to pass" is reminiscent of the documented limitations of the AZELLA assessment – invalid cut scores¹⁰ (Florez, 2010). The consequences of invalid cut scores can result in a trend that over-identifies kindergarteners. This issue could stem from the fact that kindergarteners are asked to write for this assessment and as Mr. Peterson noted, "They don't even know their ABC's yet, so."

Mr. Peterson observed that for the 5th and 6th grade reclassified ELLs, the questions seemed to be too easy, thus allowing for some students to appear "proficient"

¹⁰ According to Florez (2010), cut scores are defined as "the minimum score a child must obtain to fall into one of the five proficiency levels" (p. 3) of the AZELLA test: pre-emergent, emergent, basic, intermediate, or proficient.

in English when they might need not be as proficient as needed for the content-based instruction of the 5th and 6th grade and would benefit from additional support in the ELD classroom. As a result of such issues, the AZELLA test has been critiqued for under-identifying older students (Florez, 2010). This is especially problematic for reclassified ELL students because the under-identification of such students limits the opportunity for students to receive academic support and services needed to be successful in school. Given that a single assessment such as the AZELLA is used to determine the educational opportunities of ELL students, it is imperative the assessments are valid and can effectively identify such students (Mahoney, Haladyna, & MacSwan, 2009).

Crawford and Krashen (2007) argue, “even the best academic assessments, those that have been carefully field-tested and found to be valid and reliable, can only sample a tiny part of what students have learned” (p. 58). Thus, the use of multiple measures to determine academic placements for reclassified ELLs who do not score “proficient” on the AZELLA during reclassification can provide a more accurate and more nuanced representation of individual students’ linguistic and academic abilities. Different types of measures can help teachers (like Ms. Rocio) determine the best educational options for their students.

Other teachers expressed concern with regard to the subjectivity of the listening and speaking portion of the AZELLA test for reclassified ELL students. Because instructional assistants were brought in to administer and evaluate students’ oral language proficiency in English, some of the teachers, like Mrs. Williams, commented that this was problematic because the students were not familiar with the instructional assistants

and this could negatively impact their listening and speaking performance.

For example, during a classroom observation on May 28, 2012, Mrs. Williams shared her students' AZELLA scores with me. She informed me that all of her students passed, with the exception of Malik, a Somali-speaking boy in his first year of reclassification. She showed me his official test scores and then clarified that Malik just missed his second year of reclassification by two points. She stated that she did not believe the AZELLA was always an accurate indicator of students' language proficiency, especially the listening and speaking portion, as it was subjective. Mrs. Williams also noted that according to "the person in charge" at the district office, the majority of the reclassified ELLs who did not pass the AZELLA assessment lost points in the listening and speaking section. This perplexed her, as she laughed, "These kids have no trouble speaking. NONE!" (Fieldnotes, May 28, 2012).

During a focus group held a week later, Mrs. Williams later speculated that at least for her student, Malik, his AZELLA scores dropped because he was having a bad day and this affected how he responded to the speaking portion of the test. Mrs. Williams believed that if she had administered this part of the test herself, rather than an instructional assistant, Malik would probably have had different results:

You can tell in my room, my kids talk all the time. The one student that did go back was having a horrible day that day. He went back [on the AZELLA test] and he certainly has no problem voicing his opinion or talking in complete sentences. **So, if it [the AZELLA test] was with me, he would have had complete sentences said. If it was with somebody that he knew or at least somebody who popped in and talk to them ahead of time to make them feel comfortable, it would have been a little more-** (June 7, 2012)

Thus, Mrs. Williams suggested that if she had proctored this portion of the assessment, she would have insured that Malik had performed to his potential on this assessment because she was familiar with Malik’s listening and speaking abilities. She also indicated that her students did not have a prior relationship with the instructional assistants and this could have also affected how students performed on the listening and speaking portion of the assessment. These comments indicate one significant problem with the AZELLA test and the reclassification policies associated with it—if a student’s performance on the test can be influenced by those who give the test or what is going on the day the test is given, then it seems problematic that the results of the test should determine a student’s placement.

During this same focus group, Mr. Kasey agreed that the student’s classroom teacher should administer the listening and speaking portion, noting, “I think if it was the teacher they were with all the time giving that portion of the test, the kids would feel more comfortable. And it would definitely help their score. I don’t think it would hurt...” (June 7, 2012). For him, the students would feel more comfortable speaking with their everyday teacher rather than an instructional assistant who the students might not know. Similar to Mrs. Williams, he believed the students’ AZELLA scores might improve if administered by someone they knew well.

Mr. Peterson also had concerns with regard to the use of instructional assistants as administrators for the listening and speaking portion of the exam; he was particularly concerned with how the accents of the instructional assistants impacted the students’ language proficiency performance. He explained, “I’ve heard kids complain about

accents for the listening and speaking part...like they couldn't understand the teacher who was administering the test" (Focus group, June 7, 2012). According to Mr. Peterson, some of his students complained about not being able to understand what was being asked on the assessment. A potential consequence of this issue is that students were not able to understand, and would thus receive a lower test score because of the accent of the test administrator.

This section has explored what teachers say about the process of reclassification – mainly the AZELLA testing procedures enacted at this particular school site. Though some teachers (i.e., Mr. Kasey) believed the AZELLA test was “pretty solid” in terms of accuracy, other teachers (i.e., Mr. Peterson and Mrs. Williams) had concerns about rater subjectivity as well as accented speech of the assessment proctors. This type of teacher-fronted information can be useful for improving how the AZELLA test is administered to students, as such issues can affect students' test scores and students' test scores will have implications for classroom placements.

Challenges in Reclassification Processes

A few weeks before school let out for the summer, I conducted a follow-up interview with 6th grade teacher, Mr. Peterson, after school. As we discussed specific reclassification policies, processes, and practices at NFES, he confided that he did not know much about the official monitoring procedures for reclassified ELLs outside of AZELLA testing. He noted, “I just know when they leave the ELD program, they're a huge fish in the ocean” (May 22, 2012). This comment suggested that Mr. Peterson had

concerns about reclassified ELL students struggling when placed in the mainstream classroom. Like all of the teachers that I interviewed, Mr. Peterson was not confident that his ELL-turned-FEP students were well-prepared for the mainstream classroom: “Just because they’re labeled ‘proficient’, they are still having trouble with the language.” He continued, “In my class the focus is on content, so I’m giving them the content, but I’m guiding them on the language. I’m holding their hand a little more than a kid that’s been labeled proficient for the past two years and tested out of the AZELLA test” (Interview, April 11, 2012). Such comments illustrate Mr. Peterson’s awareness that reclassified ELLs need additional linguistic and academic support in the mainstream classroom. In fact, all of the teachers I observed and interviewed recognized this challenge for their reclassified ELL students in mainstream learning contexts.

One important finding of this study is that “proficiency” in English, as measured by the AZELLA test does not always indicate a solid understanding of the language—in part because students lacked content-based instruction in the four-hour ELD block. Another important finding is that some of the teachers did not feel prepared to work with reclassified ELL students in mainstream contexts. This section explores some of the challenges that teachers faced during the reclassification process—students’ lack of content based-instruction in four-hour ELD block and inadequate teacher preparation.

Lack of Content Based-Instruction

Though all of the teachers that I interviewed at NFES believed that the four-hour ELD block helped reclassified ELL students learn English, all of the teachers also

claimed that students coming out of the four-hour ELD block still struggled with academic language associated with the content-based learning. For example, when I was talking with Mr. Peterson about the reclassified ELL students in his class, he commented that some of his ELLs struggled to understand the content area lessons required as part of the school's curriculum. Though he stated that the four-hour ELD block helped to teach the English language, Mr. Peterson acknowledged that such students still needed academic language support in the mainstream classroom; "Just because they're labeled proficient, they are still having trouble with the language" (April 11, 2012). Such comments revealed a limitation to the four-hour ELD block, as students did not have access to the everyday conversation and vocabulary tied to the content-based curriculum.

A few teachers believed that the four-hour ELD block did not sufficiently prepare reclassified ELL students for the content demands of the mainstream classroom. This was the case for Mr. Kasey, as he explained:

I think the four-hour block doesn't prepare them enough because they're learning basic stuff. Then when they get into a different class it's more rigorous. I think they get far behind, but I don't think that's the teacher's fault because the **ELD teacher has to teach them the basics.** (Interview, May 22, 2012)

This example illustrates another common belief held by some of the teachers and students at NFES: Gaining proficiency in English is challenging, but it is still learning "basic stuff" (i.e., the English language) that all mainstream students should already know. However, learning content in a mainstream classroom is considered more "rigorous" and demanding because students are learning grade level information and content-area knowledge (with its content-area vocabulary) that is often new to them. As

a result of being placed in an ELD classroom where the focus is only on learning English through the English language, Mr. Kasey believed that the reclassified ELL students were at a disadvantage because these students did not have access to learning the content needed for academic achievement in a mainstream classroom. His comments reflect the same concerns that other scholars (August et al., 2010; Lillie et al., 2010) have noted—the strong focus on English language development and the lack of content-based instruction will have negative consequences for reclassified ELL students’ learning once they are transferred to the mainstream classroom.

Mrs. Williams agreed that once ELL students were reclassified as FEP learners, many of the students continued to struggle in both language and content:

And you have to remember, **they go in at...the low end of average, so they’re not going to be the higher kids in your class necessarily.** There is going to be some growth, but also some shell-shock, you know? It’s ‘Oh my gosh! I have work to do!’ and it’s not putting things together in a game format or a learning center format. It’s ‘Let’s learn as a class’. You can Think-Pair-Share¹¹ or you can do all this other stuff, but as you get ready for junior high...**[there’s] a little more writing and a little more responsibility. Not that they [ELL students] don’t do work, but they do more verbal work in an ELD classroom.** (Focus Group, June 7, 2012)

This excerpt highlights some of the challenges that ELLs and teachers encountered during the reclassification period. Mrs. Williams began by stating that ELLs come to the mainstream classroom at “the low end of average”, suggesting that students would likely need additional support with learning in a mainstream context. She recognized that such students would make some academic progress, but she also

¹¹ Think-Pair-Share is a three-part strategy that allows for 1) the teacher to pose a question to the class and time for students to independently think about their response; 2) pair up with a classmate and share individual responses; and 3) share responses with another pair of students or with the entire class (Edelsky, Smith, & Faltis, 2008).

predicted that for some ELL students the transition from an ELD classroom to a mainstream classroom might be difficult due to the more “rigorous” work expectations required in the mainstream contexts. Such comments reveal that the four-hour ELD block does not adequately prepare the ELL students for the challenges and demands of the content-based curriculum of the mainstream classroom because in the ELD classroom, ELL students played more games, learned through learning centers, and engaged in cooperative learning techniques, like Think-Pair-Share. Though Mrs. Williams’ comments seem to place blame on the activities used to teach language to students in the four-hour ELD block, the activities used did not create the challenges for students during reclassification—the challenges were created because of the lack of focus on content-based learning.

For Mrs. Williams, another critical issue was that the ELD classroom focused more on verbal understanding and production. She cautioned that in the mainstream classrooms, especially the mainstream classrooms in junior high, students would need to do more to demonstrate their individual understanding of content materials. She indicated that writing played a major role in the mainstream classroom, which might be problematic for some recently reclassified ELL students, especially if they were accustomed to a focus on verbal speech production in the ELD classroom.

Together, these examples represent some of the greatest challenges that the mainstream teachers at NFES observed and experienced with Arizona’s mandated SEI program. Although the teachers of this study acknowledged that there were benefits to an exclusive focus on language, they were also quite concerned about the shortcomings of

the four-hour ELD block curriculum and its inability to adequately prepare ELL students for the mainstream classroom. To complicate things further, the teachers I observed and interviewed seemed to believe that inadequate teacher preparation was also a problem. As I discuss in the following section, however, this is one area that the teachers agreed could use some improvement.

Teacher Preparation

While all of the teachers of this study had fulfilled the requirements for obtaining the State's required full SEI endorsement, none of the teachers believed that the SEI endorsement fully prepared them to teach in the four-hour ELD block, or to work with recently reclassified ELLs in mainstream classrooms. For example, during the 2010-2011 school year, Mr. Peterson completed the requirements for the SEI endorsement by taking an online course from a local community college. On more than one occasion, however, he stated that the SEI endorsement he received was not very useful for him (Interview, April 11, 2012; Focus Group, June 7, 2012). At one point, when we were talking about professional development opportunities he would be interested in attending, he commented that teaching grammar to his students was difficult for him and he would like to receive more training and support in this area: "I've expressed that I need help in grammar tremendously and I've not gotten any support in that area...I have not figured out a way to make grammar engaging if that is even possible [laughs]!" (Interview, April 11, 2012). For Mr. Peterson, the SEI endorsement was not useful for helping him to improve his methods of teaching English grammar to his reclassified ELL students.

Mr. Peterson's comments echo research (Arias, 2012) that suggests that the SEI endorsement alone does not provide an adequate knowledge base for teachers who work with ELLs. Mr. Peterson's plea for additional support for teaching grammar to his mainstream students (who largely consist of reclassified ELLs) indicates a stronger need for professional development for in-service teachers that go beyond "just good teaching" strategies for reclassified ELLs in mainstream classrooms (de Jong & Harper, 2005).

Mrs. Williams and Ms. Rocio also told me that the SEI endorsement did not necessarily prepare them to work with ELL students; for them, experience teaching language learners was more valuable. Both teachers had taught the four-hour ELD block since it was mandated in 2008 and this was the first year that both teachers had taught a mainstream classroom in over four years. Mrs. Williams provided a brief comment as to why she and Ms. Rocio felt a sense of confidence when working with reclassified ELL students:

I think we're confident because **we have experience**. Me, I've been here 20 years. I've learned to work with them through **trial and error** more than anything else. What's gonna work? But I think for someone fresh out of college, it's really tough. **They don't have the tricks in their bag.** (Focus Group, June, 7, 2012)

For Mrs. Williams (and Ms. Rocio), real-life learning experiences (and a "trial and error" philosophy) was the cornerstone of their understanding for how to better work with (reclassified) ELLs. On different occasions, Mrs. Williams pointed to her 21 years of teaching experience at NFES to explain how she made decisions about how to teach language through content-based instruction to her reclassified ELL students in her mainstream classroom. She said that for new, inexperienced teachers, teaching ELLs in

mainstream contexts would be difficult, as they didn't have experience yet and they did not have enough tricks in their teaching bags. According to Mrs. Williams, the SEI endorsement might bring an awareness of the diverse needs of ELL and learners reclassified as FEP to these new teachers, but it was not enough to make up for what can be learned through real-life teaching experiences—which evolves with time and practice.

Though Ms. Rocio and Mrs. Williams have many years of teaching experience and “trial and error” approaches to fall back on, the reality is that they are not trained to work with ELLs. In Arizona all teachers are required to obtain their SEI endorsements, but research suggests this endorsement is not enough to prepare pre-service (or in-service) teachers to effectively work with ELLs (Arias, 2012). Like many schools with a four-hour ELD block and a significant ELL population, NFES is staffed with teachers who lack professional experience teaching in general or lack the linguistic and cultural knowledge needed to provide effective instruction to (reclassified) ELL students.

These examples illustrate some of the challenges and limitations that the teachers of this study identified with in regards to serving English language learners enrolled in their school. The teachers in this study did not believe that the State's mandated SEI endorsement fully prepared them to teach in the four-hour ELD block, nor did it help to improve teaching reclassified ELLs in mainstream classrooms. But these teachers did believe that time, experience and a “trial and error” approach were important for learning how to work with reclassified ELLs.

Mainstream Classroom Policy as Practice

This section examines some of the classroom policies and teaching practices that were enacted as a result of the need to support the academic and linguistic needs of the reclassified ELL students. Through interviews and classroom observations, I frequently documented that teachers at NFES utilized English-only language policy, teacher-to-student grammar feedback, and instructional strategies designed for ELL students to help support their reclassified ELL students.

English-Only Language Policy

In all of the mainstream classrooms I observed, students were required to use English. If a student violated this local language policy, teachers *and* students were quick to remind the “guilty party” that English was the language of instruction and learning at school. Mrs. Williams told me that during a staff meeting regarding the implementation of the four-hour ELD block in 2008, the previous principal (Mrs. Thomas) and the staff decided to implement a school-wide English-only language policy, as the majority of their students were ELLs or reclassified ELL students. Mrs. Williams said, “We felt that we needed to do this as a school. This was not just for the ELD students—just because students tested out, didn’t mean that they could speak English proficiently and it didn’t mean that they were ready for the grade level classroom” (Interview, April 11, 2013). Mrs. Williams said the faculty supported this decision because the English language was used for testing, reading, writing, and everyday communication at the school. She also said that the English-only language policy was especially important at that time (during

2008) because the school had seen a dramatic increase in the number of African refugees attending the school. She told me that with the influx of diverse students (using multiple languages) also came verbal and physical fighting and mistrust. The school believed the English-only language policy would help students acquire English faster while also alleviating tensions between students from different ethnic and linguistics backgrounds.

For further clarification on this policy, during a focus group on June 7, 2012, I asked the teachers if the students were allowed to use their native languages in the classrooms. All four teachers agreed that their mainstream classrooms were English-only spaces and three of the teachers (Mr. Peterson, Mrs. Williams, and Mr. Kasey) provided different reasons for implementing English-only language policy. Such reasons included English-only for practical purposes, classroom uniformity, and assessment preparation.

Practicality

Mr. Peterson, 6th grade teacher enforced English-only language policy in his mainstream classroom. During the focus group, he explained his reasoning to me when he said, “It’s English-only in my classroom just simply for the sanity, really. I don’t want to listen to the kids curse and complain about it. It’s not worth it really” (June 7, 2012). With his comment, Mr. Peterson described the English-only policy in his classroom in terms of “sanity.” I interpret this comment to mean that, as a monolingual English speaker, Mr. Peterson did not want to waste time on “behavior management” issues that could potentially stem from the use of different languages that he was not familiar with. I had learned through participant observation that there were many different native

languages spoken by the 28 students in his class. His statements reveal a concern that allowing student to use their different languages in the classroom might contribute to disruptions that would distract him from teaching and his students from learning. Mr. Peterson told me that he decided that because all of his students could speak English proficiently, (as measured by the AZELLA test), all of his students should communicate in English.

Uniformity

For Mrs. Williams, an English-only language policy also seemed practical because it would provide a sense of uniformity in her classroom.

I use English because there are 20 different languages and cultures and everything else in there [the classroom]. I try to keep everything in English because so and so thinks somebody's talking about so and so, when all they're saying is they don't know how to say, "How do you say this?" in English. **They think they're talking about each other in different languages. And they get real offensive about it. "They're talking about me! See they're talkin' in their language! They're talkin' about me!" When 9 times out of 10, that's not what they're doing. So we try – I try to keep it strictly English, for the sake of whatever. **When we talk about the different religions that come up based on holidays or based on something else, then we have them share,** "What do you do at your house? What do you do at your house?" **So in that way I share culture, but not as far as language. I try to keep it English–Only in my classroom.** (Focus Group, June 7, 2012)**

This example demonstrates Mrs. William's belief that using only English in the classroom was practical because this would help to alleviate classroom tensions that might emerge when students used languages other than English. She clarified that she does allow for students to share information about their culture, but this must be done in the English language. For her, English was the common language of her classroom and this helped to unify her students. Ironically, Mrs. Williams encouraged and allowed

for her students to talk about their individual cultures (i.e., religions, holidays, everyday practices), but she thought this could (and should) be shared in English.

Assessment Preparation

Another reason Mr. Kasey said he enacted an English-only language policy in his classroom was to prepare his students for the linguistic demands of standardized tests and other assessments. Because the 5th and 6th grade students at NFES took a minimum of seven different state and district-mandated tests throughout the school year (the equivalent of 7 weeks of testing), proficiency in English was extremely important in order for the students to be able to read and understand the material on the different tests.

One very important test included the State's mandated assessment—the AIMS test. Scoring in the “Meets” or “Exceeds” category on this assessment was extremely important for all students, as it is designed to measure students' performance in the tested subject matter. This assessment also assumes that students are able to read and comprehend in English at grade level.

At NFES, the AIMS test was considered a high stakes test, as there were also high consequences attached for students, teachers, and schools that did not pass the AIMS test. For example, students who did not pass portions of the AIMS test were targeted for remedial interventions for one to two hours of the school day with an instructional assistant. It was common knowledge among the staff that schools whose students did not perform well on the AIMS test would face sanctions for not meeting Annual Yearly

Progress¹² (AYP) and eventually could “taken over” by the state—meaning principals and teachers would be re-assigned or terminated and officials from the state would prescribe and heavily monitor the daily curriculum and instructional practices. As a result, Mr. Kasey believed that by enforcing an English-only language policy in his classroom, the students would be better prepared to meet the demands of such a test when he stated, “I tell them [the students], ‘What are we testing on?’ We test the AIMS in English, so that’s what we’re speaking” (Focus Group, June 7, 2012).

Through his talk about assessment preparation in his classroom, Mr. Kasey made an explicit connection between the importance of his students regularly using English in his classroom and standardized testing—particularly since English was not only the language of instruction but also the language of high-stakes assessment. Because of the high stakes consequences attached to high stakes testing for students and teachers, Mr. Kasey believed that a focus on English, especially oral communication, would help the ELL students in his mainstream classroom be more successful on the AIMS test.

During an interview on May 22, 2012, Mr. Kasey told me a story about a time that he went to a wedding with his family. He shared that he had an aunt, uncle, and several cousins from Spain, so his mother naturally thought that he would be able to

¹² Annual Yearly Progress (AYP) is a term used to describe a school’s yearly performance in the areas of “1) Progress toward meeting the goal of 100 percent proficiency in state standards; 2) Percentage of students assessed; and 3) An additional measure of school performance. NCLB mandates that for high schools this indicator be [sic] the graduation rate. States may select an alternative indicator for elementary schools. Arizona, along with many other states, has chosen attendance rate for the other indicator for elementary schools.” (ADE, 2011, p. 5) Schools who pass all three areas are said to have made AYP for that academic school year.

speak in Spanish with his Spanish-speaking family because he worked with Spanish-speaking students. He clarified to his mother:

No, **I don't speak Spanish in my class...I outlawed them to speak Spanish.** And it's not to take away from their native tongue, but I tell the kids it's like, "Bottom line guys, and I'm sorry, **AIMS is in English and this is for my job.**" And especially now, with this (pulls out school memo). **This is how we get paid.**

Mr. Kasey produced a document from the district office that explained teachers' future pay incentives would be based on students' third quarter GALILEO test scores. (The GALILEO test is a district-mandated test that students must take quarterly to show academic progress.)

For Mr. Kasey, English-only language policy was necessary to ensure his students were linguistically prepared to take the various state and district mandated tests that were written in only English. Learning and maintaining English was especially important now that high stakes tests had high stakes consequences for students *and* teachers. Though apologetic, Mr. Kasey "outlawed" Spanish in his classroom, as well as the other native languages of the students in his multilingual and multinational classroom to create what he perceived to be maximal opportunity and space for students to further develop the English language—especially since it was a state requirement that now had larger implications for his current and future employment.

Collectively, the teachers' rationales for implementing an English-only language policy in their mainstream classrooms provide us with a better understanding of the some of the skills and knowledge teachers might need in order to work with ELLs in *multilingual* learning environments where students bring a variety of languages and come

from vastly different cultures. For example, rather than implementing a strict English-only language policy education, as research (de Jong & Harper, 2005; Moll et al., 2004) suggests, it is important for (mainstream) teachers to understand second language development even when they are teaching students labeled as “proficient” speakers of English, so that they can use students’ bilingualism and multilingualism as classroom resources.

Arias (2012) notes that, “in states with restrictive language policies, teachers may become conflicted over choosing the best instructional approach for ELL students” (p. 6). My data suggests that the teachers of this study were acutely aware of the bilingual and multilingual skills that their students brought to the classroom; yet, these teachers were also bound to the State’s mandated restrictive language education policies as well as the necessity for their students’ to perform well on the high stakes assessments that required English proficiency. This created a tension in their everyday classroom policies and practices that ended with teachers’ upholding and enforcing English-only language policies in the mainstream classrooms, even when they knew that would not solve all problems for their students.

Exceptions to English-Only Language Policy

Despite the reasons given for implementing and enforcing English-only language policy (e.g., practicality, uniformity, and assessment preparation), Ms. Rocio clarified that exceptions to the English-only language policy were often made for new students who were not yet familiar with the language. She described an example of this during

our focus group: “I think the only time I’ve every really allowed it is occasionally when, and it doesn’t happen very often now, but we’d get a new students straight from Mexico who does not speak a word of English” (June 7, 2012).

I observed practices that reflect such an *ad hoc* policy on several occasions in Mrs. Williams’ mainstream math class. One example took place on March 22, 2012, during a lesson on perimeter. Mrs. Williams was trying to get the students’ attention in order to begin her lesson. Jose, a Spanish-speaking 5th grade boy from the ELD classroom¹³, was talking to Elena, a Spanish-speaking 5th grade girl from Mrs. Williams’ mainstream classroom. Mrs. Williams began:

- 15 Mrs. Williams: O.k. A lot of us have been asking a question-
16 Luis: [Speaking to Elena in Spanish]
17 Mrs. Williams: Luis. **Es tiempo para escuchar, por favor.**
{Luis. *It’s time to listen, please.*}
18 Ishmael: ((to Mrs. Williams)) **English, please!**
19 Mrs. Williams: I said, “**It’s time for everyone to listen**”. [2]
20 Thank you. I’ve had a lot of people say to me,
21 “Mrs. Williams, what is perimeter?”
22 ((Asks question to the class)) What is perimeter?

¹³ Though this study is not about students in the four-hour ELD block, at times (i.e., during Reteach and Math) students like Luis from the four-hour ELD block would be grouped with mainstream students. This grouping configuration was not based on the English language, but rather on students’ ability to perform in the content area—though many of the “low” performing math students in Mrs. Williams’ math class were also students from the four-hour ELD block.

This example highlights the ways in which a teacher's practices might contradict what she believes and says her practices are. There is a conflict between her "talk" (which devalues languages other than English) and her practices (which value languages other than English) and between the local language policy of English-only and this teacher's *ad hoc* policy, which allowed for other languages (i.e., Spanish) to be used. Adhering to the daily classroom routines, Ishmael, a 5th grade native Somali-speaker, reminded Mrs. Williams of the classroom language policy by calling out, "English, please!" (line 18). Immediately, Mrs. Williams translated her previous comments into English in order for the rest of the class to understand – "I said, 'It's time for everyone to listen'" (line 19). Here, we see that Mrs. Williams' stated beliefs (about the need to allow only English to be used in her classroom) conflict with some of her practices (e.g., using Spanish to provide instructions to Luis) but with a positive result (Luis is included in the lesson). This shows how valuable it is to provide language accommodations even when accommodations contradict the established and maintained English-only language policy of the mainstream classrooms. Ishmael's response to Mrs. Williams' choice (to speak to Luis in Spanish) demonstrates how students are working to make sense of the policy and the contradictory practices surrounding it. (I will elaborate on students' perspectives of policy and classroom practice more in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.)

Oral Grammar Feedback

Teacher-to-student grammar corrections¹⁴ were a common practice and the teachers I interviewed and observed told me these were done to support (English) language development in the mainstream classrooms at NFES. During the focus group (June 7, 2012), all of the teachers of this study agreed that oral grammar corrections were important for their students' English language development and such practices frequently occurred in their mainstream classrooms. The teachers I interviewed maintained that teacher-to-student grammar corrections were effective and provided the immediate feedback that recently reclassified ELLs needed to improve their oral (and written) production. These practices took shape through explicit feedback (intentional grammar corrections) and implicit feedback (indirect grammar corrections such as recasts or paraphrasing).

Mr. Kasey felt particularly passionate about the need for and value of this classroom practice. He said that he often corrected his students' (and even his friends') grammar "all the time" so that they would "be able to carry on a conversation and sound intelligent" (Interview, April 9, 2012). For Mr. Kasey, "good grammar" held social capital that he believed could eventually help his students to improve the quality of their lives. In particular, he viewed proper English as a representation of intelligence, education, as well as a resource for social mobility, particularly when he told me a story about a boy who he used to correct:

¹⁴ For the scope of this study, I use the term teacher-to-student grammar correction to describe an instance when the teacher provided explicit or implicit feedback to correct their students' speech.

[I had a student] that would hate when I corrected him. He was always, “Oh why do you correct me?” and I would tell him, “**When you go to a job interview and you don’t sound right, they’re not gonna hire you.**” And he would get it. (May 22, 2012)

For Mr. Kasey, speaking “standard” English would position his student as educated and afford him the opportunity to get a good job. He equated not speaking “standard” English as “not sounding right” which would ultimately have negative consequences—i.e., not getting hired for future employment.

Mr. Kasey’s comments provide a rationale for the practices I observed him use in the classroom. According to my fieldnotes and the audio recordings I collected when I observed his class on March 30, 2012, Mr. Kasey frequently provided explicit teacher-to-student grammar corrections. For example, on this particular day, Mr. Kasey’s students were assigned to create and act out a skit that depicted a pre-assigned vocabulary word. The students were given 20 minutes to plan and rehearse their skits and then each group had to perform their skit for the class. At the end of the skit, the students in the audience had to individually write down which vocabulary word the group was performing. Cesar, Bobby, Mark, and Hassan were assigned the vocabulary word *modem*. The boys created a skit that designated Cesar as a salesperson at Best Buy, Mark and Hassan as customers, and Bobby as a service technician. As my fieldnotes demonstrate, the skit featured a person whose talk did not observe conventions of grammar or politeness, and Mr. Kasey commented on this in the feedback he provided after they were done:

Mark and Hassan select a computer and take it home only to learn that the computer's Internet does not work. Mark calls Best Buy and informs Cesar, "**I ain't got no internet!**" Bobby is sent to Mark and Hassan's "house" to provide technical support. Bobby begins to examine the computer and learns that neither Mark nor Hassan had plugged the computer cord into the modem.

Mr. Kasey and the class laugh and applaud the group's efforts. Mr. Kasey is quick to remind Mark, "**Let's use correct English next time, Mark.**" He then directs the students to write down the vocabulary word that best corresponds to the group's performance. Some of the students giggle and the boys return to their seats.

In this instance, Mr. Kasey's preference for "standard" English was apparent as he reminded Mark to use "correct" English. In response to a five-minute performance that demonstrated the boys' understanding of their assigned vocabulary word, Mr. Kasey focused on Mark's non-standard use of "I ain't got no internet" and directly reminded him, "Let's use *correct* English next time, Mark." Through this correction, Mr. Kasey used Mark's non-standard utterance to signal to Mark, as well as the entire 6th grade class, that he should understand and use "good grammar" all the time including at school—even when acting out an imaginary skit in which that type of language and/or dialogue might be used in a natural context and for everyday purposes by people in particular communities.

During one of our interviews, Mr. Kasey said that he frequently corrected particular students, like Catherine, a reclassified ELL and a native Maay-speaker, with a focus on "her past tense verbs. Her *verbiage* [sic] is really, really poor...I've corrected her throughout the year, but it surprises me how poor it is" (May 22, 2012). On one hand, Mr. Kasey's comment reveals his awareness of Catherine's continued challenge to correctly use past tense verbs and his ability to identify her linguistic needs, as Catherine

was merely one of sixteen reclassified ELL students in Mr. Kasey's class of twenty-eight learners. On the other hand, this comment also reveals that Mr. Kasey's consistent efforts to provide oral grammar corrections were not enough to eliminate Catherine's incorrect use of past tense verbs. Unfortunately, Mr. Kasey's comment did not acknowledge any of the progress Catherine made learning English over the course of the school year, nor did it regard English language acquisition as an evolving process that often requires "trial and error".

Some scholars (e.g., Crawford & Krashen, 2007; Echevarria, 2004) warn that overcorrecting students' speech can actually have adverse effects on students' language development, as students who are hyper-corrected can feel embarrassed, isolated, or ignorant and quit speaking. Fortunately, this was not the case for Catherine, as Mr. Kasey also noted (and I frequently documented) that Catherine was very talkative and so it was easier for him to provide grammar corrections—"And she'll [Catherine] tell you, she wants to kill me sometimes because I correct them over and over and over. I won't let her say a sentence that is incorrect English" (March 30, 2012).

Other teachers, like Mrs. Williams, also believed that oral grammar corrections helped to support her students' English language development and she explicitly and implicitly corrected her students' speech. For instance, another example of an explicit teacher-to-student English grammar correction occurred in Mrs. Williams's 5th grade class on March 21, 2012. The students were correcting their Daily Oral Language (DOL) assignments. While Mrs. Williams clarified the meaning of a word to the class, native Spanish-speaking boys, Carlos and Felipe, chatted in English about a grey iPod that

Carlos recently found. During the conversation, Carlos stated that he was not going to sell the iPod, and that he intended to keep it. Interjecting, Mrs. Williams stated:

- 153 Mrs. Williams: No you're not going to keep it. You're
154 going to give it back to him.
155 **Carlos:** No, **it mines.**
156 **Mrs. Williams:** *Mines?*
157 **Carlos:** ((shakes head)) **No.**
158 **Mrs. Williams:** **It has an "s" on it?**

This exchange represents something I witnessed on different occasions, where teachers performed explicit grammar corrections with reclassified ELL students. After overhearing Carlos and Felipe's conversation about an iPod, Mrs. Williams believed that Carlos had found Felipe's grey iPod and was threatening to keep it. As a result, she tells Carlos that he cannot keep the iPod and that he must return it to the appropriate owner, Felipe. Carlos attempts to clarify that he is the owner of the iPod by stating, "No, it mines." Mrs. Williams immediately provides explicit speech feedback by restating the incorrectly used word, *mines*. Acknowledging the speech error, Carlos quickly replies, "Nooo." And Mrs. Williams continued to provide explicit feedback by stating, "It has an "s" on it?"

In this instance, we are not sure how effective Mrs. Williams' explicit teacher-to-student grammar correction on Carlos' incorrect use of *mines*. However, it is important to note that in this instance, Mrs. Williams corrected Carlos' speech in front of the entire class. Similar to research that cautions against hyper-corrective grammar feedback,

Wright (2010) also notes that explicit grammar corrections can also embarrass students—especially when such feedback is done in front of classmates and peer groups. Thus, it is important for the teachers at NFES to understand that grammar feedback can be productive if it is done in an appropriate, constructive and meaningful way, or teachers can run the risk of impeding students’ linguistic development.

During the course of this study, I observed the teachers provide teacher-to-student explicit and implicit oral grammar feedback. The teachers of this study stated that such feedback was important for supporting their reclassified ELL students’ language development in the mainstream classrooms. (Chapter 5 will discuss what reclassified ELLs said about such types of oral feedback.)

Teaching Methods

Over the course of the five months that I volunteered and participated in the four mainstream classrooms at NFES, I observed over sixty content-based lessons and I documented that teachers often relied on a method of instruction that strongly resembled sheltered subject-matter teaching¹⁵ (Crawford & Krashen, 2007). I also noticed that the teachers often relied on many effective instructional strategies and activities designed for ELL students—including the use of read alouds¹⁶, oral presentations, realia, language and content objectives, and graphic organizers (to mention a few) that helped to strengthen

¹⁵ Sheltered subject-matter teaching is defined by Crawford & Krashen (2007) as a “form of communication based ESL instruction in which the focus is on academic content—science, math, history, and so forth—taught in a way that is comprehensible for students with limited English” (p. 24).

¹⁶ In this instance, a read-aloud refers to when the teacher reads a book to his/her students. A read-aloud can also refer to when teachers read any type of text to the class too.

their teaching of content instruction and supported English language development for recently reclassified ELL students in their mainstream classrooms.

For example, on March 20, 2012, I witnessed Mr. Kasey's 6th graders present their biographical characters to a parent and student audience in the library. Each student selected an iconic figure from US history (i.e., Harriet Tubman, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Sacagawea, Thomas Edison, Walt Disney, etc.), researched the historical figure, wrote a two page paper about the individual, and in the end, dressed as the individual and gave a five minute presentation about the significant events of their biographical individual's life. After the presentation, Mr. Kasey and the students in the audience were allowed to ask questions about the individual biographies and provide constructive criticism to the presenter. Mr. Kasey's students worked diligently on this project for six weeks doing research, writing, peer-editing, revising, planning, and practicing their oral presentations. Their final products revealed a strong effort and attention to detail for each biography presented. However, their final products may not have revealed such a strong effort had Mr. Kasey not enacted teaching methods that supported the students' linguistic development and content-based learning in a mainstream classroom. This was the case for all of the teachers that I observed, as all teachers modified and adapted their instruction to meet the academic and linguistic needs for their mainstream students.

An instance that illustrates such practices occurred in Ms. Rocio's classroom. During a previous interview (April, 9, 2012) Ms. Rocio noted that many of her reclassified ELL students often struggled with academic vocabulary. A few weeks before school ended, I observed Ms. Rocio employ several teaching strategies for ELL students

to better understand academic vocabulary (as well as less familiar words). I documented the following in my fieldnotes and audio-recordings on May 25, 2012:

I quietly entered Ms. Rocio's room to find her reading aloud Ruta Sepetys' *Between Shades of Gray*, a story of a fifteen-year-old girl from the Soviet Union who was torn from her family by the army. As I entered, Ms. Rocio finished the chapter and native Somali-speaker, Ishmael shouted, "No! Let's read more!" "Yeah, read more!" echoed his classmates. And so Ms. Rocio continued to read, "The guards gave us a break. Blisters wept my hand." She paused and commented, "Wow! Good *personification*. Blisters obviously are obviously not a person, but wept is something that a person can do." At least one of the students still did not understand and asked, "What are blisters?" Ms. Rocio explained, "The blisters are the things that you get. Somebody got blisters from the monkey bars. Who was that this year?" Rohilio responded, "Lolo!" Ms. Rocio continued, "You know how when you get blisters, water ends up coming out? O.K. The author here took the fact that water comes out of your blisters and rather than saying the blisters were wet, she said they 'wept like tears on my hands.'" Khamer asked for clarification, "Her hands were crying?" and Ms. Rocio explained, "Well, blisters can't do that cause they're not a person. That's an example of personification. Figurative language."

This instance illustrates how Ms. Rocio actively engaged her students through the use of good teaching practices—i.e., the use of read-alouds, clarifying unknown words and phrases, and making connections. Read-alouds are extremely beneficial for developing literacy skills for reclassified ELLs. This practice models reading fluency, makes connections between oral and written language, and gives students access to books that are beyond their current reading level (Wright, 2010). Read-alouds can also provide opportunities for students to be exposed to unknown words, phrases, and expressions—i.e., blister or "blisters wept my hand". In this instance, students in Ms. Rocio's class were exposed to unfamiliar vocabulary and examples of figurative language and speech. Ms. Rocio anticipated certain words and expressions from the story, such as "blisters wept my hand" and explained to her students what the expression meant as well as how

this expression represented an example of personification, a word the students were studying in their language arts lessons. When a particular student was still confused with the word, blister, Ms. Rocio tried to make a connection between the word and an actual experience that happened to a student in the class. Making connection between content (and language) and personal experiences allows for students to retain the information more easily than if students have no background or experience with a particular topic or word. Such practices are very important for ELL students, but in this particular context, reclassified ELL learners who still needed additional language and content support in the mainstream classroom.

Another example that illustrates how teachers at NFES provided additional linguistic and academic support occurred in Mr. Peterson's classroom on April 4, 2012. Mr. Peterson had finished teaching a science lesson on PowerPoint of the concepts acceleration, force, and mass. At the end of the lesson, he directed his students to Think-Pair-Share a question about a concept from the lesson that was not understood. Approximately five minutes later, he directed the students to work collaboratively in groups on an assignment related to the science lesson while he worked with individual groups of students to answer and clarify questions they had with regard to the science lesson. During this time, I observed that he would review individual questions that students in the group had and he would answer the questions by providing demonstrations, drawing visuals, or elaborating on the information presented in his lesson. Mr. Peterson continued to do this until each question the group brought forth was answered.

This instance revealed several important teaching practices that Mr. Peterson used to help support his reclassified ELL students. First, he used a PowerPoint to help present his science lesson. Within the PowerPoint presentation he included many visuals and images to help the student see and understand these complicated concepts. At the end of the lesson, Mr. Peterson allowed for students to collaboratively discuss concepts that were unclear and he encouraged them to create questions to ask him during the individual group time to improve clarity. Collaborative group discussion is extremely important for reclassified ELL students as it allows for students to process the content of the lesson and it gives students the opportunity practice their (academic) oral language skills (Wright, 2010). Finally, Mr. Peterson strategically worked with small groups of learners to answer and to clarify questions about the lesson. This was very important because he could answer students' questions in a variety of ways—i.e., modeling, visuals, engaged discussion—which are all good strategies for working with reclassified ELLs. By working with small groups of student, Mr. Peterson could also have a better understanding of who was understanding the information and who might need additional help and support in the future.

A final instance of ways that teachers at NFES worked to provide additional linguistics and academic support through various teaching methods happened in Mrs. Williams' classroom at the beginning of this study. On February 25, 2012, during an initial classroom observation, the students were presenting the different components of a long-term project on the solar system. For approximately six weeks, students had to research a planet and create three mini-projects that reflected the information that they

learned about their planet or the solar system. One by one, students came to the front of the classroom and shared their fast-fact pamphlets, planet models, solar system dioramas, and board games. After each presentation, the audience members gave “two stars and a wish”—or two positive comments and one comment with constructive feedback for the presentation. Mrs. Williams would also contribute positive feedback to the presenters.

This method of teaching allowed for Mrs. Williams to support her students’ academic and linguistic growth by allowing for multiple measures of assessment for this class project. Outside of the time students dedicated to researching and preparing for the class presentation, students were also allowed to determine three different ways that they could demonstrate the knowledge they had acquired during this project. By using a multiple measures approach (O’Mally & Pierce, 1996), students were allowed to use and showcase their language skills in a variety of ways and Mrs. Williams had a more nuanced understanding of her students’ academic and linguistic abilities. The student presentations also allowed for students to practice speaking in front of groups of people and the “two stars and a wish” exercise helped students to feel validated as a student while also constructively acknowledging areas of improvement.

Collectively, these examples illustrate a few of the ways that the mainstream teachers tried to accommodate and support their reclassified ELL students’ academic and linguistic development. Though the ELD teachers worked hard to help the students transition into the mainstream classroom, it is apparent that the reclassified ELLs needed continued support and the mainstream teachers I observed and interviewed did their best to provide accommodates often through “just good teaching” skills and strategies (de

Jong & Harper, 2005). All of this demonstrates the need for teachers to have more training and development that focuses on language acquisition and language teaching in the mainstream classroom.

Conclusion

This chapter highlights the complicated and dynamic ways that teachers thought about and engaged with reclassification policies, processes, and practices after students were moved out of the four-hour ELD block and into the mainstream classroom. I have highlighted examples of discourse and classroom practices that value English over bilingualism and multilingualism (i.e., English-only language policy in the mainstream classroom). I also examined the language policies operating in mainstream classroom contexts as well as the teaching practices that occurred during reclassification and mainstreaming. The data show that the teachers enacted English-only language policy in the mainstream classrooms, but in rare instances would provide linguistic accommodations for ELLs (i.e., Luis from Mrs. Williams' math class) with extremely limited proficiency in English. The data also reveal that the mainstream teachers often enacted "good teaching" skills and strategies for working with the reclassified ELL students in the mainstream classroom.

The analysis shows that the teachers believed that the four-hour ELD block helped recently reclassified ELL students learn English; however, such models of instruction had significant challenges for mainstreaming purposes because the students did not end up with the academic language and vocabulary associated with content-based

instruction upon their initial entry into the mainstream classroom. As a result, students' academic learning experiences were limited while their teachers' efforts were challenged and limited. The next chapter will explore students' responses to such policies and practices enacted in their mainstream learning contexts.

Chapter 5
STUDENT TALK ABOUT
LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE LEARNING, AND CLASSROOM PRACTICES

A week before school dismissed for summer vacation, I sat in the noisy lunchroom and chatted with Juan, a native Spanish-speaker from Mr. Kasey’s 6th grade class. While he ate his cheeseburger and fries, Juan and I discussed his schooling and language learning experiences at NFES over the past year, as it was Juan’s first year in a mainstream classroom. During the course of the conversation, I asked Juan if his mom had seen his recent AZELLA scores and he stated, “My mom saw it and she said, ‘Oh good!’ and she hung it on the fridge” (June 1, 2012). For Juan (and his mother), proficient AZELLA test scores served as official validation that Juan was a “good” speaker of English—as well as a good student. This status allowed for Juan to remain in the mainstream classroom and have access to content-based learning. As Juan also said during this conversation, being a “proficient” speaker of English was of particular importance for living in Arizona: “Everybody here in Arizona only understands English” (Interview, June 1, 2012).

This chapter examines the students’ talk about language and language learning and their responses to the teachers’ policies and practices during the reclassification and monitoring period in the mainstream classrooms at NFES. This chapter demonstrates how English-only language policies operate as practices in specific educational contexts and how such restrictive classroom practices influence the schooling experiences of

reclassified ELLs living in complex social and political contexts (Tollefson, 2002). The data reveal the multiple and varied ways that such learners are positioned by restrictive language policies (and the ideologies of language that support them), the classroom practices fostered by such policies, and how individual students made sense of and responded to such positioning.

The first section of this chapter will examine students' stated beliefs about language as revealed through their first-hand accounts about language at school. The second section of this chapter will analyze students' talk about language learning and learning in the ELD and mainstream classrooms. The third section of this chapter will describe how the students respond to their teacher's pedagogical choices, with a focus on English-only language policies and teacher-to-student grammar corrections. The close examination of student talk reveals the complicated and situated ways that ideologies of language are distributed, reinforced, and/or contested in classroom policy and practice.

Students' Stated Beliefs About Language

Students at NFES were aware of ideologies of language that positioned ELL students as less intelligent, less capable, and less "American" than their monolingual English counterparts. As reported in chapter four, such ideologies were often reflected and reinforced through language education policies, teacher talk, and classroom practices. Similar to their teachers, the reclassified ELLs of this study also enacted ideologies of language that positioned "standard" English over bilingualism and multilingualism.

For example, during an observation in Ms. Rocio's 5th grade classroom, the

students were in the computer lab playing math games to reinforce the concept of fractions. I sat next to Ishmael, a native Bantu-speaking refugee learner, and helped him solve different problems in order to “move up a level” in the game. As Ishmael worked, we chatted about various topics—including sports, school, and home. I learned that Ishmael loved sports like football and basketball and his favorite subject at school was P.E. I also learned that Ishmael lived with several siblings, including a sister, four brothers, a cousin, and his mother, who was a native-Bantu speaker and currently divorced from his father. To this point, Ishmael said that at home he mostly spoke Bantu in order to communicate with his mother and he also reported that he was able to write a little Bantu, as he learned from his father who was literate in the language. Ishmael said that at school Bantu was not very useful because the teachers could not understand him if he spoke in Bantu, nor was he allowed to complete his schoolwork in his native language (Fieldnotes, March 29, 2012).

For Ishmael, the English language was very important for learning and for communication purposes at his multilingual and multinational school. His belief in the that value of English in the United States was also reinforced by Ishmael’s father who told him, “We’re in America...this is not our country and we’ve got no choice. We’ve got to learn the language” (Fieldnotes, March 29, 2012). Based on my observations of and interactions with Ishmael, it seems that he agreed with his father and actively worked to learn and to practice his English as often as possible.

Another instance of student talk that reflects a strong value placed on English occurred on June 7, 2012. That day, I brought the students popsicles for an end-of-the-

year treat. Sixth grade boys, Joaquin and Cesar, both native Spanish-speaking males, helped me take the remaining popsicles to the teacher's lounge for storage. On our way, we discussed the accolades each boy had received for good behavior and passing grades. We also talked about their mainstream learning experiences in 6th grade—including their official scores on the AZELLA and AIMS tests. Joaquin noted, "I did all my best I could do to improve my [AZELLA] scores to go to 7th grade." He also told me that, as a result of his hard work and passing test scores, he felt like a confident and competent speaker of English, the local language of communication and prestige: "That's what we speak in the United States, so I have to speak it...And like my mom doesn't have the papers to like to pass to Mexico (inaudible) so that's why it's important to speak English" (Audio-recording, June 7, 2012).

This example reveals one way that Joaquin aligns himself, even ventriloquates (Bakhtin, 1981) ideologies of language that position English proficiency over proficiency in languages other than English. Joaquin highlighted the importance of trying his personal best to pass his AZELLA test and equated a high score on the test with his English language proficiency, something he describes as necessary to his future educational goals and as a common language. Joaquin uses the first person pronoun "we" to reference shared beliefs about language that value English as the language that should be used in the public sphere in the U.S. context and to align himself with others who make such claims. The last phrase of his statement, "so I have to speak it," indicates his awareness that he will need to actively use English to achieve and/or demonstrate his membership.

In addition, Joaquin's final comments revealed another potentially important reason to learn English—his mother did not have official documents to be able to travel between the United States and Mexico. Thus, it is possible that for Joaquin, proficiency in English was associated with an idealized image of being a U.S. citizen or feeling allegiance to the United States. Because he lived in Arizona, a state where Latinos comprise a large percentage of the total population and many Latinos are bilingual Spanish speakers, it is likely that Joaquin was tacitly aware of a dominant ideology of language that positioned English and English speakers over bilingualism and multilingualism. As Pennycook (2001) and others (Tollefson, 2002, 1991; Rumsey, 1990; Woolard, 1998) have pointed out, ideologies of language are often connected to and informed by discourses on immigration, diversity, and identity.

For students like Ishmael and Joaquin (and Juan), their stated beliefs about language were informed by and further strengthened ideologies of language that position English as a dominant language—as a symbol of citizenship and allegiance to the United States, and as a necessary ingredient in achieving (future) academic success. The students' comments about language seem to indicate a related belief that their own bilingual and multilingual abilities were not resources but were limitations to overcome (Ruiz, 1984). Finally, their comments also demonstrate the students' awareness of the value, status, and utility of learning English—as well as the consequences of not learning English.

(English) Language Learning and Learning at NFES

This was a study about reclassification and monitoring policies, processes, and classroom practices, and how teachers and students talk about and respond to such practices, but I could not ignore the students' comments and opinions about their previous learning experiences in the four-hour ELD block.

One finding of this study was that many of these students stated that the four-hour ELD block helped to improve their English language proficiency and for that, they were very eager to maintain their English language development in the mainstream classrooms, where they could also have access to content-based learning. Another finding was that many of the students I observed and interviewed expressed a preference for learning in the mainstream classroom because they valued the challenging curriculum of a content-based classroom as well as the positive social and academic positioning afforded to many students learning in mainstream contexts.

ELD Classroom Status and Positioning

One instance that highlights students' responses to learning in the four-hour block came during an interview with 6th grader Juan, from Mr. Kasey's class. Juan reported that he learned "a lot of English" in the four-hour ELD block during the previous school year (Fieldnotes, June 1, 2012). Smiling, Juan also acknowledged that he would like to return to the four-hour ELD block because the work assignments were easier than those assigned in Mr. Kasey's mainstream classroom. Moments later, Juan admitted if he had to choose, he would prefer to remain in the mainstream classroom because the content

was new and more challenging for him, but he did like having less homework and easier class assignments in the four-hour ELD block. His response aligned with a few other reclassified ELLs who declared a preference for the four-hour ELD block, mainly because they said it was easier.

Similar to Juan, native Bantu-speaker, Ishmael, a 5th grader from Ms. Rocio's class said that he would return to the four-hour ELD block too, especially if Ms. Rocio was his teacher (Audio-recording, June 1, 2012). During a conversation in the computer lab, Ishmael agreed that Ms. Rocio was "a pretty good teacher" and he would like to be in her class again – even if she were the ELD teacher. Thus for some students, like Ishmael, the label of the class (i.e., mainstream or four-hour ELD block) did not matter as much as *who* was actually teaching the class. A moment later during the same conversation, however, Ishmael clarified that he preferred learning in the mainstream classroom because "ELD is easier. I want harder work" (Audio-recording, June 1, 2012).

Abilyn, a native Kirundi-speaking 5th grader from Ms. Rocio's class also reported positive experiences learning the English language while placed in the four-hour ELD block. On the last day of school, we sat outside of Ms. Rocio's classroom, enjoying the sunshine and chatting about Abilyn's school year. I asked her questions about her favorite subjects in addition to questions that allowed her to reflect on her previous learning experiences in the four-hour ELD block and her current experiences learning in the mainstream classroom. She told me that she thought the ELD classroom helped her to learn English and she really liked her teacher (Ms. Rocio, her current teacher, who also taught the four-hour ELD the previous year). However, when I asked Abilyn which class

she preferred, language learning in the four-hour ELD block or content learning in the mainstream classroom, she was quick to respond, “I’d rather be in...*not* in an ELD, cause they’re doing the stuff that I already learned and it’s going to be easier for me” (Interview, June 8, 2012).

This instance highlights Abilyn’s positive experiences learning the English language in the four-hour ELD block, as she claimed that this class helped her to learn the English language, which afforded her the necessary linguistic skills needed for learning in this particular context and for mainstreaming purposes. She also stated that she liked her ELD teacher, Ms. Rocio, who also happened to be her current 5th grade mainstream teacher, but overall she preferred learning in the mainstream classroom because she wanted to be challenged. This comment demonstrates that Abilyn valued learning the English language, but that she also valued the challenges and rigors of content-based learning in the mainstream classroom. Abilyn (and other reclassified ELLs that I observed and interviewed) did not want to return to the four-hour ELD block and learn “the stuff” they “already learned” (Interview, June 8, 2012).

Malik, a fifth grader from Mrs. Williams’ class, told me that he too believed that the ELD classroom helped him learn English and he was thankful that he had the opportunity to learn English. But, Malik also often commented on his disdain for learning in the ELD classroom, largely because of the negative social positioning attached to that space. On several occasions, he reported that he did not like being in the ELD classroom because he was positioned as an ELL student in the ELD class and the ELL students in this particular class were viewed by the teachers and students as less

capable learners than their English “proficient” mainstream students (Audio-recording, June 1, 2012; Fieldnotes, May 17, 2012). During his recess one afternoon, Malik and I sat at a table overlooking the playground, and he explained how he felt when he was labeled as an ELL student in the ELD classroom:

- 284 Malik: Uh, I really was not - **I was really sad.** [2]
285 **I was really sad I was in the ELD.**
286 Daisy: Why were you sad?
287 Malik: **Cause some people were making fun of**
288 **me that I was in the ELD [class] and they’re**
289 **saying, ‘Oh you’re not in the *smart* class.’**
290 Daisy: Did you believe that?
291 Malik: Uh, yeah.

Here we see that being placed in the ELD classroom had negative social consequences for how Malik was positioned as a learner. In lines 284-285, Malik claimed that he was very sad that he was in the ELD classroom and in lines 287-289 he added that he was sad to be in that class because certain students teased him for not being in the “smart” class. Such comments ultimately had negative implications for Malik’s identity as a learner in the four-hour block, as he stated in line 291 that he believed that he was not “smart” when he was in the ELD classroom—in part because others (i.e., mainstream students and implicit messages from teachers) had told him so.

Paradoxically, Malik (like other ELLs in the ELD classroom) believed that the ELD classroom did help him learn English and he was grateful for the opportunity to be

in that class. However, the stigma of being a (segregated) ELL student often exposed such learners to the ridicules of other students. Because of this, the reclassified ELL students of this study were extremely motivated to pass the AZELLA test and continue on until fully exited from the ELD program. In these ways, we see how negative social positioning can have serious implications for students' learning—especially for ELL and reclassified ELD students who have already been negatively positioned by ideologies of language, language education policies, and classroom practices that favor the dominant discourses of English monolingualism.

The students of this study not only commented on the negative social implications of being a learner in the four-hour ELD block, the students also had a sophisticated understanding of the academic positioning associated with learning in that type of context versus how students were perceived as (reclassified) mainstream learners. For example, during an observation of Mrs. Rocio's classroom on April 12, 2012, the students were taking a practice-reading test to help them prepare for the upcoming AIMS assessment. Ishmael struggled to complete the task, frequently shouting out, "I don't get this thing!" and "Do we have to take this?" Eventually he finished his practice test (earlier than most) and came to the back of the room and sat on the floor next to me. We began to talk about his previous schooling experiences in the ELD classroom, as well as his current experiences in the mainstream classroom. I asked him about the difference between the two learning contexts and he clarified:

- 43 Ishmael: **ELD is the low class and**
44 **this is a hard class.**
- 45 Daisy: What do you mean it is a “low class”?
- 46 Ishmael: I don’t know. **They just told me**
47 **it’s a low class.**

After I asked for clarification, Ishmael did not seem to be sure why the ELD classroom is the “low class” but “they” (line 46) told him it was. Though we are not sure who “they” signifies in this context, it would be plausible to assume that this information came from classmates or from some of the teachers, like Mr. Peterson, who I had heard tell students taking the AZELLA test to do their best, as “you don’t want to be in one of *those* ELL classrooms because you’re just going to be left behind even further...” (Interview, April 11, 2012). “They” could also refer to other students at the school who openly discussed being in the ELD classroom and being reclassified in the mainstream classroom in everyday conversations.

Another example of this view emerged during a classroom observation in Mrs. Williams’ 5th grade classroom on June 1, 2012. While Mrs. Williams was at a training that morning, I helped Raija, a native Maay-speaker, and Malik, a native Somali-speaker, with their Daily Oral Language, an in-class assignment that contained four math problems and a short reading passage with three multiple choice questions. As we worked through the different problems, the boys talked about the upcoming school year and the classroom they wanted to be placed in for the sixth grade. During the conversation both Raija and Malik explained that they did not want to be in the 5th/6th

grade ELD class because it was the “low” class. This prompted me to ask:

- 19 Daisy: So why do people call ELD the low class?
- 20 Malik: Cause **it’s the lowest** and **there’s two**
- 21 **highest and one that’s the lowest.**
- 22 Daisy: Which two classes are the highest?
- 23 Malik: Mr. Kasey and Mr. Peterson.
- 24 Daisy: Yeah. But what makes ELD the low class?
- 25 Why do students say that?
- 26 Malik: **Cause they teach you what you already learned.**
- 27 Raija: **Cause they [ELD students] didn’t pass their AZELLA.**
- 28 Malik: Yeah.

For the students at NFES, there was a dichotomy between the different classrooms—and they fell on a continuum between the “highest” and the “lowest.” The students I interviewed often equated being placed in the ELD classroom with academic failure because the students in this class were there to learn the English language (a skill all mainstream students already have) and also because these students did not score “proficient” on their AZELLA tests. ELL students in the ELD classroom were described by others, and in some cases considered themselves to be “low-performing students” because of their limited proficiency in English. In contrast, the reclassified ELL students of this study experienced the rigors of a mainstream classroom and said they did not want to return to the ELD classroom because of the mundane curriculum and the negative positioning of the ELD learners.

A final example that illustrates students' beliefs about language learning and the positive academic positioning afforded by learning in a mainstream classroom occurred during an informal conversation with 6th grader Felipe, from Mr. Peterson's classroom. On May 31, 2012, I attended the Spring Concert at NFES. During the first part of the concert, I sat next to Felipe, reclassified ELL students from Mr. Peterson's 6th grade class. As we waited for the performance to begin, Felipe informed me that he passed his AZELLA test and he was very happy about passing. He said, "I won't have to be in the low class...I'm excited because I have always been in the lowest class" (Fieldnotes, May 31, 2012). I asked him to clarify why the ELD classroom was called the "low class" and he explained:

- 87 Felipe: Cause **I'm not good at reading.**
- 88 Daisy: Do you think that ELD is just about reading?
- 89 Felipe: Um, yeah. And language arts.
- 90 Daisy: Can you tell me more about that?
- 91 Felipe: It's because **I'm not good at reading.**
- 92 Daisy: I think you're a good reader.
- 93 Felipe: Uh ((shakes head no)). No I'm not.
- 94 Daisy: Why not?
- 95 Felipe: **It's cause I speak a different language, like Spanish.**

This excerpt highlights the ways in which students like Felipe are interpolated or "hailed" by (Althusser, 1971) ideologies of language that devalue languages other than English, bilingualism, and multilingualism. Felipe's comments also reflect his

sophisticated understanding of the local context and the fact that one's ability to read in English, which is influenced by whether or not they speak another language, has consequences for their placement and long-term educational opportunities. Felipe was very excited to have passed the AZELLA test and remain as a reclassified ELL student because in his previous schooling experiences he was always in "the lowest class." He considered the ELD classroom to be the "low class" based on his situated identity (Gee, 1996) as a poor reader (line 87). For him, the ELD classroom was for improving students' reading and language skills for those who were "not good at reading" in English (line 91). Even after I told him I thought that he was a good reader (line 91), Felipe insisted that he was not by shaking his head no and confidently stating, "No I'm not" (line 93). In line 94, I tried to seek clarification as to why Felipe considered himself to be a poor reader, and he attributed his weak reading skills to the fact that he spoke "a different language, like Spanish" (line 95). This comment illustrates Felipe's ideologies of language that view Spanish (and possibly bilingualism) as a limitation, but it also demonstrates his belief that as a native Spanish speaker, he was previously considered a "low-performing learner." For him, passing the AZELLA test (again) validated that he was a proficient speaker of English and afforded him the opportunity to continue learning in a mainstream classroom where he was viewed as a capable, "on-level" learner. Unfortunately, despite the positive validation of passing the AZELLA test and the merits of remaining in the mainstream classroom, it appeared that Felipe still lacked confidence as a reader because he was still a native Spanish-speaker.

Thus, this example offers a glimpse at the complexities associated with language ideologies *and* language learning (and the relationship between them). Indeed, learning in a mainstream classroom was viewed in a positive light and many reclassified ELLs were determined to pass the AZELLA test to remain in that type of learning environment. At the same time, some of the reclassified ELL students, like Felipe, were deeply affected by personal and societal ideologies of language that continued to position non-native speakers of English as “low-performing”—a stigma that often followed reclassified ELLs to the mainstream classroom.

Collectively, the comments offered by these students demonstrate an awareness of the fact that the mainstream classroom occupied a higher status than the ELD classroom in the school, the local community, and local discourses about learning and academic achievement. They also demonstrate the hierarchies that exist in policy and practice among different language(s), where English is almost always on top, Spanish is next, and languages other than English and Spanish fall somewhere lower.

Reclassification into the Mainstream Classroom

During the initial year of reclassification from the four-hour ELD block to a mainstream classroom, some of the reclassified ELLs of this study had a difficult time understanding the teachers’ expectations and meeting linguistic demands of the new content-based curriculum. For example, Felipe, a native Spanish-speaker from Mr. Peterson’s 6th grade classroom, struggled with content and “academic” vocabulary throughout the entire school year. One class project in particular spanned the last quarter

of the school year and involved the students reading the short story, *The Lottery*¹⁷, and preparing for a 20-minute team debate about pre-determined questions from the story. On several occasions I worked with Felipe and his partner, Miguel (also a native Spanish-speaker and reclassified ELL student) to help the boys understand the vocabulary of the story as well as the requirements for the upcoming assignment.

One afternoon, I sat with the boys to help them develop their argument for the upcoming debate. The boys had decided they would take the “pro” stance to the debate prompt:

With any type of society, there’s a type of growing up. Societies tend to change for the better and develop a sense of humanity. Are the villagers of “The Lottery” living in an intensely prehistoric society? Or is this a modern society where there is nothing to improve on?

Felipe and Miguel admitted that they did not understand many of the “bigger” words that they were reading in debate prompt, thus they struggled to develop specific talking points to help advance the overall argument (Fieldnotes, May 18, 2012). Felipe said:

¹⁷ “The Lottery”, a short story by Shirley Jackson, depicts a small town’s tradition of stoning one of the town’s youth in order secure the annual harvest.

1022 Felipe: **We don't really understand it - um,**
 1023 **what it's trying to mean.**
 1024 Daisy: What are the areas that you are having
 1025 some issues with? Is it the words?
 1026 Felipe: ((nods head yes))
 1027 Daisy: Like which words don't you understand?
 1028 Felipe: **Society.**
 1029 Daisy Society? ((to Miguel)) Do you know what society means?
 1030 Miguel **Um, I'm not sure.**

I explained the meaning of society and clarified to Miguel what taking the “pro” position of the debate meant. Mr. Peterson even came and sat with our group for several minutes to clarify the assignment (again) for the boys. But as our discussion continued, I quickly learned that the boys still struggled with key vocabulary from the story that was necessary—i.e., the word “lottery,” to complete this assignment. Through continued discussion, it became apparent that Miguel understood the word “lottery” as it is often referenced in our larger society—a form of gambling that can make some folks rich. He said, “Right now, in the lottery, we give people money... Were some people rich then?” (May 18, 2012). I explained the meaning of the term “lottery” as used in the story’s context and let the boys continue to plan for their debate (Fieldnotes, May 18, 2012).

This example illustrates one of the ways that reclassified ELLs struggled in the mainstream classrooms at NFES. As Felipe admitted in lines 1022-1023, “We don’t really understand it... um, what it’s trying to mean.” Felipe then confirmed that

specifically, the boys did not understand the vocabulary that was used in the assignment's prompt. This comment highlights a serious, yet common issue for many of the reclassified ELLs as such students frequently struggled with understanding the academic vocabulary needed to comprehend the content-based lessons. Even with additional support from Mr. Peterson and myself, Felipe and Miguel still struggled to understand the vocabulary and the overall demands of the assignment.

Some of the students not only struggled with the new academic language and vocabulary of the content-based curriculum, but many also said that their greatest challenge involved with keeping up in the mainstream classroom was understanding the content of the lesson. For example, during recess in late March, I sat outside on a bench watching a group of boys play soccer with Catherine, a native Somali-speaker from Mr. Kasey's 6th grade classroom. We engaged in small talk, as I had not seen Catherine since the previous school year. Catherine claimed that she liked Mr. Kasey and she liked 6th grade, but she was struggling with the difficulty of the content:

65 Daisy: Are you learning?

66 Catherine: Mhm

67 Daisy: Yeah? Are you getting good grades?

68 Catherine: ((shakes head no))

69 Daisy: Why not?

70 Catherine: **I just don't understand. I just don't understand**

71 **when the teacher teaches me things I don't**

72 **understand.**

73 Daisy: Like what kinds of things?

74 Catherine: **Like point-of-view!**

75 Daisy: Did you learn that in 5th grade?

76 Catherine: I don't remember.

77 Daisy: So what happens when you don't understand?

78 Are you able to ask Mr. Kasey?

79 Catherine: Yeah

80 Daisy: Does he try to explain it in a different way?

81 Catherine: **Yeah, he explains it, but I really don't get it.**

82 **I just don't get it!**

This instance illustrates Catherine's difficulty with understanding key concepts, like point-of-view¹⁸, in the mainstream content-based classroom. Catherine indicated that she was learning in Mr. Kasey's mainstream classroom (line 66), but she was not getting good grades (line 68). She attributed her poor grades to not being able to understand some of the concepts (i.e., point-of-view) that Mr. Kasey presented in his daily lessons. Catherine acknowledged that her teacher was willing to explain such concepts to her

¹⁸ Point-of-View is a 5th grade standard, according to Arizona's Reading Standards.

(lines 81-82), but she was still not able to grasp particular (abstract) literary concepts. Catherine's comments illustrate some of the challenges involved with keeping up in the mainstream classroom when you have not been provided content-based instruction that adequately prepares you for the demands of the content.

Catherine told me that she enjoyed her present schooling experiences as well as her teacher, but her comments reveal great frustration with learning particular concepts, like point-of-view, a concept that was addressed in the 5th grade mainstream classrooms but was not addressed in the four-hour ELD block because of its devotion to decontextualized language instruction. It is very possible that Catherine and other reclassified ELL students would not be as far behind in content learning if the four-hour ELD block allowed for a content-based curriculum that focused on language learning through Sheltered Instruction. Though Catherine was unsure if this particular concept was addressed in fifth grade (line 76) at the time of this study, she was still struggling with it. Unfortunately for Catherine and other reclassified ELLs, concepts like point-of-view are the foundations for future work in reading and literacy courses presented in junior high and high school, and it is imperative that these students have a clear understanding of the vocabulary, language, and concepts associated with the content-based curriculum.

Brisa, a 6th grader from Mr. Peterson's class also told me that the ELD classroom helped to improve her ability to read and to write in English and she was grateful for that opportunity. She also acknowledged that as a result of being labeled a "proficient" speaker of English, she felt more confident as a speaker of English and as a learner in the

mainstream classroom. However, Brisa said she initially she struggled in Mr. Peterson's mainstream class "because last year we mostly did the declarative, interrogative, and that thing. And here we do science, reading, writing, math, and different things" (Fieldnotes, May 25, 2012). She elaborated by explaining that she struggled because, "I didn't really know what we were doing in science and social studies. I didn't really get what, what we were supposed to write about" (Fieldnotes, May 25, 2012). She confirmed that she hoped that she passed her AZELLA test because she did not want to return to the four-hour ELD block—"We mostly do the same thing there [in the ELD classroom] and in a normal class [a mainstream classroom], we don't" (May 25, 2012).

Brisa's comments demonstrate her desire to maintain English proficiency because she understood that knowing English was important for learning content in the mainstream classroom. In her comments, Brisa positioned herself as a confident learner because she was labeled as a "proficient" speaker of English, though she admitted that she initially struggled with content-based learning because her previous learning experiences had focused only on English language learning, "the declarative, the interrogative, and that thing." Her comment is important because it acknowledges that the experiences and the learning that students, like Brisa, accomplished while in the four-hour ELD block, does help students to feel confident. But, the lack of content-based learning in the ELD classroom limits reclassified ELLs' academic progress during the reclassification period because the students lack the content knowledge and access to the language and vocabulary used for such types of content-based instruction. Thus, students are not simply able to learn English and smoothly transition into the mainstream

classroom with a focus on content-based learning.

Brisa's comments also illustrate her desire to remain a "mainstream" student because she did not want to go back to the ELD classroom and learn "the same thing." Instead she wanted to remain "in a normal class" where she could continue to have access to "science, reading, writing, math, and different things." Finally, for Brisa, the mainstream classroom represented a "normal" learning experience, whereas learning in the ELD classroom limited ELL students' academic opportunities because it was a repeat of information. In this sense, students were widely aware of the difference of learning between the two contexts and such students often dichotomized the mainstream classroom as "normal" and the four-hour ELD classroom as "not normal."

Similar themes emerged in other students' comments. Sixth grader, Juan, stated that for him, learning in Mr. Kasey's mainstream classroom was sometimes challenging. During our lunch interview on June 1, 2012, Juan reflected on the importance of learning the English language, as stated in his earlier comments at the beginning of this chapter; but Juan also discussed his experiences learning in the mainstream classroom. He noted that the work was sometimes more challenging because the requirements and the expectations of the daily assignments were lengthier than from his previous experiences in the four-hour ELD block. He stated, "Instead of writing like a paragraph, uh, for our homework and stuff, like for Mrs. Williams, now we have to write like five paragraphs and stuff" (June 1, 2012). Juan also said that there were "a lot of words" that he did not understand, so he would "ask Mr. Kasey and he would say it and if he didn't know, then

I'd have to go to look it up in the dictionary" (Fieldnotes, June 1, 2012).

Juan's initial statement about the length and rigor of his class assignments aligned with Mrs. Williams' earlier comments (presented in Chapter Four) that described some of the common challenges for reclassified ELLs who struggled with reclassification in the mainstream classroom. She noted, "[There's] a little more writing and a little more responsibility" (Focus Group, June 7, 2012). In addition to needing to be more responsible for completing longer assignments that focused more on reading and writing, rather than listening and speaking, it was also true that vocabulary development was very important to students like Juan.

Collectively, these examples illustrate some of the challenges that reclassified ELL students experienced during reclassification. For many of the students, learning the vocabulary and language associated with the new content-based curriculum was difficult. For others, the lack of content-based learning from previous years created conceptual gaps that affected the students' current learning in the mainstream classrooms. Finally, some of the students (and teachers) noted that the expectations and requirements for many of the assignments were more rigorous and demanding than previous assignments in the four-hour ELD block.

Students Respond to Teacher Policies and Practices

In Chapter Four, the teachers discussed some of the policies and practices that were enacted in their mainstream classrooms to help facilitate learning and support language development in their daily activities. Recall that the teachers all seemed to

believe that they needed to enforce an English-only language policy (except for recently arrived immigrants) and they regularly offered their students grammar feedback. This section examines the student responses to these practices.

English-Only Language Policy

Students at NFES had a keen awareness of the local English-only language policy of the mainstream classroom. However, groups of students responded differently to the practices that accompanied this policy. Particular groups of students believed that English-only language policy was beneficial to the learning environment and strongly supported the use of only English in the classroom. Such students believed that using multiple languages in the classroom could lead to potential classroom conflicts, as students (and teachers) who did not share a common language would not be able to understand what was being said.

For example, students like 6th grader Catherine believed that an English-only language policy in her (mainstream) classroom was appropriate because her teacher did not speak her native language and therefore he would not understand the comments she made in Somali. Though Catherine admitted that she would like to be able to use her native language at school, she said she understood and respected Mr. Kasey's English-only policy: "[I] feel O.K. cause the teacher doesn't know what you say and he might think that you say something else." (Fieldnotes, April 12, 2012). In this light, Catherine understood that the English-only policy was meant to prevent communicative misunderstandings between the (multilingual) students and the (monolingual) teacher that

might get the student in trouble. Despite her interest in wanting to use her native language at school, she was “O.K.” with English-only language education policy in her classroom.

Abilyn, a 5th grader from Ms. Rocio’s class, however, did not agree with the English-only language policy. She described her understanding of the local language policy as well as the consequences of violating it at NFES:

- 62 Daisy: What happens if you speak Kirundi here?
- 63 Abilyn: The teacher is like - **you get in trouble.**
- 64 Daisy: Do you think that is fair?
- 65 Abilyn: ((shakes head no)) **Some teachers just like,**
- 66 **speak Spanish when it’s a Spanish kid**
- 67 **and when they’re** [Spanish-speaking students]
- 68 **speaking Spanish, they** [some teachers]
- 69 **don’t say nothing about it.**
- 70 **But when we speak our language,**
- 71 **they’re mean to us.**
- 72 Daisy: They’re mean to you?
- 73 What do they do that’s mean to you?
- 74 Abilyn: **They say that we could get a detention.**

This excerpt shows how particular students, like Abilyn, viewed the mainstream classroom English-only language policy as a contradictory set of practices that were shaped by a coherent ideology of language—one that values English above all languages and then Spanish above the other languages. It also shows an awareness of a hierarchy

among the languages, with English on top and Spanish in second place. Abilyn observed that some of her teachers would “speak Spanish when it’s a Spanish kid” (lines 65-66), referring to the few instances that teachers (like Mrs. Williams) would translate for newly arrived immigrants (like Jose), so that such students could be minimally included in the lessons. Abilyn saw this practice as “unfair” (line 65) because some of her Spanish-speaking classmates were engaged in (limited) “conversations” with their mainstream classroom teachers in spaces that were designated as English-only for all students. Abilyn also believed that English-only language policy was unfair because the mainstream teachers did not reprimand her Spanish-speaking classmates for using Spanish in the English-only classrooms (lines 67-69)—though I frequently observed this policy strictly enforced for all students who violated this policy at school.

Finally, Abilyn’s comments reflected her understanding that speaking her native language, Kirundi, had the potential to get her in trouble (line 63), which could have resulted in a verbal reprimand or even some type of detention during lunch or after school (line 74). This alone is problematic as English-only policies send tacit messages that languages other than English are unnecessary and even bad, since punishment (i.e., detentions) can be involved if students are “caught” using their native language at school.

Teacher-to-Student Grammar Corrections

Teacher-to-student grammar corrections were a practice that indicated beliefs about the status of various languages (and their speakers) and the value of (English) language learning, especially in the mainstream classrooms where I conducted extensive

participant observation. As discussed in Chapter 4, teacher-to-student grammar corrections were documented in my fieldnotes and audio-recordings during my time in the mainstream classrooms at NFES. When I asked students in this study about receiving grammar feedback from their teachers, all of them reported that they appreciated such feedback because they believed it helped to further develop their ability to speak and understand English.

For example, Catherine, from Mr. Kasey's 6th grade class, explained that Mr. Kasey's grammar corrections significantly helped her to improve her English—more so than receiving ELD instruction in the four-hour ELD block the previous school year:

- 53 Daisy: Do you think being in the ELL classroom
 helped you learn English?
- 54 Catherine: No.
- 55 Daisy: Why not?
- 56 Catherine: **Cause you know, like right now,**
57 **since I'm in Mr. Kasey's class, um,**
58 **I say something wrong and he corrects me.**
59 **Last year no one corrected me.**

For Catherine, using language in context and receiving immediate feedback helped her to understand and to improve her speaking abilities: “Cause you know, like right now, since I'm in Mr. Kasey's class, um, I say something wrong and he corrects me. Last year no one corrected me.” (lines 56-59). She then added that she preferred to have her grammar corrected and that she “felt thankful” to people, like Mr. Kasey, who took

the time to help her improve her abilities in English because “they tellin’ me what’s wrong and what’s not wrong” (Fieldnotes, April 12, 2012).

Such comments illustrate the value Catherine places on English language learning—particularly for learning English that is grammatically correct, as this type of language was expected by her teacher, the school’s curriculum, and policies of language that position standard English as important for academic success. However, Catherine’s additional comments of gratitude for those who correct her also reveal that though labeled as a “proficient” speaker of English by the AZELLA test, Catherine still positions herself as a learner of English, and she depends on native English speakers like Mr. Kasey to correct her and tell her “what’s wrong and what’s not wrong.” Thus, Catherine responded favorably to such types of grammar feedback, especially from her teacher. More importantly, this example also allows for us to glimpse at how reclassified ELLs still need English language support in the mainstream classroom and how such support often positions “proficient” learners of English.

I observed Mr. Kasey provide grammar feedback to Catherine several times during the course of this study. One example occurred during a classroom observation (March 30, 2012), when I audio-recorded Mr. Kasey and Catherine making small talk about the name of the new class pet, a small tan-colored hamster, named Carver:

903 Catherine: Carver. I'm not gonna remember that name.
904 It's so hard. [3] **He been in our class for like,**
905 **how much days?**
906 Mr. Kasey: **How *many* days.**
907 Catherine: **How many days.**
908 Mr. Kasey: **He *has been* in our class since last Friday.**
909 Catherine: **Ahhhh!**

During this exchange, Mr. Kasey initially explicitly corrected Catherine's incorrect statement, "He been in our class for like, how much days?" (lines 904-905) by recasting only the last phrase, "How *many* days." (line 906), with an emphasis on the quantifier, *many*. His explicit recast prompted Catherine to repeat the corrected statement, thus bringing attention to the correct form and giving Catherine an opportunity to repeat the recast. Mr. Kasey then answered Catherine's question, "He *has been* in our class since last Friday." (line 908), recasting and emphasizing the past participle, *has been*, to illustrate that Catherine had another grammatical error during the conversation. She acknowledged Mr. Kasey's recast with an understanding, "Ahhhh!" (line 909) that indicated she was understood and accepted her mistake.

In this instance, Mr. Kasey's explicit and implicit grammar corrections made Catherine aware of her speech errors in English and allowed her the opportunity to hear and repeat (parts of) grammatically correct questions and answers. This instance took place between Mr. Kasey and Catherine during an informal discussion—not in front of the entire class, which also helped to save face for Catherine and avoid the potential

embarrassment of having her speech corrected in front of all of her classmates. During this particular example, it appeared as though Catherine's understanding reaction of "Ahhhh!" (line 909) also included a gratefulness for Mr. Kasey's grammar feedback.

Other students, like 5th grader Raija, also appreciated when their teacher provided grammar feedback, though he admitted there were times when he felt frustrated when he received such feedback, as he stated, "I like the words that come out of my mouth!" (Fieldnotes, March 19, 2012). However, Raija also noted that learning English was important for his education and ultimately by knowing "good" English he could help his family in the future (Fieldnotes, June 1, 2012). Thus, Raija was "O.K." if the teacher corrected his language because he knew that she was doing it to help him be more successful in school.

An instance of such grammar corrections occurred during mid-morning when Mrs. William's 5th grade class had recently returned from sampling blueberries at the "Fruits and Vegetables" program in the cafeteria. Raija, did not attend "Fruits and Vegetables" because Mrs. Williams sent him to the office for misbehavior earlier that morning. However, she still brought Raija a cup of blueberries to eat when he returned from the office. Upon his return, Raija began to sample the blueberries and immediately made a face. Native Spanish-speakers, Manuel and Laurinda, began to laugh at Raja's reaction to the blueberries. Mrs. Williams warned:

- 11 Mrs. Williams: Don't laugh at him. He doesn't need
 12 anymore of an audience.
 13 Raija: **But the thing. What's it called?**
 14 Manuel: **Sour!**
 15 Laurinda: **[Sour!]**
 16 Raija: **Soury**
 17 Mrs. Williams: **Some are *sour*. Some are not.**

The students continue to discuss blueberries and blackberries while working on their daily DOL classwork (Audio-recording, March 22, 2012).

During this exchange, Raija sought clarification for the word “sour” from his classmates by gesturing and asking, “What’s it called?” (line 13). In unison, Manuel and Laurinda exclaimed, “Sour!” (lines 14-15). Raja repeated the word “sour” but added a “y” to the end of the word (line 16). Mrs. Williams implicitly corrected Raja’s grammar by clarifying that some blueberries taste *sour* and others do not (line 17). Mrs. Williams’ clarification, “Some are *sour*. Some are not.” (line 17) provides Raija with detailed information about the various tastes of blueberries, and allows Raija to hear the correct form of the word in natural context.

In this instance, Mrs. Williams’ implicit grammar correction is embedded in a natural context that does not focus on the form of language, but rather the function. Implicit grammar feedback through recasting, paraphrasing, and offering corrections through natural language is often favored by scholars in the field of SLA (Echevarria et al., 2004; Crawford & Krashen, 2007) as such feedback focuses on the function of the

language (i.e., the message or the meaning making) rather than the form.

All of the reclassified ELL students of this study stated that they positively responded to grammar corrections from their teachers. These students said that these types of corrections help them with pronunciation, understanding grammar, and writing and overall they were grateful that their teachers took the time to correct their English.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented and analyzed the student talk about language and language learning in ELD and mainstream classrooms. I have also examined the students' comments about teachers' policies (English-only) and practices (teacher-to-student grammar corrections) during reclassification. The findings reported in this section reveal that the ELL students' valued English language learning and believed that the four-hour ELD block helped them learn the English language. However, this model of instruction had challenges and limitations for mainstreaming purposes, as the students struggled with content-based vocabulary, understanding unfamiliar content-based instruction, and meeting the demands of classroom assignments. Another related finding explored in this chapter is that some of the students favored an English-only language policy, since the use of languages other than English could be divisive in the multilingual and multinational learning spaces. Other students though such policies were unfair and only targeted certain students who did not speak Spanish. The analysis of findings presented in this chapter also demonstrates that reclassified ELLs responded favorably to teacher-to-student grammar corrections, as the students stated that explicit grammar

feedback helped the student improve their ability to speak in English.

The analysis and interpretations provided in this chapter become important context for understanding the data introduced and analyzed in the next chapter, which describes a variety of student-initiated practices that reveal strong beliefs about the value of learning and maintaining English among students in mainstream learning contexts. This focus on the experiences and perspectives of the reclassified ELLs illuminates the ways that English-only policies and practices shape processes of the language and language learning during the reclassification period.

Chapter 6

STUDENT-INITIATED LANGUAGE PRACTICES: LANGUAGE POLICING, LANGUAGE CROSSING, & LANGUAGE SHARING

One morning, I visited Mrs. Williams' 5th grade classroom for a participant observation. On this particular morning Mrs. Williams was video-recording a lesson on the use of graphic organizers to submit for her portfolio for her national board certification. The students were working independently on a worksheet about the religions of the world that contained graphic organizers and comprehension questions. Raija, a native Somali-speaker, finished his worksheet early and began to read an Accelerated Reader (AR) book. Salvador, a native Spanish-speaker, took Raija's pencil and Raija responded, "Give me it, boy! Hey! Give me my pencil, boy!" Salvador recasted Raija's demand, "Give me my pencil, *please*." Rather than comply with Salvador's recasted request for better manners, Raija shouted, "Why does people have to correct my language used?" (Fieldnotes, March 19, 2012).

Overhearing this exchange, I immediately asked Raija if people often corrected his daily speech and he responded, "Yeah. Malik and Salvador, everybody in class. They always talk ugly about my language used!" He admitted that it was frustrating for him because "I like the words that come out of my mouth." (Audio-recording, March 19, 2012). I continued to talk with Raija about his multilingual repertoire, as he claimed to speak English, Somali, and even Spanish. I clarified, "You speak Spanish?" He responded, "¿Cómo está amiga? That's Spanish right there." (Audio-recording, March

19, 2012) and he went back to reading his AR book.

In Chapter Five, I shared the students' stated beliefs about and responses to the teachers' classroom policies and teaching practices. I now share another set of practices that both build on and complicate the findings I shared in Chapters Four and Five. In this chapter, I talk about language policing (e.g., Salvador's recast request for better manners) and language crossing (Raija's use of "¿Cómo esta,amiga?"), and the underlying values of such practices. The vast majority of excerpts analyzed in this chapter focus on the practices of students but a few feature practices that involve teachers.

In the first section of this chapter, I analyze a few of the ways that students initiate and respond to what I call "language policing." In the second section of this chapter, I examine a different, contradictory set of student-initiated language practices—language crossing and language sharing. Drawing from the work of Rampton (1995), I view language crossing as practice in which learners from one language background use words and/or phrases from a different language that is not necessarily their own. This is practice is generally done to show an affiliation or belonging to another ethnic group. Finally, I use the term language sharing to refer to instances, "when use of the language traditionally 'belonging' to another group is ratified as appropriate by its traditional speakers" (Paris, 2011, p. 14).

A focus on student-initiated practices will allow us to glimpse at ways that the students engage in sets of contradictory practices of language policing and language crossing, but also, how such engagement shapes their language learning experiences and

their stated beliefs about language. Data from this study help demonstrate how such practices exist even in contexts that have restrictive language policies.

Language Use in the Classroom

One finding of this study was that reclassified ELL students voiced and enacted ideologies of language that privilege English language proficiency, first in the ELD classroom and later in the mainstream classroom. Through talk (about language and language learning) and interaction, students often demonstrated awareness of and participation in ideologies of language that devalued languages other than English and that were circulating in the U.S./Arizona/local school context. In the following two sections, I examine the two sets of student-initiated practices that reflect this awareness: language policing and student-to-student grammar corrections. The analysis provided demonstrates how each set of practices is influenced by and contribute to local English-only policies as well as ideologies of language and language learning circulating more widely in the U.S. society.

Language Policing

During the 2011-2012 school year, language policing was a frequent student-initiated practice for many of the ELL students enrolled in Mrs. Williams' four-hour ELD block at NFES (Warriner & Fredricks, in progress). The findings of the present study demonstrate that the reclassified ELLs continued to initiate such practices even after being reclassified and moved into a mainstream classroom¹⁹. Much like Ishmael's

¹⁹ It should be noted that I observed English-only language policing occur most often in Mrs. Williams' class. More research is needed across different learning contexts to see

language policing of Mrs. Williams' use of Spanish in the classroom (from Chapter Four), other students also commonly policed the use of each other's language to make sure the English-only language policy was enforced at school.

One instance of this occurred in Mrs. Williams' classroom on March 28, 2012. The students were taking a quiz on the material in chapters 6-10 of the chapter book, *Island of the Blue Dolphins*, while Mrs. Williams called individual students to her desk to assess their reading fluency. After several minutes of puzzled faces, Mrs. Williams allowed students to use their books and to work together to answer the questions. I sat next to two groups of girls—Margarita and Yoli, both native Spanish-speakers, and Nellie, a native Swahili-speaker and Diamond, a native Kirundi-speaker. Margarita was called to Mrs. Williams' desk to read, while Yoli worked independently to answer the questions on her quiz. Nellie and Diamond were quietly chatting in Swahili, a language both girls were able to share, when Yoli reminded them to use only English:

how English-only language policing is enacted by different groups of students (i.e., by ethnicity, gender, age, etc.).

- 482 Yoli: **English.**
- 483 Diamond: **Like you guys don't speak Spanish.**
((referring to Yoli and Margarita))
- 484 Yoli: I don't speak Spanish with *Margarita*.
- 485 Diamond: You speak Spanish with Sarai.
- 486 Nelli: And with Margarita.
- 487 Terrell: [And with Margarita.]
- 488 Yoli: Fine, but you guys are not...
- 489 Diamond: **Still, we're in school.**

Margarita returned to her desk and both groups of girls continued to work in their quiz.

Overhearing classmates, Nelli and Diamond, speaking in Swahili, Yoli reminded the girls to speak English by simply stating, “English” (line 482). Switching to English, Diamond justified her previous conversation in Swahili to Yoli, and chided her, “Like you guys don't speak Spanish” (line 483). This sparked a minor debate between Diamond and Yoli (and eventually Nelli and Terrell) about Yoli's language use and it was determined that Yoli too, was guilty of violating English-only language policy at school on other occasions. Acknowledging this, Yoli still tried to make her case by pointing out what the girls were *not* doing (line 488), but she was interrupted by Diamond who reminded her that she was still in violation of the language policy herself, since Yoli and her friends do speak in Spanish while “in school” (line 489).

This instance illustrates how particular students enforced the local classroom language policy of English-only through the policing of languages other than English.

Though Yoli does not explicitly state her reason for policing her classmates, one motive for her decision could be that Yoli has picked up on (and perhaps values) the classroom's English-only language policy and would like her classmates to abide by this policy as well. After Diamond, Nelli, and Terrell charge Yoli with violating the policy herself, Yoli concedes with a, "Fine, but..." (line 488). This comment acknowledges that Yoli is aware of the language policy and she knows that she has been in violation of the policy because she has participated in previous conversations with her classmates in Spanish. Yoli began to justify her reason for policing the language use of her classmates with the statement, "but you guys are not..." (line 488). Unfortunately we do not know exactly why she was policing the girls because Diamond interrupted, "Still, we're in school" (line 489). But we do know that Diamond is aware of the English-only language policy at NFES. This exchange demonstrates how different students used different languages for different purposes. For instance, native languages like Spanish and Swahili were used to communicate with friends and family for social purposes, while English was used for academic purposes (or any purpose for that matter) that took place at school.

Other students that I interviewed commented on and evaluated their classmates' language use when they could not understand the language used and it made them feel uncomfortable. For example, during a conversation with a group of students in Mrs. Williams' 5th grade class, Malik told me that he asked his classmates to use only English because "some people might not know what it means." He also said that he considered it rude to speak in another language since it excluded others from the conversation (Fieldnotes, June 1, 2012).

Another instance of this occurred on the morning of March 22, 2012, when I entered Mrs. Williams' 5th grade classroom for my regular weekly observations. Mrs. Williams had recently assigned the students their Daily Oral Language in-class assignment. As the students worked on their assignments, I was placing my audio-recorders around the room when I heard native Maay-speaker, Raija, shout out to native Spanish-speaker, Calvin, who was conversing with fellow Spanish-speaker, Eric, in Spanish:

- 01 Raija: Hey! **Please speak in English.** [4]
02 **Or I'll start talking in my language,**
03 **to myself.**
- 04 Mrs. Williams: You know what? **There's a lot of**
05 **talking in languages other than**
06 **English in here and it needs to stop.**
- 07 Raija: Me?
- 08 Mrs. Williams: **Just because people here get upset**
09 **when somebody else talks about or**
10 **talks in their language, then they start**
11 **tattling.**
- 12 Malik: **Like you don't get upset when they talk**
13 **in Spanish.**
- 14 Raija: I know, right? **So, if you guys talk in Spanish**
15 **one more time.**

The onset of the conversation shows that Raija policed Calvin and Eric's use of Spanish and initially politely requested for the boys to "Please speak in English" (line

01). Raija does not state why he policed Calvin's use of Spanish, but from previous conversations with Raija, I believe Raija felt as though Calvin might be talking about him and thus requested for Calvin to switch to English. A few seconds later, Raija added, "Or I'll start talkin' in my language to myself" (lines 02-03). This particular instance demonstrates that Raija not only policed Calvin and Eric, but he also threatened to retaliate by speaking in *his* language, noting that he would have to speak to himself, since he had no other classmates who shared his language in close proximity (lines 02-03). This instance reveals how the use of multiple languages in an English-only classroom at times worked to divide and exclude particular students from groups that they established among themselves. This reminiscent of the practices documented by Paris (2011) in his study of multilingual/multinational high school students. Certain students, like Raija, as well as the four teachers of this study viewed English as a unifying language that allowed for everybody to understand the different conversations talking place in the classroom.

Overhearing this exchange, a frustrated Mrs. Williams clarified this in lines 04-06 when she reminded the entire class that all students should be communicating in English "because people here get upset when somebody else talks about or talks in their language, then they start tattling" (lines 08-11). As per Mr. Peterson and Mrs. Williams' comments from Chapter Four, English-only in the classroom served 1) to prevent "tattle-taling" and 2) to create uniformity between students. This was important since according to Mr. Peterson and Mrs. Williams, tattle-taling disrupted the class, created tensions between the students, and often absorbed the teachers' energy when it should have been focused on teaching content-based lessons. In this light, Mrs. Williams officially enforced the

English-only language policy when interacting with all of the students in her class to reduce practices (like using multiple languages) that seemed to divide students.

In lines 12-13, Malik responds to Mrs. Williams' English-only request by stating, "Like you don't get upset when they speak in Spanish". This comment echoes Abilyn's comments (analyzed in Chapter 5) that positioned English as the dominant language, but then created a hierarchy of languages that positioned Spanish as a language of higher status than the other languages found at NFES. Though Mrs. Williams' English-only reminder to the entire class was initially sparked because of Raija's policing of the Spanish language, Malik (and other students) viewed this as an opportunity to discuss some of the underlying tensions about how and when the classroom language policy was enforced. For Raija and Malik, the problem was that there was a difference for how English-only language policy was enforced between students of different language backgrounds (line 14).

In this exchange, Raija showed support for Mrs. Williams' English-only reminder by reminding his Spanish-speaking classmates not to speak in Spanish in the ELD classroom: "So if you guys talk in Spanish one more time..." (lines 14-15). Such comments illustrate Raija's belief that all students should use English for communication purposes in the classroom, but it also reveals how particular non-Spanish-speaking students directly responded to certain tensions created by languages other than English used in multilingual and multinational learning spaces.

At other times, it seemed that certain students drew attention to their classmates' language use as a way to get them in trouble. Because using English-only in the classroom was an "official" classroom policy, violating this policy had different consequences for different students in different contexts. At times I observed certain students "tattle" on their classmates for using their native language. In response, sometimes that teacher would verbally reprimand the "guilty" student (or sometimes the entire class) while at other times I observed that the teacher ignore the "guilty" party and reprimand the student reporter. The teacher's inconsistent responses to the students' language practices reveal her own conflicted, ambivalent attitude toward the policy itself (as discussed in Chapter 4).

One day in May (about four weeks before the school year ended) I entered Mrs. Williams' classroom for an observation. Before I even had the chance to place all of my recorders in their usual spots (between groups of students gathered round a table), I heard Raija, a native Somali-speaker, shout out to Mrs. Williams, who was seated at her desk organizing papers:

- 01 Raija: Hey! **These girls are speaking**
02 **Spanish!** They're not doing their work!"
- 03 Mrs. Williams: **Would you stop picking on Lucinda,**
04 **please?**
- 05 Raija: How am I picking on her?
- 06 Mrs. Williams: Always. **You always have to find**
07 **something to attack her with.**

When Raija alerted Mrs. Williams that the girls next to him were speaking in Spanish (line 01), it seems he hoped she would do something about it. However, rather than reprimanding the girls for using their native language (as Raija expected), Mrs. Williams accused Raija of picking on Lucinda (line 03). Confused, Raija sought clarification (05) for the accusation and Mrs. Williams explained, “Always. You always have to find something to attack her with” (lines 06-07). Perhaps Mrs. Williams allowed the girls “to get away with” using Spanish in this instance to spite Raija, as he did have a history of teasing, flirting, and bullying (especially) the girls in his classroom. Regardless, Mrs. Williams was quick to note that Raija’s actions were meant to instigate problems for Lucinda—problems that centered on the use of language.

A moment later, I was able to follow up with Raija to ask him about what had just occurred. Specifically, I wanted to know why he told Mrs. Williams about the girls and he responded:

17 Raija: **Because they talk, they talk and**
18 **they act like they're working.**
19 Daisy: Does that bother you or
20 Raija: [no]
21 Daisy: are you just kidding around with
22 them? Trying to get them
23 in trouble or what?
24 Raija: **Yeah, get them in trouble.**
25 Daisy: Why?
26 Raija: **It's fun cause we always get in**
27 **trouble and not them.**
28 Malik: **That's true.**

Raija claimed that he told on the girls because they were continuously talking (in Spanish), not completing their work (lines 17-18), and he wanted to get them in trouble (line 24). He also expressed that he found enjoyment in telling on the girls, as “we always get in trouble and not them” (lines 26-27). Though I am not certain to whom Raija is referring when he uses the plural pronouns “we” and “them” (i.e., Raija and Malik or boys vs. girls more generally speaking), this example illustrates that Raija intended to get the girls in trouble and he found the opportunity when he overheard the girls conversing in Spanish. Thus, Raija was trying to use the language policy of the classroom to help take care of his social work in the mainstream classroom, as he tried to sway Mrs. Williams to reprimand the girls for not completing their classwork and for violating the classroom policy by using the Spanish language.

Table 3. *Language Policing*

<i>Rationale</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Restrictive-Oriented Policy	Still we're in school. – Diamond
Exclusion	Some people might not know what it means. – Malik
Social Work	These girls are speaking in Spanish! They're not doing their work! – Raija
Standard English	It's important that they know how to speak correct English. – Joaquin
Positioning	It kind of makes me feel smarter and Mr. Kasey will think, "Oh, he's a good student!" – Juan

During the course of this study, one general observation that I made was that students who did not share similar ethnic and linguistic backgrounds did not attempt to correct each other's language. For example, I did not observe any instances of Spanish speakers directing other Spanish speakers to stop using the Spanish language, nor did I observe any instances of Kirundi speakers regulating the use of Kirundi, and so on and so forth. I also want to clarify that though most of the teachers of this study acknowledged

that their students actively regulated each other's language use, I only documented this student-initiated practice in Mrs. Williams' 5th grade classroom²⁰.

Student-to-Student Grammar Corrections

Another important finding of this study is that the recently ELLs often received grammar feedback from their classmates. Though such types of corrections demonstrated a certain level of confidence for using the language, students receiving grammar corrections were often positioned as "less proficient" in English than the student providing the grammar correction.

Although many of the students in this study said that they appreciated receiving feedback and English grammar corrections *from the teacher* (as illustrated in Chapter 5), when I asked the students about receiving English grammar corrections from other students, their responses differed greatly—with some of the students stating that receiving feedback was helpful and other students complaining vociferously.

Joaquin, a 6th grader from Mr. Kasey's class admitted that sometimes he would say the wrong words and his classmates would correct him. He stated that this practice helped him learn the correct words and overall, contributed to him learning the English language. Because he believed this practiced helped him improve his English, Joaquin said that he too, corrected his classmates' grammar "when it didn't sound right" because "it's important that they know how to speak correct English (Fieldnotes, June 7, 2012).

²⁰ I did observe students, like Ishmael, from Ms. Rocio's 4th/5th grade classroom actively engage in this practice *in* Mrs. Williams' classroom during math class, but never when he was in Ms. Rocio's mainstream classroom.

For Joaquin (and his classmates and his teacher) speaking “correct” English was extremely important—especially when doing academic work. Though I did not observe any students correct Joaquin during this study, Mr. Kasey often made reference to other students correcting Joaquin’s speech. Though Mr. Kasey often talked about Joaquin’s poor grammar, Joaquin scored the highest of all of the reclassified ELL students in Mr. Kasey’s 6th grade class on his AZELLA test, with a composite score of 647. Joaquin attributed grammar corrections from his teacher and from his classmates to his “proficiency” in the English language—more than learning in the four-hour ELD block (Fieldnotes, June 7, 2012).

Abilyn, a 5th grader from Ms. Rocio’s class, reported that receiving grammar corrections from classmates was helpful: “It’s a good thing...cause then you’ll know how to say it properly.” (Fieldnotes, June 8, 2012). She explained that she felt comfortable correcting other’s grammar too, especially “when they say something that doesn’t make sense” (Fieldnotes, June 8, 2012). Abilyn believed that “they’re (her classmates) learning by making their mistakes”, so it is important to provide such types of feedback (Fieldnotes, June 8, 2012).

Juan, a 6th grade Spanish-speaking male from Mr. Kasey’s class said that he rarely received grammar corrections from Mr. Kasey or his classmates because he didn’t really like to speak in class, noting, “I only speak when we do work or if he tells us to talk” (Audio-recording, June 1, 2012). However, Juan admitted that he did correct his classmates’ grammar “because Mr. Kasey doesn’t like us speaking incorrect English” and he elaborated, “it kind of makes me feel smarter and Mr. Kasey will think, ‘Oh, he’s a

good student!” (Audio-recording, June 1, 2012).

Anayeli, a 6th grade Spanish-speaking female, said that she received most grammar feedback from her teacher and she gladly accepted his help. She also stated that she received student-to-student grammar corrections from others in her class and it made her “mad” when her classmates corrected her grammar. However, this did not stop her from correcting other students’ grammar so that she could “help them talk better.” Although Anayeli was hesitant to correct certain students, “because that’s how they talk with their accent”, she said she did so on occasions when her classmates needed help (Fieldnotes, June 1, 2012). Her comments illustrate her understanding that all students should speak English in the classroom and her awareness that students were expected to speak a particular variety of English (standard English).

I observed an instance when Anayeli was provided with explicit grammar corrections from her classmates for not speaking a particular type of “standard” English. This happened on the morning of March 30, 2012 after the students had finished performing their vocabulary skits, an in-class assignment where groups of students were provided a vocabulary word and the group had to act out the word in front of the class. Anayeli’s group was given the word, *barrage*, and performed a skit depicting Justin Bieber being barraged with questions and photographs from friends and the paparazzi. After completing their skit, Mr. Kasey selected a student from the class to guess the correct vocabulary word. On this occasion he chose Alma, who correctly guessed *barrage*. Mr. Kasey confirmed the correct answer with Anayeli and asked her to clarify:

542 Mr. Kasey: Anayeli, how did you show a barrage?
543 How did your group show a barrage?
544 Anayeli: **Me, Maria, and Rhonda were**
545 **barraging Micaela?**
546 Student #1: [I]
547 Student #2: [and I]
548 Student #3: [I]
549 Student #4: [I]
550 Mr. Kasey: Gave her a barrage?
551 Anayeli: We gave her a barrage
552 Mr. Kasey: Of...
553 Anayeli: Of [1] questions.
554 Student: [questions]
555 Mr. Kasey: You gave her a barrage of questions,
556 all at the same time, right?

This example illustrates an instance of student-to-student grammar feedback. During Anayeli's explanation of her group's use of the vocabulary word, *barrage*, Anayeli made the mistake of placing "me" before the other identified subjects, "Maria and Rhonda" (line 544). Immediately, four of Anayeli's classmates explicitly corrected her grammar error by correcting her with an emphatic "I" and "and I" (lines 546-549). In this instance, Anayeli does not restate or even verbally acknowledge her classmates' grammar correction—perhaps because it made her "mad" when her classmates corrected her speech. However, it is interesting to note that Mr. Kasey also implicitly corrected Anayeli's speech (though her initial comment was grammatically correct) by recasting,

“Gave her a barrage?” (line 550). Here, Anayeli repeated and accepted his recast and added the appropriate subject, “*We*” in “We gave her a barrage (line 551). This example demonstrates that even though Anayeli’s speech is comprehensible to her audience (her classmates, her teacher, and myself) Anayeli still received 1) explicit student-to-student grammar feedback for the misplacement and misuse of the subject “I” and 2) implicit teacher-to-student grammar feedback for a preferred way of using the vocabulary word *barrage*.

Sixth grader Brisa, from Mr. Peterson’s class stated that she was “happy” when her classmates (and her teacher) corrected her grammar because it helped her to speak the “proper way” (Fieldnotes, June 7, 2012). However, during a separate interview, Brisa stated that she was not always receptive to such feedback—especially from peers (Fieldnotes, May 31, 2012). For example, on May 18, 2012, I observed an instance when Brisa received student-to-student grammar feedback from a peer in Mr. Peterson’s classroom. As the students were preparing for their upcoming debate on Halloween, Brisa and native Spanish-speaking classmate, Miranda, were confused by the directions of the assignment. Miranda suggested they ask Mr. Peterson for help, but Brisa tried to work through their prompt by clarifying the sentence starter for Miranda and establishing their position as the “pro” advocates for celebrating Halloween as a holiday:

765 Miranda: I don't get it.
 766 Brisa: I want the readers to know that **me and**
 767 **Miranda, that I and Miranda,**
 768 that we're for it.
 769 Miranda: That *me?* That *Miranda and I.*
 770 Brisa: I didn't put I!
 771 Miranda: Miranda and I! [2] Not me and Miranda.
 772 It's negative.

Brisa did not respond any further to Miranda's explicit student-to-student grammar correction, and the girls continued to work quietly in silence. A moment later, Miranda went to Mr. Peterson for help, and the audio-recorder captured Brisa say, "O, me molesta." {Oh she annoys me.} (Audio-recording, May 18, 2012).

This example demonstrates an instance when Brisa was not comfortable with the correction she received from her fellow classmate Miranda. Initially Brisa used the phrase, "me and Miranda" (line 766-767) and then attempted to self-correct to "I and Miranda" (line 767). Instantly, Miranda provided the explicit grammar correction, "That *me?* That *Miranda and I.*" (line 769) to demonstrate to her friend the proper way to use the first person pronoun, *I*, with an additional subject. Brisa denied that she used the pronoun *I* (line 770) in her self-correction, and quickly Miranda clarified, "Miranda and I! [2] Not me and Miranda. It's negative." (lines 771-772) demonstrating to her friend the "proper way" to say the sentence. Miranda also tried to justify her grammar correction by claiming to use a grammar rule—"It's negative." (line 772). Outside of Brisa's initial denial of using the pronoun "I", Brisa did not respond to Miranda's

correction. Thus, it seemed that her silence served as a form of resistance to the grammar correction, particularly since after Miranda left the table and Brisa muttered, “O, me molesta.” {Oh, she annoys me.}

Such comments suggest that at least in this instance, Brisa was not grateful to receive grammar feedback from her peers, like Miranda. In fact, she appeared to be annoyed by Miranda’s linguistic guidance. Interestingly, during a follow-up interview about this instance, Brisa stated that she was “happy” that Miranda corrected her because “if she hadn’t corrected me, I would have still been talkin’ like that” (June 7, 2012). During the same conversation on June 7, 2012, Brisa also claimed that she did not often provide her classmates with student-to-student grammar corrections because it sometimes annoyed her when some of her classmates corrected her grammar.

However, I observed an instance of Brisa providing a student-to-student grammar correction to her friend Jasmine one day in Mr. Peterson’s classroom. On April 4, 2012, Brisa, was sitting next to Jasmine, another Spanish-speaking female. The girls had been editing each other’s stories when Mr. Peterson instructed the class to return to their desks.

832 Jasmine: Can you **tuck in my chair?**
833 Brisa: ***Tuck it in?***
834 Jasmine: Yeah.
835 Brisa: **I can't because it's not a shirt.**
836 Jasmine: ((in a frustrated tone)) **Tuck in the chair.**
837 **Tuck it in. Under the table.**
838 Brisa: Oh, **you should have said that [2] instead**
839 **of tucking it in.**

The girls returned to their desks and waited for further instructions from Mr. Peterson (Fieldnotes, April 4, 2012).

This instance reveals that reclassified ELL students also assumed the role of what I am calling the “language police” by providing student-to-student grammar feedback to their peers. During the transition, Jasmine asked Brisa, “Can you tuck in my chair?” (line 832), indicating that she would like Brisa to push her chair under the desk. Rather than comply, Brisa used this as an opportunity to signal that Jasmine’s request to “tuck in” the chair was awkward. She accomplished this by questioning Jasmine, “Tuck it in?” (line 833) and using a play on words, Brisa clarified that she could not tuck the chair in “because it’s not a shirt.” (line 835). Jasmine’s “awkward” request afforded Brisa an opportunity to showcase her linguistic abilities in English and such comments positioned Brisa as a sophisticated speaker of English. Here we begin to see a shift in power dynamics between reclassified ELLs and mainstream learners, as often, reclassified ELLs are still positioned as “low-level learners” because of language.

Frustrated, Jasmine snapped back, “Tuck in the chair. Tuck it in. Under the table.” (lines 836-837) and Brisa sharply retorted, “Oh, you should have said that instead of tucking it in” (lines 838-339). Again, we are able to see how Brisa positioned herself as a “proficient” user of English by indirectly “correcting”, and to a degree, poking fun of Jasmine’s speech. Jasmine, an exited²¹ ELL student did not appear to appreciate Brisa’s help.

I also observed an example of a reclassified ELL student provide a student-to-student grammar correction on April 4, 2012 in Mr. Peterson’s 6th grade classroom. Mr. Peterson finished a power point lecture on acceleration, force, and mass. He instructed the students to complete a handout on the science lesson while he worked with small groups to clarify individual questions from the lecture. Students formed small groups and began to discuss the questions about acceleration, force, and mass. Felipe, a native Spanish-speaker, was partnered with Jose and Bernardo, also native Spanish-speakers, and Abdi, a native Maay-speaker. Abdi was discussing the answer to a question with the group:

²¹ An exited ELL refers to an ELL student who has been successfully reclassified and monitored for two years. Such students are permanently deemed as English “proficient.”

77 Abdi: **7:10. The first one is 7:10.** ([[10]
Bernardo enters the group and the boys
shuffle papers and exchange pencils.))
78 Wait a minute, wait a minute, wait a minute!
79 How could this be at 6:05 and
80 this be here at **7:10**? Okay, now I'm confused.
81 Bernardo: Is that for science?
82 Abdi: Don't you remember having this?
83 Bernardo: No.
84 Abdi: Right after we graded the reading test...
85 Felipe: He wasn't here. ((The boys argue over when they
completed the question. They are "shhh-ed" by
another student and then they quiet down.))
86 Abdi: Ok. So the first train left at 6:05. 6:05. [4] **I**
87 **think I'm just gonna write 7:010.**
88 Felipe: Why?
89 Abdi: **Cause he actually left at 7:010.**
90 Felipe: **That's not 7:010. That's 7:10.**
91 Abdi: **Oh well. Look, it says 7:10 ((points to the written**
answer on his paper)).
92 Felipe: **Oh, never mind.**
93 Abdi: The first one.

Abdi continued to quietly read the question out loud and try to solve the answer.

This excerpt demonstrates how some reclassified ELLs students, like Felipe, were actively providing explicit English language feedback through student-to-student grammar corrections. This instance also illustrates Bourdieu's (1977) notion of linguistic capital, as the act of reclassified ELL students like Felipe, correcting other students' grammar and speech can help to position such students as legitimate speakers of the language. By correcting Abdi's statement, "Cause he actually left at 7:010", Felipe can be viewed as a legitimate user of English and as a knowledgeable student—a practice that helped to boost particular reclassified ELL students' confidence in the mainstream classroom (Bourdieu, 1987). In this instance, however, Abdi, a permanently exited ELL, dismissed Felipe's correction and clarified that the correct answer was 7:10, as he showed Felipe that he had written the correct answer on his paper. In response, Felipe retracted his previous comment by stating, "Oh, never mind" (line 92).

Collectively, these findings reveal a number of positioning and power dynamics at play—and an acute awareness among the students that there is a correct (or "standard") way to speak English (the local language of communication, power, prestige, and value). Though particular students stated that they appreciated having their grammar corrected—from teachers and even by classmates, for other students, student-to-student grammar corrections seemed to position the student receiving the correction as "less proficient" than the student providing the grammar correction. Such students often actively resisted having their grammar corrected through silence and other displays that did not acknowledge the student-to-student grammar feedback. Yet some of the students continued to engage in this practice because they believed this would help their

classmates to better learn the English language.

Language Crossing

Another important finding of this study was that a number of recently reclassified ELL students routinely engaged in language crossing. From my participant observation and interview experiences, I learned that the non-Spanish speaking students at NFES had a variety of reasons for wanting to learn the Spanish language. One reason that students gave for wanting to learn Spanish was to develop and maintain social relationships with native Spanish-speaking-students who commonly used Spanish in the classroom and in the larger community outside of school. For example, on May 24, 2012, during an observation in Mrs. Williams' classroom, I audio-recorded Raija and Malik discussing their aspirations to learn Spanish in the future. Raija began:

- 65 Raija: **I want to learn Spanish cause I want**
66 **to talk to a Spanish girl one day.**
67 Malik: That's not even right.
68 Raija: **I still do. I got her number, but I want to**
69 **to talk to her in Spanish and then finish it off.**

Raija's comments reveal his interest for learning the Spanish language: to develop and foster social relationships with the girls—in particular, girls who speak Spanish (lines 65-66). Raija claimed to have the phone number for one girl and he believed that if he could learn Spanish well enough to converse with her, the Spanish language would help him to “finish it off” (lines 68-69).

Thus, Raija believed that the Spanish language was a form of linguistic and social capital (Bourdieu, 1987) that could help him forge such relationships—especially with girls who happen to speak Spanish as their native language. In this context, English and Spanish were both valued languages and served as forms of linguistic and social capital valued by many of the African refugee learners. This could be because they had been resettled into a largely Latino community. In order to be part of the everyday community (at home and even at school), Raija for instance saw learning the Spanish language as an opportunity as a valuable resource to cultivate and forge new relationships with other students who did not share the same cultural and linguistic background with him. Even in the face of restrictive language education policies at school, it was undeniable that the Spanish language still held a strong linguistic and social capital for the social world at NFES and to fully participate in this world, Raija understood that he needed to learn Spanish.

Raija and Malik’s conversation continued and Malik shared his reasoning for wanted to learn Spanish:

70 Malik: I gonna learn Spanish on the computer...

71 Ima learn it. Ima learn Spanish on the computer.

72 ((sings)) **Se capasa juey no amigos pinco**

73 **cabazo chabatto.**

74 Raija: @@

75 Malik: Ima learn that and when I come to school, Ima

76 not tell no one I learn Spanish. No one. So

77 when they talk about me, Ima know what they

78 talkin' about. Uh-huh.

Malik stated that he wanted to learn Spanish on the computer (line 70) and even approximated using the Spanish language, “Se capasa juey amigos pinco cabazo chabatto” (lines 72-73). Malik further revealed his linguistic dexterity²² (Paris, 2011) as he used African American Language (AAL) to explain how he was going to learn the Spanish language in the future.

Revealing his reasons for learning Spanish, Malik clarified that he wanted to learn Spanish in secret in order for him to understand when others talked about him in the Spanish language (lines 75-78). His comments reveal a certain level of mistrust of other students who spoke a language he was not familiar with. This sense of mistrust was also the source of an underlying classroom learning tension and was not uncommon in the multilingual and multinational classrooms at NFES. Certain students, like Raija and Malik, often seemed to believe that their Spanish-speaking peers were talking about them—even when the native Spanish-speaking students were not. The students’ feelings

²² Paris (2011) defines linguistic dexterity as “the ability to use a range of language practices in a multiethnic and multilingual society” (p. 15).

of mistrust often led to tense moments in the classroom, much like the previous examples that illustrated different students policing others’ language use in the classroom. Thus, for Malik, learning Spanish was very valuable to him so that he could have piece of mind that his native Spanish-speaking classmates were not talking about him—or even if they were, he would at least understand what they were saying.

Table 4. *Language Crossing*

<i>Rationale</i>	<i>Example</i>
Social Capital	I want to learn Spanish cause I want to talk to a Spanish girl one day. – Raija
Mistrust	So when they talkin’ about me, Ima know what they talkin’ about. – Malik
Bridging Cultures	¿Cómo está amiga? – Raija

It is important to note that I did not observe this student-initiated practice enacted by any of the native Spanish-speakers of this study—only speakers of languages other than English and Spanish—and especially among the African refugee learners. It is not that native Spanish-speakers did not ever engage in language crossing practices with students who were speakers of languages other than English, but I never observed such practices occur during my time at NFES. I did ask a few native Spanish-speaking students if they had acquired any additional languages besides English at NFES, (i.e., Kirundi or Somali), but all of the native Spanish-speaking students said no and believed that learning languages other than English would be too difficult. For example, during a

participant observation in Mrs. Williams' class one day, Erick, a 5th grader, explained that he had not learned any additional languages (i.e., African languages) because "it seems hard. In high school, I want to learn Japanese" (Audio-recording, March 28, 2012).

For many native Spanish-speaking students, like Erick, learning languages other than English seemed too difficult—especially in school where English-only language policies are enforced; yet, students (like Erick) had the desire to learn an additional language (i.e., Japan) when it could be offered in the high school setting. Such comments reflected a value for language learning in the larger global community—as well as a value for learning additional languages *in school*.

Language Sharing

During my time at NFES, I often observed native Spanish-speaking students encourage their non-native Spanish-speaking classmates to learn Spanish through a process called language sharing (Paris, 2011). This process illustrated that despite the English-only language policies enforced in the mainstream classrooms at this particular school, certain students still engaged in learning languages other than English (i.e., Spanish), that were important for day-to-day living in the larger community.

One instance of language sharing occurred during a classroom observation in Mr. Kasey's 6th grade class on April 2, 2012. Mr. Kasey directed his students to spend 10 minutes practicing their *Tell-Me-How-To*²³ demonstrations to their small groups. At this

²³ The *Tell-Me-How-To* demonstrations were independent projects that each student had been working on for several weeks. Students had to write an essay describing the process for how to do something. The students were practicing giving their *Tell-Me-How-To* presentations to the small groups before providing their demonstration to the entire class.

time, Catherine, a native Somali-speaker, was paired with a native Spanish-speaking girls, Manda and Raquel. Rather than practicing their *Tell-Me-How-To* demonstrations, Catherine seemed more concerned about performing for my recorder, as she joked:

- 2022 Catherine: This is Raquel. Oh my god! Look at
2023 her face – **loco loco be baca**. @@!
- 2024 Manda: Loca! Loca!
- 2025 Raquel: How do you stop it?
- 2026 Catherine: **Oco loco bem baca**. Come here!
- 2027 Raquel: @@!
- 2028 Catherine: That’s her favorite song. [2]
2029 Eh, **I don’t know what this means,**
2030 **it’s in Spanish!**
- 2031 Raquel: Dude! Take that off!
- 2032 Catherine: ¿Por qué?
- 2033 Manda: @@@
- 2034 Raquel: I don’t like being recorded.
- 2035 Catherine: I said, ‘Why?’ right now in Spanish.
- 2036 Manda: ¿Por qué? [6] Say ‘¿Por qué?’.
- 2037 Catherine: No. [4] ¿Por qué¿ (inaudible)

During this exchange, as Catherine is performing for the recorder, she used the Spanish word “loco” (crazy) and then poorly approximated the Spanish language and laughed (lines 2022-2023). Ratifying her (incorrect) use of the Spanish language, Manda explicitly corrected Catherine’s use of the Spanish language by recasting the Spanish words, “Loca! Loca!” (lines 2024). In this light, Manda allowed for Catherine to use the

Spanish language and encouraged her to do so by sharing the correct use of the word “loca”²⁴. Much like the previously discussed teacher-to-student grammar corrections and student-to-student grammar corrections (in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5), Manda explicitly recasts Catherine’s use of Spanish in order to 1) bring attention to Catherine’s speech error, and 2) teach Catherine the appropriate way to say something for present and future use. This act demonstrates one way that students, like Manda, were actively sharing their native language with other students who did not come from the same linguistic backgrounds—even in restrictive language contexts.

Ignoring Manda’s explicit grammar correction, Catherine continued to approximate the Spanish language, singing, “Oco loco bem baca” (line 2026) and this time, Raquel ratified Catherine’s (incorrect) use of Spanish by laughing at her (line 2027) and encouraged her to continue to use the language. Thus, both Manda and Raquel’s responses to Catherine, signaled approval by both of the girls that it was fine for Catherine to use their language (Spanish) even if many of the words she used were poor approximations and nonsense words.

As this exchange continued, in lines (2029-2030), Catherine continued to perform into the recorder, but she also admitted, “I don’t know what this means, it’s in Spanish.” In line 2031, Raquel urged Catherine to stop performing for the recorder and Catherine responded to her request in Spanish with a word that she understood and used in the appropriate context, “¿Por qué?” (line 2032). Such a response (in addition to this larger instance) illustrates Catherine’s ability to engage in language crossing with her Spanish

²⁴ Catherine was mimicking Raquel talking about another girl, so “loca” would depict the appropriate feminine form.

speaking peers, as Catherine is a native speaker of Somali, living in a Latino community and attending school with a significant population of native Spanish speaking students. Catherine's act of language crossing also triggers additional ratification from Manda and Raquel, as Manda laughs (line 2033) at Catherine's use of "¿Por qué?" and Raquel provides a response to Catherine's question, "I don't like being recorded" (line 2034). From this example, we see that the girls continue to share their language with Catherine by ratifying her use of Spanish through (friendly) laughter and conversational engagement.

As this exchange came to an end, Catherine clarified (perhaps for the recorder or perhaps for her native Spanish-speaking classmates) that she was using Spanish and said the word, 'Why?' (line 2035) and again we see Manda providing Catherine with support and encouragement to continue to use her Spanish skills (lines 2036) by asking her to say '¿Por qué?'. For this group of multilingual and multinational students, language sharing was important and actively used (covertly) in the classroom. These girls participated in such acts in order to learn and to teach additional languages (that ironically were explicitly prohibited in the mainstream classroom) and to build relationships with students from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Another instance of language sharing occurred on March 29, 2012, when Ms. Rocio's 5th grade students were practicing math in the computer lab. Abilyn, a native Kirundi-speaking female, was sitting next to Janet, a native Spanish-speaking female. The girls were independently solving math fractions on the computer when Janet asked

Abilyn:

- 22 Janet: **Do you know what *mosca* is?**
- 23 Abilyn: Music?
- 24 Janet: Hmm?
- 25 Abilyn: Music
- 26 Janet: No.
- 27 Abilyn: What did you say?
- 28 Janet: Mosca
- 29 Abilyn: I don't know.
- 30 Janet: **It's a fly. Mosca is a fly. Siéntate is sit.**
- 31 **cállate is...**
- 32 Abilyn: [Everyone knows that.]
- 33 Janet: Quiet
- 34 Abilyn: *Be quiet.*

We can see through this exchange that Janet takes an active role in sharing her language (Spanish) with Abilyn (a native Kirundi-speaker) by teaching her vocabulary words and phrases in the Spanish language. She begins in line 22 by quizzing Abilyn, “Do you know what *mosca* is?” Abilyn entertains Janet’s impromptu language lesson by responding with “Music?” Though Abilyn’s attempt at guessing what the word means reflects her sophisticated understanding of language learning strategies, Janet assumed the role of the language expert in Spanish and clarified for Abilyn that her guess was incorrect. It should be further noted that Abilyn finally gave in with an “I don’t know” (line 29) and Janet continued to engage in sharing the Spanish language with Abilyn by

clarifying what the term *mosca* actually meant—“It’s a fly. Mosca is a fly” (line 30).

Though Abilyn’s response of “Music” is not correct, we can also see her sophisticated understanding of language learning as she drew from her knowledge of English to attempt to make sense of the word in Spanish. In this light, Abilyn is aware of the language learning strategy of using cognates. Wright (2010) defines cognates as “words that are similar in English and a student’s native language because they come from the same root” (p. 29). In this case, *mosca* and *music* are “false cognates” because the words appear to be similar, yet have very different meanings.

In this instance, language sharing occurred because 1) Janet was willing to share and to “teach” her language to Abilyn, and 2) Abilyn ratified Janet’s willingness to “teach” her the Spanish language. In this light, language sharing can be viewed as a reciprocal process between the native speaker of a language and the language learner. Language sharing also allowed for students to share their funds of knowledge (i.e., their native languages) with their classmates.

Language Crossing and Sharing: Teacher Practices

Though the focus of this chapter was on ways that students initiated and engaged with a contradictory set of practices—language policing, language crossing, and language sharing—on extremely rare instances, I also observed teachers engage in such practices. These findings, though extremely rare, also illustrate a set of teacher-initiated practices that contradicted the restrictive language education policy in place—language crossing and language sharing.

One instance of language crossing occurred in Mr. Peterson's classroom a few weeks before school ended (May 25, 2012). A group of multilingual and multinational students, Brisa, Miranda, and Abdi were congregated at a table in the back of the classroom discussing what items they would be adding to their Future Cities brochure. Mr. Peterson walked back to the group of students and jokingly said, "What are you having—a *fiesta* back here? Get back to your seats!" Giggling, the students quickly returned to their assigned seat. This example illustrates one example of language crossing (Rampton, 1995) as enacted by the classroom teacher in a restrictive language context. By giggling and quickly returning to their assigned seats, the students ratified Mr. Peterson's use of *fiesta* returned back to their assigned seats.

I also observed an example of language sharing occur in Mrs. Williams' classroom. During her twenty-two years of teaching and working with the multilingual and multinational students at NFES, Mrs. Williams had acquired certain words and phrases in less common languages, like Maay. On one afternoon in May (about three weeks before the end of the school year), the students were getting ready to play a vocabulary development game called *Blurt*. As the students returned to their seats, in passing, Raija said to me, "*Masabalaleka*." I asked him what language he was speaking and he replied, "My language" (Maay). Then I asked him what the word meant and he said he did not know, so he asked Mrs. Williams to translate the word for him. She replied, "It's like shalom. Peace. Blessing. It's like good morning. Bless the morning."

This example demonstrates one of the ways that particular teachers (i.e., Mrs. Williams) were naturally acquiring and using some of the languages of their students,

despite implementing and enforcing English-only classroom policies. This instance also reveals that at times, teachers did allow students to use their native language in the classroom—another contradiction between policy as practice.

Table 5. *Language Sharing*

<i>Rational</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Ratified Mock Spanish	Loca! Loca! – Manda
Language Lessons	It’s a fly. Mosca is a fly. Sientate is sit. Callate is... - Janet
Bridging Cultures	Masabalaleka – Raija

Despite the restrictive language policies in place, these are a few instances that I observed teachers also engage in language crossing (Rampton, 1995) and language sharing (Paris, 2011). Though such practices contradict teachers’ stated English-only classroom language policy, these teacher-initiated practices are beneficial to students as such practices can validate and show respect for the students’ bilingual and multilingual repertoires. Though the mainstream teachers at NFES were monolingual English speakers, some with limited proficiency in Spanish and others with very limited comprehension in other languages like Maay, these rare exchanges show the capacity and potential for teachers who work with multilingual and multinational students to acquire and share languages other than English in the classroom.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced and analyzed different sets of complimentary, yet contradictory student-initiated practices found in the mainstream classrooms at NFES. I have presented instances of students' policing others' language use and English grammar. I have reported on students' rationales for engaging in such practices as well as their reactions to the practices. One finding of this study was that restrictive language education policies in place seemed to influence students' beliefs about the value and prestige of English. Another finding was that some students (and teachers) continued to engage in language crossing and language sharing. In both cases, however, the student-initiated practices in combination with the local language policy created a hierarchy of languages that positioned English at the top, followed by Spanish, and then languages other than English and Spanish.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSIONS

In the state of Arizona, there has been concern over the fact that a significant number of ELLs continue to struggle in mainstream classrooms even though these students are labeled as “Fluent English Proficient” learners. This study emerged out of the need to better understand what the reclassification and monitoring processes looked like for such students and their mainstream classroom teachers. In recent years, there has been much scholarship on restrictive language education policy; however, very few studies consider the views and experiences of those that are most affected by such policies: the students and their teachers. It is my hope that this study will inform the larger conversations regarding ELL students, restrictive language education, reclassification and monitoring processes, and classroom pedagogy, and practice.

In order to capture the complicated and dynamic ways that the students and teachers engaged with restrictive language education policies and the “four-hour ELD block,” I draw from five months of data collection that included 1) direct observations, 2) participant observation, 3) individual and in-depth interviewing, 4) a focus group, 5) audio-recordings, and 6) document collection. This type of data collection allowed me to analyze policy as practice in the mainstream classrooms through the participant students’ and teachers’ talk and reaction to the restrictive language education policies and everyday classroom practices in place at NFES. I was also able to examine how despite the restrictive language policies in place, students (and their teachers) had a nuanced understanding of the value and utility of different languages used in different

contexts and actively sought to learn and share languages other than English. From this study came four sets of findings that I will review and synthesize below.

The first finding is that the teachers and students of this study believed the four-hour ELD block helped students acquire a basic level of English proficiency that ELLs would need for the mainstream classroom. For instance, Ms. Rocio believed that the four-hour ELD block offered the type of intensive English language instruction that helped ELLs acquire English, when she said, “They really are immersed in studying the English language and that’s what they need” (Interview, April 12, 2012). Similar to the teachers, the students also believed that the four-hour ELD block helped to improve their English language proficiency. For example, 6th grader, Juan, reported that he had learned “a lot of English” the previous school year when he was enrolled in the four-hour ELD block (Fieldnotes, June 1, 2012). In these ways, the teachers and students perceived the four-hour ELD block to help students to attain “proficiency” in English, as determined by the state mandated AZELLA test.

The second finding is that, even though the teachers and students seemed to share a view of English language learning as necessary and important, “proficiency” as measured by the standardized test currently used in Arizona (the AZELLA test), this test does not always indicate a good and solid understanding of the language. As my analysis of their academic and language learning experiences shows, students who scored well on the AZELLA test were not adequately prepared for the academic demands of the mainstream classrooms. As we saw in the case of Brisa, “I didn’t really get what we were doing in science and social studies. I didn’t really get what, what we were supposed

to write about” (Fieldnotes, May 25, 2012). In these ways, the reclassified ELL students had “proficiency” in English because of their experiences learning in the four-hour ELD block; yet, the type of English that students learned was not enough to meet the demands of a mainstream classroom.

The third finding is that the local language policy (English-only) appears to influence students’ beliefs of language and language use, creating a hierarchy of languages that position English at the top, followed by Spanish, and then by language other than English and Spanish (i.e., African languages such as Somali, Kirundi, and Maay). Particular non-Spanish speaking students, like fifth grader Malik, who told Mrs. Williams, “Like you don’t get upset when they talk in Spanish” (Audio recording, March 22, 2012) was aware of the hierarchies of language in the mainstream classroom and at the school. Particular students (i.e., Raija, Yoli, and Diamond) tried to undermine the value of particular languages by engaging in language policing, or providing directives about what (type of) language should be used in particular contexts, while some students (i.e., Raija, Malik, and Catherine) would try to learn additional languages (i.e., Spanish) in order to move up on the hierarchy.

The fourth finding is that in spite of the constraints of the restrictive language context, multilingual and multinational students such as those in this study have a sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the value and utility of different languages in different contexts. The multilingual students of this study brought different forms of linguistic capital to the (multilingual and multinational) mainstream classrooms. Though “standard” English was highly valued, especially in the classroom context, languages

other than English were also valued by the students (and their mainstream teachers) in their talk and in their everyday practices. Despite the restrictive language education policies in place, languages other than English (i.e., Spanish, the dominant language of the larger community) held a particular type of linguistic capital that could forge new relationships and provide access to other forms of social capital.

Contributions of the Study

This study makes several contributions to the research that examines restrictive language policy education in relation to ELL pedagogy and classroom practice. This study also has a number of implications for language policy development and pedagogy. Last but not least, the ways in which I negotiated access, built relationships, collected data and analyzed data have a number of useful methodological implications for those who wish to conduct research on the experiences of students and teachers in restrictive language policy contexts. Each of these issues is elaborated upon in the remainder of this chapter.

Policy Implications

The findings of this study reveal that teachers had contradictory beliefs about the value of the four-hour ELD block for promotion and for (English) language learning among their students. Because the teachers were aware of the need for students to learn English, as it was the language of classroom instruction and it was the language used on all of the state and district mandated assessments (assessments that had high stakes for schools, teachers, and students), they seemed to agree that a focus on language would be

good for students learning the English language. However, the teachers were also very aware of the value of knowing languages other than English, especially for the students they taught who came into the mainstream classrooms with a range of language resources that were needed for living in the local community. The teachers were also aware of the importance of being respectful of the different cultures that the students brought to the school and they did their best to include students' culture in the curriculum. Teachers often reconciled these two sets of contradictory beliefs by allowing their students to transmit cultural understandings and practices, but not language practices in the classroom. There were a number of reasons given for this choice. Recall the time when Mr. Kasey said very explicitly, "I have outlawed them to speak Spanish. And it's not to take away from their native tongue, but I tell the kids it's like, 'Bottom line guys, and I'm sorry, AIMS is in English and this is for my job'" (Interview, May 22, 2012) or when Mrs. Williams commented, "in that way I share culture, but not as far language. I try to keep it English-only in my classroom" (Focus Group, June 7, 2012).

Like other schools and teachers that (are forced to) subscribe to restrictive language education policies, the teachers and students in this school are influenced by ideologies of language that position English language learning and English language proficiency over bilingualism and multilingualism. This type of support sends to students, parents, and community members the message that "standard English" is valued and prestigious, while languages other than English are not as highly regarded. This is another serious consequence of restrictive language education policies that must be considered, as the underlying messages of such policies as well as the policies themselves

position the students, their language(s), and their culture in deficit-oriented ways (Ruiz, 1984).

Another finding of this study reveals that the current focus on English-language instruction in the four-hour ELD block does not prepare ELL students for the language of content require in the mainstream classrooms. This is an unintended, but important consequence of the policy that must be re-examined. Although students were learning the English language, but they ended up lacking the academic language and vocabulary required for content-based learning and this made the transition to the mainstream classroom unnecessarily difficult. This is one of the main reasons that reclassified ELLs were at an academic disadvantage at the onset of the monitoring process; because students had not been exposed to content (i.e., science, social studies, etc.) or the language associated with content while learning in the four-hour ELD block, they could not always keep up once placed in the mainstream classroom. As Mr. Peterson commented, “Just because they’re labeled proficient, they are still having trouble with the language” (April 11, 2012). Similarly, Brisa the 6th grader noted, “I didn’t really know what we were doing in science and social studies” (Fieldnotes, May 25, 2012).

This issue can be even more challenging and consequential the longer that ELLs stay in the four-hour ELD program. Though Arizona’s restrictive language education policy suggests that ELLs will participate in the four-hour ELD block for a time “not normally intended to exceed one year” (A.R.S.15-756.01(F), 2006), the reality is that many ELL students remain in the four-hour ELD block for more than one year, thus severely restricting their access to content-based learning and the language associated

with it for multiple years.

Policy Recommendations

1. The four-hour ELD block should include forms of sheltered subject-matter instruction that focus on content and language objectives.

Based on the findings of this study, policy makers must re-examine the quality of education that ELL students are receiving in the four-hour ELD block. Though the participant teachers and students claimed that the pedagogies and practices surrounding this model of instruction helped students to acquire “proficiency” in the English language, the type of English the students were learning in the four-hour ELD block did not match the academic language and vocabulary used for content-based instruction in the mainstream classrooms at NFES. Long and Adamson (2012) note:

One of the major problems with Arizona’s SEI approach is that by employing a traditional grammatical syllabus and focusing on language as object (grammar, vocabulary items, etc.), that is focus on form, it impedes children’s access to the type of classroom linguistic environment they need. (p. 43)

The current focus on English language development does not contribute to students’ academic language development needed for content-based instruction. Changing the focus of the program to sheltered-subject matter instruction can provide students with simultaneous content and language development needed for academic success in the mainstream classrooms where “language is both a topic of teaching and a tool through which teachers and students learn” (Martin-Beltrán & Hickey, 2012, p. 2). Furthermore, utilizing a sheltered subject-matter method of instruction (Crawford & Krashen, 2007),

teachers can foster rich learning environments that focus on comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985), differentiated instruction (Wright, 2010), cooperative and collaborative learning opportunities (Wright, 2010), and engagement in meaningful and authentic conversation in English (Krashen & Terrell, 1983). Research in the field of SLA has widely reported that such practices are beneficial for the academic and linguistic development of (reclassified) ELLs.

Another very important component of sheltered subject-matter instruction is the ability for teachers and students to assess and reflect on students' learning of grade level content-based instruction in and through the English language—rather than solely focus on the assessment of students' English language development apart from meaningful context (content-based instruction). Currently, ELL students are one of the most heavily assessed groups of learners (Koretz, 2008)—and most often schools and teachers use standardized tests to assess students' language proficiency and content-area knowledge. In the state of Arizona, all ELLs and ELL-turned FEP learners must take the AZELLA test (the State's mandated language proficiency assessment) in addition to the AIMS test (the State's mandated content assessment) annually. A focus on sheltered subject-matter instruction could increase such standardized test scores because students would be developing content area knowledge and (English) language simultaneously. However, I would also recommend a stronger push for authentic assessments (O'Malley & Valdez Pierce, 1996) such as performance based assessments and portfolios as these types of assessment can effectively demonstrate ELL students' understanding of content-based learning while also engaging ELLs with the four domains of language (i.e., listening,

speaking, reading, and writing). Thus, authentic assessments can illustrate student progress over time, in ways that are reliable, valid, and appropriate whereas results from standardized tests (i.e., the AZELLA and AIMS) only provide a snapshot of students' abilities to perform a particular task. Such tests can be useful for educators, as they can reveal students' abilities compared to others or they can showcase annual progress or regression; however standardized tests are not able to accurately demonstrate students' comprehension and learning in the nuanced ways that authentic assessment can.

Sheltered subject-matter instruction should be incorporated into the four-hour ELD block so that ELL students have access to grade level content-based instruction in addition to English language instruction. This method of teaching can work to benefit the academic and linguistic development of ELLs by providing rich opportunities for students to engage with grade level content and the academic language associated with it, thus, facilitating a more effective and efficient transition for ELLs to the mainstream classroom during the reclassification period. Sheltered subject-matter instruction can also have positive effects for ELLs who must take standardized tests that focus on language proficiency and content-based knowledge.

2. Local education agencies (LEAs) should be allowed to determine the best approaches to meet their students' needs.

All public and charter schools with ELLs are expected to enforce English-only policies or risk personal liability, legal action, termination of immediate contract, and prohibition from employment through the Arizona school system for five years (A.R.S.

15-754). However, school districts have the option to design and propose alternative SEI models of instruction. All alternative models must comply with compulsory federal and state guidelines, including the following key features: 1) Four hours of ELD, 2) Not mixing ELL and non-ELL students, 3) Students are grouped by proficiency, 4) Teachers are highly qualified and properly endorsed, 5) Methods of instruction are research based, 6) Proficiency goal of one year expected outcomes, and 7) Programs are cost effective (HB 2064 Key Components Review and Update, 2008). To date, only two such alternative models have been approved by the state of Arizona.

To accommodate the LEAs, some of the key features listed in the alternative models should be more flexible. For instance, the participant teachers of this study (as well as the principal) suggested that the four-hour ELD block should be reduced to a two-hour ELD block²⁵ for their *intermediate* ELL students. The participant teachers argued that because the intermediate students had a firm command of the language, these students would benefit more by being placed in a mainstream classroom where such students would have access to 1) content-based learning; 2) the language and vocabulary associated with the content-based curriculum; and 3) more opportunities to engage in authentic conversation with other fluent English proficient learners.

Though there is a loophole in the policy that would allow for teachers to write Individual Language Learner Plans²⁶ (ILLPs) for students attending schools with “20 or

²⁵ During the 2011-2012 school year the talk at the state level had been reducing the four-hour ELD block to a two-hour ELD block; however, this idea did not pass and to the present the four-hour ELD block is required.

²⁶ An ILLP is an Individualized Language Learner Plan for ELL students. Like an Individualized Education Program (IEP) for students with special needs, various

fewer English language learner students within a three-grade span” (ILLP Document), at this particular site the case load of intermediate ELL students that the participant teachers and the principal believed could benefit from “early mainstreaming” could not be supported by the current staff, as the paper work was too great and the time the faculty and administration had to oversee the bureaucratic processes was too little. Thus, it should be left up to the individual school sites to determine the best educational options for their (reclassified) ELL students. It should also be noted that research would benefit from the systemic examination of alternative SEI models that have been proposed and implemented by public and charter schools. Therefore, the implications of such research could be used to strengthen the existing policies in place.

3. Four-hour ELD block teachers must have and ESL or bilingual certification in addition to an SEI endorsement.

Many schools that serve ELLs often employ teachers with limited qualifications for teaching students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, such as ELLs. This is problematic for the education of ELLs because such teachers often lack appropriate classroom behavior management, knowledge of teaching content and language based lessons, lesson modifications, and assessment techniques, all which have serious implications for ELL students’ academic achievement. The findings of this study indicate that NFES was no exception, as the teachers told me that the school had a history of placing first year teachers in the four-hour ELD block. The participant teachers also explained the difficulties of working within the constraints of

stakeholders must be included in the ILLP process: the parent/guardian, English/language arts teacher, mainstream teacher(s), ELL coordinator and the site administrator. (ILLP Document)

the ELD context in combination with the lack of experience working with ELLs. During a focus group toward the end of the school year, Mr. Kasey said that only experienced teachers should be placed in ELD classrooms in order to be fair to the students and the teachers. He also explained many of the challenges that teachers in the four-hour ELD block face:

Even one year would help, especially at this school. You can [then] understand the population of the school and understand, “Ok, I’m taking on an ELD class.” I know what it’s like and you have no idea what that’s like your first year here. You’re just thrown in and you think you know [what to do]. You’re getting this class and you know, they’re all below that grade level for the most part because their English is not there... You’re taught to teach a lesson plan at a 6th grade level or a 5th grade level, but the kids aren’t, well a good chunk of them aren’t capable to read at that level or comprehend because of the language barrier. (Focus Group, June 7, 2012)

Because the four-hour ELD block requires knowledge beyond that provided through the 90 hours of instruction provided in the full SEI endorsement, all teachers working in such contexts should hold additional certifications (i.e., a bilingual or ESL certification) so that they are “highly qualified” to work with ELLs. The bilingual and ESL certificates require more course work than the SEI endorsements. Moreover, these certificates focus on specific needs that culturally and linguistically diverse learners have in the classroom. By placing experienced and highly qualified teachers in the four-hour ELD block, rather than inexperienced teachers, ELL students will have better opportunities at being successful in schools. Policy makers and school administrators should work hard to ensure the most experiences and highly qualified teachers are working with ELL students, who often need additional support in the classroom.

Pedagogical Implications

Teachers in this study seemed to believe that the four-hour ELD block benefitted their ELL students in some ways, but they also recognized that this method of instruction also put their students at an academic disadvantage since reclassified ELL students came to the mainstream classroom lacking content-based knowledge and the language and vocabulary associated with it. As suggested in the section on policy recommendations, the findings of this study demonstrate that the four-hour ELD block should integrate content-based learning with language learning so that reclassified ELL students are not at a disadvantage going into the mainstream classrooms. Moreover, mainstream classroom teachers need ongoing training and support to help them work with reclassified ELL students in their mainstream classrooms. A “just good teaching” (de Jong & Harper, 2005) approach that focuses on teaching and learning strategies is simply not enough in this endeavor. All teachers (and especially teachers who work with multinational/multilingual students) need training and knowledge of culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2010) as well as linguistically responsive pedagogy (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). This knowledge can allow for teachers to instruct in ways that validate students’ culture and home languages in schools—which are often places used to assimilate culturally and linguistically diverse learners. With a focus on content-based instruction in the mainstreams classrooms, mainstream teachers often do not view themselves as language teachers too. Thus, there is a great need for such teachers to have a sophisticated understanding of the second language acquisition processes so that they can meet their students’ academic *and* linguistic needs.

In spite of the restrictive language education policy constraints of this study's context, multilingual students had a sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the value and utility of different languages in different contexts. Schools might make better use of their existing linguistic repertoires. Teachers must also recognize and validate the different types of knowledge and skills that students coming from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds bring to the classroom. Moll et al. (1992) suggest a *funds of knowledge* framework for teaching so that teachers can become researchers and learners of the communities of the students that they serve. Teachers that use a funds of knowledge approach in their classroom are often able to help connect the curriculum to the students lived experiences, but by consciously providing opportunities for students to *share* (Paris, 2011) their funds of knowledge, students can be afforded a curriculum that *validates* their knowledge in the classroom. The findings from this study can also provide important insights for how to help build, develop, and maintain mutual knowledge, respect, and community in the classroom.

This section is not to critique the teaching methods and pedagogical practices of the participant teachers of this study, as all of the participant teachers of this study cared about their students and did their best to provide an innovative and high-quality education for all of their learners. Rather, my intentions are to illustrate the everyday issues and tensions created by restrictive language education, as the consequences of this approach to (English) language education are far too great to ignore. The findings of this study demonstrate that the current focus on English-language instruction in the ELD block does not prepare ELL students for the language of content required in the mainstream

classrooms; thus, it is important for policy makers and officials from Arizona's Department of Education to re-examine the language focus of this type of instruction. Moreover, it is also important to understand how (mainstream) teachers are making sense of such policies and how such policies are realized through classroom practices (i.e., English-only in the classrooms). For example, rather than Mr. Kasey "outlawing" languages other than English in his classroom, teachers, administrators, and policy makers ought to have a better understanding of the merits of bilingualism and how students' home languages can help students develop proficiency in English and engage in content-based learning. As the findings of this study demonstrate, interactions between students and teachers and between different students are constrained by the current restrictive language policies (i.e., English-only) and practices (i.e., language policing), which devalue languages other than English and create linguistic (and ethnic) hierarchies. Moving from "outlawing", restricting, and ignoring students' native languages to an approach that allows for, includes, and creates space can help to validate the knowledge and skill sets that students bring to the classroom.

Collectively, these findings reveal some of the important consequences of this approach for students' academic trajectories, which can be serious (i.e., increased drop-out rates) if more work is not done to improve the methods of instruction in the four-hour ELD block and to provide continuous teacher professional development that focuses on the academic and linguistic development of reclassified ELLs in mainstream classrooms.

Methodological Implications

Very few studies have closely examined the actual processes by which English language learners are reclassified as ELL-turned-FEP, and few studies consider the views and perspectives of those that are most affected: the English language learners and the teachers that work with them. In order to understand the experiences and perspectives of both reclassified ELLs and mainstream classroom teachers, I engaged in very unique ways with both sets of participants during the data collection process—especially during observation, participant observation, and interviewing.

Drawing from Paris' (2011) notion of humanizing research, “which requires that our inquiries involve dialogic consciousness-raising and the building of relationships of dignity and care for both researchers and participants”, throughout this study, I did my best to engage with both the students and the teachers in a manner that was respectful, caring, authentic, and honest in order to cultivate and maintain positive relationships with the participants of this study (p. 9).

For instance, when conducting participant observation and (informal) interviews with the students, I viewed these events as “dialogic processes” or opportunities for me to engage *with* the students (Paris, 2001, p. 8). Rather than view our time together as an opportunity for me to simply take information through a rigid and inauthentic question and answer session, I actively participated in genuine conversations—sometimes conversations that had little to do with school or this study (i.e., Malik wanting to know who my favorite basketball team was or Catherine wanting to know more about my

children), but I always participated in the conversation authentically and honestly. I believe this process of dialogic engagement made students feel respected and cared for by me (the researcher/volunteer/friend). As result, students felt comfortable speaking with me and sharing their personal and schooling experiences.

Similar to the students, I also engaged with the teachers in the same ways that I have outlined above. I was fully aware that initially some of the teachers (i.e., Mrs. Williams) were perhaps initially skeptical of my intentions for “observing” their classrooms²⁷ at the onset of my research at NFES. I would sometimes observe particular teachers (e.g., Mrs. Williams) peek at my fieldnotes or ask if my recorder was turned on (e.g., Mr. Peterson) when we were engaged in a conversation. These types of interactions were difficult for me, as I did not want the teachers to ever feel uncomfortable with my presence in *their* classrooms. To alleviate such tensions, I would offer the teachers (and the students) to look at my fieldnotes when I noticed a sudden curiosity in what I was jotting down. I also tried to make sure the recorder was visible so that teachers (and students) would know that I was recording our exchanges. I believe these small gestures helped to establish a sense of trust and open and honest communication between the teachers and myself. These small gestures also helped to legitimize me as not only a researcher, but also as a professional colleague and friend.

Throughout this study, I always tried to treat and engage with the students and teachers in the same ways that I would have appreciated being treated as if I had agreed to participate in a long-term project such as this. Such ways reflected taking a more

²⁷ This sense of skepticism is my own interpretation of these interactions, as Mrs. Williams never made any comments questioning my intentions.

“humanizing stance” toward research (Paris, 2011). By taking on this type of research approach, I was able to better understand the insider perspective across multiple viewpoints (i.e., students from multinational/multilingual backgrounds, teachers and students, policy and practice) and openly and honestly share my opinions, observations, and genuine questions with the students and teachers. In all, I believe that I applied a humanizing stance to this study quite well, though there is always more work to do—especially in the long term *with* these students and teachers as my participants, colleagues, and friends.

Future Directions in Research

This study also highlights that there are significant areas that warrant further scholarship. Such areas include pre-service teacher preparation, *continuous* faculty and staff professional development, alternative models of SEI instruction, and the reclassification and monitoring of recently reclassified ELL students.

Pre-service Teacher Preparation

In the state of Arizona, all pre-service teachers must complete at least 45 clock hours (a three credit course) to receive a provisional SEI endorsement. This endorsement is non-renewable and will last for three years. Some programs require pre-service teachers to complete the 90 clock hours (two 3 credit courses) needed to receive a full SEI endorsement prior to the completion of the program. Presently, many first year teachers take teaching positions in schools with large numbers of (reclassified) ELL students. These teachers need pre-service training and support that can help them better

understand how to work with (reclassified) ELL. According to Martin-Beltrán and Hickey (2012), effective teachers of ELLs should have (a) a breadth of knowledge about linguistically diverse students in a sociocultural context; (b) an understanding of social and cognitive aspects of language learning; and (c) an understanding of pedagogical practices grounded in second-language learning theories. I argue that pre-service teachers should also have experiential learning opportunities and long-term engagements in settings with significant populations of ELLs to better their understanding of the interface between language policy (i.e., Arizona's English-only language policy), practice, and ELL student achievement. More scholarship that addresses the impact of pre-service teaching training is needed. Specifically, how does the current pre-service teaching training prepare future teachers to work with ELLs? Are first year teachers who receive SEI training during pre-service training prepared to work with ELLs and recently reclassified learners? Based on findings from research in this area, Arizona's Department of Education, LEA's, and local universities should strive to strengthen such programs.

Continuous Faculty and Staff Professional Development

All certified teachers in Arizona must earn an SEI endorsement. However, some scholarship has questioned whether this endorsement is enough to effectively work with ELLs and recently reclassified learners (de Jong et al., 2010; de Jong & Harper, 2005). I suggest that in addition to the required 90 hours of coursework related to SEI, faculty and staff should complete continuous professional development that addresses the academic needs of the ELLs and recently reclassified learners. All professional development should be research based, student centered, and address the immediate academic needs of

the students in the *local* schooling context. By providing this type of consistent training, faculty and staff will be more familiar with ELLs and their educational needs. Examples of continuous faculty and staff professional development could include some of the following: Culturally Responsive Teaching (with a focus on specific populations of students at the local school site), Sheltered Subject-Matter Instruction, Second Language Acquisition, Literacy and Biliteracy Development, and Supporting Bilingual Student in Restrictive Language Contexts, to name a few. This type of professional development should span the school year and integrate theory, policy, and practice. It is extremely important that these opportunities highlight effective practices that teachers enact in their classrooms and identify areas that need to be addressed and improved upon. During this time, teachers and administration should collaborate with each other to strengthen their learning and create policies and practices that are effective and appropriate for their (reclassified) ELL students. With regard to future research directions, it would also be valuable to examine how continuous teacher training and staff development impacts the educational outcomes of ELL students.

Mainstreaming

There has been some concern over that fact that a significant number of ELLs that continue to struggle in mainstream classrooms even though these students are labeled as FEP. We need more research that explores what the mainstreaming processes look like for reclassified ELLs in a variety of ideological and institutional contexts. Key questions might include the following: 1) How do these students position themselves in a newly mainstreamed setting? 2) How are the students positioned by the teacher and by the

curriculum? and 3) What are the obstacles and challenges recently reclassified and mainstreamed students face?

Aside from these specific areas, I also argue that more qualitative and longitudinal research from the ELL student's perspective is needed. Longitudinal research would provide information about mainstreaming processes while highlighting how effective instructional practices might be used to promote supportive language learning and academic achievement among reclassified ELLs in mainstream contexts. Indeed, in recent years there has been much scholarship on restrictive language policies; however, none of the cited studies consider the views and perspectives of those that are most affected: the English language learners themselves. In order to better understand how English-only instruction impacts the social, emotional, and linguistic development of ELLs, we must pursue research that focuses on the students' perspectives and experiences with such methods and models of instruction.

Conclusion

The scope of this study was to explore local manifestations of Arizona's English-only language education policy by investigating the experiences of selected teachers and ELL students with reclassification into mainstream classrooms. I have provided examples and an analysis of teachers' and students' talk about reclassification policies and practices (i.e., AZELLA testing, mainstream placement, and monitoring) as well as student-initiated practices that respond to teachers' policies and classroom pedagogy. It is important to understand how restrictive language education policies are operationalized

in classroom practices—especially from the teachers’ and students’ perspectives. Because these are the individuals who are affected most by policy, it is important that their experiences and perspectives are taken into consideration—specifically when creating, implementing, and evaluating policies that affect our children and our schools.

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APPENDIX A
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL FORM

APPENDIX B
INFORMATION LETTER

Title of Research Study:

Policy as Practice: The Experiences and Views of Learners and Teachers in Restrictive Language Contexts

Date: February 22, 2012

Dear Teacher:

I am a graduate student at Arizona State University working toward my PhD in Applied Linguistics under the supervision of Dr. Doris Warriner. I will be conducting a research study for my dissertation that investigates the experiences of reclassified Fluent English Proficient learners and their teachers during the reclassification and monitoring period. Findings from this study will inform educational research as well as studies of language and literacy learning, teacher preparation, and language policy.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve regular observations of your classroom over the course of 4 months, informal conversations about FEP learners' classroom participation and academic progress, and 3 or 4 recorded interviews. I am interested in hearing your perspective on restrictive language policies and the reclassification process and monitoring period for FEP learners. I am also interested in discussing with you my observations and findings. I would like to audiotape the interviews, but the interviews will not be recorded without your permission. Please let me know if you do not want a conversation/interview to be taped; you also can change your mind after the interview starts, just let me know. You have the right not to answer any question, and to stop the interview at any time. Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty or adverse consequences.

Because I believe this study will provide insights that may benefit other teachers with classrooms that have reclassified Fluent English Proficient learners, I hope to disseminate my findings through conference presentations and publications. However, even though the results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications, your real name will not be known/used. To ensure anonymity, I will use pseudonyms when referring to the district, the school, the students, or you (the teacher). Digital recordings will be kept on a password-protected computer following data collection and analysis.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact either Daisy Fredricks at 602-550-2069 or Doris Warriner at 480-459-7226. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788. Please let me know if you wish to be part of the study.

APPENDIX C
RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

Policy as Practice: The Experiences and Views of Learners and Teachers in Restrictive Language Contexts

I am a graduate student working toward my PhD in Applied Linguistics at Arizona State University. Under the supervision of my advisor, Dr. Doris Warriner, I am conducting a research study to investigate the experiences of reclassified Fluent English Proficient learners and their teachers. Findings from this study will inform educational research as well as studies of language and literacy learning, teacher preparation, and language policy.

I am recruiting recently reclassified Fluent English Proficient students from the 5th and 6th grade mainstream classrooms at the New Frontiers Elementary School (in Southwest Elementary School District) to participate in this study. Because they are under the age of 18, I am seeking their parents' permission to allow first-hand observations and digital recordings of classroom interactions and informal interviews over the course of 4 months. I am also recruiting the 5th and 6th grade mainstream teachers that teach these classrooms. Classroom interactions will be recorded to insure accuracy in representation and analysis of findings. Identifying information (of the students, teachers, school, and district) will be replaced with pseudonyms in all presentations and publications coming out of this study. Digital recordings will be kept on a password-protected computer following data collection and analysis.

Your consent is completely voluntary. If you decide not to participate, there will be no adverse consequences. If you have any questions about the purposes or goals of this research study, please call me at (602) 550- 2069.

APPENDIX D
STUDENT RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

Policy as Practice: The Experiences and Views of Learners and Teachers in Restrictive Language Contexts

Good morning! My name is Daisy Fredricks and I am a student at Arizona State University. This year, I will be conducting a research study that I would like you to help me with. I want to investigate the experiences of students in school. I plan to share the information I learn from this study with other teachers like Mrs. Williams, other people who want to help kids who are learning languages like English, and people who want to help kids learn to read and write.

I am asking for help from all of the students in Mrs. Williams' 5th grade class at the New Frontiers Elementary School. I would like to record your conversations for a few times a week until school ends. I have to record what you say so I can make sure that I don't forget what I hear and I want to make sure I correctly understand what you are saying. I will also collect examples of your classwork and look at your test scores and report card grades. When I share what I learn from this study with other people, I will never use your real name. Instead, I will give you a pretend name. If you would like to help us with our research study, your parents will have to fill out a permission form that says you can participate. If you don't want to participate that is ok. You will not be in trouble and you will not earn a bad grade in Mrs. Williams' class.

However, if you would like to help me with my research, you will have to take the permission form home and ask your parents to fill out the form completely. When you return your form, you will receive a special goodie bag like this (show example). Are there any questions?

APPENDIX E
PRINCIPAL CONSENT FORM

February 1, 2012

Arizona State University
Office of Research Integrity and Assurance
Institutional Review Board
CenterPoint, 660 S. Mill Avenue, Suite 315
Tempe, AZ 85287-6111

To Whom It May Concern:

With this letter, I give permission for Daisy Fredricks, from Arizona State University, to conduct a research study with the students in the 5th and 6th grade classrooms at New Frontiers Elementary School. I understand Daisy is completing her dissertation research and Dr. Doris Warriner, her advisor, will be available to guide her as needed through data collection.

I have been informed of the goals and objectives of Daisy's study. I also understand that I have certain rights, and I am able to withdraw from the study if I choose to do so. I also understand that findings from this study may be presented at conference presentations and published in academic journals, but all identifying characteristics of the participants (students, teachers, and the principal) and the research location (the school and the school district) will be replaced by pseudonyms in order to maintain confidentiality.

I understand that Daisy will observe and interact with students in the 5th and 6th grade classroom a few times a week for the remainder of the school year. I also understand that some of these interactions will be audio-recorded in order to capture naturally occurring interaction and to have a record of that interaction for analysis.

Please feel free to contact me at jsawyer@nfes.k12.az.us if you have any questions or need additional information.

Sincerely,

J. Sawyer
Principal
New Frontiers Elementary School
Southwest Elementary School District

APPENDIX F
TEACHER CONSENT FORM

February 1, 2012

Arizona State University
Office of Research Integrity and Assurance
Institutional Review Board
CenterPoint, 660 S. Mill Avenue, Suite 315
Tempe, AZ 85287-6111

To Whom It May Concern:

With this letter, I give permission for Daisy Fredricks, from Arizona State University, to conduct a research study with the students in my mainstream 5th grade classroom. I understand Daisy is completing her dissertation research and Dr. Doris Warriner, her advisor, will be available to guide her as needed through data collection.

I have been informed of the goals and objectives of Daisy's study. I also understand that I have certain rights, and I am able to withdraw from the study if I choose to do so. I also understand that findings from this study may be presented at conference presentations and published in academic journals, but all identifying characteristics of the participants (students, teachers, and the principal) and the research location (the school and the school district) will be replaced by pseudonyms in order to maintain confidentiality.

I understand that Daisy will observe and interact with students in my classroom a few times a week for the remainder of the school year. I also understand that some of these interactions will be recorded in order to capture naturally occurring interaction and to have a record of that interaction for analysis.

Please feel free to contact me at twilliams@nfes.k12.az.us if you have any questions or need additional information.

Sincerely,

T. Williams
5th Grade Teacher
New Frontiers Elementary School
Southwest Elementary School District

APPENDIX G
PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

Policy as Practice: The Experiences and Views of Learners and Teachers in Restrictive Language Contexts

Dear Parents:

I am a graduate student working toward a PhD in Applied Linguistics at Arizona State University. Under the supervision of my advisor, Dr. Doris Warriner, I am conducting a research study to find out more about the experiences of reclassified Fluent English Proficient learners in mainstream classrooms. I am inviting your child's participation in this study. I would like to observe and record conversations that occur in the teacher's classroom from now until the end of the school year. I will also be interviewing students about their schooling experiences, collecting samples of their writing and classwork, and reviewing your child's report card grades and AZELLA test scores.

Your child's participation in this study is optional and voluntary. If you choose not to have your child participate or to withdraw your child from the study at any time, there will be no penalty (e.g., it will not affect your child's grade in any way). Likewise, if your child chooses not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty.

Although there may be no direct benefit to your child, the possible benefit of your child's participation is an increased understanding of what happens in classrooms that have English language learners that are reclassified as Fluent English Proficient. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your child's participation. If the results of the research study are published in reports, presentations, or publications, your child's real name will not be used.

If you decide to allow your child to participate in this study, please check the YES box and sign the form. Your child will receive a small thank you gift (a bag of school supplies) in exchange for a returned form. If you have any questions about this research study or your child's participation in this study, please call Daisy Fredricks at (602) 550-2069 or Doris Warriner at (480) 459-7226.

Sincerely,

Daisy E. Fredricks

Arizona State University

Doris Warriner

Arizona State University

_____ YES, I give consent for my child _____ (Child's name) to participate in the study described above.

Signature

Printed Name

Date

APPENDIX H
STUDENT ASSENT FORM

Policy as Practice: The Experiences and Views of Learners and Teachers in Restrictive Language Contexts

I have been told that my parents (mom or dad) have given permission (said it's okay) for me to take part in a project about the experiences of students and teachers in the classroom.

I will be asked to allow the researcher to record conversations that I have with my classmates while in school. I also understand the researcher will interview me about my schooling experiences, collect samples of my classwork and writing, and look at my report card grades and test scores. The study will take place during the last four months of this school year.

I am taking part because I want to. I know that I can stop at any time if I want to and it will be okay if I want to stop.

Sign Your Name Here

Print Your Name Here

Date

APPENDIX I
OBSERVATIONAL PROTOCOL

Restrictive Language Policies, Reclassified ELLs, and Teaching

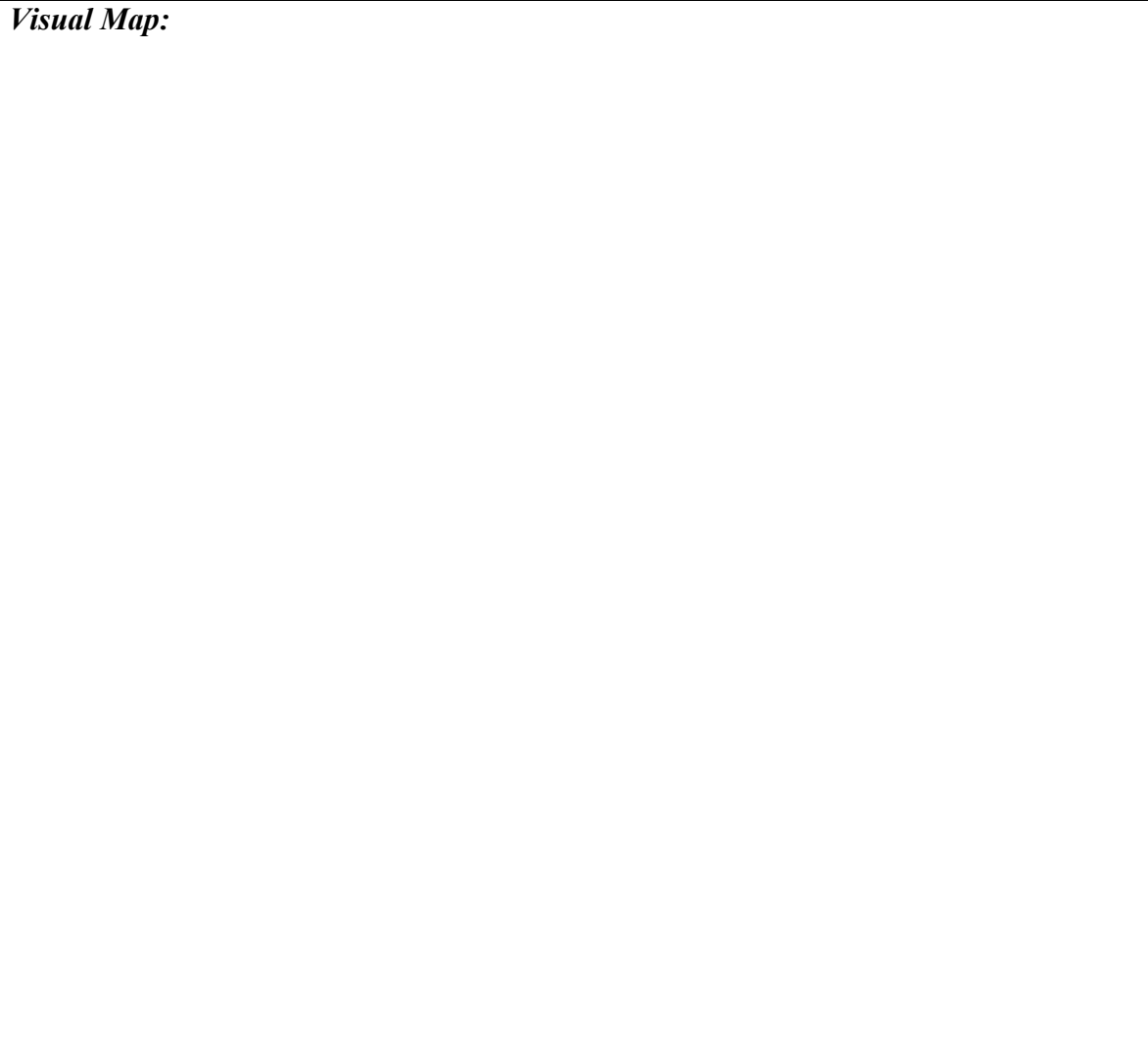
Observer: Fredricks **Location/Scene:** _____

Date: _____ **Time:** _____ **Participants:** _____

Activity: _____ **Language(s):** _____

**Other Contextual
Notes:** _____

Visual Map:



APPENDIX J
RUNNING RECORD

APPENDIX K
TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

@	Laughter
-	Self-interruption
...	Omission of text
(text)	Analyst's guess at speech that's hard to decipher
((text))	Stage directions
((smiling))	Non-linguistic actions
{	Translated texts
[Overlap between utterances
[Clarifying text
[4]	Number in brackets indicates silence in whole seconds
<i>word</i>	Emphasis made by the speaker
word	Boldface indicates forms relevant to the point being made in the text