

Reconstructing the Status Quo: Linguistic Interaction in a Dual-Language School

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Abstract

This paper investigates how bilingualism is understood and practiced by adults and students in a dual-language elementary school. In this dual-language program, native English speakers and native Spanish speakers receive language and content instruction in both languages in linguistically integrated settings. I examine the participants' use of "tactics of intersubjectivity" to understand how children use their two languages to ally themselves with and distance themselves from particular people, groups, and linguistic varieties. I ultimately argue that, while the program model is fundamentally based on the idea of the separation of languages and "parallel monolingualism", it does offer students opportunities to explore linguistic forms and their attendant social meanings.

"Si se aprovechan de nosotros en inglés, van a aprovechar de nosotros también en español." (If they take advantage of us in English, they will take advantage of us in Spanish as well.) For Maria . . . the Spanish language is a resource that has served . . . as a shared treasure, as a significant part of a threatened heritage, and as a secret language. Many times, Spanish has also served to bring the community together, to delineate borders . . . she worries about giving it away casually to the children of the powerful. (Valdés, 1997, p. 393)

This paper examines the ways in which students and adults in one dual-language fifth grade discursively construct bilingual ideologies and practices through everyday interactions in the school. I seek to connect participants' bilingual practices to their developing understandings of themselves and their peers as both members and creators of a democratic, yet often unjust society. Dual-language (DL) programs challenge the prevailing paradigm of "language-as-problem" (Ruiz, 1984, p. 15) by conceptualizing native languages

and cultures as resources and by creating enriching, high-quality academic programs for children from English, Spanish, and bilingual backgrounds.¹ The DL program where I conducted my research provides an ideal setting for the study of the nexus between multilingualism and social justice because the goals of this school are to foster bilingual and biliterate students who honor cultural diversity and cultivate cross-cultural friendships.

Educational researchers from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds have demonstrated in multiple ways that Latino, Chicano, and Mexican-origin children often do not feel valued at school and thus find it difficult to remain invested in their own education (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Doucet, 2004; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999; Villenas & Foley, 2002). Traditional schooling emphasizes assimilation, monolingualism, and homogeneity. In such an environment, the languages, cultures, and histories of Latina/o students are consistently marginalized, ignored, or constructed from an Anglocentric point of view. Many studies have revealed that students' identities are negated, crippled, or constricted in "mainstream" and English as a Second Language settings (Davidson, 1996; McKay & Wong, 1996; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2004; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). DL programs provide students with spaces within which to explore the power and efficacy of their multiple languages and dialects, as well as test the sociopolitical boundaries associated with particular linguistic forms. As such, it is important to examine the opportunities that DL programs may offer students to re-structure, or at the very least, to question inequitable social relations. The research questions explored in this paper follow from these concerns:

1. What are the relationships between beliefs and attitudes about bilingualism and bilingual practices?
2. In what ways do these beliefs and practices work to either challenge or reproduce inequitable social relations?

The organization of the paper will be as follows: I begin with a brief description of the features and principles of DL programs. I then describe the setting for my study, the DL program at Escuela Bilingüe Pine Mountain.² Next, I explain my theoretical framework, which is based on Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall's (2005) conceptualization of the "tactics of intersubjectivity" (p. 599). Then, I delineate my research methods, and finally, I present some of my data and I analyze participants' discursive productions.

My analysis focuses on the connections between participants' use of linguistic forms and their beliefs about bilingualism and biculturalism. I argue that the school's prevailing ideology of equality, in some ways, conceives of English language learning and Spanish language learning as essentially the same. In other words, "We're all second language learners here."

While equality is an admirable philosophy, the uncritical assertion that everyone has equal access to power may unintentionally function to gloss

over the reproduction of inequity. I discuss the ways in which the dualistic design of DL programs in general authorizes the use of “standard” forms of English and Spanish in separate spaces, and illegitimizes the use of vernaculars, especially in regards to the minority language, Spanish (McCollum, 2000).

I conclude that Pine Mountain does create spaces within which students are encouraged to use language and identity creatively to question the status quo, and I argue that these fissures need to become explicit topics of discussion and reflection. The bilingual and bicultural identities that the school in many ways promotes, and which many of the children are developing, do not fit neatly into a dichotomous view of bilingualism that calls for the strict separation of languages. Consequently, the bilingual educators I worked with at this school are beginning to come up with ways to strategically and effectively capitalize upon hybrid uses of language and identity.

Brief History of the Promise of Dual-Language Programs

Many advocates of bilingual education including educators, parents, and researchers, look to DL programs to provide solutions for the many challenges that bilingual education has faced. Bilingual education was originally established as a compensatory program for economically disadvantaged children who were not literate in English (Crawford, 1991; Hakuta, 1986). Although the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 brought more attention and funding to bilingual education programs, it also had the unfortunate side effect of linking bilingualism to poverty and remediation (Crawford, 1991). Within the United States, bilingualism has been historically constructed as a handicap, and scholarship during the early and mid 1900s focused on proving or disproving that supposition (Hakuta, 1986). Researchers during this period believed that immigrant bilinguals were inherently intellectually inferior and used their research to argue for the use of intelligence tests to screen immigrants and institute tighter restrictions on immigration. This research advanced a deficit view of linguistic and cultural difference that persists to this day and influences the curricula, pedagogy, and underlying ideology of many bilingual programs (Hakuta, 1986; Valencia, 2002; Villenas & Foley, 2002). The deficit view of bilingualism has led to a proliferation of transitional bilingual education programs that promote subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1987). That is, the native language is used as a bridge to English, and then abruptly removed from the curriculum after children are judged to be proficient in English.

DL programs, in contrast, are based on an additive conceptualization of bilingualism (Lambert, 1987). Additive bilingual programs allow children to add English on to their linguistic repertoire, while maintaining and developing skills in their mother tongue. DL programs in the United States also tend to have social goals related to tolerance and cultural pluralism (Freeman, 1998).

DL programs attempt to raise the status of both the Spanish language and of the children and communities that speak Spanish by utilizing Spanish throughout the school and focusing on enrichment rather than remediation (Bikle, Billings, & Hakuta, 2004; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). In a DL school, both Spanish-dominant and English-dominant children have the opportunity to be models and experts for one another in different situations throughout the school day (Ovando et al., 2003). Thus, DL programs are designed to provide high-quality, research-based educational practice for English language learning students, as well as foreign language instruction for monolingual English students.³

Nevertheless, no program can be a panacea and any bilingual program that attempts to address linguistic issues without also addressing issues of status and power will not fully succeed in its mission (Mora, Wink, & Wink, 2001; Valdés, 1997). The concerns of Maria, the Latina bilingual teacher quoted by Guadalupe Valdés (1997) in her seminal critique of DL education, reflect the important, but difficult questions that all bilingual educators need to consider. DL programs may promote linguistic tolerance among the predominantly monolingual Anglophone community, and they may provide students from a variety of backgrounds with a wider array of linguistic and cultural resources. However, they also operate within a social and historical educational context in which the hegemony of English is an everyday lived experience for Spanish speakers, in which racism against Spanish speakers is a reality, and in which Anglo students dominate most academic spaces. Valdés emphasizes that DL programs must explicitly attend to issues of social justice and equal educational opportunity. If not, they risk aiding in the reproduction of the status quo, thereby providing an already advantaged group with yet more advantages. By looking at the discourses of fifth graders and their teachers at one particular DL school and examining what these discourses have to say about bilingualism and the ideologies that govern language use, I hope to provide insight into the promises and possibilities of DL education in relation to challenging or reproducing unjust social relations.

Overview of the Dual-Language Program at Pine Mountain

The DL program at Escuela Bilingüe Pine Mountain is unique for several reasons. First, it is a strong program with highly qualified teachers, the firm support of the school district, and excellent leadership. Second, while the primary goal of Pine Mountain is to graduate bilingual and biliterate children, developing an awareness of diversity and tolerance for others is also of paramount importance to the principal and her staff. Therefore, the school has explicit diversity goals, which the principal described as “a huge part of our work.” These goals include the reduction of racism in the school and the creation of a safe and accepting environment for everyone. The school has

implemented a variety of programs and strategies to address issues such as teasing and racism including Buddy Packs, Peace Place in the Classroom, Reading to End Racism, peer mediation, and the fifth-grade theater project.⁴ As the principal told me during our interview at the beginning of the school year, “We do a lot to have kids working together and understanding each other as people rather than making assumptions based on race or language or anything else, even though of course they’re seeing assumptions modeled all over society; so it’s a big hurdle to cross.”

In the fifth grade, there are a total of 52 students and two classroom teachers. The students are split up into two homerooms: an English-language classroom and a Spanish-language classroom. Both classrooms are linguistically integrated in terms of student body with 50% native English speakers and 50% native Spanish speakers. All of the children are bilingual to different degrees and all were expected to learn and perform tasks in both Spanish and English. The teachers are also bilingual:⁵ Dan, the English-language classroom teacher, is a sequential bilingual who learned Spanish as a young adult, and Mike, who teaches in the Spanish-language classroom, is a simultaneous bilingual who grew up speaking Spanish and was an English learner when he entered school. Each teacher only *teaches* in one language. In most cases, the Spanish-language classroom teachers at Pine Mountain are native speakers of Spanish or have native-like proficiency. Students switch homerooms periodically so they have a chance to study all content areas in both languages. By fifth grade, the students at Pine Mountain work in linguistically heterogeneous groups nearly all the time.

Students are expected to “respect the language of the classroom you are in” (class rules). However, because of the linguistically heterogeneous make-up of the classrooms and the students’ participation in some programs that are offered predominantly or solely in English, this simple rule is often difficult to realize in practice. Language allocation at the fifth grade is complicated by certain institutional constraints such as: (a) in fifth grade, the students do all of their Colorado State Assessment Program testing in English; (b) some curricula used by the fifth grade are unavailable in Spanish; (c) some guest teachers are monolingual English speakers; (d) there are not enough Spanish-language textbooks; and (e) not all of the specials teachers are bilingual. These institutional factors disproportionately impacted the integrity of the Spanish-language classroom and resulted in less than 50% of instructional time occurring in Spanish.

Theoretical Framework

In a recent paper, Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall (2005) propose that individuals co-construct identity through interaction using tactics of intersubjectivity to either ally themselves with or distance themselves from

specific social groups. In this paper, I use this framework to organize and describe the ways that children and adults draw on oral and written discourses to construct bilingual identities and practices. Foundational to Bucholtz and Hall's framework is the belief that identities are relational. An identity is not an innate essence belonging to and located within an individual; rather, identities are achieved through interactional and discursive processes. Bucholtz and Hall's tactics of intersubjectivity provide researchers with tools to assist in describing these processes; these tactics are "adequation and distinction" (p. 599), "authentication and denaturalization" (p. 601), and "authorization and illegitimation" (p. 603). I describe each dyad briefly below.

Adequation refers to the ways an individual may emphasize similarities in order to align herself/himself with a social group to which she/he may not otherwise be able to claim membership. For example, in the context of a DL school, Anglos can try to use Spanish to create solidarity with Latinos/as and Mexican immigrants although in other contexts, Anglos might be viewed by the Mexican-origin community as oppressors. Distinguishing tactics (distinction) are those discursive moves that serve to create distance between an individual and a specific social group. A concrete example of distinction in the current study would be the ways that students physically organize themselves in the lunchroom, with English-speaking students sitting on one end of the tables and Spanish-speaking students sitting on the other. This physical separation based on linguistic difference creates extra distance between social groups and can be read as a distinguishing tactic.

Authentication refers to the ways speakers demonstrate or prove that they are indigenous members of a particular group. Conversely, denaturalizing practices work to rupture taken-for-granted linkages between one's assumed social group and one's linguistic practices. In the DL school I studied, students are often called upon to identify their first language, thus authenticating themselves as "native speakers" of a particular language. The concept of the native speaker often has more to do with authenticity than it does with competence (Rampton, 1995) because it assumes that one is born into one particular ethno-linguistic group and then "naturally" acquires a more "authentic" level of linguistic ability. The tactics of denaturalization come into play when an individual makes inaccurate assumptions about the Spanish- or English-speaking ability of her interlocutor based on physical appearance or name. In these instances, people may correct others on the pronunciation of names, may refuse to use a particular linguistic variety, or may surprise their audience with their linguistic abilities.

Finally, authorization and illegitimation denote institutional or ideological support for, or opposition to, a particular linguistic practice. A good example of the latter is the illegitimation of the whole concept of bilingual education under the No Child Left Behind Act (2002), which effectively abolished the Bilingual Education Act. In doing so, No Child Left Behind Act authorizes the

use of one-size-fits-all English immersion programs and emphasizes that best practices for literacy development in monolingual English children can and should be applied to all children regardless of linguistic background. In the present study, students and teachers sometimes employ tactics of authorization and illegitimation to curb or censure non-standard language use.

A key point to keep in mind when considering and applying this theoretical framework is the fact that these are tactics that individuals use to attempt to produce a specific relationship or to support or promote a particular ideology. In any interaction, more than one tactic may be at play, and individuals may employ different tactics in different contexts.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data presented in this paper were collected as part of a year-long, ethnographic study of the fifth grade at Escuela Bilingüe Pine Mountain, a public magnet school in Colorado. The primary purpose of this study is to come to a deeper understanding of the bilingual and bicultural practices of the students and adults in this class. I was interested in conducting research at Escuela Bilingüe Pine Mountain because Pine Mountain has a strong and established DL program with a stable, committed, and highly qualified staff (Escamilla et al., 2005). Thus, I surmised that I would be able to focus on sociocultural issues, namely the relationships between culture, language, and identity, rather than on program effectiveness. This study focused on the entire fifth-grade class (52 students) at one DL school. I chose to concentrate on the fifth graders because those students had been in the program the longest and therefore were more developed as bilingual and bicultural individuals.

Data collection included participant observation, audio recordings of academic activities, interviews with fifth-grade students and their teachers, and the collection of artifacts such as handouts, newsletters, and student work. Participant observation lasted from October 2004 through June 2005. During this time, I visited the school three to four days a week, amassing about 500-typed pages of fieldnotes. I conducted observations at different times of the day in a variety of formal and informal settings: academic content time, reading groups, lunch, recess, music, P.E., and library, in small group and whole class contexts. During observation periods, I took written notes and collected audio recordings using a digital audio recorder. When I was not observing, I helped in the classrooms by working with small groups of children or performing small jobs for the teachers.

To supplement my observations, I interviewed 18 of the 52 fifth-grade students two times each over the course of the spring semester. Interview participants were selected based on their membership in friendship groups and their willingness to participate. Friendship groups were determined through

observation and through the administration of a sociogram in which students listed their friends, people they liked to eat lunch with, and people they liked to work with in class. I administered the sociogram in November 2004, and 45 of the 52 students (85%) participated (see Appendix A for survey). During the interviews, which lasted 20–40 minutes, we discussed various aspects of the students' language learning experiences, as well as social experiences with their family and friends.

In addition to interviews with students, I also interviewed the two fifth-grade teachers two times over the course of the year. The first interview focused on background information, motivation for becoming involved in bilingual education, beliefs about bilingualism and their program, and personal career goals. The second interview was interactive and focused on the interpretation of data I had collected. During the second interviews, I provided the teachers with excerpts of transcribed audio data, along with some focus questions. We then met and discussed insights, observations, concerns, and questions the teachers had. I also submitted a draft of this article to the teachers and we met together to discuss my findings. In this way, I hoped to include the teachers in the generation and interpretation of primary data, as well as strengthen the validity of my observations and analysis. I interviewed other adults who worked with the fifth graders at school including the principal, the teaching assistant, two reading teachers, and the ESL teacher. The inclusion of data from other educators at the school fortifies my findings about the linguistic ideologies that underpin the school's program and goals.

Many qualitative researchers emphasize the fact that data collection and analysis should not be separate steps of a study; rather, the collection and analysis of data should be recursive (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Spradley, 1980). Recursive data analysis allows the researcher to see where holes exist, detect bias, and discover other issues before it is too late to fill in the gaps or remedy any problems that may be developing. Accordingly, I did ongoing data analysis by reading and re-reading fieldnotes, writing in my journal, writing up summaries, and transcribing data. While I completed these activities, I wrote memos and revisited my research questions and observation protocols (see Appendix B for a sample observation protocol).

For the analysis of the data, I followed Spradley's (1980) procedures for conducting domain and taxonomic analyses to code my data, discovering interesting patterns and relationships, and building theory. In domain analysis, the researcher reads through her data to discover recurring cultural domains, and to identify concepts related to these domains. For example, one cultural domain I found in my data I labeled as "linguistic resources" (see Figure 1). In total, I identified 52 cultural domains.

After delineating the domains, I worked on discovering the relationships within and between the included terms in each domain. For example, within the domain "linguistic resources," I found that Anglicized Spanish was one

kind of linguistic resource. Since there were various ways that English-dominant students used Spanish, I needed to find out all of the ways that those students used Spanish and with whom and for what purposes. This became a focusing question for an observation session, which yielded more information on exactly what Anglicized Spanish was and how it differed from other forms of second language Spanish.

In order to verify the accuracy of my findings, I spent sufficient time in the field, triangulated the data, utilized member checking procedures, and took measures to recognize and account for negative instances. All of these measures have been cited by Creswell (2003) as methods of insuring the validity of qualitative research. I spent nearly one academic school year (about 8 months) in the field collecting data for this study. Prolonged time in the field allows the researcher to understand the tacit and more normalized aspects of culture. To triangulate my findings, I collected data from a variety of sources allowing me to discern similar patterns across contexts.

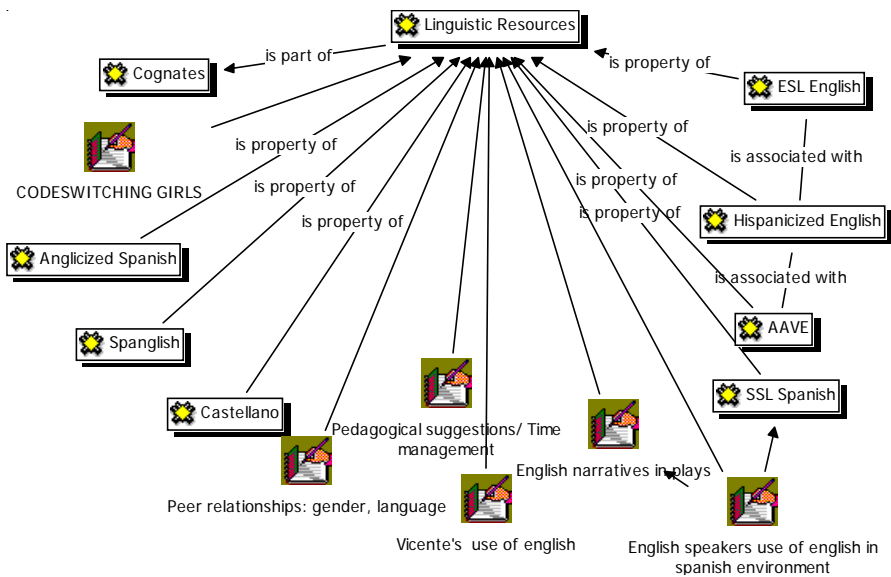


Figure 1. Linguistic resources as a cultural domain.

Adequation and the Ideology of Equality at Pine Mountain

It is important to understand the basic philosophical tenets that underpin the school and influence both pedagogical and institutional structures at the school. The curricular emphasis on inclusiveness is reinforced through aspects of the institutional culture at Pine Mountain from their mission statement to

the way their staff meetings are conducted. There is an open and participatory decision-making process in place on both the classroom and the school-wide levels amongst teachers, parents, students, staff, and the principal. The principal views the school as a team, and this philosophy is also reflected in the fifth grade. Creating a class atmosphere that promotes equality and democratic participation is very important for both of the teachers. For example, when there is a problem in the class, as identified by a teacher or by the students, the teachers usually ask students for their input by way of journaling or having a class meeting.

All of these programs and structures at the school are instantiations of what I am calling an “ideology of equality,” which is foundational to the philosophy of Escuela Bilingüe Pine Mountain and which sets the school apart from other bilingual programs. Basically, this ideology can be expressed as: “We are all equal and we’re all bilingual. English and Spanish are equal. Those groups associated with English and Spanish are equal.” Holly, an English-dominant Anglo student, articulated her understanding of this philosophy:

We’re all the same . . . I always knew that but I always thought, “Oh they’re different because they do something else and maybe they’re totally different from me.” And now since I’ve gone to this school I’ve noticed that maybe people practice different religions and maybe people do other things. But basically when it comes down to the like, they’re- we just all kind of do the same thing. Everyone has to go to the supermarket to get food.

Almost every student I interviewed reiterated the conceptual understanding that everyone is fundamentally the same and stated that this is something that they have learned at Pine Mountain. Ben Rampton (1995) notes that, when taken to an extreme, either “the acceptance of or the disregard for [ethnic or linguistic] boundaries could slip into injustice” (p. 316) and it is interesting to see how the students and teachers at Pine Mountain negotiate this balance.

The staff at Pine Mountain wants to embrace their own diversity and the diversity of their students, and this is frequently achieved by emphasizing sameness as more important than difference. I have found this ideology of equality to be institutionally prevalent both at the school level and at the classroom level and works through a process of adequation, particularly in the English-language classroom. That is, in order for this ideology to be accepted, everyone has to be, if not in the same exact social group, at least in social groups that wield equal amounts of social power and have equal access to resources. The work of adequation is thus necessary to equalize the power of social groups that are unequal in the larger society. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) stress that adequation is a process through which “sufficient similarity” (p. 599) is produced by downplaying differences.

At Pine Mountain, although children come from very different social, economic, and linguistic backgrounds—for example, some kids live in trailers and bring ramen noodles to school while others live in expensive homes and eat sushi for lunch—when they walk in the doors of the school, the sanctioned discussion of these differences is avoided. Formal discussions of diversity focus on similarities that all students have as human beings: Everyone has feelings; everyone has likes and dislikes. Issues such as prejudice are thus made a bit less scary because they are framed in terms of personal preference, as in “I have a prejudice against broccoli.” These legitimate topics of discussion conducted in teacher-controlled spaces such as Buddy Packs work to produce the condition of sufficient similarity discussed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005).

Fifth-grade teachers use a variety of practices that call for democratic participation: requiring children to work in heterogeneous cooperative groups, giving assignments and projects that emphasize cooperation and working as a team, and assigning class problem-solving and decision-making activities. These kinds of practices stress adequation because they require students to buy into the idea that everyone has an equal say and that power is shared equally in the classroom space.

Both teachers are fully aware of the societal hegemony of English and of a whitemainstream⁶ culture that promotes individualism and competition, but they believe that one purpose of the school is to question or undercut that hegemony. I recognized the importance of this philosophy quite clearly after I unwittingly attempted to undermine it. I was attempting to distinguish which children, or groups of children, dominate the social space of the class and I wanted to administer an informal survey in order to construct a sociogram. The instrument included questions like: “Who is most popular?” and “Who is the teacher’s favorite?” Both teachers questioned me about the function of these items. Dan, the English-language classroom teacher, asked me to either change or remove the items because they would require students to demonstrate preference, which contradicts his teaching philosophy of treating everyone equally and working together as a team. If the students are asked to pick a favorite, then they will assume that there needs to be one, he reasoned. This was an example of Dan’s use of adequation to promote equity in his classroom⁷.

Authentication, Denaturalization, Distinction and the Native Speaker

Nonetheless, the ideology of equality was at times challenged discursively by students and teachers. In Colorado, being bilingual is popularly and generally equated with speaking Spanish and being “Mexican.” In the popular imagination, bilingual means monolingual Spanish speaking, and a bilingual school is a place to teach native Spanish speakers English. As I noted above, this idea has long-standing roots in the history of bilingual education.

Consequently, being a fluent Spanish speaker in the southwestern United States has ethnic or racial implications. This presents a dilemma for some of the children in the fifth-grade class. Some children, who may have the phenotype characteristics expected of a Spanish speaker, may be under more pressure to use Spanish, but may identify themselves as English speakers and vice versa. Children who have grown up in a bilingual environment may find it difficult to choose a native language when called upon to do so. These kinds of situations call for children to use tactics of authentication, denaturalization, and distinction to position themselves as members of one particular group or another.

Teachers regularly ask students to pair up with someone whose first language is different from their own to create heterogeneous groupings, as in the brief excerpt below. The purpose of this practice is to create a situation in which native speakers can model language and provide support for second language learners. Another purpose is to require students to work with a peer with whom they might not ordinarily socialize. Thus, this practice has both linguistic and social justice goals. When the teacher asks students to find a language partner, this immediately brings up the issue of authentication for those students who come from bilingual backgrounds. The following passage takes place in the English-language classroom where the students are getting ready to work with a partner on an assignment:

Dan: (Find a partner who has a different L1⁸ than you.)

Liliana (to me): Shanan, who should I pick? You know how I'm both Spanish and English? Well I was Spanish first. . . . Who do you think I should pick?

Me: What do you think Liliana?

Liliana asks Dan the same question and he tells her she should find a native English speaker to work with.

Liliana's confusion in this interaction highlights some of the limitations of the "we're all equal" ideology in that at times, equality seems to first require that students belong to an identifiable, demarcatable group. The fact that one must name oneself as an English speaker or a Spanish speaker *before* one can identify as bilingual highlights that there may be at least some points of tension as to who is "really" bilingual and what bilingualism looks like. Although probably not intentionally, the practice of asking kids to team up with a language partner whose L1 is different than their own reinforces the myth of the native speaker (Rampton, 1995). According to the myth of the native speaker, "a particular language is inherited, either through genetic endowment or through birth into the social group stereotypically associated with it" (Rampton, 1995, p. 337). The idea that people can inherit a language presupposes that they are born into discrete and bounded ethnic groups that "own" a specific heritage language. Furthermore, the myth holds that people

are native speakers in only one language and that being a native speaker indexes competence. So when a teacher asks a bilingual child to pick a native language, she may be confused because the teacher may be asking her to choose either the language in which she has the most expertise or the one with which she feels the most ethnic affiliation.

The institutionalized and pervasive practice of pairing students up with a language partner is an intuitive way to give children positive linguistic models while encouraging them to interact across socio-economic boundaries. It is often an effective method of tapping into the linguistic resources present and available in the classroom. However, if the primary purpose of the practice is to provide children with positive role models of standard Spanish or English, some complications arise. After 5 years in the program, children's linguistic proficiency does not always match their designated native language. Some children are reaching a point where their skills in their second language may be outstripping those in their first. Some children may have switched their linguistic affiliations. Some children are truly becoming "balanced" bilinguals; others, particularly some English-dominant students, have perfected techniques to avoid using their second language. Thus, at this point in the program, it seems that the provision of positive linguistic role models, especially in Spanish, has to become a more explicit project with the students and may require a little more complicated social engineering on the part of the teachers.

The ideology of equality is also occasionally challenged by Mike, the Spanish-language classroom teacher. According to the ideology of equality, everyone in the school is a second language learner and everyone is bilingual. Even though all the adults in the school recognize that being an English language learner is qualitatively different than being a Spanish language learner, the ideology functions by glossing over these differences through the processes of adequation. As the Spanish-language classroom teacher, Mike sees and experiences those differences on a daily basis. He knows that many Spanish language learners continue to be fairly limited in terms of their ability to communicate fluently in their L2. This brings the belief that "everyone is bilingual" in conflict with the fact that some people are more bilingual than others, and some people make more of an effort to become bilingual than others.

An example of how who is "authentically" bilingual is worked out in the classrooms is provided in the following excerpt. In this passage, all of the children from both homerooms are gathered in Dan's English-language classroom. The teachers, Dan and Mike, are explaining the different positions the kids can run for in the Ameritowne simulation, which is an activity designed to teach students about the basics of participating in a capitalist economy. It is a major project for the students, and they love it. While the Ameritowne curriculum is all in English, the children are going to have a bilingual mayor who gives his or her address to the city in Spanish to represent their bilingual

and bicultural school. The passage subtly underscores the differing ideological frameworks that each teacher is working within:

Mike: Now if you are the mayor you *have* to be bilingual. Because the mayor will be giving a speech in Spanish.

Dan: They're all bilingual.

Mike: But you *have* to be bilingual because you will be giving a speech in Spanish in front of *all* of the kids . . . like 100 kids!

Mike's statement draws attention to the reality that everyone is *not* in fact equal, or equally bilingual. In other words, some kids have more facility with their two languages than others. In this particular instance, the children decided to elect Celina, a first-generation Mexican American with a strong preference for speaking Spanish, as mayor. The interchange demonstrates the tension that can arise when one attempts to adequate two groups that may actually have important differences. Dan's assertion that "everyone is bilingual," may actually serve to deny the superior skills of native Spanish speakers⁹ and one might argue that Mike's reiteration, "but you *have* to be bilingual," recognizes and refutes that claim. By implying that there *is* a difference between native English-speaking bilinguals and native Spanish-speaking bilinguals, Mike's comment that the mayor *really* needs to be bilingual can be read as a distinguishing move that seeks to preserve the right of native Spanish speakers to represent the Spanish language.

For many Latino/a children at Pine Mountain, sorting out the relationship between one's ethnolinguistic authenticity and one's linguistic competence is very significant. I assert that these kinds of processes are extremely important and that children need more space and opportunities to think about and discuss these issues. In order for Latina/o children to embrace their heritage language, they have to allow themselves to become very vulnerable. While affective issues are influential for all second language learners, I believe that these kinds of questions are more personal and complicated for Latino/a than they are for Anglo students. Brittany, an English-dominant Latina, expressed some of these conflicting feelings to me in our interview. Brittany told me that sometimes she gets frustrated because people do not believe that her first language is Spanish:

They think, "Ohhh, White girl. She doesn't know how to speak Spanish". . . Spanish actually *is* my first language . . . some people don't really believe it and I tell 'em, "Go ahead! Ask my mom!" . . . I think I learned Spanish first? Really. And then I learned English and I forgot my Spanish since I was so little . . . and now I'm trying to learn Spanish again. . . . People make fun of you, they're like, "Oh, she doesn't speak Spanish with a good, like, she speaks Spanish with a bad accent," you know, something like that. . . .

Brittany's assertion reflects her feeling that she needs to authenticate herself as a Spanish speaker by proving her pedigree, which she did throughout the interview by telling me that her mom is Mexican and that Spanish is "close to [her] heart." The comment is also interesting because while Brittany has some phenotypically European features, she is not White. Her comment implicitly links her developing Spanish skills and non-native accent with being White. In other words, not speaking Spanish like a "native" in effect makes her White.

As Benjamin Bailey (2000) has shown, people's beliefs about bilingualism, and in particular about speaking Spanish, are tied not only to actual linguistic production, but also to ethnolinguistic expectations speakers hold for their interlocutors. Bailey's fascinating study focuses on the language use of a Dominican-American boy, Wilson, to demonstrate the ways in which he subverts the Black/White racial dichotomy that underpins racial discourse in the United States. In some situational contexts, Wilson uses Spanish to resist the ethno-racial classification of "Black," while in other contexts, he uses features of African American Vernacular English to position himself as affiliated with African Americans, whom he associates with being athletic, hip, and savvy. Many U.S.-born Latino youth encounter similar complexities when it comes to ethnic and linguistic affiliation.

The tactics of adequation seem to be, if not opposed to, then at least in tension with the tactics of authentication in negotiating bilingual identities at Pine Mountain. Adequation assumes that we are all part of one big happy group, while authentication requires more substantial proof of group membership. The tension between these two positionalities is highlighted in everyday classroom practices, as reflected in the examples above—on the one hand everyone is bilingual, and on the other hand, only Mexicans or people who seem more Mexican can really speak Spanish like natives. The concept of authenticity has been used by some oppressed groups of people as a tool of empowerment and is an effective way for minority groups to gain power in and access to those public spaces that continue to be dominated by White, monolingual English speakers (Bucholtz, 2003; Grande, 2000). For Chicanos/as and Latinos/as, issues of authenticity versus inclusiveness are tremendously important as exemplified by the work of Gloria Anzaldúa (1999), who famously wrote, "I am my language," and also promoted the concept of *mestizaje* (p. 81).

Authorization and Illegitimation: Linguistic Purity and Dual-Language Program Design

DL programs are grounded in a dichotomous view of bilingualism in which the strict separation of languages and attention to language allocation and use are pivotal concerns (Hadi-Tabassum, 2002). The practice of separating and distributing languages equally throughout the school day has several

pedagogical and social goals among which is the desire to create more equitable power relations between the languages and their speakers (Freeman, 1998). In order to ensure that the Spanish (or other minority) language is respected, a space in which Spanish and only Spanish is spoken must be created and vigilantly protected against the pervasiveness of English language and culture.

Monica Heller (2001) found similar binary assumptions and structures at work in a French immersion program in Ontario, Canada. In the program she studied, teachers strictly controlled and monitored students' uses of French to weed out Anglicisms and create the illusion of a monolingual French space. Thus, the teachers in Heller's study believed that authentic French should not include words such as *relaxer* for *détendre*. Borrowings are also the subject of some discussion at Pine Mountain: Is it okay to say *lonche* or should one insist on *almuerzo*? Both McCollum (2000) and Heller (2001) found that vernacular forms and linguistic borrowings are often frowned upon or discouraged by teachers because these linguistic forms are seen as a dilution of the language. In her study, McCollum noted that the teacher often disregarded or denigrated students' real linguistic resources in an effort to respect and promote standard Spanish.

Heller (2001) argues that the attempt to create and maintain strictly monolingual environments is founded on an ideology that views "bilingualism as parallel monolingualisms" (p. 219). This ideology assumes that social spaces should be essentially monolingual and that while it is possible for people to be bilingual, it is desirable for them to deploy their languages separately. Purity of the language environment seems to be of particular concern for the minority language classroom. Most bilingual educators, being bilingual themselves, know that bilingual students are not two monolinguals housed in a single person. Yet programs typically have a dualistic design that assumes two distinct and distinguishable groups of children because in this way, the minority language can be protected and supported.

The DL program at Pine Mountain has a binary design: an English-language classroom and a Spanish-language classroom. However, because of other aspects of the program design, such as those listed previously, one could hardly describe the actual use of language as dichotomous. Maintaining a monolingual environment requires constant work, especially on the part of the Spanish-language classroom teacher. Students in the Spanish-language classroom frequently have to be reminded to use Spanish even when their first language is Spanish. Students also seem to be aware that "pure" Spanish, free of borrowings, is expected or preferred; borrowings are typically corrected by the teacher or by the students themselves, as occurs in the following exchange. In this excerpt, a group of kids are working together on a poster for their play, "*Problema de Soccer*." The participants in this passage are Martín and Lyle, both L1 Spanish, Mexican-born boys; Jesse, an L1 English, Anglo

girl; Roberto, the teaching assistant; and Mike, the classroom teacher. The conversation was in Spanish; I provide a translation in English on the right. Also, the words pronounced with an American accent are in bold italics¹⁰:

<p>1 Roberto: Allí tenéis escrito todo-</p> <p>2 Martín: Voy a hablar en español.</p> <p>3 <i>Okay?</i> Hablo bien español.</p> <p>4 Roberto: Bueno. ¡Qué sorpresa!</p> <p>5 ¡Te voy a grabar!</p> <p>6 Lyle: ¿Te voy a graduar?</p> <p>7 Mike ((loudly to class)): ¡Español por</p> <p>8 favor!</p>	<p>You have everything written over there-</p> <p>I'm going to speak in Spanish.</p> <p>Okay? I speak Spanish well.</p> <p>Great. What a surprise!</p> <p>I'm going to record you!</p> <p>I'm going to graduate you?</p> <p>Spanish please!</p>
<p>(Five lines deleted in which Lyle and Martin are comparing their drawings)</p>	
<p>9 Martín: Esta es una <i>volleyball</i>.</p> <p>10 Voleibol. Es un voleibol.</p> <p>11 Mike: Gracias.</p> <p>12 Jessie: <i>Yeah</i> sí, yo no podía hacer</p> <p>13 <i>soccer ball</i>.</p> <p>14 Martín: Yo tampoco.</p> <p>15 Lyle: ¡Pelota de fútbol! ¡Ay, ay, ay</p> <p>16 niños! Me traen vuelto loco. ¡Hablen</p> <p>17 español o inglés o si no, no hablen!</p> <p>18</p> <p>19 Mike: Sí, sí muy bien señor.</p>	<p>This is a volleyball.</p> <p>Volleyball. It's a volleyball.</p> <p>Thanks.</p> <p>I can't make [a]</p> <p>soccer ball.</p> <p>Me neither.</p> <p>Soccer ball! Oh my goodness children!</p> <p>You're driving me crazy! Either speak</p> <p>Spanish or English, or if not, don't talk at</p> <p>all!</p> <p>Yes, yes, very good.</p>

Here, Martín and Lyle monitor their own and others' uses of Spanish in a playful way to prove to the teachers that they know how to speak Spanish properly, engaging in tactics of authentication, authorization, and illegitimation. First, in lines 2–3, Martín assures Roberto, a Castilian speaker of Spanish, that he is going to speak Spanish well (“*Hablo bien español*”), thus authenticating himself as a Spanish speaker. Roberto finds this humorous as indicated by his response in lines 4–5 (“*¡Bueno! ¡Qué sorpresa!*”). To him, Martín’s authentication seems superfluous because he is Mexican.

A bit later, Martín corrects his own pronunciation of volleyball, which he originally said in English. This correction is noticed and accepted by the teacher, which perhaps can be taken to mean that Martín’s previous work at authentication was not so superfluous after all. Martín’s hyper-vigilance of his own native language demonstrates a high level of metalinguistic awareness and may reveal an implicit understanding that the use of the vernacular in the classroom is not encouraged, at least not for Spanish speakers. English speakers in this class are generally not too concerned about the quality of

their Spanish language productions and frequently borrow English words in order to express themselves with greater ease, maintain control of the floor, and create comic effects.

In lines 15–17, Lyle playfully uses illegitimation to censor the students' use of the term "soccer ball" by taking on the persona of the teacher in order to reprimand Martín and Jesse: "*¡Pelota de fútbol! ¡Ay, ay, ay niños! Me traen vuelto loco. ¡Hablen español o inglés o si no, no hablen!*" Lyle's interjection is humorous because he is mimicking an adult and because the L1 Spanish students typically employ a lot of codeswitching in their informal conversations. His joking assertion that the students' language mixing is driving him crazy mimics the teacher's continual requests for students to speak Spanish. Lyle's interjection at once acknowledges and mocks the implicit request for linguistic purity in the classroom. This is especially interesting in light of the fact that Lyle and his peers prefer codeswitching over using standard Spanish or standard English.

In many ways, the separation of languages is necessary for the effective implementation of a DL program. However, there may be some unintended and unfortunate outcomes due to this system. For example, given the pervasiveness and dominance of English in our society, it is much more difficult to maintain a primarily Spanish-language classroom than it is to maintain a primarily English-language classroom. While this may not be surprising, an adverse result of this is that linguistic productions in the Spanish-language classroom are more strictly monitored and controlled, and the classroom language rule has to be continually reiterated. The teachers and assistants in the Spanish-language classroom have to spend a lot of time being the language police. The problem of maintaining a monolingual Spanish-language classroom tends to promote a teacher-controlled, Initiation-Evaluation-Response (I-R-E) participation format¹¹, a format hardly known for being student-centered or democratic. Also, the attempt to create a pure Spanish-language classroom may elevate Spanish as an academic language, but not necessarily as an expressive or social language and may inhibit some students' expression. The program design does not allow for any specific spaces in which the type of Spanish spoken by Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States, which might include codeswitching or borrowed words, is explored, honored, or officially allowed. Thus, one unintended consequence of the program may be to authorize a language ideology based on the concepts of strict separation of languages, parallel monolingualism, and a fetishization of the "native speaker."

Denaturalization: An Anti-racist Tactic?

The fifth-grade theater project, which students worked on throughout the spring semester, provides fertile ground for examining students' beliefs and attitudes about being bilingual. Throughout the spring semester, students wrote and produced plays about experiences they had had with teasing or

put-downs. As the principal explained to me early on in the school year, this is an issue that students and faculty need to confront since the school has a linguistically and socioeconomically diverse population. An important diversity goal was to address the issue of racism specifically, and the plays were one way the students took up the issue. In their plays, they could be the aggressor or the victim, but the narrative had to be based on a personal experience. In writing and acting these incidents out, students worked at both authenticating themselves as bilingual and multicultural people and denaturalizing societal, student, and/or teacher assumptions of who has access to which languages or registers. Anglo students who were not necessarily expected to be fluent in Spanish took on Spanish-speaking parts to the surprise and pleasure of their teachers. Big kids took on the parts of weaklings getting picked on, boys took on the parts of girls, and girls took on the parts of boys.

Shelley, a native English speaker, wrote a play called "Racism is No Fun." Her play was about being excluded by Spanish-speaking girls on the playground because of their assumption that she did not speak Spanish well enough to play with them. Her title reveals her understanding that discrimination based on language is an aspect of racism. Her writing reflects the frustration and disappointment she felt when she was perceived as an inauthentic Spanish speaker. Yet during the production phase of the plays, when students had to act in plays they had not written, Shelley took on a part that required a lot of Spanish language dialogue. In this way, she was able to authenticate herself as a Spanish speaker in front of her whole class. This drew comments and admiration from her teachers and her peers. Mike explicitly complimented her on her Spanish saying, "Shelley, you were in that group? Your Spanish was beautiful. Thank you." Mike's praise, while very appropriate and appreciated by Shelley, underlines the fact that in some ways, Shelley's performance is an act of both authentication and denaturalization. She is at once authenticating herself as a Spanish speaker who can speak fluidly and without an "accent," and she is disrupting the expected link the viewer may make between her appearance as a typical White, middle-class pre-teen and being a monolingual English speaker. The teaching assistant, Roberto, also commented on Shelley's performance:

One thing that has impressed me in this process is, I was talking to Shelley last week and I told her that it wasn't until I saw the plays performed for the parents that I realized how many of her lines were in Spanish. She had a lot of Spanish in her role and she did it well and that was really cool. . . . And a lot of the kids did that.

Roberto's final comment, "A lot of kids did that," refers to the fact that many kids chose parts that were not reflective of the macro-sociological identity categories to which they may feel assigned to in daily life. Thus, the plays provided students with opportunities to denaturalize given or expected social roles, as well as rehearse the actual social positions some inhabit in real life¹².

Discussion and Implications

In this brief section, I would like to draw together the threads I have explored throughout this paper to make a few preliminary assertions related to my initial research questions: What language ideologies exist in the fifth grade and how do these promote or constrain the social justice goals of the school? First of all, I found that the ideology of equality, which emphasizes inclusion, adequation, and participatory decision-making, informs the discourse practices of the teachers and students at Escuela Bilingüe Pine Mountain, creating an environment where everyone is proud to be bilingual. At the same time, the concepts of the native speaker and parallel monolingualism are also reflected in the discourses that circulate throughout the school. These discourses work through processes of authentication, authorization, and illegitimation, and serve to narrow definitions of “native” Spanish speaker, “standard” or “acceptable” Spanish, and the “authentic” bilingual individual.

It is axiomatic that being bilingual does not have the same meaning and implications for everyone. While a philosophy that emphasizes tolerance and equality is positive, and it is gratifying to hear English-dominant children explain that everyone is “basically the same,” such proclamations may indicate a lack of understanding as to the real social inequalities that different groups of people in our society continue to face. When designing and implementing education for social justice, as Pine Mountain strives to do, we as educators and researchers must push ourselves to go beyond “color-blind” philosophies in which equity equals sameness. Color-blind attitudes tend to implicitly reinforce ethnocentrism and assimilation. When we assert that “everyone is essentially the same,” we are also denying or refusing to acknowledge important sociohistorical differences. U.S. society is a highly monolingual society. Bilingualism is both misunderstood and stigmatized by the general public, the popular media, and the educational system. A key contribution DL programs can make to social justice education is to provide opportunities to confront and deal with misconceptions, beliefs, and attitudes about bilingualism and bilinguals.

My initial findings suggest that it may be instructive to examine more carefully who gets to be bilingual and in what sorts of situations children embrace or turn away from speaking in certain languages or registers. Given the tensions I have outlined above between adequation and authentication, it seems that Pine Mountain could provide fertile ground for the exploration and discussion of issues such as language affiliation versus language expertise, language purity versus codeswitching, and how an authentic need for Spanish could be engendered in the program. In fact, towards the end of the year, the fifth-grade teachers did begin to explore the topic of codeswitching, a move that interested and engaged many students, particularly L1 Spanish speakers. In light of my findings, I am hopeful that the teachers will continue and extend

these kinds of activities and discussions in the years to come. The development of tasks or projects that necessitate the use of Spanish or codeswitching could raise the status of the language by making its use more than the result of a class rule.

Further examination and interrogation of student attitudes towards “out-group” speakers’ linguistic productions and student attitudes towards the Spanish language are also needed. To what extent are students’ playful uses of language productive and creative and potentially anti-racist and to what extent are they, alternatively, disrespectful, and potentially racist? DL programs, such as the program at Pine Mountain, offer educators an opportunity to explore such questions. The fifth-grade theater project, for example, provided students and adults with a particularly fruitful context within which to safely delve into questions around language, identity, and social justice. Our young, developing bilinguals are creative in their productive, reproductive, and innovative handling of linguistic forms. The challenge for researchers and for educators is to ascertain how to capitalize upon students’ linguistic productions and innovations to create positive and challenging instructional environments. The strategic and thoughtful use of third spaces, spaces in which linguistic forms and identities can be explored, will ultimately strengthen our DL programs.

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Endnotes

¹ According to the Center for Applied Linguistics, the majority of dual language-programs are Spanish/English (n = 237); however, there are programs that serve other languages such as Navajo/English (n = 2), Chinese/English (n = 5), Korean/English (n = 3), and French/English (n = 5) (Howard & Sugarman, 2001).

² This and all other names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

³ It bears mentioning that dual-language programs often garner more political support from the English-speaking community than “typical” bilingual programs because of the involvement of Anglo, monolingual English children. In the current anti-immigrant political climate, bilingual programs are increasingly under scrutiny since they are often thought to be special programs that cater to immigrants. The involvement of monolingual English-speaking children protects DL programs to some extent from that sort of criticism.

⁴ Every classroom teacher at Pine Mountain is bilingual in Spanish and English except for the P.E. teachers and one of the music teachers.

⁵ Once a month, everyone in the whole school participates in Buddy Packs, or *Grupos Amigos*. Buddy Packs are cross-grade level groups led by one or two teachers that focus on conflict resolution, community building, and character education. This year a major topic of the Buddy Pack meetings was prejudice and racism.

⁶ See Grande, 2002.

⁷ Dan need not have worried since most students interviewed reported that there was not really a popular group of kids and that their teachers treated them fairly.

⁸ L1 refers to native language. L2 refers to second language.

⁹ In his 1995 discussion of “the trouble with the ‘native speaker’” (p. 336), Rampton notes that “most countries are multilingual: from an early age children normally encounter two or more languages” (p. 337). This is definitely true for the immigrant and first-generation children who attend Pine Mountain. It is much less true for the children who come from middle-class, Western European backgrounds that make up the majority of the “native English speakers” at the school. These children are much more likely to have grown up in monolingual environments in which “foreign” languages are used for humor and to index a casual, yet cosmopolitan identity (see Hill’s discussion of mock Spanish, 1995).

¹⁰ For my transcription conventions, please see Appendix C.

¹¹ Heller (2001) also reported a prevalence of the I-R-E participation structure in the minority language classrooms she studied in Ontario, Canada.

¹² Some kids who tend to bully or tease others in real life also played out these roles in their performances.

Appendix A

Sociogram Survey

Sociogram para quinto grado: El propósito de esta encuesta es descubrir los grupos sociales que existen en quinto grado según ustedes. Sus respuestas serían confidenciales. No voy a compartir los resultados de la encuesta con sus maestros. Si no quiere responder a cualquier pregunta, no es necesario. Gracias por su ayuda. Shanan

1. Nombre: _____
2. ¿En cuál idioma comunica usted mejor? (Escoge una respuesta)
español inglés ambos
3. ¿En cuál idioma lee y escribe mejor? (Escoge una respuesta)
español inglés ambos
4. Por favor, indique cinco de sus mejores amigos:
5. ¿Quiénes son los estudiantes con quien prefiere trabajar en clase?
6. ¿Con quién prefiere sentarse para almorzar?
7. ¿Con quién prefiere jugar para recreo?
8. ¿Cómo se siente ser bilingüe?
¡Me encanta! Me gusta. Está bien. No me importa mucho.
9. Por favor, explique su respuesta. ¿Por que se siente así?

10. ¿Qué piensa usted de asistir a la escuela con niños y niñas de orígenes culturales diversos?
¡Me encanta! Me gusta. Está bien. No me importa mucho.
11. Por favor, explique su respuesta. ¿Por que se siente así?

12. En mi tiempo libre:
Hablo español con mis amigos/as:
a menudo a veces casi nunca
Hablo español con mis padres y mi familia:
a menudo a veces casi nunca

Escucho música latina o mexicana en español:
a menudo a veces casi nunca

Veo los canales hispanohablantes en la tele:
a menudo a veces casi nunca

13. En mi tiempo libre:

Hablo inglés con mis amigos/as:
a menudo a veces casi nunca

Hablo inglés con mis padres y mi familia:
a menudo a veces casi nunca

Escucho música americana en inglés:
a menudo a veces casi nunca

Veo los canales angloparlantes en la tele:
a menudo a veces casi nunca

Sociogram for fifth grade: The purpose of this survey is to find out the social groups that exist in fifth grade. Your answers will be confidential. I will not share the results of this survey with your teachers. If you don't want to answer a question, you don't have to. Thanks for your help! Shanán

1. Name: _____

2. In which language do you communicate best? (Choose one answer)
Spanish English Both

3. In which language do you read and write the best? (Choose one answer)
Spanish English Both

4. Please list your five best friends:

5. Who are your favorite people to work with in class?

6. Who do you like to sit with at lunch?

7. Who do you like to play with at recess?

8. How do you feel about being bilingual?

I love it! I like it. It's okay. I don't care.

9. Please explain your answer. Why do you feel that way?

10. How do you feel about going to school with kids from different cultural backgrounds?

I love it! I like it. It's okay. I don't care

11. Please explain your answer. Why do you feel that way?

12. In my free time:

I speak Spanish with my friends:	Often	Sometimes	Never
I speak Spanish with my family:	Often	Sometimes	Never
I listen to Spanish-language radio or music:			
Often	Sometimes	Never	
I watch Spanish-language TV:	Often	Sometimes	Never

13. In my free time:

I speak English with my friends:	Often	Sometimes	Never
I speak English with my family:	Often	Sometimes	Never
I listen to English-language radio or music:			
Often	Sometimes	Never	
I watch English-language TV:	Often	Sometimes	Never

Appendix B

Sample Observation Protocol

Observation Protocol: Student Language Use

RQ: How is bilingualism practiced by students at Escuela Bilingüe Pine Mountain in different social and academic settings?

In the classroom:

Who do students pair up with when asked to work with a language partner?

What language is used when students work with a language partner (in each classroom)?

What languages are used in each classroom?

For what purposes and by whom?

Which language do students choose to use when speaking to different peers and in what setting?

Is codeswitching used? By whom? Where? For what purposes?

On the playground:

Where is each language used on the playground; by whom?

Do L1 English kids ever use their L2 on the playground? In what context?

Do L1 Spanish kids ever use their L2 on the playground? In what context?

Is codeswitching used? By whom? Where? For what purposes?

In the lunchroom:

Where is each language used in the lunchroom; by whom?

Do L1 English kids ever use their L2 in the lunchroom? In what context?

Do L1 Spanish kids ever use their L2 in the lunchroom? In what context?

In what spaces in the school, in the lunchroom or on the playground is each language used?

Is codeswitching used? By whom? Where? For what purposes?

Appendix C

Transcription Conventions

(Adapted from Eggins & Slade, 1997, pp. 2–5)

((1))	Indicates a pause and number of seconds
((smiling))	Paralinguistic and non-verbal information double parentheses indicate actions, gestures, or observed emotions
(...)	Non-transcribable or inaudible segments of talk
(vida)	Uncertain transcription. Items inside single parenthesis indicate that speech was not 100% clear
.	A period indicates a full stop
,	A comma indicates “parcelings of non-final talk” (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 2)
...	Intervals within and between utterances; indicates hesitation
E:ven	Colon indicates elongated sound
?	Question mark indicates rising intonation
=	Indicates immediate rejoinder
[]	Brackets indicate overlapping speech
-	Dash indicates interrupted speech or speech that was cut off
<i>Italics</i>	Italicized speech indicates speech that is emphasized
ALL CAPS	Words in capital letters are even more emphatic than italicized speech