EXPLORING STUDENT INTEGRATION PATTERNS IN TWO-WAY IMMERSION SCHOOLS

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Two-way immersion (TWI) programs teach English Learners (ELs) and native English speakers in the same classroom using both languages in an immersion approach. Studies suggest that TWI programs result in greater student integration, thus providing a promising alternative for Spanish speaking ELs, who are frequently concentrated in high poverty, majority-minority schools. This study used a mixed methods research design to examine student integration issues in two elementary schools. Enrollment data from 1999-2009 were analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistics. Grounded theory was used to analyze data from interviews, focus groups, observations, and archival documents.

The demographic analyses revealed trends that are consistent with demographic changes nationally: an increasing Latino population and a decreasing White population. In terms of instructional integration patterns, the following findings were consistent for both schools. Prior to the introduction of TWI, students with Individualized Education Programs (IEPs) were evenly distributed among 4th/5th grade classrooms. After TWI, significantly more students with IEPs were in the English only than in TWI classes. In addition, after TWI, significantly more English speakers who qualified for free/reduced meals were found in the English only classes. However, Spanish speakers, who were

almost exclusively located in TWI, had significantly higher free/reduced meals rates than English speakers in either TWI or English only classes.

The central theme to emerge in the grounded theory study was “Negotiating the Value of Spanish,” a process that occurred over many years as both schools grappled with a growing Latino population. Using Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital, I suggest that the introduction of TWI commodified Spanish within the mainstream educational program, providing cultural capital gains for Spanish speakers as a result. TWI provided the justification and resources for hiring more bilingual staff, for purchasing Spanish curriculum materials, for providing professional development in Spanish and about Spanish literacy, for increasing outreach to Spanish speaking families, and for prioritizing Spanish speakers’ access to the program. Spanish speakers and their families thus gained greater access to the curriculum and the life of the school, and staff began to see Spanish speakers differently.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

With the large increase in English Learners (ELs)[1] in K-12 schools, educators across the country have been struggling to figure out how best to serve this population, and many are turning to two-way immersion (TWI). Two-way immersion (also called dual language or dual immersion) programs combine English Learners and native English speakers in the same classroom and provide instruction on academic content and literacy in two languages. Most two-way immersion programs are Spanish/English models and exist in elementary schools (Howard & Sugarman, 2001). Although not all Spanish speakers are Latino[2] and not all English speakers are White, several studies (Fern, 1995; Freeman, 1995; Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2005; Rolstad, 1997) provide evidence that two-way immersion programs integrate students of different ethnic groups, language backgrounds, and socioeconomic circumstances. Thus, two-way immersion theoretically provides a promising alternative for Latino students, who are frequently concentrated in high poverty, majority-minority schools (Ferg-Cadima, 2004; Fry, 2006; Orfield & Lee, 2004) that tend to be under-resourced.

The widespread interest in two-way immersion programs in this country is a fairly recent phenomenon. Despite the fact that TWI programs have existed since the early 1960s, it wasn't until the mid-1980s that the growth in this approach rapidly increased (CAL, 2006a; Christian, Howard, & Loeb, 2000). While some may argue that the

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[1] English Language Learner (ELL) is also used in this paper to refer to students with Limited English Proficiency as defined by formal assessment. population by study participants. The shorter term English Learner is now more commonly used in the field.

[2] The terms Latino and Hispanic are used interchangeably throughout this paper.

popularity of two-way immersion is based largely on the research supporting its effectiveness, it is hard to ignore the political discourses and forces at play whilst two-way immersion has become *de rigueur*.

Derrick Bell's (1980) principle of interest convergence provides a lens by which to view the rise of two-way immersion programs in the U.S. Interest convergence posits that efforts aimed to rectify racial inequalities are advanced only when the interests of Whites, particularly middle and upper class Whites, are also served. Bell initially framed the interest convergence principle around the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision and its limited impact on the integration of Blacks and Whites in schools twenty-five years later. It serves as a central tenet of critical legal and critical race scholarship, by focusing on how racism and class privilege structure and reproduce racial/ethnic and class disparities in the US. Interest convergence provides a way to explain the seeming contradiction between the proliferation of two-way immersion nationally at the same time that bilingual education policies have become increasingly restrictive.

Interest Convergence and Two-Way Immersion

A confluence of many factors has contributed to the growing popularity of two-way immersion. Christian, Howard, and Loeb (2000) suggest three reasons: research supporting its effectiveness in raising the academic achievement of English Learners; federal and state funding for TWI; and increased interest in foreign language instruction among English speakers. What these authors fail to note is the socio-political context that has accompanied the widespread adoption of two-way immersion since the 1980s. Immigration, particularly from Latin America, has been substantial during this period, creating dramatic demographic changes in our schools. According to the National

Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA, 2006), English Learner enrollment in U.S. schools more than doubled in the fifteen year period from 1990-2005, comprising over 5.1 million students in 2005. The National Center for Education Statistics estimates that English Learners constitute anywhere from 7-10% of the total student population in our public schools (NCES, 2004).

Just as in years past, this wave of immigration has affected public sentiment toward and public policy regarding immigrants and, by extension, bilingual education. The recent passage of SB 1070 in Arizona is perhaps the most vivid example of how Arizonans in power currently view their Latino immigrant population. Giving local law enforcement broad powers to check the citizenship status of those they believe may be in the country illegally, SB 1070 may have broad appeal within Arizona but has sparked mass protests across the country (Harris, Rau, & Creno, 2010). Dominant public sentiment towards immigrants is also reflected in policies directed at bilingual education. Both Menchaca-Ochoa (2006) and Ovando (2003) detail a cyclical pattern toward bilingual education since the 19th century that mirrors the political and social events of the times, identifying relatively permissive (19th century, 1960-1980) or restrictive (1900-1960, 1980-present) periods with respect to U.S. language policy. As evidence of increasing U.S. language policy restrictions and anti-immigrant sentiment in current times, state ballot initiatives that restrict bilingual approaches for English Learners have passed in California in 1998, and Arizona and Massachusetts in 2002. A concerted effort in Colorado in 2002 led to the defeat a similar measure in that state (Escamilla, Shannon, Carlos, & Garcia, 2003). Since then, the pace has slackened a bit, but statewide battles

continue, moving on to Oregon with the 2008 defeat of another anti-bilingual education measure there (Mora, 2009).

On the surface, the rapid growth of two-way immersion programs simultaneous with statewide efforts to ban bilingual education might seem counterintuitive. However, the reasons for the growth of TWI that Christian, Howard, and Loeb (2000) identify and the increasing resistance to more traditional forms of bilingual education may in fact have a symbiotic relationship. The authors suggest that research supporting TWI is one reason for the model's growing popularity. Although there is growing evidence that TWI is an effective method for improving educational outcomes for these students (e.g., see Cazabon, Nicoladis, & Lambert, 1998; Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2006; Thomas & Collier, 2002), there is also evidence that other bilingual models improve academic outcomes for English Learners, (see August & Hakuta, 1997; Slavin & Cheung, 2003; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Thus, research evidence alone doesn't account for why one bilingual method (two-way immersion) has been embraced, perhaps not without reservation, but as a more palatable bilingual alternative for English Learners. A critical analysis of the two other reasons (increased interest in foreign language learning and state and federal funding) cited by Christian, Howard and Loeb illuminates how interests may have converged in support of TWI despite statewide political efforts to ban bilingual education.

Receptivity to the positive findings of TWI was likely aided by the inclusion of English speakers in these programs, which is a reflection of increased interest in foreign language instruction by English speakers. The Center for Applied Linguistics has tracked the growth in foreign language immersion programs aimed at English speakers and found

a growth pattern similar to TWI (CAL, 2006b). Christian, Howard and Loeb (2000) however fail to comment on other English speakers in the U.S. who have gravitated to TWI not for its teaching of a foreign language per se, but a heritage language. A significant portion of English speakers in TWI programs are Latinos, who are interested in these programs as a way to preserve or regain a heritage language (Parkes, 2006; Shannon & Milian, 2002; Smith, et al., 2002). By including English speakers in TWI, bilingual advocates have found an important ally on their side. Wong Fillmore (2007) and Fitts (2006) suggest that the inclusion of English speakers, particularly White, middle class English speakers, is a critical reason why TWI programs have been able to exist and thrive, particularly at a time when some states have banned bilingual education and the federal government's policies toward English Learners have increasingly de-emphasized bilingual approaches and penalized any approach that doesn't result in immediately measurable English language acquisition.

With the 2001 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the federal government made explicit its emphasis on English language acquisition. The ESEA became the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, and the legislation's title wasn't the only name to change. The federal Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs became the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students. Wright (2005) states that the passage of NCLB signaled "a dramatic shift in the guiding principles of the federal government toward [English Learners]" (p. 1), which is reflected in NCLB terminology and provisions regarding English language proficiency testing. He notes that from 1968 until the passage of NCLB, federal policy

explicitly and increasingly referenced bilingual methods and goals. In contrast, the term "bilingual" was removed from NCLB and a high stakes testing accountability system was constructed requiring English Learners to demonstrate English proficiency as quickly as possible. If English Learners fail to meet annual language proficiency testing benchmarks or adequate yearly progress on state achievement tests, schools become subject to increasing district and state intervention in an effort to avoid the loss of federal funding.

Two-way immersion is not immune to the new testing accountability system, nor has it completely escaped the anti-bilingual education backlash. Nevertheless, the inclusion of English speakers and the moniker "immersion" appear to have created an "exceptional" status for two-way immersion. Of the three states with bilingual education bans, both Massachusetts and California distinguish two-way immersion from other bilingual education programs. In Massachusetts, two-way immersion programs are exempt from the bilingual education ban (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2003); and, they are the only non-Sheltered Immersion option explicitly referenced as an acceptable alternative program on the California Department of Education's webpage on English Learners (California Department of Education, 2006). Even ProEnglish, a national non-profit that has played an active role in the statewide efforts to ban bilingual education as well as state and local efforts to establish English as the official language (ProEnglish, n.d.a), distinguishes "dual immersion" from "bilingual education", stating that the former is "sometimes erroneously" equated with the latter. However, ProEnglish still does not approve of two-way immersion because "while such programs are popular with parents of English-speaking students they are expensive", "require there to be equilibrium between two language groups", and they detract from "the first responsibility

of the public schools [which] is to teach non-English speaking children English as rapidly as possible" (ProEnglish, n.d.b).

Despite ProEnglish's claim that two-way immersion programs require equilibrium between the two language groups, research suggests that achieving equilibrium (or equity) between English and Spanish speakers (the two language groups most commonly served by these programs) isn't possible given the different social status positions of each group within the U.S. (Fitts, 2006; Shannon, 1999; Valdes, 1997). In fact, Valdes and Fitts both suggest that unless issues of power, including the structural impediments that maintain inequities between dominant and subordinate groups, are surfaced and debated within these programs, two-way immersion programs may in fact exacerbate cross-cultural tensions and further entrench status differences between the two language groups. In an article regarding the use of interest convergence and critical race theory as analytical devices, Milner (2008) specifically highlights how White, middle class interests figure prominently in the discourse surrounding two-way immersion programs by recounting the following incident:

> Several years ago, I was invited to give a talk in a moderately large city in the northern region of the United States. During the visit, I was driven around and shown several local schools. My tour guide explained, quite proudly, that the district had begun busing immigrant "non-English-speaking" students to one of the "best" local schools in the district. Even more intriguing for my tour guide was the point that the district had developed agreed-on policies that would just "pour dollar after dollar" into the school during the next 5 years so that the "non-English-speaking" students would "learn to speak English." Finally, what seemed to excite the tour guide more than anything was the reality that "the "English speaking" students—mostly White, upper-class, English speakers—in the school were also learning to speak "different" languages as well, mostly Spanish (p. 333).

These conditions help illuminate the context in which and the reasons why two-way immersion programs have proliferated in recent years. Context is important to this

study. These larger discourses around immigration, bilingual education, globalization, changing demographics, and diversity permeate the worlds we inhabit. Understanding how meaning is negotiated and articulated, and how educational change is initiated, resisted or understood within a given school site has to be grounded within the particularities of that location, including the extent to which larger macrosocial discourses exhibit themselves locally.

Location and Purpose of the Study

This study takes place in a medium-sized city in Oregon. Although Oregon may not seem an obvious state in which to conduct the study given its relatively small number of Latinos and English Learners compared to California, Texas, and New York (the states with the largest English Learner populations), the growth of both populations is occurring nationally, and Oregon is no exception. From 1990-2000, the Latino population in Oregon doubled in twenty-one of the state's thirty-six counties, including the county in which the study's schools are located (Stephen, Mendoza, & Magana, 2008). Around that same time (1991-2001), the English Learner population in Oregon schools grew by over 275% (Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students, 2002). And, as noted above, in November 2008 voters in Oregon decided to reject a statewide ballot measure that would have required English Learners to be taught exclusively in English.

The purpose of the study is twofold: (1) to examine the enrollment and instructional integration patterns of students from diverse backgrounds in two Oregon elementary schools that have implemented two-way immersion as a school-within-a-school approach, and (2) to explore how school staff perceive these patterns in relation to

the implementation of TWI. In contrast to traditional school desegregation studies, the study uses a broader lens by which to examine integration patterns than one focused exclusively on school-wide racial composition. The study instead examines student integration at two levels: school-wide and within the instructional programs that the schools provide. It also considers the concept of student integration to include but not be limited by race (or ethnicity), examining language background, socioeconomic status and special needs classification as well. The broader concept of student integration stems from the design of two-way immersion, the popular usage of a school-within-a-school approach in its implementation, and the integration challenges surfacing in TWI literature and TWI sites.

By design, two-way immersion integrates students of different language groups for academic and literacy instruction. Spanish and English speakers are the most common language groups served by TWI programs. However, the extent to which the two language groups are integrated in classroom instruction varies across TWI programs. Some studies (deJong, 2002; Stipek, Ryan & Alarcon, 2001) indicate that the two language groups are separated for considerable amounts of instructional time. In addition to examining the extent to which students of different language backgrounds are integrated in classrooms, I examine whether there are differences in the instructional integration patterns based on socioeconomic status and/or special needs. Socioeconomic status is important to examine for three reasons: (1) it has been highlighted in the TWI literature as posing unique challenges to the implementation of TWI; (2) it reflects an NCLB “achievement gap” subgroup that tend to fare less well academically; and (3) students with lower socioeconomic status are frequently overrepresented in (a) lower

ability groupings in elementary schools (Rist, 1970/2000), (b) lower academic tracks in middle and high schools (see Tyson, Darity, & Castellino, 2005, for a summary of much of this literature), and (c) "majority-minority" schools at all levels (Ferg-Cadima, 2004; Fry, 2006; Orfield & Lee, 2004). I added special education status (having an Individualized Education Plan (IEP) or not) as a variable of interest because I designed the study in part to investigate teacher concerns that had been voiced at one of the study schools that "high needs" students were becoming concentrated in the English only strand.

By default, two-way immersion is frequently implemented as a program or a school-within-a-school model, co-existing with an English only program (frequently referred to as the English strand) in the same school. This is not a necessary component of two-way immersion, but rather appears to be a practical matter in scaling up a complex school reform within a neighborhood school. In this study, all students in the school are considered participants, not just those enrolled in the TWI programs. The reason for the whole-school focus is simple: Integrating students of diverse backgrounds within schools and within classrooms should be a school-wide goal, not one reserved exclusively for two-way immersion students.

Research Design and Questions

A mixed methods research design was used to examine student demographic changes and instructional integration patterns over a ten-year period (1999-2009) in two elementary schools in Oregon. "Cypress" and "Willow" are located within the same district and both schools began implementing a two-way immersion program within this timeframe. They are also Title I schools, meaning at least 40% of the students enrolled

are eligible to receive a free or reduced cost meal through the national school lunch program. Three research questions guided the study:

1. How has the demographic profile (language background, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status) of students changed in the school from 1999-2009?
2. How has the introduction of the two-way immersion program changed how students of different backgrounds (language background, socioeconomic status, and special education status) are integrated for academic instruction within the school?
3. How does school staff interpret any changes in school demographics and instructional integration patterns that have occurred?

To answer the first two study questions, student enrollment data were analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistical methods (hierarchical loglinear modeling and chi-square tests of association). For the third question, I used grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to guide the analysis of interviews and focus groups with school staff, as well as observations and archival documents. Interest convergence, although helpful in understanding the proliferation of two-way immersion nationally, was less helpful in understanding the microprocesses involved in the introduction of these programs and their influence on student integration patterns at Cypress and Willow. Instead, I relied on Bourdieu's (1986, 1990/1970) concept of cultural capital to help explain the themes that emerged in the grounded theory analysis. The next chapter explains further the theoretical framework for study.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to more fully understand the purpose of the study and its theoretical foundation, it is important to understand the connection between school segregation, Latinos and two-way immersion. Despite its potential to integrate students of differing ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds, two-way immersion faces its own challenges in integrating these students. It also involves a significant restructuring of schooling practices that school staff must at least accept if not embrace as a prerequisite for the program's existence at the school. After discussing segregation issues, and explaining the TWI model, I highlight both the integration and restructuring challenges frequently inherent in two-way immersion implementation. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of how cultural capital has been investigated in schools and its relevance to this particular study.

School Segregation and Latinos

As our nation recently celebrated the 50th anniversary of the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision, there was much critical reflection on its impact on desegregation. Part of this reflection involved a sobering realization that our nation's schools remain highly segregated, and are becoming more so. Orfield and Lee (2004) document how the Supreme Court's 1991 decision in Dowell v. Oklahoma City allowing school districts to end their desegregation plans has contributed to this resegregation. Moreover, their data show that, unlike Blacks who experienced the most dramatic gains in integrating into White schools during the civil rights era, Latinos remained in segregated schools and the impact of this racial segregation is compounded by segregation by poverty and language

background. While a growing Latino population has contributed to their increased segregation, Orfield and Lee also attribute the lack of progress for Latinos to more lax enforcement of desegregation orders concerning this population:

> For Latinos, who have recently become the largest group of minority students, segregation has been steadily increasing ever since the first national data were collected in the late 1960s. The Supreme Court said nothing about Latinos until nineteen years after *Brown* and there never was any significant enforcement of desegregation for Latinos. (p. 4)

Although the segregation of other racial/ethnic groups, such as Blacks, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, or Mongolians, was legally codified in federal and state statutes, the legal basis for the segregation of Latinos has been less straightforward (Ferg-Cadima, 2004). [The federal government defines Hispanics/Latinos as an ethnic group, not a racial group, in the U.S. Census and other governmental data collection efforts on race/ethnicity. Despite the "official" ethnic as opposed to racial status for Hispanics in Census policies and procedures, most federal and state government racial data collection and reporting mechanisms (including those used in schools), have historically conflated racial and ethnic categories, using a mutually exclusive racial/ethnic category system that identifies five separate groups: Hispanics/Latinos, Whites, Blacks, Native Americans/Alaska Natives, and Asian/Pacific Islanders (Hollinger, 1995). Moreover, Hispanics themselves frequently defy neat racial/ethnic categorization, for example, by opting for "some other race" in the Census 2000 almost half the time (Logan, 2004; Saenz, 2004). Therefore, ethnicity is paired with race or used interchangeably throughout this paper.] The nebulous racial status of Latinos within legal U.S. racial record-keeping led to creative legal arguments in years past to either challenge or justify the segregation

of Latinos, particularly Mexican-American or Mexican immigrant children, in public schools with mixed results. As Ferg-Cadima states,

> The holding of *In re Rodriguez,* and its progeny, that Mexicans were the 'other white[3]' was the most readily viable legal claim advocates could make in early Latino desegregation cases. The "other white" theory, however, would later help reluctant school districts subvert post-Brown desegregation decrees by "integrating" African American students into "Mexican schools," which officials claimed were "white" schools, thereby leaving the real white schools untouched under desegregation orders. (p. 13)

Latinos brought suit against school districts in Arizona, California and Texas that were segregating their children beginning as early as 1925 (e.g., Romo v. Laird), however it wasn't until the Mendez v. Westinster case in 1947 that Latinos in California were granted legal protection from segregation practices in schools (Ferg-Cadima, 2004). Moreover, the legal protections of the 1954 Brown decision were not extended to Latinos in other states until the early 1970s (Ferg-Cadima, 2004, Orfield & Lee, 2004). Notwithstanding these legal victories, school segregation for Latinos did not end in the seventies. In fact, as de jure segregation ended, de facto segregation increased, with most Latinos currently attending not only majority-minority schools but also high-poverty schools (Ferg-Cadima, 2004; Fry, 2006; Orfield & Lee, 2004).

Separate *and* Unequal?

For the past twenty-five years, there has been a steady erosion of desegregation policies (Orfield & Lee, 2007; Rumberger & Palardy, 2005; Weiner, 2006) with the most recent Supreme Court decision severely restricting the use of race in student assignment

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[3] There are different capitalization conventions used to refer to the racial categories of White and Black. When I use the terms, they are capitalized, as suggested by the American Psychological Association (2009). However these terms occasionally appear uncapitalized within the text when I include direct quotations from cited sources which do not capitalize these terms.

policies. The decision involved desegregation policies that school districts in Seattle and Louisville had voluntarily adopted in an effort to maintain racial diversity within their schools that was relatively consistent with the district's overall racial composition. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice Roberts concluded:

> The school districts have not carried their heavy burden of showing that the interest they seek to achieve justifies the extreme means they have chosen--discriminating among individual students based on race by relying upon racial classifications in making school assignments (Parents Involved in Community Schools, 2007).

Roberts went on to assert that the "compelling interest" of "combating past intentional discrimination" did not apply in these particular districts because the Seattle schools were never segregated by law and the court-ordered desegregation plan governing the Jefferson county public schools had been dissolved. In coming to this conclusion, the court essentially decided that the compelling interest for schools and society was not racial integration but the removal of legally codified racial discrimination. According to this interpretation, the districts' voluntary desegregation policies were in fact the real racial discrimination occurring in this present historical moment, harming the plaintiffs in question by using "extreme measures" to address racial injustices that no longer exist in Jefferson county and never existed in Seattle.

Whether segregation is de jure or de facto, there is a considerable body of research (Ancheta, 2006; Berends & Penaloza, 2010; Hanushek, Kain, & Rivkin, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Lee, 2004; Orfield, 2002; Orfield & Lee, 2004, 2005, 2007; Rumberger & Palardy, 2005; Welner, 2006) to support the contention that students derive educational benefits from racially diverse schools and harms from racially isolated schools, with the harms disproportionately borne on the backs of children of color. It isn't

“race” per se but the unequal social status among racial groups and the ways in which these inequalities manifest themselves that lead to concerns about racially segregated schools. Orfield and Lee (2005) make the case for continued desegregation efforts because of the strong linkage found between racially segregated schooling, socioeconomically stratified schools, and profound differences in educational opportunities:

> The simplification of segregation into purely a racial issue ignores the fact that schools tend to reflect and intensify the racial stratification in society. Desegregation efforts aim at breaking the pernicious link between the two by taking a black and Latino student from a high poverty school to a middle class school that often has better resources, more qualified teachers, tougher academic competition, and access to more developed social networks (p. 15).

Lee’s (2004) study of metropolitan Boston highlights the strong correlations between racial segregation and income disparities. Using 1989-2001 data collected by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), she found that almost all (97%) of the “intensely-segregated minority schools” (those with fewer than 10% Whites) enrolled a majority of students who qualified for the free or reduced meals program compared to 1% of the “low-minority schools” (those with fewer than 10% non-Whites). Orfield and Lee (2004) confirm these trends nationally using NCES data from 2002-02. Rather than “low-minority schools,” they used the term “intensely segregated white schools” to refer to schools with fewer than 10% Black or Latino students, again comparing them to “intensely segregated minority schools” (those with fewer than 10% Whites). They also used the term “concentrated poverty” to refer to schools with a majority of students qualifying for free or reduced meals. In this case they found 15% of the intensely segregated White schools were also concentrated poverty schools; whereas 88% of intensely segregated minority schools were also concentrated poverty schools.

While individual poverty has been linked to lower achievement outcomes for students, including affecting children's cognitive and physical development as well as interrupting their schooling due to housing instability (Rothstein, 2004, as cited in Orfield & Lee, 2005), individual poverty alone doesn't completely explain differences in educational outcomes between racially segregated schools. Although the results have been mixed on the impact that desegregated schools have on minority student achievement (see Mitchell, Batie & Mitchell, 2010 for a review of much of the research that was conducted prior to the mid-1990s), more recent research has linked segregated schooling to reduced achievement for Blacks and Latinos. Berends and Penaloza (2010), for example, examined NCES data from 1972 to 2004 and found that increasing school segregation corresponded with significant increases in mathematics test score gaps between Blacks and Whites, as well as Latinos and Whites, even after accounting for differences in family backgrounds. Hanushek, Kain and Rivkin (2009) confirm that school racial composition has a negative effect on mathematics test score gaps between Whites and Blacks. Using three to four years of Texas state achievement data from the mid-1990s for two 4th grade cohorts, they found that a higher proportion of Blacks in a school significantly reduced mathematics achievement for Blacks, and produced generally insignificant but nevertheless reduced mathematics achievement in Whites. The estimated effects on achievement were not only more consistent for Blacks than Whites, the negative effect on achievement was also twice as large for Blacks compared to Whites. In addition, to controlling for student and family characteristics (e.g., poverty, mobility) and prior student achievement, the study also accounted for differences in school quality (e.g., teacher experience and class size). The authors concluded that

"existing levels of segregation in Texas explain a small but meaningful portion of the racial achievement gap" (p. 350).

Given the evidence against racially isolated schools for non-Whites, and the evidence suggesting that Latinos are often times triply segregated (in majority-minority schools, concentrated poverty schools, and schools with concentrations of students with limited English proficiency), two-way immersion programs appear to offer a particularly promising alternative. Although TWI programs weren't specifically designed to increase racial integration, Orfield (2002) recommends the use of two-way immersion as a promising desegregation strategy. In fact, some programs were specifically started to encourage more White families to return to and/or remain in schools that were becoming "majority-minority" schools (e.g., see deJong, 2002; Kirk Senesac, 2002). A review of the TWI literature suggests that some TWI programs are fairly racially balanced and socioeconomically diverse, but not always. Whites and Latinos are typically the largest racial groups served in TWI programs (Howard & Sugarman, 2001). Spanish speakers tend to be Latino, but the racial/ethnic demographic profiles of English speakers in TWI programs can vary. According to Howard, Sugarman and Christian (2003) 54% of the programs across the U.S. that participated in their survey had no clear racial/ethnic majority of native English speakers. Other studies (Alanis, 2004; Parkes, 2006; Perez, 2004) reveal that some TWI programs serve a predominantly Latino population, which although seemingly similar by U.S. ethnic/racial categorizations, differs considerably in language background, nationality and socioeconomic status.

By integrating Spanish and English speakers, two-way immersion also has the potential to improve the integration of students from different socioeconomic

backgrounds. According to the Pew Hispanic Center, in 2005 24% of the adult Latino population in the U.S. had less than a 9th grade education compared to 3.2% of the White population. Of course, not all Latinos in the U.S. are English Learners, but there is strong evidence that Latino immigrants are even more disadvantaged than U.S. born Latinos. Almost 35% of foreign-born Latinos had less than a 9th grade education in 2005, compared to less than 10% of their U.S. born peers (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006a). There are also large differences in terms of poverty. In 2005, almost 23% of the Latino population lived in poverty compared to 9% of Whites. These disparities were even more pronounced in the under 18 age category, where 30% of Latinos compared to 11% of Whites lived in poverty (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006b).

Several studies (Fern, 1995; Fitts, 2006; Freeman, 1995; Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2005), and Rolstad (1997) provide further evidence of socioeconomic status disparities within TWI programs. Fern (1995) and Freeman (1995) both studied a nationally renowned TWI program in Washington DC. The demographics of the community and the students within the school were well known to staff and the community at large. Latino and Black students at the school typically qualified for free and reduced lunch. White English speakers, on the other hand, tended to come from very affluent families. Fitts (2006) confirms these disparities in her study of a Spanish/English TWI program in the Southwest, commenting that "some kids live in trailers and bring ramen noodles to school while others live in expensive homes and eat sushi for lunch" (p. 346). Rolstad (1997) examined a California school that offered a Korean TWI program, a Spanish bilingual program, and a traditional English strand. Based on interviews with parents and school staff, she found that Spanish speaking parents in the Spanish bilingual

program had the lowest education and lowest occupational status than parents in the other programs, including Latino parents whose children were in the Korean TWI program. However, Rolstad notes that these socioeconomic differences "were not extreme." Lindholm-Leary and Borsato (2005) surveyed high school students who had been enrolled in two-way immersion programs since elementary school. They examined differences in mother's education level and differences in free/reduced lunch program participation between Spanish speaking English Learners, Latino English speakers, and White English speakers. On both variables (mother's education and free/reduced lunch), there were significant group differences and in the same hierarchy suggested by the national data. The lowest level of parent education and highest level of poverty were found among Spanish speakers, followed by Latino English speakers, then White English speakers.

In addition to its potential to integrate students who differ by race, language and socioeconomic status, research evidence suggests that TWI is particularly effective at improving educational outcomes for English Learners, including those whose primary language is Spanish (Cazabon, Nicoladis, & Lambert, 1998; Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2005; Thomas & Collier, 2002). However, the model is not an easy one to implement. The next section describes more fully the programs goals, essential components and the common forms two-way immersion takes in schools. This is followed by a discussion of some of the student integration challenges that have surfaced in its implementation.

TWI Goals, Components and Structure

Two-way immersion programs are unlike traditional foreign language immersion programs *and* traditional bilingual education models in the United States. Foreign

language immersion programs target English speakers, providing a foreign language immersion experience for some or all of the time, ensconced in an “additive bilingual” context that doesn’t attempt to replace students’ English with a different language but rather to increase their linguistic repertoire (Lambert, 1977). “Bilingual education” is a bit of a misnomer but is a term that is frequently used to refer to the full gamut of English Learner instructional approaches, including those models that provide instruction exclusively in English. Bilingual education programs target non-English speakers, with goals and instructional approaches that vary considerably, even within program types. Various researchers (Genesee, 1999; August & Hakuta, 1997; Christian, 2006) have identified the following different types of English learner instructional programs and services: (1) English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction; (2) newcomer programs; (3) sheltered instruction; (4) structured immersion; (5) transitional bilingual education; (6) maintenance or developmental bilingual education; and (7) two-way immersion programs. Only the last two of these models provide a similar additive bilingual approach for English Learners as foreign language immersion does for English speakers. In addition, only two-way immersion programs combine English Learners and native English speakers in the same classroom and provide instruction on academic content and language development in both languages to both language groups. TWI programs have the following goals for both language groups: grade level academic achievement, biliteracy development, and cross-cultural competence (Christian, Howard, & Loeb, 2000).

In two-way immersion programs English Learners from the same primary language background are taught academic content and literacy skills in their native

language and in English alongside native English speakers. Dual language immersion or dual language programs are other terms that have been used to describe this model. In practice, however, dual language programs may involve English Learners from a single language group that receives instruction using an immersion approach in English and their primary language (Freeman, Freeman & Mercuri, 2005). TWI programs, on the other hand, are more likely to refer to programs that integrate English Learners and non-English Learners in the same classroom. Although programs may label themselves differently, the TWI label in theory and in practice is more accurately aligned with the model articulated here. As might be expected based on the demographics of the English Learner population, Spanish/English models are by far the most common TWI programs, representing about 95% of the programs in the Center for Applied Linguistics TWI directory. Ideally, TWI programs should have approximately equal numbers of English speakers and English Learners in the program. In practice, this exact balance is hard to achieve and maintain. Howard, Sugarman & Christian (2003) suggest that programs should strive for equal numbers, but avoid letting that balance get below a 70:30 split between language groups.

Besides the targeted student population, the essential components of TWI are the use of both languages for academic and literacy instruction, the integration of students from both language groups for a significant amount of the instructional day, and the implementation of this approach for several years, typically throughout elementary school and sometimes beyond. The manner in which instruction takes place is largely left to the discretion of schools. Christian, Howard and Loeb (2000) suggest that a major difference between programs is how they divide the language of instruction, with some

programs doing so by content area, others by personnel, and still others by time (e.g., morning/afternoon or alternate days). Although researchers highlight the importance of an immersion approach, the occasional mixing of languages is not entirely ruled out (Howard, Sugarman, Christian, Lindholm-Leary & Rogers, 2007).

TWI programs operate largely at the elementary school level. Of the 332 TWI programs included in the Center for Applied Linguistics directory, over 95% are in public schools, and over 80% are in public elementary schools. These numbers actually underestimate the programs in operation, since this directory relies on programs to notify the Center for Applied Linguistics of their existence. The magnitude of this undercount is exemplified when one examines the difference between the Center's directory and California's two-way immersion programs directory. As testament to the popularity of TWI, California has also begun maintaining a directory of these programs in the state. The California directory lists 201 TWI programs that are in operation throughout the state (California Department of Education, n.d.); the Center for Applied Linguistics TWI directory lists approximately half that number (104) for California. The Center's estimate of the number of TWI programs in Oregon (the state in which this study takes place) is also low, listing only twelve programs and none from the largest public school district in Oregon, Portland Public Schools. The Portland district's website, however, lists twenty schools that offer language immersion programs, most of which are two-way immersion programs (Portland Public Schools, n.d.). Despite the incompleteness of the Center for Applied Linguistics directory, it is the only national TWI directory that exists and it provides important information about the types of programs offered throughout the country.

Whole school TWI programs are more common in elementary schools, but are nevertheless relatively rare. The majority (over 75%) of the elementary-level TWI programs listed in the CAL directory operate as programs or instructional strands within the school -- similar to a school-within-a-school approach more commonly found in secondary schools. In other words, two-way immersion programs frequently co-exist with an English-only program (frequently referred to as the English strand) in the same school.

Integration Challenges in TWI

Several integration-related challenges have surfaced in two-way immersion implementation. These challenges exist within the program itself and within the schools and communities in which they operate. They refer both to the type of school segregation issues highlighted in the literature above as well as the difficulties of integrating an elementary school divided by distinct educational programs, students and teaching staff. (Unless otherwise noted, the studies cited below on specific two-way immersion programs involved Spanish-English two-way immersion programs in elementary schools.)

Instructional Integration of Language Groups Varies

The TWI literature (e.g., Howard, Sugarman, & 2003; Lindholm & Aclan, 1991; Thomas & Collier, 2002) indicates that integration of the two language groups in instruction is an essential part of the program. Lindholm and Aclan highlight the importance of maximizing the instructional integration of both language groups, suggesting that TWI "students are [supposed to be] integrated for all content instruction in a high quality curriculum equivalent to the curriculum taught in mainstream classes" (p. 103). However, studies indicate that students in some programs may be integrated far

less than one might expect in a two-way immersion program. Stipek et al (2001) and deJong (2002) documented TWI models where English Learner and native English speaking students in the TWI program were separated for instructional purposes for significant amounts of time. Although segregation by language group is commonly the case for primary literacy development instruction in kindergarten and first grades (Thomas & Collier, 2002), both Stipek et al and deJong indicated that the TWI students in the programs they studied were also separated by language group for math instruction. The program de Jong studied segregated students for second language literacy development too. In fact, students in the latter program appeared to be segregated by language group for at least half their day through the 2nd grade.

Access Is Typically Limited and Selective

Gaining access to two-way immersion is usually very different than enrolling in one's neighborhood school. In some cases, Spanish speaking ELLs have an advantage in gaining access to Spanish/English TWI programs. Some schools actively recruit and/or automatically enroll them – although parents are typically informed and may refuse to accept this placement for their child (Armendariz & Armendariz, 2002; Stipek, Ryan, & Alarcon, 2001; Thomas & Collier, 2002). In most cases, however, an extensive application process is involved and being a member of the targeted non-English language group is no guarantee of admission. In fact, some TWI programs are highly selective with application processes that can involve language testing, interviews, early deadlines and lotteries to determine which students are allowed to enroll (de Jong, 2002; Fern, 1995; Kirk Senesac, 2002; Palmer, 2010).

Because two-way immersion is often implemented as an instructional option or a form of “school choice”, it is probable that TWI students may be qualitatively different from their peers who aren’t subjected to similar admissions requirements. There is a longstanding body of research to support the claim that enrollment options are exercised more frequently by more advantaged populations and can lead to stratified offerings and groupings of students, leaving the least advantaged students behind (e.g., see Corwin & Schneider, 2005, Martinez, 1991, and Easton & Bennett, 1989, for between school effects; and, Lee, 1993, and Lee & Ready, 2007 for within school effects). Proponents of voluntary desegregation efforts and of school choice options suggest that the attraction of middle class families to specialized schools or instructional programs should be seen in a positive light, encouraging families who may have left their neighborhood schools (or public schools altogether) to return. Several TWI studies have not directly studied this phenomenon, but have commented on how the introduction of TWI coincided with noticeable increases in the enrollment of White and/or middle-class families (Blankenship, 2001; de Jong, 2002; Fern, 1995; Freeman, 1995; Kirk Senesac, 2002)

Access to TWI is further impacted by the program’s design. TWI programs tend not to admit students after they reach a specified grade level (Christian, 1996; Christian, Howard & Loeb, 2000). Ideally, students are expected to enroll in these programs in kindergarten and remain in them at least until they finish their elementary school years. Sometimes English Language Learners from the non-English targeted language group are permitted to enroll in the TWI program after the first grade, but this is not typically the case for native English speakers or ELLs of other language backgrounds.

Finally, access may be limited by perceptions that TWI is appropriate for some students but not others. For example, TWI may be perceived as too challenging for students who begin school with limited literacy skills and those with learning difficulties (Genesee & Erdo, 2007; Palmer, 2010; Perez, 2004; Scanlon & Palmer, 2009), or an inappropriate placement for Black students in general (Palmer, 2010). Although parents may also choose not to enroll their children in TWI programs for these reasons, the research on perceptions about the appropriateness for specific groups of students has focused primarily on school staff perceptions.

Thus, unlike universal access to public education, access to two-way immersion is typically limited and sometimes highly selective. This means that two-way immersion has the ironic potential to limit access for certain groups of students while simultaneously improving access for native Spanish speaking students who, in general, tend to be socioeconomically disadvantaged.

School-Within-a-School Approach Has Inherent Difficulties

The popularity of a school-within-a-school approach to TWI yields it own unique challenges. According to a national directory of TWI programs, the overwhelming majority of these programs operate as an instructional strand or school-within-a-school, including over 75% of the elementary school programs (CAL, 2008). This is likely due to issues of scale. In other words, it is easier to start small. Rather than converting an entire school within a short time frame, a class in kindergarten can be piloted, and as students advance from year to year, the program can naturally grow. In this way, implementation challenges can be managed on a smaller scale and the existing school community (both staff and families within the school) can become acclimated to the program. However,

introducing a school-within-a-school approach in an elementary school, where staff and students are traditionally divided by grade level but not by separate educational tracks, creates its own set of integration challenges.

Outside the TWI literature, the challenges that a school-within-a-school structure creates within a larger school have been documented at the high school level (e.g., see Lee & Ready, 2007), but not the elementary level. The existence of this literature on high schools is a reflection of where this structural approach in schooling is typically found and why it was created. Small schools or small learning communities were launched in the 1990s in response to critiques of large comprehensive high schools that hinder connections between students and teachers. In fact, TWI programs that do not serve an entire school do not typically refer to themselves as a school-within-a-school, but rather as an instructional strand or special program. Despite the labeling difference, there are similarities with the school-within-a-school approach, including separate application procedures, students that remain in the same classes together for many years, a specific instructional theme or approach that guides curriculum development and delivery, and dedicated teaching staff. Because of these similarities, it is likely that two-way immersion programs that operate as an instructional strand within a school face comparable challenges that have been identified in the school-within-a-school literature, including managing relations and creating unity between staff, students, and families who are either in the special program or not (Lee & Ready).

The literature above highlights integration benefits and challenges associated with two-way immersion programs. This study investigates both. It does so in an attempt to measure quantitatively the extent to which students of diverse backgrounds not only

attend the same schools but share the same instructional space. The qualitative portion of the study examines the story behind the integration patterns, in particular how staff are interpreting these patterns and their students. The concept of cultural capital helped to explain the results I found. I turn to this literature next.

Cultural Capital in Schools

In 1970, Bourdieu and Passeron used the term cultural capital to help explain the ways in which social class disparities in France were reproduced, in large part by the educational system which rewarded certain dispositions or cultural signals that were affiliated with the upper class (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990/1970). Bourdieu further elaborates the concept in *The Forms of Capital* (1986), suggesting that cultural capital can exhibit itself in three different forms: an embodied state (through dispositions or cultural practices that are learned primarily in the home), an objectified state (material goods that are representative of one's culture), and an institutionalized state (formal mechanisms and certifications of academic competence). Bourdieu later renamed the concept "informational capital" in order "to give the notion its full generality" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119), however the newer term has not been widely embraced. Cultural capital, on the other hand, has received considerable attention by Western scholars of education, particularly those interested in social stratification processes and outcomes in education, and has been investigated with mixed success.

In a review of the English language education literature on cultural capital, Lareau and Weininger (2003) argue that there are few studies that actually define and investigate cultural capital in a manner consistent with Bourdieu's intent. They found two dominant interpretations. Many studies equate cultural capital with elite culture affiliated

with “highbrow” pursuits (such as “museum visits, …theater attendance, classical music appreciation, and the like” (p. 578)) and/or they distinguish between cultural capital and human capital (such as cognitive and/or technical abilities.) They suggest that neither interpretation is supported by a comprehensive reading of Bourdieu’s various writings on cultural capital and his investigative approach. Because Bourdieu devotes a considerable amount of attention to the social reproduction of elite culture and classes in France in his application of cultural capital, the authors find the first dominant interpretation in English literature studies on cultural capital understandable, albeit misguided and limiting. However, the separation of human capital from cultural capital is more problematic. They argue that Bourdieu “considers them to be irrevocably fused” (p. 580) and he directly addresses this issue in his essay, *The Specificity of the Scientific Field*:

> To attempt to distinguish those aspects of scientific competence (or authority) which are regarded as pure social representation, symbolic power, marked by an elaborate apparatus of emblems and signs, from what is regarded as pure technical competence, is to fall into a trap which is constitutive of all competence, a social authority which legitimates itself by presenting itself as pure technical reason…. [emphasis in orginal] (as cited in Lareau & Weininger, p. 580).

Wacquant (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) suggests that some narrow and perhaps incorrect applications of Bourdieu’s concepts are the result of researchers using his earlier work in a photographic fashion, freeze-framing “formulations that correspond to different stages of Bourdieu’s intellectual development and therefore evince varying degrees of theoretical elaboration” (p.6). While not advocating a fixed, singular definition, which they find elusive in Bourdieu’s works, Lareau and Weininger instead propose, the use of “a broader conception that stresses the micro-interactional processes through which individuals comply (or fail to comply) with the evaluative standards of dominant institutions such as schools” (p. 568). In line with this approach, Carter (2003)

also emphasizes the importance of context in understanding the forms and functions of cultural capital, stating that “cultural capital is context-specific and its currency varies across different social spaces” (p. 137). The following studies exemplify this approach, exploring the ways in which schools expect and reward certain behaviors, attitudes and competencies from students and their families, as well as the ways in which students and their families comply (or not) with these expectations. Most of the studies use a cultural capital lens to examine these issues, however I have included other studies that use a different analytical approach when they explore the standards by which schools reward cultural differences based on class, race and/or ethnic group markers.

Class Issues

Lareau (1987) and Freeman (2010) examine the interaction between school standards and class differences among White families. Both studies focus on parent involvement. Lareau compared two California schools that served communities that differed by social class. One school (Prescott) served mostly families from upper middle class backgrounds (most of the school’s parents held professional occupations); the other school (Colton) served a working class community (most of the school’s parents held semi- or unskilled occupations). She found the teachers’ expectations about parent involvement were very similar in the two schools; teachers at both schools believed strongly in the connection between parent involvement and student success, and they encouraged parents to participate in their children’s schooling by attending school events, volunteering in the classroom, communicating with the school, and reading to their children at home. However, the parents’ abilities to meet these expectations differed in the two communities. Colton parents attended events less frequently, contacted the school

less frequently and more often these communications were about non-academic matters, read to their children less frequently, and appeared to be less comfortable in their interactions with teachers. Prescott parents, on the other hand, were not only more active in the schools, they were informed about the curriculum and reinforced it with their children at home.

Teachers interpreted Colton parents' more limited involvement as a sign that they didn't value education. However, Lareau did not find this to be the case in parent interviews. Both Prescott and Colton parents expressed that they valued education, wanted their children to do well in school, and wanted to support their children's school success. Class differences between the families at Prescott and Colton nonetheless contributed to their abilities to meet the parent involvement expectations of the schools. For example, Prescott parents tended to have stronger educational backgrounds, greater access to information about schooling, and more disposable income and flexible work schedules than Colton parents.

Freeman (2010) investigates how parents (1) interpret the school's parental involvement expectations and (2) negotiate their positions vis a vis these expectations. Her comparison groups were middle, working and lower class parents, all of whom were White and whose children attended the same school. (The location was not disclosed.) She distinguished the three classes from one another based on household educational attainment and occupational status, defining middle class households as having an adult with a college education and a job with a "significant degree of autonomy," working class households as having an adult with at least a high school education and a job with "limited autonomy," and lower class households as dependent on public assistance with

an adult that may have a high school education (p. 183). Her findings suggest that parents at the school understood "the hierarchies evident in the parent involvement discourse" (p. 184) but responded differently to this discourse. Freeman found that lower class parents expressed gratitude at being invited to be a volunteer and interpreted a teacher's caring attitude as evidence that their child was in good hands. Middle class parents saw themselves as resources for the school, providing enrichment activities or participating on school site councils, and took extra effort to ensure that their children surpassed the educational expectations of the school, often times through outside activities such as tutoring or travel. However, the working class parents attempted to redefine the terms of parental involvement expected at the school. They expressed frustration at not being able to attend school events because of work and family commitments as well as transportation difficulties, and were concerned that their lack of attendance was interpreted by educational staff as disinterest in their children's schooling. To combat the negative stereotypes circulating about those who lived in the subsidized housing complexes where they lived and motivated by their previous personal and family history with schooling, they became "super vigilant" (p. 186) about their children's schooling, maintaining active communication with the school and with teachers to "prevent their children from falling through the educational cracks" (p. 185). Freeman acknowledges that she was unable to determine whether the working class parents' efforts were ultimately successful. Nevertheless, the study illuminates the workings of cultural capital among schools and the efforts by non-middle class families to challenge the dominant standards of parent involvement which they were unable to fulfill and create alternative modes of involvement in an attempt to assist their children in school.

Race and Class Intersections

Frequently cultural capital literature addresses the intersections between race and class. While not specifically researching these issues from a cultural capital lens, Lipman (1998) and Oakes, Wells, Jones and Datnow (1997) found that significant restructuring efforts attempting to break down barriers of racial exclusion in schools were thwarted because of a coalition of resistant White middle class parents and teachers to lowering the academic standards for "at-risk" students. The at-risk students were predominantly students of color from low income households in both studies. Lipman's study took place in a Southern city that was approximately 2/3 White and 1/3 Black. Oakes, et al. investigated restructuring efforts in ten schools across the country. Both studies involved multi-year ethnographies that documented the myriad ways in which White, middle class cultural capital dominated curriculum decisions, school structures, student behavior policies (Lipman), and underlying theories of intelligence and ability (Oakes, et al).

Several studies (Carter, 2003; Diamond & Gomez, 2004; Khalifa, 2010; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Rist, 1970) address how class differences intersect with Black cultural dispositions, behaviors, and styles in ways that convert to cultural capital in some contexts but not in others. Two studies demonstrate a middle class advantage among Blacks in terms of the parent/school relationship. In Lareau and Horvat (1999) the setting was a mixed race school in a small, Midwestern town where all but two school staff members (including custodial staff) were White. Diamond and Gomez (2004) interviewed parents at different schools across Chicago. In both studies, previous personal experiences with schools based on class differences influenced the current parent/school relationship in terms of the types of interactions parents had with the school

(Lareau & Horvat) or their expressed orientation toward their children's school (Diamond & Gomez). Lareau and Horvat found that middle class Black parents were more likely to interact with school staff in ways that the staff found supportive or non-threatening, as opposed to the working class Black parents whom staff regarded as hostile. Lower class Black parents, similar to the lower class Whites in Freeman (2010), did not initiate much contact with the schools. Unlike the previous studies that distinguished working class from lower class families based on job status/income and to a lesser extent educational attainment, Diamond and Gomez defined working class families to include those receiving public assistance and high school dropouts. They found that middle class parents were more likely to actively investigate and select the school their child attended, and that this selection process resulted in qualitatively different schooling environments for middle class families compared to working class families. Although the authors also found more positive orientations toward their children's school among middle class Blacks, which resulted in more harmonious school/family relations for this group, they suggest that the class differences in parent orientation toward schools should be considered within the schooling context in which these differences exhibited themselves.

The remaining three studies examine the cultural capital implications of the student/school relationship for Blacks. Rist (1970) illustrates how teachers' classroom practices in a St. Louis school in which all administrators, teachers and students were Black favored middle class children largely based on teacher expectations of ability. After eight days in kindergarten, the teacher assigned students to one of three ability-grouped tables where they would remain for the entire school year. Assignments were based on perceived ability which corresponded quite dramatically with the social class

backgrounds (i.e., income level, educational attainment, and family size) of students. Once seating assignments were made, "the activities in the classroom were perceivably different…. The fundamental division of the class into those expected to learn and those expected not to permeated the teacher's orientation to the class" (p. 277).

The last two studies illustrate how lower class Black youth challenge the middle class and/or White standards of cultural capital in schools with mixed results. Carter (2003) investigated the manner in which low income Black youth in Yonkers, New York negotiate their cultural identities among themselves and vis a vis the cultural capital they believe necessary for school success. Carter and others (Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Khalifa, 2010; Wacquant, 2001, as cited in Khalifa, 2010) distinguish between dominant and non-dominant forms of cultural capital. Carter defines dominant cultural capital as "high status cultural attributes, codes and signals" that enable individuals to "'walk the walk' and 'talk the talk' of the cultural power brokers in our society" and non-dominant cultural capital as "those resources used by lower status individuals to gain 'authentic' cultural status positions within their respective communities" (p. 138). She found that Black youth negotiated both forms within their schools, consciously choosing to conform or not to the dominant form based on their assessment of the costs and benefits associated with that choice. The non-dominant form, what Carter referred to as Black cultural capital, included specific dress, musical and speech styles. The use of Standard or "good" (p. 147) English figured prominently in students' understanding of dominant cultural capital, and their usage of Standard English and other forms of dominant cultural capital depended on (1) the extent to which they felt school staff demeaned their cultural

resources, (2) whether "'acting white' or 'other'" in a given context could jeopardize their "authentic status" (p. 147), and (3) the racial composition of the school and its staff.

Khalifa (2010) suggests that schools shouldn't require students to shed their cultural identities in order to succeed in schools. In fact, he asserts that, for many Black students living in a "hyperghettoized" environment, the non-dominant cultural capital of these students trumps the dominant form of cultural capital expected in traditional schools. For Khalifa, a hyperghettoized environment is one that is predominantly Black and poor, with little economic opportunity and fractured social relations. The site of his study is an alternative high school in a "fairly affluent district in Michigan" (p. 627). Most of the students were poor and Black, although there were a few Whites and Latinos (both of whom were also mostly poor) at the school too. He found that the principal served two roles in activating the cultural capital of students and families at the schools: being a "buffer" and a "bridge" (p. 621). He was a buffer between students and teachers that were less comfortable with and tolerant of students' cultural styles. He was also a bridge between parents and the broader school community, creating a space for constructive dialogue around race and privilege and enabling access for school families to educational opportunities beyond the school walls.

Ethnicity and Language Intersections

The remaining studies address the nexus between ethnicity and language. They illustrate how the languages of ethnic minority communities are typically not viewed as a cultural resource, at best converting to limited cultural capital in some bilingual schooling contexts. All but one study (Blackledge, 2001) concern Latinos in the U.S.

Blackledge (2001) demonstrates how a British school's literacy practices marginalized Bangladeshi mothers in their attempts to support their children's biliteracy development. Their linguistic resources and literacy practices at home were invisible to school staff who lamented the lack of parental support that the Bangladeshi children had to help them learn to read. According to the teachers, Bangladeshi families lacked not only the (English) language skills necessary to support their children's learning, but the home life lacked the proper organization (e.g., too many children and a chaotic environment) and literacy practices to serve as an educational resource. Interviews with the mothers and observations of the home literacy practices revealed that all of the mothers wanted their children to continue their literacy development in both Bengali and English, the majority of the mothers (12 of the 18 study participants) actively supported their children's Bengali literacy development, and they expressed frustration at being unable to be of more assistance to the school because the only reading materials sent home were exclusively in English. All the mothers had very limited English literacy skills, but 78% (14) rated their Bengali literacy skills as good to very good.

Lucero (2010) examines the manner in which a bilingual educational assistant is able to use her own cultural capital to support Spanish speaking children and families in a Pacific Northwest school. Ms. Chamorro, the bilingual educational assistant, had been a teacher in Nicaragua before immigrating to the U.S. This status was widely acknowledged among the teaching staff at the school. Moreover, as one of few bilingual staff members in a school where 25% of the students spoke Spanish as their first language, Ms. Chamorro had linguistic capital that many other teachers lacked. She activated this capital by creating a supplemental kindergarten biliteracy program at the

school that gained widespread support among teachers and families who credited the program with supporting the biliteracy development of Spanish speaking students. The vocal support for the program, nevertheless, did not signify equal status for Ms. Chamorro among teachers at the school nor did it translate to financial support for the program. Ms. Chamorro was not invited to kindergarten team meetings, few teachers at the school inquired about the curriculum or observed her classes, and Ms. Chamorro supplied the materials for the classes out of her own pocket.

Two-way immersion programs in the Southwest provide the context for the last two studies. Both McCollum (1999) and Fitts (2006) demonstrate the difficulty in achieving language parity between language types and forms that are unequally valued in society and that are affiliated with groups that hold different social class statuses. McCollum found that the unequal status between languages and language groups led many Spanish speakers, who tended to be lower income, to increasingly choose English over Spanish. They did so in large part because the language dominance of English was pervasive in the school environment and increasingly within the two-way immersion classes (which began to include more English instruction as a result of state testing pressure), but also because the form of Spanish they used to communicate was explicitly and consistently devalued by their Spanish teacher who corrected them in "proper" Spanish with comments such as, "That's not how educated people speak" (McCollum, p. 123). Fitts (2006) found that an ideology of equality ("we're all the same," p. 346) encouraged staff and students to downplay group differences in social power and access to resources. Although students clearly understood these differences existed, they were permitted to discuss social inequalities only within the confines of school projects or

plays that reinforced an ideology of equality paradigm. An emphasis on strict language separation only served to highlight the differences in language status/dominance between Spanish and English. Especially by the 5th grade, maintaining an English-only classroom in a TWI program with half native English speakers and half native Spanish speakers was much easier than maintaining an all-Spanish classroom. As a result, the usage of Spanish in Spanish class was “more strictly monitored and controlled” and no space existed in which the “Spanish spoken by Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States, which might include codeswitching or borrowed words, [was] explored, honored, or officially allowed” (p. 354).

Collectively these studies illustrate that certain dispositions, styles, and competencies are better aligned with the expectations of schools and school staff, and as such yield higher educational returns for those who hold them. Dominant cultural capital in Western schools, as these studies illustrate, tends to correspond to middle class, White, English speaking culture. This is no accident. The concept of cultural capital attempts to explain the reproduction of social status and the manner in which higher status cultural signals serve as gatekeepers, particularly within formal schooling contexts. However, to research cultural capital in schools is not simply to claim that middle class, White standards are at play, but to document (a) what are the expectations that schools hold for students and their parents and (b) which types of students and families are best equipped to meet these expectations.

In this study, I explore student integration within two-way immersion schools in different ways. The quantitative and qualitative methods used are explained in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I summarize the results of the quantitative study, which examined student

demographic changes and the extent to which the two-way immersion program influenced the instructional integration patterns of Cypress and Willow students who differ by language group, socioeconomic background, and special education status. In Chapter 5, I examine the staff story behind the introduction and ongoing implementation of two-way immersion and frame the results of the grounded theory study using a cultural capital lens. In this chapter, I document how two-way immersion helped activate the cultural capital of Spanish speakers and simultaneously intensified a culture of poverty focus on English speakers/Whites in poverty. In the final chapter, I discuss the major findings of the entire study, as well as the study’s limitations and implications.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The research questions were investigated using a comparative case study of two elementary schools (Cypress and Willow) in Oregon with two-way immersion programs. Both schools are located within the same school district. Stake (2005) defines a case as a "bounded system" where inquiry takes place, typically comprised of "working parts and purposes" and patterned activity (p. 444). Thus, rather than a case study indicating a particular method of inquiry, it signifies interest in a specific system and in understanding the complexities of that system. To better understand the complexities of demographic change, the introduction of two-way immersion programs, and student integration patterns in each school a mixed-method research design was used that drew on quantitative and qualitative data sources and analytical methods. To answer the first two study questions, student enrollment data from each school were analyzed. Several qualitative data sources were used to address the third question. These included interviews with school staff, focus groups with staff, observations of staff meetings, and archival documents. I used grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to analyze the qualitative data.

This chapter details how the study was conducted. It starts with a description of the site selection process. Two separate sections detail the quantitative and qualitative methods employed including specifics on the data sources, data collection activities and analytical procedures.

Case Selection

Several factors influenced the selection of cases for the study. Stake (2005) suggests that a case should be selected for intrinsic or instrumental research purposes. Intrinsic case study is undertaken when one is interested in a specific case for its uniqueness. In contrast, an instrumental case study is used when one "seeks insight into an issue" and the case "facilitates our understanding of something else" (p. 445). Multiple or collective case study research is also used for instrumental purposes, extending the study of one issue or concern across several cases (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 2005). This study was thus designed as a collective case study with an instrumental purpose: using two elementary schools as cases in which to explore student integration patterns before and after the introduction of two-way immersion programs.

Including two schools in the study provided comparisons and contrasts between the schools that a one school case study would not have. Schensul et al (1999) define comparable cases as "those selected because each exemplifies as closely as possible specific characteristics of interest to the research" (p. 244) and suggest that selecting comparable cases to study is helpful for enabling cross-site comparisons of structures, patterns and themes that emerge in ethnographic research. Specific characteristics of interest to this study were:

- Elementary schools with two-way immersion programs
- A school-within-a-school approach to TWI
- Spanish-English TWI
- The introduction of TWI within the timeframe of the study (allowing for before and after comparisons of student integration patterns)

Both schools selected for the study possessed these characteristics. They were similar in other respects as well, including being: (a) located in the same district, (b) Title I schools, (c) magnet schools for Spanish-speaking English Learners in the district; (d) neighborhood schools that permit families outside the school's geographic boundary to enroll in the school and/or the program provided there is space available; and (e) schools that gradually scaled up their TWI program by starting with kindergarten and/or first grade classes and adding an additional grade level each year.

In deciding which case to select, Stake (2005) further suggests that a representative sample of all possible cases is not a realistic or desirable goal, since case study research by design requires intensive research on each case and is meant to illuminate particularities and complexities of each case. He suggests the use of purposive sampling that builds in variety and maximizes opportunities for intensive study. The cases selected for this study share many similarities, however, anyone studying schools and complex educational interventions understands that despite the myriad similarities between them, each operate as dynamic entities with unique circumstances and resources, not as lock-step units. The schools selected for the study were no exception. Despite both being Title I schools, Willow had a community reputation as a school that served a particularly disadvantaged population and a history of substantial staff turnover. In contrast, Cypress had a relatively stable teaching and administrative staff prior to the introduction of TWI. The schools also differed in terms of how long their TWI programs have been operational. One school (Cypress) initiated their program in the fall of 2001, the other in the fall of 2004 (Willow).

The selection of the schools for this study was also based on convenience and familiarity. Their proximity to my residence provided me with ready access to both sites, and in fact enabled me to maintain a steady volunteer presence in the district and one of the study schools (Cypress) for many years. Because of my involvement at Cypress and with the school district, prior to the study, I had considerable background knowledge about the schools' and the district's history before TWI programs existed, the implementation challenges they addressed in introducing TWI, and those they continue to face. In fact, these challenges helped shape the research questions for the study. Ready access, familiarity with the schools, and my rapport with school staff, particularly at Cypress, aided my ability to intensively study these sites in a manner perhaps not possible in a community where I would be an outsider. Stake (2005) underscores the significance of these considerations in case selection when he states, "Even for collective case studies, selection by sampling of attributes should not be the highest priority. Balance and variety are important; opportunity to learn is often more important" (p. 451).

Nevertheless, my personal connection to the sites has its drawbacks. Most importantly, it likely influenced the comments made by some interview and focus group participants, and complicated my ability to suspend my own beliefs or prior knowledge of the actors and the context. To bolster the credibility and defensibility of the findings, I attempted to explicit attend to personal bias at all phases of the research project, from designing the study to writing the results. The various steps I have taken to address the trustworthiness of the qualitative findings are described more fully in the methods section below relating to the qualitative data and analysis.

Quantitative Data and Analysis

Two research questions were addressed quantitatively. Their data sources and analytical procedures are detailed in turn.

Student Demographics

Sample

Ten years of demographic data on K-5 students in two schools (Cypress and Willow) were used to answer the first research question: How has the demographic profile (language background, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status) of students changed in the school from 1999-2009? The school district office provided the student level data. These data were supplemented with aggregate data pertaining to free and reduced meals participation obtained from the state department of education's website.

One of the schools, Willow, changed grade configurations during this ten year timeframe. In the fall of 2006, Willow added grades 6-8. With the exception of the aggregate data on free and reduced meals participation, only data for Cypress and Willow students in grades kindergarten through five from 1999/2000 -2008/09 were included in the study. The student samples for the ten years for each school are listed in Table 1**.** There are two enrollment counts listed for the schools since the enrollment counts differed between the student level data and the aggregate data on free and reduced meals.

Variables

The specific variables within the student data files that most closely matched the demographic characteristics of interest in the first question were: language of origin, ethnicity, and free/reduced meals participation. Language of origin was captured in the district's school data system by over 900 language codes, although English and Spanish

is the language of origin for approximately 90% of the students in the study schools. The actual language codes were initially maintained to investigate language diversity at the schools over the ten years. However, this variable was subsequently recoded and pared down to a language background variable with three levels (English, Spanish and Other) to simplify statistical analysis. The same six ethnicity categories (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Other/Declined) that are captured in the district's data system were used in the study. Only four years of student level data (2005/06-2008/09) regarding free/reduced meals participation were available from the school district. The student level free/reduced meals data were coded as a dichotomous variable (participant or non-participant). These data were supplemented with aggregate data available from the state department of education in order to examine trends over the entire study period.

Table 1. K-5 Student Enrollment for the Study Schools (1999-2009)

Year	Cypress	Willow
1999-2000	325 (300)	280 (253)
2000-2001	318 (291)	275 (236)
2001-2002	303 (274)	276 (245)
2002-2003	477 (406)	309 (278)
2003-2004	486 (429)	308 (281)
2004-2005	485 (428)	317 (274)
2005-2006	410 (374)	317 (286)
2006-2007	427 (396)	424 (401*)
2007-2008	419 (381)	437 (444*)
2008-2009	422 (374)	395 (426*)

Note. Numbers in parentheses are the enrollment counts used to calculate free and reduced meals participation rates in the aggregate data maintained by the state department of education.
*Includes grades 6-8.

Data Quandaries and Decisions

Language of origin and ethnicity data were included in the district's Average Daily Membership (ADM) file. The July ADM file for the previous academic year was used as the baseline file to which other data were added that were not available in the attendance file but necessary to answer the first and second research questions. Determining what constituted a school's enrollment count for a given year was a difficult decision and one that needed to be clarified from the outset in order to integrate the various data sources. Ultimately, the July ADM file was selected. This file included all students who had ever attended the schools in the previous year, including those that had enrolled for only part of the year. It could be argued that this inflates the schools' yearly enrollment counts. However, one could also argue that other methods (such as including only students enrolled for the entire academic year or only those students that are enrolled at the time when attendance is officially recorded) underestimate the numbers of students actually served by a school in a given year. Moreover, student mobility was an issue of interest in relation to subsequent analyses on integration patterns and in interpreting the qualitative data. Hence, it made sense to use the district's July ADM file.

Another data dilemma was how to measure language background. Initially, using both language of origin and English Learner status to better describe the language backgrounds of students was contemplated, since having a non-English language of origin does not mean that one is an English Learner. For that matter, having English as one's language of origin doesn't mean that one is *not* an English Learner. In fact, both instances were apparent in the data. However, using both variables complicated the results more than adding depth to them, in large part because of the instability of the ELL

classification system. A student's ELL classification can change from one year to the next, and not always from ELL to non-ELL, as the data I had demonstrated. In some cases, students were initially classified non-ELL, then reclassified ELL in subsequent years; and, some students were reclassified in either direction more than once over their elementary years. Their language of origin, on the other hand, remained consistent in their student file. Although the reliability of both variables is questionable for a variety reasons, including inconsistencies in classification procedures (e.g., see Abedi, 2004 and 2008, for a detailed discussion of these issues), ultimately the instability of the ELL label coupled with other ELL reliability issues led to the use of language of origin as the sole data source for the language background variable. Although a student's eligibility for free and reduced meals may also change over time, the criteria used to determine eligibility for free and reduced meals are very reliable, which, is not always the case for determining ELL status. However, other reliability issues surfaced with the data on free/reduced meals participation.

Unfortunately, there were sometimes large differences in student enrollment and student participation rates between the student level data received from the district and the aggregate data available from the state. The reliability of these data, however, didn't appear to rest exclusively with the state's aggregate data but instead seemed to be more a function of the lack of integration of the free/reduced meals databases with the rest of the student databases maintained by the schools, the district, and the state. Rather than excluding these data outright, both sources of data were included to help illuminate general trends related to student poverty at the schools rather than exact statistical

representations of the numbers and proportions of students participating in the school meals program.

Analyses

Descriptive statistical analyses of the demographic data were conducted to provide demographic profiles of the schools' enrollment patterns and to illuminate trends in the data that may correlate with the introduction of TWI. Moreover, they provide an important demographic snapshot of the schools' student population over a ten-year period that helped to inform and provide context for the rest of the study.

Instructional Integration Patterns

The second research question was: How has the introduction of the two-way immersion program changed how students of different backgrounds are integrated for academic instruction within the school? Initially, language background, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status were the primary demographic variables of interest, however, race/ethnicity was eventually dropped and IEP status was added. The rationale for this change is provided in the section below describing the variables and analyses.

In order to determine whether the two-way immersion program *changed* how students were integrated for instruction, a before and after TWI comparison of student integration patterns within the classrooms was needed. Thus, the analyses regarding instructional integration patterns were divided into two phases: before TWI and after TWI. The after TWI integration patterns were investigated first by examining differences in the demographic profiles of students in the TWI program versus those in the English only strand at each school. In the before TWI phase, the demographic profiles of students

in 4th and 5th grade-level classrooms were compared. Additional details about the samples, analyses and variables for the two phases are provided below.

After TWI: Differences Between the Strands

Sample. Four years of data (2005/06 – 2008/09) for Cypress were used, covering grades K-5. Some students (<1.5% for each year) were excluded from the analyses because they were missing strand data or because the students were not enrolled in either strand (there were six students “enrolled” at Cypress in 2008/09 who were home-schooled.) The samples used in the strand comparisons for Cypress were 404, 424, 417, and 416, for each year respectively, beginning in 2005/06.

Three years of data (2006/07 – 2008/09) were used for Willow. Because Willow’s TWI program did not reach grade 5 until 2007/08, only the last two years covered the same grades as the Cypress sample (K-5). Preliminary analyses indicated the 2006/07 sample was sufficiently large (covering grades K-4) for adequate comparisons across the factors of interest but the 2005/06 sample (which only included grades K-3) was not. In 2006/07, 55 students (13% of the all Willow students that year) were in 5th grade. These students and an additional two students who were missing strand data that year were not included in the 2006 sample. Only one other record was excluded from the Willow sample, one student in 2008 was missing strand data. The total Willow sample for the three years were 367, 437, and 394, respectively, beginning in 2006. However, the sample sizes for both schools varied based on the analyses that were run. This is explained further in the section below. The actual sample sizes for each analysis are detailed in the results chapter titled “Student Demographics and Enrollment Patterns”.

Variables and analyses. Hierarchical loglinear modeling was used to investigate the relationship between the factors of interest. Hierarchical loglinear modeling is an appropriate method to use when one is investigating potential associations between several categorical variables (Jeansonne, 2002; Stevens, 2002). Because association is the relationship investigated and not directional influence, the variables (or factors) are not assigned independent or dependent roles. Of particular interest in this case was whether there were any differences in the demographic characteristics of students in the two-way immersion program versus those in the English only strand.

Ethnicity was not included as a variable in testing for significant differences between the two strands so as not to further complicate the interpretation of the hierarchical loglinear modeling results. In addition, an examination of the relationship between ethnicity and language background revealed considerable correspondence between the two largest ethnic groups (White and Hispanic) and two language groups (English and Spanish, respectively). For example, approximately 98% of White students were English speakers and 75-82% of Hispanics were Spanish speakers. Special education status (having an Individualized Education Plan or not) was added as a demographic variable of interest. Prior to the study, teachers at Cypress had suggested that the most disadvantaged students in the school were becoming concentrated in the English only strand. Disadvantaged status was operationalized in the instructional integration analyses by two variables: IEP status and free/reduced meals participation.

The following four factors and their respective levels were used to examine student differences between the instructional strands at the two schools: strand (Two-way immersion or English only), language background (English, Spanish, or Other),

free/reduced meals participation (Yes or No) and special education status (Having an I.E.P. or No I.E.P.) After examining expected cell counts for the four factor loglinear design, it was discovered that there were insufficient counts of Spanish and Other speakers across the factors of interest to run the analysis. Thus, the following groups were dropped from subsequent statistical comparisons of strand differences: Spanish speakers in the English Only strand and Other language speakers in both strands.

As an alternative, hierarchical loglinear modeling was used to compare English speakers in both strands first, and then these two groups to Spanish speakers in the two-way immersion strand. This approach was used for several reasons: (1) in order to maintain consistency in comparing students between the two strands; (2) because Spanish speakers were heavily concentrated in the two-way immersion strand (ranging from 96-100% at Cypress and 88-99% at Willow from 2005-2008); and, (3) because the overwhelming majority of students in the English Only strand were English speakers (85-91% at Cypress and 92-95% at Willow during the same years. See Appendix A for a chart depicting English, Spanish and Other language groups by strand for the schools from 2005/05 – 2008/09.)

A revised four factor design was run for English speakers only: strand, free/reduced meals participation, special education status, and year. For Cypress, year had four levels: 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008. For Willow, year had three levels: 2006, 2007, 2008. Year was excluded from the initial model in order to limit the number of factors involved and thus aid in the interpretability of the results (Jeansomme, 2002; Stevens, 2002). Had the initial four factor model including language group been used, each year's data would have been separately run.

After comparing English speakers, hierarchical loglinear models were run of Spanish speakers in two-way immersion compared to English speakers in both strands. Thus, language background and strand were consolidated into one grouping factor with three levels: Spanish speakers in two-way immersion, English speakers in two-way immersion and English speakers in the English Only strand. For the comparisons with Spanish speakers, free/reduced meals participation and special education status could not be examined simultaneously due to insufficient counts of Spanish speakers across all the cells. Two separate three factor models were run instead: (1) group, free/reduced meals participation, and year; and (2) group, special education status, and year.

The hierarchical loglinear modeling analyses were run using the default backward elimination procedure on SPSS Version 15.0. Garson (2009) and Jeansonne (2002) suggest that the slight advantage gained in boosting small cell counts by .5 was offset by the loss in power, so the delta was changed from the SPSS default .5 to 0 for all loglinear analyses. Stevens (2002) recommends lowering alpha to .01 when testing four- and five-way tables with 31 effects or more. Thus, alpha was set at .01 for the four factor loglinear analysis for English speakers at Cypress which included 31 effects. The remaining loglinear models were tested with alpha set at .05. After the most parsimonious model was found by the backward elimination procedure, the general loglinear modeling function in SPSS was used to determine if a simpler hierarchical model could be ascertained and to evaluate the relative size of the final model's significant effects.

Before TWI: Differences Between 4th/5th Grade Classrooms

Sample. To examine student integration patterns before the introduction of two-way immersion, fourth and fifth grade classrooms were compared. Three years of student

data were analyzed for each school. For Cypress, these years were 2001/02-2003/04; for Willow, they were 2003/04-2005/06. The total three-year samples for each school included 377 students at Cypress and 255 students at Willow.

The choice of 4th and 5th grade for the before two-way immersion comparisons was determined by data availability and by grade configurations in the schools. Unfortunately, teacher assignment data from the schools was only available after the TWI program had started at each school. For Cypress, TWI began in 2001; for Willow, TWI began in 2003. Since the programs started in the lower grades at each school and scaled up to include higher grades in later years, there were several years when TWI existed at the lower grades but not in the 4th and 5th grades. In addition, both schools organized their classrooms in 4/5 grade blends during most of the study years; in fact, one teacher taught a 3/4/5 grade blend during this time.

Three consecutive years of data were examined for each school. For Cypress, these years were 2001/02, 2002/03, and 2003/04. Three Cypress teachers taught grades 4/5 in 2001/02; four Cypress teachers taught these classes the remaining two years. In 2002, there was also a third grade class with one fourth grader and 30 third graders. This class was not included in the analysis. Thus, three classes were compared in the first year, and four classes were compared the next two years. The Cypress samples for 2001, 2002, and 2003 included 98, 138, and 141 students, respectively.

For Willow, the years included were 2003/04, 2004/05, 2005/06. During these years, there were two Willow teachers who taught 4/5 grade blends, one teacher who taught a 3/4/5 grade blend, and one teacher who taught a 3/4 blend. After reviewing enrollment in the blended classes with 3rd graders, 4th and 5th grade students in all but

the 3/4/5 blend class in 2005 were included. I excluded the latter because this particular class had insufficient numbers of students (five) in 4th grade to allow for a fair comparison with the other three classes that included both 4th and 5th graders. Thus, four classes were compared in the first two years, but only three classes were compared in the final year. I also excluded students from these classes who were not English or Spanish speakers, again due to insufficient numbers to allow for comparisons. One such student was excluded in the 2003 sample and two such students (each in different classes) were excluded from the 2005 sample. The Willow samples for 2003, 2004, and 2005 included 93, 85, and 77 students, respectively.

Variables and analyses. Free/reduced meals participation was not included as a variable in the "Before TWI" comparisons due to lack of data availability for the years prior to 2005. Therefore, the demographic variables examined in this section were language background and special education (or IEP) status. Language background included three groups at Cypress (English, Spanish, and Other), but only two at Willow (English and Spanish). Consistent with previous analyses, special education status had two levels (IEP or no IEP).

Because of small sample sizes and small rates of students on IEPs, language background and special education status variables were examined separately. Thus, three separate chi-square analyses were conducted for each school. The first analysis examined the relationship between language background and classroom placement. The second examined the relationship between special education status and classroom placement. The third analysis examined the relationship between language background and special education status. I used the Crosstabs procedure in SPSS to run the analyses, and in all

cases included year as a control variable and set alpha at .05. In contrast to the hierarchical loglinear analyses, I use the Pearson chi-square statistic to evaluate and report the results of the two-way tables. Whereas Likelihood Ratio chi-squares are most appropriate for comparing hierarchically related loglinear models, the Pearson chi-square statistic is typically regarded as more accurate for small samples (Stevens, 2002).

Validity Issues

Although the study investigated the potential influence that two-way immersion may have had on instructional integration patterns within the programs and within the larger school in which the programs are housed, the research design is compromised by several threats to the validity of the findings.

Internal validity refers to “the validity of inferences about whether observed covariation between A (the presumed treatment) and B (the presumed outcome) reflects a causal relationship from A to B” (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, p. 38). By design, hierarchical loglinear modeling examines association, not causation. Nevertheless, one might be more confident that the significant relationships detected between two-way immersion and the variables of interest were not spurious if additional mediating factors were considered and addressed. A particularly relevant threat to this study is the issue of history. The district closed three elementary schools during the study’s timeframe: two in 2001, the other in 2006. The school closures dramatically affected the enrollments at both schools. The study includes several elements that may help clarify the relationship between the introduction of the TWI programs at the schools and student integration patterns despite these historical confounds. First, the study includes two schools that introduced their TWI programs in different years. Second, several years of data are

included in the analyses. Third, the study looks at integration patterns within the instructional programs at the study schools, not just school-wide enrollment data. Nevertheless, the school closures, neighborhood demographics, and the enrollments of the schools and the instructional strands are complicating factors that should be considered when interpreting the study's findings.

External validity refers to "the validity of inferences about whether the cause-effect relationship holds over variation in persons, settings, treatment variables and measurement variables" (Shadish, Cook & Campbell, p. 38). Case study research, by design, does not lend itself well to generalizations across persons, settings, treatment variables and measurement variables. However, the choice of a collective case study points to the interest in understanding a phenomena that is common across cases. In this study, two cases or schools that have introduced two-way immersion within the study timeframe and that use a school-within-a-school approach were used to explore the potential relationships between the TWI programs and instructional integration patterns. The location of the study sites and the small sample nevertheless limit the generalizability of the findings related to the second research question. These issues are discussed further in Chapter 6 in the section concerning the limitations to the quantitative portion of the study.

Qualitative Data and Analyses

Qualitative methods were used to address the third research question: How does school staff interpret any changes in school demographics and instructional integration patterns that have occurred? The data sources included interviews and focus groups with school staff, participant observations, and archival data. Grounded theory (Strauss &

Corbin, 1998) was used to analyze these data. In this section, I describe the data sources and collection procedures that were used in detail. I also define grounded theory and articulate how it guided my analysis of these data. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the ways in which I bolstered the credibility of the findings from the grounded theory study.

Data Sources and Collection

The primary data sources were from interviews and focus groups I conducted with school staff. I supplemented these data with observations and a review of archival data. The data sources and their associated procedures are described below.

Interviews

Total sample. A total of 35 individuals were interviewed. Of these, five were district staff; the remaining 30 worked in the schools. The breakdown of the interview and focus group sample by staff role is summarized in Table 2. The average age of the study participants was 45 years old. Five individuals were between 40-49 years of age; the remainder of the sample was evenly split, with 15 individuals under 30 and 15 individuals over 50 years of age. Almost 90% (31) were female. Ethnicity/race was an open-ended question. The majority of the participants (80%) identified as White, Anglo or Caucasian. Five participants identified in a way that is typically reported as Hispanic or Latino; their responses included Hispanic (1), Latino (1), White Hispanic (2), and from Michoacan, Mexico (1). In the school and district descriptions below, I report these individuals in one category: Hispanic/Latino. One person identified as Native American, and one as being of mixed racial/ethnic background.

Table 2. Interview and Focus Group Participants

	Cypress		Willow		District
Staff Role	Interview	Focus Group	Interview	Focus Group	Interview
School					
Principals	2		2		
Teachers	12	6	10	5	
Other	2	1	2	2	
District					
Superintendent					1
Asst Superintendent					1
ELL					2
Other					1
Total	16	7	14	7	5

Although the five district participants were all employed at the district office at the time I interviewed them, the sample from the schools included both (a) individuals who worked at Cypress or Willow at the time of their interview and (b) those who worked there previously. I included former school staff to gather data about demographics and instructional integration patterns at Cypress and Willow over an extended period of time. (I explain the criteria I used to select study participants below.) There was some cross-over in terms of the participants' work experience with the study schools and the district office. For example, two of the study participants from the district office (the ELL coordinator and ELL coach) worked at Cypress previously. In addition, one Willow teacher had taught briefly at Cypress and another Cypress teacher had taught briefly at Willow. So as not to double-count these four individuals, I classified them by their primary affiliation (i.e., the first two as district staff, the latter two as Willow and

Cypress staff, respectively) in the summary table and in the following descriptions of the Cypress, Willow and district samples.

Cypress sample. Of the 16 participants in the Cypress sample, 11 were working at Cypress at the time of their interview. Ten individuals had been at Cypress prior to and after the introduction of two-way immersion, the remaining six were hired after the program had started. I interviewed the current principal, who has been at Cypress since 2007, and the principal who was there from 1988-2005. The teaching staff included four former teachers and eight current teachers. Of the 12 teachers, five had experience teaching in both strands, six had taught only in two-way immersion and one had taught only in the English only strand. Two-thirds of the teachers (8) taught grades K-2, the other one-third taught grades 3-5. The two remaining Cypress staff I interviewed were the ESL and Title I instructional assistants who had been at the school for many years (14 and 13 years, respectively).

The average age of the Cypress sample was 48 and the average years worked at the school was nine. All but two of participants were female. Seventy-five percent (12) identified as White, the remaining 25% were Hispanic/Latino.

Willow sample. Of the 14 participants in the Willow sample, 11 were working at Willow at the time of their interview. Of the total sample, five individuals were at Willow prior to and after the introduction of two-way immersion, one was only there before the program was introduced, and the remaining eight were hired after the program started. I interviewed the current principal, who has been at Willow since 2006, and the principal who was there from 1992-2002. The teaching staff included three former teachers and seven current teachers. Of the 10 teachers, one had experience teaching in both strands,

five had taught only in two-way immersion, three had taught only in the English only strand, and one taught in neither strand (she left Willow before the program reached the upper grades, which she taught). Sixty percent (6) of the teachers I interviewed taught grades K-2, the remainder taught grades 3-5 (one of these teachers also taught in the middle school grades at Willow). The two remaining Willow staff I interviewed were a counselor who had been at the school for 15 years and the ESL instructional assistant who had been at the school for two years.

The average age of the Cypress sample was 41 and the average years worked at the school was 5.5. All but two of individuals were female. Seventy-nine percent (11) identified as White, the remaining three participants identified as Hispanic/Latino, Native American and of mixed race/ethnicity, respectively.

District sample. Both the superintendent and the superintendent have worked in the district office for many years, although not the entire time in their current positions. The superintendent has been at the district office for nine years, five in her current position. The assistant superintendent was in her first year in that position when I interviewed her, but had worked in the district for 18 years. The ELL coordinator and ELL coach had been in their positions for 3-4 years. The other district staff member I interviewed was responsible for processing student transfers between schools. She had been in her current position two years, and worked for the district an additional two years.

The average age of the district sample was 48. All were female and all identified as White.

Recruitment and selection. As an incentive to participate in the study as well as a way to thank the study participants for their assistance, I offered gift cards to most of the individuals I recruited for the interviews and focus groups. (I did not offer these to the superintendent, the assistant superintendent, or the former Willow principal – the latter because I had run out of funds for gift cards by that time.) I also offered gift cards to school and district staff who I relied on to provide me the student data I used for the quantitative analyses. In the end, I was able to provide a $25 gift card to interview participants, an extra $15 gift card to focus group participants, and $25 to school and district data managers. I also offered to donate the amount to the study schools if the individual preferred that option. Twelve of the 35 individuals to whom gift cards were offered chose this latter option.

The criteria I used to guide the recruitment and selection of interview participants were familiarity with one or more of the following issues:

- Student demographic patterns at one or both of the study schools during the study's timeframe
- Specialized instructional placements (e.g., ESL pull-out, TWI, English strand) at one or both schools during the study's timeframe
- The history and current implementation of the two-way immersion (TWI) program at one or both of the schools.

With these criteria in mind, I focused my initial recruitment efforts on:

- current Cypress and Willow principals;
- former Cypress and Willow principals, especially those present during the two-way immersion inquiry and decision-making phases;

- current and former teachers at Cypress and Willow, including those present before TWI was introduced, and representatives from both instructional strands after TWI was introduced;
- ESL assistants at Cypress and Willow;
- district leadership, especially the superintendent; and
- district staff responsible for English Learner administration and oversight.

Additional candidates for interviews were sought as data analyses evolved. To augment school-site specific historical knowledge, I recruited the Title I staff person at Cypress and the counselor at Willow, both of whom had been at the schools for more than ten years. To fill in gaps about the district's student transfer process, including how students gained access to the two-way immersion programs at Cypress and Willow, I recruited the district staff person responsible for this process.

I introduced the study to school staff at staff meetings in December, 2008 (Willow), and in January, 2009 (Cypress). At that time, I sent around a sign-up sheet for individuals to indicate their interest in participating in interviews and I brought copies of the Project Description (see Appendix B) for those who wished further information about the study. In addition to explaining the purpose of the study, I informed the staff that I would be providing gift cards for those who participated in interviews and focus groups once data collection activities were completed. On the sign-up sheet, I asked individuals to identify their staff position, in addition to contact information. Fourteen staff members from Willow signed up at this time, nine staff members from Cypress. I eventually interviewed fewer individuals (7 from Willow, 6 from Cypress) than those that signed up

because some didn't meet the selection criteria and others did not respond when I attempted to schedule their interview.

There were other individuals not present at the meetings and/or that didn't sign up that I recruited directly. These included the current and former principals, district staff, and other staff at Cypress and Willow that met the study criteria. Willow's principal and some of the Willow teachers I interviewed assisted me in identifying other staff to interview. My prior relations with Cypress staff helped me secure sufficient Cypress staff for interviews without any assistance. I also emailed the Project Description to those who were not present at the staff meeting when I handed these informational sheets out.

Procedures and setting. I conducted interviews from February, 2009 – April, 2010. The interviews were mostly semi-structured (Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte, 1999), following the interview protocols I had developed for the various staff roles and emailed the questions 1-2 days in advance to all but three interview participants. (See interview protocols in Appendix C.) I also emailed the project description. I didn't email the questions to one participant because of an internet problem. In three other cases, I didn't email the questions in advance because the interviews were more open-ended (Schensul et al.), and based on gaps that had emerged in the data analysis. These latter three interviews were conducted with the district's staff person in charge of the student transfer process, the former Willow principal, and a second interview with the current Willow principal.

Interviews were conducted at the schools, the district office, or occasionally at a local café. Prior to starting the interview, I gave the participants the Consent Form (see Appendix D) to read and sign. The interviews ranged in length from 30 minutes to two

hours. Most lasted about an hour. I interviewed only one study participant, Willow's current principal, twice. All others were interviewed once. All interviews were digitally recorded and later transcribed. I transcribed the interviews (and focus groups) on my home computer with the assistance of the Olympus AS-2400 Transcription Kit. I also took notes on my laptop during the interviews to aid in later transcription. On five occasions, the recorder shut off before the interview had concluded. Four involved interviews with Cypress staff, one involved a Willow teacher. Sixty minutes out of a total 2,155 minutes (almost 36 hours) of interview data were thus not recorded. I reconstructed these 60 minutes using the notes I took during the interviews and my recollections of our conversation. I also emailed these reconstructed conversations to the interview participants to make sure that I had captured their comments accurately. In four cases, the portion of the interview not recorded amounted to less than 15 minutes. However, about half (25 minutes) of one interview with a Willow teacher did not get recorded. These reconstructed portions of the interview data were inconsequential to the study's findings.

Focus Groups

Sample. Separate focus groups were held for Cypress and Willow staff. Seven individuals participated in each focus group. The Cypress sample included six teachers and the ESL instructional assistant. Willow's sample included five teachers, the ESL instructional assistant and the school counselor. Each focus group included one teacher who no longer worked at the school.

Recruitment and selection. I selected a subset of interview participants to participate in the focus groups at each school. I chose not to invite the principals to these meetings to facilitate a more open dialogue among school staff. I was most interested in

bringing together teachers from both instructional strands, those who had been at the study school for a relatively long period of time, and former and current staff. I initially emailed an invitation to seven staff from each school. (See Appendix E for the script that I emailed to focus group candidates.) All seven Cypress staff accepted the initial invitation. Six Willow staff initially accepted, but one was unavailable on the same date as the remainder of the group. I then sent out a second invitation to two other Willow staff members, which they accepted.

Procedures and setting. The meetings were held in January, 2010, at the respective school sites after school hours. The Cypress and Willow principals facilitated the reservation of the school space for the meetings. To help me design the focus group format, including how many individuals to target, how many and what types of questions to ask, and how long the meeting should last, I relied on Morgan (1997).

The meetings lasted two hours, which was the time I had allotted for each of them. Not all of the participants were present for the entire two hours. Two Willow staff participated for the first hour only. One Cypress teacher joined the meeting late, participating in the last 40 minutes. The meeting time included 90 minutes of discussion among the focus group participants. The questions each focus group addressed are included in Appendix E. I spoke for about 15 minutes prior to and after the discussion period – beforehand to welcome the participants and explain the focus group format, afterward to provide some feedback on the preliminary analyses of the student data. The meetings were digitally recorded and later transcribed. I also took notes on my laptop during the 90-minute discussion time. The discussion was primarily facilitated by the focus group participants themselves. I intervened when there were lags in the

conversation and/or if I wanted the participants to elaborate on or clarify a particular issue that had arisen. The agendas for the focus groups are included in Appendix E. These illustrate the structure of the meeting and the instructions I provided to the participants.

Observations

Participant observations and the archival data review (which I describe later) were less critical sources of data, and were used largely to supplement the data I collected in the interviews and focus groups. My observations were mostly confined to attendance at staff and district meetings. From December, 2008 – December, 2009, I attended staff meetings at both schools. Although these meetings were held twice a month, I could only attend one meeting a month at each school because both schools had the same staff meeting schedule. I developed an observation protocol to guide my staff meeting observations and to serve as a note-taking template (see Appendix F for the protocol I used for this purpose).

I initially designed the study to also focus my school site observations on mapping the physical layout of the schools, especially the locations of the TWI classes, the English strand classes, and any other specialized instructional space that existed at the schools. However, my preliminary work in this area indicated that this was not a particularly fruitful area of investigation, so I spent little time mapping what was clearly a very fluid structure that changed from year to year.

A different site for observations surfaced over the course of the study. Prior to the start of this study and continuing through May, 2010, I was a member of the district's diversity committee, a group of community members and district staff researching

diversity issues in the district schools and formulating a plan of action for addressing diversity needs. My study and my involvement with this district committee converged when the district's internal discussion about the future of Willow's two-way immersion became public in March, 2009. After the March, 9, 2009 board meeting and the article about it that appeared in the local paper the following day, my participant observations for the study included my attendance at the district's monthly diversity committee meetings from March – June, 2009, and a community meeting that was held on April 14, 2009. I did not use an observation protocol for these meetings. However, I took field notes during the April community meeting and I used minutes from the diversity committee meetings to write follow-up memos akin to what Strauss and Corbin (1998) refer to as theoretical notes, "sensitizing and summarizing memos that contain an analyst's thoughts and ideas about theoretical sampling and other issues" (p. 217). Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) guided the textualization of my fieldnotes from participant observations as well as my decisions about focusing on the district meetings as an additional source for my participant observations. They suggest that field researchers "focus on observing key events or incidents," including looking closely at something that surprises or runs counter to" what the researcher expects (p. 27).

Archival Data

Archival documents were collected at various stages of the study. During or immediately after staff and district meetings, I collected hand-outs and meeting minutes when available. Sometimes during interviews, staff would reference documents and later provide me with copies. Not all of these documents were reviewed and coded. Theoretical sampling guided the review and analysis of these data, as well as other

archival data that I actively sought to fill in gaps that had emerged in previous data analysis. To access these data, I did a search of key terms on the district website to access relevant board meeting minutes from 1999-2009. Key terms included the names of the study schools, dual language, ELL/ESL, school closure/consolidation, and student transfers. As a result of the district website search, I discovered minutes and a final report from the Equity Committee. The district convened this committee during the 2003-04 school year to examine the open enrollment policies and practices in the district. I included the Equity Committee meeting minutes and their Final Report in the archival data review. Other primary documents of interest included census data on the community's demographics and local news reports on the two-way immersion programs.

Grounded Theory

I used grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to guide the qualitative data collection and analyses. Data generated from the quantitative analyses also informed the grounded theory analysis, both as a form of triangulation and as an additional source of meaning. Strauss and Corbin define grounded theory as theory "derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed", that emanates from a close relationship between data collection, analysis and eventual theory, and that is "likely to offer insight, enhance understanding, and provide a meaningful guide to action" (p. 12). According to Creswell (2007), Strauss and Corbin's approach is one of the most popular forms of grounded theory used. This may be because it offers systematic, analytic procedures that emphasize microanalysis of data, particularly at the early stages of data collection and analysis, i.e., during open and axial coding stages. Microanalysis involves line-by-line coding of qualitative data, including interview transcripts and observation fieldnotes. The purpose

of microanalysis is to delve deeply into what is being said or what has been recorded in order to “uncover new concepts and novel relationships” (Strauss & Corbin, p. 71) that may get lost in a holistic, uninterrupted reading and analysis of fieldnotes. An additional benefit, in fact a requisite of this microanalysis, is attending to researcher bias. Microanalysis helps to give the researcher “analytic distance” (p. 66) and is designed to force the researcher to consider the “range of plausibility” (p. 65) in each line of fieldnotes during the early stages of coding.

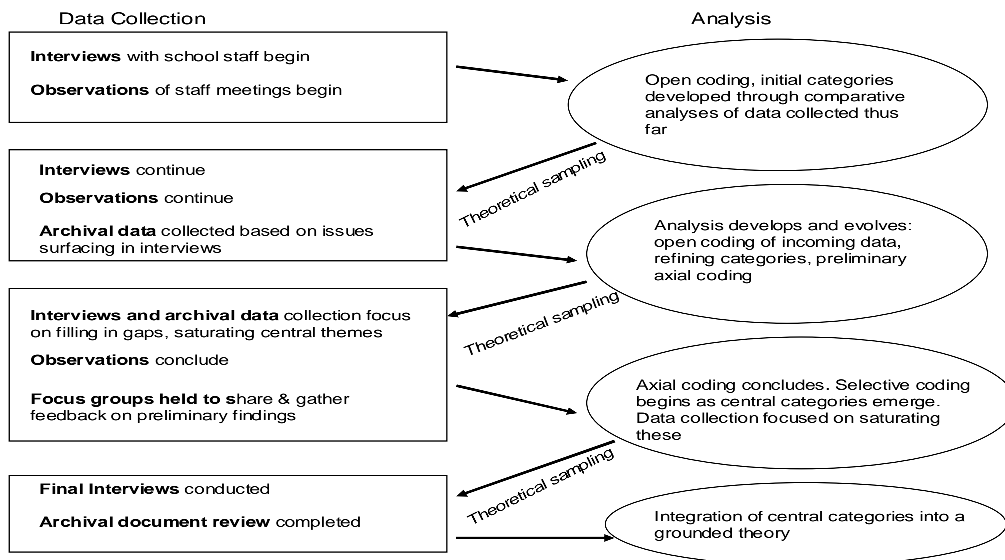
Coding Stages

Grounded theory involves three stages of coding: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. Creswell (2007) suggests that grounded theory proceeds in a “zigzag” fashion, with the researcher going “out to the field to gather data, into the office to analyze data,” then back to the field, then back to the office, and so on in an iterative theory development process (p. 64). Figure 1 provides an illustration of this zigzag approach and a model that illustrates the general flow of the data collection and analysis steps I employed.

Grounded theory studies involve a theoretically driven as opposed to random sampling technique. This type of sampling strategy is purposeful and based on “emerging concepts, with the aim being to explore the dimensional range or varied conditions along which the properties of concepts vary” (Strauss & Corbin, p. 73). In this way, data collection efforts both expand and narrow – expanding in search of additional data to explore the properties of emerging concepts, yet narrowing as central categories emerge and data collection efforts are increasingly driven toward saturating central categories, while ignoring non-central concepts and categories. Theoretical sampling thus informed

my recruitment of study participants, the focus of my observations, as well as my collection of archival data. However, the timing of data collection activities and my success in gathering the data I sought was also guided by practical constraints, including study participants schedules.

Figure 1: Model of Grounded Theory Approach



My coding scheme and data analysis evolved in a manner consistent with Strauss and Corbin's assertion that data analysis is an iterative process that is "free-flowing and creative" and that moves "back and forth between types of coding… in response to the analytic task" (p. 58). I thus describe the three levels of coding I employed not to suggest these were mutually exclusive sequences of coding activity but rather (a) to highlight important differences in the different levels of analysis and (b) to provide the reader with additional details about my coding procedures and how these informed my analysis and vice versa. To help me organize and analyze the qualitative data, I used QSR NVivo 8.

Open coding. I used line-by-line microanalysis to guide my coding of interview data, particularly those that I conducted in the first several months of the study. NVivo 8

provides a “free node” and “tree node” classification system. I used the former for free flowing, line-by-line coding, although even at the earliest stages I began to cluster some of the free nodes into tree nodes to denote a hierarchical structure among some of the free nodes. I used this open coding strategy with five interview transcripts, generating 246 free nodes and 82 tree nodes. At this point, I stopped coding new interviews and re-examined the data I had already coded to determine whether: (a) there was consistency in my preliminary coding scheme; (b) the tree nodes I had created were in fact logical (i.e., that the free nodes they included made sense and the tree node name adequately captured the relationship between the free nodes); (c) the least frequently referenced nodes actually merited a separate category or could be collapsed into a more common/better named free or tree node; and (d) I could use more "in vivo" codes (i.e., the exact words used by the study participant) to name phenomena rather than my own words. I returned to open coding interviews when I was more confident that the codes I was using made sense but I was less reliant on a line-by-line approach as coding proceeded.

Axial coding. Strauss and Corbin define axial coding as “a process of relating categories to their subcategories… at the levels of properties and dimensions” around the axis of the category (p. 123). As I noted above, I began linking free nodes around more general tree nodes from the very beginning of the coding process. Eventually, I refined this process further as some categories were becoming more central in the data. I used the memoing function in NVivo 8 to help me theorize about what appeared to be some of the more common and important themes emerging in the data and how these themes might be related to one another. I also was more likely to code the focus groups and archival data using either an axial coding or selecting coding strategy. I also used the NVivo software

to create sets between different tree nodes and free nodes. And, I used the modeling function in NVivo to help me map the historical sequence of events at the schools, including when different programs were implemented at the schools and when relevant district policies went into effect. To illustrate the progression of my analysis, I have included two of these earlier memos and the initial model that I developed to capture events at Willow in Appendix G.

Selective coding. In the final stages of analysis, I selected the central theme, "Negotiating the value of Spanish" to organize and explain the major findings of the grounded theory study. My choice of this particular theme was guided by the six criteria Strauss and Corbin suggest researchers use when selecting the central category. These are: (1) all major categories must be related to it; (2) indicators relating to the category appear in most if not all cases, (3) the explanation linking the major categories to the central theme is logical and consistent, (4) the central theme is sufficiently abstract in order to facilitate the development of a more general theory; (5) the theory grows in depth and explanatory power as the various concepts are integrated, and (6) the central theme and the theory generated from it can account for variations in the data (p. 147).

Within this central theme, I identified four major categories: (1) the system impacts my building, (2) negotiating about Spanish, (3) integrating Spanish, and (4) isolating English/White poverty. I used selective coding to saturate the categories as much as possible, coding the focus groups in this manner, my observation notes, and returning to previously coded interview data to see whether I missed something. I also searched for additional sources of archival data that were related to these categories and, when appropriate, relied on the results of the quantitative analyses to bolster or refute

specific claims that were being made. In Chapter five, I articulate the linkages between the data I collected, the four major categories, and the central theme. In Chapter six, I link the results of the grounded theory study to the cultural capital literature. As I wrote both chapters, I was constantly returning to the data to ensure that the manner in which I was interpreting the results of the study was grounded and well supported in the data I had collected.

Credibility and Trustworthiness

In response to criticisms regarding the social construction of truth and the susceptibility of researchers to create grand narratives that erase particularities, inconsistencies, and other data that doesn't fit neatly into the story that is ultimately told, Stake (2005) states that "there is no less urgency for researchers to assure that their sense of situation, observation, reporting, and reading stay within some limits of correspondence" (p. 453). There are several ways that I attempted to bolster the rigor of the methods I used and the credibility of the research findings. These included demonstrating as much transparency as possible in detailing my methods and stages of analysis, how the data I collected is linked to the study's findings, my relationship to the research site and the study participants, as well as my interest in the research topic. Below I describe the procedures I employed to bolster the credibility and the trustworthiness of the grounded theory results.

Interpreting Commonalities not Truth

Without ascribing to a universal truth, I nevertheless attempted to make sense of disparate sources of data and different perspectives regarding the same phenomena by searching for common themes, as well as variations within these themes. In an effort to

stay within some limits of correspondence, I digitally recorded and later transcribed all interviews and focus group discussions. I also offered to share interview transcripts with the respective interview participants, but none wished to review his/her full interview transcript. I did however share portions of the transcripts with the five participants whose interviews were not fully recorded, so that they could help me accurately reconstruct our conversation. To bolster the credibility of the findings, I incorporated several quotations from the interviews and focus groups.

While I did not rely on extensive member checks, I solicited feedback from focus group participants and the school principals on emerging themes and the results of the quantitative analysis. In addition, throughout the data collection and analysis phase, I consulted with outside reviewers, including a faculty advisor and a graduate school colleague who is familiar with grounded theory methods. Lastly, I presented earlier drafts of the results to a class of Education Studies doctoral students and at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. I incorporated much of the feedback I received from these various sources in my later analyses.

Triangulation

Ultimately, I did not accept the interpretations of study participants or my own initial interpretations of independent data sources without first corroborating the truth claims being made using additional sources of data. Both Yin (2003) and Stake (2005) highlight the importance of triangulation in case study research to strengthen the credibility of one's findings. Yin defines triangulation primarily in terms of data sources, suggesting that the use of multiple data sources to develop converging lines of inquiry is critical. The various data sources collectively informed the research – not just by

providing confirmation or refutation of other evidence, but also by aiding in the development of theory. Stake defines triangulation in qualitative casework as “a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning” (p. 454). In this vein, staff descriptions and interpretations about the introduction and scaling up of two-way immersion, school demographics, instructional offerings and placements before and after the introduction of TWI, were triangulated across multiple perspectives within and across both study schools, including: similar personnel (e.g., principals, teachers, educational assistants, district staff), those with similar tenures at the school (e.g., those who were present at the schools before and after the introduction of TWI), and current and former employees across both schools.

Although I cannot guarantee that the sample was sufficiently representative of all staff perspectives because ultimately staff were not compelled to speak to me, I did nevertheless ensure that the final sample included the various categories of staff that I had initially set out to interview: i.e., those who were familiar with (a) student demographic patterns at one or both of the study schools during the study’s timeframe, (b) specialized instructional placements (e.g., ESL pull-out, TWI, English strand) at one or both schools during the study’s timeframe; or (c) the history and current implementation of the two-way immersion (TWI) program at one or both of the schools. The sample also included key administrative staff at the schools and district office whose perspectives were critical to the study, including current and former principals at both schools, and the district’s superintendent and associate superintendent. I also did not interview all who volunteered for an interview, only those that met the study criteria, and recruited others to fill gaps in the data as these gaps emerged.

Familiarity with the Setting and Topic

Charmaz (2005) suggests that the credibility of a grounded theory should also be judged on the basis of the researcher's familiarity with the setting and the topic. Although my role as a member of the community in which the study took place posed its own set of challenges (which I discussed earlier in this chapter and again in the final chapter of the study), it also provided me with substantial familiarity with the research setting. My relationship with one of the study schools in fact helped shaped the design of the study. It is because of my relationships at Cypress and my involvement in the Bellflower school district that I was able to access the data that I needed for this study and to more fully understand the meaning of the data within this particular setting. To provide some analytic distance between myself, the setting, and the issues I wished to investigate, I decided to add a second school (Willow) to the study. The addition of Willow helped me to tease out variation in two-way immersion implementation that I do not believe I would have been able to achieve otherwise.

In addition to being familiar with the research setting, I was personally familiar with the model of two-way immersion as well as the challenges inherent in the school-within-a-school approach prior to beginning the study. For the past several years, I supplemented this personal knowledge by immersing myself in the two-way immersion literature to better understand the theory behind the model and the manner in which it was commonly operationalized in the field. My previous knowledge of school choice issues also helped me understand issues of access and to probe more deeply about how different school choice models yield different access issues.

Researcher Positionality

I was well aware throughout the study that my position as researcher affected the data to which I had access. Moreover, my researcher hat was one of many that I wore. I was not a stranger in the community in which the study took place. My children were enrolled in the two-way immersion program at Cypress either prior to or during the data collection phase. It was because of my participation as a site council member at Cypress that I became aware of some of the challenges the school was facing in scaling up their two-way immersion program and designed the study in part to investigate staff concerns about "high needs" students becoming concentrated in the English only strand. I also participated on several district committees concerning diversity issues. Thus, in addition to being a researcher, I was known as a parent, a Latina, a diversity advocate, and a relatively well educated and affluent community member by some of the study participants. Not all study participants were fully aware of my personal and professional background, but all were aware that their comments were being recorded and analyzed. This of course had an affect on what they told me and what they allowed me to see. My ethnic background appeared to make some study participants more or less comfortable discussing racial/ethnic issues. Also, my personal involvement with and interest in two-way immersion made some assume that I was only interested in hearing about the benefits of two-way immersion. Some English only teachers, particularly at Willow, were very reticent to share their concerns, particularly within the context of the focus group where staff from both strands would be present.

I was also aware throughout the study that my worldview as a Latina, a diversity advocate, and a middle class parent whose children resided outside the boundary area of

the elementary Title I school they attended clouded as well as informed my research perspective. I tried as much as possible to critically reflect not only on what I was being told and what I saw, but how my lens distorted and clarified the data I collected and my analytical focus. In the end, whether I have succeeded in presenting a convincing grounded theory of student integration at Cypress and Willow is dependent not only on the rigor of my methods and the strength of the connections between my analysis and the evidence I use to support it, but also on whether the reader and I are seeing the same world.

CHAPTER IV

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Student demographic data were analyzed to examine demographic changes that have occurred over the ten years of the study, as well as how students of differing backgrounds have been and are presently integrated within instructional settings. The results of these analyses follow. The chapter begins with a brief introduction to the community and school district context including a discussion of several significant events that occurred during the study period which likely influenced and were influenced by student enrollment patterns and demographic characteristics at the schools. The results of the analyses regarding demographic changes in the study schools from 1999-2009 are discussed next, and are followed by the results of analyses regarding instructional integration patterns within each school. The chapter concludes with a summary of the major findings.

The District Context

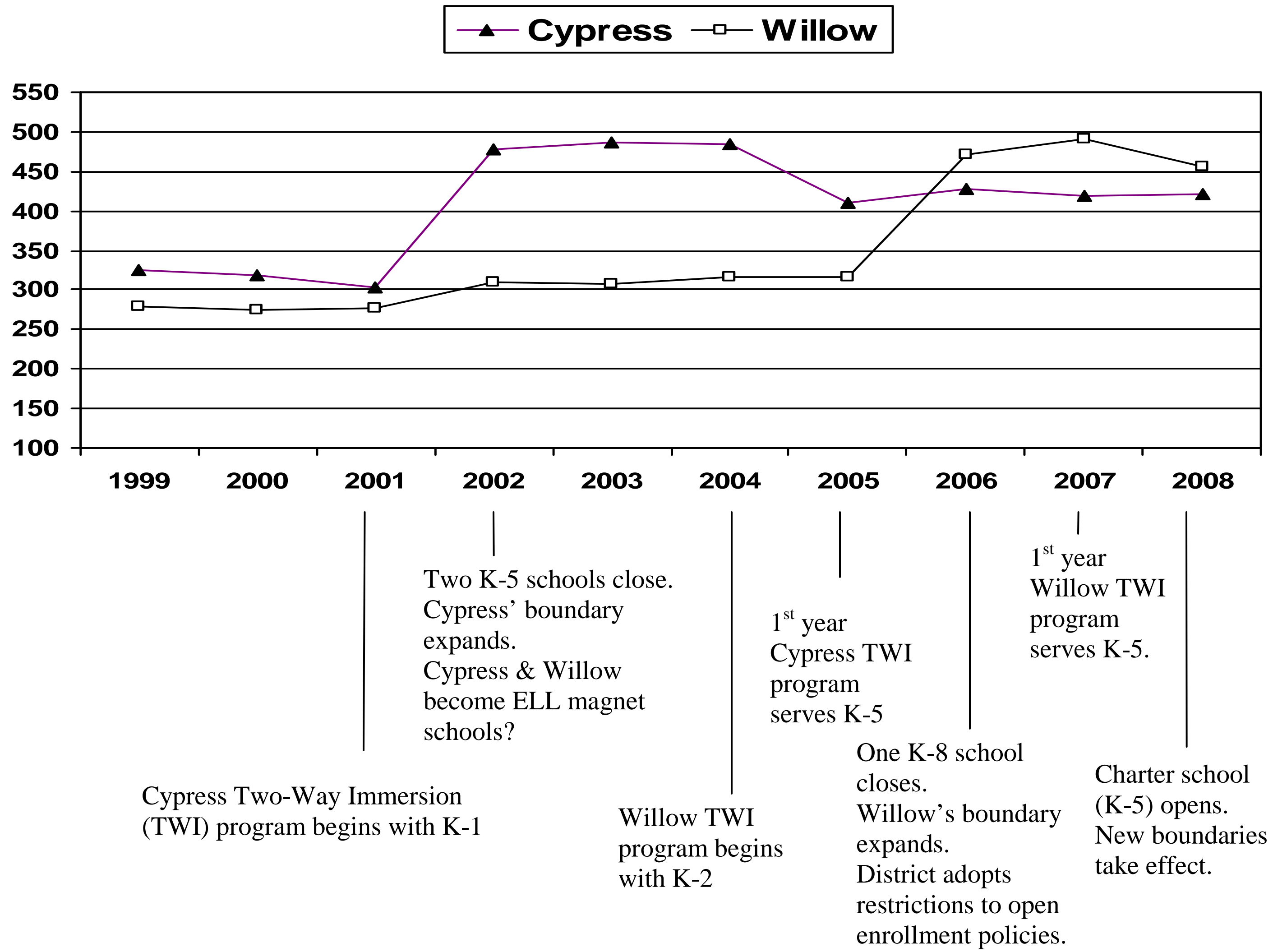
Bellflower school district serves the city of Bellflower. Racially, the city mirrors the demographics of the state. According to the 2000 Census, approximately 83% of the city's population identified as non-Hispanic White, 6% as Hispanic or Latino, 1% as Black and 1% as American Indian. The state percentages were virtually identical for Whites and Hispanics, and about a half a percentage higher than the city for Blacks and American Indians. The biggest difference in the racial profiles of the city and state was in terms of Asians. Approximately 6% of Bellflower residents identified as such, but only 3% of the state's residents did. However, socioeconomically, Bellflower is considerably different than the state. Bellflower's residents are highly educated. In 2000, over 50% had

at least a bachelor's degree, and about 25% had a graduate or professional degree, compared to 25% and 9% of the state's residents, respectively. Income disparities are also somewhat greater within the city than across the state. Almost 10% of the city's families lived in poverty in 2000 (compared to 8% of the state's) and 16% of Bellflower families earned over $100,000 (compared to 13% of the state's). In terms of those likely to have children in K-12 schools, 24% percent of the families in Bellflower in 2000 had children under 18 years of age, compared to 31% of the families in the state. It is within this broader community context that the Bellflower school district is located.

In 1999-2000, the Bellflower school district had eleven elementary schools, three middle schools and two high schools. Two elementary schools served grades kindergarten through eight. The remaining nine elementary schools, including Cypress and Willow, served kindergarten through fifth grade. Over the course of the study, the district consolidated its middle and elementary schools due to declining student enrollment and school funding. (These issues are discussed in more detail in the qualitative portion of the study.) A middle school was closed in 2001. The first round of elementary school closures occurred in 2002, when two K-5 schools were shuttered. Then a K-8 school was closed in 2006, and Willow was reconfigured as a K-8 school. In the last year of the study, 2008-2009, eight of the original elementary schools remained and a new K-5 charter school opened with 60 students.

Figure 2 connects the enrollments at Cypress and Willow to significant events that occurred from 1999-2009, including the elementary school closures, the designation of Cypress and Willow as English Learner magnet schools, and the introduction

Figure 2. Cypress and Willow Enrollment and Significant Events Timeline



and full scale implementation of two-way immersion at both schools. These events no doubt influenced and were influenced by the demographic changes taking place in the schools. As the figure illustrates, the largest jumps in enrollments at both schools coincided with the closures of nearby elementary schools and expanded boundary areas for the study schools in response to the school closures. These enrollment jumps occurred in 2002 for Cypress and in 2006 for Willow. It should also be noted that Willow's enrollment from 2006 onward is further affected by the addition of grades 6-8. Total enrollment numbers were used in this figure to illustrate the dramatic enrollment fluctuations that occurred at both schools over the course of the study period. Because subsequent analyses are concerned with how demographic changes and instructional integration patterns are related to the introduction of two-way immersion (and TWI does not include grades 6-8 at Willow), the subsequent analyses do not include Willow's 6-8 grade students, with one exception: general demographic trends regarding free/reduced meals participation rates for Willow. This data discrepancy is explained further in the section that follows.

Demographic Changes at the Study Schools

From 1999-2008, the demographics of students at both schools were changing in similar but not identical ways. In addition to examining the ethnic and language backgrounds of students, the extent to which the schools served children in poverty (i.e., those eligible for free and reduced meals) was also an area of interest. Unfortunately, only four years of student level data relating to free and reduced meals participation were available. To maintain consistency in the timeframe covered in this section, the four years of student level data were supplemented with the ten years of aggregate data available.

(The trade-offs in this approach are discussed more fully in the Methods and Discussion chapters.) The following sections describe student demographic changes for both schools from the first to the last year of the study, beginning with a discussion of students' ethnic backgrounds. Changes in language background are discussed next, followed by changes in free and reduced meals participation.

Ethnicity

Over the course of the study, the percentages of White students enrolled at each school were decreasing, while the numbers and percentages of Hispanic students were increasing. Table 3 lists the schools' ethnic composition in terms of the numbers and percentages of students from each ethnic group from the first to the last year of the study. It also captures each ethnic group's percentage increase or decrease relative to the total student population. For example, White students at Willow decreased from 78% to 57% of the total student population, a 21% decrease, despite the fact that there were actually more White students at Willow in 2008-2009 (226) than in 1999-2000 (217). This contrasts with Cypress which actually did see a decrease both in terms of the actual number of White students (10 fewer students) and their percentage of the total student population (an 18% decrease). Although by 2008-2009 White students continue to constitute the majority ethnic group at both schools (51% at Cypress, 57% at Willow), Hispanics have grown to over a third of the total students at Cypress (38%) and just less than a third (33%) at Willow. For an annual tabulation of Cypress and Willow students by ethnic group from 1999-2008, see Appendix H.

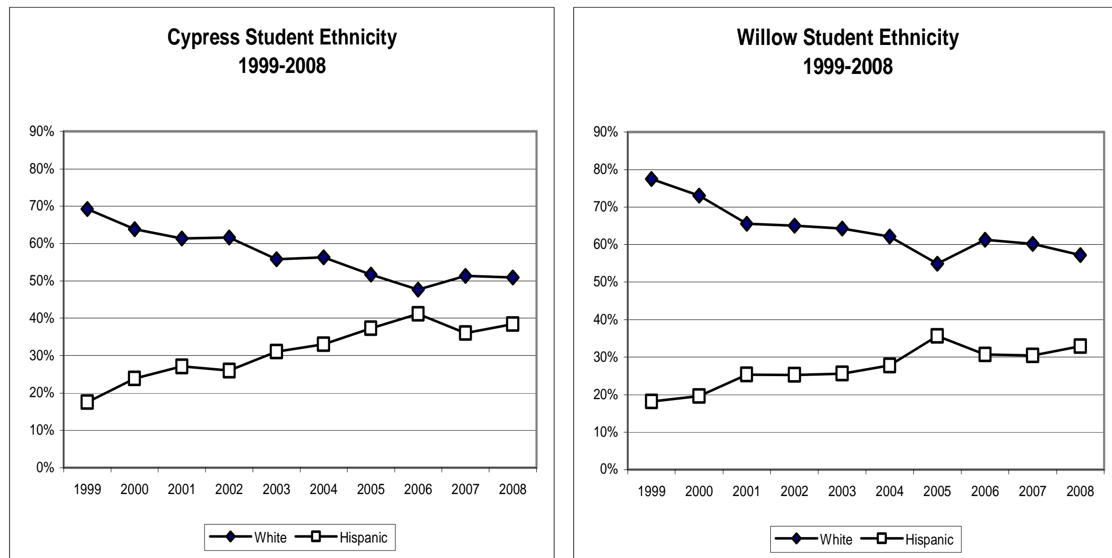
Table 3. Ethnicity of Students (1999-2000)

Ethnic Groups	1999-2000		2008-2009		% Change of Total Enrollment
Cypress					
White	225	69%	215	51%	- 18%
Hispanic	5	18%	162	38%	+ 20%
Asian*	2	9%	21	5%	- 4%
Black	1	3%	11	3%	Same
Native American*		2%	6	1%	- 1%
Other		0%	7	2%	+ 2%
Total	325		422		
Willow					
White	217	78%	226	57%	- 21%
Hispanic	5	18%	130	33%	+ 15%
Asian*		<1%	16	4%	+ 4%
Black		2%	13	3%	+ 1%
Native American*		2%	7	2%	Same
Other		<1%	3	1%	+ 1%
Total	280		395		

Note. Percentages from school years do not add up to 100% due to rounding error.
*Asian category includes Asians and Pacific Islanders. Native American category includes Native Americans and Alaskan Natives.

An examination of trends in the annual percentages of White and Hispanic students reveals similar patterns at each school. White student enrollment steadily decreases as Hispanic student enrollment rises until 2006 for Cypress, and 2005 for Willow. In these years, Whites have reached their lowest percentage of the student population (55% at Willow, 55% at Cypress) and Hispanics their highest (36% at Willow, 41% at Cypress.) After that, there is no discernable trend for either group. Figure 3 below illustrates these trends.

Figure 3. Percentages of White and Hispanic Students (1999-2008)



Language Background

The growth in Hispanics at Cypress and Willow corresponded with similar increases in the percentage of students whose first language is Spanish. Over this ten year timeframe, the percentage of Spanish speaking students more than doubled at both schools, from 14% to 32% at Cypress and from 12% to 27% at Willow. Table 4 summarizes the changes in the numbers and percentages of students whose first language is English, Spanish or a language other than these (those classified in the table as "Other"). Interestingly, at Cypress there was a sizable drop in the numbers and percentage of students whose first language is neither English nor Spanish over the study period. This pattern was not replicated at Willow.

A closer examination of the language background of students reveals a decrease in the number of Other languages spoken at Cypress (from 10 to 4) and an increase at Willow (from 1 to 7) from 1999 - 2008. Both schools experienced the greatest number of Other language groups in the 2002-2003 academic year, with 17 Other language groups

at Cypress and eight at Willow. (A list of language groups and numbers of students associated with each language for the 2002-2003 school year is provided in Appendix I.) Vietnamese and Chinese were the Other languages most commonly spoken by Cypress students over the ten years, followed by Arabic and Korean. Arabic and Chinese have tended to be the largest Other language groups at Willow, though their presence at the school has not been consistent. The largest Other language group over the course of the study at either school was Vietnamese. In the first year of the study, 1999-2000, eleven Cypress students (3.4% of all students in the school) spoke Vietnamese as their first language. By the last year of the study, four Cypress students (less than 1%) spoke Vietnamese.

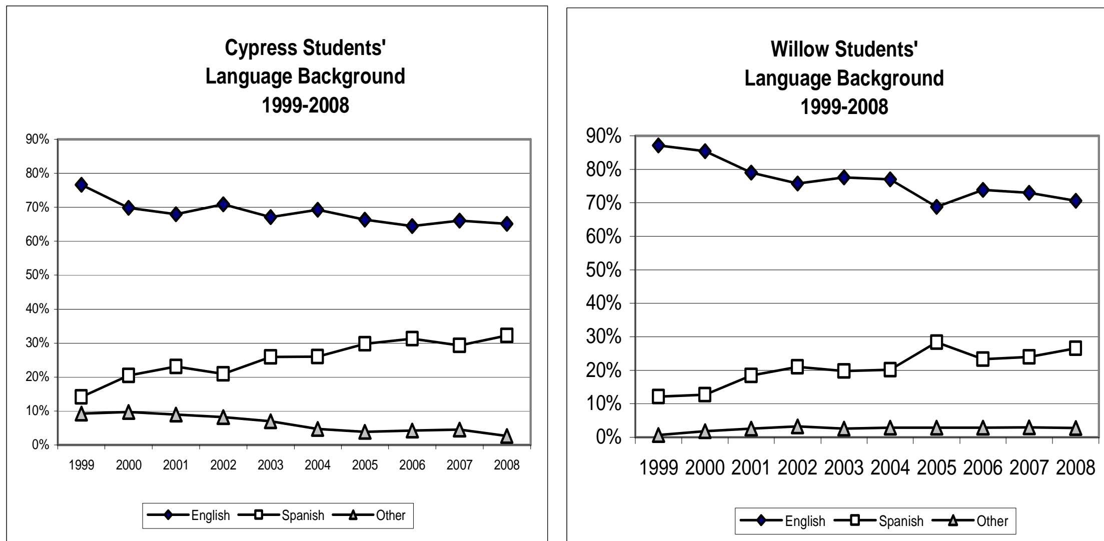
Table 4. Language Background of Students (1999-2009)

Language Background	1999-2000		2008-2009		% Change of Total Enrollment
Cypress					
English	249	77%	275	65%	- 12%
Spanish	46	14%	136	32%	+ 18%
Other	30	9%	11	3%	- 6%
Willow					
English	244	87%	279	71%	- 16%
Spanish	34	12%	105	27%	+ 15%
Other	2	<1%	11	3%	+ 2%

Figure 4 illustrates the annual percentages of students by language background. The trends for English and Spanish speakers largely mirror the trends noted above regarding White and Hispanic students, suggesting a strong correspondence between ethnicity and language background for Whites (English) and Hispanics (Spanish). Although speakers of Other languages are a much smaller language group, there is nevertheless a downward trend in the percentages of students that speak languages other

than English or Spanish at Cypress. In contrast, students speaking Other languages have accounted for a smaller proportion of the students at Willow than at Cypress since the first year of the study, hovering around 3% since 2001.

Figure 4. Percentages of Language Groups (1999-2008)



Free and Reduced Meals Participation

Results discussed above are based on student level data obtained from the schools that were aggregated in order to examine trends relating to student ethnicity and language background at the two schools. Results below are based on aggregate data from 1999-2008 from the state department of education and four years of student level data (2005-2008) from the district. Where large discrepancies exist between the state and district data, figures are included from both data sources. (See Appendix J for a comparison of the two data sources.) Because of the inconsistencies between the aggregate and student level data on free/reduced meals participation, yearly trends of school-level changes from 1999-2009 were not graphed. Instead the analyses focused on general trends regarding

free/reduced meals participation at both schools. These results follow a brief discussion of eligibility criteria for the free/reduced meals program and how free/reduced meals rates are used for school-wide poverty classifications.

Eligibility for free or reduced school meals is a common indicator used to estimate poverty. To qualify for free meals, a student's family must earn less than 130% of the federal government's established poverty level for the given year. To qualify for reduced meals, the family can earn no more than 185% of the poverty level. In the 1999-2000 school year, the poverty level (based on annual income) for a family of four was set at $16,700 (U.S. Department of Agriculture, n.d.). In 2008-2009, the poverty level for a family of four was $21,200 (Child Nutrition Programs – Income Eligibility Guidelines, 2008).

A common indicator of concentrated poverty in schools is the designation of a school-wide Title I program. Both schools in the study have school-wide Title I programs, meaning that at least 40% of the students enrolled at the school qualify for free or reduced meals. This has been true for each school for all ten years of the study. In general, the percentages of students participating in the school meals program at Cypress have increased over the study period, from 45% in 1999-2000 to 72% in 2008-2009 (student level data indicates that the 2008-2009 rate for Cypress was 66%). Although Willow saw a much smaller percentage increase during this timeframe, from 67% to 71%, the participation rates for Willow have tended to fluctuate more than those at Cypress, peaking in 2001-2002, when 84% of Willow students participated in the school meals program.

Compared to other elementary schools in the Bellflower district, Cypress and Willow have the unfortunate distinction of being the only schools that have consistently served many more students in poverty. Over the ten years of the study, there have been only three other elementary schools in the Bellflower district that have reached the concentrated poverty threshold of having over 40% of their students qualify for free and reduced meals (Oregon Department of Education, n.d.). In 2001-2002, 41% of students at Freemont elementary participated in the school meals program. The following year, Freemont was one of two elementary schools the district closed due to decreased state funding and declining student enrollment district-wide. The last year of the study, 2008-2009, was the only other time that additional elementary schools besides Cypress and Willow were "Title I schools". The percentages of students participating in the school meals program at these other schools were 44% and 47%.

This section provides a limited demographic portrait of the schools from 1999-2009. The next section examines instructional integration patterns at the two schools during the same ten year period.

Student Integration within Instructional Settings

The next set of analyses examined the instructional integration patterns of students from diverse backgrounds before the introduction of two-way immersion and afterward. The before and after two-way immersion comparisons concern the extent to which diverse groups of students were integrated within *instructional* rather than *social* spaces at the schools. For the years after two-way immersion, instructional spaces are defined by the two instructional strands (two-way immersion or English only) offered at the schools. Prior to two-way immersion, instructional spaces are defined by grade level

classrooms. The results regarding the latter time period (i.e., after the introduction of two way immersion) are discussed first. This is followed by a comparison of fourth and fifth grade students by classroom before two-way immersion. The results of both time periods are compared in the last section. It should be noted that there are some inconsistencies in the number of grades included and years examined between the two schools. This is partly due to the fact that the schools introduced their respective two-way immersion programs in different years and partly due to data availability.

After TWI: Strand Comparisons

To investigate patterns of student integration since two-way immersion, four categorical variables (instructional strand, free and reduced meals participation, special education status, and language background) were examined using hierarchical loglinear modeling and separate analyses were run for each school. Hierarchical loglinear modeling involves a series of steps in order to compare a saturated (or full) model, which includes all possible effects and interactions, to reduced models containing fewer effects. First, all possible effects are simultaneously tested to determine whether there are significant interactions of multiple factors. Next, highest order effects that are not significant are subsequently removed from the full model until one is left with a reduced model that accurately predicts the cell frequencies. Unlike traditional chi-square tests of association, in hierarchical loglinear modeling a goodness of fit test is used. Thus, a *non significant* result between the full model and a reduced model indicates the reduced model fits the data well; it does not significantly differ from the full model that, by design, fits the data perfectly (Garson, 2009, Stevens, 2002). Because the hierarchical loglinear modeling process in SPSS uses a backward elimination process and

systematically deletes only those effects that are not significant, sometimes the results of this analysis do not yield the most parsimonious model, i.e., the simplest hierarchical model that still fits the data. Thus, the general loglinear procedure in SPSS was used to test for a more parsimonious hierarchical model than the final model generated through the hierarchical loglinear procedure, as well as to test the relative size of the final model's significant effects.

Of particular interest in this case was whether free and reduced meals participation and/or special education (i.e., IEP) status interacted with strand placement, and whether any interactions between these three factors might also be associated with language background. Language background was divided into three categories: English, Spanish and Other. The remaining variables were dichotomous. The years of data and grade levels included in the analyses differed by school because Cypress' two-way immersion program reached all grades starting in 2005, but Willow's program did not. For Cypress, four years of data that included grades K-5 were used: 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2008. For Willow, three years of data were used, 2006, 2007, and 2008; and, the sample included the same grade levels as Cypress for the last two years, but only grades K-4 in 2006.

Unfortunately, there were insufficient numbers of Spanish and Other language speakers distributed across the remaining three variables to include language background as a factor in the loglinear analysis. In order for the analysis to be reliable, it is suggested that no cells have expected frequencies less than one, and that no more than 20% of the cells have expected frequencies less than five (Garson, 2009, Jeansonne, 2002). These conditions were not met. Table 5 illustrates these problems with the 2005 data. Eight of

the twenty-four cells for Cypress (33%) and eleven cells for Willow (46%) have expected counts less than one.

Table 5. Language Group by Strand, Free/Reduced Meals Participation (F/R Meals) and Individualized Education Plan (IEP) Status (2005-2006)

				Cypress Counts		Willow Counts	
Language Group	Strand	F/R Meals	IEP	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
English	English Only	No	No	33	32.48	30	30.07
			Yes	10	10.43	5	4.63
		Yes	No	63	66.69	51	50.61
			Yes	25	21.41	20	20.70
	Two-Way Immersion	No	No	75	77.76	13	11.00
			Yes	16	13.31	0	.45
		Yes	No	38	37.51	32	34.77
			Yes	6	6.42	5	3.79
Spanish	English Only	No	No	0	0	0	.57
			Yes	0	0	0	.09
		Yes	No	0	0	1	.96
			Yes	0	0	1	.39
	Two-Way Immersion	No	No	8	6.83	12	14.51
			Yes	0	1.17	1	.60
		Yes	No	99	97.34	49	45.89
			Yes	15	16.66	4	5.00
Other	English Only	No	No	1	.86	2	1.42
			Yes	0	.28	0	.22
		Yes	No	12	8.98	2	2.39
			Yes	0	2.88	1	.98
	Two-Way Immersion	No	No	1	.74	1	.44
			Yes	0	.13	0	.02
		Yes	No	1	1.82	1	1.39
			Yes	1	.31	0	.15

As is evident from the table, Spanish speakers are almost exclusively located in the two-way immersion strand (100% at Cypress, 97% at Willow) and have very high rates of free and reduced lunch participation (93% at Cypress, 81% at Willow). Moreover, Other language speakers are too few in number to ensure adequate representation across the eight cells. This general pattern among Spanish and Other

language groups was consistent for all four years, rendering the inclusion of language group with three levels (English, Spanish, Other) in the design untenable.

Spanish speakers in the English Only strand and Other language speakers in both strands were dropped from further analysis, and the analyses proceeded in the following manner. In order to maintain the free/reduced meals and IEP variables in the same analysis, English speakers in both strands were compared to one another first. In addition, year replaced language group as a factor in the design. (Year was excluded from the initial model in order to limit the hierarchical loglinear analyses to four factors. The rationale for this decision is explained in more detail in the Methods chapter.) Thus, the four factors used for the hierarchical loglinear analysis of English speakers were strand, free/reduced meals, IEP, and year. After comparing English speakers, Spanish speakers in two-way immersion were compared to English speakers in both strands using two separate three factor models: (1) group (TWI Spanish, TWI English, and EO English), free/reduced meals, and year; and (2) group, IEP, and year.

Following are the results of the analyses. All chi-squares reported in the following section are Likelihood Ratio χ^2. In all cases but one, the most parsimonious model that fit the data was selected for interpretation. In one case, the χ^2 differed considerably between the most parsimonious model and another reduced hierarchical model that also fit the data. Stevens (2002) offers two methods for deciding which of two hierarchical models is most appropriate to interpret in this situation. One method is to determine whether there is a significant difference between the two models, the second is to use Goodman's normed fit index to evaluate the percent improvement in goodness of fit between the two models. Both criteria were used in this case.

Cypress: English Speakers Only

The distribution of English speakers by strand, free and reduced meals and IEP status is provided in Table 6. In addition to listing the observed counts in each cell, the table includes the annual percentages of students by strand who are eligible for free/reduced meals and/or have an IEP. In running the analysis, alpha was set at .01 for this particular model given that 31 effects were involved. The remaining analyses were tested with alpha at .05. Stevens (2002) suggests that standardized residuals that are greater than 2 should occur in less than 5% of the cells if the reduced model is a good fit.

Table 6. Cypress English Speakers by Strand, Free/Reduced Meals, and IEP Status (2005-2008)

Year	F/R Meals	IEP	Two-Way Immersion Count (%)	English Only Count (%)
2005	No	No	75 (55.6%)	33 (25.2%)
		Yes	16 (11.9%)	10 (7.6%)
	Yes	No	38 (28.1%)	63 (48.1%)
		Yes	6 (4.4%)	25 (19.1%)
Total			135	131
2006	No	No	92 (58.2%)	32 (28.1%)
		Yes	14 (8.9%)	6 (5.3%)
	Yes	No	47 (29.7%)	50 (43.9%)
		Yes	5 (3.2%)	26 (22.8%)
Total			158	114
2007	No	No	84 (54.9%)	33 (27.0%)
		Yes	6 (3.9%)	5 (4.1%)
	Yes	No	59 (38.6%)	64 (52.5%)
		Yes	4 (2.6%)	20 (16.4%)
Total			153	122
2008	No	No	81 (56.3%)	29 (23.2%)
		Yes	7 (4.9%)	5 (4.0%)
	Yes	No	53 (36.8%)	71 (56.8%)
		Yes	3 (2.1%)	20 (16.0%)
Total			144	125

The results of the four factor hierarchical loglinear model for English speakers at Cypress showed no significant three-way effects, χ^2 (13, N = 1082) = 10.481, p = .654. However, the test for two-way and higher order effects was significant, χ^2 (25, N = 1082)

= 180.948, $p < .001$. The reduced hierarchical model that fit the data included two two-way interactions: strand by free and reduced meals and strand by IEP, χ^2 (26, N = 1082) = 30.310, $p = .255$.

Table **7** lists the reduced models identified in the hierarchical loglinear procedure that fit the data, as well as two additional hierarchical models that were tested using the general loglinear procedure that did not fit the data.

Table 7. A Comparison of Hierarchical Models for English Speakers at Cypress by Strand (S), Free/Reduced Meals (F), IEP (I), and Year (Y)

	Model	Likelihood χ^2	*df*	*p*
1	SFI,SFY,SIY,FIY	0.676	3	.879
2	SFI,SIY,FIY	1.510	6	.959
3	SFI,SIY,FY	2.264	9	.987
4	SFI,SY,FY,IY	4.320	12	.977
5	SFI,FY,IY	6.776	15	.964
6	SFI,IY	11.897	18	.853
7	SF,SI,FI,IY	18.052	19	.519
8	SF,SI,IY	19.248	20	.506
9	SF,SI,Y	30.144	23	.145
10	SF,SI	30.310	26	.255
11	SF,I,Y	65.539	24	.000
12	SI,F,Y	145.553	24	.000

As the table above illustrates, model 10, which was the final model identified in the hierarchical loglinear procedure, was in fact the most parsimonious hierarchical model. Two interactions, strand by free/reduced meals and strand by IEP, were significantly related for all four years. A review of standardized residuals indicated that the reduced model identified in the analysis fit the table. Only one cell had a standardized residual greater than 2 (2.026), which was for English speakers in the two-way immersion program in 2005 who were not on free/reduced meals, but did have an IEP. The observed count (16) was considerably higher in this particular cell than the expected

count (9.7) in the reduced model. The standardized residuals for the remaining 31 cells were all less than 2.

Statistically significant standardized parameters indicate which of the effects in the model contributed the most to the model's fit of the data. In this case, the largest effect in the reduced model was the main effect of special education (z = 10.999, $p <$ .001), which was not surprising given the relatively small number of students with IEPs. However, the strand by free/reduced meals interaction effect was the second largest effect (z = 10.429, $p <$ .001), and was much larger than the interaction effect of strand by special education status (z = 5.796, $p <$ .001). The main effects of free/reduced meals status (z = -8.168, $p <$ .001) and strand (z = -7.590, $p <$ .001) also significantly contributed to the model's fit, and were both larger than the strand by special education interaction effect.

Cypress: Spanish and English Speakers

In comparing Spanish speakers in two-way immersion to the two English groups, the first three factor model examined group, free/reduced meals participation and year. Group included three levels: Spanish speakers in two-way immersion (Spanish TWI), English speakers in two-way immersion (English TWI), and English speakers in English Only (English EO). Table 8 summarizes the distribution of Cypress students across these three factors.

No significant three-way were found, χ^2 (6, N = 1587) = 4.567, p = .600. However, the test for two-way and higher order effects was significant, χ^2 (17, N = 1587) = 384.004, $p <$ .001. The final model identified in the hierarchical loglinear procedure included one interaction: group by free/reduced meals participation, χ^2 (18, N = 1587) =

13.003, p = .791. No large residuals were found, providing further evidence of the model's fit. A model with just the main effects of group and free reduced meals was tested using the general loglinear procedure. This main effects model did not fit the data. Table 9 summarizes the results of both procedures.

Table 8. Cypress Spanish Speakers and English Speakers in Both Strands by Free/Reduced Meals Participation (2005-2008)

Year	F/R Meals	Spanish TWI Count (%)	English TWI Count (%)	English EO Count (%)
2005	No	8 (6.6%)	91 (67.4%)	43 (32.8%)
	Yes	114 (93.4%)	44 (32.6%)	88 (67.2%)
Total		122	135	131
2006	No	17 (12.8%)	106 (67.1%)	38 (33.3%)
	Yes	116 (87.2%)	52 (32.9%)	76 (66.7%)
Total		133	158	114
2007	No	10 (8.5%)	90 (58.8%)	38 (31.1%)
	Yes	108 (91.5%)	63 (41.2%)	84 (68.9%)
Total		118	153	122
2008	No	15 (11.4%)	88 (61.1%)	34 (27.2%)
	Yes	117 (88.6%)	56 (38.9%)	91 (72.8%)
Total		132	144	125

Table 9. A Comparison of Hierarchical Models for Spanish and English Speakers at Cypress by Group (G), Free/Reduced Meals (F), and Year (Y)

	Model	Likelihood χ^2	*df*	*p*
1	GF,GY,FY	4.567	6	.600
2	GF,FY	9.453	12	.664
3	GF,Y	12.558	15	.636
4	GF	13.003	18	.791
5	G,F	384.449	20	.000

Standardized parameter estimates showed that the differences between all groups in terms of free/reduced meals participation were significantly contributing to the association between group and free/reduced meals participation, but the magnitude of the effect between Spanish speakers and their English speaking counterparts in two-way

immersion (z = 16.095, p < .001) was twice as large as the effect between Spanish speakers in TWI and English speakers in the English strand (z = 7.938, p < .001). In fact, this difference between Spanish and English speakers in TWI was the single largest effect in the reduced model. As Table 8 shows, Spanish speakers were significantly more likely than both English groups to participate in the free/reduced meals program, with this difference even more pronounced between Spanish and English speakers in two-way immersion. Similar to the previous analysis of English speakers only, the main effects of free/reduced meals participation and group also significantly contributed to the models fit. The main effects identify the directional influence of the interaction effect, with significantly fewer students participating in the free/reduced meals program (z = -14.826, p < .001), and more pronounced differences between English and Spanish speakers in two-way immersion (z = -9.058, p < .001) than between English speakers in the English Only strand and Spanish speakers in two-way immersion (z = -4.102, p < .001).

Next, Spanish speakers in two-way immersion were compared to English speakers in both strands by special education status from 2005-2008. Table 10 provides the cell counts and percentages of students with and without IEPs in the three groups over the four year period. Again, no significant three-way effects were found, χ^2 (6, N = 1587) = 3.432, p = .753. However, the test for two-way and higher order effects was significant, χ^2 (17, N = 1587) = 77.081, p < .001. The results of the hierarchical modeling suggested that two two-way interactions best fit the data: group by special education status and special education status by year, χ^2 (12, N = 1587) = 7.836, p = .798. Four additional models were tested using the general loglinear procedure. Table 11

summarizes the results of both analyses. The models tested using the general loglinear procedure are models 3 - 6.

The general loglinear analyses yielded two additional reduced models that fit the data, models three and five. The most parsimonious model, model 5, included one two-way interaction (group by special education), χ^2 (18, N = 1587) = 23.701, p = .165. No cells had large standardized residuals.

Table 10. Cypress Spanish Speakers and English Speakers in Both Strands by IEP Status (2005-2008)

Year	IEP	Spanish (TWI) Count (%)	English (TWI) Count (%)	English (English Only) Count (%)
2005	No	107 (87.7%)	113 (83.7%)	96 (73.3%)
	Yes	15 (12.3%)	22 (16.3%)	35 (26.7%)
Total		122	135	131
2006	No	119 (89.5%)	139 (88.0%)	82 (71.9%)
	Yes	14 (10.5%)	19 (12.0%)	32 (28.1%)
Total		133	158	114
2007	No	109 (92.4%)	143 (93.5%)	97 (79.5%)
	Yes	9 (7.6%)	10 (6.5%)	25 (20.5%)
Total		118	153	122
2008	No	126 (95.5%)	134 (93.1%)	100 (80.0%)
	Yes	6 (4.5%)	10 (6.9%)	25 (20.0%)
Total		132	144	125

Table 11. A Comparison of Hierarchical Models for Spanish and English Speakers at Cypress by Group (G), Individualized Education Plan (I), and Year (Y)

	Model	Likelihood χ^2	*df*	*p*
1	GI,GY,IY	3.432	6	.753
2	GI,IY	7.836	12	.798
3	GI,Y	22.255	15	.079
4	G,IY	61.662	14	.000
5	GI	23.701	18	.165
6	G,I,Y	77.081	17	.000

Similar to the previous results from the analyses involving English speakers only, the largest effect in the most parsimonious model involving IEP status and Spanish

speakers was the main effect of special education ($z =$ 14.889.503, $p < .001$). The second largest effect ($z = -6.233$, $p < .001$) was the interaction of group by special education, with Spanish speakers in two-way immersion significantly less likely to have IEPs than English speakers in the English only strand. No statistically significant differences based on IEP status were found between Spanish speakers and English speakers in two-way immersion. The main effect of group also contributed to the model's fit, but its effect was not as large as in the previous analysis involving free/reduced meals participation. The main effect of group identifies which groups differed significantly from one another and which did not in terms of IEP status. The group difference between Spanish speakers in two-way immersion and English speakers in the English only strand was statistically significant ($z = 5.530$, $p < .001$) in the model, however the group difference between Spanish and English speakers in two-way immersion was not ($z = 1.652$, $p = .099$).

Willow: English Speakers Only

The data table for the loglinear analyses of English speakers at Willow is provided in Table 12. In addition to the observed cell counts, to aid in the interpretation of the table the percentages of students within each strand by the remaining three factors (free/reduced meals, IEP, and year) are also included. Unlike Cypress, only three years of data were used in the Willow analyses and, one year, 2006, only includes grades K-4. The remaining two years (2006 and 2007) include grades K-5.

The results of the four factor hierarchical loglinear model for English speakers at Willow showed no significant four-way effects, χ^2 (2, N = 870) = 0.958, $p = .619$. However, the test for three-way and higher order effects was significant, χ^2 (9, N = 870) = 17.478, $p = .042$. The results indicated that the simplest hierarchical model that fit the

data included a three-way interaction (strand by free/reduced meals by year) and a two-way interaction (strand by IEP), χ^2 (10, N = 870) = 7.592, p = .669. Of the four additional models tested using the general loglinear procedure, one, model seven, fit the data (χ^2 (12, N = 870) = 19.883, p = .069). This model excluded the three-way interaction, but included the remaining effects of the final model identified in the hierarchical loglinear analysis. No large standardized residuals were found in either models six or seven. The results of the analyses are summarized in the Table 13.

Table 12. Willow English Speakers by Strand, Free/Reduced Meals, and IEP Status (2006-2008)

Year	F/R Meals	IEP	Two-Way Immersion Count (%)	English Only Count (%)
2006*	No	No	28 (41.2%)	76 (37.1%)
		Yes	2 (2.9%)	26 (12.7%)
	Yes	No	35 (51.5%)	80 (39.0%)
		Yes	3 (4.4%)	23 (11.2%)
Total			68	205
2007	No	No	48 (50.0%)	82 (36.8%)
		Yes	1 (1.0%)	19 (8.5%)
	Yes	No	42 (43.8%)	100 (44.8%)
		Yes	5 (5.2%)	22 (9.9%)
Total			96	223
2008	No	No	57 (53.8%)	41 (23.8%)
		Yes	2 (1.9%)	11 (6.4%)
	Yes	No	43 (40.6%)	91 (52.9%)
		Yes	4 (3.8%)	29 (16.9%)
Total			106	172

*Includes grades K-4 only.

Although the most parsimonious model that fit the data was model seven, there was a sizable difference between the chi squares for models six and seven, both of which fit the data. Because the models are hierarchically related, it made sense to compare them to determine whether they significantly differed from one another. They did, (χ^2 (2) = 12.291, p = .05). In addition, Goodman's normed fit index (Stevens, 2002) indicated that

model six provided a 62% improvement in goodness of fit. Thus, model six was selected for interpretation.

Table 13. A Comparison of Hierarchical Models for English Speakers at Willow by Strand (S), Free/Reduced Meals (F), IEP (I) and Year (Y)

	Model	Likelihood χ^2	*df*	*p*
1	SFI,SFY,SIY,FIY	0.958	2	.619
2	SFI,SFY,FIY	1.245	4	.871
3	SFI,SFY,IY	2.264	6	.922
4	SFI,SFY	4.056	8	.851
5	SFY,SI,FI	7.292	9	.607
6	SFY,SI	7.592	10	.669
7	SF,SY,FY,SI	19.883	12	.069
8	SF,FY,SI	32.629	14	.003
9	SF,SY,SI	25.872	14	.027
10	SF,SI,Y	37.293	16	.002

Model six includes a three way interaction (strand by free/reduced meals participation by year) and a two-way interaction (strand by special education status). A review of standardized parameter estimates revealed that the three-way interaction was the result of significant differences between the two strands based on free/reduced meals participation that varied by year. In the first two years, there were no differences between the strands based on free/reduced meals participation. In the final year, there were, with significantly more students participating in the free/reduced meals program in the English only strand in 2008 ($z = 4.147$, $p < .001$). Moreover, the results indicated that while there were no significant differences in free/reduced meals participation rates by year for English speakers in two-way immersion, this was not the case with English speakers in the English only strand. The latter had significantly higher rates of free/reduced meals participation in 2008 compared to 2006 ($z = 3.809$, $p < .001$) and 2007 ($z = 3.029$, $p = .002$). This was due to a significant decrease in the numbers of students in the English

only strand not participating in the free/reduced meals program in 2008, not because of an increase in the numbers of EO students participating in the program.

Similar to all the other reduced models that included special education status as a factor in the design, the interaction of strand by special education status was significant ($Z = 5.253$, $p < .001$), indicating there were significantly more students with IEPs in the English only strand. The main effect of special education ($z = 12.969$, $p < .001$) continued to be the largest effect in the model. The main effects of strand ($z = -7.215$, $p < .001$) and free/reduced meals ($z = -5.037$, $p < .001$) also significantly contributed to the model's fit, but the main effect of year did not.

Willow: Spanish and English Speakers

Two separate analyses compared Spanish speakers in two-way immersion to the English speakers in both strands. The first three factor model examined group, free/reduced meals participation and year. Group included three levels: Spanish speakers in two-way immersion (Spanish TWI), English speakers in two-way immersion (English TWI) and English speakers in English Only (English EO). Table 14 summarizes the distribution of Willow students across these three factors.

Table 14. Willow Spanish Speakers and English Speakers in Both Strands by Free/Reduced Meals Participation (2006-2008)

Year	F/R Meals	Spanish TWI Count (%)	English TWI Count (%)	English EO Count (%)
2006*	No	9 (12.2%)	30 (44.1%)	102 (49.8%)
	Yes	65 (87.8%)	38 (55.9%)	103 (50.2%)
Total		74	68	205
2007	No	16 (15.5%)	49 (51.0%)	101 (45.3%)
	Yes	87 (84.5%)	47 (49.0%)	122 (54.7%)
Total		103	96	223
2008	No	3 (2.9%)	59 (55.7%)	52 (30.2%)
	Yes	101 (97.1%)	47 (44.3%)	120 (69.8%)
Total		104	106	172

*Includes grades K-4 only.

The results of the hierarchical loglinear analysis found significant three-way effects, χ^2 (4, N = 1151) = 18.683, p = .001, indicating the full model was the only model that fit the data. This was corroborated by follow-up analyses of reduced models using the general loglinear procedure. See Table 15 for a summary of the loglinear modeling results.

Table 15. A Comparison of Hierarchical Models for Spanish and English Speakers at Willow by Group (G), Free/Reduced Meals (F), and Year (Y)

	Model	Likelihood χ^2	*df*	*p*
1	GFY	0.000	0	-
2	GF,GY,FY	18.683	4	.001
3	GF,GY	29.604	6	.000
4	GF,FY	32.976	8	.000

Standardized parameter estimates for the full model revealed that the significant three-way interaction was a duplication of the previous results including English speakers only, i.e., there were significant yearly differences of free/reduced meals participation rates for English speakers in two-way immersion. The last year of the study (2008), there were significantly fewer of these students participating in the free/reduced meals program than in 2006 (z = 2.246, p = .025) and in 2007 (z = 2.823, p = 005). However, the results also indicated significant differences between the groups, with Spanish speakers more likely to participate in the free/reduced meals program than either English speakers in the English only strand (z = 4.402, p = .006) or English speakers in two-way immersion (z = 6.062, $p < .001$). In fact, the difference in free/reduced meals participation rates between Spanish speakers and English speakers in two-way immersion was the largest effect in the model. Other significant effects included yearly differences in free/reduced meals

participation rates between 2006 and 2008 (z = 2.246, p = .025) and between 2007 and 2008 (z = 2.823, p = .005), and the main effects of free/reduced meals participation (z = -6.002, p < .001), group differences between Spanish and English speakers in two-way immersion (-4.332, p < .001), and year differences between 2006 and 2008 (z = -2.772, p = .006).

The next three factor analysis compared Spanish speakers in two-way immersion to English speakers in both strands by special education status from 2006-2008. Table 16 provides the relevant cell counts and percentages for the three factors.

Table 16. Willow Spanish Speakers and English Speakers in Both Strands by IEP Status (2006-2008)

Year	IEP	Spanish (TWI) Count (%)	English (TWI) Count (%)	English (English Only) Count (%)
2006*	No	67 (90.5%)	63 (92.6%)	156 (76.1%)
	Yes	7 (9.5%)	5 (7.4%)	49 (23.9%)
Total		74	68	205
2007	No	97 (94.2%)	90 (93.8%)	182 (81.6%)
	Yes	6 (5.8%)	6 (6.3%)	41 (18.4%)
Total		103	96	223
2008	No	100 (96.2%)	100 (94.3%)	132 (76.7%)
	Yes	4 (3.8%)	6 (5.7%)	40 (23.3%)
Total		104	106	172

*Includes grades K-4 only.

The results of the hierarchical loglinear procedure found no significant three-way effects, χ^2 (4, N = 1151) = 2.250, p = .690. However, the test for two-way effects was significant, χ^2 (12, N = 1151) = 79.817, p < .001. Two interactions were statistically significant: group by special education status and group by year, χ^2 (6, N = 1151) = 4.837, p = .565. Two additional models were tested using the general loglinear procedure to determine if a reduced model omitting the group by year interaction might also fit the data, but neither model did. The results of both procedures appear in Table 17.

The second model, which includes two interactions (group by special education status and group by year), was the most parsimonious model to fit the data. No cells had large standardized residuals. Of the two interactions, the group by special education effect was larger and was associated with significantly fewer IEPs among Spanish speakers than among English speakers in the English only strand ($z = -5.416$, $p < .001$). No differences in IEP status were found between Spanish speakers and English speakers in two-way immersion ($z = -0.120$, $p = .904$). As was evident in all previous analyses that included special education status as a factor, the largest effect in the reduced model was the main effect of special education ($z = 10.962$, $p < .001$).

Table 17. A Comparison of Hierarchical Models for Spanish and English Speakers at Willow by Group (G), Individualized Education Plan (I), and Year (Y)

	Model	Likelihood χ^2	*df*	*p*
1	GI,GY,IY	2.250	4	.690
2	GI,GY	4.837	6	.565
3	GI,Y	19.703	10	.032
4	GI	27.049	12	.008

The second interaction was associated with significantly fewer Spanish speakers in 2006 compared to 2008 ($z = 2.805$, $p = .005$). Two other significant effects were the main effects of group and year. The main effect of group indicated where the significant group differences lie in both interactions. Specifically, Spanish speakers were significantly different than English speakers in the English only strand ($z = 6.423$, $p < .001$), but not significantly different from English speakers in TWI. The main effect of year indicates where the significant differences were in the group by year interaction, i.e., between the first and third years of the Willow data ($z = -2.238$, $p = .025$).

The remaining statistical analyses concern student integration patterns before two-way immersion was introduced.

Before TWI: Classroom Comparisons

To examine student integration patterns before the introduction of two-way immersion, the language backgrounds and IEP rates of students in 4th and 5th grade classrooms were compared over a three year period. (TWI was not available at those grade levels during these years.) Unfortunately, student-level data for free/reduced meals participation were unavailable for these years. Due to small sample sizes and small rates of students with IEPs, language background and special education status at the classroom level were examined separately.

The relationship between IEP rates and language background was examined first. This was followed by analyses of the relationship between (1) language background and classroom placement, and (2) special education status and classroom placement. In all cases, chi-square tests were conducted to determine whether the two variables of interest were significantly related, and year was used as a control variable. Alpha was set at .05. Stevens (2002) suggests that Likelihood Ratio chi-squares are most appropriate for comparing hierarchically related loglinear models, however the Pearson chi-square statistic is typically regarded as more accurate for small samples. Therefore, the following results are reported using the Pearson rather than the Likelihood Ratio chi-square, although the results of both statistical tests were no different.

Cypress

The three years of Cypress data used were 2001, 2002, and 2003. Three classrooms were compared in 2001; four in the next two years. Three language groups

were compared (English, Spanish and Other). The test to determine whether language background was associated with special education status was not significant for any of the three years: χ^2 (2, N = 98) = .312, p = .856 for 2001; χ^2 (2, N = 138) = .413, p = .813 for 2002; and, χ^2 (2, N = 141) = .674, p = .714 for 2003.

Of the two relationships examined at the classroom level, only language background and classroom placement were significantly related, and consistently so for three years. The strength of this relationship was strongest in 2001 (Cramer's V = .416), than in the other two years when effect sizes were relatively small. Table 18 summarizes the results of the classroom by language background chi-square tests for Cypress.

Table 18. Cypress Results of Classroom Differences Based on Language Background

Year	n	Pearson χ^2	df	p	Cramer's V
2001	98	33.963	4	<.001	.416
2002	138	19.827	6	.003	.268
2003	141	21.484	6	.002	.276

As is evident in the Table 19, the distribution of students across classes by language group was consistent over the three years. Spanish speakers were concentrated in classes three and four, and students who spoke Other languages were concentrated in classes one and two. English speakers were more evenly dispersed across all the classes.

The pattern of IEP rates by classroom was also consistent over the three year period (see Table 20); but, in this case, 4th and 5th grade students with and without IEPs were evenly distributed across all classrooms.

Table 19. Cypress 4th and 5th graders by Language Background and Classroom (2001-2003)

Year	Language	Class 1 Count (%)	Class 2 Count (%)	Class 3 Count (%)	Class 4 Count (%)	Total
2001	English	25 (37.3)	27 (40.3)	15 (22.4)	n/a	67
	Spanish	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	17 (89.5)	n/a	19
	Other	6 (50.0)	5 (41.7)	1 (8.3)	n/a	12
2002	English	22 (22.2)	29 (29.3)	24 (24.2)	24 (24.2)	99
	Spanish	4 (15.4)	2 (7.7)	12 (46.2)	8 (30.8)	26
	Other	8 (61.5)	3 (23.1)	1 (7.7)	1 (7.7)	13
2003	English	25 (26.9)	25 (26.9)	18 (19.4)	25 (26.9)	93
	Spanish	5 (13.5)	4 (10.8)	17 (45.9)	11 (29.7)	37
	Other	6 (54.5)	4 (36.4)	0 (0)	1 (9.1)	11

Table 20. Cypress 4th and 5th graders by IEP Status and Classroom (2001-2003)

Year	IEP	Class 1 Count (%)	Class 2 Count (%)	Class 3 Count (%)	Class 4 Count (%)	Total
2001	No	26 (32.9)	26 (32.9)	27 (34.2)	n/a	79
	Yes	6 (31.6)	7 (36.8)	6 (31.6)	n/a	19
2002	No	26 (24.3)	26 (24.3)	28 (26.2)	27 (25.2)	107
	Yes	8 (25.8)	8 (25.8)	9 (29.0)	6 (19.4)	31
2003	No	28 (26.4)	27 (25.5)	26 (24.5)	25 (23.6)	106
	Yes	8 (22.9)	6 (17.1)	9 (25.7)	12 (34.3)	35

Willow

The three years of Willow data used were 2005, 2006, and 2007. Four classrooms were compared in the first two years, three classrooms in 2007. Only two language groups were compared, English and Spanish. (An Other language group was excluded because only three Willow students over the three years spoke a language other than English or Spanish in these classes.) The test to determine whether language background was associated with special education status was not significant for any of the three years:

χ^2 (1, N = 93) = .007, p = .934 for 2005; χ^2 (1, N = 85) = 2.708, p = .100 for 2006; and, χ^2 (1, N = 77) = .036, p = .849 for 2007.

Of the two relationships examined at the classroom level, only language background and classroom placement were significantly related, and only for one of the three years examined. The strength of this relationship was relatively small (Cramer's V = .322), albeit a larger effect than the last two years of the Cypress data. Table 21 summarizes the results of the classroom by language background chi-square tests for Willow.

Table 21. Willow Results of Classroom Differences Based on Language Background

Year	n	Pearson χ^2	df	p	Cramer's V
2005	93	1.773	3	.621	n/a
2006	85	5.203	3	.157	n/a
2007	77	7.907	2	.019	.322

As the Table 22 illustrates, Spanish and English speakers at Willow tended to be evenly distributed among the classes in the first two years. In the third year, however, there were significantly more Spanish speakers in Class 3 than in the other two classes.

Table 22. Willow 4th and 5th graders by Language Background and Classroom (2001-2003)

Year	Language	Class 1 Count (%)	Class 2 Count (%)	Class 3 Count (%)	Class 4 Count (%)	Total
2003	English	15 (20)	25 (33.3)	25 (33.3)	10 (13.3)	75
	Spanish	6 (33.3)	4 (22.2)	6 (33.3)	2 (11.1)	18
2004	English	16 (22.9)	25 (35.7)	20 (28.6)	9 (12.9)	70
	Spanish	4 (26.7)	1 (6.7)	7 (46.7)	3 (20)	15
2005	English	15 (25.4)	25 (42.4)	19 (32.2)	n/a	59
	Spanish	4 (22.2)	2 (11.1)	12 (66.7)	n/a	18

Table 23 summarizes the distribution of Willow students in 4th and 5th grade by class and IEP status. Although Class 2 had higher rates of students with IEPs in the first year, the differences between the four classes were not statistically significant. In the remaining years, the distribution of students with IEPs was more evenly distributed across all classes.

Table 23. Willow 4th and 5th graders by IEP Status and Classroom (2001-2003)

Year	IEP	Class 1 Count (%)	Class 2 Count (%)	Class 3 Count (%)	Class 4 Count (%)	Total
2003	No	18 (24.7)	21 (28.8)	26 (35.6)	8 (11.0)	73
	Yes	3 (15.0)	8 (40.0)	5 (25.0)	4 (20.0)	20
2004	No	18 (24.3)	22 (29.7)	24 (32.4)	10 (13.5)	74
	Yes	2 (18.2)	4 (36.4)	3 (27.3)	2 (18.2)	11
2005	No	14 (22.2)	22 (34.9)	27 (31.8)	n/a	63
	Yes	5 (35.7)	5 (35.7)	4 (28.6)	n/a	14

Summary

There were two research questions that guided the analyses in this chapter. The first question was: How has the demographic profile of students at Cypress and Willow changed from 1999-2009? Enrollment trends related to race/ethnicity, language background, and free/reduced meals participation rates were examined separately. However, free/reduced meals participation data were not examined extensively for trends given the lack of a consistent data source.

In general, the growth trends relating to the two largest racial/ethnic and language groups were comparable at both schools. Whites remained the majority racial/ethnic group in both schools throughout the study period, although their percentage of the total enrollment steadily decreased while the percentage of Latinos steadily grew over the ten years. Growth trends related to the two largest language groups were similar. English

remained the dominant language group at both schools over the ten years, but the percentage of students who spoke English as their first language decreased while the numbers and percentages of students identifying Spanish as their first language grew.

The second question that guided the analyses in this chapter was: How has the introduction of the two-way immersion program changed how students of different backgrounds (language background, IEP status, free/reduced meals participation) are integrated for academic instruction within each school? This question was addressed in two parts to ascertain what the instructional integration patterns of students were before two-way immersion (part one) and after (part two). Table 24 summarizes the overall findings, which are discussed in more detail below.

At both schools, the introduction of the two-way immersion program was associated with changes in the instructional integration patterns of students based on IEP status. Before two-way immersion, students with IEPs tended to be evenly distributed among 4th and 5th grade classes. After two-way immersion was introduced, significantly more students with IEPs were likely to be found in the English only strand than in two-way immersion.

However, the relationship between the introduction of TWI and changes in the integration patterns of students based on language background was less straightforward. The introduction of two-way immersion did not change the instructional integration patterns of Spanish and English speaking students at Cypress. Before two-way immersion Spanish speakers were already clustered in certain 4th/5th grade classrooms. However, a different pattern emerged at Willow. For two of the three years before two-way immersion, Spanish speakers were dispersed among the 4th/5th grade classes. Only in the

third year, 2005-06, were Spanish speakers concentrated in one of the three 4th/5th grade classes at Willow.

Table 24. Classroom Integration Patterns Before and After Two-Way Immersion (TWI)

Student Characteristic	Classroom Integration Patterns		
	Before TWI	After TWI	Changed?
Cypress			
Language Background	Spanish speakers concentrated in fewer 4th/5th classes.	Spanish speakers concentrated in TWI classes.	No
IEP	Students with IEPs dispersed among 4th/5th classes.	Students with IEPs concentrated in English Only (EO) classes.	Yes
F/R Meals	?	English speakers in F/R meals program concentrated in EO classes. Spanish speakers have higher F/R meals rates than English speakers.	?
Willow			
Language Background	Spanish speakers dispersed among 4th/5th classes for two years, then concentrated for one year.	Spanish speakers concentrated in TWI classes.	Yes?
IEP	Students with IEPs dispersed among 4th/5th classes.	Students with IEPs concentrated in English Only classes.	Yes
F/R Meals	?	English speakers in F/R meals program concentrated in EO classes one year only. Spanish speakers have higher F/R meals rates than English speakers.	?

Unfortunately, because no free/reduced meals data were available to examine the before TWI phase, it cannot be determined whether the introduction of TWI was associated with any changes in the instructional integration patterns of students in poverty. In terms of the after TWI phase, the results of the analyses provide a

complicated picture of student poverty within and between the TWI and English only strand. In general, Spanish speakers had significantly higher rates of free/reduced meals participation than English speakers, and Spanish speakers were almost exclusively located in TWI. However, when Spanish speakers in TWI were compared to English speakers in both instructional strands (TWI and English only), the results illustrated a hierarchy of poverty among the three groups with significant differences at each level. Spanish speakers in two-way immersion had the highest rates of free/reduced meals participation, followed by English speakers in the English only strand, then English speakers in two-way immersion. When Spanish speakers were excluded from the analysis, the association between free/reduced meals participation and English only strand placement was strong and consistent in the Cypress data. However, this interaction effect was only found in the last year of data for Willow.

This chapter documents the student demographic changes and instructional integration patterns at Cypress and Willow between 1999 – 2009. The next chapter sheds some light on the processes that influenced enrollment and instructional integration patterns at the schools. It also explores a more complex concept of student integration than one that solely measures the extent to which diverse student bodies share the same instructional space.

CHAPTER V

QUALITITATIVE RESULTS

There is much to celebrate at Cypress and Willow elementary schools. In 2009, Cypress was one of two schools in the state to be recognized as a National Distinguished Title I school. Cypress received the "closing the achievement gap" award based on the math and reading test scores of four student subgroups: students with limited English proficiency, economically disadvantaged students, Hispanics, and students with disabilities. In an October 2009 interview with the local paper shortly after the award was announced, the Cypress principal, Mr. Baca, highlighted the 2008-09 achievement reading gains of limited English speakers as evidence of the school's success. According to Mr. Baca (and the school's Adequate Yearly Progress report for that year), the yearly growth target for this subgroup was 4.39 percent, but their reading performance increased by 26.88 percent. Mr. Baca isn't the only one celebrating. The award is a major accomplishment and a reflection of lots of hard work on the part of students and staff; it was also was a topic of pride in my interviews with several Cypress staff members. As one Cypress staff member put it:

> "I'm getting choked up right now. Adequate Yearly Progress report, um, that was the first sign that everything that we had worked so hard towards, and the changes that we've made that weren't necessarily always easy, really were the right thing for kids. … And then this, just this week we received the Title 1 Distinguished School Award. It was… it was just like clarification. It felt like we were doing the right thing. The scores were showing it was the right thing. And to now have the experts, who, who merely just looked at our school and our data and hadn't really talked to anybody, but just, just through that could see the changes that we've made. It's huge. It's just gratifying. It's reassuring."

Willow's academic track record is not as storied as Cypress', but it too is showing signs of improvement. Despite the fact that the school did not meet its 2009-10 AYP targets for students with disabilities, students in all other statistically relevant subgroups did. Though Willow has not received the accolades that Cypress has, the exclusive focus on state test score performance obscures the contexts in which learning is occurring in both schools. As Willow's principal sees it, his school is now better positioned to meet the needs of its students. I interviewed him twice, once in February, 2009, the second time in January, 2010. The following excerpt is from my second interview with him.

> I haven't felt good in four years. And every year I thought about quitting. Including this one. And, for the first time, I'm so excited…. When nothing works it's like, everybody's judging you, or criticizing, or dissin' what, what you're trying to do. And so finally I feel like things are happening. Things are working. We finally have those systems in place and for the most part, you know, the community's happy. The kids are learning, which is the bottom line…. The analogy that I use is that I feel like a wheel, a huge wheel that has been stuck very deeply in the ground and has been turning and turning, and just as it turns it gets a little bit deeper as it creates that hole […] and so it's harder to get out. Well, we finally got the right machine in place to put this wheel on four-wheel drive….

Cypress' and Willow's accomplishments should be acknowledged and celebrated. However, the purpose of this study isn't to paint the picture of a Title I poster school or to identify the two-way immersion prototype for further replication. Nor is the purpose to reify Adequate Yearly Progress as the most important educational outcome. This comparative case study of two Title I elementary schools with two-way immersion programs instead offers a glimpse of complementary and conflicting stories about school change and the factors that influence these changes, and ultimately, about the meaning and measurement of student integration.

The following research question guided the qualitative inquiry: how does school staff interpret the changes in school demographics and instructional integration patterns

that have occurred? Although the qualitative portion of the study investigated staff interpretations of the same issues that were examined quantitatively (student demographic changes, student integration patterns, and their relationship to the school's two-way immersion program), this portion of the study was designed to complement, not mimic in qualitative form, the quantitative portion. In other words, the qualitative study was intended to add context and meaning to the concept of student integration and its relationship to the introduction and current implementation of two-way immersion in the study schools. I recognize that by limiting the storytelling to staff that the study privileges a staff perspective of the issues. This approach is not meant to imply that the story told here is the only, most important, or the most truthful accounting of events. It is nevertheless an important perspective, particularly given the power of educators to enact or resist changes in school practices.

I designed the study in part to investigate concerns raised by Cypress school staff that "high needs" students were becoming concentrated in the English only strand of the school. However, there were other issues I hoped to explore more fully than proving or disproving these concerns. In particular, I was interested in a deeper understanding of what staff meant by "high needs" and what might account for their perception that a concentration of such students were found in the English strand. I also was interested in why staff did not include Spanish speakers (who could also be classified as "high needs" based on socioeconomic status and limited English proficiency) under this label in these conversations. Prior to the study, I assumed and observed that Spanish speakers at Cypress were benefitting from the introduction of two-way immersion in tangible and intangible ways. I had hoped that the qualitative study might illuminate some of these

benefits, while at the same time examining the integration challenges documented in other two-way immersion programs and suggested by Cypress staff. Thus, my intent was to explore not only how staff made sense of current student demographics and integration patterns, but also how staff perceptions about students and student integration patterns may have changed (or not) since the introduction of two-way immersion.

Over the course of the grounded theory analysis, I realized my qualitative investigation of student integration was hampered by a limited, largely quantitative focus on student integration defined by diverse bodies sharing instructional minutes. Several of my questions to school staff attempted to empirically measure (but with less objectively verifiable precision than the measures I employed in the quantitative portion of the study) the physical integration of diverse students within two-way immersion classrooms as well as between students in two-way immersion and those in the English strand. My initial limited student integration lens was, as Ladson-Billings (2004) argues, grounded in the logic of desegregation remedies that stress mathematical answers to segregation. My initial focus changed as I realized that two-way immersion's influence on the physical integration of Spanish speaking English Learners with native English speakers for instructional purposes was mixed, yet there was a story of integration that was emerging in the data. That story was shaped, *in part*, by the presence of diverse student bodies within the same school and within the same classes. However, the *meaningful* integration that was occurring was not captured by diverse body counts but instead by what was happening in the schools to integrate or not the student bodies within. Eventually, I found that the integration story that emerged in the data centered around Spanish. The integration of Spanish into the core structure of the school led to increasing cultural

capital gains for Spanish speakers as their language became commodified with the introduction and ongoing implementation of two-way immersion. Although two-way immersion did not initiate the integration of Spanish at Cypress and Willow, it did create the conditions that enabled a much more substantive integration of Spanish in the schools than would have likely occurred otherwise. Moreover, Spanish speakers appear to have benefitted not just from the structural integration of Spanish, but from the manner in which Spanish speakers and their culture were being (re)interpreted by staff.

In the next sections, I elaborate on cultural capital's relevance to the grounded theory results. I then describe the central theme and key processes that emerged in the grounded theory analysis. I follow this with a detailed analysis of the results, and conclude the chapter with a brief summary of the results.

Cultural Capital versus a Culture of Poverty

A commonly referenced expert on school poverty among school personnel is Ruby Payne. A less commonly referenced scholar on education matters among school staff is Pierre Bourdieu. I found the contributions of both individuals operative in the Bellflower school district.

Key Points

1. Poverty is relative.
2. Poverty occurs in all races.
3. Generational and situational poverty are different.
4. This work is based on patterns. All patterns have exceptions.
5. Schools operate from middle-class norms and values.
6. Individuals bring with them the hidden rules of the class in which they were raised.
7. There are cultural differences in poverty. This study is cross-cultural and focuses on economics.
8. We must neither excuse them nor scold them. We must teach them.
9. We must teach them that there are two sets of rules.
10. To move from poverty to middle class, one must give up (for a period of time) relationships for achievement.

11. Two things that help one move out of poverty are:
    - education
    - relationships
12. Four reasons one leaves poverty are:
    - too painful to stay
    - vision or goal
    - key relationship
    - special talent/skill

Payne (2005), p. 3

> Without turning power into a 'circle whose center is everywhere and nowhere', which could be to dissolve it in yet another way, we have to be able to discover it in places where it is least visible, where it is most completely misrecognized – and thus, in fact, recognized. For symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it. Bourdieu (1991), pp. 163-164.

The evaluative standards by which we judge students, as Payne notes above and as Bourdieu argues in his writings on cultural capital, are not class-neutral. However, Payne and Bourdieu differ in substantial ways. Payne renders invisible or, in more recent writings, minimizes structural inequalities that assist in the reproduction of racial and class disparities and instead frames the reasons for poverty and for poor educational outcomes on cultural deficits. Bourdieu, on the other hand, attempts to surface the ways in which middle class dispositions (including behaviors, language styles, and tastes) become institutionalized as proper and become the standards by which qualifications or status are bestowed on individuals. I reference Payne above not to showcase her writing, but because her ideas are circulating within the Bellflower school district and because her "Key Points" and much of her work is uncritically consumed by schools as common sense (Bohn, 2006; Bomer et al., 2008; Gorski, 2009). As I heard from staff about the overrepresentation of extreme poverty and dysfunctional families in the English only

strand, I found myself relating to them, commiserating with them. I ultimately found myself complicit in a web of power from which neither I nor they can escape.

My application of cultural capital focuses on how the structure of schooling at Cypress and Willow helped to engage or disenfranchise students, which in turn led to staff's (re)interpretation of the cultural capital of Spanish speakers versus English speakers in poverty. I found that as the linguistic capital of Spanish grew at the schools, so too did the cultural capital of Spanish speakers and their families. Prior to the introduction of two-way immersion, some staff already perceived Spanish as a linguistic resource for Spanish speakers and Spanish was utilized with Spanish speakers in limited ways at the schools. However, it is only when Spanish becomes commodified with the introduction and ongoing implementation of two-way immersion that Spanish speakers' linguistic capital is activated. In addition to providing Spanish speakers and their families greater access to the curriculum and the life of the school, the cultural capital gains of Spanish speakers is evident in the ways in which staff begin to see Spanish speakers. I used the theme, "negotiating the value of Spanish", to describe the central process that emerged in the grounded theory analysis, a process that occurred over many years as both study schools grappled with a growing Latino population. At its core, the central theme, which I explain further below, reflects the dialectic relationship between the structure of schooling and staff interpretations of problem or non-conforming students.

The Major Categories and Central Theme

Because the staff story behind the introduction of the two-way immersion programs was a major focus of the interviews, I used this staff decision and its relation to student demographics and instructional integration patterns as the central phenomena of

interest. This helped me to eventually organize the themes that emerged from the open coding process into four major categories: (1) the system impacts my building, (2) negotiating about Spanish, (3) integrating Spanish, and (4) isolating English/White poverty. (I describe these in detail in the section that follows.) This focus also helped me identify the central theme, "negotiating the value of Spanish", which best described and synthesized the major processes and conditions that emerged in the grounded theory analysis. The central theme includes three substantive terms, and each of these terms illuminates key themes that emerged in interviews with staff. In defining each term, I begin with why "negotiating" is important, then discuss the importance of "Spanish." I define "value" last because it is the most abstract of the terms and is better understood within the context of the other two terms.

Negotiating

The concept "negotiating" implies that there are various parties involved with competing interests. In this case, the primary negotiators were school staff and the negotiations they engaged in concerned the manner in which they served their growing Spanish speaking population. Before initiating the study, I was aware that the vast majority of the teachers at the schools prior to the introduction of two-way immersion were monolingual English speakers. I was curious about the conditions that might lead such a staff to adopt an instructional approach that requires a skill (i.e., a high proficiency level of Spanish) that most did not have. Although I did not initially conceptualize the process I sought to investigate as one of negotiation, the themes that emerged in interviews pointed me in that direction.

My analysis of the data from the interviews, focus groups, archival documents and school site observations revealed a series of negotiations between different players (teacher, principal, other school staff, district administrator, parent/community), with different levels of negotiating influence or power, and with different perspectives about and interest in how to meet the needs of Spanish speakers. Moreover, different levels of cultural competence (i.e., multicultural understanding/experience and bilingualism) among the staff influenced their interest in and perspectives about how to serve the growing Spanish speaking population. This combination of factors led to a series of negotiations among staff at both schools as well as between school and district staff over an extended period of time. Although the primary voices I use to tell this story are those of school staff, they identify other players and conditions that illuminate not only how they perceived their own negotiating power, but how they perceived their students and families.

Spanish

Spanish was integral to staff perceptions of changing student demographics and the instructional practices they used in response to these changes. Although staff did not exclusively identify English Learners who spoke Spanish as the only or most important student group at their schools, Spanish was closely, and in most cases, explicitly linked to the changing demographics at the schools and the need for different instructional practices to address the needs of these students. In addition, staff explicitly linked Spanish speakers to poverty issues; however, staff characterized “Spanish poverty” differently than “English poverty”, particularly after the introduction of two-way immersion.

In terms of instructional practices, using Spanish as a resource to meet the needs of this changing demographic was also a consistent theme that began well before the introduction of two-way immersion. However, initially, the approach to Spanish was a contained approach, limited in the amount of instruction provided, to whom it is provided, and the extent to which it is integrated in the life of the school. I argue that the gradual, increasing integration of Spanish (and by extension, Spanish Speakers) into the life of the school was not an inevitable occurrence but rather the product of intense negotiations.

Value

I interpret the results of the staff, district and community negotiations about Spanish as a reflection of Spanish gaining value or status at the schools. It was clear in the interviews with staff that the integration of Spanish into the life of the school was, as noted previously, gradual and initially marginal. However, over time, Spanish speakers were becoming a large enough group that their difficulties in school were now a school-wide "problem" for staff. As staff investigated options for better serving this growing population, the use of Spanish in the school life increased, e.g., in ESL instruction, in the introduction of other family support services, in the hiring of bilingual staff, and eventually the introduction of two-way immersion.

The increasing valuation of Spanish at Cypress and Willow was thus a long-term process that reflected the growing presence of Spanish at the schools, increasing deliberations about its role in the schools, and ultimately its commodification when it becomes attached to two-way immersion. Nevertheless, its value was not universally accepted, nor were the yardsticks by which its value was judged universally agreed upon.

For some staff, Spanish either had value or didn't before the language became a desirable commodity for others; and these perceptions or attitudes didn't change as a result of the two-way immersion program. For others, the value of Spanish increased over time, and the limited access to the two-way immersion program and the positive outcomes believed to be affiliated with its introduction served to redefine and/or reinforce the value of Spanish. The value of Spanish was also dependent upon how staff perceived the utilization of Spanish within the school to affect them. Once the negotiations about the use of Spanish moved to discussions about introducing a two-way immersion program, the negotiating stakes were raised. At this point, the staff debates were really less about the value of Spanish for students and more about the impact such a decision would have on them personally, a largely monolingual English speaking staff.

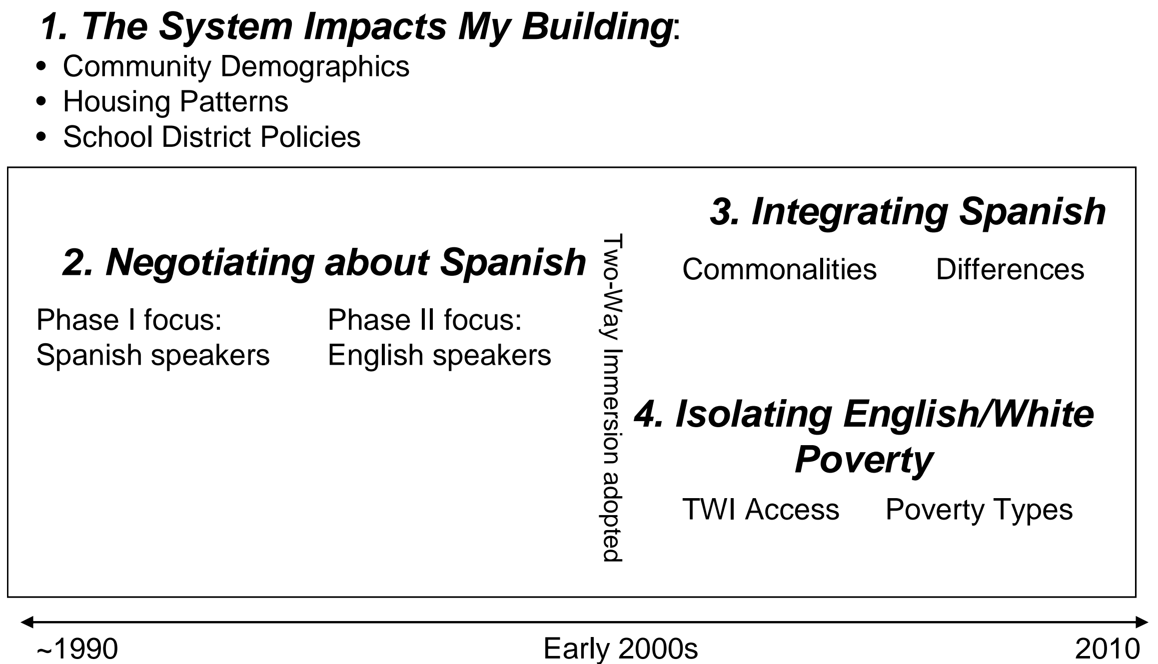
Thus, the central theme reflects a process of negotiation among school staff with different sources of authority or power to influence decision-making and action-taking, and with different competencies in meeting the needs of the growing Spanish speaking population that in turn affect their different and evolving perspectives about the value of Spanish for themselves as well as for the students and families in the school. Despite the variations in conditions and staff responses that differentially affected the implementation of two-way immersion and student integration patterns at the schools, the general outcome at both sites was the same. Over time, the negotiations resulted in the increasing integration of Spanish and, by extension, Spanish speakers into the life of the school, and an increasing segregation, and I argue, marginalization of students in poverty that don't speak Spanish and were not part of the two-way immersion program. In the remainder of

this chapter, I summarize the grounded theory results via a detailed discussion of the four major categories.

Negotiating the Value of Spanish

The four major categories that emerged in the data reflect key themes related to demographic changes at the schools, the introduction of two-way immersion, and student integration. Although I discuss the categories in a specific order, this sequencing is mostly a rhetorical device that helps to frame the major pieces of the story. In other words, some of the categories and some of the activities within them proceed chronologically. However, there was rarely a clean break between the conditions and activities of one category and those pertaining to the next. Figure 5 illustrates how the categories relate to one another chronologically as well as to the schools' decisions to adopt two-way immersion. It also highlights the key themes within each of the categories that are discussed in detail in the sections that follow.

Figure 5: Diagram of Major Categories



The first of the four major categories, “the system impacts my building,” refers to the external conditions staff identified as contributing to the demographic composition of the schools. Unlike the remaining categories, this first category highlights factors largely outside the control of school staff that influence the demographic landscape at Cypress and Willow. The remaining three categories (“negotiating about Spanish”, “integrating Spanish”, and “isolating English/White poverty”), on the other hand, detail the staff deliberations and activity in response to the students they see. Thus, the first category serves primarily as the backdrop for the staff story that unfolds at Cypress and Willow in the final three categories.

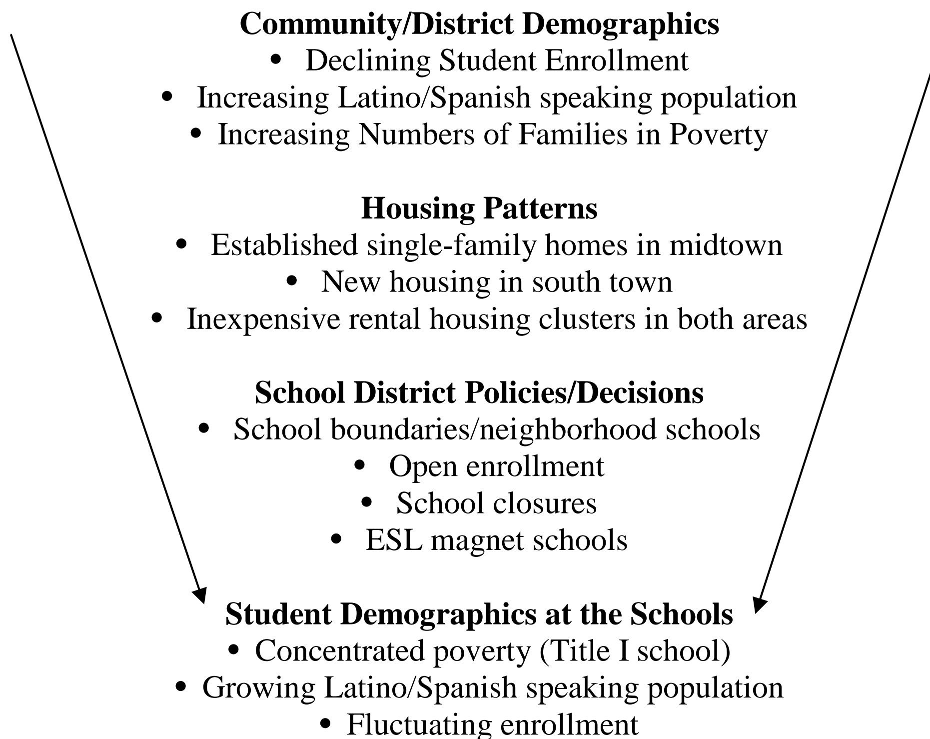
The System Impacts My Building

The staff decision to introduce two-way immersion at Cypress and Willow was preceded by considerable demographic changes that were occurring in the two schools. The first category, “the system impacts my building”, refers to the external conditions beyond the control of the study schools that emerged in the data as contributing factors to the demographic composition of the study schools. The category’s name is actually an in vivo code -- that is, the exact words used by one of the study participants. The quote below illustrates how it was initially used by one of the principals to highlight how the district’s enrollment policies affect his school.

> Mr. Baca: This district has two competing policies… for enrollment. One is a neighborhood policy. And the other is a school choice policy. And that’s one area that I visited with the district about.
>
> MIM: And what was [sic] your comments to the district about that?
>
> Mr. Baca: I think that we need to balance our interpretation of those two policies, and be much more clear and specific. And consistent. As a system. Because the system impacts my building.

In addition to school district policies, two other external conditions (community demographics and housing patterns) appeared in the data as contributing factors to the student demographics at the study schools. The three conditions are all interrelated and can be viewed hierarchically, from having a broader, dispersed impact on school enrollments to having a more direct impact. Figure 6 illustrates this funnel effect.

Figure 6. External Conditions Affecting Student Demographics at the Schools



The relationship between community demographics, school district policies and decisions, and school enrollments was clearly and consistently linked in the data. There was less frequent referencing of the role of housing patterns, although the link between housing availability/affordability, school boundaries and enrollment patterns was nevertheless present. My intent in identifying these conditions is not to delineate a direct

line of cause and effect, but rather to articulate how broader societal conditions and demographic changes within the community interacted with district policies/decisions and ultimately affected who had access to which schools, how families exercised the options available to them, and who ultimately went where. First, I discuss how declining enrollment across the district in tandem with the district's open enrollment policies and recent school closures have influenced school enrollments. Then, I discuss how a growing Latino population and community housing patterns have also affected student demographics at Cypress and Willow.

School District Policies/Decisions Influence Who Goes Where

The Bellflower community has been experiencing declining enrollment in the schools for many years. Because school funding is largely dependent on student enrollment, a loss of students in the schools translates into a reduction in school funding. Coupled with the loss of funds due to a loss of students, like all districts across the state, the Bellflower school district was also contending with shrinking state allocations for schools during the study timeframe. Both the superintendent and the assistant superintendent identified the three biggest changes in student demographics districtwide as (1) a growth in poverty, (2) a growth in Hispanics/Spanish speakers and (3) declining student enrollment. The assistant superintendent, Ms. Watson, explains the impact of the latter in the following terms.

> Ms. Watson: We started looking around and realizing that there was, we had more square footage than we needed for the number of students. [....] We hired a group […] who did a, it was an enrollment projection study. […] And the trend was that it would continue, that decline in enrollment would continue for quite some time. So the school closures were related to that. And the fact that we had less money coming in.

In response to declining enrollment and shrinking revenues, the district closed three elementary schools between 1999-2009. Two K-5 elementary schools were closed in 2002. An additional K-8 school was closed in 2006. The school closures directly affected the enrollments and the demographic composition at both study schools, and even the grade configuration at one of the study schools, Willow, which transformed from a K-5 to a K-8 school in 2006. Although enrollment at both study schools dramatically increased as a result of the school closures, staff also perceived that the school closures, coupled with stricter student transfer policies, helped decrease the socioeconomic disparities between all schools in the district by increasing the numbers of families not in poverty at the some of the schools. Below, Ms. Burroughs, the Bellflower superintendent, discusses how these issues intersect system-wide.

> Ms. Burroughs: Reducing the open space in the district helped a lot with that issue. [She's referring to the high mobility due to student transfers between schools.] …. Students were still here, they just went to that school one year and another school another year. … And I have studied the, every year I look at the SES. I don't know that I would be able to influence again decisions about open enrollment. I was told by the former superintendent that anybody who tried to go after that value of open enrollment, they wouldn't be superintendent here.

Ms. Ruiz, a teacher at Willow, also believed that the school closures helped diversify the socioeconomic characteristics of families at her school. But she also suggested that more affluent families continue to be given options to avoid coming to Willow, as she contended was the case when the district closed Ferndale, a K-8 school in the south part of town.

> Ms. Ruiz: It was a bunch of wealthy people that went to Ferndale – that chose to go to that school. So, we didn't get all of them. …Most of them lived in our area – but I think some decided – they gave them the option when they closed the school of them going wherever they wanted to go. And, some chose not to come here.

The link between open enrollment and socioeconomic disparities between the district's schools was explicitly explored by a district committee comprised of school and community members. The Equity Committee, as it was called, was convened in November of 2003 under then superintendent, Dr. Henry. The purpose of the committee was to review the district's current enrollment and transfer policies and practices. The questions the committee was asked to address included:

- How do current policies and practices benefit students?
- Do current policies/practices harm students? Would changes fix this? If so, what changes?
- What will our community support?

In April 2004, the Equity Committee issued its final report. Although the committee reported finding that the district's open enrollment policies were contributing to "an increase in socio-economic stratification, at both ends of the spectrum" (i.e., providing families with resources to choose whatever school they wanted to attend and concentrating families with the least resources in their neighborhood schools), the committee concluded, "Since open enrollment is valued by many families in [Bellflower], the district should not abandon it. To do so, would cause significant dissatisfaction" (p. 4). In the end, the district decided to place some restrictions on student transfers, including shortening the transfer application window, centralizing and formalizing the information flow to parents, determining maximum enrollment capacities for all schools, and requiring that the one school in the district without a school boundary, a K-8 school located in the middle of town, attempt to rectify their low poverty rates (the lowest in the district) by giving priority in their lottery process for students in poverty.

A consistent theme in interviews with Willow staff was that the district's open enrollment policies have been and continue to be particularly detrimental to their school. One staff member, Ms. Bolden, the only staff person who has worked at Willow during the entire ten years of the study, directly linked the district's "school of choice" policies to a steady decline in enrollment and an increasing concentration not just of families in poverty, but of families in crisis at Willow. Ms. Bolden has been working at Willow since the early 1990s.

> Ms. Bolden: When I started… the district had adopted school of choice. So, it had been a very large school, like 500+ kids, and went down to… [she thinks about this for a bit] 200 kids. You know, at one point it was down near 200 kids.
>
> MIM: So did it go down to that immediately? Or was that a…
>
> Ms. Bolden: It went over a few years. … It went from… probably [she stops to think again]… like 40% free and reduced to 90% free and reduced. [She lowers her voice at this point, to prevent the students in the room from hearing.] And, it was a lot of kids whose parents were drug addicts and, you know, had a lot of issues. 'Cuz a lot of other families pulled out and went to other places.

Thus, the community demographics map in general terms how the school district's population was changing. However, the district's enrollment policies appeared to have exacerbated the stratification of the populations across the district's schools. Staff at Willow believed these policies contributed to higher declining enrollments and higher concentrations of poverty at their school than would have occurred without the open enrollment policies. Although they also believed the school closures have helped bring more middle class families to their school, they contended that the district's open enrollment policies continue to encourage and aid middle class families to leave.

In contrast to Willow, Cypress staff tended to favor the open enrollment policies, believing that it helped bring more middle class families from outside their boundaries

into the school, particularly after the introduction of two-way immersion. Instead they believed that housing patterns within their neighborhood boundaries were primarily responsible for the changing student demographics they observed at Cypress.

Housing Patterns Influence Who Goes Where

Rather than open enrollment policies, Cypress staff more often referenced the supply of housing and the demographics of those living near the school as factors contributing to their changing demographics. The following quote from my interview with a former Cypress teacher who had been at the school from 1995-2004, captures these sentiments.

> Ms. Wilson: The middle class families that lived in the area -- those children or those people had either moved away because of, you couldn't afford to actually buy in the area or, the closest area to Cypress was just aging. And, we weren't getting those young families movin' in. And then the apartment areas and things were families who had lower income. You know, that was booming.

Ms. Jacobs, a kindergarten teacher at Willow for the past three years, highlighted how newer housing developments in the south part of town influenced Willow's student demographics, but instead of a seeing an array of socioeconomic diversity at the school, it appeared like "two opposite groups." She elaborates on this below as she explains her experience conducting home visits.

> Ms. Jacobs: I remember my first year thinking that although I thought I knew and understood what poverty was… that it was so…, um, humbling to go to these families homes, and see just… the extreme lack of things that they had. Or some of the homes looked like they were falling apart…. But then I would go to another home visit, much fewer of these, where the family had a beautiful house and pottery barn decorations. And, offered you cookies. You know, I mean, that was just a couple of them but the contrast was so stark.

Staff at both schools suggested that inexpensive housing, particular apartments and other low-cost rental units, located nearby was as a major reason why significant numbers of families in poverty were enrolled in their schools. It was also cited as a

reason why the schools enrolled so many Spanish speakers. In discussing why he believed the school experienced a particularly large increase in the numbers of Spanish speakers who are English Language Learners (ELLs) this past year, Cypress' principal, Mr. Baca, stated, "Families who are ELLs maybe chose not to come here [in the past, but] are [now] wanting to come here. And I think another factor is that our neighborhood has lower cost housing opportunities for them."

The designation of both schools as ESL magnet schools was also partly a reflection of the fact that the schools were already serving the highest numbers of Spanish speakers at the elementary school level in the district. Mr. Garcia, Willow's principal, commented on this fact, "Both Cypress and Willow are ESL magnets, so any ESL families that live in North Bellflower, they go to Cypress for ESL services. And in South Bellflower [they go to Willow] for ESL services. It just so happens that we, they live in those areas."

In general, the designation as an ESL magnet means that ELL students from across the district have the option to attend the nearest ESL magnet school and are provided transportation to do so. In addition to Cypress and Willow, there was one other elementary school that was an ESL magnet. In contrast to Cypress and Willow, this school primarily served Korean speakers who are ELLs. There was also a middle school and high school that were designated ESL magnets.

The district's decision to create ESL magnets was guided in large part by financial considerations. Shrinking revenues played a role, as did an expressed desire to create stronger programs in a few schools rather than minimal services in all schools. In my interview with the superintendent, Ms. Burroughs, she described the decision to

create the magnets as a contentious issue between the schools. She attributed this to the fact that the schools with fewer ELLs could potentially lose more of these students once the schools with the most ELLs became ESL magnet schools. This debate apparently was most contentious between the high schools. I asked her to clarify why the non-ESL magnet schools were concerned with losing their ELL students. In addition to the loss of funds and schools not wanting to "suggest to anybody that another school has better services for them", she indicated that there were other issues that she couldn't prove but that she believed nonetheless:

> My *sense* also was that, as our high schools were struggling with this issue, one of the things that the district was talking about was that there were more teachers at [the magnet high school] that were willing to welcome ELL children into their classroom, with or without additional support. And there were more teachers at [the magnet high school] who had pursued additional training … to support language learners. And so, at [the non-magnet high school] we're [i.e., the district] going to have to invest more and on top of that it appears that there is not a culture at that school that's going to welcome that. It's going to be an initiative pushed in rather than a response.

Although she discusses the high schools here, I include this quote not just to illustrate the debates behind the designation of the ESL magnet schools, but also to illustrate the role that school culture, in particular, staff receptivity and capacity to work with certain groups of students, plays in school reform. I do so because this is a recurring theme expressed by many staff at Cypress and Willow. It is a theme to which I return in subsequent sections.

I actively sought, in conversations with school and district staff and in the archival documents to which I was given access, evidence confirming when the study schools were designated ESL magnets, however I was unable to definitively determine the year that this happened. Because I was aware that both study schools were ESL magnets prior to starting the study, I assumed this designation played an important role in drawing

Spanish speakers to the schools and thus contributed to the introduction of the two-way immersion programs there. However, in conversations with school and district staff, it appeared that the ESL designation played a lesser role in drawing Spanish speakers to the school. In fact, the ESL designation seemed to have occurred after the introduction of two-way immersion at Cypress in 2001.

In this category I highlighted how three external conditions, community demographics, housing patterns, and school district policies relate to the student demographics in both study schools. Although the open enrollment policies apply to all schools in the district, they appeared to have differential effects on the district's schools, including the two schools in the study. Willow staff suggested that these policies have been particularly detrimental to their school. Cypress staff, on the other hand, suggested that these policies have enabled more middle class families from outside their boundaries to attend the school after two-way immersion was introduced. I also discussed the relationship between housing patterns and school boundaries, and the fact that low-cost housing near both study schools seemed to contribute to both higher concentrations of students in poverty and higher concentrations of Spanish speakers. Community demographics, housing patterns and school policies collectively have influenced who attended Cypress and Willow. In the remaining categories I discuss how staff responded to the changing demographics that were influenced by these external conditions.

Negotiating about Spanish

Although the staff negotiations about the two-way immersion programs have not ended, there were two key phases of negotiating activity that illuminated how the programs were introduced in the schools. The first phase helped to lay a critical

foundation of services and staff involvement/leadership for the decision-making phase that followed. Negotiations in the first phase were primarily about Spanish speakers. The second phase of negotiations centered on the decision to adopt a two-way immersion program, and how this would affect the English speaking mainstream at the school.

Negotiating about Spanish Speakers

Staff at both schools identified the two largest groups of students at their schools as students in poverty and English Learners/Latinos. For both schools, students in poverty have been attending the schools in large numbers for many years. However, Latinos, especially native Spanish speakers were growing in both schools, particularly from the mid-1990s until the mid-2000s. As more Spanish speaking families entered the schools, staff most directly involved with these students and their families (i.e., ESL staff, Title I staff, family support staff) began to question the effectiveness of existing instructional practices, as well as the existing services provided to families at the schools. This led to a series of negotiations among Cypress and Willow staff as well as between school and district staff about how to meet the needs of this growing population.

In this phase, negotiations among the staff at both schools are centered on the use of Spanish to serve Spanish speaking students and their families. In addition, a subset of school staff became increasingly active in advocating for Spanish speakers and their families both with other staff in their schools as well with the district office. In contrast to the next phase of negotiations, this phase is characterized by limited staff involvement in ELL advocacy and in making changes and limited impact on the core instructional practices at the school. Despite the limited staff involvement and limited impact on the structure of schooling, this phase nevertheless created an important infrastructure for the

future introduction of two-way immersion by initiating changes in teaching philosophy and teaching staff, adding programs to engage Spanish speaking families and better prepare their children for kindergarten, and in fostering staff leadership regarding ELL matters at each of the schools.

Changes in teaching philosophy and staff. The change in teaching philosophy was prompted in large part by changes in teaching staff. In the mid-to-late 1990s, the schools began to hire bilingual staff who could speak Spanish to serve the growing Spanish speaking population as ESL teachers as well as classroom teachers. Some of these teachers, particularly at Willow, began experimenting with bilingual approaches in their classrooms. In addition to the experimentation with bilingual approaches in the primary grades at Willow, ESL instruction for Spanish speakers at both schools began to emphasize Spanish literacy instruction. Many staff indicated that they adopted this approach, which carried into the first several years of two-way immersion, because it was backed by research. This research indicated that the most effective method for teaching English Learners, especially Spanish speakers, was to first teach them to read and write in Spanish. The following quotes illustrate how research guided their teaching approach with Spanish speakers.

> Ms. Apple, Cypress aide/former Title I teacher: Research was showing that, you know, that learning to read in your native language first gives you the skills to transfer to a second language much easier.

> Mr. Joseph , former Cypress teacher: If you're strong in your first language, you can transfer those skills to the second language so much more easily. … And that's research-based.

There were other English Learners at both schools, however, that did not speak Spanish. This group continued to receive their ESL instruction exclusively in English. As noted in the quantitative portion of the study, the numbers of students whose home

language is neither English nor Spanish at either school were very small, especially at Willow. From 1999-2009, at their highest point, less than 4% of the students at Willow and less than 9% of the students at Cypress fell into this category in a given year. Moreover, these percentages represent multiple languages, not a single "other language" group. The third largest language group at either school over the ten year study period was Vietnamese, accounting for 3.5% of the students (11) at Cypress in 1999. In contrast, since 2005, approximately 30% of the students at both schools spoke Spanish at home.

Although insufficient staff capacity to teach the native languages of all ELL students in the schools was the primary the reason why these students did not receive native language instruction, Ms. Sellers, an ESL teacher at Cypress also noted that the socioeconomic backgrounds of Spanish speakers versus other ELL students at Cypress differed considerably, and that these differences were contributing to poorer academic performance of Spanish speaking ELLs. Several Cypress staff noted that many of the non-Spanish speaking ELLs at Cypress were children of visiting professors or doctoral students at the local university. Thus, even though they too were learning English and even though their families may in fact have been living on very limited incomes, their parents tended to have strong educational backgrounds, were literate in their first language, and had sufficient English skills that they could actively participate in the life of the school. However, the Spanish speakers that they were seeing at the schools, both the students and their parents, did not have much if any formal education. Moreover, the Spanish speaking parents had little English and did not actively participate in the schools. Staff attributed Spanish speaking parents' lack of participation to (a) their lack of English, (b) feeling intimidated or not welcome by the school, (c) their lack of knowledge

about how to become involved, and, (d) to lesser extent, not valuing education as much as middle class or educated parents.

New programs supporting Spanish speaking families. Another significant change, which helped to connect Spanish speaking families to the schools, was the introduction of programs outside the regular curriculum to support Spanish speaking families and their children. Bilingual preschools and Even Start programs were created at Cypress and Willow in early 2000. (They no longer exist due to budget cuts.) Both types of programs were credited with creating a welcoming environment for Spanish speaking families and fostering stronger ties between the schools and Spanish speaking parents. Several staff suggested that the Even Start program, a family literacy program aimed at low income families, was particularly effective in this regard. A former ESL instructor, now a certified teacher at Cypress, comments on the effect the literacy program at Cypress, Libros y Familias, had at her school.

> Ms. Duarte, Cypress teacher: We had that program for several years. And so that also built a community in the building that didn't exist before. And so those families [brought] students to this school because of that. They felt more welcome […] at the building and so one family would bring the other.

A teacher at Willow, who has been at the school for eight years, also linked the growing Spanish speaking population there to Even Start and the school's bilingual preschool.

> Ms. Blake, Willow teacher: I'm not exactly sure the proportion of Hispanic students at that time, but it grew over time. We also had programs like Even Start here. [….] [The principal, Ms. Masters,] started a preschool. […] She found, I think, a grant for part of it. And then support through some Title money. So we had a preschool. We had things that supported parents, especially moms.

Even Start is a federally funded family literacy program with very explicit guidelines about how the program should be run. Ms. Bolden, a counselor at Willow,

wrote the initial grant when she was the school's Family Services Coordinator. The program operated at both Cypress and Willow. Although Ms. Bolden initially hoped it would be able to serve both English speaking and Spanish speaking families, she eventually decided to target the program to Spanish speakers only. The strict attendance requirements of Even Start were a major reason for this decision. She commented on how she investigated other Even Start programs in the state and found the most successful ones were those that targeted Spanish speakers because the Spanish speakers regularly attended the activities. She discusses this issue below.

> Ms. Bolden: We had originally thought we would target English speaking families as well and kind of work them together which would have been wonderful, except that the grant is so strict with attendance and our um English families would never put up with, you know, they just would *not*…. Because of mental health issues and other issues, there's no way that they'd follow those kind of rules.

Increased staff advocacy for English Learners. The final significant change was increasing advocacy on behalf of English Learners. Staff who worked with ELL students were becoming concerned that the district and schools were not doing enough to meet the needs of the growing ELL population. For many, their involvement with these students provided them a window into instructional practices at the school that they found inadequate for Spanish speaking ELLs and in some cases grossly negligent for English speaking Latinos, as the following quote illustrates.

> Ms. Harmon, former Willow teacher: I was always the ESL upper grade teacher. I had all the Hispanic kids in my class. And two of them I discovered … didn't speak a word of Spanish -- that had both been put into the ESL program because they had Hispanic surnames or they looked Mexican. […] I was *really, really angry* that these kids had ended up in these newcomers classes for 1st, 2nd and 3rd grade and put into an ESL group for 4th grade…. So anyway, that was sort of my entrance into this, this process.

Although other teachers and principals at both schools were also concerned that their school was not sufficiently meeting the needs of the growing Spanish speaking

population, ESL teachers were particularly vocal and organized. ESL staff from both study schools and others began collecting data on ELL outcomes and ELL expenditures, and meeting with the district administration to express their concerns. Funding discrepancies became a major point of contention, with ESL staff contending that the district was not meeting its financial obligations to these students and that they (the ESL staff) had the documentation to prove it. Ms. Sellers, who has been an ESL teacher at Cypress for 14 years, described this process, which began in the latter half of the 1990s, as "a grassroots effort on the part of the ELL teachers." She also commented on how far the district and the schools have come since then but noted that the progress did not come without a struggle.

> Ms. Sellers: Look at what we've got now, *eventually*. But it took a long time and a lot of, a lot of fighting and a lot of standing up and saying, "This is not right. The district is getting money for these kids and it shouldn't be going for lights for the whole school or to pay the heating bill or whatever. It should be for the ELL program."

In this category I discussed several changes that helped create an infrastructure that supported Spanish for Spanish speakers. These included the hiring of new bilingual staff, a different teaching philosophy and approach for Spanish speakers, additional services for Spanish speaking families, and growing advocacy on behalf of ELLs. Thus, in this phase, Spanish gains a foothold in the school. The use of Spanish in the school, although now more common than in previous years, was nevertheless limited. The advocacy for Spanish and Spanish speakers, although growing, was not widespread. Spanish was valued or at least perceived as necessary for Spanish speakers only. Moreover, the changes that occurred did not affect the core instructional program. As a result, few classroom teachers or other students and families at the school were involved

in or affected by these changes. The introduction of two-way immersion, on the other hand, would have a much greater impact on staff and families at both schools, but getting there was neither quick nor inevitable.

Negotiating about Spanish for English Speakers

Thus far, meeting the needs of Spanish speakers was largely seen as peripheral to the school and mostly the responsibility of the ESL staff. This perspective changed when Spanish speakers became increasingly visible to the rest of the staff. In this phase, the momentum builds for making significant instructional changes, and ultimately the decision is made to begin a two-way immersion program. In contrast to the previous phase, this phase is characterized by broad staff involvement, the consideration and eventual adoption of instructional changes to the core curriculum, and strong administrative leadership in directing the decision-making process.

In this category I elaborate on how Spanish speakers became more visible and how the school principals played a pivotal role in ultimately deciding their school's direction. Though the impetus for the program was in addressing the growing "problem" of Spanish speakers at the schools, the intense and prolonged negotiations among staff about two-way immersion were less a reflection of the value of this approach for Spanish speakers and more a reflection of what such a decision would mean for English speakers. However, I argue that the major hurdle in these negotiations was not around teacher concerns for English speaking students, but rather for the (English speaking) teachers themselves.

Increasing visibility of Spanish speakers. Spanish speakers became more visible to more school staff in three ways. First, the population, by its sheer size, was becoming

difficult to ignore. Staff at the schools recall a steady growth of Latinos/Spanish speakers in the mid-to-late 1990s to early 2000s. The student data I collected for the years 1999-2009 indicate that these populations grew steadily at both schools until 2005, and then stabilized thereafter. In 1999, approximately 18% of the students at both schools were Latino and about 13% spoke Spanish at home. By 2005, over 35% of the students were Latino and about 30% of the students at the schools spoke Spanish at home. Staff at both schools commented on becoming very aware of the mismatch between current teacher practices and teacher knowledge and the needs of their growing Latino population.

> Ms. Marsh, Cypress teacher: It was so clear to us that when we looked at the number of ELL students we suddenly had in our school, we couldn't avoid not doing something. And it had to be significant.

> Ms. Harmon, former Willow teacher: We were noticing that our Hispanic kids were coming and staying. And, we were very aware that we didn't know what to do. We were a bunch of well educated White teachers teaching in a hippie school. And I would say 99% of our energy had gone to studying poverty and the effects of poverty, and how to combat low achievement due to poverty. And all of a sudden we realized we have a new issue in front of us and we don't know what to do.

A second way Spanish speakers became more visible is that staff began observing mounting behavior incidents involving Latino students. Prior to the introduction of two-way immersion, staff reported seeing troubling behavior by Latino students at the school and that these behaviors were escalating. Several staff made specific references to "gangs" or "gang activity" as the following quotes illustrate.

> Ms. Ruiz, Willow teacher: When … they had no dual immersion program, there was [sic] problems with gangs on the playground. I mean there was just a lot of division. And, the Spanish speakers felt very defensive and very resistant to their culture.

> Ms. Dee, former Cypress teacher: They [the school] had a lot of behavior issues. They had a lot of pre-gang activity. And um that was taking up a lot of our meeting time talking about [it].

> Ms. Sellers, Cypress ESL teacher: We began to see small signs of gang, either behaviors or gang clothing or gang talk.

> Ms. Graham, Cypress teacher: Well, 12 years ago… uh, no, 12, 11, 10, 9. A lot of those years we actually had gangs. Gangs of children. And um, we had a lot of problems.

In some cases, the cause of the student conflicts was mutually attributed to both Latinos and Whites, whom staff felt were being disrespectful to one another. And in some cases, staff did not solely attribute the source of the problems to the students. They also interpreted the Latino students' behaviors as a sign that they (the staff) were not meeting the students' needs. Nevertheless, in many cases, Latinos were seen as the "problem" because, according to staff, they didn't fit in, were choosing to self-segregate, and were acting aggressively toward non-Latinos. In short, these students and their behaviors were becoming a major issue for staff.

A third way Spanish speakers became more visible was in their poor academic performance. The underachievement of Spanish speaking ELLs at the school, particularly as measured by standardized test scores, was a consistent theme raised by staff when discussing their investigation of alternative instructional options. A frequently expressed motivation for improving the educational outcomes of these students was a moral imperative: that is, as educators, this was what they *should* be doing. Ms. Bolden, the counselor at Willow, articulates this sentiment: "You know, the reason that we do these jobs is to make a difference and to help kids be successful. And, it was obvious that that was not happening."

The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act has certainly been a factor in bringing the underachievement of English Learners to light and likely provided additional incentive to

investigate and adopt more effective instructional practices for English Learners. However, principals at both schools prior to NCLB's passage were already expressing concern about the low academic performance of their Spanish speaking ELLs. Moreover, the two-way immersion program at Cypress was introduced before the NCLB testing accountability system went into effect. Thus, there is evidence, other than staff assertions, that a moral imperative to better meet the academic needs of Spanish speaking students was at play before NCLB required schools to monitor and improve the test score performance of all students, including English Learners. But there was also evidence that it took more than moral imperative for either school to adopt a model that research indicated was particularly effective with ELLs but required significant instructional changes.

Principal leadership and authority. Before the decision to introduce a two-way immersion program was made at either school, staff began investigating options to better serve their growing Spanish speaking population. Two-way immersion was really the only model investigated in depth. The relatively exclusive focus on two-way immersion was shaped in large part by two factors: (1) those directing the inquiry process, especially the principals; and, (2) the widely circulating research evidence supporting two-way immersion's effectiveness, particularly for Spanish speakers. The fact that two-way immersion could benefit English speakers at the schools was also discussed, although this was much less frequently cited by staff as a major reason for the attractiveness of two-way immersion. After about two years of focused staff study at Cypress and about five years of semi-focused study at Willow, a decision to adopt two-way immersion was made. This was not an easy decision, but rather one which required considerable

administrative leadership and authority to make the leap from studying two-way immersion to implementing it.

The principals in both schools directly influenced the broader staff investigation of two-way immersion and, ultimately, it was the principals who, under very different circumstances, led their schools to adopt the approach. The staff present in the years preceding the introduction of the program at Cypress all concur that the principal at the time, Ms. Flannagan, was instrumental in leading the staff's investigation and eventual adoption of two-way immersion. They also indicated that the staff inquiry and discussions about two-way immersion were handled in a deliberative and respectful manner, and that the final decision was a group decision, brought about through considerable consensus-building led by the principal. Many Cypress staff I interviewed commented on the high degree of staff cohesion and camaraderie at the school and felt that this was a reflection of the character of the teachers working there and as well as the leadership of Ms. Flannagan, as the following quote illustrates.

> Ms. Dee, former Cypress teacher: I have worked in a number of schools. And… [in parts of the state] where it was, people were very adamant about how they disliked the Hispanics moving in. […] And this staff, it was the first time in my life that I had worked with a staff that could all sit and talk about it, respectfully, and could respectfully disagree. And still come to the end and say, even if there is no longer a position here for me in this school, I totally support this because I can see that this would move us in the right direction for the kids. And that was an amazing thing to me -- and that [Ms. Flannagan] could facilitate a conversation that was, could be very difficult, very emotional.

Willow staff also concur that the principal (Ms. Masters) played a pivotal role in the introduction of two-way immersion. In this case, however, she did so by deciding to start the program in spite of the lack of consensus for it at their school. As a result of Ms. Masters' decision to move ahead, there was and remains considerable animosity directed

at Ms. Masters, with some Willow staff faulting Ms. Masters for unnecessarily creating an uphill battle in the implementation of two-way immersion. Although Ms. Masters' leadership style may have exacerbated tensions among staff at the school, it was also clear that she alone did not create the staff debate over two-way immersion but rather inherited a fractured staff that was deeply divided over any bilingual approaches, including two-way immersion.

In the mid 1990s, the district formed a committee of staff from across the various schools to investigate options for better serving the growing Spanish speaking population. Staff from Cypress and Willow sat on this committee, which, according to Willow's principal at the time (Mr. Hilyard), immediately advocated the use of bilingual approaches with Spanish speaking English Learners. Although the committee members from Willow cited research to support their beliefs, Mr. Hilyard objected to bilingual approaches and to clustering Spanish speakers in fewer classes in order to implement a bilingual program for these students. He and a majority of the teachers at Willow believed that all students, including the Spanish speakers, were best served by dispersing Spanish speakers across as many classes as possible, immersing them in English, and exposing other students to the Hispanic language and culture. For several years, Willow staff were deeply divided on this issue, with some teachers siding with Mr. Hilyard and others siding with the Willow staff that were on the district committee. Following is how Mr. Hilyard described the staff divide on the issue and his role in preventing any changes to the school's ESL practices:

> What ensued were, I would say, four or five years of periodic arm-wrestling over the Spanish speaking kids. Classroom teachers not wanting to give them up. The other teachers wanting us to, as our population grew there at Willow, wanting to set aside a classroom as much as that might be possible, or at least concentrating

> them at the various grade levels. And, because I felt strongly that I liked what I saw in terms of integration, it just didn't happen while I was there.

When Mr. Hilyard left Willow in 1998, he indicated that the district began requiring Willow to cluster Spanish speakers in fewer classes so that Spanish language support could be provided to them. This district mandate did not however create a unified, coherent approach to serving Spanish speakers at Willow. Instead, what resulted was several more years of wrangling over how to serve Spanish speakers before Ms. Masters decided the issue had been studied enough, hired new bilingual staff to start a two-way immersion program in 2003, and ultimately left these passionate, qualified, but nevertheless new, young, and novice teachers in the middle of a firestorm a couple of years later.

Staff instability and a lack of veteran staff have also been significant (and mutually constitutive) problems for Willow for many years – problems that Ms. Masters may have contributed to but again did not create. Since the mid-to-late 1990s, there has been a high turnover rate among Willow teachers. According to Mr. Hilyard (Willow's principal from 1988-98), staffing at Willow was fairly stable until the district adopted an open enrollment policy and began a "resource teacher program" in the mid-1990s. The open enrollment policy drastically affected Willow's student enrollment – and with significantly fewer students, the school could no longer maintain the same numbers of teachers. Around the same time, the district began a resource teacher program. The purpose of the program was to provide each school with an experienced and effective teacher who could serve as an instructional coach or mentor teacher. Below Mr. Hilyard describes the effect that both district policies had on the staffing situation at Willow.

> Two *major things* occurred. The district started a resource teacher program [at] the same time when our numbers were declining rapidly. We had to lose teachers. I had to start moving them away because there weren't the kids for them. Worse, this resource teacher program attracted my best and brightest. And so, I was losing staff all over the place.

The effects of this turnover were evident in my observations at staff meetings and in my conversations with other Willow staff. Whereas Cypress spent much of their staff meeting time during 2008-09 conducting staff development, Willow spent much of its staff time developing systems and procedures (e.g., dealing with playground/recess issues). The stressful conditions of working at Willow and the high staff turnover rate were issues that Mr. Garcia, Willow's current principal, discussed with me when I first interviewed him in February of 2009. In the 2008-09 school year, Mr. Garcia was in his third year as principal. This is his first principal position. He confided that each year he wonders if can manage to stick around for another and relates some of the reasons why below.

> We need to keep some of the same teachers for a little bit longer to be able to serve the students right, and not have to be re-teaching all of my teachers how to run the school, or how the school ran, and how we do behavior, how we do this. […] You know, my first year here we had, I think 36 of us were brand new, or new to the school, out of 50. My second year was 19. And, then my third year was 10. […] Compared to other schools [in the district], I have a huge caseload of people that I have to evaluate. […] When I was evaluating 25 people or so, they maybe had one.

In addition to greater staff stability and cohesion at Cypress, the presence of more senior teachers at Cypress and the paucity of senior teachers at Willow also likely contributed to each school staff's openness to considering a two-way immersion approach. Staff at both schools indicated that job security was a concern expressed by many teachers who were not bilingual (only a handful of instructional staff at both schools spoke Spanish, and most of these were instructional aides, not certificated

teaching staff) during staff meetings about whether the school should offer a two-way immersion program. This concern is not without merit. Introducing a two-way immersion program would necessitate hiring additional bilingual teachers at both schools and either transferring or dismissing non-bilingual teachers. Willow teachers who had relatively limited years teaching in the district compared to their counterparts at other district schools, including Cypress, had much more to lose in this case. In other words, the monolingual English speaking teachers at Cypress enjoyed greater job security within the district than the monolingual English speaking teachers at Willow.

Since Mr. Hilyard left Willow in 1998, there has also been instability in Willow's subsequent leadership staff. From 1998 to 2003 (which was the year two-way immersion officially started at Willow), there were three principals at Willow. There have been three more between 2005-2009. This stands in sharp contrast to Cypress, which began and ended their deliberations about two-way immersion with the same principal, as well as a teaching staff that was relatively stable and very cohesive. (Appendix K provides a chronological illustration of Cypress and Willow principals from 1995-2009 and the years that two-way immersion began at both schools.)

Despite the differing staff perspectives about the role of their respective administrators in solidifying support or engendering division for two-way immersion, there were actually many similarities in the inquiry and deliberation phases at both schools. That is, staff at both schools studied various ESL and bilingual approaches for many years. A core group of staff at both schools concluded, largely based on the research and other information presented to them by their principals and/or instructional leaders at the school, that two-way immersion was the most effective method for teaching

their growing Spanish speaking ELL population. Staff at Cypress then studied this approach for another two years; staff at Willow continued deliberating for several years more. It was only after this time that the principals at both schools brought the studying to an end and determined that it was time for action.

I do not wish to imply that Ms. Flannagan's leadership at Cypress was not extraordinary. She fostered consensus for starting a two-way immersion program with a staff that initially included one certified bilingual teacher. It also appears that Ms. Masters' style was more authoritative, as the following excerpt indicates. It is from an interview with a former teacher at Willow who was present before and after the introduction of two-way immersion:

> Ms. Harmon, former Willow teacher: [Ms. Masters] heard that this needed to happen and that we had been kind of waffling about it for, you know, a decade or so, and so she said, "At some point you just need to dive in and try it." … So she did and she made a lot of enemies along the way. … She gets a lot of things done because she's very powerful, strong, and opinionated.

Nevertheless, Ms. Flannagan benefited from staffing conditions not present at Willow and that likely contributed to smoother and more respectful deliberations at Cypress. It is unclear whether Ms. Flannagan would have had the consensus-building success for TWI at Willow that she facilitated at Cypress, but it is clear that both principals were instrumental in leading their schools to adopt two-way immersion. Like Ms. Flannagan, Ms. Masters played a pivotal role not just in introducing the TWI program at Willow, but in helping to solidify the infrastructure for TWI implementation. By starting a bilingual preschool at the school and hiring bilingual endorsed teachers, there remained in the wake of Ms. Masters and the preschool's departure, a stronger base of support for Spanish among Willow staff (both those who stayed and those who have

recently come to the school) and a stronger connection between Spanish speaking families and the school. When I interviewed Mr. Garcia again a year later, he was much more upbeat about the direction Willow was headed. He and many Willow staff credit the introduction of two-way immersion with helping to stabilize Willow's enrollment and staff. Few credit Ms. Masters.

In this category I discussed how the decision to adopt two-way immersion was influenced by (a) heightened visibility of Spanish speaking students and (b) principal leadership and authority. The value of Spanish for Spanish speakers continued to be a prominent theme in staff comments. The value of Spanish for English speaking students was much less prominent. However, in this phase, the negotiations about Spanish were less about the students and more about the teachers. This shouldn't be surprising when one considers that they involved a largely monolingual English speaking staff pondering their future in a program that required at least half of the teaching staff to be fluent in Spanish. As should be evident in this section, the decision to adopt two-way immersion was not made quickly, easily, or without significant administrative intervention. What also should be clear is that the infrastructure building that occurred in the previous phase helped create the conditions that influenced the trajectory of this phase. The introduction of two-way immersion in turn leads to changes that help integrate Spanish speaking families and students into the life of the school. This integration of Spanish speaking families was evident in both the structural changes that emerged after two-way immersion as well as staff (re)interpretations of Spanish speakers/Latinos, their culture, and its relationship to their schooling experiences.

Integrating Spanish

Several of my questions to staff about student integration were based on a fairly narrow perspective that emphasized the extent to which English Learners and non-English Learners were integrated in instructional settings. This limited student integration lens ultimately evolved into a deeper analysis of the meaning of integration in schools. The title of this category, Integrating Spanish, is a reflection of how the integration of Spanish within the core instructional program was a primary driver of structural changes that served to better integrate Spanish speaking students and their families in many aspects of schooling. By integrating Spanish within the mainstream curriculum, Spanish became a priority for the entire school, not just for Spanish speakers and the instructional staff who served them. Spanish factored into decisions related to curriculum, instruction, staffing and student access to two-way immersion. Before I discuss these changes in more detail, including the manner in which the integration of Spanish was similar and different at the two schools, I explain the more limited manner in which I explored student integration issues initially with staff and how this eventually led to a more broadly conceived approach to the meaning of student integration.

Focusing on Bodies and Time

To ascertain how English Learners were grouped for instructional purposes and the extent to which they were separated from native English speakers, I asked school staff how they provided instruction for their ELL students before and after the introduction of two-way immersion. Using this lens, I discovered that two-way immersion's initial effects on the integration of Spanish speaking ELLs and non-ELLs were limited at best.

In fact, at Cypress, in terms of instructional time together, two-way immersion's initial effect was negative.

Immediately prior to two-way immersion, the schools had already begun clustering Spanish speaking ELLs in the same grade-level classrooms, and there was a conscious effort made to assign these students to teachers with at least some level of Spanish proficiency. The following quotes illustrate both schools efforts to pool Spanish speaking ELLs together in classrooms with Spanish speaking teachers. Mr. Joseph from Cypress is highly fluent in Spanish, and actually taught in Spanish in the two-way program at Cypress for several years. Ms. Harmon from Willow is less proficient in Spanish, which she readily admits below. She did not teach in the two-way program at Willow, but was a classroom and music teacher there before and after its introduction.

> Mr. Joseph, former Cypress teacher: Before the dual immersion program, they would try to balance out ELs maybe, maybe a little bit but they would always send me the Spanish speakers.
>
> Ms. Harmon, former Willow teacher: I took 11 years of Spanish before I started teaching. And, still, it's clearly, I just do not have a natural gift for second language. But I had more than anybody else did for a long, long time which was a sad state of affairs. So I had all of the upper grade English Learners.

After the introduction of two-way immersion, classroom assignment patterns for ELs were remarkably similar to the before TWI patterns, particularly at Cypress. Patterns at Willow were difficult to decipher because the school's practices frequently fluctuated from year to year. (I discuss this issue and the reasons behind it in more detail below.) However, generally speaking, at both schools classroom assignment patterns for ELs and non-ELs remained relatively unchanged after TWI was introduced. Spanish speakers were now almost exclusively grouped in the TWI classes with native English speakers. Non-Spanish speaking EL students (who were relatively few in number at both schools)

continued to be grouped in the other grade level classes, which after TWI became the English only strand.

In contrast to its lack of influence on the classroom assignment patterns for ELs, two-way immersion did influence the amount of instructional time that Spanish speaking ELs and native English speakers shared at Cypress – and not in the way I expected. When two-way immersion was first implemented at Cypress, the amount of time Spanish ELs were separated from their TWI peers grew. Due to high staff turnover, understanding Willow's instructional practices for English Learners prior to and immediately after two-way immersion was a difficult task. There were few Willow staff I interviewed who could recall sufficient details about EL instructional practices that provided a clear and coherent picture of the instructional time ELs and non-ELs spent together. Nevertheless, based on the data I did collect, the introduction of two-way immersion appeared to have a limited effect on shared instructional time at Willow.

English Learners at both schools received English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction in both pull-out and push-in models prior to the introduction of two-way immersion. In other words, sometimes EL students left the room for this instruction (pull-out), other times they received this instruction within their classrooms (push-in) during literacy time. Although the exact time spent in ESL instruction wasn't clear nor did it appear to remain consistent over the years, most staff indicated that ESL instructional time lasted about one half hour. Thus, ELs were separated from non-ELs for about 30 minutes of instructional time prior to the adoption of TWI.

During the first few years of two-way immersion, both schools used a 90/10 bilingual model, but emphasized the importance of native language literacy differently at

each school. This different interpretation of a 90/10 model led to very different instructional integration patterns of Spanish and English speakers at Cypress and Willow despite both schools adopting two-way immersion.

In a 90/10 bilingual model, students receive 90% of their instruction in their primary language and 10% in their second language. English is the second language for traditional U.S. bilingual programs, which have been designed to support English Learners. Proponents of 90/10 models stress the importance of acquiring a strong foundation in one's native language first in order to facilitate second language acquisition, and there is research (as staff frequently noted) to support the effectiveness of this approach with English Learners (e.g., see Collier & Thomas, 2004). Theoretically in a 90/10 model, the primary language time is reduced each year and the English time increases. Depending on the language goals of the bilingual model used, an EL student's primary language is either maintained in instruction (e.g., in maintenance bilingual programs, like two-way immersion, where bilingualism is the goal) or not (e.g., in transitional bilingual programs, where the primary language is to be used only in the first few years, and English language proficiency is the goal).

At Cypress, it was believed that both Spanish and English speakers needed a strong foundation in their native language first. As a result, during the first several years of TWI implementation at Cypress, Spanish and English speakers spent considerable amounts of time separated from one another. Ms. Duarte comments on this practice.

> Ms. Duarte, Cypress teacher: We started the program separating children by L1 [this stands for first language]. So, during literacy time, children who spoke English would receive literacy instruction in English and Spanish kids would receive literacy instruction in Spanish. So the whole morning was separated by language. And then the rest of the day was integrated.

In contrast to Cypress, Willow's 90/10 approach used Spanish as the principal language of instruction for both language groups. As a result, Spanish and English speakers at Willow did not appear to spend as much time separated by language groups in TWI. Willow's approach reflected a belief that (a) Spanish speakers would benefit from a stronger primary language foundation, and (b) English speakers either already had this foundation or would acquire it by living in an English dominant community. Starting in kindergarten, both English and Spanish speakers at Willow received their instruction in Spanish approximately 90% of the time, and in English about 10% of the time. From kindergarten through grade two or three Spanish time gradually decreased and English time increased, but both language groups continued to be taught both languages together, for the most part. Most staff present at the time and familiar with EL instructional practices indicated that after TWI was introduced Spanish speakers and English speakers continued to be separated for about 30 minutes for a variety of literacy related instructional purposes (e.g., Title I reading time, English Language Development time). Thus the introduction of TWI appeared to be less influential on instructional time apart for ELs and non-ELs at Willow than at Cypress.

In 2007-08, seven years after the Cypress two-way program was introduced, Cypress staff decided to pilot a simultaneous biliteracy approach in the kindergarten classes. This approach was adopted the following year by the remaining Cypress classes and later became a district requirement for Willow's two-way program. A simultaneous biliteracy approach, as the name implies, emphasizes literacy instruction in both languages from the very beginning. Although staff frequently referred to simultaneous biliteracy as a 50/50 model, the two terms do not necessarily reflect the same approach to

literacy instruction. A 50/50 two-way model implies that both target languages are used in instruction approximately 50% of the time from kindergarten onward. However, it does not require that all subjects, including reading and/or literacy, be taught in both languages. On the other hand, the emphasis in a simultaneous biliteracy approach is specifically on literacy instruction that occurs with *both language groups together*, as the following quote from a current Cypress teacher illustrates when I asked her to define their simultaneous biliteracy approach:

> Ms. Franklin, Cypress teacher: the Spanish teacher teaches her literacy to the mixed group, and I teach, or whoever does the English side of dual immersion, teaches a mixed class of children in English, and then they swap…

Cypress staff were unequivocally complimentary of the switch to simultaneous biliteracy largely because they witnessed greater academic achievement and second language gains using this approach. Some also suggested an additional benefit (perhaps because my questions were directed at this issue) – i.e., the language groups were now less segregated during instructional time than they had been previously. Since the switch, the only time Spanish speaking and non-Spanish speaking students in two-way immersion were separated was for the state-mandated 30 minutes of English Language Development (ELD) time, which English Learners must receive. During ELD time, non-Spanish speakers separately received instruction in Spanish Language Development (SLD). The following quote from a Cypress teacher helped illustrate that the additional instructional time together, while arguably important, likely contributed less to the academic gains students were making than the fact that both Spanish and English teachers in two-way immersion were now taking responsibility for the literacy development of both language groups.

> Ms. Graham, Cypress teacher: Before we thought that it was best if children learned to read and write in their native language. So they were. So we were separated for the entire morning in kindergarten. And then we came together after lunch, and then we had the rest of the day together. This model that we're doing is we're all doing it together. … We're doing the whole entire curriculum in um, I teach in English, [her counterpart] teaches in Spanish. And we do all the kids. So, what's different is that when I do a read aloud with the children, if I have ELLs there, I have to think about what I'm reading, how I'm reading, and will they understand it. Whereas before, if it's all in their native language and I'm reading an English fairy tale, I don't have to do near as much. So now I have to re-think how I approach literacy instruction … [including] writing instruction, …reading comprehension. So it's a whole new ballgame now that we're doing simultaneous.

What I was struck by in my conversation with Ms. Graham was that when students were separated by language group for literacy instruction, she ceded responsibility for literacy development for Spanish speakers to the Spanish teacher and paid little attention to the literacy demands of the academic subjects she taught. Since she spoke some Spanish, she would use it when she felt that her Spanish speakers "*truly* just couldn't get it." Otherwise, she believed her afternoon responsibilities involved teaching social studies, science and math, which she apparently taught without understanding or acknowledging the literacy dimensions involved in teaching and learning these subjects.

For me, the switch to simultaneous biliteracy instruction in two-way immersion was analytically significant. It not only changed the instructional integration patterns of Spanish and English speakers at Cypress and the instructional practices of teachers, it also directed my attention *away from* an exclusive focus on integration defined by groups of students and amount of minutes and *toward* an articulation of how the increasing integration of Spanish at the schools led to a more meaningful integration of Spanish speaking students and their families *and* changed the practices and attitudes of school staff. This was prompted by my discovery that two-way immersion's effect on EL and non-EL instructional integration patterns was not inconsequential but did little to shed

light on how or if these patterns affected students and their families. On the other hand, the increasing integration of Spanish over time and in many different areas was becoming clearer and its impact was more complicated than a simple cause and effect linkage articulated in shared instructional minutes.

Focusing on Spanish

Several pieces of evidence helped propel me to focus on how Spanish became more integrated, valued, and supported in many aspects of schooling *over time*, a process that I argue is tied to the introduction of the two-way immersion programs. The schools paths were similar and divergent in this regard. The introduction of two-way immersion entailed a major restructuring effort for both schools, including changes to staff, curriculum, professional development, school schedules, and school registration processes, and communications with parents. Because Spanish was the targeted second language of the program, Spanish became a priority in all of these matters, but in differing degrees and with different outcomes. The different emphases placed on the integration of Spanish were indicative of the schools' very different two-way immersion starting places and leadership. Before I discuss their different trajectories, I discuss the similarities between the two schools.

Similar elements of integration. Two-way immersion led to greater Spanish integration at both schools in two fundamental ways: (1) prioritizing Spanish speakers' access to two-way immersion, and (2) hiring Spanish speaking and Latino school staff.

The two-way immersion programs were primarily introduced to serve the growing Spanish speaking population in the district. District and school staff were very clear about this intention and were purposeful in ensuring that as many Spanish speakers as possible

were served by the programs at Cypress and Willow. Staff proactively encouraged Spanish speakers within and outside the schools' boundaries to apply for the program. Because Cypress and Willow were designated ESL magnet schools, transportation was provided for EL students that reside outside the Cypress and Willow boundaries to attend these schools. Unlike English speakers, Spanish speakers also were permitted to enter two-way immersion after 1st grade. (This is not unique to Cypress and Willow, but is a common practice in two-way immersion programs, with the assumption being that English speakers with no exposure to Spanish by 2nd grade will not be able to keep up with the Spanish language demands of the program.) Thus, any slots that opened due to student attrition in the upper grades tended to be filled by Spanish speakers. Moreover, staff were aware that Spanish speaking families tended to enroll their children well past the spring school registration deadline, so they reserved a certain number of seats for Spanish speakers who registered as late as fall. The number of seats saved tended to be small (less than five, usually) and varied each year based upon the number of ELs who registered at the schools the previous fall. This practice essentially saved seats in two-way immersion that would otherwise have been taken up by English speakers, at least at Cypress, since demand for kindergarten two-way immersion seats at Cypress has exceeded supply for several years now.

However, increasing demand for the programs and changes in philosophy have begun to have an effect on Spanish speakers and Latinos access to the programs at Cypress. Until this past year, the total slots reserved for Spanish speakers, including those held open until fall, have been able to accommodate all Spanish speaking students who wished to enroll in the programs at Cypress and Willow. In 2009-10, a few (the exact

number was not shared) Spanish speaking students who wished to enroll in the two-way program at Cypress did not get in. Spanish speaking students were almost denied access to the two-way immersion programs the previous year as well because the new assistant superintendent wanted the schools to stay as close to a 50/50 split of Spanish and English speakers as possible and the numbers of Spanish speaking kindergarteners who had applied for two-way immersion at Cypress had exceeded this balance. The district staff person who processed the two-way immersion applications explains below why this policy did not take effect after all:

> Ms. Schultz, district staff member: Last year under our old assistant superintendent, he was really targeting for a 50/50 mix, English Language Learners to English speaking, or English only students. So when I came in to say, "Hey, we've got, we're out of whack as far as that goes. Are you gonna be okay with us just pulling all the, you know, serving all the English Language Learners?" He was like, yes, okay, so we'll do that. So we did serve everyone, is my understanding, at that time. And [Ms. Watson, the current assistant superintendent] has revisited that philosophy and [reiterated that the policy is to] pretty much serve all the English Language Learners first. And if there are open seats, take English only.

The district assumed responsibility for determining two-way immersion placements for all students in the district three to four years ago, including those wishing to attend the middle and high school programs. After the registration deadline closes, the district generates a waiting list (at present, only Cypress has a waiting list) with assigned priority for students who did not get in based upon certain weightings. In addition to EL status, neighborhood students and those with siblings already in the TWI program receive priority over other district students; students within the district's boundary receive priority over those from outside the district's boundary. When spaces open up, the school is expected to notify those next in line. The schools agreed that the district was better

equipped to handle this process, and grateful that they could refer families who were unhappy with the results to the district office.

The current principal at Cypress, Mr. Baca, worked with the district to clarify the admission criteria for the two-way programs, and explained that he was motivated to do so because of the many complaints he faced in his first year at the school and the fact that the TWI admission policy was not clearly articulated or implemented in the past. Two related changes he helped institute was to elaborate more specific English Learner screening criteria (requiring ELs to be formally assessed, as required by law, and not simply designated EL based on their responses to the Home Language Survey) and to clarify that priority for admission should not be granted to heritage language speakers (i.e., Latinos who either speak English as their only language or who speak some Spanish but enough English that they do not qualify as an English Learner). As he puts it, "Simply claiming Hispanic heritage is not enough." Though Latinos with limited Spanish background were not uniformly granted access to the two-way immersion programs in the past, the lax EL classification system resulted in some gaining access to the program initially as ELs. In other instances, staff advocated for and helped secure the inclusion of heritage language speakers because they believed that these students, like native Spanish speakers, had much to gain from two-way immersion and might have additional motivation and support than a native English speaker with no personal tie to Spanish or the Latino culture:

> Mr. Joseph, Cypress teacher: There were several students who transferred out of the English strand into the dual immersion strand at 4th and 5th grade. […] One case was, …there was a parent in the home that, who was Latino, even though they spoke English at home, there was familiarity with the language and the culture. And even though the student wasn't a Spanish speaker, he was motivated

> and interested. […] And the other had support at home and whose parent was a Spanish speaker. Not native but a Spanish speaker and so there was support there.
>
> Ms. Ruiz, Willow teacher: What we've seen with the dual immersion program is that we'll get lots of heritage speaking families in and they have so much baggage that they bring with them, but through our parent nights and through their kids learning bilingually, they really work through their own baggage, you know. And, they start to understand what was right and what wasn't right in their own adolescence in the United States. Or their own way of growing up, and it's such a nice thing to see. And, I feel like, when those kids are left out, all of it's being reinforced for their parents, "You see, here we go again. Your child is still not important. We don't care about their needs. We don't care about you."

Despite the increased competition for two-way immersion slots, Spanish speakers were far more likely to gain access to the two-way immersion programs than English speakers and there was a high level of commitment at the schools and the district office to ensure that Spanish speakers are aware of the programs and gain access to them. This commitment, albeit strong, is nevertheless contingent on the political forces that enact it, and if circumstances and administrative personnel change, it is unclear how much political will will continue to be extended on behalf of Spanish speaking students.

Changes in school personnel have also furthered the integration of Spanish at the schools. Both schools have undergone significant staffing changes since the introduction of their two-way programs. As of the 2008-09 academic year, there were six classroom teachers with bilingual certification teaching in the two-way immersion program at each school. The year before two-way immersion was officially introduced (at Cypress in 2001 and at Willow in 2003) each school had one such classroom teacher. At Cypress, this teacher (who has since left the school) taught the upper elementary grades, so the school hired two new bilingual teachers to teach kindergarten and first grade in 2001. These teachers have also since left the school. Willow's official two-way immersion start date is debatable. A bilingual teacher was hired in 2001 and had begun teaching her

1st/2nd grade class in both Spanish and English. She left during the 2002-03 academic year; two new bilingual teachers were hired to start their teaching assignments and the two-way program at Willow in 2003. These teachers remain at Willow. Finding and keeping bilingual staff to teach in the two-way program has been and continues to be a major priority and a struggle for both schools. Bilingual teachers are in high demand and short supply, and, frequently they are younger females who are beginning to have families of their own. This latter attribute has played a role in the turnover of bilingual teachers at both schools. However, because these teachers are a necessary element of two-way immersion programs, Cypress and Willow principals have been able to protect junior bilingual teachers from being bumped by more senior, non-bilingual teachers in the district due to budget cuts and teacher lay-offs in recent years.

Although Spanish speakers have had a steady presence at both schools for many years prior to two-way immersion, hiring teachers who are bilingual in Spanish was not a major priority until after the introduction of two-way immersion, and for Willow, even then this priority wasn't consistently applied until the hiring of Willow's current principal, Mr. Garcia. Immediately after Ms. Masters left Willow, there were two interim principals who replaced her during 2005-06 school year. Willow staff suggested that because the interim principals were not committed to the two-way program or to Willow for the long term that they did not hire sufficient bilingual teachers to smoothly scale up the two-way program:

> Ms. Ruiz, Willow teacher: "When we had those interim principals, I mean, I think, I'm pretty sure the district probably told them, "Don't try to do too much. Just try and kind of like *maintain* [laughs sardonically]. And, so they weren't interested in really the long term, what we needed long term from the program. They were just trying to hire. You know, they were trying to get a good teacher into the position and it didn't really matter if that person was bilingual or not

> bilingual, […] because they weren't at all bought into the dual immersion program. They were just in here for the principal spot. So, it was hard. You know, we didn't always get the hiring we needed… to be able to grow the program.

In addition to bilingual teachers, there has also been more of a priority on hiring front office and counseling staff that speak Spanish, and perhaps most importantly, principals who are fluent in Spanish. When the two-way immersion programs were introduced, the principals at both schools were White females who were not bilingual. At the time of this study, both principals were not only fluent in Spanish, they were Latino; and, they were the only Latino administrators in the district. Their presence at the schools has had an important effect in integrating Spanish speaking families by signifying support for the two-way program, providing a powerful role model and advocate for Spanish speakers and Latinos, and in creating specific support structures for Spanish speaking parents to become actively involved in their children's schooling. Not only do Spanish speaking parents now have direct access to the principal, these principals proactively engaged Spanish speaking parents in hallways, at school functions, and by hosting meetings solely with Spanish speaking parents. Although previous Cypress and Willow principals supported two-way immersion, these principals embodied it and were specifically drawn to these schools because of it and because of the diverse student population the schools served:

> Mr. Baca, Cypress principal: There are a couple reasons I applied for the position. One was that the school had a dual language program. That was something that attracted me because that's my background. And, the other reason was sort of the expressed district commitment for these types of programs. … Sometimes you see dual immersion programs that don't have many English Language Learners. They don't have a poverty … caseload. And one of my purposes for being in education is to work with schools that have children with high needs. And, high poverty students. And schools with… a *diverse* student population. And, from what I had *read*, from what I had been *told*, this school had a diverse student population, which, you know, for me, is something I want to do.

> Mr. Garcia, Willow principal: I saw an opening in [a nearby district]. And it said they were looking for bilingual, bicultural, somebody with dual immersion experience and all that. And, I said, "This is me! It's me." … And [the school had a] huge Hispanic population. All that, and I'm like, "Oh, yeah. I am a perfect match." I didn't even get a phone call for that. Then, … this position opened up. … The whole reason [I wanted to become a principal] was to work with a population like this. You know, the … underprivileged, the minorities, the low income. So pretty much the way I grew up. And so, I wanted to serve that population and make a bigger difference by being the role model that I never had.

Divergent tales of integration. The further integration of Spanish at the schools was shaped by two-way immersion school leadership. This leadership has been shared at the schools, but there are specific individuals who, more than others, directed the path by which Spanish and Spanish speakers were further integrated at the schools. At Cypress, Mr. Baca played this role. At Willow, it was Ms. Ruiz.

Mr. Baca's focus and impact has been on curriculum and instructional matters. He was fairly blunt in his assessment of the two-way immersion program when he arrived.

> The program was failing. It was producing native English speakers who didn't have the Spanish language skills that they wanted them to have … in terms of oral competencies… and in terms of academic literacy in Spanish. It at the same time was producing native Spanish speakers who showcased an inability to be successful readers in their first language…. And, who demonstrated extremely low achievement rates in English academic literacy…. So you had an underachievement in our Spanish language learners, when it came to Spanish. And underachievement of our English Language Learners in both languages. In my opinion, it was not a dual language program.

In addition to shepherding the switch to a simultaneous biliteracy approach, Mr. Baca focused a significant amount of energy on professional development for staff, particularly to support Spanish literacy development. He arranged for staff to attend multiple trainings devoted to this issue, some of which were conducted exclusively in Spanish.

> Mr. Baca: That is a major difference in terms of the last two years. Is that our staff has received explicitly different professional development than the rest of the district… for teaching second language learners. For teaching in Spanish literacy. For understanding theory in Spanish literacy. For understanding standards in Spanish literacy. For improving your planning of instruction. For improving your delivery of instruction… for diverse learners. So we've been investing heavily in our human resources here. Above and beyond the district investments.

He also fostered the development of a team of Spanish literacy experts within the school. He says this group now functions as a "community of learners" with dedicated time to collaborate on lessons, assessments and grade level standards for Spanish language acquisition. He also encouraged a native Spanish speaking ESL teacher who had been an educational assistant at the school for over ten years to take a lead role in these efforts and to become a fully licensed bilingual teacher.

Cypress staff uniformly credit Mr. Baca for his instructional leadership and for reaching out to Spanish speaking families. Student performance on standardized assessments has increased dramatically under Mr. Baca's leadership. In 2009, Cypress was one of two schools in the state to be recognized as a National Distinguished Title I school. The school received the "closing the achievement gap" award based on the math and reading test scores of three student subgroups: economically disadvantaged students with limited English proficiency, Hispanics, and students with disabilities.

The increasing integration of Spanish at Willow was less evident in instructional matters and the principal's leadership was less prominent. Willow's efforts emphasized outreach to families and were led by teachers, one in particular, who continued to serve as the coordinator of the program. Willow's current principal, Mr. Garcia, was instrumental in solidifying support for the program, but, as a new principal in a school that staff characterized as "chaotic" and "toxic" when he first started, he had his hands

full in other areas. Staff instability and division and district intervention have impeded instructional leadership and consistency. The introduction of two-way immersion did not immediately change this. What two-way immersion did do, however, was to create additional stability among staff and families at Willow. In fact, several key staff who came to Willow because of two-way immersion have stayed and have helped develop a strong base of support among two-way immersion parents. Staff also believe that two-way immersion has helped encourage more families to choose and to stay at the school as well.

Unlike at Cypress, instructional decisions, particularly those involving ELs, have fluctuated at Willow throughout the study period. Even identifying the official year the two-way immersion program started at Willow was problematic. Although the first class “officially” began in 2003 with 1st/2nd graders (and not with kindergartners), the program did not scale up to include 3rd grade immediately afterward. Because there was no 3rd grade class of two-way immersion at Willow until 2005, this meant that the 2nd graders that started in two-way immersion in 2003 were part of the “program” for only one year. This lack of instructional consistency was partly, as noted previously, a consequence of significant staff turnover at Willow and fairly strong philosophical divisions among staff about how to serve ELs. But, this condition was also the result of district intervention at Willow that seems to be more dramatic and frequent than at Cypress. Several Willow staff commented on the school’s strained relationship with the district and how this has affected instructional decisions at the school. A former teacher who taught at Willow from 1996-2004 characterized the district’s conversations with Willow staff in the following way:

> Ms. Harmon: Every year at [Willow], it was, “Your school is failing. Either come up with something new or we’re gonna farm your kids out to all these good schools.” And every year we would have into get into this big fight with them about, you know, number one, nobody else wants our kids. And number two, we’re doing a really good job with them.

Unfortunately, I didn’t ask Ms. Harmon to clarify what she meant by “we’re doing a really good job with them.” It was apparent that she cared very much for her students and she, like other teachers at Willow, attempted to meet their academic and social needs. Nevertheless, student academic performance at Willow has consistently been low and several staff suggested that student disengagement and behavior problems were high and parent involvement was minimal during the same time that Ms. Harmon was there. Persistently low student achievement and increasing state and federal accountability for raising student achievement help explain why the district has continued to assert itself into Willow’s affairs. Regrettably, the district’s dealings with Willow helped foster a constant state of crisis management. As the above quote illustrates, the district attributed the poor academic performance at Willow to sub-par or misguided instruction which the district insisted the school fix ASAP, rather than focusing their attention on the district’s interventionist practices at Willow that exacerbated inconsistencies in the school’s instructional program. This paternalistic relationship was enabled by principal and teaching staff turnover at Willow and an increasingly disenfranchised school population due to the district’s open enrollment policies and the growing socioeconomic chasm between schools that these policies promoted.

For many years, Willow has had a community reputation as “the black sheep” of the district. This was a phrase coined by Ms. Starker, a teacher at the school for the past six years, and this reputation stems in large part from chronic low student achievement

scores, middle class families fleeing the school, and concentrated poverty at Willow amid a fairly affluent community. Ms. Starker also connects the school's concentrated poverty to its limited voice (power) within the district in the following way:

> We are a Title I school and we were up at 90% poverty *in a wealthy town*. …. Like, if you go to… a lot of other places, you're gonna have, maybe not all your schools, but a whole bunch of [Title I] schools in the district. And, it's gonna therefore have to be the focus of the district. Instead of being in a pretty small, incredibly highly educated, affluent town where parents are very powerful and pushing their own priorities and agenda for the school district, and then it's kind of like, well, what about [Willow]. Well, Willow doesn't really have a voice, other than the teacher.

Staff comments were not the only evidence that the district's dealings with Willow were fundamentally different than with other schools. Several district actions exemplified a more authoritarian and/or interventionist relationship with Willow than with Cypress. For example, the district played an active role in two areas involving both schools: (1) recent elementary school closures and (2) oversight of the two-way immersion programs. However, the district's actions or proposals in these areas illustrated a tendency to alter (or consider altering) the instructional environment at Willow – a district tendency that was not evident with Cypress.

Recent school closures required that Cypress and Willow absorb a significant proportion of re-assigned students. Student enrollments grew almost 60% at Cypress and over 40% at Willow in one year, creating enormous strains for both schools. In addition to the substantial growth in student enrollment, Willow (but not Cypress) transformed from a K-5 school to a K-8. A Willow teacher suggested this was neither wanted by staff nor a challenge the school was ready to take on at that time.

> Ms. Ruiz: I don't think any of us really *wanted* it, necessarily. I mean, it was a, at that time especially, a really chaotic environment. That principal that we had, [Ms. Masters], was really…not very effective and so everything was just *so crazy*.

> And, it seems *insane* that they thought, what a great idea [she's laughing at the irony of this] to drop a 6-8 in there.

Staff at both schools believe their two-way immersion programs have been and continue to be under intense scrutiny from the district. Over time, the district has played a more active role in two-way immersion decisions across the district, including at the two study schools. For instance, from the beginning the district has decided how many two-way immersion classes per grade could be offered at either school. But only the two-way program at Willow was under formal district review. Unlike the program at Cypress, most (though not all) staff whom I interviewed at both study schools and the district office concur that Willow began their two-way immersion program without first seeking official district approval. This fact contributes to the strained relations between the district and Willow regarding the school's two-way immersion program. Last year the district considered reducing the number of two-way immersion classes at Willow. This district proposal, which was suggested in part to alleviate concerns about the English only strand at Willow, played out in dramatic fashion, beginning with a contentious board meeting on March 10, 2009. The meeting was summarized in the local paper the next day. An excerpt of the article (with names altered) appears below.

> About 25 parents, children, teachers and friends of the English/Spanish dual immersion program at [Willow] School presented their opinions about the need to keep the program.
>
> Some parents had tears in their eyes as they testified how their children had been able to learn to speak English while maintaining their Hispanic culture. They said children whose primary language is English also benefit by learning to speak another language and appreciate another culture.… Superintendent [Burroughs] said she understands the community spirit that has developed because of the strong bonds at [Willow] School, but the fact is that students at the K-8 school are testing below other schools in the district on standardized assessment tests at nearly all levels.… A decision regarding the school's direction is likely in April.

Although the article implied the district was considering ending Willow's two-way immersion program and many Willow parents were concerned this was under consideration, the consensus in staff interviews was that the superintendent was not planning on dismantling the two-way immersion program altogether. Instead, Superintendent Burroughs indicated and most staff concurred that her intention was to require the school to reduce the number of two-way immersion classes and increase the number of English only classes at the school. As a result of the public testimony at the March 10 board meeting, the superintendent decided to delay her decision about Willow's two-way immersion program for a month. Because of the newspaper article, additional community members came forward in the weeks that followed in support of Willow's two-way immersion program, convincing the superintendent to delay the decision for a year. During that time, the district and school developed a plan of "non-negotiables" – actions Willow was supposed to take and benchmarks it was expected to meet in order to prevent district intervention.

The existence of a two-way immersion program and an English only strand isn't unique to Willow. Cypress' two-way program also co-exists with an English strand, and similar issues about high needs students concentrating in the latter have arisen at that school too. One difference between the two schools, a concern the superintendent referenced in the article, is student achievement. At least through March 2009, Willow students continued to perform below the expected student assessment targets (known as Adequate Yearly Progress or AYP goals) set for the school. This was not the case in recent years at Cypress, although low test score performance was a problem there too for many years. A second difference, however, that the superintendent did not cite but that

Willow staff did, is that the relationship between Willow and the district has for many years been a strained one, with the balance of power decidedly on the district's side. Therefore, it wasn't surprising to Willow staff when the district appeared poised to decide the fate of their two-way immersion program at the March 2009 board meeting. On the other hand, the district was surprised at how many Willow parents showed up and testified at the meeting, including many Spanish speaking families. Something had clearly changed.

A recurrent theme among Willow staff was that the two-way immersion program helped to attract and retain staff who were dedicated to serving Latino families and families in poverty. The current principal and many of the teachers I interviewed specifically cited the two-way immersion program as a major reason they applied for a position at the school. Many of the teachers also indicated a strong commitment to social justice issues. Although staff indicated that they were equally committed to issues of poverty, the initial draw to the school and the reason many were staying was their desire to work at a school with a Spanish/English two-way immersion program. For example, when I initially interviewed the current principal, Mr. Garcia, he stated "If they take dual immersion away, then I think everybody would … just about go away." When I asked him to clarify this statement in a second interview, he indicated that he was primarily referring to staff, including himself, but that he also believed that some families would also leave, particularly those with the means to do so. He further qualified his comments about staff going away by saying: "I don't know that everybody could pick up and go someplace else that easily and find a job. So then, will they be miserable here because their passion has been taken away?"

The two-way immersion program also appears to have provided families within the program with important tools to collectively advocate on behalf of their children. When initiating the program at Willow, the two-way immersion teachers created a series of meetings with families, called family nights, which were conducted bilingually. The first year of the program, family nights were held every month. Over time their frequency has decreased, with last year's meetings held once a quarter. The primary purpose of the family nights was to educate parents about two-way immersion, e.g., what it was, what to expect, and how parents could support their children in the program. However, the meetings also provided families with a dinner meal, child care, the opportunity to see student presentations, and activities and/or presentations aimed at bridging cultural divides. As a result of these meetings, families within the two-way immersion program have become more actively engaged in the school and were able to call on this community/network of families that had been built over time when word spread that the future of the two-immersion program at Willow was in question.

Thus, the introduction of two-way immersion at Willow has helped strengthen the negotiating power of Willow staff and parents, particularly within the context of two-way immersion decisions, in three ways: By bringing more middle class families to the negotiating table, by stabilizing and unifying a staff voice for two-way immersion, and by providing two-way immersion families with additional tools and networks that they could and were using not only to support their children in the program but to advocate for it at the district level. The March 10 board meeting and the chain of events it spawned represented a turning point for Willow and exemplified a different kind of integration than one that was easily conveyed or adequately represented by counting the numbers of

racial/ethnic students or those of different language backgrounds in instructional settings or the amount of minutes these students spent learning to read English, write Spanish, or solve math problems. It represented an integration of previously disenfranchised families, of families with limited English but substantial Spanish, of families that had been silenced in previous decision-making processes about the education of their children.

In this category I discussed how my thinking about the meaning of integration evolved as a result of my initial conversations with staff about shared instructional time between English Learners and non-English Learners. Based on the data I collected, a larger story involving the integration of Spanish in various aspects of schooling emerged. Despite two-way immersion's limited initial impact on student integration patterns defined in terms of shared instructional minutes between Spanish and English speaking students, TWI was nevertheless instrumental in moving the schools to structurally integrate Spanish in ways not likely to have occurred otherwise. Both schools placed a priority on Spanish in hiring and on Spanish speakers gaining access to the two-way programs. However, their two-way immersion paths diverged in terms of the leadership provided for their programs and how they furthered the integration of Spanish. At Cypress, Spanish was integrated in instruction, and the fruits of these labors were rewarded with significant academic improvements for Spanish speaking ELs, among others. At Willow, staff created bridges between the school and two-way immersion parents, as well as between Spanish and English speaking parents within TWI; this was rewarded by securing crucial political support for the program. Getting to both levels of integration was not simply or quickly achieved by the adoption of two-way immersion. Two-way immersion nevertheless appeared to be a pivotal precondition that prompted

structural changes and political clout for integrating Spanish at both schools, which in turn led to a stronger integration of Spanish speaking families into the life of the school. Unfortunately, other disenfranchised families at the schools have not been integrated to the same degree. Access to two-way immersion is limited in a number of ways and for a variety of reasons, and this has contributed to the difficulties the schools were facing with the English only strand.

Isolating English/White Poverty

Not all staff and families have shared equally in the benefits of two-way immersion. An English only strand exists at all grade levels, and there was widespread consensus among staff that that this arrangement complicated, and some would argue, undermined both programs. All staff I interviewed agreed that the two-way immersion program was positively benefiting the students enrolled in it. Many, although not all, of these individuals also believed that the growth of the two-way immersion program was leading to higher concentrations of high needs students in the English only strand. This issue remained a vexing problem, leaving many staff in the English only strand feeling isolated, frustrated and overwhelmed, and prompting many to move on. Ironically, these same feelings and staffing instability were widespread at Willow prior to the introduction of two-way immersion; at present, they are localized in the English only strand at both schools. In this next category, I discuss two processes that I argue are interrelated: (1) managing and interpreting access to two-way immersion, and (2) distinguishing between poverty types. I suggest that the mechanisms by which students access the two-way immersion programs at Cypress and Willow as well as staff ideologies about poverty and

its relationship to student engagement and success were contributing to a heightened focus on the "real" poverty problem students at both schools.

Managing and Interpreting Access to TWI

In the previous category, I discuss how Spanish speakers were given priority for admission to the two-way immersion program. This section provides further details about two-way immersion access, including the policies and procedures governing admission, demand for the programs, and how staff interpreted and enacted their role in managing program access. Staff at the two schools differed in terms of the actions they took to influence families' decisions to apply for the program. Cypress staff stressed the importance of equity in access and were more likely to see themselves as playing a neutral role in this process. Willow staff, on the other hand, were more likely to express a social justice orientation and actively encourage certain families to apply. These differing philosophies and the ways in which they influenced staff actions are described more fully below.

TWI access and demand. Cypress and Willow are neighborhood schools, with zoned attendance areas that demarcate which families the school was supposed to serve. Families had the choice to send their children to a different elementary school in the district, providing their transfer request was granted and they transported their children to the school. But they had a guaranteed spot at their neighborhood school, and, in some cases, were provided transportation to get there. The process for gaining entry to the two-way immersion program versus the English strand at Cypress and Willow operated in a similar fashion. If a family wished to enroll their child in the two-way immersion program at Cypress or Willow, they must apply for admission. If their application is not

accepted, they would still be guaranteed a spot at their neighborhood school. If their neighborhood school was Cypress or Willow, they would be assigned to the English strand. Thus, the two-way immersion programs provide an interesting window into the workings of school choice policies and practices within a school, and how staff make sense of and attempt to influence how students and families are sorted.

During the first several years of two-way immersion implementation, two-way immersion assignments were typically decided by the respective school principals. Because the programs were new, admission procedures were still under development, and the principals were responsible for assigning students to classrooms, many teachers reported that they weren't always sure how students gained access to the program. Presently, the policies and procedures have been clarified and formalized, and the district office has assumed primary responsibility and control over two-way immersion placement decisions as part of the spring school registration process. As noted in the previous category, Spanish speaking English Learners have had priority in admission to the programs from the beginning. However, two other groups of students now have priority for admission as well: students who live within the school's attendance boundary, and those with siblings already in the program. Priority status did not guarantee admission. It did however provide students within these categories and who applied by the spring deadline with a greater chance of gaining access to the program than students who did not belong to a priority category.

Two-way immersion programs by design must include a balance of students from two language groups – in this case, English and Spanish speakers. Howard, Sugarman & Christian (2003) suggest that programs should strive for equal numbers, but avoid letting

that balance get below a 70:30 split between language groups within TWI classes. The relatively small numbers of English Learners who speak Spanish in the Bellflower school district has enabled most of these students who wish to enroll in the two-way immersion programs at Cypress and Willow ready access to the programs. This has not been the case for native English speakers. There are many more native English speakers at both schools, (approximately twice as many at Cypress and three times as many at Willow), making the competition for TWI slots significantly greater for English speakers than for Spanish speakers – although access for Spanish speakers has also become more competitive in recent years.

Demand for the two-way immersion programs was increasing at both schools and in recent years the kindergarten slots, especially at Cypress and especially for English speakers, were typically filled before school starts in September. For the first time since the programs began, Cypress staff reported that in the fall of 2009 some Spanish speakers who applied for their school's TWI program were not allowed in because demand from Spanish speakers exceeded the supply of TWI kindergarten slots available to them. Mr. Baca, Cypress' principal, comments on the high demand for the program:

> Historically the program has attracted students from the entire city of [Bellflower] and outside of the city boundaries. That continues to be the case. In the past the demand was not as strong within the neighborhood. But, we find today that the demand from within the neighborhood has grown. … We've also learned that families have purposefully *moved* to the neighborhood in order to improve their chances of entering the program.

Spanish speakers could still gain access to the program in later grades, as a result of program attrition. This was a more difficult proposition for English speakers. The school principals at Cypress and Willow maintain authority over which students enter in later grades and, generally, neither principal permitted English speakers in 2nd grade or

higher to enter the program unless they passed a Spanish assessment screen. However, there was no such competition for the English strand slots. The English strand slots were unlimited, there were no language prerequisites, there was no separate application beyond registering for school, and any student could gain entry at any time of year and at any grade level.

The structural barriers to TWI access likely contributed to perceived and real differences between students in the two-way immersion program and those in the English strand. Most staff I interviewed contended that a higher concentration of "high needs" students was found in the English only strand (although there was some staff at Willow that dispute this contention.) Staff at both schools also identified a middle class advantage among English speakers in securing access to two-way immersion, but only Willow staff attempted to counterbalance this advantage. Although demand for two-way immersion was higher at Cypress than Willow, which likely affected how staff perceived and enacted their role in managing two-way immersion access, the actions/inactions of Cypress and Willow staff also diverged based on "social justice" versus "equity" philosophies.

Social justice philosophy and lower demand for TWI contribute to Willow staff intervention. At Willow, staff were less likely than at Cypress to suggest that many families outside the school's boundary were seeking or had already gained admission to the two-way program. However, Willow staff did believe that middle class families that lived within the school's boundaries were now returning to Willow because of the two-way program, as the following excerpt illustrates. It is from my interview with a Willow teacher.

> Ms. Starker: [Before two-way immersion and the closure of Ferndale] our enrollment was really low. In fact, we were on the list of possible schools to close because we had, because we were so far under capacity. And it was mostly native English speaking families, and actually middle class native English speaking families who […] live in this area but were choosing to take their kids to other schools.
>
> MIM: So do you think the dual immersion program has helped them stay in?
>
> Ms. Starker: I do. I don't know the exact statistics, but…, there's been a big draw….. I mean, [Ferndale] closed and some [Willow] families came back at that point. But a lot didn't. They still had a choice to go, you know, there was [sic] still other places to go. But […] the wait list to get into dual immersion was huge. [She's referring to the first years of the program, when there was only one kindergarten two-way immersion class. In 2007, it expanded to two classes at grades K – 2, and there is currently no wait list.] So…, I think it has really helped bring some of our neighborhood families back. Or […] to keep them from going elsewhere from the beginning.

Some staff acknowledged that students with behavioral issues, including those with and without IEPs, were overrepresented in the English only strand, and that this was creating more difficult teaching conditions in the English only classes. To address this issue, the current Willow principal has played a more active role in recent years in targeting students with IEPs early on and encouraging their families to consider two-way immersion. Several Willow staff indicated that they and other staff also actively encouraged families they believed were economically disadvantaged, less educated, and/or who had children with behavioral or learning challenges to apply for two-way immersion. Staff engaged in these efforts both at school and during home visits that kindergarten teachers conducted immediately prior to the school year. Several Willow teachers explicitly referenced social justice and/or equity concerns regarding who the program ultimately should serve and commented on their pro-active efforts to promote the program to certain families. For example, Ms. Jacobs, a kindergarten teacher in the English strand, suggested that Willow school staff willingly assume responsibility for

reaching out to more disadvantaged families to encourage their participation because they did not want two-way immersion to become “an elitist program” that primarily served Spanish speakers and middle class, English speaking families, since this wouldn’t “fit with the social justice theme”. Ms. Ruiz, the two-way immersion coordinator, also discussed the proactive measures Willow takes to improve access to the program.

> Ms. Ruiz: We really push hard for low-income families and kids with special needs to come in, which I think is also kind of different from [Cypress]. We will flag immediately, we’ll go to like Head Start and if we see kids, Early Intervention, high behavior, we immediately go to those families during home visits beforehand. Talk up the program to them.

Willow staff were also more likely to indicate that when they encountered Spanish speaking families who were resistant to enrolling or keeping their children in the two-way program that they would more apt to try to convince families of the benefits of two-way immersion for their children. Mr. Garcia, Willow’s principal, conveyed his frustration with some Spanish speaking parents who did not want their children to be taught in Spanish, did not believe their children were learning or would learn English, and/or were not convinced that being bilingual was a desirable educational outcome. He and other Willow staff attempted to change these parents’ minds and were successful sometimes, other times, not.

> Mr. Garcia: We have some parents that we have to fight to keep them in the program because they’re like, “Teach ‘em English. Teach ‘em English.” Like, “Well, yeah in order to teach ‘em English we have to teach ‘em Spanish. And, then, by doing it this way they are gonna be bilingual.”

Equity philosophy and higher demand for TWI contribute to Cypress staff neutrality. At Cypress, staff placed greater emphasis on access to either strand being determined without any staff interference or influence. For Cypress, equity in access meant having policies that were “fair”, consistently applied, and formally adopted. It was

the district's responsibility to decide, in adherence with these policies, who was admitted to the two-way immersion program in kindergarten and who would be placed on a waiting list. From first grade onward, it was up to the principal to decide, largely based on language testing, who might gain access to two-way immersion in later grades should additional slots open up. It was up to families to determine which program, two-way immersion or English only, they wanted their child to be enrolled in and it was the responsibility of families to fill out their school registration materials appropriately and meet the registration deadline. If families had any questions about either program, then it was the responsibility of Cypress staff to explain the educational programs to them. However, Cypress staff, particularly the current principal, believed that the staff role should be limited to explaining the program, not advocating for it, even with Spanish speaking parents.

> Mr. Baca: So if a ELL family comes in, and the student is an ELL and the student's family wants the student to go into the English only strand because they, that's their family belief and preference, then that is their choice. If they have a question about the program, if they want to understand it more because sometimes people move from communities that don't have 'em or some parents uh… unfortunately experienced bilingual education in other parts of this country. That may have been a terrible experience for them. They sometimes confuse the dual language with *that*. […] And so, they ask a lot of *questions*…. So at that point, myself or a teacher or a specialist or a literacy coach can conference with them in Spanish and explain… how we structure, what we do, what the kids learn, what the objectives are. If they choose to *request* placement in that strand, then that's how the… placement is considered. And for kindergarten, as I highlighted, we have a… lottery.

In general, Cypress staff suggested that inconsistent admission criteria and policies *in the past* tended to favor middle class families but that these have been rectified. Cypress staff also believed that English speaking families from within the school's attendance area were not as interested in the two-way immersion program when

it was initially introduced, but that this has since changed. Whether or not there was less interest among neighborhood English speaking families (which is something I was unable to investigate), more English speaking families who lived outside the school's attendance boundary were able to gain access to Cypress' two-way immersion program before two-way immersion policies were changed three years ago to give priority to neighborhood families.

In a focus group involving current and former Cypress staff, I asked them to discuss access issues in two-way immersion. Their comments illuminate who they believed was attracted to two-way immersion, which students and families were more likely to gain access to the program, and their contention that access was more equitable now than in the past.

> Mr. Joseph: Would you say that for the native English speakers coming into the program that don't live within [Cypress'] boundaries or [Willow's], that maybe higher income, better informed families, or families who know how to, know the ropes would have more access to the dual immersion program? And what about transportation?
>
> Ms. Sellers: Not anymore, I would say, not anymore, with the one caveat that hearing about it and knowing about it, being able read about it in the paper or find it online. […] This program is in such high demand now that virtually no one outside of our attendance area that's an English speaker can get in.
>
> Ms. Graham: […] In the beginning, the most educated, knowledgeable and strong families who could put a lot of pressure in, got in. And that's the way it was. In the very beginning. And, of course, our native Spanish speakers always got in anyway. So, that was equitable there. But things have improved and become more fair [sic] through district policies, but it took time if you remember. […] I started the second year that we had it and I was in kindergarten. All your native English speaking families were highly educated families. They weren't from the neighborhood. They weren't. They were [the local high tech firm], they were [the university]. But as word got out, and as the policy was changed to allow more equity with the neighborhood, now those parents would want to request it [….] But it wasn't planned like the other parents. So, it was *not equitable* in the beginning but it is much more so now.

Thus, the policies and procedures governing two-way immersion access may have been similar at the schools, but the manner in which they were enacted differed. A belief in social justice and its connection to two-way immersion motivated Willow staff to take a more proactive role in two-way immersion access issues. A belief in equitable policies and parent preferences guided Cypress' hands-off approach -- although the actions of staff at both schools were also likely influenced by the relative demand for two-way immersion each experienced. Access to two-way immersion also appeared to have contributed to how the Cypress and Willow staff distinguished between different types of poverty linked to racial/ethnic groups (Latino vs. White) and strand placement patterns (two-way immersion vs. English only).

Distinguishing between Poverty Types

There was a general consensus among staff that there are more English speakers in poverty in the English strand than in the two-way immersion program. (The quantitative analyses confirm this.) The structural barriers/enablers to two-way immersion access and the demographics of the schools' attendance areas contributed to this phenomenon. As their school-wide Title I designation implies, both Cypress and Willow serve significant numbers of families in poverty. In the 2008-09 school year, 66% of the K-5 students enrolled at Cypress qualified for free/reduced lunch, 70% at Willow. Although Spanish speakers constituted a significant proportion of the families in poverty (about 42% at Cypress, 37% at Willow), English speakers still comprised the largest percentage (about 53% at Cypress, 60% at Willow). The connection between language groups and poverty was one that played out prominently in staff interviews, surfacing in discussions about differences between students in the two instructional strands at the

schools: two-way immersion and English only. As the above category illustrates, the structural barriers/enablers to TWI access were not class-neutral or language group-neutral. Nevertheless, there was a staff tendency to also or in some cases mostly attribute disparities in TWI access as well as student success in general to behavioral and attitudinal differences between Spanish speakers and English speakers in poverty, differences that were ultimately conceptualized as cultural.

Different poverty types connected to different cultures. In discussions about student demographics at the schools and student differences between the two strands, invariably the issue of poverty was raised. In addition to linking poverty to certain demographic groups based on language background and race/ethnicity or cultural heritage, poverty was also characterized differently (situational versus generational), and as having a culture of its own, i.e., a "culture of poverty". This latter term tended to be linked with generational poverty, which although didn't signify permanent poverty, it nevertheless implied a static, stuck, or enduring state of poverty that frequently reproduced itself. A binary distinguishing "good" or at least "better" poverty from "bad" or "self-perpetuating" poverty permeated these characterizations. With situational poverty, there was hope – for breaking out of poverty and into the mainstream, for improving one's lot through education. With generational poverty, there was less hope and more resignation that there was little staff could do to help families break out of the cycle. Spanish speakers/Latinos were most often (but not always) characterized as experiencing situational poverty. When compared to English speakers in poverty, they were perceived as resilient, motivated, and having supportive families. On the other hand, several staff suggested that many English speakers in poverty (especially those in the

English only strand) exemplified generational poverty. They were families in crisis – on drugs, on welfare, with fractured families that were living in the moment and unable to properly care for their children because of their dire circumstances and personal choices.

It should be stressed that while staff described the demographic characteristics of students in the two strands fairly consistently (i.e., racial/ethnic groups and socioeconomic characteristics), not all staff made the further leap to distinguishing between Spanish and English speakers in poverty, and not all staff pathologized poverty using a culture of poverty framework. They also frequently qualified their comments by saying that their characterizations of the populations in the two strands were generalizations, not absolutes. In other words, although they believed more English speaking middle class students were in two-way immersion, they also believed there were still some in the English only strand. Although they believed there were some low income English speaking students in two-way immersion, they also believed there were many more in the English only strand, and those in the English only strand appeared to be the most disenfranchised and distressed families at the schools. When it came to Spanish speakers, there was little variation or dispute about their instructional placement or their economic status. Most Spanish speakers were in two-way immersion, and staff readily acknowledged that this group was mostly low income.

It should also be stressed that I specifically asked staff whether they believed there were differences between the students in two-way immersion and the English only strand. I also asked them to elaborate on how these differences manifested themselves. Staff frequently cited student behavior, student mobility, and parent involvement as the most common ways that these differences manifested themselves. English only strand

classes were more likely to have higher and more extreme behavior incidents, disruptive classroom environments, and limited parent involvement.

> Ms. Covin, Willow: I went and saw some of the English strands and realized some of the behavior issues that they are dealing with. Not that I don't see that in the dual immersion strand, but they just have the gift of educated parents who recognize what a amazing opportunity it is and choose to put their kids in there.

> MS. Bolden, Willow: When people start and leave in the same year. It's really difficult for the teacher. Like one, a couple of them [she's referring to English only strand teachers] have 38% [student turnover]. It's really hard to ever have a cohesive group plan. You know, like one of those teachers had one of those kids start today [this interview took place in April]. And, it's just a constant revolving door.

> Ms. Wilson, Cypress: We couldn't find a volunteer to save our life in English only, 'cuz they were, they [the parents] had other issues they were dealing with – …working. […] I remember once [a TWI's teacher's] class and I paired up for something in the gym and I had no parents who were there to help and she had like 12 parents who were there to help.

Willow teachers sometimes dismissed the complaints about more student behavior issues in the English only strand because they believed that the English only teachers who were doing most of the complaining were in fact ineffective teachers who created inhospitable learning environments (which prompted the negative behaviors from students in their classes.) While there may be some truth to these claims, there were more teachers and school staff at both schools that concurred that the behavior problems were more pronounced on the English only side, which reflected several factors unique to two-way immersion access that had nothing to do with the strategies English only teachers used to engage their students: (1) self-selection into two-way immersion, (2) a boundary area that included high concentrations of families in poverty, (3) more mobility among English only students, (4) higher class sizes in the English only upper grades, and

(5) higher concentrations of families not just in poverty, but significantly disadvantaged socioeconomically, in the English only strand.

> Ms. Graham, Cypress: And you know what, I don't want to stereotype or make assumptions, but when I look at the three kindergarten classrooms […], the children and the families who are struggling the most, who are less likely to have knowledge about the system and how to access a system are those families [in the English only strand] who are generational poverty or other factors such as drugs, alcohol, severe emotionally disabled/disturbed. I mean, the extreme. I mean, but I'm not, it's not just that. You can't just say, it's just these people. But, that is a huge issue in kindergarten right now.

Staff I interviewed typically characterized Spanish speakers (and/or Latinos) in favorable terms. The more frequent attribution of situational poverty to Spanish speakers was likely influenced by the large numbers of first generation Latino students in the schools and within the two-way immersion programs. Although I did not gather data on the generational status or national origin of Spanish speakers in the two schools, lack of English profiency is typically associated with recent immigration status (Saenz, 2004; Zentella, 2002) and census data and staff reports confirm that the majority of the Spanish speakers in the the Bellflower school district during the study timeframe were immigrants from Mexico. Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (1995) suggest that Latino immigrant families may exhibit behaviors and attitudes consistent with the immigrant "bootstrappers" narrative because they use a dual frame of reference to "compare and contrast their current lot in the host country with their previous lives" (p. 53). The following staff quote supports this positive immigrant narrative with respect to Spanish speakers; it also demonstrates how Spanish speakers in poverty were compared to English speakers in poverty (whom the staff member did not identify racially but did characterize them as being native born).

> Ms. Bolden, Willow: You know, it's, um, if you look at poverty, Spanish speakers face tremendous barriers for getting jobs and … for having opportunities for education, you know and for all of those things. But, their social support tends, and the family, and their understanding of what family is, the…, um, just the cultural values around things like education, and family commitment, and kind of the belief in working hard [….]Versus families who are born and raised here and weren't successful. Then maybe, generation…. There's different kinds of generational poverty. There's generational poverty that is a result of not having the opportunity because of environmental factors, like living in an area where there are no opportunities for making money. Which is different than growing up here, and seeing, you know, especially like here in [Bellflower], that has a very well educated [inaudible, perhaps "population"]. But growing up on *welfare* is really different than growing up in a culture that has not, that just doesn't have it because they just don't. You know, it's not available. There isn't a way to bring, to make ends meet. Versus seeing, having the expectation of people who are right here. I don't know how to say this…. Versus, not the expectation. Versus growing up on welfare and not really having the um … the *knowledge* or the skills or the values that um… to break out of the cycle. It's a real trap. Generational welfare.

The staff's interpretation of my ethnic background and motivations for conducting the study may have also influenced the mostly positive comments that staff relayed to me about Latinos and Spanish speakers. With the two Latino principals, I sensed, maybe inaccurately, more of a willingness to frankly discuss issues of race, class and culture. Other staff, particularly those who supported two-way immersion, also seemed more comfortable discussing school demographics and/or student diversity in these terms. However, there were others, especially but not exclusively those who taught in the English only strand, who seemed more wary of my intentions, reticent to say anything critical about two-way immersion, and tended to make concerted efforts to avoid characterizing Latinos in a way that might be interpreted by me, a Latina, as offensive. Therefore, I was surprised to hear Latino culture associated with a "culture of poverty", especially given that the source of these comments was one of the most ardent champions of two-way immersion, Mr. Joseph – a highly fluent, bilingual teacher at Cypress who quoted Freire in my interview with him ("language is culture and culture is language").

He used Freire to underscore how the introduction of the TWI program at the school helped teachers not just “to communicate” with Spanish speaking students and their families, but “to relate and to *understand”* them. Before turning to his “culture of poverty” reference, I discuss the culture of poverty paradigm shared by other school staff as a result of their exposure to and ready acceptance of Ruby Payne’s work.

Culture of poverty paradigm. Ruby Payne is the author of “A Framework to Understanding Poverty” – a book her consulting company, aha Process, Inc., published in 2005. She bills herself as an expert on poverty and has a well established following among K-12 educators. A critic of her work, Paul Gorski (2008), states “Payne is, without question, the dominant voice on class and poverty in the U.S. education milieu,” (p. 130). Staff at both schools commonly referenced Ruby Payne’s work on poverty as helping them to understand poverty better and respond to it. Several indicated they had attended district-sponsored professional development institutes sponsored by Payne’s consulting company and found her writings on poverty and suggested strategies for dealing with it insightful. Unfortunately, Payne’s perspective largely ignores the social structures that perpetuate poverty and focuses instead on individual attributes and choices, framing poverty and educators’ responses to it in deficit theory terms (Bohn, 2006; Bomer, Dworin, May & Semingson, 2008; Gorski, 2008). One Ruby Payne article that Cypress staff indicated their principal, Mr. Baca, shared with them was “The 10 Dynamics of Poverty.” In it, Payne (2009) states:

> Poor children are often defined almost exclusively by family income. Actually, poverty is about access, or lack of access to nine resources: financial resources; emotional resources; mental resources; spiritual resources; support systems; relationships/role models; knowledge of hidden rules; physical resources; and language (p. 1).

Payne then illustrates vocabulary differences between professional households and welfare households with the following example:

> Hart and Risley (1995) found that the average 4-year-old in a professional household has heard 45 million words while a 4-year-old in a welfare household has heard 13 million words. In fact, they found that a 3-year-old in a professional household has more vocabulary than an adult in a welfare household. (p. 1)

More and more scholars from various disciplines who study poverty have begun taking interest in Payne's work, less for its academic merit than for its foothold in K-12 professional development circles and its widespread appeal. Gorski cites at least fourteen other studies (besides three of his own) that are critical of Payne's framework and suggests:

> The concern expressed by this diversity of voices, it should be noted, is not pointed solely and squarely at Payne herself. Payne's popularity is seen largely as a symptom of systemic classism and racism, evidence of a sociopolitical context in which, despite popular belief, authentic dialogue and action against existing systems of power and privilege grow *less frequent*. (p. 131).

Payne's work and references to a culture of poverty were most frequently associated with English speakers in two-way immersion. However, Spanish speakers did not escape this characterization either, as the following excerpt illustrates. It is from my interview with Mr. Joseph, the highly fluent bilingual teacher I referenced earlier. Mr. Joseph helped start the program at Cypress. Below he explains some of the reasons why staff felt the two-way immersion program would benefit Spanish speakers.

> Mr. Joseph: Looking at a model in which you are not only learning how to read in a new language but you're also continuing to learn how to read in your *native language*, just made so much sense. To get that support in your native language … in using materials that are, that you might be familiar with […] and that are culturally appropriate could only help those students. … So at [Cypress] we were dealing not just with language, but we were also dealing with a problem of scarcity in families that really didn't have a whole lot. You know, so we were also dealing with a, with a culture of poverty for a lot of our students.

> MIM: So when you say, “Culture of poverty”, do you mean the income *itself* or do you mean then other aspects around …?
>
> Mr. Joseph: Their experiences and I think, I think um … ways that they are connected with classroom materials and learning experiences. It’s, I guess I’m saying that um … if you don’t have experiences or if you don’t have background, then language becomes more abstract and harder to learn.

In the quote above, Mr. Joseph first acknowledges Spanish speakers’ native language and its instructional value and then, oddly, characterizes a culture of poverty among Spanish speakers by a lack of experiences, background and language. However, Spanish speakers *already had* experiences, background and language before the introduction of two-way immersion. Spanish speakers simply had *different* experiences and backgrounds than those wound into the traditional school curriculum, and perhaps *limited literacy* skills in both languages. In fact, Mr. Joseph readily relied on Spanish for instructional purposes before two-way immersion started at Cypress because he believed in the instructional value of Spanish for Spanish speakers. Although he may not have meant to describe Spanish speakers in poverty as living in a cultural vacuum incapable of complex thought, this is what a culture of poverty paradigm does. It simplifies both culture and poverty.

Mr. Joseph was the only staff person I interviewed who specifically linked Spanish speakers and the culture of poverty paradigm, although there were others that discussed the propensity of Spanish speakers to be involved in gangs or to exhibit gang behavior. The reference to gang behaviors among Latinos at the schools was most often discussed as a thing of the past – an issue that helped prompt the staff to eventually adopt two-way immersion. (I discussed this issue in the category, Negotiating about Spanish.) Poverty and the distinction between Spanish speaking/Latino poverty and English

speaking/White poverty were however common themes in staff interviews and issues about which I probed more deeply in the focus groups. Most often the poverty type distinction occurred when staff discussed how students between the two strands differed *despite the fact* that there were students in poverty in both strands. Not all staff specifically referenced a culture of poverty when referring to English speakers/Whites in poverty. In fact, some stressed the structural barriers that perpetuate poverty, but they nevertheless articulated differences which they believed to be cultural that contributed to a different kind of poverty among English speakers/Whites in their schools. This was illustrated in Ms. Bolden's comments above and in the following quotes from my interviews with staff at both schools.

> Mr. Garcia, Willow: Our poverty Anglo community is very much into drugs. When you talk poverty, they are in the lowest bottom of poverty. Maybe like family-wise and if you know Ruby Payne, you know, the research on that and […] that poverty is not just like, what I used to think. I used to think that I was poor.
>
> Ms. Franklin, Cypress: I have a lot of parents [in the English only strand] that – if you can call them parents, they're absentee parents. There's severe neglect and abuse. And, I don't think they even are aware that there's a different program other than English only. I mean, it's not even on their radar because they are so out of touch with even what a child needs to be cared for, that they're not even aware. And, if you gave them that option, I don't think they would care.

Prior to two-way immersion, gang behavior among Latinos/Spanish speakers was a common concern that staff voiced. Ironically, in the focus group I held with Cypress teachers, gangs become linked to English speakers in the English only strand.

> Ms. Marsh: It's hard because I have a lot of very, very, *very* poor families who are very afraid to come in the door. They probably have had pretty negative experiences themselves in school. […] And then your parents come in the morning [she's talking to a two-way immersion teacher], the dual language parents, and they're all gathered outside. They have a party every morning.
>
> Ms. Graham: But you know those are my ELL parents.

Ms. Marsh: Absolutely.

Ms. Graham: And they're in poverty too.

Ms. Franklin: Almost exclusively.

Ms. Graham: Exclusively.

Ms. Franklin: And that's what I'm noticing comparing the poverty between Hispanics and Whites.

Ms. Carmen: Looks so different.

Ms. Graham: Well, and I don't think it's the poverty. I think it's the culture. The Spanish-speaking parents tend to, very much are more protective. They're -- at least in my experience. And they're less likely to let their children go.

Ms. Marsh: And we talked about that. Most of them came here, if they were recently here, if they're first generation or even second generation, they're totally immersed in the whole concept of "We came here for a better life. We're gonna do whatever we can." [Several teachers concur.] And then I have many families in my classroom, who, this is my first year to have a number of moms in *jail*, in prison. Right now I have five. […]Their focus is not their own child's success. Theirs is survival.

…

Mr. Joseph: Do you have any, because it's younger kids, any *parents* that are involved in gangs?

Ms. Marsh: I do. I have a dad whose name is [Wolf]. And it's his new changed name. […] He's in a motorcycle gang, this guy. And he goes between here and [a rural town about 30 miles away]. It's been really interesting to have this kid write about his family story. His house is filled with people – during the holidays we drew lots of pictures – named [Wolf] and [Coyote]. […] And at first I thought he was making this up until I asked this kid's caseworker. And he said, "No. His dad's name is [Wolf] and his uncle is [Coyote]."

There are differences to the gang reference here that I don't want to gloss over. First, in staff interviews about Latinos and gang activity, staff primarily referred to student behavior and dress. In this instance, the question of gang activity is linked to parents, and as Mr. Joseph alludes to, this is at least partly because the teacher being

asked the question is a kindergarten teacher. Second, Ms. Marsh, the English only kindergarten teacher, did not appear concerned (either in her words above or in her body language during the focus group) about the child's exposure to family members who are affiliated with a motorcycle gang. She was "interested" in "his family story" and indicated during my interview with her prior to the focus group that her experience teaching in the English only strand had helped her become more sensitive to and inclusive of non-traditional family structures in her classroom discussions. Nevertheless, the question about gangs and the conversation that precedes it represented a tendency from the group to look for further familial or cultural dysfunction in the English only strand to explain (away) marginalized students and their families.

My focus on Ruby Payne and the culture of poverty framework that some Cypress and Willow staff relied on to understand and respond to their families in poverty is *not* meant to suggest that (a) all staff consistently applied a deficit theory approach to poverty and/or Latino culture, (b) no staff viewed poverty as a more nuanced condition with structural causes, (c) there wasn't a concentration of English speaking students in the English only strand who were significantly disadvantaged socioeconomically and in terms of family support, and (d) staff didn't care about their students in poverty, including Latinos and Whites. There were staff at both schools that were very committed to serving families in poverty, and there were some staff at Willow that were well versed on the structural aspects of poverty and middle class privilege. However, the framing of poverty through a simplified, pathologized lens created for some an easier way out. They could accept educational failure, academic disengagement, and family non-involvement as the inevitability of a cultural mismatch between school culture on the one hand and a

culture of poverty on the other. With an educational poverty expert confirming their suspicions, some rested easy, most though wrung their hands believing that if they couldn't fix the families, than the families were beyond fixing.

In this last section, I discuss how staff framed student and family poverty issues. Poverty was a prominent theme that surfaced in interviews and that I explored in more depth in the focus groups. In general, staff believed that although there were students in poverty in both two-way immersion and the English only strand, there were higher concentrations of "extreme" poverty in the English only strand. Most staff contrasted the poverty between the two strands in terms of demographics (language background and ethnic/racial group); some staff also linked poverty to cultural traits. Spanish speakers tended to be viewed in more favorable cultural terms (intact families who cared about education, their children, and worked hard), whereas English speakers/Whites in poverty were more likely to be characterized using a culture of poverty paradigm. The culture of poverty paradigm was influenced by staff's exposure to the work of Ruby Payne, and was more prominent among Cypress than Willow staff. Ruby Payne's influence in the district appeared to have preceded the introduction of two-way immersion. The fact that many of the Spanish speakers at both schools were from first generation Latino families likely influenced the more positive staff characterizations of Latino/Spanish speaking poverty, particularly after the introduction of two-way immersion. Unfortunately, two-way immersion didn't fundamentally challenge the culture of poverty framework that was operative among some of the school staff. It simply refined the focal reference group.

Summary

There were four categories that captured critical processes and common themes that emerged in the qualitative data: (1) the system impacts my building, (2) negotiating about Spanish, (3) integrating Spanish, and (4) isolating English/White poverty. Collectively, they describe an extended series of negotiations primarily among school staff within their respective buildings, but also between district and school staff, and to a lesser extent, between schools and families. The negotiations entailed decisions about how to serve a growing Spanish speaking population in the district, and especially at the two study schools. Initial efforts to serve this growing population were limited both in scope and in terms of staff involvement. As Spanish speakers became more visible to staff, primarily through behavior and academic concerns, the momentum began to shift in favor of trying more comprehensive bilingual approaches, in particular, the use of a two-way immersion model. The model was introduced in a planned and deliberative fashion at Cypress, and in an acrimonious and authoritative manner at Willow. Differences between Cypress and Willow in terms of staff stability, administrative leadership styles, and administrative leadership perspectives about bilingual education for Spanish speakers contributed to stronger staff unity around the introduction of two-way immersion at Cypress than at Willow.

Despite the variance in start-up phases, the increasing integration of Spanish at the schools was further strengthened as a result of the TWI program's introduction. This integration played out in similar (e.g., staffing and curriculum changes, Spanish speakers receiving priority for admission to TWI) and different ways. The differences were in terms of the trajectory that Spanish integration takes at each school and who led these

efforts. At Cypress, the further integration of Spanish played out largely via instructional matters under the direction of the principal. At Willow, teachers, especially the two-way immersion coordinator, focused their efforts on developing strong relationships with TWI parents, thus solidifying a base of support that later exercised its political muscle in negotiations with the district over the future of Willow's TWI program.

As Spanish integration grew two things occurred: (1) English speakers in poverty became concentrated in the English only strand, (2) and poverty types became clearer to staff. English speaking poverty and Spanish speaking poverty took on distinct characterizations. The former was associated with generational poverty and a poverty of culture paradigm. The latter became associated with situational poverty and positive family attributes: i.e., those who value education and care for their children. Rather than staff focusing on the processes that have fostered greater integration of Spanish speakers and contributed to the concentration of more English speaking poverty in the English only strand, staff tended to focus on perceived positive and negative cultural attributes of the groups to explain why some groups (Spanish speakers) in poverty can (sometimes) successfully engage in schooling and others (English speakers) can't.

The central theme, negotiating the value of Spanish, is meant to highlight that the increasing integration of Spanish was by no means quick or inevitable, nor are the negotiations concluded. The value of Spanish for Spanish speakers and for non-Spanish speakers remains a contested issue, but one that has garnered more support as a result of the introduction of the two-way immersion. I argue that the introduction of two-way immersion essentially commodified Spanish within the mainstream educational program at Cypress and Willow. The program's existence provided the justification and resources

for hiring more bilingual teaching and administrative staff, for teaching the core curriculum to English speakers in Spanish, for purchasing Spanish curriculum materials, for providing professional development in Spanish and about Spanish literacy, for increasing outreach to Spanish speaking families, and for prioritizing Spanish speakers' access to the program. By commodifying Spanish in this manner, Spanish speakers' linguistic and cultural capital was activated. Spanish speakers and their families gained greater access to the curriculum and the life of the school, and staff began to see Spanish speakers differently. Unfortunately, a concomitant result is the concentration of disenfranchised families in the English strand and a more intense staff focus on the "real culture of poverty" at the school.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Student demographics and integration patterns were examined both quantitatively and qualitatively in order to gain a deeper understanding of their relationship (if any) to the introduction of two-way immersion at Cypress and Willow. These issues were explored over an extended period of time -- ten years in the case of the student data, and an even longer period in the grounded theory study. The quantitative and qualitative portions of the study were meant to complement one another, providing a sense of the magnitude of demographic and instructional changes that occurred, and a deeper understanding of the meaning and measurement of student integration in the two study schools.

Three questions guided the study. The first two questions were examined quantitatively and concerned student demographic changes and instructional integration patterns, respectively. The third question addressed these same issues qualitatively, primarily relying on staff interpretations of both issues. In the following three sections, I discuss the findings related to each question separately, but draw on the results of the entire study to inform the interpretation of the results specific to each question.

Student Demographics by the Numbers

In addition to mapping total enrollment trends, the racial composition, language background, and poverty status of students at Cypress and Willow were examined. In terms of overall enrollment, the elementary school closures had a dramatic effect on the numbers of K-5 students both schools served. The two school closures in 2002 affected Cypress; the closure of Ferndale in 2006 affected Willow. Although Cypress' enrollment

grew more rapidly than Willow's the year after the first round of elementary school closures, Willow's grade configuration was also affected by the closures. In 2002, Cypress enrollment grew 57% from the previous year (from 303 to 477 students). In contrast Willow's enrollment grew 49% between 2005 and 2006 (from 317 to 471 students) *and* the school added grades 6-8.

Over the ten years of the study (1999-2009), both schools experienced a growth in Hispanic students and those who speak Spanish as their first language, and a decrease in the number of Whites and those who speak English as their first language. These general trends are consistent with the demographic changes that are occurring nationally (Fry, 2006; Hughes & O'Rand, 2004; Lichter & Johnson, 2009; NCELA, 2006; Saenz, 2004; UC Linguistic Minority Research Institute, 2006) and within the state (Office of English Language Acquisition, 2002: Oregon School Boards Association, 2001, 2004; Stephen, Mendoza, & Magana, 2008). However, in 2005 Cypress experienced a substantial drop in enrollment at Cypress (75 fewer students) that was not apparent at Willow nor at any other elementary school in the district. (Figure 2 provides a good illustration of the 2005 differences between Cypress and Willow.) Only one other elementary school (Summit) lost students (20) in 2005, the remaining schools grew by 6 to 27 students. Moreover, the number of Whites declined in both Cypress and Willow between these years, by over 22% at Cypress (61 students) and almost 12% at Willow (23 students). Willow offset this decline with a similar growth in Hispanics that year, but at Cypress the number of Hispanics also dropped. No other school in the district experienced similar declines to Cypress or Willow in the percentage of White students enrolled in 2005, although Summit came close to losing comparable numbers of Whites (16).

Because student transfer data were unavailable, it is unclear whether the introduction of two-way immersion influenced these particular enrollment trends. Job losses in the community, however, likely played a role. Throughout the study period, one of the largest local employers, a high tech firm, was down-sizing. A 2008 local news report commented about additional job cuts pending later that year, stating that the rumored 300-400 jobs to be trimmed would amount to “the largest cutback in [Bellflower] since 2005,” when 700 jobs were lost. Exact employment figures are no longer supplied by the company, which according to the local newspaper shed over half its workforce between 1996 and 2007 as it moved much of its production overseas. The reason Cypress (and Summit) lost a disproportionate number of students and Cypress and Willow lost a disproportionate number of White students in 2005 may be related to the types of jobs that were cut from the local high tech firm. As the newspaper article suggests, many production-related jobs have been moved overseas. It may be that higher percentages of families at Cypress and Summit, as well as higher percentages of White families at Cypress and Willow are (or at least were) employed in jobs that involve the production side of the high tech industry than the remaining elementary schools in the district. Given the distribution of lower cost housing in the district and the fact that Cypress and Willow and just recently Summit all have greater than 40% of their students qualifying for the federal free/reduced meals program, it seems likely that all three of these elementary schools not only have more poor families than other schools, but they also have more working class families too.

Another distinction between Cypress and Willow and the remaining elementary schools in the district was the extended years of concentrated poverty at the study

schools. Throughout the entire 10 years of the study, both schools had whole-school Title I programs, meaning over 40% of the students qualified for free or reduced meals. In fact, at least 60% of the students met this criteria every year of the study at Willow and most of the years at Cypress. School staff attribute the higher concentrations of poverty at the schools to having more lower cost housing units within their catchment areas as well as the district's open enrollment policy. The latter appears to have been particularly detrimental to Willow.

Instructional Integration by the Numbers

The analyses of student integration patterns focused on instructional spaces. These were defined by grade level classrooms before two-way immersion and by instructional strand (two-way immersion or English only) afterward. Race was not included as a factor in these analyses (I discuss the reasons why and the limitations to this approach below.) Differences between students in two-way immersion and the English only strand were examined based on three variables: language background (English, Spanish or other), free/reduced meals participation (yes or no), and having an IEP (yes or no). Because data on free/reduced meals participation in the years prior to two-way immersion were unavailable, this variable was not included in the classroom comparisons.

The results of the analyses revealed similarities and differences between the two schools. No before and after differences appeared in terms of language background at Cypress, but there were before and after differences at Willow. The results of the analyses were consistent with staff reports about classroom placement practices before the introduction of TWI at both schools. Cypress staff had already begun clustering

Spanish speaking EL students in classrooms with teachers who had some Spanish ability. English Learners who spoke languages other than Spanish were distributed among the other classrooms. Willow staff, led by their principal at the time, resisted any bilingual approaches or support for ELs for many years. Willow staff consistently acknowledged there was significant ideological division among those present at the time about how best to serve their growing Spanish speaking students. However, increasing district pressure along with interest on the part of some of the school staff, eventually changed these practices. In contrast to the two previous years of data I examined, in 2005, just like at Cypress, Spanish speakers began being clustered in fewer classes at Willow as well.

The most consisting finding across both schools concerned the integration of students based on IEP status. Prior to two-way immersion, students with IEPs were evenly distributed among the 4th/5th grade classrooms. After TWI, there were significantly more students with IEPs in the English only strand classes. Unlike the results (described below) regarding free/reduced meals participation, including Spanish speakers in the analyses did not change the results. Both Spanish speakers and English speakers in two-way immersion had significantly lower rates of IEPs than English speakers in the English only strand. Although the loglinear analyses did not include speakers of languages other than English and Spanish nor Spanish speakers in the English only strand, follow up analyses including these students in the English only strand did not change this result.

It should be noted that the differences in grade level configurations between the before (4th and 5th grades) and after (K-5) two-way immersion time periods are particularly difficult to compare when IEP status is the variable of interest. This is

because IEP identification is more prevalent in the upper elementary grades than in the lower grades (Office of Student Learning and Partnerships, 2007). Although it seems unlikely, based on a review of the data and teacher feedback, that the significant differences between the strands based on IEP rates would have changed, it does seem likely that this finding may have been less pronounced in the lower grades than in the upper grades. Following are some potential explanations for the significant differences in IEP rates that were found between the two-way immersion and English only strands.

First, some English speaking families who have children with IEPs may choose or be encouraged to choose the English only strand for their child, thinking that the two-way immersion program may be too challenging. Some staff at Cypress indicated that they weren't sure that these students could succeed in two-way immersion. I was unable to discern to what extent this staff perspective influenced applications to the program. In general, Cypress staff have generally taken a laissez faire approach to two-way immersion access issues among English speakers, leaving it up to the parents to take the initiative in applying for the program. Staff that I interviewed at Willow did not share this belief, and in fact attempted to recruit students either with IEPs or those in early intervention programs for the two-way immersion program. Despite these assertions, there were little differences in the IEP rates by strand between the two schools.

A second reason for the higher IEP rates may have to do with attrition from the program for the same reasons noted above. Some students may be counseled out of the program because staff or the parents believe it isn't a "good fit" for them. (This terminology was explicitly used by several staff when they discussed transfers out of TWI.) Staff at Cypress suggested that transfers between the two strands were rare, but

when they did occur, it was typically from two-way immersion to the English only strand and it usually involved English speakers. Most indicated that the parents initiated these transfers, particularly in the 2nd and 3rd grades, when the Spanish demands increased.

A third reason may have to do with a possible connection between mobility, poverty and IEP status. Because English speakers are typically not permitted to enroll in TWI programs after 1st grade, English speakers who transfer to Cypress and Willow in second grade or higher have a very difficult time gaining access to the two-way immersion program. Presently, all students above 2nd grade (including Spanish speakers) who wish to enroll in the TWI program must first pass a Spanish test, and then, if there is space available, they may access the program. Staff at both schools suggested that there was much higher mobility among students in the English only strand. Much of this was attributed to the students' living in poverty. The data for both schools (but more so at Cypress) showed higher rates of students with IEPs *and* in poverty in the English only strand, however this interaction did not reach significance.

In terms of poverty, I was only able to examine differences after two-way immersion was introduced and I was not able to include Spanish speakers in the English only strand in the analyses because so few of them are enrolled in that strand. The results of the analyses differed between the two schools. The results at Cypress were consistent and the effects were larger. I will interpret these results first. There were significant differences between Spanish speakers in TWI, English speakers in TWI, and English speakers in the English only strand. Spanish speakers had the highest rates of free/reduced meals participation, significantly greater than both English speakers in TWI and English speakers in the English only strand. However, English speakers in the

English only strand had significantly higher rates of free/reduced participation than English speakers in TWI. Thus, poverty in the two strands significantly differs by language group and this pattern is consistent across four years of data at Cypress. In the English only strand, it is associated with English speakers; in two-way immersion it is associated with Spanish speakers. Follow-up analyses comparing the two strands (with and without speakers of other languages included in the analyses) indicated that poverty rates were higher in the English only strand. This was particularly true in the last year of the study (2008) when the free/reduced meals percentages were 74% for English only students and 63% for TWI students. This finding was somewhat surprising given the extremely high rates of free/reduced meals participation among Spanish speakers and the fact that they are almost exclusively located in two-way immersion.

The findings related to poverty between the two strands at Willow were more difficult to interpret. There was much greater variability in the data from one year to the next than there was with Cypress' data. There were also fewer years of data (three for Willow compared to four for Cypress), and one year (2006) included grades K-4 only, since the two-way immersion program didn't reach the 5th grade at Willow until 2007. The largest and most consistent effect found was the association between language group and poverty rates. Spanish speakers in TWI had significantly higher rates of poverty than English speakers in either strand. No differences were found between English speakers in either strand until the last year of the study (2008), when a significantly higher rate of free/reduced meals participation was found in the English only strand. When I combined the language groups to compare poverty rates between the strands, a different pattern emerged than the pattern at Cypress. Significantly higher rates of poverty were found in

two-way immersion in 2006 and 2007. However, no difference in poverty rates was found between the strands in 2008. The inclusion of speakers of other languages did not change the results of the strand comparisons.

There are several potential explanations for these results that emerged in the qualitative portion of the study. First, demand for TWI is greater at Cypress. There was typically a waiting list for Cypress' program, not so for Willow's. There were also different staff philosophies between the two schools about access to the program. At Cypress, staff were not apt to encourage families they perceive or know to be socioeconomically disadvantaged to apply for the program. At Willow, beginning with kindergarten visits that happen before school starts in September, staff reached out to these families, suggesting that they consider applying for the program. Although staff actions at both schools were likely reflective of a more established (and sought after) program at Cypress than Willow, they also reflected philosophical differences about access. Whereas Cypress staff stressed the importance of equitable access (as in fair policies that were transparent to families and consistently applied), Willow staffed emphasized social justice issues within schooling which included but were not limited to access to two-way immersion. The yearly differences in poverty found at Willow were largely explained by 50% fewer English speakers in 2008 compared to the previous two years who (a) did not participate in the free/reduced meals program and (b) were in the English only strand. This decrease in English speakers in poverty coincides with a sizable decrease (37) in Whites at Willow from 2007 to 2008. In 2008, a new charter school opened in Bellflower at the former Ferndale site (the K-8 school that was closed in 2006 and led to Willow's dramatic enrollment increase that year.) It seems plausible that the

opening of the charter school contributed to the higher poverty rate in the English only strand at Willow in 2008.

In summary, the introduction of two-way immersion was associated with mixed effects in terms of the instructional integration patterns of students who differ by language group, IEP status and free/reduced meals participation. Across both schools, the introduction of TWI corresponded with a concentration of students with IEPs among English only classes. TWI appears to have had no effect on the manner in which different language groups were grouped in classes at Cypress, but did change these patterns at Willow. After TWI, Spanish speakers were concentrated among fewer classes at Willow. The concentration of Spanish speakers in fewer classes was already happening at Cypress well before the introduction of two-way immersion. Two-way immersion's influence on the instructional integration of students who differed by poverty status is unknown. However, after two-way immersion, the patterns are different by school. At Cypress, higher concentrations of poverty appeared in the English only classes at Cypress. In contrast, at Willow higher concentrations of poverty were found in the two-way immersion program for two years, with no differences found between the two strands in the last year of the study.

Student Integration and the Importance of Cultural Capital

I used the theme, Negotiating the Value of Spanish, to describe the central process that emerged in the qualitative data, a process that occurred over many years as both study schools grappled with a growing Latino population. I divided the major themes into four categories: (1) the system impacts my building, (2) negotiating about Spanish, (3) integrating Spanish, (4) and isolating English/White poverty. To illuminate the story

behind the introduction of the two-way immersion programs at Cypress and Willow, I principally relied on interviews and focus groups with school staff. However, I supplemented these data sources with observations and a review of archival documents. As is customary with a grounded theory approach, I did not begin with a theoretical framework to investigate empirically, nor did I begin *tabula rasa*. I expected issues of power to surface. They did. I expected to find that two-way immersion had helped increase the amount of instructional time that Spanish speakers were mainstreamed with their English speaking peers rather than pulled out for ESL assistance. I did not. Instead the data led me to develop a different theory about the meaning of student integration. As the themes related to poverty and integration took shape, I eventually decided that cultural capital could help me explain and incorporate these themes into a grounded theory of student integration at Cypress and Willow. My application of cultural capital focuses on how the structure of schooling at Cypress and Willow helped to engage or disenfranchise students, which in turn led to staff's (re)interpretation of the cultural capital of Spanish speakers versus English speakers in poverty.

The introduction of two-way immersion at Cypress and Willow was not an inevitable process. It involved intense negotiations within the schools as well as negotiations with the district office. These negotiations were particularly contentious at Willow. Parents and families that the schools served were invited into these discussions periodically, but their involvement was not crucial to the decision. In the end, the decision to move forward with two-way immersion was a staff decision, arrived at via consensus at Cypress and by force at Willow.

There was and there remains a concentration of families in poverty at Willow, a condition that was exacerbated by the district's open enrollment policies. The difficult working conditions this brought about as well as the district's teacher resource program in the mid-1990s contributed to an exodus of experienced teachers at Willow, and a revolving door of staff since then. (The introduction of two-way immersion appears to have helped curtail some of the staff turnover.) Moreover, the principal that preceded Ms. Masters did not approve of bilingual approaches and he was clear about this with his staff. Ms. Masters thus inherited a fractured staff and a disregarded base of families who lacked the cultural capital to demand better conditions in their school.

Unlike Willow, Cypress benefited from having a unified, seasoned staff and an exceptional school leader. However, like Willow, Cypress also serves a significant percentage of the families in poverty in Bellflower, a city that is replete with families with ample cultural capital. The former mayor of the city referred to Bellflower as "the squeaky wheel capital of the world" – a place where residents are very active in and vocal about civic matters, including the K-12 education system. School choice policies in the district are so staunchly defended that attempts to curtail them entail considerable political risk, as the following quotes suggest. The first is from my interview with the current superintendent. The second is an excerpt from the final report of the Equity Committee – a group comprised of school staff and community members charged with reviewing the district's open enrollment policies.

> I don't know that I would be able to influence again decisions about open enrollment. I was told by the former superintendent that anybody who tried to go after that value of open enrollment, they wouldn't be superintendent here.
> Ms. Burroughs, current superintendent

> Since open enrollment is valued by many families in [Bellflower], the district should not abandon it. To do so, would cause significant dissatisfaction.
> Bellflower School District Equity Committee, Final Report, 2004, p. 4.

As staff noted in the interviews, housing patterns contributed to both Cypress and Willow serving larger numbers of families in poverty. But, so have district policies that are driven by a very active and powerful base of middle class parents.

With a loss of middle class parents at Willow and Cypress (although Cypress staff attribute this loss more to demographic change within their neighborhood than to the district's open enrollment policies) both schools thus experienced higher concentrations of families in poverty over the study period. On top of the povertization of the schools, the growing Spanish speaking population appears to have racialized the student body for staff at both schools, with staff expressing concerns that the growing Latino population was not meeting the staff's behavioral and academic expectations.

Changing demographics in tandem with the distribution of lower cost housing in Bellflower and the district's ESL magnet policy contributed to a growing Spanish speaking population at Cypress and Willow – a population over time began to stand out. Using a market metaphor which works well in the context of cultural capital research, I found that as the "currency" of Spanish grew at the schools, so too did the cultural capital of Spanish speakers and their families. I use currency to connote several meanings: being very common or prevalent, being widely accepted, and becoming a (valued) commodity. Initially, the approach to Spanish at both schools was a contained approach, limited in the amount of instruction provided, to whom it was provided, and the extent to which it was integrated in the life of the school. Over time, however, the currency of Spanish grew. Spanish speakers became increasingly visible to staff, mostly in negative ways. Staff

reported becoming increasingly frustrated with their low academic achievement, their behaviors (which some interpreted as gang-related), and their lack of integration with other racial/ethnic groups at the school (which some staff interpreted as a tendency by the Latinos to self-segregate). Collectively these issues prompted staff to consider alternative instructional approaches. Meanwhile, an infrastructure of support was steadily built that helped connect Spanish speaking families and their children to both schools. After many years of study, both schools decided to adopt two-way immersion, an instructional model that would entail far greater changes to the structure of the schools than either staff probably initially envisioned.

Prior to the introduction of two-way immersion, comparisons based on poverty between English speakers and Spanish speakers did not dominate teachers' characterizations of student differences at Cypress and Willow. It was Spanish speakers/Latinos who were being (negatively) evaluated racially/ethnically compared to Whites/English speakers at both schools; and at Cypress, Spanish speakers/Latinos were also (negatively) evaluated compared to the other non-White racial/ethnic groups and English Learners present there. However, after the introduction of two-way immersion, Spanish speakers' cultural capital, particularly their linguistic capital, was activated, not immediately but over time as the currency of Spanish increases in value and in circulation. Because of the introduction of two-way immersion, the value of Spanish increased in hiring decisions, in prioritizing two-way immersion access for Spanish speakers, in professional development, and as demand for the program grew among middle class English speaking families. Nevertheless, the value of Spanish was and is not a universal constant. Unlike dominant cultural capital (Carter, 2003), Spanish speakers'

cultural capital is more vulnerable to the political forces in which it circulates. Their access to two-way immersion was already being curtailed at Cypress, where demand for TWI was strong. If TWI demand continues to grow across the district, it is unknown whether a program that was initially introduced to serve their needs will continue to prioritize their needs in the future. Moreover, it is unclear whether increasing Spanish literacy standards will eventually devalue the linguistic variety(ies) of Spanish that families in Bellflower bring to the school, as was evident in the two-way immersion programs that McCollum (1999) and Fitts (2006) studied.

The increasing integration of Spanish at the schools appears to have resulted in higher cultural capital yields than just an increased evaluation of Spanish. The Spanish speaking culture as a whole was being interpreted by staff in more positive terms, particularly when compared to English speakers in poverty. The addition of more Latino staff and others who felt a strong connection to Latino culture contributed to the increasing cultural capital of Spanish speakers/Latinos. However, it was also due to the comparisons staff were making about their families in poverty.

In essence, Spanish speakers became the "model" poverty culture; their lack of economic resources was bolstered by their perceived positive cultural attributes. It bears noting that the majority of the Spanish speaking ELs in these schools were likely first generation or what the literature frequently terms 1.5 generation Latinos (Linton & Jimenez, 2009; Saenz, 2004), i.e., young children of immigrants who were born in Latin America but spend their formative years in U.S. schools. Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (1995) suggest that many first generation Latino immigrants who frequently experience an economic boost in moving to the U.S. use a "dual frame of reference,"

constantly comparing their current circumstances to their previous situation, and initially idealizing "the new country as a land of unlimited opportunities" (p. 53). Thus, the parents of Spanish speaking ELs at both schools were likely eager to comply with the expectations of staff when given the opportunity. The results of the study support this contention, as does Ms. Bolden's discovery that the "effective" Even Start programs across the state were those that targeted Spanish speaking families because they were more likely (than English speaking families in poverty) to comply with the program's strict attendance requirements. It also bears noting that 1.5 and later generations of Latinos [who typically become English dominant over time (Zentella, 2002)] tend not to share their parents' idealized image of the U.S. (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995).

Accompanying the increasing integration of Spanish speakers at both schools, the increasing concentration of English speakers in poverty in the English only strand at Cypress, as well as a general concentration of poverty at Willow was a negative evaluation of the culture of English speakers/Whites in poverty. This negative evaluation of English speaking/White poverty was stronger at Cypress than Willow, but it was nevertheless present among staff at both sites and bolstered by a concentration of extremely marginalized families in the English only strand as well as the work of Ruby Payne.

The findings relate to other cultural capital research on the role that educators play in setting the evaluative standards by which families and students are judged – standards that tend to favor the cultural dispositions or attributes of some groups more than others. Similar to Lareau (1987) and Blackledge (2001), I found that school staff held certain expectations for parent involvement in schools and how families should

support their children's learning. They also perceived a family's compliance with these expectations as a reflection of how much the family valued education. As a result of various and sustained outreach to Spanish speaking families and the introduction of the two-way immersion programs, Spanish speaking parents were better able to meet these expectations than they had been in years prior. Willow and Cypress staff thus began to observe more Spanish speaking parents at the schools, attending meetings with the principals, helping out with school activities, and attending parent-teacher conferences. Staff were also seeing Spanish speaking students performing better academically and generally "fitting in" better than they had been in previous years. Lower income English speaking families, however, were not part of the Even Start (parent education) programs, were not specifically targeted by the new principals for meetings with them, and were recruited somewhat at Willow but not at all at Cypress to apply for the two-way immersion program. As a result of the lack of sustained efforts to involve them, they were less well equipped and less inclined to become more involved in the school and to apply for the two-way immersion program. Staff tended to interpret the lack of parent involvement by many English speakers/Whites from lower socioeconomic backgrounds as evidence of ingrained cultural dispositions that school staff had little chance of changing.

The findings from this study are also supported by Khalifa (2010) and Lucero (2010). They point to the role that school staff can play in activating the cultural capital of marginalized students when the staff are culturally similar to the racial/ethnic minority students in their schools and hold a position of authority. In Khalifa's study, the leader was the principal. In Lucero's, the leader was a bilingual teacher. In this study, both types

of leaders were evident and played critical roles in activating the cultural capital of Spanish speakers at Cypress and Willow.

By changing the school culture, Cypress and Willow staff were able to see Spanish speakers differently. Over the course of many years, the culture of Spanish speakers wasn't what changed at Cypress and Willow; it was the schools' curriculum, the staff, the professional development, outreach to Spanish speaking families, and the utilization of Spanish. These changes were not peripheral, but fundamental to the operation of the schools, and they fundamentally changed the relationships between staff and Spanish speaking families. However, the structural changes that occurred at the schools did not serve to better integrate non-Spanish speaking families in poverty. At Cypress and Willow, the majority of these families spoke English, although there were other families in poverty at both schools whose primary language was neither English nor Spanish. While not negating the possibility that the conditions of poverty differed between some (perhaps a majority of) Spanish speaking families and some (likely a minority of) English speaking families at the schools, the concentration of the former families in two-way immersion and the latter families in the English only strand intensified the staff's propensity to narrate the lack of achievement and behavioral issues within the English only strand based on cultural differences between Spanish speakers and English speakers in poverty.

Limitations to the Study

Quantitative Study

The analyses relating to instructional integration patterns examine correlational not causal relationships between the variables of interest. Although the introduction of

two-way immersion coincided with changes in the distribution of students with IEPs and the TWI strand tended to have significantly fewer English speaking students in poverty than the English only strand, the results do not provide evidence that the TWI program caused these patterns to emerge.

For example, the study does not address how the differences or similarities between the yearly cohorts from each school influenced the results. Student enrollment counts were determined for each year based on students ever having attended the school during that year. If a student transferred between the strands, they were not counted as being enrolled in both strands. They were counted within the strand they were last enrolled in. This decision was made so as not to undercount the students that moved into and out of the schools, since highly mobile students factored into staff interpretations of differences between the two strands. Although counting school and strand enrollment in this manner doesn't change the findings related to student differences between the two strands based on who had ever attended the schools, it does mean that these differences may have been less pronounced at particular periods during the school year.

Student differences (or lack thereof) from year to year are also likely a reflection of considerable overlap between the yearly samples. That is, students in the lower grades (K-2) had the potential to be part of all years of strand analyses data. Although most of the characteristics of interest (strand, free/reduced meals participation, and IEP status) were not stable characteristics, there is a stronger probability of remaining in a given strand once you are placed there, and likely differential probabilities for free/reduced meals participation or having an IEP based upon one's situation the previous year as well. Understanding how each yearly cohort differed from the previous could have helped to

better understand whether the differences between the two strands were largely the result of this overlap between the samples from year to year. Additional research with larger sample sizes and that controls for cohort effects would help address these issues.

Thus, many factors, including those noted above as well as the school closures, neighborhood demographics, and the relative size of the instructional strands, likely influenced the enrollment patterns in the two strands. This study does not control for any of these or other potential moderating variables. The hierarchical loglinear analyses provide evidence that some of the variables of interest were significantly related, but not why they were related or how the patterns that were evident emerged.

As with case study research, the generalizability of the findings is also limited. The schools involved in this study are located in a rural college town with limited racial diversity. In particular, the percentage of individuals identifying as Black in Bellflower is exceptionally small compared to urban centers. The literature on segregation (Berends & Penaloza, 2010; Frankenberg & Lee, 2002; Hanushek et al, 2009; Lee, 2004; Orfield & Lee, 2001, 2004, 2005), school choice (Dougherty et al., 2009; Sikkink & Emerson, 2007) and two-way immersion access (Palmer, 2010) indicate particularly negative effects for Blacks, however the location of this study prevented an examination of these issues. Although the study supports Scanlon and Palmer's (2010) finding that students with special needs may be significantly underrepresented in two-way immersion programs, additional research is needed in other settings that are both demographically similar and different to determine whether the instructional integration patterns evident in this study are replicated elsewhere.

The small sample size also prevented the analysis of more complex relationships between student characteristics. Race was not included as a factor in the quantitative analyses of instructional integration among students. This was not ideal but rather a compromise that was made because of the small sample size, which precluded the cross-classification of students based on numerous variables of interest, including instructional strand, race, language background, free/reduced meals participation, and IEP status. Given the salience of language background in a study involving two-way immersion and the strong relationships between language background and race for the two largest racial and language groups at the study schools (approximately 98% of Whites identified English as their first language and over 75% of Latinos identified Spanish as their first language; also, about 80% of English speakers were White, whereas 99% of Spanish speakers were Latino), race was dropped from the analyses of instructional integration patterns.

Although the study provides interesting insights about the student characteristics of the TWI compared to the English only strand, the focus on this comparison also was limiting. Prior to the introduction of TWI, no instructional strands existed. Therefore, identifying an appropriate "before TWI" comparison was difficult. In the end 4th/5th grade classrooms were used. Including additional grades would have been preferable, but this was not possible with the data available. The focus on instructional strands (TWI or English only) after TWI entailed an analysis of student characteristics across all K-5 classrooms within the two strands. While that allowed for more robust analyses of the overall composition of the two instructional strands, it did not illuminate the classroom context (the focus of the before TWI analysis). And, as noted above, it is a particularly

limiting approach when examining IEP rates given that special needs identification is more common after grade 2. There may be more or less pronounced differences after the introduction of two-way immersion between classrooms or grade levels based on the various student characteristics examined. This study does not address these issues.

Relatively few years of data also constrained more reliable trend analysis. The programs were not fully operational at all grades until 2005 at Cypress and 2007 at Willow. To maintain greater consistency in the grades included in the analysis as well as to ensure a sufficient sample size to adequately populate the data table, 2005 was initially used for both schools as the starting year for strand comparisons. Preliminary analyses however revealed that including 2005 data for Willow (which included only K-3 grades) was not feasible. Thus, the number of years used (four at Cypress, three at Willow) and the grades included differ by school (Willow's 2006 sample does not include grade 5). The differences are minor, but they merit acknowledgement. More importantly, the limited number of years included in the before and after TWI analyses prevented a more confident interpretation of trends. The fact that the schools, particularly Willow, were still in the early stages of two-way immersion implementation may also have contributed to the trends or lack of trends evident in the study.

Qualitative Study

As noted above, the study's location and demographic context limits the applicability of the findings to other settings that are more diverse. In addition, the study relies on school staff to narrate the story behind the introduction of two-way immersion as well as to interpret its influence on student integration patterns in the schools. However, I did not interview all staff at the schools, only those that were responsive to

my requests for an interview and that met the interview criteria. I am unsure whether interviews with additional Cypress and Willow staff who are there presently or those who are no longer there would have altered my findings. Although I attempted to interview a representative sample of staff from both schools and believe that the methods I employed to recruit, screen and select participants bolstered the robustness of the final sample, I cannot state unequivocally that the sample is reflective of all staff perspectives.

I also asked staff to interpret their students and families: i.e., to identify the demographic characteristics of Cypress and Willow during their time at the school and/or in the district, and to discuss whether they perceived any differences between students in the two strands. Other than the few school staff members who had children attending the schools (all of whom were in the two-way immersion programs), I did not consult the students and families at the schools about their involvement with the introduction of the programs, their access to TWI, and/or their perceptions of school staff as well as other students and families at the school.

Cultural capital is premised on the relational aspect between an individual's "habitus" and the "field". Bourdieu (1990) defines habitus as "durable, transposable dispositions" (p. 53), which can convert into an embodied form of cultural capital depending upon the manner in which cultural capital manifests itself in a particular field. The field is not just the geographic location in which an investigation of cultural capital occurs, but rather "a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). I did not directly investigate the manner in which the habitus of individuals or groups of individuals complied or did not comply with the institutional norms of the schools. It may be that my interpretation of a broader

notion of cultural capital for Latinos/Spanish speakers overstates the actual cultural capital these students and their families had in the schools. Although I am convinced that their cultural capital extended beyond their linguistic capital, I am aware that the broader cultural capital that staff attributed to them was highly dependent upon their improved academic performance and staff's perceptions that they were less of a behavior problem now than previously and that the type of involvement and interactions with staff that their families exhibited met the staff's expectations. Interviewing families and students as well as observing their interactions with staff would have helped to bolster or revise the cultural capital claims I make in the study.

Implications and Recommendations

There are several implications and recommendations that emanate from the study. Some call for changed practices within the schools, others call for changes to local, state and federal policies that foster the increasingly separate and unequal conditions in which many schools operate. I begin with the latter first.

Federal/State

Title I Funding

In some ways funding for Title I programs encourages the concentration of poverty in schools by providing more funding and allowing schools more flexibility in the use of these funds once the student poverty rate surpasses 40%. Providing additional funds and greater flexibility in their usage for schools with higher levels of poverty makes sense. However, Title I policies should also include disincentives for concentrating poverty in schools, particularly when there are considerable socioeconomic disparities between the schools across the district. One option to consider, particularly

given the likely resistance to changing housing patterns, might be to require the use of Title I monies for transportation of low-income students to neighboring schools where poverty levels are low.

Competition for Grant Funding

The parent education programs introduced in the study schools prior to the introduction of two-way immersion targeted Spanish speaking families. This helped connect Spanish speaking families to the schools: making them feel welcome, providing them family literacy support, and assisting them in understanding how to navigate the school system. Although staff at the schools expressed an interest in serving English speaking families as well, they voiced a concern with not being able to demonstrate strong enough results on a yearly basis in order to maintain the grant they received for the program. In researching the most successful programs in the state, they discovered that those programs targeting Spanish speaking families were deemed most successful because of the strict attendance requirements of the program. Thus, even programs that are intended to assist families in poverty develop the skills and connections necessary to succeed in schools exclude families most in need of such assistance. The intense competition for grant funding and the need to show immediate results undermines schools' abilities to meet the needs of the most disenfranchised families. Different rubrics for measuring success when working with such populations are needed so that these families are able to access vital school resources.

Local/Municipal

Housing

The concentration of rental units and other low-income housing options within communities intensifies poverty at some schools and minimizes poverty at others. Such housing patterns are not created by accident. While it is very difficult to substantially change these patterns within established neighborhoods, new housing developments need not recreate these patterns. It is reasonable to assume that there will be considerable resistance to housing policies that attempt to diversify the housing market in a neighborhood. That doesn't mean that these policies shouldn't be or can't be changed, only that it will likely require stronger and sustained grass-roots political organizing to help foster these changes. Educational leaders should proactively engage in such efforts.

The links between segregated schools and housing is getting increasing research and policy attention (see, for example, Denton, 2001; Dougherty et al, 2010; powell, Kearney, & Kay, 2001; Mitchell, Batie, & Mitchell, 2010). Although the studies deal primarily with racial segregation, the link between racial segregation and concentrated poverty in both neighborhoods and schools is also well established. Mitchell, Batie, & Mitchell (2010) provide hope that school desegregation policies may eventually contribute to greater racial integration in housing, but that these effects may not be apparent for decades. Others explicitly suggest that segregation be simultaneously addressed in housing and schools via research and policies that recognize and address this linkage (Bryant, 2001; Denton, 2001; Kay, 2001; powell, 2001), as well as through community organizing (Denton, 2001; Kay, 2001). For example, Denton (2001) recommends that we capitalize on the emergence of multiethnic neighborhoods in recent

years as case studies for further desegregation work and study. She reports finding (in a 1995 study with Bridget Anderson) a significant number of newly established multiethnic neighborhoods between 1970-1990 in Philadelphia, Miami, Chicago, Houston and Los Angeles amid a backdrop of increasing or at least sustained residential segregation in urban communities across the country. She suggests that organizations combating school segregation and those combating residential segregation should establish formal ties and focus their efforts on supporting emerging multiethnic neighborhoods with creative social policies that promote their sustainability as well as integrated schools. Collectively these studies suggest that by supporting integrated neighborhoods and schools, we may begin to chip away at the attitudes undergirding and the policies that enable White and middle class flight from racially diverse schools and that contribute to schools with concentrated poverty.

District

School Boundaries

In the absence of or in tandem with diversifying the housing market across the district's geographic boundary and supporting emerging multiethnic neighborhoods, school districts should prevent the economic stratification of schools through school boundary maps. This is similar to Orfield and Lee's (2005) recommendation that "housing and land use policies should be designed on a regional basis to foster access for all students to strong schools and educational diversity" (p. 43). However, their study concerned urban areas that remained and were becoming increasingly segregated because of the existence (i.e., creation) of districts in nearby communities where middle class Whites were concentrated. In this particular study, the economic and racial segregation

that is occurring is within the district's boundary, although the focus on a region as opposed to a district might still be necessary in the event that new districts form nearby.

School Choice/Magnet Schools/Open Enrollment

A primary motivation behind earlier school choice/magnet school plans was that they provided an alternative desegregation method to forced busing plans. However, as the country has retreated from former commitments to desegregation and as market-based reforms to public school woes gained traction in the 1980s and 1990s (Martinez, 1990; Orfield & Lee, 2005; Rumberger et al., 2005), school choice and open enrollment policies are increasingly interpreted as political rights – freedoms that parents should have in order to choose the type of school and education that meets the specific needs of their child. However, the research suggests that rather than fostering greater diversity, these policies tend to increase racial and socioeconomic segregation (Lee, 2004: Orfield & Lee, 2005; Sikkink & Emerson, 2007). While it might be argued that White families are choosing to attend majority White schools because the schools are higher achieving and/or more socioeconomically diverse, some studies (Buckley & Schneider, 2007, as cited in Dougherty, 2009; Dougherty, 2009; Sikkink & Emerson, 2007) dispute this notion, demonstrating that White families specifically avoid schools with Blacks altogether, not just those with concentrations of Blacks and/or poverty.

While this study did not address the racial segregation of Blacks (or Latinos for that matter, although they are concentrated in the two study schools), it did find that the Bellflower school district's open enrollment policies contributed to a concentration of poverty at Willow, and likely at Cypress too. Thus, similar to the recommendation above regarding boundary areas, districts that provide school choice options to families

(including student transfers between neighborhood schools as well as alternative or charter schools with no boundary areas) should only approve transfer applications when the demographics of the chosen and the sending school reflect the socioeconomic diversity of the students served by the district. Given the Supreme Court's recent decision striking down the use of race in student assignment plans, the policy options at combating racial segregation within schools are more limited. However, it appears that if school districts articulate racial diversity as an educational goal that benefits all students rather than focusing on the harms of racial segregation, then including race as a factor to consider in student assignment plans would pass legal muster.

School Staffing and Professional Development

Concentrating and overburdening inexperienced staff in high poverty schools are well known problems (Dover, 2009, cites numerous studies; also see Kozol 1991, Orfield and Lee 2005). This issue needs to be addressed. Districts should devise school staffing plans in conjunction with the local teachers union that more equitably distribute senior and junior teachers and administrators across buildings, but these staffing plans should be accompanied with incentives for highly qualified and experienced staff to work in challenging schools for extended periods of time. In addition, the study points to the critical role that bilingual/bicultural staff play in changing the culture of schools to be more responsive to culturally and linguistically different families. It also highlights the need for greater professional staff development about class privilege and the way in which such privilege becomes enmeshed in everyday school practices. School districts should not only attempt to diversify the racial/ethnic and language backgrounds of their administrative and teaching staff to more closely mirror the diversity within their schools,

they should also conduct more professional development for all school staff about how to eradicate the institutional practices of schools that marginalize students from non-dominant racial, cultural or class backgrounds.

Two-way Immersion Schools

As this study illustrates, two-way immersion can help to integrate middle class Whites and low-income Latinos, at least for Latinos that possess the requisite linguistic capital (Spanish). The potential for the program to do just that was the reason why Orfield (2002) suggested the use of two-way immersion programs as a desegregation strategy. However, there are challenges in the implementation of these programs, raising concerns that two-way immersion's integration benefit is reserved for students with the right kind of cultural capital. These are challenges that two-way immersion should face, rather than evade.

Several of the following recommendations are already practices that one or both of the study schools are already using. To properly credit the schools for their proactive responses to the challenges they are facing as well to avoid the appearance that the following ideas are all my own, I note in parenthesis which practices they are already employing.

Access

By design, two-way immersion creates limited access for English speakers. I am not advocating that access be open-ended. Doing so would confirm what Valdez (1997) predicted would happen when two-way immersion programs were just starting to become increasingly popular. She warned about the inclusion of White, English speaking students because she believed their interests would eventually supersede the interests of Spanish

speakers, a particularly ironic consequence for a program initially designed to serve Spanish speaking English Learners. Nevertheless, there are still access issues that two-way immersion should address so that the program can better serve as a model of inclusion and integration.

- Given that middle class families are more apt to take advantage of choice options, extra efforts should be made by school staff to recruit disadvantaged English speaking families into two-way immersion. (Willow)
- Programs located in Title I schools should strive to include a socioeconomic balance among English speakers that is reflective of the neighborhood in which the school is located.
- For programs that are located in neighborhood schools that serve more low income families than other neighborhood schools, priority in admission should be given to neighborhood families. (Cypress and Willow)
- For programs that bus in Spanish speakers to more affluent schools, English speakers in poverty that attend Title I schools should also be permitted to enroll in the more affluent schools (either in two-way immersion or not) and be provided transportation to attend them.
- Intensive Spanish language classes over the summer might be able to improve the Spanish proficiency of English speakers such that they are able to access the program at least through 2nd grade. These classes also might prevent attrition among English speakers with less literacy skills and/or support at home.

Equity and Integration Between the Strands

The use of a school-within-a-school approach to two-way immersion is the most common way these programs are implemented. Although this structure creates unique challenges, the use of a whole school approach to two-way immersion has its own set of equity issues which aren't addressed in the study. The following recommendations are aimed at addressing some of challenges inherent in a school-within-a-school approach that affect the quality of schooling provided to all students in these schools.

- Transfer policies between the strands should be clearly articulated to parents, and since transfers from the English only to the two-way immersion strand are unlikely after 1st grade, transfers from the two-way immersion program to the English only strand should likewise be discouraged. Unless schools make it very difficult to transfer out of the two-way immersion program, the English only strand will become a dumping ground for students (a) who two-way immersion teachers may find too difficult or (b) whose parents attribute the problems their child is having in school solely to two-way immersion. More often than not, the difficulties that surfaced in two-way immersion programs at Cypress and Willow did not go away once the student was enrolled in the English only strand. (Cypress and Willow)
- Teaching staff should alternate instructional strands every 2-3 years. This is more difficult when all teachers are not bilingual, requiring teachers who speak English only to rotate more frequently than Spanish bilingual teachers, but it is nevertheless possible. This expectation should be shared with teachers upon their hiring. For programs already operational that typically do not

employ this practice, administrators should communicate with staff that in order to function as a unified school that shares responsibility for all the students and families it serves, all teachers must have the opportunities to interact with students and families in both strands. (Cypress)

- Schools should consider ways to integrate students across the instructional strands in instructional settings, such as for certain subjects that are consistently taught in English. (At Cypress and Willow, students from both strands were most often integrated for music and P.E. Cypress also began to offer math instruction in this manner.)

Contributions of the Study

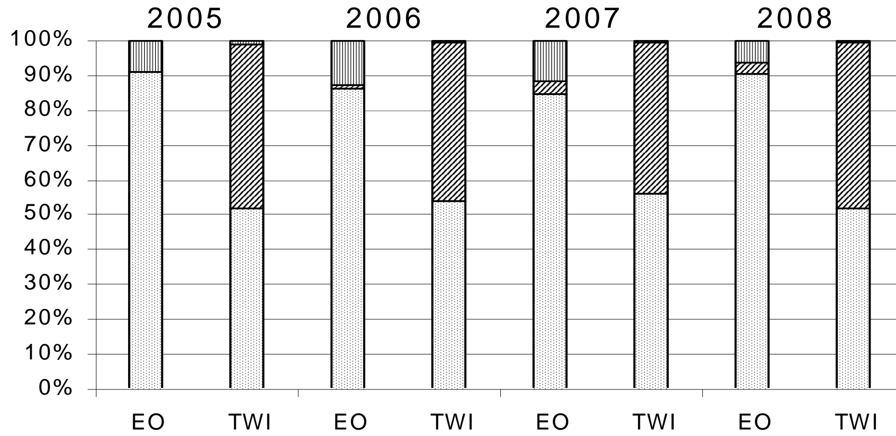
The study not only contributes to the literature on two-way immersion, but by framing the research around an investigation of student integration, I hope that it adds value to school (de)segregation research. Although it highlights the importance of measuring the extent to which different racial bodies are physically integrated within the same instructional space, it also suggests that physical integration is not enough. The instructional space also has to integrate the cultures of the students within it. It also adds value by shining a light on class disparities within and between language groups, as well as within and between students in two-way immersion and the English only strand. I highlight these two-way immersion integration dilemmas not to unilaterally critique the approach, but to initiate dialogue and change to make the programs more inclusive. Ladson-Billings (2004) suggests that we have paid a dear price for the 1954 Brown decision stating, “By allowing race to trump class, the real cost, as I see it, is the missed opportunity to build a coalition between African Americans and poor Whites, both of

whom were receiving an inferior education" (p. 8). I hope (Spanish speaking) Latinos do not make a similar mistake.

APPENDIX A

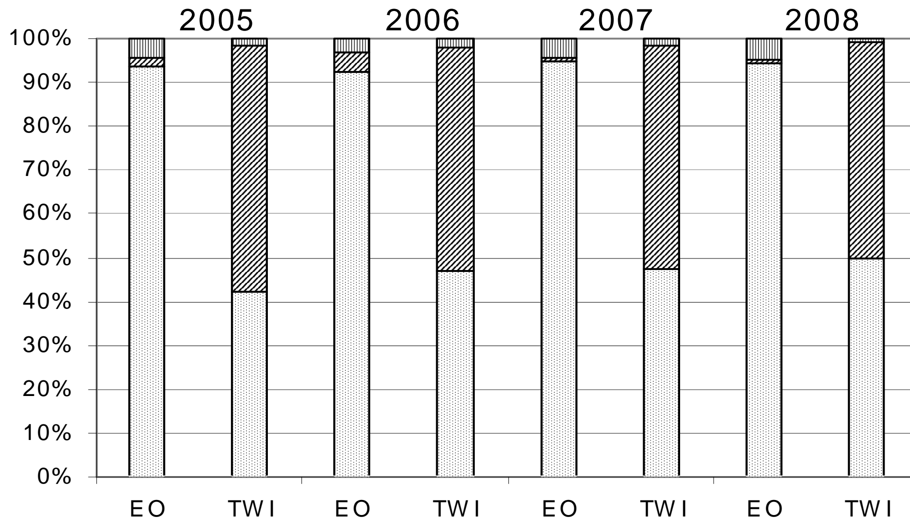
LANGUAGE GROUPS BY STRAND

Cypress Language Groups by English Only (EO) and
Two-Way Immersion (TWI) Strand



	EO	TWI	EO	TWI	EO	TWI	EO	TWI
Other	13	3	17	1	17	2	9	2
Spanish	0	122	1	133	5	118	4	132
English	131	135	114	158	122	153	125	144

Willow Language Groups by English Only (EO) and
Two-Way Immersion (TWI) Strand



	EO	TWI	EO	TWI	EO	TWI	EO	TWI
Other	5	2	7	3	10	3	9	2
Spanish	2	66	10	74	2	103	1	104
English	106	50	205	68	223	96	172	106

APPENDIX B

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Exploring Student Integration Patterns in Dual Language Immersion Schools

PROJECT OVERVIEW

My name is Martha I. Martinez and I am a doctoral student in Educational Leadership at the University of Oregon. For my dissertation, I will be conducting research on dual language (AKA: two-way) immersion programs. I have selected [Bellflower] as the site in which to conduct my research in large part because I am familiar with the dual language programs here, as a parent with children who have been enrolled in them for several years.

Dual language (DL) immersion programs are an increasingly popular educational approach that schools are using to meet the needs of their growing English learner populations. This study examines the relationship between the introduction of DL programs and student demographics within two elementary schools during a ten-year timeframe (1998-2008). Of interest is whether the demographic characteristics (i.e., race/ethnicity, primary language, and socioeconomic status) of students at the schools have changed since the introduction of the DL programs and in what ways the DL programs may have influenced the integration of students from diverse backgrounds in instruction.

In addition to analyzing student demographic data, I will be reviewing school documents, interviewing school and district staff, holding focus groups with school staff, and conducting observations at the study schools during the 2008-09 academic year. If you are a principal, teacher, educational assistant or administrative support staff at one of the study schools or a district administrator familiar with the introduction and ongoing implementation of the dual language programs at the study schools, you may be asked to participate in an interview or focus group. In addition, with staff consent, you may be observed during school staff meetings. I will also rely on school and district support staff to provide access to relevant student data and school documents. Following is a brief description of the purpose of the various data components.

Student Demographic Data
To provide information about how the student population, transfers patterns and instructional placements changed over the ten-year period of the study and illuminate trends in the data that may correlate with the introduction of the dual language programs, a variety of student demographic data will be sought. These include enrollment data, student transfer data and student placement data within specialized or targeted programs/services (e.g., ESL pull-out, dual language, English strand). To the extent possible, student enrollment, transfer, and instructional placement data will be

disaggregated by language background, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. The demographic data on students in the two schools will span a ten-year period (1998-2008) and will be collected for each of the ten years.

School Documents
The focus of the document review will be on school documents that describe how DL and English strand student placements are decided presently and in the past, as well as comparable documents that describe English Learner instructional practices in the 2-3 years prior to the introduction of the DL program.

Interviews
Interviews will be conducted with approximately 15 school personnel at each of the two schools, including principals, teachers, and educational assistants, as well as district staff. Interviews will focus on student demographics, instructional offerings, and student integration patterns at the study schools from 1998-2008.

Focus Groups
Two focus groups will be held with a subset of staff who has participated in the interviews at both study schools. The purpose of the first focus group meeting will be to solicit staff feedback on preliminary data and analyses. This meeting will likely be scheduled in February or March and in consultation with the school principal and focus group participants. I expect to hold one other focus group session toward the end of the school year to explain preliminary findings from the study and to solicit staff feedback on these findings. Again, the principal and participating staff will be consulted about the timing of this second meeting.

Observations
School site observations will be confined to two areas: mapping the physical lay-out of the school building and attending staff meetings. The mapping exercise will focus on the locations of the DL classes and the English strand classes. Observations of staff meetings will focus on staff deliberations around the instructional components of and student placements within the DL and English strand at each school.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at mmartin6@uoregon.edu or (541) 754-4225. You may also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Joe Stevens, at stevenj@uoregon.edu or (541) 346-2445.

Sincerely, Martha I. Martinez
Ph.D. Student, Educational Leadership
University of Oregon

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Draft Interview Protocol for
Current Teachers Present when TWI Introduced

1. How long have you been a teacher at the school?
2. What grade levels have you taught? Have you taught in the English strand, the TWI program, or both?

School-wide demographics

3. When you started teaching at the school, how would you characterize the demographic make-up of the student body?
4. Has the composition of the student body changed during your tenure?

Scaling up TWI

5. What were the reasons behind the introduction of the TWI program?
6. Are there plans to eventually include all students in the school in the immersion program?

Before and after TWI: EL instructional practices

7. Prior to the introduction of TWI, how did you serve English Learners in your classes?
8. Have EL instructional practices changed since the introduction of TWI?
9. **(TWI teachers only)** Are Spanish-speaking English Learners and non-English Learners grouped together for all instruction in the TWI program?
10. Are non-Spanish speaking ELs enrolled in the TWI program? Are they provided separate ELD instruction?

After TWI: Instructional Integration and Demographic differences between TWI and English Strand

11. Do students in the TWI program and the English strand take any classes together?
12. Since the introduction of the TWI, are you aware of any differences in the demographic profile of students in the TWI program versus those in the English strand?
13. Do you know how are students placed in the TWI or the English strand? If not, do you know who is familiar with this process?
14. Are you aware of any students transferring between the two strands? If so, what prompted the transfers?

Draft Interview Protocol for
Current Teachers Not Present when TWI Introduced

1. How long have you been a teacher at the school?
2. What grade levels have you taught? Have you taught in the English strand, the TWI program, or both?

School-wide demographics

3. When you started teaching at the school, how would you characterize the demographic make-up of the student body?
4. Has the composition of the student body changed during your tenure or remained fairly stable?

Scaling up TWI

5. How many grades does the TWI program currently serve?

6. Are you aware of further planning around the TWI program? Are you involved in the planning efforts? If so, are there plans to continue the program at all grade levels at the school? What about for all students in the school? Have these plans changed over the course of your tenure?

After TWI: Instructional Integration within TWI **(for TWI teachers only)**

7. Are Spanish-speaking English Learners and non-English Learners integrated for all academic instruction in the TWI program? If not, what academic instruction is provided to each language group separately?

After TWI: Instructional Integration between TWI and English Strand

8. Do students in the TWI program and the English strand take any classes together?
9. Are you aware of any differences in the demographic profile of students in the TWI program versus those in the English strand?
10. Do you know how are students placed in the TWI or the English strand? If not, do you know who is familiar with this process?
11. Are you aware of any students transferring between the two strands? If so, what prompted the transfers?

Draft Interview Protocol for
Former Teachers Present when TWI Introduced

1. What years were you a teacher at Cypress or Willow?
2. What grade levels did you teach there? Did you teach in the English strand, the TWI, or both?

School-wide demographics

3. When you started teaching at the school, how would you characterize the demographic make-up of the student body?
4. Did the composition of the student body change during your tenure or remain fairly stable? If it changed, what changes did you notice?

Scaling up TWI

5. What were the reasons behind the introduction of the TWI program? Were you involved in this effort?
6. How many grades did the program serve by the time you left? Were there plans to continue the program at all grade levels at the school? What about for all students in the school? Did these plans change over the course of your tenure?

Before TWI: Instructional Integration

7. Prior to the introduction of TWI, how did you serve English Learners in your classroom?
8. Did you have other ELs in your classes besides Spanish-speaking ELs? If so, were they integrated with Spanish-speaking ELs in instruction or were different language groups provided with separate EL instruction?

After TWI: Instructional Integration within TWI **(for former TWI teachers only)**

9. Were Spanish-speaking English Learners and non-English Learners integrated for all academic instruction in your class? If not, what academic instruction was provided to each language group separately?

After TWI: Instructional Integration between TWI and English Strand

10. Did students in the TWI program and the English strand take any classes together?
11. Were you aware of any differences in the demographic profile of students in the TWI program versus those in the English strand?
12. Do you know how students were placed in the TWI or the English strand? If not, do you know who is familiar with this process?

13. Are you aware of any students transferring between the two strands? If so, what prompted the transfers?

Draft Interview Protocol for
Current Principals

1. When did you become principal at the school? What prompted you to apply for the position?

School-wide demographics

2. When you became principal, how would you characterize the demographic make-up of the student body?
3. Has the composition of the student body changed during your tenure or remain fairly stable?

Scaling up TWI

4. In what state was the two-way immersion program (TWI) at the time you became principal? Which grades did it cover?
5. Does the TWI program currently serve all grades in the school? If not, are there plans to continue the program at all grade levels at the school? What about for all students in the school?
6. Have the plans to add more grades and/or more students into the program changed over the course of your tenure?

Instructional Integration w/in TWI

7. Are Spanish-speaking English Learners and non-English Learners integrated for all academic instruction in the TWI program? If not, what academic instruction is provided to each language group separately?

Instructional Integration between TWI and English Strand

8. Are there any differences in the demographic profile of students in the TWI program versus those in the English strand?
9. How are students placed in the TWI or the English strand? Are all Spanish-speaking ELs placed in the TWI program or are some placed in the English strand? What about other ELs? What about English speakers?
10. Once placed, can students move between the two programs (TWI and English strand) freely? What about new students to the school that enter after kindergarten?

Draft Interview Protocol for
Former Principals

1. When did you become principal at the school? What prompted you to apply for the position? How long did you remain principal?

School-wide demographics

2. When you became principal, how would you characterize the demographic make-up of the student body?
3. Did the composition of the student body change during your tenure or remain fairly stable?

Scaling up TWI

4. Was the two-way immersion program (TWI) in operation at the time you became principal? If not, when did it start?
5. What were the reasons behind the introduction of the TWI program? Were you involved in this effort?

6. How many grades did the program serve by the time you left? Were there plans to continue the program at all grade levels at the school? What about for all students in the school? Did these plans change over the course of your tenure?

Before TWI: Instructional Integration

7. Prior to the introduction of TWI, what types of instructional services were offered to English Learners at the school? How were EL services provided, e.g., were students pulled out, or clustered in certain classes for specialized instruction, or were they mainstreamed and provided specialized instruction that was integrated within all classrooms?
8. Were there other ELs at the school besides Spanish-speaking ELs? If so, were they integrated with Spanish-speaking ELs in instruction or were different language groups provided with separate EL instruction?

After TWI: Instructional Integration within TWI

9. Were Spanish-speaking English Learners and non-English Learners integrated for all academic instruction in the TWI program? If not, what academic instruction was provided to each language group separately?

After TWI: Instructional Integration between TWI and English Strand

10. After the introduction of the TWI, were there any differences in the demographic profile of students in the TWI program versus those in the English strand?
11. How were students placed in the TWI or the English strand? Were all Spanish-speaking ELs placed in the TWI program or were some placed in the English strand? What about other ELs? What about English speakers?
12. Once placed, could students move between the two programs (TWI and English strand) freely? What about new students to the school that entered after kindergarten?

Draft Interview Protocol for

Current ESL Assistants Present when TWI Introduced

1. How long have you been an Educational Assistant at the school?
2. What instructional assistance have you provided to English Learners at the school? What language groups have you worked with?

School-wide demographics

3. When you started teaching at the school, how would you characterize the demographic make-up of the student body?
4. Has the composition of the student body changed during your tenure or remained fairly stable? If it has changed, what changes have you noticed?

Scaling up TWI

5. How many grades does the TWI program currently serve?
6. Are you aware of further planning around the TWI program? Are you involved in the planning efforts? If so, are there plans to continue the program at all grade levels at the school? What about for all students in the school? Have these plans changed over the course of your tenure? If so, why?

Before TWI: Instructional Integration

7. Prior to the introduction of TWI, what types of instructional services were offered to English Learners at the school? How were EL services provided, e.g., were students pulled out, or clustered in certain classes for specialized instruction, or were they mainstreamed and provided specialized instruction that was integrated within all classrooms?
8. Were there other ELs at the school besides Spanish-speaking ELs? If so, were they integrated with Spanish-speaking ELs in instruction or were different language groups provided with separate EL instruction?

After TWI: Instructional Integration within TWI

9. Are Spanish-speaking English Learners and non-English Learners integrated for all academic instruction in the TWI program? If not, what academic instruction is provided to each language group separately?
10. Have these instructional patterns within the program remained constant over your tenure with the school, or have they fluctuated?
11. Has your instructional role changed since the introduction of the TWI program?

After TWI: Instructional Integration between TWI and English Strand

12. Are there any differences in the demographic profile of students in the TWI program versus those in the English strand?

Draft Interview Protocol for
Specialists Present when TWI Was Introduced

1. What is your current position, what does it entail, and how long have you held this position?
2. How long have you been at the school? Have you always held this same position?

School-wide demographics

3. When you started working at the school, how would you characterize the demographic make-up of the student body?
4. Has the composition of the student body changed during your tenure or remained fairly stable? If it has changed, what changes have you noticed?

Scaling up Two-Way Immersion (TWI)

5. What were the reasons behind the introduction of the TWI program?
6. How many grades does the TWI program currently serve?
7. Are you aware of further planning around the TWI program? Are you involved in the planning efforts? If so, are there plans to continue the program at all grade levels at the school? What about for all students in the school? Have these plans changed over the course of your tenure? If so, why?

Before TWI: Instructional Integration

8. Prior to the introduction of TWI, what types of instructional services were offered to English Learners at the school? How were EL services provided, e.g., were students pulled out, or clustered in certain classes for specialized instruction, or were they mainstreamed and provided specialized instruction that was integrated within all classrooms?
9. Were there other ELs at the school besides Spanish-speaking ELs? If so, were they integrated with Spanish-speaking ELs in instruction or were different language groups provided with separate EL instruction?

After TWI: Instructional Integration within TWI

10. Are Spanish-speaking English Learners and non-English Learners integrated for all academic instruction in the TWI program? If not, what academic instruction is provided to each language group separately?
11. Have these instructional patterns within the program remained constant over your tenure with the school, or have they fluctuated?
12. Has your instructional role changed since the introduction of the TWI program?

After TWI: Instructional Integration between TWI and English Strand

13. Are there any differences in the demographic profile of students in the TWI program versus those in the English strand?

Draft Interview Protocol for
Superintendent

1. How long have you been superintendent in the district? Prior to that, how long had you worked for the district and in what capacity(ies)?

Student demographics

2. How would you characterize the demographic make-up of the district about ten years ago or as early as you began working in the district?
3. Has the composition of the student body changed during your tenure or remained fairly stable?
4. How would you characterize the demographic make-up and changes at Cypress? What about at Willow?

Scaling up TWI

5. What was the impetus for starting the TWI program at Cypress? At Willow?
6. What are the current plans for Cypress' and Willow's TWI programs? Will they remain an instructional strand within the school, or are you considering a whole-school approach to TWI at either school?
7. Have the plans around the scaling up of TWI at the two schools changed over the course of your tenure?

After TWI: Instructional Integration between TWI and English Strand

8. Are you aware of any differences in the demographic profile of students in the TWI program versus those in the English strand at Cypress? What about at Willow?
9. Does the district have any control over the TWI and/or English strand placement procedures at either school? Do they apply through the district's school registration process or is this internal to the school?
10. Do some students have priority for placement in the TWI program at each school? If so, what types of students (e.g., Spanish-speaking English learners, neighborhood children)? Do transfer students have any greater or lesser chance of gaining access to either strand?

Draft Interview Protocol for
District Staff in charge of English Learner Services

1. How long have you served in your current position?
2. What responsibilities does your current position entail?
3. In what ways are you involved in the planning and implementation of the TWI programs at Willow and at Cypress?

Student demographics

4. How would you characterize the demographic make-up of the district about ten years ago or as early as you began working in the district?
5. Has the composition of the student body changed during your tenure or remained fairly stable? If it has changed, what changes have you noticed?
6. How would you characterize the demographic make-up and changes at Cypress? What about at Willow?

Scaling up TWI

7. What was the impetus for starting the TWI program at Cypress? At Willow?
8. Are there plans to keep the program as an instructional strand within Willow and/or Cypress, or is the district and school considering a whole-school approach to TWI in either or both schools?
9. Have the plans around the scaling up of TWI at the two schools changed over the course of your tenure? If so, why? If not, why not?

Before TWI: Instructional Integration

10. Prior to the introduction of TWI, what types of instructional services were offered to English Learners at each school? How were EL services provided, e.g., were students pulled out, or clustered in certain classes for specialized instruction, or were they mainstreamed and provided specialized instruction that was integrated within all classrooms?
11. Were there other ELs at either school besides Spanish-speaking ELs? If so, were they integrated with Spanish-speaking ELs in instruction or were different language groups provided with separate EL instruction?

After TWI: Instructional Integration within TWI

12. Are Spanish-speaking English Learners and non-English Learners integrated for all academic instruction in the TWI program at each school? If not, what academic instruction is provided to each language group separately at either or both schools?
13. Have these instructional patterns within the TWI program remained constant over your tenure with the district, or have they fluctuated? If they've changed, in what ways did they change and what influenced these changes?

After TWI: Instructional Integration between TWI and English Strand

14. Are you aware of any differences in the demographic profile of students in the TWI program versus those in the English strand at Cypress? What about at Willow?
15. Does the district have any control over the TWI and/or English strand placement procedures at either school? Do transfer students have any greater or lesser chance of gaining access to either strand?

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORMS

CONSENT FORM
District Participation in Research

Your district has been identified as a potential study site in a research project that I, Martha I. Martinez, am conducting as a graduate student in the College of Education at the University of Oregon. For my dissertation, I will be conducting research on dual language (DL) immersion programs in two elementary schools. The two schools that I have selected as potential study sites are [Cypress] and [Willow]. I have selected [Bellflower] as the potential site in which to conduct my research in large part because I am familiar with the dual language programs here, as a parent with children who have been enrolled in them for several years.

My time at each of the study schools and with other school district staff during the 2008-09 school year will be focused on collecting student demographic data and relevant school documents, mapping the physical lay-out of the school buildings (primarily the instructional spaces), attending school staff meetings, leading two focus groups at each school with about 4-6 staff members, and interviewing about 30 total school employees at their convenience, including 3-5 district employees. I will work with district staff and school staff to minimize my interference with the district's and the schools' daily functioning and with staff responsibilities. Following is a more detailed description of the various data components and the purposes of each.

Student Demographic Data
To provide information about how the student population, transfers patterns and instructional placements changed over the ten-year period of the study and illuminate trends in the data that may correlate with the introduction of the dual language programs, a variety of student demographic data will be sought. These include enrollment data, student transfer data and student placement data within specialized or targeted programs/services (e.g., ESL pull-out, dual language, English strand). To the extent possible, student enrollment, transfer, and instructional placement data will be disaggregated by language background, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. The demographic data on students in the two schools will span a ten-year period (1998-2008) and will be collected for each of the ten years.

School Documents
The focus of the document review will be on school documents that describe how DL and English strand student placements are decided presently and in the past, as well as comparable documents that describe English Learner instructional practices in the 2-3 years prior to the introduction of the DL program.

Interviews
Interviews will be conducted with approximately 15 school personnel at each of the two schools, including principals, teachers, and educational assistants, as well as 3-5 school district staff. Interviews will focus on student demographics, instructional offerings, and student integration patterns at the study schools from 1998-2008. Individual interviews are expected to last about one hour. Some individuals will be interviewed on more than one occasion. Interviews will be scheduled in consultation with the interviewee, and every effort will be made to schedule the interview at a convenient time for the interviewee and the school or the district office.

Focus Groups
Two focus groups will be held at each study school with about 4-6 individuals who have participated in the interviews. The purpose of the first focus group meeting will be to solicit staff feedback on preliminary data and analyses. This meeting will likely be scheduled in February or March and in consultation with the school principal and focus group participants. I expect to hold one other focus group session toward the end of the school year to explain preliminary findings from the study and to solicit staff feedback on these findings. Again, the principal and participating staff will be consulted about the timing of this second meeting.

Observations
School site observations will be confined to two areas: mapping the physical lay-out of the school building and attending staff meetings. The mapping exercise will focus on the locations of the DL classes, the English strand classes, and any other specialized instructional space that exists at the schools. Observations of staff meetings will focus on staff deliberations around the instructional components of and student placements within the DL and English strand at each school.

If you decide to participate, you will be agreeing to provide access to student data (with personal identifying information removed), school documents, and school and district staff for the purposes outlined above.

I believe that there are minimal risks involved with your participation in the study. Any information that is obtained from the district, the schools, or in interviews, and that can be identified with a specific individual will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with the permission of the affected parties and only when doing so is relevant to the study. In addition, neither the district nor the study schools will be named in any study publications. I will also take steps to maintain the confidentiality of email correspondences, including downloading this information immediately into a secure file on my computer and deleting it from my email boxes. However, absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed with email correspondence, nor can confidentiality be guaranteed in focus group settings. Your participation in the study is voluntary and would be helpful to this project. However, I cannot guarantee that you personally will receive any benefits from this research. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the district office or me. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at mmartin6@uoregon.edu or (541) 754-4225. You may also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Joe Stevens, at stevenj@uoregon.edu or (541) 346-2445. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact the Office for Protection of Human Subjects, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510. This Office oversees the review of the research to protect your rights and is not involved with this study.

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty, that you have received a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

Print Name____Position_____________________

Signature____Date________________________

CONSENT FORM
School Staff Interviews

You are invited to participate in a research study that I, Martha I. Martinez, am conducting as a graduate student in the College of Education at the University of Oregon. For my dissertation, I will be conducting research on dual language (DL) immersion programs. This study examines the relationship between the introduction of DL programs and student demographics within two elementary schools during a ten-year timeframe (1998-2008). The two schools that I have selected as study sites are [Cypress] and [Willow]. I have selected [Bellflower] as the district in which to conduct my research in large part because I am familiar with the dual language programs here, as a parent with children who have been enrolled in them for several years.

You have been identified as a possible participant for an interview because you are familiar with one or more of the following issues: (a) student demographic patterns at one or both of the study schools, (b) specialized instructional placements (e.g., ESL pull-out, DL, English strand) at one or both schools, or (c) the history and current implementation of the DL program at one or both of the study schools. The attached sample interview questions provide more detail about the specific information I am interested in discussing with you.

If you decide to participate, you will be agreeing to be interviewed on at least one occasion. The initial interview will likely last about 1 hour and will be conducted at your school or an alternate location of your choosing. The exact date and time of the interview will be scheduled at your convenience within the next few weeks, or at later date if need be. If additional information is needed after the initial interview, I may contact you to schedule a follow-up interview or ask you to answer a few more questions via email or on the phone. Follow-up in-person interviews will likely last no longer than 30 minutes. If the follow-up questions are few in number and scope, you may be asked to respond to these questions on the phone or via email. In the latter case, you will be provided the option of choosing a phone interview, responding via email, or responding in person. I anticipate your time commitment for shorter follow-up questions/interviews to be 10-20 minutes. With your consent, all interviews conducted in person will be tape recorded to facilitate a more accurate recording of our dialogue.

I believe that there are minimal risks involved with your participation in the interviews. Any information that is obtained in person and over the phone during interviews and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. I will take steps to maintain the confidentiality of email correspondences too, including downloading this information immediately into a secure file on my computer and deleting it from my email boxes. However, absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed with email correspondence. Your participation in the interviews is voluntary and would be helpful to this project. However, I cannot guarantee that you personally will receive any benefits from this research. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the school or district office. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at mmartin6@uoregon.edu or (541) 754-4225. You may also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Joe Stevens, at stevenj@uoregon.edu or (541) 346-2445. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact the Office for Protection of Human Subjects, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510. This Office oversees the review of the research to protect your rights and is not involved with this study.

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty, that you have received a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

Print Name____

Signature____
Date_______________________
Your initials indicate that you agree to allow the interviews to be tape recorded. ____________

CONSENT FORM
District Staff Interviews

You are invited to participate in a research study that I, Martha I. Martinez, am conducting as a graduate student in the College of Education at the University of Oregon. For my dissertation, I will be conducting research on dual language (DL) immersion programs. This study examines the relationship between the introduction of DL programs and student demographics within two elementary schools during a ten-year timeframe (1998-2008). The two schools that I have selected as study sites are [Cypress] and [Willow]. I have selected [Bellflower] as the district in which to conduct my research in large part because I am familiar with the dual language programs here, as a parent with children who have been enrolled in them for several years.

You have been identified as a possible participant for an interview because you are familiar with one or more of the following issues: (a) student demographic patterns at one or both of the study schools, (b) specialized instructional placements (e.g., ESL pull-out, DL, English strand) at one or both schools, or (c) the history and current implementation of the DL program at one or both of the study schools. The attached sample interview questions provide more detail about the specific information I am interested in discussing with you.

If you decide to participate, you will be agreeing to be interviewed on several occasions. The initial interview will likely last about 1 hour and will be conducted at the district office or another location of your choosing. The exact date and time of this interview will be scheduled at your convenience within the next few weeks. Because of your extensive knowledge of the issues of interest to the study, additional interviews will be sought with you over the course of the study. The length and specific content of the follow-up interviews will be driven by data collection needs, thus it is currently possible to provide much detail other than I expect some interviews to be fairly short (10 minutes) and others to last up to an hour. Shorter interviews may be conducted via phone or email, depending on your preference. Longer in-person follow-up interviews will be scheduled at your convenience. With your consent, all interviews conducted in person will be tape recorded to facilitate a more accurate recording of our dialogue.

I believe that there are minimal risks involved with your participation in the interviews. Any information that is obtained in person and over the phone during interviews and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. I will take steps to maintain the confidentiality of email correspondences too, including downloading this information immediately into a secure file on my computer and deleting it from my email boxes. However, absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed with email

correspondence. Your participation in the interviews is voluntary and would be helpful to this project. However, I cannot guarantee that you personally will receive any benefits from this research. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the school or district office. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at mmartin6@uoregon.edu or (541) 754-4225. You may also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Joe Stevens, at stevenj@uoregon.edu or (541) 346-2445. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact the Office for Protection of Human Subjects, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510. This Office oversees the review of the research to protect your rights and is not involved with this study.

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty, that you have received a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

Print Name____

Signature____
Date_______________________

Your initials indicate that you agree to allow the interviews to be tape recorded. ____________

CONSENT FORM
Superintendent Interviews

You are invited to participate in a research study that I, Martha I. Martinez, am conducting as a graduate student in the College of Education at the University of Oregon. For my dissertation, I will be conducting research on dual language (DL) immersion programs in two elementary schools. The two schools that I have selected as study sites are [Cypress] and [Willow]. I have selected [Bellflower] as the site in which to conduct my research in large part because I am familiar with the dual language programs here, as a parent with children who have been enrolled in them for several years.

You have been identified as a possible participant for an interview because, as superintendent of the district in which the study will take place, you are familiar with one or more of the following issues: (a) student demographic patterns at the study schools during the study's timeframe, (b) specialized instructional placements (e.g., ESL pull-out, TWBI, English strand) at the schools during the study's timeframe, or (c) the history and current implementation of the two-way bilingual immersion (TWBI) program at one or both of the study schools. The attached sample interview questions provide more detail about the specific information I am interested in discussing with you.

If you decide to participate, you will be agreeing to be interviewed on at least one occasion. The initial interview will likely last about 30-45 minutes and will be conducted at the district office or another location of your choosing. The exact date and time of the interview will be scheduled at your convenience within the next few months. If additional information is needed after the initial

interview, I may contact you to schedule a follow-up interview or ask you to answer a few more questions via email or on the phone. Follow-up in-person interviews will likely last no longer than 30 minutes. If the follow-up questions are few in number and scope, you may be asked to respond to these questions on the phone or via email. In the latter case, you will be provided the option of choosing a phone interview, responding via email, or responding in person. I anticipate your time commitment for shorter follow-up questions/interviews to be 10-20 minutes. With your consent, all interviews conducted in person will be tape recorded to facilitate a more accurate recording of our dialogue.

I believe that there are minimal risks involved with your participation in the interviews. Any information that is obtained in person and over the phone during interviews and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. I will take steps to maintain the confidentiality of email correspondences too, including downloading this information immediately into a secure file on my computer and deleting it from my email boxes. However, absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed with email correspondence. Your participation in the interviews is voluntary and would be helpful to this project. However, I cannot guarantee that you personally will receive any benefits from this research. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with me and/or the University of Oregon. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at mmartin6@uoregon.edu or (541) 754-4225. You may also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Joe Stevens, at stevenj@uoregon.edu or (541) 346-2445. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact the Office for Protection of Human Subjects, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510. This Office oversees the review of the research to protect your rights and is not involved with this study.

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty, that you have received a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

Print Name____

Signature____
Date_______________________

Your initials indicate that you agree to allow the interviews to be tape recorded. ____________

CONSENT FORM
Focus Groups

You were selected to participate in the focus groups because you have already been interviewed for the study and have demonstrated extensive knowledge of the issues that are relevant to the study. The primary purpose of the focus group meeting is to solicit feedback on preliminary analyses of interviews, observations and archival documents. In addition, I will share preliminary findings from the quantitative analyses of student data.

I believe that there are minimal risks involved with your participation in the focus groups. I will keep any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you confidential, unless you provide permission for this information to be disclosed. However, I

cannot guarantee that your comments or actions in focus group settings will remain private, since these involve a group setting with multiple participants. With your consent, the focus group will be tape recorded to facilitate a more accurate transcription of participants' comments.

Your participation in the focus groups is voluntary and would be helpful to this project. However, I cannot guarantee that you personally will receive any benefits from this research. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the school or district office. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. The focus group session will last 1½ - 2 hours and will be scheduled in consultation with your principal.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at mmartin6@uoregon.edu or (541) 754-4225. You may also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Joe Stevens, at stevenj@uoregon.edu or (541) 346-2445. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact the Office for Protection of Human Subjects, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510. This Office oversees the review of the research to protect your rights and is not involved with this study.

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty, that you have received a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

Print Name____

Signature____
Date_________________________

Your initials indicate that you agree to allow the focus group to be tape recorded. ____________

APPENDIX E

FOCUS GROUP PROTOCOLS

Focus Group Invitation to Participate

Dear

As part of my study, I will bring together five to seven current and former [Cypress/Willow] staff members who participated in the interviews for a focus group meeting in January. The purpose of the focus group is to get additional feedback on some of the themes that are emerging from the interviews, as well as to share preliminary results from the analysis of the student data. I have identified a key group of people that bring a variety of perspectives and that I am hopeful will be part of the meeting. You are one of these key people.

The meeting will take place in January at a time that works best for the majority of those who have been invited to participate, and will last about two hours. Following is a link to a doodle.com site which I will be using to help schedule the meeting. If you have problems accessing the link, please let me know.

http://doodle.com/...

I hope that you will be involved in the focus group. If you have any questions whatsoever, feel free to email or call me at home (754-4225). Thanks again for participating in the study.

Sincerely, Martha

Focus Group Agenda
January 8, 2010 (Willow)
January 10, 2010 (Cypress)

I. Welcome/Agenda (5 minutes)
   A. Thank you and Goodies
   B. Consent Form
   C. Gift card update
   D. Purpose of meeting/my study

II. Focus Group Instructions (10 minutes)
   A. Consent Form
   B. Format: 4 questions, may not get through all; The first is a warm-up question to get the conversation started; the remainder are based on some of the themes appearing in the interview data. Discussion time ~ 90 minutes.
   C. My role: Moderate at a distance, starting with the second question. Read question aloud, and provide written question to the group, and let you all guide the discussion. Prompt with next question when it seems the current question has been thoroughly discussed; take notes; make sure recorder is working
   D. Your role: Share your knowledge, experience and air time. Everyone doesn’t have to speak for the same amount of time, but you should check in with one another to make sure that everyone has the opportunity to contribute. Respectfully disagree.

III. Focus Group Discussion (90 minutes)

IV. Preliminary Findings of Quantitative Analyses and Q & A (15 minutes)

Focus Group Questions – Cypress

1. What brought you to Cypress?

2. Access to dual immersion: Consistency, Clarity/Transparency >> Fairness: What about equity in access? Are there any families more likely or less likely to gain access to dual immersion? How is this evident to you? Is equitable access to dual immersion important? What is Cypress doing to assist families, particularly lower income families, in understanding dual immersion and the enrollment process?

3. Gang activity: Several staff mentioned the presence of gang activity at the school, either in the past or presently. What is your experience with this issue at Cypress? What do you believe contributes/contributed to its presence here? During your time at the school, did it get better, worse or stay about the same?

4. Student Integration: Is it important for students of different backgrounds to be in the same classrooms? Do you think the school is adequately "mixing" different students? What experiences have you had at Cypress that illustrate effective or ineffective mixing?

Focus Group Questions – Willow

1. What brought you to Willow?

2. Student Demographics: Poverty
How do you see your role in working with students in poverty? Are there different kinds of poverty? What sort of expertise do you rely on to best serve economically disadvantaged children?

3. Student Integration: Is it important for students of different backgrounds to be in the same classrooms? Do you think the school is adequately "mixing" different students? What experiences have you had at Willow that illustrate effective or ineffective mixing?

4. Stability/Instability: In terms of your role at the school and the overall school environment, has the stability/instability of any of the following categories been particularly influential? In what ways?

Students
Instructional Staff
Administrative Staff
Funding
Other

APPENDIX F

OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

Draft Observation Protocol for Staff Meetings

Purpose: To gather data on staff knowledge and perceptions of (a) student demographics, (b) instructional placement decisions in TWBI and/or English strand, and (c) differences between students in the two strands.

Location: Willow and Cypress staff meeting rooms

Frequency: At regularly scheduled (monthly?) staff meetings beginning in November 2008 and concluding by June 2009.

Duration: Approximately 1 hour.

Note-taking template: See below.

Staff Meeting Observation Protocol

Date:
Staff members present:
Observation start time:
Observation end time:

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
Includes a chronological summary of activities	Includes reflections about the process and activities based on the researcher's "experiences, hunches, and learnings." (Creswell, 2007, p. 134)

APPENDIX G

MEMOS AND INITIAL WILLOW MODEL

Memo: Changing demographics prompt changes to practices
CODENOTE 1/4/10
Linked to Ms. Bolden's transcript

In Question 12, I ask whether her role has changed since the introduction of the TWI program. (I actually mistakenly asked whether her instructional role has changed -- Ms. Bolden doesn't provide instruction, in the traditional sense, at the school. She is the school counselor.) Ms. Bolden's response helped me to think about the relationship between changing demographics, the introduction of the two-way immersion program, and how both have led to further substantial changes to staffing and school practices. I attempted to model this and have identified many important events, conditions, but can't figure out how to identify their relationships yet. See Initial Willow Model. The events/conditions appear chronologically, with the earliest events/conditions on the left and most recent on the right. I tried to indicate cause/effect or at least directional influence by placing boxes so related next to each other horizontally.

CODENOTE 1/11/10
Linked to Ms. Graham's transcript

When Ms. Graham articulates how her instructional practices have changed in large part due to her role as a kindergarten teachers, I ask her if she thinks this has also been influenced by the introduction of two-way immersion. She says it has but not initially. She cites the change to simultaneous biliteracy instruction and the integration of ELs with non-ELs during literacy time as key to her changed practices. Thus, CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS ALONE didn't prompt much change in her instructional practices. NOR DID THE INTRODUCTION OF DI. Although the first led to the second. It was a specific instructional approach (simultaneous biliteracy) within TWI that led to significant changes in her instructional practices.

Memo: Poverty Talk
February 1, 2010
Related to Memos: Situational v. Generational Poverty and Gut Feelings v. Direct Knowledge
Related to Set: Perceptions of Poverty
Related to Tree Node: SES
Related to Cypress and Willow Focus Groups

I'm trying to understand the relative importance of the various codes that have emerged in the data thus far. Poverty seems to be an important category, and it's one I explored further in the recent focus groups with staff. However, before I start coding those focus

groups, I want to better understand what it is about poverty that I should code for.

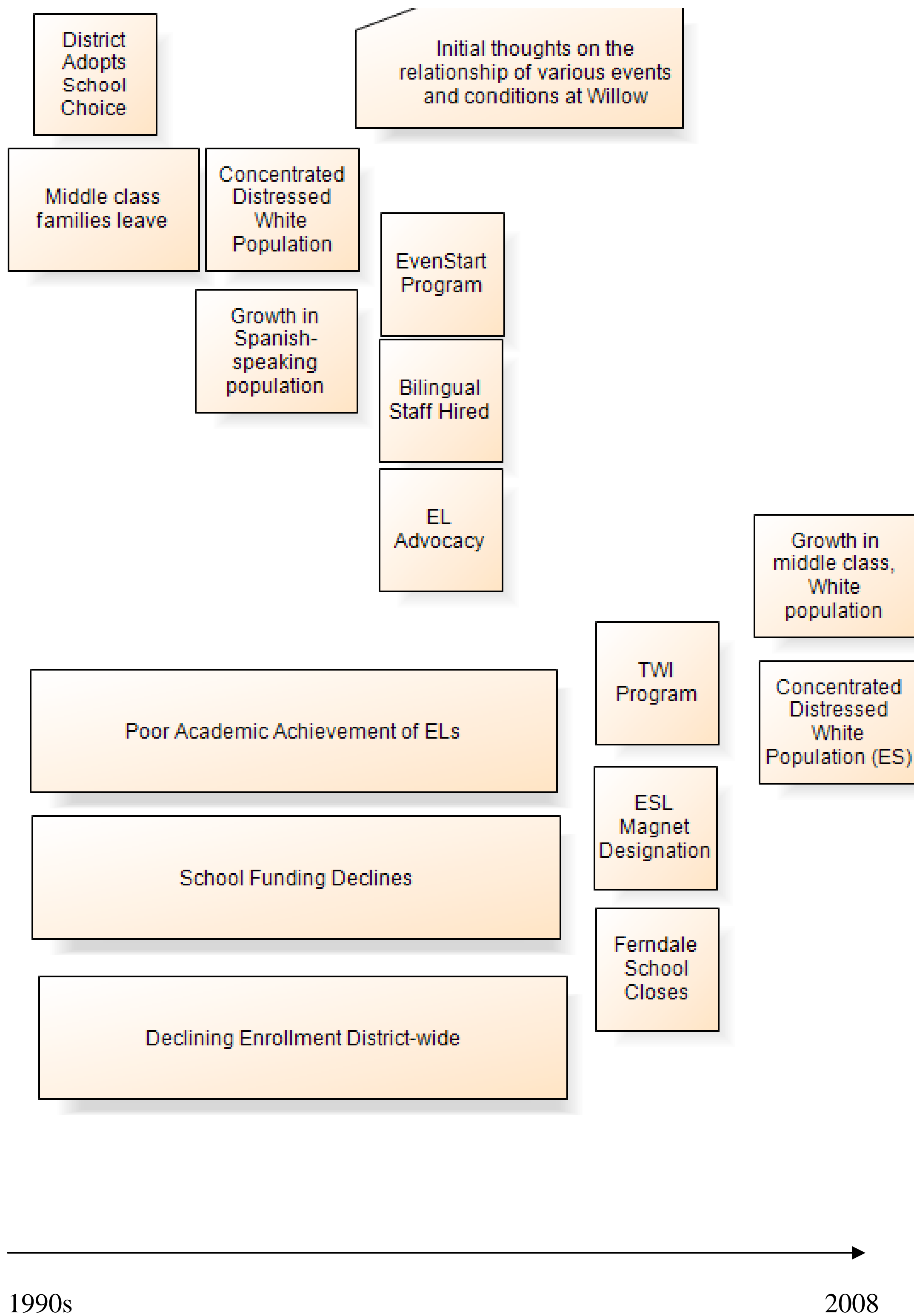
What is emerging from the interview data, as noted in the memo referenced above is a distinction b/w situational and generational poverty. I should go back to the interviews already coded as well to the remaining interviews not yet coded and the focus groups to get a better sense of how these two categories differ. For example:

1. How does race/ethnicity/culture intersect with poverty?
2. What (other) characteristics define situational poverty v. generational poverty?
3. Are there other kinds of poverty?
4. Are there different judgements about the different types of poverty?
5. Do different "poverty groups" have distinct educational needs?
6. How do staff interpret the needs of each?
7. What history does staff have with each group?
8. How willing/able are staff to meet the needs of each group?
9. What knowledge/training do staff use to meet the needs of each group?
10. Do staff interpret their efforts as effective with each "poverty group"?
11. How does poverty talk relate to/intersect with class and race talk?

CODENOTE 2/13/10
Sifting through memos and re-read the Gut Feelings one. Realized it too was related to this memo and to references to Ruby Payne. Then started reading Gorski's critique of Payne. Quotes below are helpful for discussing poverty issues that have arisen in the dissertation.
Gorski, 2009, "Peddling Poverty for Profit: Elements of Oppression in Ruby Payne's Framework"
there is no such thing as a generalizable mindset or culture of poverty (Abell & Lyon, 1979; Billings, 1974; Briggs, 2002; Gans, 1995; Gorski, 2007; Harris, 1976; Jones & Luo, 1999; Ng & Rury, 2006; Ortiz & Briggs, 2003; Rigdon,1988; Sherraden, 1984; Van Til & Van Til, 1973; Villemez, 1980). Over the past four decades researchers have tested the concept empirically in a variety of settings in the U.S. and around the world (Billings, 1974; Carmon, 1985; Harris, 1976; Jones&Luo, 1999).Others have reviewed the history of research on the topic (Abell & Lyon, 1979; Gans, 1995; Mayer, 1997; Ortiz & Briggs, 2003; Rodman, 1977; Van Til & Van Til, 1973). Their conclusions: (1) there is no appreciable and consistent cultural, world view, or value difference between people in poverty and people from other socioeconomic groups, and (2) what *does* exist is a set of structural, systemic, oppressive conditions disproportionately affecting the most economically disadvantaged people, such as a lack of access to quality healthcare, housing, nutrition, education, political power, clean water and air, and other basic needs. (p. 135)

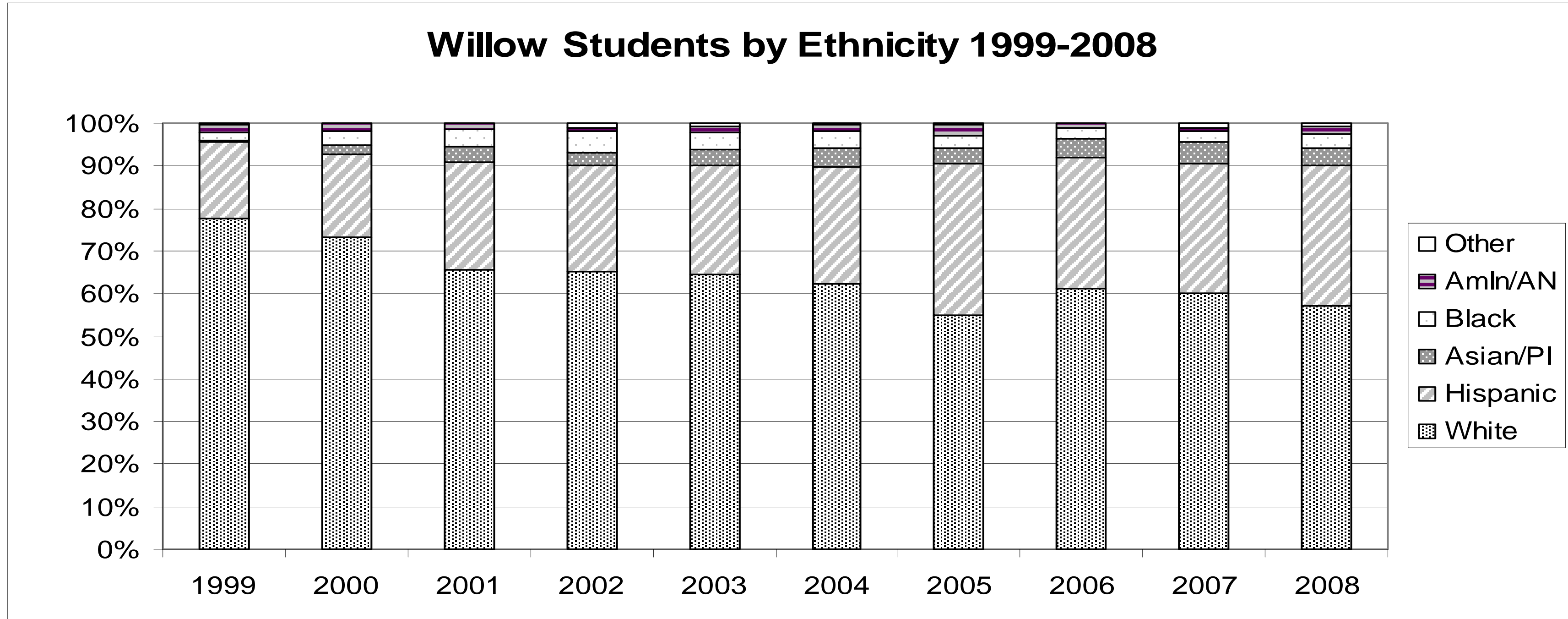
it [Payne's framework] serves the interests of the economically privileged by protecting their privilege; by leading us to believe that we can address poverty authentically in and out of schools without eradicating classism. And although some may argue that Payne does not intend this larger analysis, that she intends *A Framework* for classroom teachers more immediately concerned with the students before them than larger social or educational reform, equitable classroom practice can be understood effectively only within a larger context. If I want to understand economically disadvantaged students, I must understand poverty. If I want to understand poverty, I must understand the classism inherent in the ways in which our society, and by extension, our schools, institutionalize poverty (Gans, 1995). (p. 141)

INITIAL WILLOW MODEL

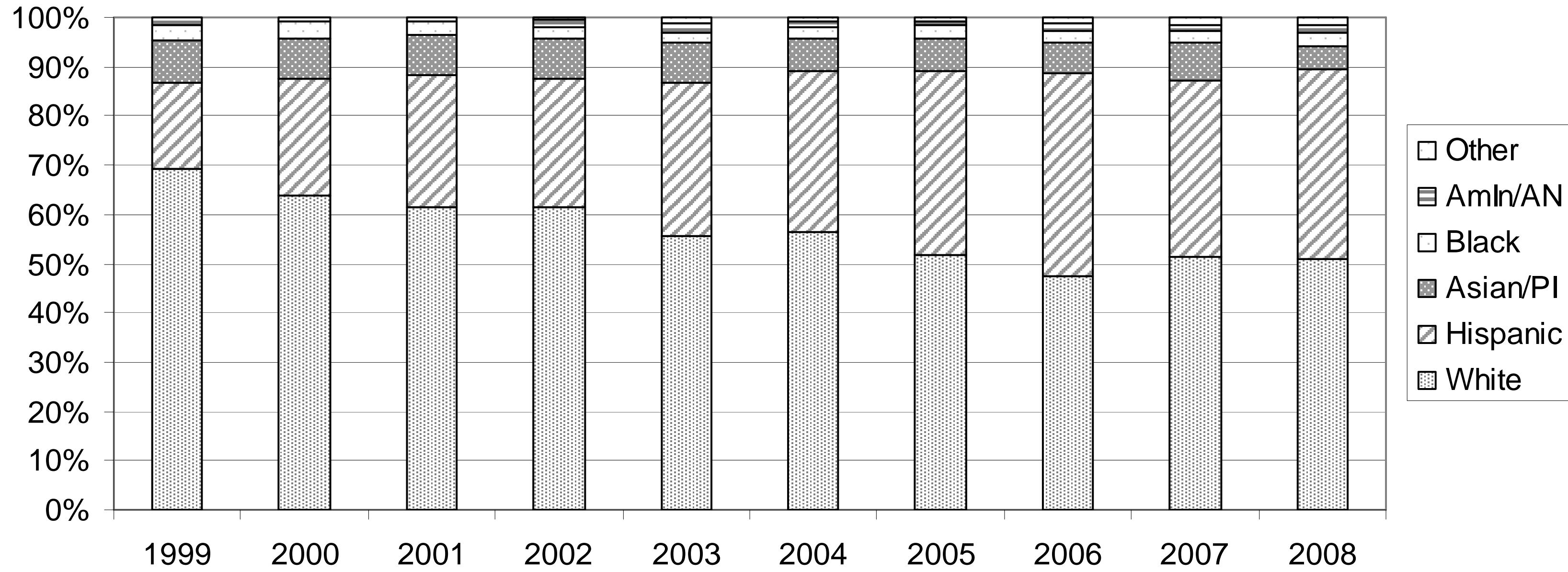


APPENDIX H

STUDENT ETHNICITY (1999-2008)



	1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
White	217	78	201	73	181	66	201	65	198	64	197	62	174	55	260	61	263	60	226	57
Hispanic	51	18	54	20	70	25	78	25	79	26	88	28	113	36	130	31	133	30	130	33
Asian/PI	1	<1	6	2	10	4	9	3	12	4	13	4	12	4	18	4	21	5	16	4
Black	5	2	9	3	11	4	15	5	12	4	13	4	9	3	12	3	12	3	13	3
AmIn/AN	5	2	5	2	4	1	3	1	5	2	5	2	8	3	4	1	3	1	7	2
Other	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	5	1	3	1
Total	280		275		276		309		308		317		317		424		437		395	



	1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
White	225	69	203	64	186	61	294	62	271	56	273	56	212	52	204	48	215	51	215	51
Hispanic	57	18	76	24	82	27	124	26	151	31	160	33	153	37	176	41	151	36	162	38
Asian/PI	28	9	26	8	24	8	38	8	39	8	32	7	28	7	27	6	32	8	21	5
Black	10	3	10	3	9	3	12	3	10	2	10	2	11	3	9	2	10	2	11	3
AmIn/AN	5	2	3	1	2	1	7	1	10	2	6	1	3	1	7	2	5	1	6	1
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	<1	5	1	4	1	3	1	5	1	6	1	7	2
Total	325		318		303		477		486		485		410		428		419		422	

APPENDIX I

LANGUAGE ORIGIN (2002)

2002-2003 Language Origin Counts and Percentages for Both Schools

School		Frequency	Percent
Cypress	Arabic	5	1.0
	Chinese	5	1.0
	Dutch	1	.2
	English	338	70.9
	Farsi	1	.2
	French	1	.2
	Hebrew	1	.2
	Indonesian	2	.4
	Japanese	3	.6
	Korean	4	.8
	Marshallese	1	.2
	Norwegian	1	.2
	Russian	1	.2
	Samaon	2	.4
	Spanish	100	21.0
	Tagalog	2	.4
	Tamil	1	.2
	Turkish	1	.2
	Vietnamese	7	1.5
	Total	477	100.0
Willow	Arabic	4	1.3
	Bengali	1	.3
	Chinese	2	.6
	English	234	75.7
	Hebrew	1	.3
	Hindi	1	.3
	Spanish	65	21.0
	Telugu	1	.3
	Total	309	100.0

APPENDIX J

FREE/REDUCED MEALS DATA (1999-2008)

Comparison of Data on Free and Reduced Meals Participation for the Study Schools

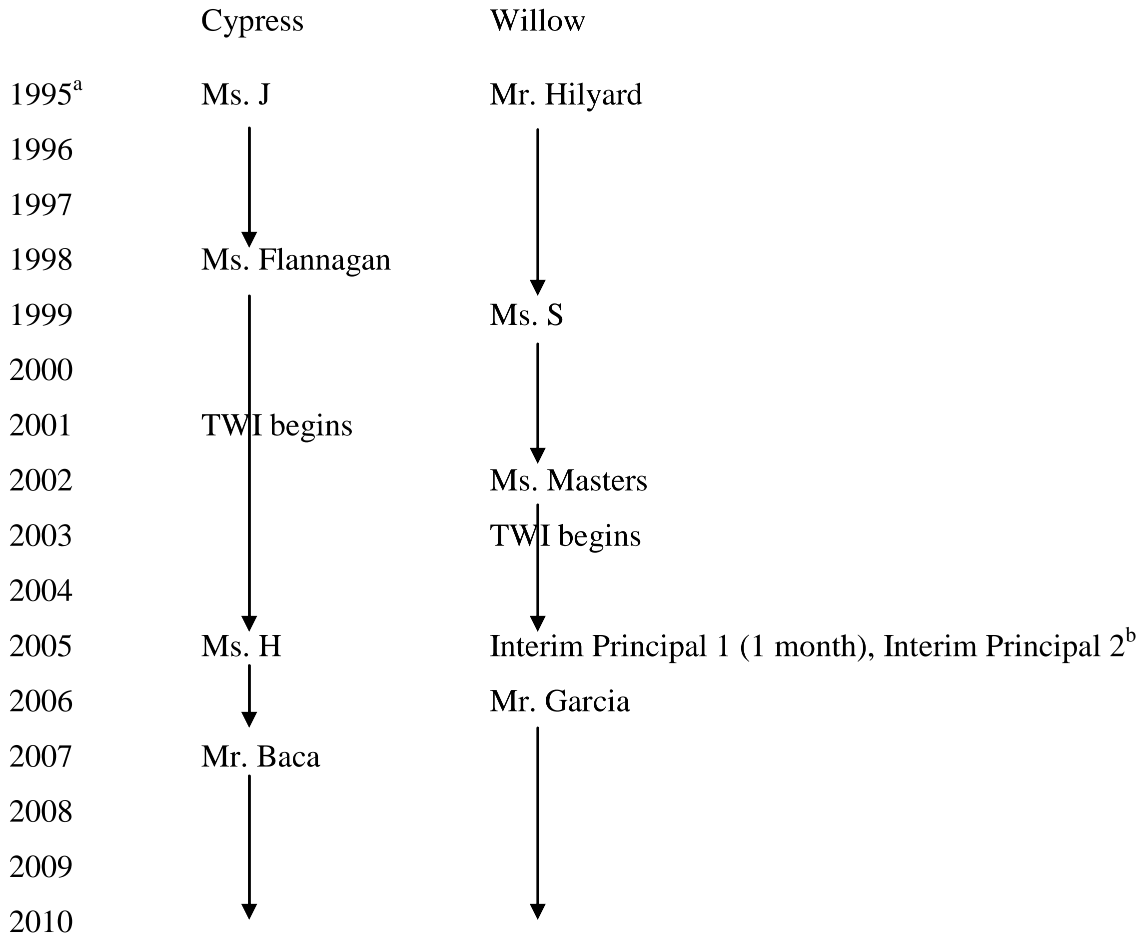
	Aggregate Data			Student Level Data	
Cypress	Enrollment	FR Meals %		Enrollment	FR Meals %
1999-2000	300	45%		325	N/A
2000-2001	291	49%		318	N/A
2001-2002	274	54%		303	N/A
2002-2003	406	55%		477	N/A
2003-2004	429	67%		486	N/A
2004-2005	428	66%		485	N/A
2005-2006	374	57%		410	64%
2006-2007	396	69%		427	60%
2007-2008	381	66%		419	64%
2008-2009	374	72%		422	66%
Willow					
1999-2000	253	67%		280	N/A
2000-2001	236	76%		275	N/A
2001-2002	245	84%		276	N/A
2002-2003	278	78%		309	N/A
2003-2004	281	77%		308	N/A
2004-2005	274	77%		317	N/A
2005-2006	286	75%		317	72%
2006-2007	401*	68%*		424	60%
2007-2008	444*	66%*		437	61%
2008-2009	426*	71%*		395	70%

*Willow added grades 6-8 in 2006. There was no way to exclude these grades from the aggregate data. These grades were excluded in the student level data.

APPENDIX K

PRINCIPALS' TIMELINE (1995-2010)

Cypress and Willow Principals (1995-2010) and Two-Way Immersion Start Dates



[a] Both Ms. J and Mr. Hilyard were principals at Cypress and Willow, respectively, for several years prior to 1995.
[b] Although Ms. Masters was the principal of record at the beginning of 2005, she was on leave when the school year started. An interim principal assumed this position when the academic year began. He was replaced after about one month by another interim principal when it became clear that Ms. Masters was not going to return. Ms. Masters' permanent replacement, Mr. Garcia became principal at Willow in the fall of 2006.

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