

THE JOURNEY OF LATINA ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

FROM ELEMENTARY TO MIDDLE SCHOOL

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DEDICATION

To my husband, Rod, and my daughter, Kate,
for their patience, support, and love

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ABSTRACT

THE JOURNEY OF LATINA ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS FROM ELEMENTARY TO MIDDLE SCHOOL

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This study analyzed the discourse of 7 Latina English Language Learners as they transitioned from elementary to middle school. Specifically, the research focused on the girls as they moved from a small, self-contained English as a Second Language classroom in an elementary school to a large middle school with multiple classes and teachers and reduced language support.

The fieldwork for this study included meeting with the 7 study participants in focus group meetings and one-on-one interviews in the spring of their sixth-grade year as they prepared to leave elementary school and, then, in the fall and spring of their seventh grade at their new middle school. Primary data included fieldnotes from classroom observations, transcripts from audiotapes of meetings and interviews, and documents and artifacts collected during the study. All of the fieldnotes and transcripts were coded and analyzed. From the analysis of this discourse, two themes emerged which provided a framework for understanding the transition from elementary to middle school.

The first theme was about the relationships between the girls and teachers or other significant adults. Their discourse revealed that they established a strong and positive relationship with their sixth-grade teacher that was based on connections that they made through caring words and acts, through sharing humor and stories about one's past, through successfully negotiating issues that enhanced trust and confidence, through a sensitivity to cultural and language issues, and through sharing time in after-school activities. They did not develop this kind of relationship with teachers or other significant adults after they moved to middle school.

The second theme was about their meta-awareness of the teaching and learning process. Their discourse revealed that they were keen observers of classroom teaching strategies and their teachers' classroom behaviors, both of which they found to be particularly problematic in seventh grade. Their discourse revealed an acute awareness of the state accountability exams in sixth grade matched in intensity by their focus and concern with grades in seventh grade. Finally, their active reflection on themselves as learners provided a picture of girls trying to successfully make their way through a complex and sometimes perilous transition.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Students moving from elementary to middle school face a major life transition. Many of them are leaving a place where they have studied for 6 or 7 years with six or seven primary teachers and are going to an unfamiliar place with new rules, new teachers, new administrators, and new peers. If these students are female, then they face these changes at a time when many girls are undergoing a sharp decline in self-esteem (AAUW, 1992). If these students are also Latina and English Language Learners, then they may face the additional challenge of leaving their sheltered language-friendly elementary environment and going into mainstream middle-school classrooms with native English-speaking peers.

These factors and others make this transition complex and multilayered. Because of this complexity, there are multiple ways of examining this event, the most common being from the teacher's perspective (Hinchman & Moje, 1998). However, the practice of valuing the teacher's perspective at the expense of the students' views leaves researchers and practitioners with large gaps in our knowledge base (Alvermann, 1998). An alternative perspective that holds valuable insight into this transition, is that of the students as evidenced through their discourse. Focusing on students' discourse provides

the opportunity for the students to represent themselves and in fact become the center of the research instead of a side bar or postscript (Hinchman, 1998).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to analyze the discourse of English Language Learners as they move from a small self-contained ESL (English as a Second Language) classroom in an elementary school to a large middle school with multiple classes and teachers and reduced language support.

Research Question

This study focused on the study participants' view of their school experiences as evidenced through their discourse. The question to be answered was:

1. What are the major themes that emerge from an analysis of the study participants' discourse about their school experience as they transition from sixth grade in elementary school to seventh grade in middle school and how is the discourse similar or different?

Rationale for the Study

While White and Black students are dropping out of school at a diminishing rate, the dropout rate for Hispanic students has remained steady. Hispanics are the fastest

growing sector of the population and have the highest dropout rate. In 1994, the number of Hispanics, age 16 to 24, who had not completed high school and were not enrolled in school, was 30%, compared to 8% for White students and 13% for Black students. The differences in the completion rates between Hispanic and non-Hispanic students remain constant even after controlling for: (a) social class backgrounds, (b) language proficiency, and (c) immigrant status (Lockwood & Secada, 1999). These data led the Hispanic Dropout Project (1998) researchers to conclude “Regardless of your position in society, if you are an Hispanic student, you are more likely to drop out of school and not earn a diploma than if you are a non-Hispanic American in a similar position” (p. 6). While the Hispanic Dropout Project reported similar dropout rates for Hispanic males and females, other studies have noted that the stereotype of the female dropout is one of the pregnant girl. However that is not the case—a majority of girls who drop out are not pregnant (Earle & Roach, 1989).

Many studies have looked at the characteristics of students who leave school and made a correlation between student personal characteristics and dropping out (Cairns, Cairns, & Neckerman, 1989; Eckstrom, Goertz, Pollack, & Rack, 1989; Speece & Cooper, 1990). Unfortunately, these personal characteristics are often presented in terms of “disabling conditions” (Mehan, 1997, p.5). This study sought to avoid a “blame the victim” perspective and look at antecedent conditions through the discourse of the study participants. In doing so, the study analyzed students’ discourse in order to explore how

students view their world of school and the meaning that schooling has for these students. Focusing on the dynamics of school life through the study of participants' discourse will cast light on the contextual conditions that surround individual students—conditions that may lead to disengagement and dropping out.

Definitions

The following definitions will be used in this study:

Academic Language. Language used in the learning of academic subject matter, including content-specific vocabulary as well as the language used as tools for learning academic content, such as language associated with learning techniques and strategies.

Discourse. Ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are accepted by others like ourselves and recognized by others as being like them (Gee, 1996). Primary Discourse. Discourse that is acquired from birth. Primary discourse constitutes our first social identity--who we are (Gee, 1996). Secondary Discourse. Discourse that is learned through socialization in settings outside of the home (Gee, 1996).

English Language Learner. An individual from a home where a language other than English was first learned and was the primary language of the household. It is often used as an identifying term in this study.

English as a Second Language (ESL). Relating to instruction designed for students learning English as an additional language.

Hispanic. A widely used identifying term found in popular speech, the media, and many research studies. Refers to all speakers of Latin-based languages from the Americas. It is used in this study when speakers or researchers used it as an identifying term.

Identifying Terms. Words or phrases used to identify a person's or a group's racial, ethnic, cultural, or social background. Whichever terms speakers or other researchers used, are the terms used here, when reporting their words or their research results.

Latina. In this study, an identifying term for the study participants. This was the term that the majority of them chose for this study. Most of the girls trace their family history from the United States back to Mexico and then back to countries all over the world including Japan, and countries in Europe, Africa, and Central, South, and North America.

Limited English Proficient (LEP). A label, originating in federal rules and regulations, used to identify students whose home language is a language other English and who are not proficient in English as measured by their performance on standardized achievement tests.

Meta-awareness. The study participants' consciousness and understanding of the teaching and learning processes and environment.

Sheltered Classes. Classes usually found in secondary schools that have been established as transitional classes for English Language Learners as they move from ESL classes into mainstream classes. The classes are intended to provide grade-level content for the English Language Learners in a more language-friendly environment than a traditional mainstream class and thus provide a more "sheltered" environment for the students. This is done by using teaching strategies that provide extensive contextual support through modeling, hand-on experiences, rich visual support, and relating the instruction to the students' experiences.

Limitations

This study was bound by these issues:

1. The fieldwork extended over nineteen months. Facets of the impact of the transition from elementary to middle school may not be visible until later in the study participants' school experience.

2. A central aspect of the research methodology is transcribing the study participants' discourse. Transcription "re"-presents the event and thus is in itself an interpretive act (Green, Franquiz, & Dixon, 1997).

3. This study is limited in its representedness because only 7 students were studied. Thus, generalizations to the larger population could only be done in light of other studies.

4. The study also was bound by the complex issues of identity and situatedness of the researcher. As the researcher, I do not share the same native language, ethnicity, culture, or age group as the study participants and thus, as an outsider, was vulnerable to misinterpreting. However, as the researcher, I did bring extensive experience and understandings of working with English Language Learners, which often aided my literal comprehension of the participants' speech and as well as my understandings of the meaning of their discourse.

Assumptions

The following assumption guided the research:

1. It is assumed that the body of data collected over nineteen months is a fair and accurate representation of the girls' views during their transition from elementary to middle school.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

My interest in how English Language Learners make the transition between the very different environments of elementary school and middle school was fueled by the belief that this transition may play a role in the high Hispanic dropout rate. I also was aware of the complicating factor that gender-based inequities in education may play in the dropout issue. Finally, it seemed that an important and credible way to examine these issues was to go directly to the students and listen to them discuss this transition as they experienced it.

Keeping these assertions in mind, this chapter will cover the following:

1. The research on dropping out, Hispanics, and girls,
2. The research about voice, and
3. The theoretical rationale and related research underlying this study, including social constructivism and facets of critical pedagogy.

Research on Focus Populations

Hispanics and Schooling

This idea of dropping out is a relatively new idea. It was only 50 years ago most American children did not finish high school. Recently we talked about high school completion, not dropping out. The high school completion rate has risen considerably from 25% of the total adult population in 1940 to 75% in 1986 (Rumberger, 1991). So, why is there such concern over the dropout issue now? Mehan (1997) suggests that one reason is Hispanics are disproportionately represented in the dropout population. Because of this, there is a growing concern that a large segment of the population could become isolated socially, economically, and politically if they do not at least graduate from high school.

In response to the growing concern about the number of students who are dropping out, especially students from diverse backgrounds, several studies have been undertaken to examine the issue. Two of the most important studies offer valuable national and statewide perspectives on this topic.

Lockwood and Secada (1999) report on the work of the Hispanic Dropout Project, a research project led by a group of researchers, policy analysts, and practitioners who were appointed by the U.S. Secretary of Education to study the issues surrounding the Hispanic dropout problem. For 2 years, this group held hearings, took public testimony

around the nation, and commissioned reports to synthesize current research on pertinent issues. They were well aware that there were two predominant beliefs in the general public about the causes of the problem: immigration and low socioeconomic status. Their findings showed the problem to be much more complex.

The demographic data presented a picture of a growing population of Hispanic youths dropping out. Taking U.S. Census Bureau data obtained from sampling 16-to-24 year olds (called a status dropout rate), the Hispanic Dropout Project (1998) writers reported that 30% of all school-age Hispanic youth have dropped out or never enrolled in school. This represented a rate that was 2.5 times the rate for Blacks, and 3.5 times the rate for White non-Hispanics. This mirrored data reported by the National Center for Educational Statistics (1997) that in 1995 Hispanic youth accounted for one out of seven young adults in the U.S. but accounted for one out of every three dropouts. The data on the timing of dropping out are revealing. “Over half of Hispanic dropouts leave school before finishing ninth grade and over a third of Hispanic dropouts have the equivalent of a middle school education” (Lockwood & Secada, 1999, p. 24).

The data that were most startling were that the gaps between Hispanic and non-Hispanic students for school completion remained the same regardless of social class, language proficiency, or immigration status. This meant that, regardless of your place in society, the simple fact of being Hispanic put you at a higher risk of dropping out (Hispanic Dropout Project, 1998).

The Hispanic Dropout Project set out to document the factors that lead to dropping out by Hispanic youth. The researchers found that

A web of interlocking factors synergize to make dropping out of school much more likely for Hispanic students. These factors include how schools and society respond to students' racial and ethnic identity, gender, socioeconomic status, academic performance, self-concept, family organizations, and language fluency. (Lockwood & Secada, 1999, p. 23)

But these factors alone do not fully explain the dropout problem.

Mehan (1997) instead indicts the sorting practices of school districts—sorting the students into ability groups and tracks where students receive differential and inequitable treatment based upon their placement. This is exacerbated by the inequitable distribution of resources within and among school districts. Further, Mehan concluded from his review of research that looked at the day-to-day lives of students, that the students were in fact very adept at assessing their chances of success within the current system:

Students' unwillingness to participate comes from their assessment of the costs and benefits of playing the game. It is not that schooling will not propel them up the ladder of success; it is that the chances are too slim to warrant the attempt. (p. 14)

Lockwood and Secada (1999) assert that “Dropping out is not a random, casual act...dropping out of school is the logical outcome of the social forces that limit Hispanics' role in society” (p. 2). In their estimation, the most important recommendation from the Project, was

Hispanic students deserve to be treated as if they matter. ... Hispanic students need to be greeted every day of their schooling experience with

high expectations that they will succeed. They need to be sustained by a personal connection with the adults in their schools that proves to them that school staff are committed to maximizing their academic achievement and their psychosocial well-being. ... Schools and staff must connect themselves—both institutionally and personally—to Hispanic students and their families, provide Hispanic students with a high quality education based on rigorous standards. ... [They] need to see Hispanic students as central to the future well-being of the United States rather than as foreign and unwelcome. (p. 3)

The Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA) annually reports data on the attrition rates for high school students in Texas. Their conclusions, based on state dropout data for Texas, are grimmer—42% of the students enrolled in ninth grade in the 1995-1996 school year, failed to reach or complete twelfth grade by the 1998-1999 school year. This included 48% of African-Americans and 53% of Hispanics as compared to 31% of White students. And the rate of dropping-out is increasing-- statewide attrition increased from 33% in the 1985-1986 school year to 42% in the 1998-1999 school year (Johnson, 1999). IDRA estimates that from 1986 to 1998 the state lost \$319 billion in “foregone income, lost tax revenues, and increased criminal justice, welfare, unemployment and job training costs” (Supik & Johnson, 1999, p. 6).

Girls and Schooling

Research on girls in school does not have a long history. In the 1960s Betty Frieden aptly called sexism “a problem with no name.” In 1974, Myra Sadker discovered that it had a misunderstood name. A year after she had published her first book, Sexism in School and Society (Frasier & Sadker, 1973), the publisher reported that many copies

had been returned. It seems that a number of purchases had been made by pornography stores thinking they were getting something else. When they realized it was an academic book on inequity in education, they sent it back. Undaunted, Myra and David Sadker pushed ahead with their research on girls in school and published reports and books that brought inequitable treatment of girls into our consciousness. Their research (Sadker & Sadker, 1994) documented the results of inequity in education: In the early grades girls are ahead of or equal to boys on almost every standardized measure of achievement and psychological well being. By the time they graduate from high school or college, they have fallen back. Girls enter school ahead but leave behind:

From elementary school through higher education, female students receive less active instruction, both in the quantity and in the quality of teacher time and attention.

As girls go through school, their self-esteem plummets, and the danger of depression increases. (p. 13-14)

The Sadkers documented two worlds in classrooms—“one of boys in action, and the other of girls’ inaction” (1994, p. 42). They documented an educational system that silences girls covertly and repeatedly. This takes many forms: not calling on girls; reprimanding girls for the same behaviors that boys get away with; giving boys constructive feedback that challenges them to improve, giving girls help; talking to girls about their appearance in disproportionate time to the same kind of talk for boys; giving

girls less wait time to answer questions than boys; segregating children by sex and often relegating inferior space or equipment to the girl group.

They also documented the particular plight of adolescent girls. They posited that the transition from elementary to middle school “may be the most damaging period of a girl’s life” (Sadker & Sadker, 1994, p. 78). This was based on data collected for the American Association of University Women (AAUW) for their groundbreaking report, Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America (1991). The AAUW data showed that all girls suffer a drop in self-esteem between elementary school and high school. While 60% of girls said they were happy with themselves in elementary school, 37% were in middle school, and only 29% in high school. The self-esteem of Hispanic girls reporting “to be happy as I am” fell the most steeply, a drop of 38% between elementary school, where 68% of the girls reported to be happy as they were and high school, where 30% reported to be happy. This compared with a 23% decline for White girls, and 7% decline for Black girls.

The Sadkers (1994) noted that the transition between elementary and middle school comes at the same time as puberty:

At the time of puberty, girls are experiencing many changes at once. They are caught in bodies that swell and expand in puzzling ways, and when they look ahead to options that are mysteriously shrinking, they must also deal with the shift from middle school. It is a larger more complicated place and, many critics charge, harshly out of touch with the needs of adolescence. In this more chaotic and alienating school, with new rules

and unchartered social norms, it is easier to become both physically and emotionally lost. (p. 79)

They attribute some of the change in self-esteem to a decline in self-confidence that has been slowly eroding due to the inequitable treatment experienced in classrooms and schools. This particularly impacted girls' performance in math and science (Cohen & Blanc, 1996).

In 1993, the AAUW published Hostile Hallways, a national study of middle and high school students, and concluded that sexual harassment was rampant in schools across America. While boys experienced unwanted sexual behavior, girls were far more likely to have been harassed repeatedly and at a younger age: 42% for African Americans, 40% for Hispanics, and 31% for White girls were reported by grade six or earlier.

While the Hispanic Dropout Project (1998) reported that Hispanic boys and Hispanic girls had proportionately the same percentage of dropouts, it is clear from the AAUW data that there are other indicators that point to the vulnerability of Hispanic girls. As Peggy Orenstein (1994) concludes:

Without the personal self-esteem of black girls or the academic opportunities enjoyed by many white girls, the consequences of silence and marginalization for Latinas are especially dire. In their teenage years, they have more negative body images, are at greater risk of attempting suicide and report higher levels of emotional stress—*anxiety, depression, nervousness, insecurity or exhaustion*—than any other group of children, male or female, of any race or ethnicity. (Minnesota Women's Fund,

1990). ... In school, Latinas' flagging self-image is not only ignored, it is reinforced. (p. 199)

Orenstein's description of the silencing and marginalization of Latina students, leads to the issue of voice, not only as a mechanism for expression, but also as a symbol of power.

Voice

In this section, I will overview the research on voice as a way to situate aspects of the study design. Specifically, this research was designed to use the study participants' discourse as the primary data source. As the research will show, students' voices are often ignored or not valued. Nieto recognizing the irony in this fact, noted, "Those who spend the most time in schools and classrooms are often given the least opportunity to talk" (1994, p. 420).

Individuals who have voice can chronicle their own experience because they alone have lived it (Delpit, 1988). In recognizing students' voices, we value their lived experiences and respect their insider's perspective and understanding. It is because of this authenticity, that I structured this research study around the participants' voices.

Revealingly, much of the research about this topic is not in fact about voice, but about silence and the lack of voice—especially as it applies to students from diverse backgrounds. Fine captured the problem in Silencing and Nurturing Voice in an Improbable Context: Urban Adolescents in Public School (1989). In this study, she

analyzed the various mechanisms that schools use to silence their students, especially low-income minority students. She demonstrated how curriculum, pedagogy, and school regulations effectively shut down and disconnected the voices, histories, and experiences of subordinated groups. Her first revelation was about “not naming.” This exchange was recorded in her fieldnotes:

- Mr. Stein: Sure you can do your research on dropouts at this school.
With one provision. You cannot mention the words
dropping out to the students.
- Fine: Why not?
- Mr. Stein: If you say it, you encourage them to do it. (p. 156)

She came to believe that, at this high school, not naming was “an administrative craft” and that administrative silencing was a “redundancy” (p. 157). Likewise, the classrooms valued silence and control as evidenced by this exchange noted in her fieldnotes:

- Fine: Eartha, when you were a kid, did you participate a lot in
school?
- Eartha: Not me, I was a good kid. Made no trouble. (p. 160)

Losey, in her research, Listen to the Silences: Mexican American Interaction in the Composition Classroom and the Community (1997), studied the varying social contexts and participants’ perspectives about their classrooms. In particular, she explored patterns of interaction in the classroom and their variations in content and structure across ethnic, gender, and linguistic groups for five Mexican American adult students taking a composition class at a community college. She found that the students did try to interact in their classroom but were silenced by the participant structure of the interactions,

characterized as rolling and fast paced with many interruptions by the teacher and other students, and by the content of the interactions. She did not find their silence to be indicative of resistance (Giroux, 1983) to education, because they in fact embraced education as a way to respond to their oppression. They were not passive victims, but they could not break through the sanctioned participant structures operating in the classrooms.

Díaz-Greenberg (1997) in working with 18 Latino high school students explored what voice meant, how their voices had been silenced in their schools, and what happens when voices emerge. As they worked through a definition of voice, 1 student said, “to take away someone’s voice is to take away their identity, and that’s really sad” (p. 19). Students believed that their voices had been silenced because teachers and administrators were afraid of what might happen if students were allowed to voice their issues. Many students believed that their teachers thought they would lose power and control if the students were allowed a voice in their classrooms. Through their discussions, the students also started connecting knowledge with power, even though the school only seemed to equate knowledge with high grades.

The extraordinary study, Voices From the Inside (Poplin & Weeres, 1992), documented the results of an 18-month study conducted at four schools in California. The researchers believed that what had been identified as the problems in education in many national reports were, in fact, consequences of much deeper and more

fundamental problems. Hence, the research team sought to have the students, teachers, administrators, staff, and parents “name their experiences inside schools” in hopes of identifying the real problems in education (p. 11). Seven major issues emerged from the voices of the people inside education: relationships; race, culture, class; values; teaching and learning; safety; the physical environment; despair, hope and the process of change. In addition to naming significant issues, the researchers and participants, working within Friere’s (1970) problem posing framework, focused on how to move beyond naming and into transforming the realities that they had identified at their schools.

What these studies and stories reveal about voice is that depending on our place in the social order and the context of the moment, our voices are given ample time to be heard and often affirmed, or are ignored and sometimes silenced (Frederickson, 1997). When voices are silenced, then social interaction and social construction of knowledge are affected.

Social Constructivism

In the previous sections, I reviewed data on the focus populations of this study—Hispanics and girls. I also discussed the rationale for using the study participants’ own discourse as the primary data for the study—students’ voices offer valuable insight into school practices but are often overlooked or ignored in educational practice and research.

In the following section, I will provide an overview of three areas of theory and research that informed this study and are important to the interpretation of the study results discussed in Chapters V and VI. The first area of theory and research will be a review of three Vygotskian concepts; the second will discuss some aspects of theory and research about discourse; and the third area will review one model for building effective pedagogy in the classroom.

Within the framework of social constructivism, knowledge is viewed as being constructed by the mind through social interactions with others and is heavily dependent on culture, context, custom, and history (McLaren, 1989). Within the constructivist perspective, the work of Vygotsky (1978) has been very influential. Vygotsky's body of theory and research is far-reaching. However, for the purposes of this paper, three primary concepts will be overviewed (Au, 1998). These concepts are important to this research study because they provide a framework for examining pedagogical issues that are raised in the study participants' discourse, particularly their discourse about teaching strategies and teachers' behaviors, topics that will be discussed in Chapter V.

Vygotsky (1978) believed that the internalization of higher mental functions takes place, "first on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first *between* people (*interpsychological*), and then *inside* the child (*intrapsychological*)" [italics in original] (p. 57). He also believed that learning and development are interrelated from the first day of a child's life, not on separate tracks as other theorists had suggested. Given that, he set

out a theory to explain what the essential nature of school learning should be. He called his concept the zone of proximal development:

It is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers. [italics in original] (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86)

Social constructivist research on language, literacy, or any type of learning focuses attention on the role of the teachers, peers, and community members who can mediate this learning act for the child, as well as, the underlying systems of schooling and education that create the environment for such socially mediated acts.

Likewise, Vygotsky believed that higher mental functions are mediated by tools and signs (1978). Tools are oriented outward, toward the transformation of the physical and social reality. Signs are oriented inward toward self-regulation of conduct (Blanck, 1990). He believed that a window into understanding human activity is through understanding the tools and signs, which are products of their sociocultural context. Vygotsky asserted that signs do not simply facilitate learning but also shape and define it in essential ways (Wertsch, 1990). And he posited that it was not simply social interaction, but language-based social interaction that shaped the mind (Vygotsky, 1978).

Since language is among the foremost tools available to humans, researchers in social constructivism have focused on its impact on learning. Understanding that

language is situated culturally, socially, and historically has led researchers to question the impact of differently situated language on learning.

Vygotsky recognized that school is a qualitatively different experience from informal learning. He noted that at school the child's task is to take the informal or spontaneous concepts and organize them into scientific concepts. It seems that this idea has strong connections to other theories that seek to organize and differentiate the kind of discourses that children must conquer as they make their way from their home to the formal school setting. Gee's (1996) work on primary and secondary discourse and Cummins' (1986) notions about social and academic language echo related concepts.

Multiple Discourses, Multiple Literacies

Theory and research on discourse is an important facet of this study not only because the students' discourse is the primary form of data but also because their journey into middle school necessitated that they learn new discourses appropriate for the middle school setting. Consequently, an understanding of the nature of discourse, an awareness of the cultural differences in discourses, and some thought about how to mediate these differences and make discourse a tool of empowerment for students is necessary for understanding the results outlined in Chapters V and VI.

Language can be both the conveyer of ideas of mainstream society and also the tool for the distribution of competing and opposing ideas (Giroux & McLaren, 1989). As such, there is a need to analyze discourse and voice as resources and practice that privilege specific ways of looking at the world (Giroux & McLaren) or that give form to alternative views of the world. Gee (1987, 1988a, 1996) takes this thought further by asserting that there are multiple discourses, reflecting different groups' ways of thinking and viewing the world. He defines discourses as:

always being more than just language. Discourses are ways of being in the world, or forms of life, which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes. A Discourse [Gee uses it with an upper case D] is a sort of identity kit which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write, so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognize. (Gee, 1996, p. 127)

The same is true for literacy. Traditionally literacy has been defined as the ability to “read and write” and hence has been situated in the person. Gee (1988b, 1996) and others (Erickson, 1984; Heath, 1982, 1983; Scribner & Cole, 1981; Vogt, Jordan & Tharp, 1987) situate literacy in the society and culture surrounding the person.

Different Ways with Words

Some sociocultural views of language and literacy suggest that there is a cultural and social difference between the language and literacy of home and the language and literacy of school. Wells (1986) guided a longitudinal study of the language development of British children, from their first words to the end of their elementary education and

found that the discrepancies in cultural background between the children and their teachers was a key predictor of school success.

Where the conversational participants come from different cultural backgrounds ... the possibility of misunderstanding is both substantial and ever-present ... and unless they take necessary steps, the meanings that they construct on the basis of their differing mental models and linguistic resources are likely to become increasingly divergent. (Wells, 1986, pp. 217-218)

Heath (1983) and Philips (1983) each looked at cultural discontinuities between home and school. Heath studied three communities in the Piedmonts and Philips studied American Indians. Both found incongruities between school cultures and the students' home cultures and concluded that these cultural and communicative differences resulted in problems for the students. Heath gave us one of the fullest views of this issue in her groundbreaking work Ways with Words (1983). Comparing three Appalachian communities, she identified in great detail the differences among the groups in their literacy socializing practices. Each group exhibited distinctive and deeply embedded forms of discourse and literacy. For instance, Heath examined how display questions were seldom used in one lower-class Black neighborhood. At home, these children were not expected to be good conversational partners or to contribute much to conversations until they were older. However, when they got to school they were expected to display their knowledge by responding to questions to which the teacher already knew the answer. Such questions confused the children.

A key assumption in these studies and others (Au, 1980; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Michaels & Cazden, 1986; Piestrup, 1973), is that there are systematic, identifiable differences in the social and cultural values and practices between home and school and that these differences are related to the student's chances of success in school. The literacies and discourses of school are a reflection of the dominant, mainstream society (Darder, 1991; Giroux & McLaren, 1989). Students from diverse backgrounds, then, may not be successful in school because of a divergence between the culture and values of home and the culture and values of school (Au, 1981, Heath, 1983; Phillips, 1983) as evidenced in their discourses.

Recognizing that discourses are culturally, socially, and historically situated, Gee (1996) identified two broad sorts of discourses: primary discourse and secondary discourse.

Primary Discourses constitute our first social identity. ...They form our initial taken for granted understandings of *who* we are and *who* people 'like us' are, as well as what sort of things we do, value, and believe. ... Secondary Discourses are those to which people are apprenticed as part of their socializations within various local, state, and national groups and institutions outside early home and peer-groups. (p. 137)

Others have identified and classified discourses in other ways. Some of these ways of looking at discourse have come from the study of language acquisition for non-native speakers. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukamaa (1976) distinguished between surface fluency and academic fluency of Finnish immigrant children in Sweden. Building on that,

Cummins (1989) identified the distinction between conversational language and academic language. Conversational language is that language of the playground or the hall that is marked by the talk of day-to-day activities that enable children to be sociable and usually relies on a great deal of face-to-face interaction accompanied by context clues. Academic language is the language of school and the classroom that is usually not accompanied by contextual or interpersonal clues and is highly reliant on literacy and cognitive skills.

However discourse is distinguished and classified, there is a need to bridge between the types of discourses. That leads squarely to the role of school and instruction.

Discourses and Schooling

Gee (1988b, 1992, 1996) believes that students have to be socialized into secondary discourses, and in order to do that, they also have to acquire mainstream society's ways of talking, interacting, thinking, and valuing. Schools, then, are responsible for socializing each of us into the literacies and discourses of the public world. Schools have to mediate (Vygotsky, 1978) between the discourses and literacies of our home (primary discourses) and the discourses and literacies of our public world (secondary discourse).

Gee (1996) makes the distinction between learning a discourse and acquiring a discourse. This is based on Krashen's (1985) ideas about language learning and language acquisition. Language or discourse acquisition happens outside of formal education, in

natural settings, with great exposure to the meaningful and functional models in use around you. Language and discourse learning, on the other hand, involves knowledge gained by teaching including explanations, analysis, and reflection. Gee posits that secondary discourses cannot be mastered without acquisition, which is usually accomplished through apprenticeship.

Delpit (1988) also advocates for teachers “of other people’s children” to teach the codes of power discourse and literacy. She reminds us that those students whose dialect is furthest removed from the mainstream discourse of power may need more direct teaching. She also urges White teachers of Black children not only to teach the children the code but also to constantly strive to understand the culture and discourse of the child.

In addition to acquiring discourse, Gee (1996) and Delpit (1988) urge that it is essential that students study discourse as well. Similarly, Heath (1983) challenged students and teachers to conduct ethnographic inquiry in the community. She encouraged them to study the languages of the community vis-à-vis the role that the languages and speakers play in the community. Studying and analyzing discourse gives the learner analytic information about the roles that language plays in society. It makes them aware of the differences between their home language and the privileged discourse of the mainstream. It gives them information about the impact that language has on their lives, particularly as it relates to choices about involvement in the mainstream of society. It gives them knowledge about how to manipulate discourse to meet their needs. Finally, it

gives them experience with using the discourse of power, without abdicating the discourse of home. With all of that, students can make choices about accessing and using any of the discourses they know (Fecho, 1998).

However, there is more that can be done to assist learners whose backgrounds do not prepare them for the discourse of school. It has to do with using the power of language to mediate instruction in the Vygotskian tradition. The following section details one model for teaching and learning that can assist students in constructing knowledge with the help of a capable teacher.

Assisted Learning

Vygotsky's insights have profound implications for the shape of specific teaching acts in classrooms. Using the theory of the zone of proximal development has been particularly helpful to researchers trying to take theory into good practice.

In Vygotsky's zone theory (1978), the developmental level of a child is identified by what the child can do alone. What the child can do with the assistance of someone else is learning being done in the zone of proximal development. In Vygotskian terms, teaching is good only when it "awakens and rouses to life" (Tharp and Gallimore, 1991, p. 3) mental functions which are maturing and which lie in the zone of proximal development. Tharp and Gallimore (1988) have proposed a model of instruction called

assisted learning. Building upon the theory of the zone of proximal development, they assert that “teaching must be redefined as assisted performance” (1991 p. 3). They propose to assist performance through a particular kind of lesson called the instructional conversation. Research using this model of instructional conversations shows that this kind of classroom practice is particularly effective with English Language Learners and students from diverse backgrounds (Echevarria, J., 1996; Goldenberg, C., & Gallimore, R., 1991; Patthey-Chavez, G. & Clare, L., 1996; Tharp, R. & Yamauchi, L., 1994).

Goldenberg (1991) contrasted instructional conversation with direct instruction by noting that in instructional conversations the teacher facilitates, drawing on the students’ background knowledge, encouraging many different ideas from the students, building on their ideas, which prompts more student involvement and understanding. Direct instruction and instructional conversations proceed from very different assumptions about teaching and learning. Direct instruction assumes that the teacher has all of the knowledge that needs to be learned by the students; instructional conversations assume that students must help in constructing knowledge and that the role of the teacher is that of facilitator, not transmitter. In instructional conversations, the teacher plays a less directive role, but a quite deliberative role. The emphasis is less on delivery and more on guiding.

Instructional conversations might appear to be spontaneous, but in fact, they are not. They are deliberately guided toward an explicit learning goal. The process depends

upon the teacher being thoroughly acquainted with the knowledge base and the many ways that such concepts offer for idea development and the construction of meaning with students. Teachers must also be prepared for the ways that the students might suggest for exploring new ideas that arise in the course of the conversation. The elements of Instructional Conversations are divided into two categories—those of instruction and those of conversation. Instructionally, the elements are a thematic focus, activation and use of background knowledge and schemata, direct teaching, promotion of more complex language and expression, and the exploration of the reasons for students' statements or positions. The conversational elements of the process include few 'known-answer' questions; responsiveness to students' contributions; connected discourse; a challenging, but non-threatening atmosphere; and general participation, including self-selected turns.

This kind of instruction builds not only on Vygotsky's theory about the student's proximal zone but also on his idea that language is a primary vehicle for intellectual development. Language plays a primary role in the student's acquisition of new concepts. It goes beyond being an important vehicle for communication and becomes the principal means for the development of school-based concepts. Language, in this instructional context, helps shape the mind to new understandings. It is through using language as a tool, that students can build on their everyday concepts and develop what Vygotsky called scientific language, what Gee calls secondary discourse, and what Cummins calls academic language. It is this kind of instruction that might allow for an easier transition

for students as they moved between elementary and middle schools, because it could provide a forum for their voices to be heard and valued within an instructional setting. It could also provide a place to explicitly teach scientific concepts, secondary discourse, and academic language that are so important to the success of English Language Learners.

Summary

The theory and research that informs this study can be divided into three categories. The first category was the research and assertions about the focal groups and their experiences in school. Hispanics are dropping out of school at a rate far higher than their peers are. Roughly, 30% of all school age Hispanics have dropped out or never enrolled in school. The Hispanic Dropout Project (1998) reported that regardless of social class, language proficiency, or immigration status, Hispanics were far more likely to drop out. Building on Mehan's (1997) assertions that schools produce dropouts through their sorting and tracking systems, inequitable distribution of resources, and maltreatment of students from diverse backgrounds, Lockwood and Secada (1999) concluded that "Dropping out of school is the logical outcome of the social forces that limit Hispanics' role in society" (p. 2). IDRA's (Johnson, 1999) data for Texas show a worse condition—53% of Hispanics enrolled in ninth grade in the 1995-1996 school year have failed to

reach or complete twelfth grade by the 1998-1999 school year. Girls face many perils as well. Instruction in the classroom often favors boys (Sadker & Sadker, 1994); girls', especially Latina girls', self-esteem plummets as they reach their middle school years (AAUW, 1991; Orenstein, 1994); and they face repeated sexual harassment (AAUW, 1993).

The second category of research that informed this study concerned voice. This research was important to review because it is the study participants' own discourse that provides the foundation for this study. Much of the research reviewed showed an institutional silencing of students' voices in school either through explicitly "not naming" issues and problems (Fine, 1989) or through setting up participant structures that were impenetrable to the Mexican American students (Losey, 1997). Studies that sought out the students' voices on conditions in schools revealed the students' deep understanding and frustration with their school systems (Díaz-Greenberg, 1997; Poplin & Weeres, 1992).

The third category of theory and research that formed the foundation for much of this study concerned social constructivism and facets of critical pedagogy. These theories and research are important because they frame the analysis of the participants' discourse that will be discussed in Chapter V and VI. Three concepts from Vygotsky's work (1978) were especially helpful:

1. Learning occurs in a zone of proximal development, where a more knowledgeable other can assist a student to come to new understandings, new knowledge;
2. Language-based social interactions help develop mental processes; and
3. Learners gain everyday concepts through daily life, but scientific concepts are gained through formal instruction.

Building on this concept of differences in language, Gee's (1987, 1988a, 1996) theories about discourse cast more light on other ways to look at discourse. He asserts that there are two types of discourse—primary discourse, or the discourse of the home and community, and secondary discourse, the discourse of all other groups including discourses used at school and work. Recognizing that differences exist between discourse communities (Heath, 1983; Philips, 1983), researchers have explored ways to bridge the gap by teaching the students the discourse of mainstream society (Delpit, 1988, Gee, 1996) or by recasting instruction so that it not only teaches the language of school but also so that instruction builds on the students' discourses and uses the power of language to develop new knowledge and understanding (Goldenberg, 1991; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This research project began as a study of middle school teachers using exemplary classroom practices with English Language Learners who had recently transitioned from elementary ESL classrooms. As a result of observations and findings from the pilot study, the focus of the research was changed to study the transition that Latina girls make as they move from elementary to middle school.

Pilot Study

Middle School Site Selection

The first step in the initial pilot study was the selection of the middle school site. To identify potential sites, numerous administrators from several school districts were asked to recommend middle schools with good academic reputations. As administrators made recommendations, sites that were inconvenient or that did not have a sizable ESL population were eliminated. Then, the resulting list was evaluated according to the following criteria: (a) entry is possible, (b) there is a high probability that the people and issues of interest exist, (c) trusting relationships could be built, and (d) data quality and credibility are reasonably assured (Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

Of particular concern was the principal at the proposed sites. Because of the nature of middle school--students taking multiple classes, each with a different teacher--the principal would be an essential facilitator and gatekeeper. As Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, and Allen (1993) note, "Rapport, trust, congeniality, and other aspects of interpersonal relationships between researcher and respondents is an ongoing process that begins with the initial contact with the gatekeeper(s)" (p. 56). Thus, the relationship between the principal and the researcher, seemed to be critical in gaining access to study participants.

As the list of sites was being investigated, a fortuitous change occurred at one of the proposed sites. A colleague and friend was appointed principal at one of the chief sites under consideration—Goodson Middle School. (Neighborhood, school, teacher and participant names are all pseudonyms.) In a phone conversation shortly after his appointment, he invited me to do my research at his school. It became clear that with his appointment to that post, substantial access to that school site was assured, as was sensitivity about the nature of the study. Goodson Middle School was selected as the middle school site.

Observation and Interviews

Once Goodson Middle School was selected, the principal was requested to select a seventh grade team that had a good teaching reputation and had English Language Learners who had recently exited from their ESL program. He identified the team. At this

middle school, teachers worked in grade-level teams comprised of one teacher from each of the core academic areas. I introduced myself individually to the team members, briefed each of them on the research in general terms, and requested permission to observe in their classrooms. They agreed to the request, and I observed each of their classes once or twice over a 3-week period; attended a team-planning meeting; and interviewed one counselor, two ESL teachers, and the principal.

This initial foray into Goodson occurred between Thanksgiving and Christmas in the fall semester. Although this team was reported to be one of the better teams in the school, the members of the team showed little understanding about their students' language learning background. They did not know that a large proportion of their students were English Language Learners who were either still identified as Limited English Proficient and still in ESL support classes, or just exited from ESL and Limited English Proficient status at the end of the previous year. They did not know which of their students were English Language Learners; they did not use any special strategies to reach English Language Learners; and, other than the reading teacher, did not seem interested in considering such strategies.

If the purpose of the study was to observe and study middle school teachers using exemplary classroom practices with English Language Learners, then clearly I had chosen the wrong site or the principal had chosen the wrong teaching team. Instead of observing exemplary teaching, I found myself fixated on the faces of the students,

especially the English Language Learners, as I tried to read how they interpreted classroom life.

Changes as a Result of the Pilot Study

My observations led to a series of discussions with fellow researchers, my research committee chair and ESL teachers about my observations at Goodson. As I processed these findings, it became clear that the issue of how English Language Learners experienced these kinds of classrooms could be important. There was deep concern in the state and the nation about the growing Hispanic dropout rate. How did these middle school classroom experiences effect English Language Learners' desire to stay in school?

After these consultations, I decided to change the focus of the research from the teacher and teaching practices in middle school to the student who is making the transition into middle school. Specifically, it was decided to study students as they moved from an ESL self-contained class in elementary school to the middle school with multiple classes and teachers and reduced language support.

In light of this major change in focus, three modifications were made to the study:

1. The population was limited to Latina girls making the transition from a self-contained ESL elementary classroom to a middle school with multiple classes and teachers.

2. The participants' own discourse about this transition would become the focus of the research and the primary voice in the study.

3. The site of the middle school experience would remain the same but an elementary site (a feeder school) would be added to accommodate the change in focus.

Elementary School Site and Teacher Selection

Now that the study had changed, it was necessary to identify an elementary school that could serve as the site for my observations in elementary school.

The following criteria were identified for use in selecting the school:

1. The elementary school needed to be a feeder school for Goodson Middle School.

2. The school needed to have a sixth-grade self-contained ESL classroom with a large number of English Language Learners—many of whom would be in mainstream classrooms the following year in seventh grade.

3. The school needed to have a sixth-grade self-contained ESL classroom with a teacher who used language development strategies in the classroom and who provided strong language support to his/her students.

4. The school needed to have a willing teacher and principal.

The elementary school selection process began by talking to the middle school principal about the elementary schools that fed into his middle school. He recommended

that Williams Elementary be seriously considered for the study because it had a strong academic reputation and the principal would likely be open to having a researcher on campus. I called the principal at Williams who extended an invitation to visit two classrooms.

The first classroom visited at Williams was a multi-age classroom of third, fourth, and fifth graders. The teacher was a bilingual English-Spanish speaker and the majority of the class was conducted in Spanish. The classroom was bright, lively, and filled with students working in small groups after a whole-class mini-lesson. While the students worked in groups, the teacher and I talked and he relayed that the majority of these students would be primarily in beginning ESL classrooms all day next year in middle school. This was not the student population that the study was to follow.

The second classroom visited, Ms. Cowert's, was in fact filled with English Language Learners, many of whom were advanced and would be in a limited number of ESL classes and a good number of mainstream classes next year in middle school. These students fit the description of the proposed study participants. After observation, this self-contained ESL classroom at Williams Elementary became a strong possibility for the site.

But before a final decision was made, other elementary schools that fed into the middle school were investigated. An administrator or key instructional person was interviewed at each campus. Two district administrators were also interviewed for their knowledge about each possible site. A classroom at another school was seriously

considered because the teacher seemed to be open and interested in the study and his students seemed to fit the profile of intermediate and advanced ESL learners. But upon closer inspection, it became clear that this teacher did not consider himself to be an ESL teacher, nor did he use language development strategies in his teaching. Appendix A shows a sample of fieldnotes from the site-selection process.

After visiting the other feeder schools, and closely observing one other classroom, I decided that Ms. Cowert's room at Williams Elementary was the best site for the elementary school portion of the study. Visually, her classroom was filled with language—it was dripping with language in the form of posters, signs, notices and pictures. In our discussions, she clearly identified her role as an ESL teacher. In observing her teaching, language development strategies were in evidence. Finally, her student population was all English Language Learners, many of whom she expected to be in intermediate ESL and mainstream classrooms the following year in middle school. She was willing to having a researcher in her classroom, as was her principal. For all of these reasons, Ms. Cowert's room seemed to be an excellent choice.

Study Participant Selection

During the site-selection process, Ms. Cowert's classroom was visited twice. After the selection, the classroom was visited an additional five times over a 2-week period. I acted as an observer, an aide, and a participant during all of these visits in an

effort to become familiar to the students and to be able to identify likely participants for the study. The first visit consisted of Ms. Cowert working on the overhead, analyzing reading passages in preparation for the upcoming standardized tests. The second visit was during a language arts lesson where the students were working in small groups on syllable poetry. The third visit was during a visit by the elementary school counselor telling the students what it would be like at Goodson Middle School next year. The fourth visit was during one of Ms. Cowert's rare absences; there was a substitute teacher who did not have the same control over the students that Ms. Cowert did—hence there was a lot more chattering going on, much of it directed to me. The fifth visit was actually three visits on one day. During the morning, a language arts class was visited where the students were working in small groups on cinquains. I joined two small groups and participated in writing poetry with them. Then during lunch, I sat with two tables of girls and talked with them about the research at Williams Elementary. Then after school on that same day, I attended a Y-Teens meeting at Williams. Most of the girls in Ms. Cowert's room attend Y-Teens; Ms. Cowert and her team teacher, Ms. Presley, are the sponsors. That day, the girls seemed to accept my genuine interest in them. The sixth visit was an early day visit to see how the students arrived at school and settled into their classroom. The last visit included my formal explanation of my presence to the whole class.

As these site visits were taking place, a decision emerged on how to form the study participant group. In an effort to make sure that a sufficient number of girls would participate in the focus groups discussions, I decided to invite all 10 of the girls in the class (all of whom were Latina) to participate in the study. It did not seem likely that all of the girls would or could participate, and it was unclear how many might go to another middle school. Given these facts, all of the girls were invited to participate ensuring that a reasonable size group of study participants would be available by the time the research moved to middle school. Of the ten, 7 responded to the invitation and received permission from their parent or guardian to participate. Appendix B is a copy of the parental consent letters. A brief sketch of each participant is provided in Chapter IV.

Main Study

As a result of the middle-school pilot study, the purpose of the initial study changed. The purpose of the study was to analyze the discourse of Latina English Language Learners as they move from a small self-contained ESL classroom in elementary school to a large middle school with multiple classes and teachers and reduced language support.

Research Question

The research question also was recast to reflect the changes that were precipitated by the pilot study findings. The research question is:

1. What are the major themes that emerge from an analysis of the study participants' discourse about their school experience as they transition from sixth grade in elementary school to seventh grade in middle school, and how is the discourse similar or different?

Research Design

The main study that emerged from the pilot study was a qualitative study in design. This naturalistic approach to research was chosen because it allowed the study of the broad context of the participants' school lives as well as the study of their discourse about their school lives (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Data Sources and Collection

The data for this study came from multiple sources. The first source of data was fieldnotes taken in the classroom, schools, and neighborhood. The second source of data came from the audiotapes of multiple focus group meetings with the 7 study participants conducted over a 1-year period. The third source of data came from the audiotapes and fieldnotes of two in-depth interviews with each study participant and interviews with other informants. The fourth set of data came from artifacts and documents collected during the course of the study.

Table 1 presents a chronology of the study in the form of a timeline. It shows the pacing of the study over the 19 months of fieldwork and the subsequent analysis and writing.

Table 1

Timeline for Dissertation Study

1997	
November--December	<u>Pilot--middle school</u> Interview administrators and teachers (field notes) Observe in classrooms (field notes)
1998	
January-May	Engage in peer debriefings
January	Reconsider research focus
February	<u>Main study--elementary</u> Select elementary site (field notes)
March	Select study participants (field notes)
April -May	Hold eight focus group meetings (audiotapes/transcripts) Conduct eight individual interviews (audiotapes/transcripts)
June-August	Transcribe audiotapes of meetings and interviews Copy data into Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software Begin data coding and analysis of transcripts Continue peer debriefings
August-November	<u>Main study--middle school</u> Observe in classrooms (field notes) Hold seven focus group meetings (audiotapes/transcripts) Continue transcription, coding and analysis Continue peer debriefings
1999	
January-August	Continue transcription, coding and analysis Continue peer debriefings
March	Hold last focus group meeting (audiotapes/transcripts) Conduct intercoder reliability check
May	Conduct seven individual interviews (field notes) End of field work Complete Transcriptions
September-December	Complete coding and initial analysis of coded data Continue peer debriefings Begin drafting dissertation chapters

Fieldnotes from observations and informal conversations. Fieldnotes are the “written account of what the researcher hears, sees, experiences, and thinks” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 107) in the course of the study. Fieldnotes were taken during or after phone or personal conversations about possible school sites, at each school visited during the site-selection process, during classroom visits in Ms. Cowert’s class and classroom visits to several middle-school classes, and after neighborhood exploratory visits. In general, fieldnotes were taken at the time of the conversation or visit except when it would be distracting or inappropriate. At those times, the fieldnotes were often audiotaped on the drive away from the site. Later the notes were entered into the computer.

Fieldnotes were taken to document the site-selection process, as well as the classroom, school, and neighborhood visits that were made. The fieldnotes are the most complete record of the visual details of the classrooms, schools, and neighborhood studied as well the primary record for the actual classes observed. Table 2 provides a record of the fieldnotes taken during the course of the pilot study and the main study at the two focus school sites. (Details from the pilot study fieldnotes have been used in the main study and hence are included in the table.)

Focus group meetings. Focus groups are “an informal discussion among selected individuals about specific topics relevant to the situation at hand” (Beck, Trombetta, & Share, 1986, p. 73). Focus groups are distinguished from other kinds of meetings and

Table 2

Schedule of Field Notes Collected during the Pilot Study and the Main Study at the Two Sites

Date of fieldnotes	Conversation or class observed
Pilot Study--Fall Semester 1997—Goodson Middle School	
1	11/11/97 Conversation with ESL coordinator
2	11/18/97 Sheltered Language Arts
3	11/21/97 Reading Social Studies
4	11/25/00 Language Arts Science
5	12/3/97 Conversation with counselor Reading
6	12/5/97 Social Studies
7	12/8/97 Conversation with ESL 3 teacher
Main Study--Spring Semester 1998—Williams Elementary School	
8	2/25/98 Reading
9	3/24/98 Language arts
10	3/25/98 Counselor presentation
11	3/30/98 Social Studies
12	4/1/98 Language Arts Lunch Y-Teens
13	4/3/98 Conversation with Ms. Cowert
14	4/8/98 Research explanation
15	4/20/98 Language Arts
16	4/24/98 Conversation with Ms. CowertCowert
17	5/4/98 Reading
18	5/11/98 Reading
Main Study--Fall Semester 1998-- Goodson Middle School	
19	08/10/98 Conversations with teachers
20	08/11/98 Social Studies--Mainstream Social Studies--Sheltered Social Studies--Special Education
21	08/12/00 ESL 2
22	08/17/98 Social-Studies--Mainstream Social Studies--Sheltered
23	08/18/00 Social Studies--Special Education Social Studies--Mainstream ESL 2
24	09/03/98 Conversations with teachers

interviews by their open atmosphere that promotes a range of discussion, including contradictory opinions by various group members. Vaughn, Schum, and Sinagub (1996) note that the purpose of focus group meetings is “to create a candid, normal conversation that addresses, in depth, the selected topic” (p. 4).

Focus group meetings were chosen as the primary source for data for several reasons:

1. They provided an enjoyable social setting that would more likely appeal to twelve and thirteen year old girls and hence could increase initial participation as well as sustain participation through the course of the project.

2. They provided a safer setting than one-on-one meetings and hence were more likely to be approved by the parents.

3. They provided a forum for dynamic, interactive discussion that could be richer, and more revealing than a one-on-one interview.

4. Because of the relaxed group setting, the quieter group participants might be more likely to share their ideas, and all of the participants might be more candid in their views (Vaughn, Schumm, & Sinagub, 1996).

The purpose of these group meetings was to talk about and explore their perceptions about school, their teachers, their classes, their peers, and themselves. During the first four after-school meetings with the study participants, I focused the meetings on specific questions. After consultation with a committee member, other ways to approach

the meetings were discussed. These included using literature as a focal point for discussion or not having a focal point but just asking what was going on and listening. The discussions at the meetings continued to evolve and grow possibly due to the suggested change or possibly due to the participants' increasing familiarity with the project. Most of the focus group meetings began as a freewheeling discussion of the day's, week's, or month's events with stories and opinions being offered by all of the participants. Then, as we discussed and shared thoughts and opinions, a topic would emerge that took center stage and commanded most of the attention. My role in these discussions was to clarify what was being said, probe comments, facilitate the discussion when it got bogged down, or identify a topic for discussion. The meetings and consequent transcripts provide a rich and detailed source of data.

In the spring semester at Williams Elementary, focus group meetings began once parental permission forms were received. I met with the girls eight times over 6 weeks in the spring semester of their seventh-grade year. All of the meetings were after school in various locations in the school—wherever it was quiet, private, and permissible. In general, the meetings lasted one hour. When the girls were invited to participate in the study, their participation was framed as co-researchers. We discussed the fact that I wanted to know what they were thinking as they went through this transition process. To help them collect their thoughts and to further their sense of being a researcher, I brought each of them a set of research tools: a notebook, pencil, sketchpad, colored pencils,

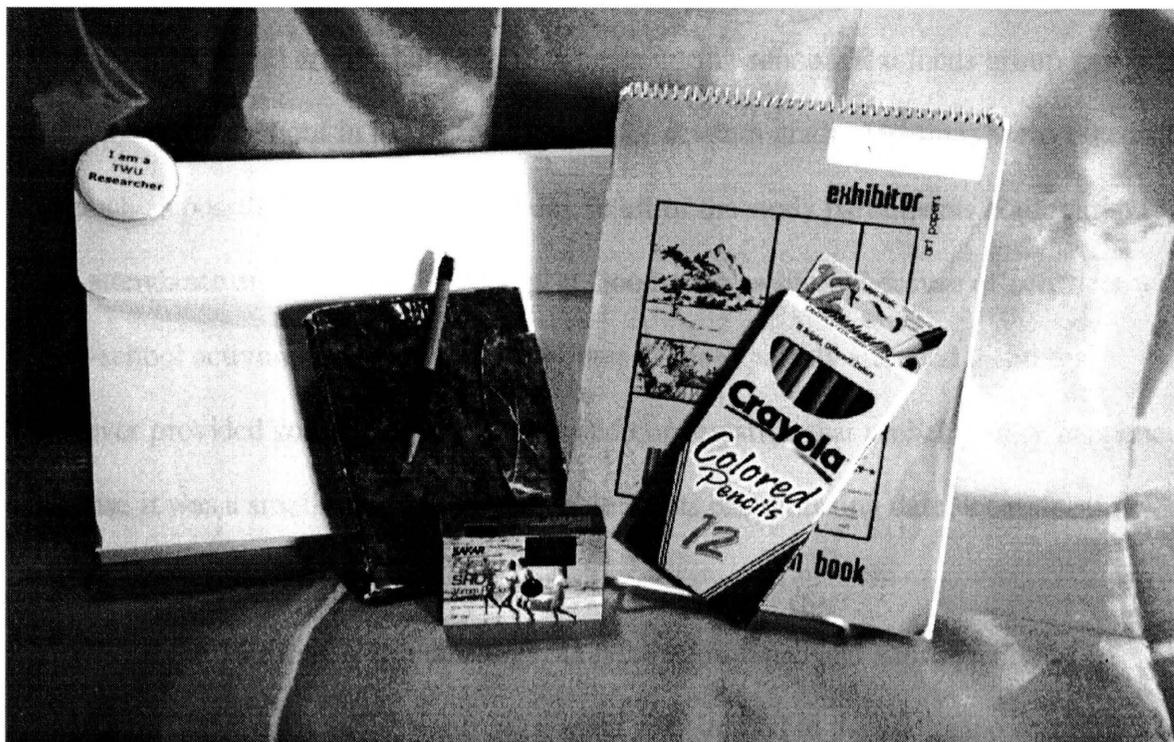


Figure 1. Photograph of study participants' research tools—portfolio, “I am a TWU Researcher” button, notebook, mechanical pencil, camera, sketchpad, and colored pencils.

cardboard portfolio for storage, and a disposable camera (See Figure 1 for a picture of the tools). These tools were handed out over the course of the first few focus group meetings. The tools were intended to help them capture their thoughts and impressions about school in words, drawings, or photographs. They used them extensively and some of the results reported in Chapter V are based on work they did with these tools.

In the fall semester at Goodson Middle School, the group met seven times over 14 weeks—three times after school and four times during school. The focus group met one last time during school in the spring semester of seventh grade. Meetings were scheduled as much as possible during the school day so all of the study participants could attend. The attendance at after-school meetings at Goodson was spotty because of conflicts with after-school activities or home responsibilities. These sparsely attended meetings however provided some insightful stories and conversation that probably only happened because it was a small, intimate group. Table 3 lists each meeting date, location, time, and the attendance of each study participant.

Of the 16 focus group meetings, 15 were audiotaped and subsequently transcribed. The study participants grew quite accustomed to the audiotape machine and took turns operating it.

Individual interviews. An interview is a “conversation between two people in which one person tries to direct the conversation to obtain information for some specific purpose” (Gordon, 1992, p. 2). Interviewing became an important component in the constellation of data gathering procedures used for this study. The interviews provided a forum to:

1. Clarify or obtain background information on each of the 7 participants—information that would not necessarily be a part of our focus group meetings.

Table 3

Schedule, Location and Attendance at Focus Group Meetings

Date	Time	Location	Beatriz	Participants' Attendance at Meetings						
				Irma	Josefina	Rosalinda	Sofía	Yolanda	Zulema	
<u>Spring semester 1998--Williams Elementary</u>										
1	4/13/98	After school	Library	X	X	X		X		
2	4/20/98	After school	Ms. Cowert's		X	X	X	X	X	X
3	4/27/98	After school	Library	X	X	X	X	X		
4	5/4/98	After school	Ms. Cowert's				X	X	X	X
5	5/7/98	After school	Library			X	X	X	X	
6	5/11/98	After school	Ms. Cowert's		X	X	X	X	X	
7	5/14/98	After school	Ms. Presley's			X	X	X	X	X
8	5/18/98	After school	Ms. Cowert's		X	X	X	X	X	X
<u>Fall semester 1998--Goodson Middle School</u>										
9	8/18/98	After school	Cafeteria		X	X				
10	9/8/98	2nd period	Portable 3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
11	9/15/98	2nd period	Portable 3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
12	9/29/98	2nd period	Portable 3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
13	10/7/98	2nd period	Portable 3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
14	10/28/98	After school	Portable 3		X	X	X	X	X	
15	11/17/98	After school	Conference room			X	X			
<u>Spring semester 1999--Goodson Middle School</u>										
16	3/4/99	4th period	Conference room	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<u>Total meetings attended</u>				7	12	15	14	14	12	9

2. Focus on specific information pertinent to each individual girl that seemed of particular interest.

Two rounds of interviewing were conducted. The first round came at the end of sixth grade. It was scheduled as late in the year as possible, mid-May, to allow as much time as possible to build trust, cooperation, and rapport before the one-on-one discussions happened. The second round of interviews was conducted almost exactly a year later, at the end of seventh grade. Each girl was interviewed separately. In sixth grade, almost all of the interviews were conducted in a small room off of the library; in seventh grade, they were all conducted in the administrative conference room. Both spaces were quiet, private, and quite comfortable. The interviews were conducted during the school day. Permission had been granted so that the girls could miss class time and meet for the interview.

A semi-structured interview format was employed for this study. An interview guide was developed for each set of interviews. Questions and issues to be explored in the interviews were identified, but the exact wording or sequence of discussion issues was decided at the interview (Erlandson et al., 1993). Appendix C contains the interview guides for both the sixth-grade interviews and the seventh-grade interviews. The guides provided focus and consistency across the seven interviews but were not treated as a script or inflexible agenda. Often, subjects were discussed as they came up in the course of the conversation rather than in their order on the guide.

The first set of interviews was taped and transcribed. Rather than coding the complete interview, a summary of the interview was developed which later was coded and analyzed. The seventh-grade interviews were not taped, but rather I took notes on the girl's answers and then developed a summary of each girl's interview. This summary was later coded and analyzed.

Artifacts and documents. Erlandson et al. (1993) call artifacts and documents the non-human or stable forms of data. Some school documents were collected during the course of the study. The most important documents and artifacts that were collected were the girls' notebooks and sketchpads with their writing and drawings. These were the notebooks and sketch pads that were given to them at the beginning of the study as research tools to use as we explored their journey from elementary to middle school. They were very proud of these tools and had great fun with them, particularly the cameras. Unfortunately, some of the sketchpads were lost and one of the notebooks was misplaced, so these do not exist for all of the participants.

These forms of data were most helpful as illustrations or elaborations of conversations conducted in the interviews or focus group meetings. For example, Rosalinda's sketchpad contained drawings she made that were illustrations of a long and vivid story she told in one of the focus group meetings. From time to time, I would ask them to bring in their notebooks or sketchpads and share their writings or drawings if

they wished. They were generally eager to share their work and took great pride in showing their pictures or reading a passage.

Data Processing

Data from informal conversations and observations. Data from observations and informal conversations were generally collected in the form of fieldnotes. These were usually made as rough notes taken on site during a conversation, meeting, class, or event. As much as possible, the fieldnotes were entered into the computer as soon as possible. Sometimes it was not appropriate to take notes during a conversation. When this was the case, fieldnotes were made by audio taping as I drove away from the site. These audiotapes, then, were transcribed into typed fieldnotes. All of the typed fieldnotes were then coded and used in the analysis.

Data from focus group meetings and interviews. Data collected in focus group meetings and interviews was generally collected as audiotapes. These data were first processed by listening to the tapes and identifying which tapes or parts of tapes were to be transcribed. These tapes were then transcribed by one of three transcribers, working on contract. Transcription conventions were developed and used to ensure that the transcriptions were uniform. Appendix D lists the transcription conventions. After the transcription was done, the researcher listened to the tape, read the transcriptions, made corrections, identified speakers, and standardized the format of the transcript.

Data from documents and artifacts. Data from documents and artifacts were collected in the form of the actual document, photocopies of documents, or as notes taken from a review of documents. Artifacts, such as notes passed during class or the participants' sketchpads and research notebooks were collected (with the participants' permission) and analyzed. All audiotapes, transcripts, artifacts, and documents are stored in my office.

Data Analysis

Data analysis' impact on data collection. As Bogden and Biklen (1992) note, data collection and analysis occur in a "pulsating fashion" (p. 72). Data analysis in this study was ongoing and intimately intertwined with data collection as described in the following sequence:

1. Analysis of middle school pilot data led to identification of problems with the original research focus, which led to recasting the study questions.
2. Analysis of the first elementary school data collected led to new ideas about data collection for subsequent focus group meetings.
3. Analysis of the data from the first two interviews led to amending the interview guide for the remainder of the interviews.
4. Initial analysis of spring 1998 data confirmed the basic soundness of research design leading to further data collection in fall 1998.

5. Initial analysis of the fall 1998 data led to final data collection in the spring 1999 semester.

Coding and analyzing data. After the data were collected and processed, they were transferred into a qualitative data analysis software program ATLAS.ti (Muhr, 1997) which provided the environment for coding and analysis. A total of 51 separate documents, including memos on methods, fieldnotes, interview documents, and transcripts from focus group meetings, comprised the body of typed data. This corpus totaled approximately 27,300 lines of data.

Coding was approached at two levels (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The first level of coding was descriptive coding. At this point, the data were read multiple times, with a particular focus on topics, the unit of analysis for this study. A topic might encompass a couple of words to several paragraphs of text (see Appendix E). Once a topic was identified, text pertaining to that topic was coded with a tag or label describing the topic (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The researcher developed a first draft of initial codes before the coding began (see Appendix F). This list continuously evolved. As the data were analyzed, codes were refined, deleted, and added. A final code list appears in Appendix G.

To assist in early analysis, a simple frequency table was used that listed each code and the number of times it was used in each primary document. Appendix H shows frequency tables for sixth-grade data, seventh-grade data, and the total across both

grades. The data reported on these tables provided early indications of codes and categories of particular interest. All codes that had been used a total of 30 or more times (except codes for individual participants, such as Rosalinda or Ms. Cowert) were analyzed in detail. The analysis of these data was done by examining all of the texts or quotes that had been assigned to each code. This examination was done code by code, meaning that all of the quotes for a given code were printed out, read, analyzed, and discussed with peer researchers.

After reading, analyzing, and discussing all of the text assigned to each of these threshold codes, themes that seemed to unite and give substance to the codes began to emerge. Two of the code categories fell away (friendship and boy-girl relationships), seeming to be mostly unrelated to the other code categories under analysis. Text from the three related code categories—language development, Spanish in school, and cultural identity—was tentatively assigned to emerging themes to see if these thematically-related codes would further clarify the themes. From this work, two themes emerged: (1) the relationships between the study participants and their teachers and other significant adults and (2) the study participants' meta-awareness of the teaching and learning environment and process. Table 4 shows the two major themes and the code categories that informed each theme, which included nine threshold codes and the three thematically related codes and the frequency for each code.

Table 4

Major Themes with Their Supporting Code Categories

Supporting Code Categories	Frequency in Initial Analysis
Theme 1: Relationship with Teachers and Other Significant Adults	
19 Doing school	94
21 After school activities	34
31 Student perceptions about school	101
33 Student perceptions about teachers	86
36 Student perceptions about themselves	59
41 Relational events	32
47 Adult-student relationships	38
51 Language development	12
54 Spanish in school	15
58 Cultural identity	20
Theme 2: Meta-awareness of the Teaching and Learning Environment and Process	
13 TAAS	34
14 Grades	40
19 Doing school	94
31 Student perceptions about school	101
33 Student perceptions about teachers	86
36 Student perceptions about themselves	59

The next step was to move to a more inferential or explanatory level of coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Moving to this next level of coding meant that all of the text that fit under each theme was read, reread, and analyzed for patterns. Out of this analysis, supporting themes were identified which provided a richer descriptive framework for understanding the girls' discourse. Table 5 shows the relationships between the

Table 5

Relationship among Designated Codes, Themes, and Supporting Themes

	Codes	Themes	Supporting Themes	Frequency						
19	Doing school	Relationships with teachers and other significant adults	Connections through caring words and acts	35						
21	After school activities				Connections through humor and story-telling	18				
31	Student perceptions about school						Connections through trust and confidence	12		
33	Student perceptions about teachers								Connections through culture and language	16
36	Student perceptions about themselves									
41	Relational events									
47	Adult-student relationships									
51	Language development									
54	Spanish in school									
58	Cultural identity									
13	TAAS	Meta-awareness of the teaching and learning process	Reflections on teaching	46						
14	Grades				Reflections on teacher behaviors	27				
19	Doing school						Reflections on themselves within school	61		
31	Student perceptions about school								Reflections on grades and testing	80
33	Student perceptions about teachers									
36	Student perceptions about themselves									

designated code categories, themes, and supporting themes. These two themes and their supporting themes are discussed in detail in Chapter V.

Quality Standards

Intercoder reliability check. To ensure the reliability of the codes used for this analysis, two colleagues participated in coding transcripts. Each was given the set of codes that appear in Appendix G and a 10-page transcript. The coding process was discussed. Then each evaluator coded her transcript. Overall, intercoder reliability was 73%. Discrepancies were discussed and a consensus was reached about the appropriate code. The same two evaluators, then, coded a new 10-page transcript. The reliability scores for the second set of transcripts was 92% (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Trustworthiness. Trustworthiness of the research process was established by using research strategies that provided credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These strategies included prolonged engagement, persistent observation, data triangulation, referential adequacy materials, peer debriefing, member checking, thick description, and building an audit trail (Erlandson et al., 1993).

Triangulation was further achieved by using different methods to collect the data—observation, fieldnotes, conversation and discussion, audio tapes, and review of records and documents (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Referential adequacy materials (Erlandson et al., 1993) refer to such documents as photographs, records, newspapers, etc. In fact, photographs were taken of the classrooms, schools, and study participants; the participants' sketchbooks and notebooks were collected as research documents, and

assorted school documents were collected. Regular debriefings with three peers, two of whom participated in the intercoder reliability check, occurred throughout the study. Early and intermittent member checking occurred as I asked the study participants to listen to selected portions of audiotapes and reflect on what was being said. Thick descriptions were first prompted by the need to capture the difference in school environments and, then, continued as the research was conducted. Finally, records that would provide an audit trail were initiated from the beginning of the study and intermittently updated.

Summary

This 19-month effort used fieldnotes from ongoing observations and informal conversations, transcripts from 16 focus group meetings and 15 interviews, and a variety of documents and artifacts such as notes, announcements, notebooks and drawings as the basis for this study. This rich collection of data was catalogued, transcribed, processed, read, and analyzed multiple times to identify emerging topics and themes. Two major themes and multiple supporting themes have been identified for the purposes of this work.

In order to frame these results within the necessary sociocultural context, the next chapter provides a summary of the urban landscape, neighborhood, schools, and participants' lives. This chapter is intended to ground the findings in the reality of the

participants' lived experiences. With this in place, then Chapter V explores the themes that emerged from the data collection, processing, and analysis described above.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

This study examines how 7 Latina girls make the transition from a self-contained ESL classroom of 22 students to a middle school with seven periods, seven teachers and 1500 students. In order to understand these girls' reflections and interpretations of this experience, it is important to understand the physical context of their schools and neighborhoods and the social and cultural context of their lives. This context, after all, defines the girls' discourse and as Gee (1996) explains, "language and literacy [are] elements in larger wholes ... which are meaningless if taken out of these forms of life" (p. 122). In addition, this context provides us powerful information that should be considered in addressing issues of schooling. Mehan (1997) asserts:

Recognizing the interplay between structural forces and individual action and the push and pull of competing agendas invites us to recast our representation of schooling. (p. 15)

This chapter then provides an overview of the physical setting for the study, as well as a thumbnail biography of each of the 7 girls.

The City

The ribbon of freeway that takes you to Cedar Heights first winds through downtown canyons created by sparkling mirrored skyscrapers. Then it crosses the Three Forks River, its flood plain and levee system having served as a social, economic, and racial barrier between the prosperous Northern half and the struggling Southern half of the city for the last half century. The freeway climbs out of the flood plains into the low hills that are home to the city zoo on the east and miles of residential streets on the west. In the midst of North Cedar Heights sits the Williams neighborhood, home to Williams Elementary and Goodson Middle School.

Neighborhood History

Cedar Heights, as this part of the city is known, was originally settled in 1845 by the members of the Horn family. Another group of colonists arrived, 10 years later, to build a new kind of settlement nearby on the bluffs overlooking Three Forks River and across from the central city. They called their settlement La Cooperación and envisioned it as a utopia for those who wanted to work, live, and relax together in a cooperative-living community. From these core settlements, newcomers fanned out to the west, south, and east and settled this southwest quadrant of the city (Acheson, 1977; Minutaglio & Williams, 1990).

Historically, the people of this area have projected a strong independent image, often spurning the rest of the city. This was sometimes manifested in calls for secession from the city. The reasons for this independent streak are many, but one is very clear--the residents in this area felt that other than collecting taxes, City Hall has ignored them. The residents felt that they have not received their fair share of city services and city expenditures (Greene, 1984; Minutaglio & Williams, 1990). In fact, this perception was validated a number of times in studies that tracked the geographic distribution of city money (Schutze, 1986).

Nothing prepared Cedar Heights for the dramatic change it experienced in the 1960s and 1970s. After World War II, Whites and Blacks migrated from the rural areas of the state to the city to take advantage of the growing economy. The Black newcomers had limited choices for housing. Most found their way to the decayed neighborhoods. These neighborhoods in the western portion of the county contained less than 20% of the unincorporated county population but accounted for 50% of the typhus, 60% of the tuberculosis, and 30% of the polio in the unincorporated portion of the county. Infant deaths were not measured but were believed to be very high. There was no water or sewer service. The population in these Black neighborhoods increased dramatically as the rural migration continued. As the pressure continued to build in these neighborhoods, some Blacks saved enough money to move to neighborhoods just south of the river in Cedar Heights. Some of these neighborhoods had previously housed proud homes of

wealthy Jewish settlers but in their more recent years had been inhabited by middle and working class white families. Blacks bought and rented these homes. The Whites, who could afford to, fled. These events repeated themselves a hundred times in a hundred different small neighborhoods as the Black migration moved further south into Cedar Heights (Schutze, 1986). During this same time, Hispanics moved into adjacent areas in the western and southern portions of the county. The Williams neighborhood of Cedar Heights, home to the two school sites in this study, was no exception to these events. In 1950 and 1960, the neighborhood was 99% White (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1952, 1962). By 1970, the neighborhood was 89% White, non-Hispanic and 10% Hispanic (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1972). The number of Hispanic residents had risen to 43% of the population in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1983) and 68% in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1993).

The Williams neighborhood is filled with modest, wooden, single-family homes--owner-occupied with two and three bedrooms and a median value of \$49,000. The majority of these homes were built in the 1920s and 1930s, first bought and owned by White, middle-class families (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1942). However, in the post World War II years, many of the homes were rented to White, working-class and blue-collar families, lured to that part of town by jobs at a nearby, new military facility and a new defense plant (Minutaglio & Williams, 1990). Then, as Cedar Heights experienced the racially based population shifts of the 1960s and 1970s, the homes were rented to

Hispanics (http://venus.census.gov/cdrom/doc/lookup_doc.html). Most of the homes are neatly kept, many with blooming flowerbeds, pots full of plants, and brightly painted exteriors. Often, mature trees grace the front yard, which might be bare of grass because of the deep shade and the wear and tear of children playing. There are a noticeable number of homes in disrepair, needing new siding, paint, or other, more serious repairs. One or more vehicles are parked in the driveways.

There is a substantial amount of foot traffic through the neighborhood, especially as school begins and ends each day. Then, moms, dads, grandparents, and older siblings are seen walking down the sidewalks with their young charges in tow. After school, the neighborhood is filled with young children playing in front yards, streets, and playgrounds until darkness approaches or until they are called into the house for their evening meal. Teenagers are visible after school walking in groups through the neighborhoods, or congregating on street corners, at favorite stores, or on the porches of their homes. Women are seen during the day, pushing babies in strollers, on their way to the neighborhood stores. Young Hispanic men driving low-riders with loud Tejano music are particularly visible cruising the streets after school or as the workday ends.

School Sites

The research for this study was conducted at two schools in the Williams neighborhood. The elementary school, Williams Elementary, is in the more southern

section of the neighborhood, with the middle school three blocks away in the center of the neighborhood. There is a lot of traffic, both by foot and by car, that travels between the two school sites.

Williams Elementary

Williams Elementary is at the intersection of two secondary traffic roads in Cedar Heights. It is a neatly maintained building with large trees and a shallow green lawn surrounding the front of the building. Modest, wooden, single-family homes face the front, the south side and the playgrounds in the back of the school. The north side of the school faces a few small stores and the side-yards of homes.

Williams Elementary, which originally opened in 1914 in portable buildings, moved into a permanent building in 1916 (Scheibel, 1966). Today, students still attend classes in the original structure, but because of the increase in student population, many students are in classes in the adjoining portable buildings. Williams is a pre-kindergarten through sixth-grade campus. During the 1997-98 school year, Williams' student enrollment was 879; 60% of these students were classified as Limited English Proficient; 89% were on the Free or Reduced Lunch Program; 96% were Hispanic, 2% were White, and 1% was Black.

Steep stairs lead a visitor into the building where signs remind passers-by that visitors need to report into the office. A large bulletin board greets the students, faculty, and visitors with PTA news, pictures of recent school events, and notices of upcoming

activities. Just past the entrance, shiny, dark-floored hallways take students in multiple directions.

Going left, the light-filled cafeteria is visible. In the mornings, the cafeteria is generally empty except for the workers preparing meals and tables. By mid day, the cafeteria is full of students and a few lunch monitors. After school, the extended day program operates there until parents, on their way home from work, pick up their children.

Going straight ahead from the entrance, the hall leads to the library. It is mostly filled with books in English, although a modest number of Spanish language books are visible in the “Spanish Section.” The bookcases are conveniently arranged and labeled for the students to browse and select books. Scattered about the room are bright displays of books selected for the relevance of their theme or topic. Round tables fill the middle of the library.

Going right from the entrance, the hallway leads past all of the support areas that help a school function—the nurse’s office, the resource teacher’s room, the teachers’ lounge, the attendance officer’s office, the staff work room, and finally the office. The office is usually staffed by two of several women; one or both of them usually are bilingual English-Spanish. It is not unusual to find one or more parents or students waiting in the office. The principal’s office is visible to the left, though she is seldom seen there.

The shiny hallway also leads to the staircase which deposits students on the hallway of the second floor. The classrooms on this floor hold the upper grades in Williams—fourth, fifth, and sixth, including Ms. Cowert’s sixth-grade classroom. Ms. Cowert teaches reading, language arts, and social studies every morning to Class 6A, home to the 7 study participants.

Academic content from Ms. Cowert’s room spills out into the hallway—the lockers outside of her room are covered with photographs that Ms. Cowert took in Italy and Greece, a core subject for sixth grade. The door to the room is partially covered with a large poster listing the daily schedule for the two classes of sixth-grade students who study with Ms. Cowert. Inside Ms. Cowert’s room, one is treated to a barrage of visual stimulation. The room is dripping with pictures related to academic themes, posters of content vocabulary, posters of key learning strategies, notices about school and class rules, notices about upcoming class assignments, projects, and events. Each of the walls is covered with the posters and signs, as are the window shades on the window side of the room, the ceiling tiles, the file cabinets, and the book cases in the room. It is accurate to say that there is hardly a bare square inch of wall or ceiling space that is not covered by a sign, picture, poster, or notice.

The front of Ms. Cowert’s room is filled with a variety of storage cabinets, filing cabinets, tables, desks, VCR and monitor, and the overhead projector and its cart. The file cabinets are filled with papers and the storage cabinets filled with supplies. The overhead

is usually plugged in and ready to use. The side of the room by the windows is divided from the central classroom by four carrels that hold computers for the students' use. Each carrel is numbered and a notice with classroom computer rules is prominently displayed at the top of each carrel. At the end of the row of carrels is a table for Ms. Cowert's computer and printer.

The back of the room is divided and separated from the rest of the room by a row of bookcases with their backs to the student desks. The front of the bookcases face into a small area set up as a class library. The bookcases are organized according to the Dewey Decimal System. The bookcases are also labeled with content area names, language of the books, or the books' status as a part of the Accelerated Reading Program. There is a corner for educational types of games—especially games that play with language and words. Globes, maps, charts on using maps and time zones, library rules, tips for using the library all adorn the walls and ceiling in the library area. Chairs are tucked into the corners of the library for the students to use as they read. A sentence pocket-chart holds a library pocket with each student's name. To check out a book, the student simply takes the card out of the book pocket and places it in the wall pocket that bears his or her name.

The students' desks are in the middle of the room. Sometimes the desks are in straight rows, facing the front of the room; sometimes they are in groups of four or five; sometimes they are in a U-shape. The desks and their unattached chairs are moved multiples times during the day—moved to fit the needs of the class task at hand. Each

desk has two name plates on it—one for the student from 6A who uses it in the morning and one for the student from 6B who uses the desk in the afternoon, while the 6A students are studying Science, Mathematics, and Health with Ms. Presley in another classroom.

Goodson Middle School

Goodson Middle School is three blocks to the north of Williams Elementary. It sits at the intersection of a major traffic road and a secondary road and takes up almost all of a large city block. Homes face the school on three sides of its property. On the north side of the property, businesses face the school. A YMCA claims the southeast corner of the school's block.

Goodson is a much larger building than Williams Elementary. Its student population is also larger. During the 1998-99 school year, Goodson's student enrollment was 1672; 35% of these students were classified as Limited English Proficient; 76% were on the Free or Reduced Lunch Program; and 78% were Hispanic, 11% were Black, 9% were White, and 2% were classified as Other.

The Goodson Middle School two-story building with its vaulted roof is a highly visible landmark. The building is faced in red brick with a blue decorative band running across the sides of the building. Glass bricks occasionally break the façade providing a foggy view into the school. The front of the school is separated from the main thoroughfare by a lawn laced with sidewalks. The angled walks lead to the front entrance

where a light-filled atrium filled with student art works collects traffic from multiple wings of the building. Directly across from the front entrance is a large auditorium, used for school assemblies and student performances. To the right of the entrance is a small pit for the school's orchestra to practice. Further right is the school's fine arts wing, with classroom space dedicated to the performing arts such as orchestra, singing and dance, and to the visual arts such as painting, drawing, and sculpting. To the left of the entrance sits a small hive of school offices—the main office with the principal's, dean's, and some assistant principals' offices; the nurse's office, the counselor's offices, the attendance office, the parent support room, the teacher copy center, and the teachers' lounge. The school cafeteria is close by with multiple entrances into it from multiple parts of the building. Outside of the main cafeteria entrance sit several vending machines, the entrance to the gym and locker rooms, the school supply and snack store, and the back atrium where kids congregate as classes change and before and after school.

Open industrial type stairs lead to the second floor of classrooms where the majority of the science labs, beginning ESL classes, and some social studies, reading, and language arts classes are housed. The remaining classrooms are in a small complex of portables, called the "Portable City of Learning" accessed from the back doors across from the cafeteria. There are approximately 21 portable buildings holding 49 classrooms, one administrative office, and one set of bathrooms.

Goodson is marked by an open, airy feeling that is the result of the many atriums,

open staircases, and light-colored walls and hallways. Noticeably, the maintenance staff is constantly picking up and neatening the school grounds, as are the administrators. The principal and his assistants are frequently seen picking up trash from the floors and grounds or calling such litter to the students' attention for them to pick up. This attention to detail results in a school that is well kept and visually appealing.

On the north side of "Portable City" sits Portable H, home to the cluster of classrooms that housed many of the study participants during their first year at Goodson. Access to the portable is gained by climbing an open set of stairs that leads to an interior hallway that winds through the middle of the portable and provides access to the eight classrooms that inhabit this portable. The walls of the portable are tan, the lighting dull, and the floors are dark. All of this gives the impression of a dark and dingy environment. The classrooms that are housed here include a Mathematics classroom, a Social Studies classroom, a Reading classroom, a Sheltered Science classroom, and two ESL classrooms.

Four classrooms were observed for the study. The first room, in Portable H, was an ESL social studies room with four straight lines of desks facing the front of the room. Each row had either six or seven desks in it. There was a file cabinet in one of the front corners of the classroom, a teacher's desk in the other front corner, a blackboard in between on the front wall, two bookcases and a bulletin board on a side wall, and a cabinet in the back of the room. A poster with class rules was posted on one wall.

Otherwise, the walls were bare.

The second room observed was on the other end of Portable H and housed the ESL/Reading teacher. Her room was much wider, but shorter. She had four rows of desks with four desks in each row facing the front of the room. Her desk was behind these rows of student desks, facing the back of the students. There were a blackboard and a set of shelves on the front wall, and a table with plastic crates filled with students' notebooks by the door. A blackboard hung by the table, a bulletin board was on the back wall, and windows with their shades pulled tight were on the other side wall where six grammar posters hung in between the windows.

The third room observed was in another portable and belonged to a mainstream Social Studies teacher. He had five rows of desks facing the front of the classroom with his desk behind the student desks. There were many posters on the walls of the classroom. Most had content relating to Social Studies topics. A blackboard was on the front wall and file cabinets for the students' notebooks were neatly arranged on a side wall.

The fourth room observed was also in a portable, the Special Education portable. The walls were decorated with maps and flags. There were a few magazine racks with magazines for the students to read. Instead of sitting at individual desks, the student sat at tables facing each other. Mr. Skyler told the students, on the second day of class, that he had ordered these tables and chairs especially for them, so he expected them to take good

care of them. The teacher's desk was to the side of the room; a blackboard was on the front wall; a bulletin board and two file cabinets were on one side wall; and a window and several posters were on the other wall.

Study Participants

There were 7 girls who elected to participate in the study. At the beginning of the study, they were in the second semester of sixth grade at Williams Elementary. At the end of the study, they were in the second semester of seventh grade at Goodson Middle School. The girls were all 11, 12 or 13 years old when the study began; of Mexican and Mexican-American descent; and were classified as "Limited English Proficient," meaning they were eligible for ESL or Spanish instruction in a bilingual or dual-language classroom. Table 6 provides a summary of important characteristics of the 7 study participants.

These 7 participants are truly the heart of this study. It is their words and their perceptions of their school world that form the database for this study. Because of each girl's significance, each will be introduced individually. They are introduced in alpha order.

Beatriz

Beatriz is a large-framed, rather tall girl who wears her medium brown hair clipped back or in pigtales. She was born in the U.S., but when she was 2 years old, her family

Table 6

Characteristics of Study Participants

Characteristics	Beatriz	Irma	Josefina	Rosalinda	Sofía	Yolanda	Zulema
Place of birth	U.S.	U.S.	Mexico	U.S.	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico
Years in U.S.	8	12	8	11	1	2	7
Lives with both parents	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Language used with parents	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
Language used with siblings	English	English	English	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	English
Literate in Spanish (self-reported)	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Literate in English (self-reported)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Grades in Mexico	K				1 - 5	K - 3	
Grades in bilingual classrooms	1, 3, 4	2, 3	1-4	Pre-K - 4	5	3, 5	1 - 4
Grades in ESL classrooms	5	Pre-K - 1, 4 - 5	Pre-K, K, 5	5			Pre-K, K, 5
Father's job			Mechanic	Landlord	Roofer	Painter	Paints cars
Mother's job	Typist	Direct sales	Factory production	Home- maker	Cleans houses	Cleans houses	Cleans offices

moved back to Mexico and stayed there until she was 6 years old when she and her Mom moved back to the U.S. Her dad, a policeman in Mexico City, and her two brothers stayed behind in Mexico. Later, her mom and dad divorced, and then, when Beatriz was 9 years old, her dad died.

She and her mom live with one of her uncles and his 13-year old son. She has five uncles who live in the city, and they form a Mariachi band. Beatriz loves to sing and sings often with her uncle's band. She also plays the piano. She says she wants to be a singer or a doctor when she grows up.

Beatriz speaks English and Spanish at home. She reports that she can read and write in both languages, but writing samples indicate she has a difficult time writing in both languages. Her mom reads to her in Spanish—oftentimes after bath time in the evening. Beatriz has vivid memories of being read to, at night, when she was young. Her mom and her uncles read to her. Her mom wants her to learn to read better in Spanish, and sometimes Beatriz reads to her mom in English so her mom's English will improve. After school, her mom has Beatriz and her cousin sit down at the kitchen table and do their homework. Her mom helps them if they need help, and if she doesn't know how to help, then they wait for Beatriz's uncle to come home.

Beatriz could clearly describe some of her mom's hopes and wishes for her future: "try to go all the way to college and make it"; "take the opportunity that she [the mom] didn't have"; "she says that if you don't learn then you have to work harder to make a

living.” She said that her mom is already saving money for college (IN Beatriz1Sum; 90:110). (A citation for a study participant’s quotation refers to the quotation’s location in the textbank of the qualitative data analysis software program.)

Beatriz began school in Mexico, where she attended kindergarten. She moved to Dallas when she was 6 years old. It appears that she did not attend school again until she began Williams Elementary when she was 9 years old. She was placed in bilingual first grade for that year. The following year, she was placed in bilingual third grade. The next year she spent the first semester in bilingual fourth grade and the second semester in ESL fifth grade where she finally caught up with her peer group. At the beginning of sixth grade, she was referred to Special Education and received help from the resource teacher all year. She liked her resource teacher and seemed appreciative of the help she received from her. Beatriz maintained a “B” or “C” average during her stay at Williams Elementary and at Goodson Middle School.

She is the athlete in the group of 7—she played on the school soccer, basketball, and volleyball teams. She is not close friends with any of the girls in the study group but is friendly with all of them and would like to be better friends with several of them-- especially Rosalinda. She is well liked by her teachers. Her sixth-grade teacher especially admired her. Her fifth- and sixth-grade years had been tough years, but in spite of this, she had maintained her grades and her sense of direction.

Beatriz attended two of the eight after-school meetings during the spring of sixth grade, often missing them because she had soccer practice. However, she did attend all of the meetings held during school hours during sixth and seventh grade.

Irma

Irma is a tall, thin girl with wispy, light brown hair, and angular features. She was born in the city, though both of her parents are from Mexico. Irma lives with her 2-year old half-sister, her 8-year old half-brother, and her mom and step-dad. Her mom and dad divorced before Irma was born, and her mom remarried when Irma was 4. Her dad now lives in North Carolina with his wife.

Irma speaks English at home with her brother, who knows little Spanish and her step-dad, but she speaks Spanish with her mom. Irma reports that she doesn't know how to read or write very well in Spanish. In spite of this, her mom wants her to be fluent in both Spanish and English, and Irma is interested in being a translator when she grows up. Her mom is proud of her and confident that she will graduate from high school and go to college. Irma also wants to be the Mayor of the city when she grows up. She gets a gleam in her eye when she talks about becoming mayor and solving the problems in the city.

Irma went to pre-kindergarten, kindergarten, and first grade at another school in the city and, then, transferred to Williams Elementary when she was in second grade. It appears that these primary grades were ESL classrooms. She was in bilingual second- and

third-grade classrooms, before she was transferred back to the ESL track in fourth grade. Irma has maintained a high “B” average since she started attending Williams Elementary. Irma doesn’t remember much about being read to at home, but she does remember her kindergarten teacher teaching her how to read. She doesn’t read much at home now except for her homework.

Irma is the intellectual girl of the group. She has a keen curiosity about the world and how it works and makes that apparent through her questions. In spite of being the intellectual, she flirts with trouble by getting in arguments and fights with other girls and by expressing strong opinions that are not necessarily popular with the adults. Irma has a quick temper and often projects a “tough” image. She is popular with the girls who participated in the study and is popular with the other members of her class.

Irma attended most of the after-school meetings and all of the in-school meetings. She liked the conversation and camaraderie. She often left the group meetings with her friend Josefina and went to Josefina’s house where she stayed until her mom got home.

Josefina

Josefina is a tall girl with long black hair, dark eyes, and a long thin face. Josefina was born in Mexico; her family immigrated to the U.S. when she was 3 years old. Josefina has two sisters. Her older sister is 18 years old, a senior in high school, and new mom with a very young baby. The other sister is 16 years old and in the eleventh grade. Her dad is a mechanic who was working two jobs repairing cars when Josefina was in

sixth grade. However, by 7th grade, he had been laid off and was looking for work. At the beginning of the study, Josefina's mom stayed at home with her new grandchild; in seventh grade, with her dad laid-off, her mom was working at a food processing facility.

Josefina speaks Spanish with her parents and English with her sisters. Her mom is going to school in the evenings at Goodson Middle School to learn English. Her dad understands English but is shy about speaking it. Josefina can read and write a bit in Spanish---the vast majority of her literacy skills are in English. She counts on her middle sister to help her with schoolwork and school-related issues. Often one of her sisters covers school conferences instead of her parents, who are hesitant about coming when they don't have a good command of English. Her first memories of reading are of her older sister reading fairy tales to her at bedtime.

Josefina thinks about her future, analyzing which high school will give her the best education, exploring the kinds of jobs she might get, and thinking about how she can help her family when she finishes school. She thinks about becoming a teacher or a doctor and returning to Mexico where she could "help the poor" (IN Josefina2Sum; 42:46). Her mom wants the family to move back to Mexico to be closer to Josefina's grandmother.

Josefina went to pre-kindergarten and kindergarten at another school in the city. She transferred to Williams Elementary at the beginning of first grade and has remained there throughout elementary school. Josefina was in bilingual classrooms for first, second, third, and fourth grades and, then, went into ESL in fifth grade. Josefina has

maintained a “B” average. She often accompanies her sisters to the public library where they all check out books. She also reads magazines and books her mom brings home.

Josefina is well liked by the other members of the study group. She is often found whispering, giggling, and telling secrets. The other girls like to tease her about being boy-crazy, and she, in turn, likes to point out when one of the other girls has a crush on a boy. She and Irma are particularly close friends, spending many afternoons together at Josefina’s house. During seventh grade, Josefina taught Irma how to cook in the afternoons after school.

Josefina was a pivotal member of the study group. She attended every meeting except one. She often interpreted the girls’ giggling or insider jokes for me so that I understood. More than once, she expressed an interest in having the group meet more often.

Rosalinda

Rosalinda is a tall girl with wavy brown hair, glasses, and a round face. Rosalinda was born in Chicago. Her family moved to Texas at the beginning of Rosalinda’s sixth-grade school year. They moved because Texas is closer to Mexico and thus, provides easier access to visiting their family in Mexico. Rosalinda has a sister who is a year older and a brother who is 7 years younger. When they arrived in the city, her parents visited several schools in Cedar Heights to determine which would be the best elementary and the best middle school for their children. After several school visits, they decided on

Williams Elementary and Goodson Middle School

Rosalinda's dad is an entrepreneur. He buys houses, repairs them, and then rents them. Her mom is a homemaker who sometimes helps her dad with the work at the rent houses. Her mom and dad do not speak much English and are taking classes in the evening. Sometimes Rosalinda helps them with their homework, especially her dad, who has a hard time with writing in English.

Rosalinda attended kindergarten through fourth grade in bilingual classes, and fifth grade in an ESL class, in Chicago. She spoke Spanish almost exclusively in her neighborhood in Chicago. She still speaks Spanish at home with her parents. Reading and writing are much easier in Spanish for her. Rosalinda has vivid memories of being read to at home—especially a book entitled La rata y el puerco. Her sister taught her how to read when her sister was in first grade and Rosalinda was in kindergarten. She likes to read books that people give her. She doesn't like to check books from the library because the librarian doesn't let her keep them but one week which is not long enough to read a "think book." She reads something every night before she goes to bed.

When Rosalinda came to Williams Elementary at the beginning of sixth grade she was behind in Mathematics and had a hard time learning to do math the way Ms. Presley wanted it done. She was behind in her other classes at Williams, but Ms. Cowert gave her extra work and attention to help her get caught up. She has made "A's" and "B's" while attending Williams and Goodson and usually has been on the honor roll. Rosalinda thinks

that she will go to college, and she knows that her parents also expect her to go. She is interested in being a singer when she grows up—she loves to sing and often practices her singing.

Rosalinda regularly attended the after-school and in-school group meetings.

Rosalinda is the storyteller in the group. She often launched into a long story during our group discussions. She told stories with a vivid vocabulary and apt analogies. Her peers often sat quietly listening to her stories, asking questions as she paused, and eagerly awaiting the story's ending. Because of her verbal skills, she often dominated discussions in the group.

Sofía

Sofía is a quiet girl, with long black hair that often falls in her face covering her eyes. Sofía was born in Mexico and only came to the U.S. when she was 10 years old. Her dad had been living in the U.S. for a long time and would often return to Mexico to visit the family. Her older brother had come to the U.S. when Sofía was in second grade. Then at the beginning of Sofía's sixth-grade school year her mom, her two older twin sisters, her younger brother, and she came to the U.S. to live with her father and her brother. They moved to the William's neighborhood because her grandmother lives there, and they found a house for rent that was affordable.

Sofía speaks Spanish at home. Her dad knows English, and her mom is trying to learn English. Sofía prefers to communicate in Spanish, using it whenever she can. She

only uses English when she has to, such as in the classroom, or when the other speakers don't speak Spanish.

She attended school in Mexico from first through fifth grade. She really liked school in Mexico and thinks that the teachers did a better job of teaching there. When she arrived at Williams Elementary, she was placed in the bilingual Multi-Age-Group class with Mr. Colfo. Students in fourth, fifth, and sixth grade who need instruction primarily in Spanish are placed in this classroom. Sofía did well in this classroom but did not like being in it because the kids in the other classrooms called the kids in Sofía's classroom "mojados" (wetbacks) (IN Sofía 1.Sum; 95:97). At the beginning of sixth grade, she was moved out of the Multi-Age-Group room and into an ESL classroom—Ms. Presley's. Sofía did not do well there, so she was moved into Ms. Cowert's ESL sixth grade, where she stayed the rest of the year. Sofía made "A's" in the elementary bilingual class, "B's" in the elementary ESL room and "C's" in middle school. Sofía thinks she will graduate from high school, but does not think that she wants to go to college.

Sofía was a steady participant in the meetings—coming to 14 of the 16 meetings. She was often quiet in the meetings, making her contributions in Spanish. In spite of her reticence, she played an important role as a mediator and facilitator. Sofía often chastised the other girls for misbehaving or not paying attention to the group discussion. When the girls went off on a tangent, usually in Spanish, Sofía would tell them to speak in English,

since my Spanish language skills were limited. She also asked several times if the group could not meet more often, maybe two times a week instead of the usual once a week.

Yolanda

Yolanda is a petite, thin girl with curly brown hair who spends a great deal of time giggling and whispering. Yolanda was born in Mexico and came to this country when she was 9 years old. Her dad's family lived in the city, and when they first came, they stayed with an aunt who lives close to Williams Elementary.

Yolanda is very close to her oldest brother who is 4 years older than she is. He wants to be a lawyer and was expected to graduate at the end of Yolanda's seventh-grade year. She also has a sister who is 2 years older and a brother who is 1 year older than she is. Her dad paints houses and fixes air-conditioning for a living. Sometimes her mom works cleaning houses. They primarily speak Spanish at home unless they don't want their mom to understand, then they speak English. Her mom is taking English classes with Josefina's mom at Goodson Middle School.

Yolanda attended kindergarten through third grade in Mexico. When Yolanda came to Williams Elementary, she was placed into a fourth-grade ESL classroom. She had a very hard time understanding and keeping up, so the school recommended to her mom that they move her to a bilingual third-grade room where she could work in Spanish and English. Yolanda cried when they told her they wanted to move her back to third grade

because she thought she had failed. But her mother explained that it was just to help her get used to the new language and it made Yolanda feel better. In spite of this, the year was a hard one for her; the adjustment for her was not smooth. The next year, Yolanda continued in the bilingual track but this time in Mr. Colfo's Multi-Age Group bilingual classroom. During that year, she was able to catch back up with her peer group and at the end of the year she was advanced to Ms. Cowert's sixth-grade ESL classroom. Yolanda has maintained a steady "B" average in school at Williams and Goodson. She likes to read in both English and Spanish, although she is becoming more comfortable with reading in English and feels that she is forgetting her Spanish. She likes to check out library books from Ms. Cowert's class library.

Yolanda is unsure of how far she will go in school. At first, she thought she would just graduate from middle school, but over the course of the study, she extended that to graduating from high school as well. Her parents want her to go to college, and she wants to be a nurse or a doctor.

Yolanda attended almost all of the after-school meetings and all of the in-school meetings. Yolanda is often at the center of the discussion in the group. She often has gossip to share with her peers and takes advantage of the time together to pass on news or discuss friends and events. Frequently, she would have a side conversation going on with Josefina or Irma at the meetings. She particularly liked being with Irma and Josefina.

Zulema

Zulema is a short girl with a round face, brown hair, and brown eyes. She was born in Mexico and came to the U.S. when she was 4 years old. She attended another school in the city for pre-kindergarten and kindergarten where she was in ESL classrooms. Then, when she was 6, her parents moved to Cedar Heights, and she began first grade at Williams Elementary, which she has attended ever since. She was in bilingual classrooms at Williams from first through fourth grades. She remembers learning to read in pre-kindergarten and kindergarten, although she doesn't much enjoy reading now.

Zulema has three sisters and one brother. Her oldest sister is 7 years older and was expecting a baby when the study first began. This sister worked at the local yogurt shop, lived at home, and often was visited by her boyfriend, the baby's father. This sister had dropped out of school when she was in tenth grade. She had skipped a lot of school, and her mom was tired of trying to make her go, so her mom said it was okay if she just dropped out of school. Zulema's brother is 4 years older and is at the local high school. Her younger sister is 6 years younger and at Williams, as is the youngest sister who was in pre-kindergarten at Williams.

Zulema's mom works cleaning offices in a suburb far to the North of Cedar Heights. Her dad works at a local auto-repair franchise painting cars. Both parents understand English but don't speak it. They are both taking English classes at Goodson Middle School.

Zulema has mixed feelings about school and her future. She thinks she might graduate from high school, but she doesn't really like school, so graduating looks hard. She also dreams about becoming a "good teacher" one day and knows that that will take a lot of education (MT04-27-98; 730-752).

Zulema had a difficult time attending many of the after-school meetings or special events. She often had to go right home to baby-sit her younger sisters, or after her oldest sister had her new baby, she would also baby-sit for her. Sometimes, Zulema would gather up her sisters after school, walk them home to stay with a visiting aunt, and then run back to school to attend our meetings. Twice she brought one of her sisters with her to the meetings.

Zulema was not particularly close to the girls in the study group. In school, she spent time with two of the three girls who chose not to participate in the study. Zulema and these girls were tagged as the "bad girls" because they did not make good grades, they liked to flirt with the boys, and they had a reputation for promiscuous behavior. Whether their reputations were deserved was unclear. Zulema was quick to deny liking any boy and quick to correct any hint that she might be doing anything inappropriate.

Summary

The city which was the site of this research projects an image of a "can do," business-friendly city. However, a large part of its land mass lies in a part of town called

Cedar Heights, which is the home to an ethnically mixed population of low to moderate-income families living in neighborhoods with modest housing. The Williams neighborhood is a part of Cedar Heights and is the home to the two schools that served as study sites. On the surface, the schools are clean, cheerful places with a certain vibrancy emanating from their hallways. However, the insides of the classrooms do not always reflect a bright, cheerful, and welcoming environment.

The 7 study participants are all of Hispanic origin; 4 of them were born in Mexico, 3 in the U.S. Of the 7, 5 have been here 7 years or more and consider themselves literate in English; 2 of them have been here for 2 years or less and don't consider themselves literate in English. The 2 newcomers and the 1 who has been in bilingual education for 6 years, consider themselves literate in Spanish; 3 of them do not consider themselves literate in Spanish and, in fact, already worry about forgetting their Spanish or regret that they have not achieved literacy skills in their first language. Of the 7, 5 live with both parents, 1 lives with her mom and step-dad and 1 lives with her mom and an uncle. Most of them speak Spanish at home with their parents and English with their siblings. Many of their parents are trying to learn English by taking night classes. All of the fathers work outside of the homes, most in a trade. Most of the mothers work full time or part time outside of the home and one stays home with children. These are families that are building a new or better life, working one or more jobs, studying English, and raising children who are making their way through a complex school system.

In describing this neighborhood, these schools, and these students, I hope to ground my findings firmly within the socio-cultural context of their lives. As I explore the girls' voices in Chapter V, the analysis and interpretation of their discourse will be framed by an understanding of their neighborhood, school life, and home life.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY PARTICIPANTS' DISCOURSE

The purpose of this Chapter was to present an analysis of the study participants' discourse in meetings and interviews with additional information gleaned from fieldnotes, documents, and artifacts. This analysis will address the following research question:

1. What are the major themes that emerge from an analysis of the study participants' discourse about their school experience as they transition from sixth grade in elementary school to seventh grade in middle school, and how is the discourse similar or different?

To answer this question, data from fieldnotes, focus group meetings, and interviews, as well as artifacts and documents were analyzed. Two major themes emerged from the analysis of these data:

1. The relationships between the study participants and their teachers and other significant adults.
2. The study participants' meta-awareness of the teaching and learning environment and process.

The discourse for each of these themes was further analyzed and supporting themes were identified for each theme. Table 7 shows the two major themes, the supporting themes, and their frequency of occurrence.

Table 7

Supporting Themes and Frequency of Occurrence

Supporting Themes	Frequency
Theme 1: Relationship with Teachers and Other Significant Adults	
Connections through caring words and acts	35
Connections through humor and story-telling	18
Connections through trust and confidence	12
Connections through culture and language	16
Connections through after-school activities	40
Theme 2: Meta-awareness of the Teaching and Learning Process	
Reflections on teaching	46
Reflections on teacher behaviors	27
Reflections on themselves within school	61
Reflections on grades and testing	80

The frequency numbers shown above should be interpreted within the framework of discourse as Gee (1996) defines it, that is, as ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, and speaking. Although the frequency of talk is greater for the second theme, meta-awareness of teaching and learning, the girls' discourse was equally strong regarding the first theme concerning relationships. In the following sections, each of these themes and supporting themes will be examined through a discussion of supporting themes and the associated discourse.

Relationships

Talk about relationships took a prominent position in the study participants' discourse. This talk often centered on their relationships with teachers and other significant adults. The relationship between the study participants and their teachers and other adults was complex and dynamic. In spite of this, patterns about the students' perspectives on these relationships clearly appeared in the discourse from the focus group meetings and from their interviews.

The theme of relationships will be explored through five supporting themes: (a) connections through caring words and acts, (b) connections through humor and storytelling, (c) connections through trust and confidence, (d) connections through culture and language, and (e) connections through after school activities. For each supporting theme, sixth-grade discourse, then seventh-grade discourse will be examined, with concluding remarks about the similarities or differences between the two sets of discourse.

Connections through Caring Words or Acts

Expressions of care can come in many forms. Several incidents at the end of sixth grade show the range of expressions of care between Ms. Cowert and the girls.

The first involved the girls' plans to show their appreciation for Ms. Cowert at an upcoming reception at school. The reception was to honor Ms. Cowert for her 10 years of service as the Y-Teens sponsor at Williams Elementary. Here is a part of the discussion

planning their involvement in the upcoming event (In the following transcripts, I am designated as “E” and each girl is designated by her first initial):

E: Oh now listen somebody, it was Yolanda, told me that y’all were gonna try and do something for Ms. Cowert. (Group shushes and yahs.)

E: Do you need me to help you with that?

J: If you want to.

E: Sure what can I do to help?

[Group is talking.]

I: It’s gonna be she’s gonna have ten years of uh Y-teens.

[Lots of talking among students about the food that is planned for the party.]

I: I want to buy her a present.

R: I bought her a present, but that was for her birthday.

E: Would y’all like to go in together and get her a gift.

All: Yeah! (Laughter)

E: What would she like to have?

I: A computer.

J: She has so much stuff. See! (Waving her arms around at different parts of the room) No posters!

I: No books. She has more than a thousand books.

E: Does she like plants?

R: Ya, I think so.

E: Would she like some flowers? It might be nice to bring her a pretty plant.

R: I have a nice idea. Why don’t we one day before the the the class party. Why don’t we all get together and buy her something. Ya go to uh store.

E: Well, isn’t the surprise party in 2 days? So, you only have tomorrow.

R: Oh ya.

All: Groan!!

[Discussion about bringing her a teddy bear.]

J: We could bring her some candy.

?: And flowers.

?: BRING her flowers.

R: Roses...tulips...she likes...wait which ones did she say that she like.

[Discussion about different kinds of flowers.]

- R: Narcissus...she told us xxx she likes.
 I: Narcissus are pretty man.
 R: She likes the...the flower that that like a hook. They are like xxx like open.
 E: Here, draw a picture.
 R: xxx xxx They're like...(draws a sketch)
 E: Do you know the name in Spanish?
 R: Uh...
 I: Camoso?
 R: [not remembering the name in Spanish] They're like...
 (Paper crumpling; Rosalinda tries to make a paper flower out of a piece of notebook paper.)
 ...a long skinny pole...
 J: That's a skinny pole? (laugh)
 R: Then they ...Oh I think I know which one. Then they, then they, kind of like that. They call it Greeks.
 E: Is that a tulip?
 R: Ya, I think it is a Tulip.
 E: Uhhuh
 R: These are the kind like she likes.
 (Proudly displaying her paper flower.)
 (MT04-27-98;1084:1347)

Rosalinda went to a great deal of trouble trying to identify the kind of flower that Ms. Cowert had said she liked. She used multiple language learning strategies in this dialogue, trying different phrases and vocabulary, comparisons, drawing, and finally making a model of a flower with on-hand materials. In spite of this work, the group never came to a consensus on what kind of flower Ms. Cowert liked. They agreed that I should buy a pretty pot of flowers for them to give to her at the reception in 2 days. I did that, and at an appropriate time during the festivities, the girls presented Ms. Cowert with the flowers. They were very proud of this present, and she seemed to appreciate it.

A very different kind of expression of care occurred at about the same time. Several of the study participants were caught writing on the walls in the bathroom. This was quite unusual behavior for the girls, and the incident provoked many retellings and reflections. One of those reflections was by Yolanda, in her interview later in the year, when she was reflecting on memorable events of sixth grade:

Ms. Cowert said “Josefina, Irma, Yolanda, you’ve got me really disappointed. I have never seen you in the office”. And I would think oooh. I was scared. They make us clean the whole bathroom.
(IN Yolanda1Sum; 178:181).

It was clear that Ms. Cowert's reaction to the incident, her sincere expression of disappointment in their behavior, had been heard and remembered by Yolanda.

Parents also seemed to believe that whatever Ms. Cowert was doing, was based on genuine care for their children. In a focus group meeting just days before the summer break began, this conversation took place:

Y: She [Ms. Cowert] didn't believe us! I told my mom that she was bad too, a little bit bad with us, and she [Yolanda's mom] said then maybe she was acting like that because she didn't want us to get sad whenever we get out of school.

E: She doesn't want you to get what?

Y: Sad. When we get out of school.

R: Like we gonna miss her.

(MT05-11-98; 678:689)

Yolanda was upset that Ms. Cowert had not believed the girls' version of a classroom incident, and when she complained at home, her mom justified Ms. Cowert's

behavior by rationalizing that maybe Ms. Cowert was “being bad with us” so the girls wouldn’t miss her so much.

Ms. Cowert took time to praise, congratulate, and affirm her students. Such affirmations were sprinkled throughout her communication with them all day. They were simple, quick words or phrases that were freely, but purposively shared with her students. As I checked in on the class 2 of the 3 days during the spring achievement testing, she told me each time that the students were doing great on their tests, “They’re geniuses. They are doing wonderfully on these tests. Nothing to sweat about except the weather” (FN04-09-98; 22:25).

In addition to affirming her students, Ms. Cowert was vigilant about taking good care of her students so that the school environment would be positive for them. My fieldnotes contain many references to this; two of the references were about testing days. The first was with the national achievement tests that were administered in early April:

The class was still getting settled and there was a lot of activity going on. I was relieved. Ms. Cowert greeted us and told Ms. Presley what the temperature was in the room (hot). She was handing out little fans to all of the kids.

[Observer’s Comment: This was typical Ms. Cowert. She has everything in her room. Wouldn’t you know that she would have a little box of fans for just this kind of event.]

(FN04-09-98; 11:19).

In late April, I asked if I could come in and observe her teaching and work with the girls in the afternoon. She diplomatically let me know that this would not be a good idea. My fieldnotes contain this entry:

She said she was planning to have them do some simple stuff and possibly watch a movie to relax before the next two days of TAAS (Texas Assessment of Academic Skills) testing. She thought they would be under a lot of stress next week and she just wanted to help them handle it. (FN04-24-98; 24:27)

In interviews in the sixth grade, the girls often reflected on their affection for Ms. Cowert, and in seventh grade they ruminated about how much they missed Ms. Cowert and Ms. Presley. Rosalinda summed it up, “I just miss Ms. Cowert’s smile” (INRosalinda2Sum; 70:70).

Seventh grade presented a different picture. Although 4 of the participants shared many of the same teachers, there was little talk among them about positive or caring aspects of their relationships with these teachers. In Rosalinda’s interview at the end of seventh grade, she mentioned that her homeroom was going “to make a party for the teachers in Portable H” (IN Rosalinda2Sum; 67:68). Beatriz mentioned in her interview that her coach would come by her home and give her a ride to weekend basketball practice. Sofía reflected on the teachers in her interview at the end of the year by noting that she thought Ms. Hart was a good teacher because she had had detention with her and she didn’t scream at the students. She also mentioned that Ms. Hart told her “that I am smart, but I don’t like to work that much.” (IN Sofía2Sum; 66:70) And Beatriz and Irma had positive remarks about their teachers, but these remarks generally focused more on the way the teachers taught. (Discourse on teaching will be discussed later in the chapter.)

This lack of discourse about teacher's caring words or acts in seventh grade reflects the lack of personal relationships that the girls had with their teachers or other adults in middle school. The contrast between the sixth grade and seventh grade is strong.

Connections through Humor and Storytelling

In talking about their experiences in school, the girls were quick to highlight any playful or humorous incidents between teachers and students. In their interviews, three of the girls specifically mentioned their appreciation of Ms. Cowert's humor and playfulness. Beatriz noted that Ms. Cowert "tries not to be boring. She makes us laugh—but it's not a party" (IN Beatriz1Sum; 134:141).

Yolanda mentioned twice how important Ms. Cowert's humor was to her. In her interview, she noted that she would miss Ms. Cowert the most next year and what she liked the most about Ms. Cowert "is she is playful. She makes us laugh" (IN Yolanda1Sum; 159:163). Later she repeated the sentiment that what she would remember the most about Ms. Cowert from sixth grade "is she made us laugh." (IN Yolanda1Sum; 188:196). Zulema also expressed the same kind of idea in her interview—she would miss Ms. Cowert's sense of humor.

Ms. Cowert clearly made a connection with the students by telling them what she was like when she was their age. In her interview, Yolanda specifically mentioned that she liked Ms. Cowert telling stories about "when she was little" (IN Yolanda1; 159-163).

I observed two different occasions of Ms. Cowert talking about her youth with her students. These are observations from my fieldnotes:

For instance, earlier in the day, the class was discussing the size of people and one of the boys raised his hand and said “Ms. Cowert, were you chunky when you were little like you are now?” She responded “Oh yea, I’ve always been chunky. Everyone in my family is except my mom—she’s a little toothpick.” She held up her little finger to symbolize her mom. Then she pulled out a picture and waved it around and said, “This is my family.” She put it down and said, “I love to eat, especially desserts, especially chocolate” She smiled a big smile, rubbed her stomach and laughed. (FN04-01-98; 152:158)

A few weeks later, she engaged them in another conversation about her youth. These are the fieldnotes about the discussion:

While the kids regrouped from the bathroom break, Ms. Cowert and a few of them were talking about boy-girl relationships. As I walked up Ms. Cowert was telling a story about the boy that she’d had a mad crush on in sixth grade—but of course he didn’t know it. That would be dumb to let him know it; besides it was kind of gross--boys had cooties. He lived down the street from her. Then she told them that she didn’t date until she was in twelfth grade. They gasped in amazement. One of the boys asked “Not even in grade school?” She gave him a “dummy” look and said “No, not even in grade school.” The kids thought this was very strange and funny. (FN04-20-98; 55:64).

In seventh grade, there was one example from the girls’ discourse about a humorous or playful incident between a teacher and students.

- I: I have technology, too. We’re learning how to do rockets.
 E: Yah, that’s—I went in there yesterday—to see you. That looks like a neat class.
 J: I want to go there. If I leave RO- Navy I’m gonna go.
 I: Uhhuh.
 J: If I can.
 E: So what do y’all do in that class?

- I: Um we do xxx. He tells us that we could write our name and that—you know like in like in wood or something like that. Wood. Wood something like that. You could write your name. And and could make a rocket out of paper.
- E: Uhhuh
- I: Let me see. Make a xxx of paper. He showed us this trick about a little stick that it's made of metal—how can it hold up a lot of sticks—of metal.
- E: Uhhuh.
- I: Nobody can do. He follows, he he bet us um \$20.00 who can do it.
- E: Nobody could.
- (laughter)
- I: He did. He said that a 4-year-old showed him. And the 4-year-old was asking him for five bucks to show him. And he gave him the five bucks.
- (MT08-18-98; 935:974)

In addition, I observed two teachers using humor and personal stories with their students. The first was the mainstream social studies teacher that both Josefina and Irma had. He used several personal stories during the first few days of classes. These are my field notes from one of those vignettes:

Mr. Moses started the class somehow by quickly asking if they liked homework and then asking about doing chores at home. He then told them all of the things his 14-year-old son has to do at home. He then explained why he has his son doing these chores—so he can take care of himself when he is grown.

(FN08-11-98; 48:54)

The other incidents of a teacher using stories to make a point also occurred during the first week of school. In this case, it was the Special Education Social Studies teacher who told a lot of stories, many humorous:

He told a riveting story to illustrate a point about body language and emotional maturity. The story was about a boy who came to school mad.

Mr. Skyler kept the class's attention during the whole story. (FN08-18-98; 23:27)

Later in that same class period, he told them about himself and he identified himself as a Cedar Heights boy, who had been to elementary, junior high, and high school in this very neighborhood.

The girl's discourse revealed a decrease in their attention to the connections that teachers made with humor and with personal stories as they moved from elementary into middle school. My fieldnotes show that in sixth grade, Ms. Cowert used humor and personal stories as a part of her regular conversation with her class. It appears that selected seventh-grade teachers used humor and personal stories as well. But in reality, the amount of time spent in seventh grade with teachers who used humor and storytelling decreased from the amount of time spent in sixth grade with Ms. Cowert.

Connections through Trust and Confidence

Trust and confidence was a two-way street in sixth grade, one with a few bumps. In meetings and interviews, study participants expressed different views of trust between the school, the teachers and the students.

At the end of year, the sixth graders went to a local amusement park as a class outing. Several students did not return to the busses at the end of the day at the agreed-upon time. Beatriz and Rosalinda were two of these students. They had gotten stuck on a ride that was shut down for a quick repair while they were on it. When they finally got

off of the ride and made their way to the front of the park, they told their story to Ms. Cowert, who believed that they were really stuck on a ride.

A few days later, I questioned Rosalinda about whether she and Beatriz were going to get to participate in Field Day activities with the class. Most of the students who had been late were not being allowed to participate in Field Day as punishment for their tardiness. This exchange, about the incident, occurred at a focus group meeting:

- E: So Rosalinda do you, do you get to go to Field day tomorrow?
 R: Uhhuh
 E: So you get to go to Field day?
 R: Yah because Ms. Cowert went like “I know you and Beatriz are good girls. And you haven’t signed the paper that much and you’ve been nice and in Y-teens strong. I’m, I’m not going to do anything.”
 Y: She said that they have a great record.
 E: Cause she knew that you were really stuck on the ride?
 R: Yah
 (MT05-14-98; 59-77)

There also seemed to be a degree of trust about the institution’s intentions, as expressed by Beatriz, in her assessment of how the students were being prepared for Middle School in sixth grade:

Because like you know, she’s a great teacher. She really knows how to teach and now that like they’re getting ready for Goodson and I think that’s better cause maybe Goodson will be harder. Better for them to do it earlier than later. (Beatriz1Sum; 138-141)

Beatriz is attributing good intentions to the school system and to Ms. Cowert in the school’s preparation of the students for middle school. A degree of confidence and trust in both the institution and Ms. Cowert would seem to underlie this belief.

At another focus group meeting, Zulema explained and defended how Ms. Cowert had students “sign the clipboard,” a first step in the discipline plan, when they are not paying attention or talking in class:

- R: Like if you’re looking the other, if you’re looking at somebody else and you’re not looking at her, she [Ms. Cowert] just goes like that “Sign the clipboard.”
- E: mmm
- Y: That’s Ms. Presley, too.
- R: No, that’s Ms. Cowert too.
- Z: No, Ms. Cowert will ask, “What are we talking about?” Then if you don’t know, then you go to the clipboard.
- (MT05-04-98; 792:794)

Zulema is making an important point—Ms. Cowert asks the students and gives them a chance to prove that they are paying attention before they have to sign the clipboard. This was an important distinction, especially to Zulema, because of all the study group members, she was most often in trouble.

On another issue however, Ms. Cowert did not have the girls’ trust. It concerned disagreements between the boys and girls and possible harassment of the girls by the boys.

- I: I want to change desks because the boys are all over me.
- E: You want to change desks?
- I: The boys are around me.
- R: I want to change desks and Ms. Cowert—uh, I think she’s nice but when whenever the boys say something bad, but I go like Nah, cause if I tell her maybe she’s gonna scream...
- J: She won’t believe you.
- E: She won’t believe you?
- J: Yah
- (MT05-11-98; 678:723)

There were several discussions about boys, their treatment of the girls, and Ms. Cowert's attention to the matter. In general, the girls believed that the boys were harassing them, but that Ms. Cowert didn't and wouldn't believe them, so they just kept quiet except for discussing it among themselves.

In seventh grade, two discussions stand out as an indicator of issues about trust and confidence. This conversation took place about one month after school had started in the fall semester of seventh grade:

- E: So y'all don't, y'all aren't doing any small groups? You know y'all did small groups so much in Ms. Cowert's room.
 R: No they don't like to do that.
 E: They don't like to do small groups?
 Y: Cause they say we copy.
 E: That you copy!
 (MT09-08-98; 943:953)

A week later, there was another mention of working in groups:

- R: In my classes, they say that we're not in kindergarten to be in groups anymore.
 E: Who said that?
 R: Ms. Sawyer, Ms. Hedge, everybody.
 E: So they think that working in small groups is a kindergarten thing.
 R: They say that you should work individually.
 (MT09-15-98; 611-625)

The students had clearly gotten the message that working in small groups was not something that was acceptable, primarily because the students could not be trusted to not cheat.

Though trust was not always a smooth road in sixth grade, there was important discourse about the trust and confidence between teachers and students. In seventh grade, there was little discourse directly about trust and confidence except for the two references to the teacher's lack of trust in their students—a lack of trust expressed after 1 month in school.

Connections through Culture and Language

Culture. In spite of their affection for Ms. Cowert, many of them identified another teacher, their fourth-grade teacher as the best teacher they had had at Williams. Their assessment of his strengths often concerned his connection with the Mexican culture:

Mr. Gutiérrez is the best, “because he like understands you and like he’s been through this because he, when he came from Mexico he came. So he’s been through this and he really understands people.” He also coaches her cousin in basketball so she sees him often. (IN Beatriz1Sum; 153:156)

Josefina also liked Mr. Gutiérrez:

E: Ah. Who’s a good teacher here at Williams

J: Mr. Gutiérrez. Fourth grade.

E: What about Ms. Cowert and Ms. Presley? Do you think they’re very good?

J: Yeah. But their attitude no.

E: Not their attitude? Both of them?

J: Um. Yeah. Some...most Miss Presley. Miss Cowert...she’s all right.

E: She’s all right?

J: But not as good as Mr. Gutiérrez?

(IN Josefina1Sum; 73:92)

This awareness of cultural identity continued into seventh grade, where their Science teacher was identified:

- E: (laughs) Oh I know which one he is. I remember.
 ?: Es gringo?
 ?: No, americano.
 ?: No, mexicano.
 Z: He said he came from, he came, uh he came from the, he he he he had came...He said he came from Mexico and when he was very young.
 E: Uhhuh.
 Z: And he said that, um, he had trouble learning English.
 (MT09-08-98; 149-175)

Though in the end the girls did not end up being close to Mr. Moreno, the Sheltered Science teacher, it had caught their attention that he was Mexican, he had crossed the border when he was young, and he had learned English with difficulty.

In sixth grade, none of their two core teachers or four enrichment teachers was of Mexican or Latino background, although there were other teachers in the building who were of this background and who spoke Spanish. In seventh grade, the girls each had seven periods of classes and all of the girls had one teacher of Latino background except Irma, who had two Latina teachers during the first semester of classes. Mr. Moreno was the only Latino teacher that more than one girl had. In fact, 4 girls had Mr. Moreno for Sheltered Science the first semester. In both years, the girls' discourse reflected their awareness of their cultural identity and the cultural identity of their teachers.

Attitudes toward Spanish use. Language use also was an issue of discussion in the focus group meetings. The girls were acutely aware of their teachers' attitudes toward the

use of Spanish in school, as this dialogue from the end of sixth grade reflects:

- R: One one thing that makes you really, really mad about school is that Ms. Presley whenever I talk English when we have free time, and she thinks that we're talking about her and she then goes like English please, English.
- E: Ms. Presley doesn't want you speaking Spanish in her room.
- R: No
- Y: No, we we told her we weren't. We were talking Spanish and then she says English please xxx
- I: xxx Ms. Cowert doesn't care
- Y: We were talking English and then Spanish and she started screaming "English, I said English!"
- (MT05-11-98; 1295:1316)

Later in that same meeting, we discussed how they felt when an issue was made of them speaking Spanish:

- E: What uh when you get yelled at about speaking Spanish how does it make you feel about///
- Several: ///Bad
- I: Bad
- E: Does it make you angry or does it make you feel ashamed or ///
- R: ///I feel like screaming at them back.
- E: That makes you angry.
- R: How come you get to speak your language and we can't?
- E: Aah, what about you Sofía, I mean Josefina?
- J: Mad.
- E: Mad.
- R: I feel like answering them back.
- E: Do you ever feel ashamed to speak Spanish like when you're out///
- Several: No
- E: So like if you're out at a restaurant or whatever it doesn't bother you.
- Several: Nah, unhuh
- Y: I speak Spanish xxx everywhere.
- (MT05-11-98; 1408:1462)

In seventh grade, language also was an issue in the girls' discourse. Early in the semester, the local Public Broadcasting System aired a documentary on the Mexican American War. The girls had all been assigned to watch it for history and had tried to take notes during the program. They found the note taking very hard because many of the interviews were in Spanish with Mexican scholars, with a voice-over in English. They found themselves listening to both languages simultaneously but not being able to take good notes in either language. That discussion prompted me to inquire about using Spanish at Goodson:

E: Make sense to me. Are y'all using your Spanish at all in school?

Group: NO!

Y: No we can't.

Z: Only in one of them. In Mr. Moreno's.

R: Mr. Moreno, uhuh.

E: How do you use it in his class?

R: We only ///

Y: ///Because he's a Mexican.

Z: He's a Mexican.

E: Oh, so he conducts the class in Spanish.

R: And in English. Because, this friend, she's Chinese and she doesn't know Spanish.

[A discussion on another topic takes place.]

E: Um do they offer Spanish here? Can y'all take Spanish as a foreign language?

I: Only in eighth grade.

R: Yah. But her teacher... she says that the way we talk Spanish is not the correct way. She says that Spanish is talking like in sentences.

I: xxx Spanish classes.

E: Well, will y'all take, will any of you take Spanish next year?

R: I will.

I: Yea, I don't know.

(MT09-15-98; 1675:1711; 1753:1777)

During both sixth and seventh grade the girls' discourse reveals that they were keenly aware that the use of their native language was looked down upon by some school representatives—in this case, their teachers. In sixth grade, the girls' Science teacher did not like them speaking Spanish during their "free time." In seventh grade, the girls used no Spanish in classes except in Mr. Moreno's Sheltered Science class. And another teacher told them that they "that the way we talk Spanish is not the correct way."

In general, the themes of cultural identity and respect for the students' native language did not change as the girl moved from sixth to seventh grade. They were knowledgeable and aware of their teachers' cultural, ethnic, or language background and seemed to make special connections with some teachers that shared their same background. In both grade levels, they were also aware of teachers' and administrators' attitudes about speaking Spanish during class and during free time. At both grade levels, they found teachers who were either intolerant of them using their native language or were intolerant of the way they spoke their native language. The intolerance in sixth grade made them angry. The demeaning comments in seventh grade about "not speaking Spanish correctly" didn't elicit further discussion.

Connections through After-School Activities

Relationships with teachers. In sixth grade, 5 of the 7 study participants, Beatriz, Irma, Josefina, Rosalinda, and Sofía, were involved in Y-Teens. This organization was a part of the local YWCA program, but the organization had to have a campus sponsor in

order for it to exist at a school site. At Williams Elementary, Ms. Cowert was the faculty sponsor. The group was only open to the sixth-grade girls. They met every Wednesday afternoon in Ms. Cowert's room for the meeting. Through Y-Teens, they went on field trips to educational, historical or cultural sites in the areas, embarked on occasional camping trips on weekends, and engaged in service projects.

In seventh grade, 4 of the 7 girls, Josefina, Sofia, Yolanda, or Zulema, were not involved in any after-school activities and did not express any interest in joining clubs or teams. Beatriz was on the basketball team and volleyball team at Goodson. In addition, she signed up for the end-of-the-year school trip to the coast that was open to all students. Her history teacher was the chief organizer for the trip and consequently she heard about the trip all year and was eager to go. Irma went to academic tutoring after school during the second semester, and Rosalinda searched most of the year for Y-Teens or a club like Y-Teens to join. Finally late in the second semester, a teacher recognized Rosalinda's talent for storytelling and acting and recommended Rosalinda for the eighth-grade drama class. (Rosalinda was not allowed to take this class in eighth grade because she was classified as LEP.)

In March of seventh grade, the girls and I discussed their feelings of closeness to their teachers. In this discussion, they reflected on the impact that after-school activities had on their feelings about their teachers.

E: But what about your sense of clo-- Did you all feel close to Ms. Cowert?

Several: Yeah

E: Do you all feel close like that to teachers here?///

[Talking at once]

E: xxx, who do you feel close to?

B: To most of my teachers.

E: Beatriz feels, what ///

[Talking at once.]

I: ///I felt close to Ms. Cowert because we xxx mostly did a lot of very good activities.

E: And that, and that goes with the activities?

[Side conversation.]

R: They should have that here.

Y: Then they, then they xxx, verdad que si?

[Others talking at once.]

I: Mhmm, like when we did Y-Teens, it was, it was fun.

E: xxx and, and here you don't have anything like that after school?

I: No. Oh, we, we do have clubs, but, I don't know...

S: There are, but they're sorry.

E: The clubs are sorry, Sofía?

S: Yeah.

(MT03-04-99; 1869:1906)

This discussion illustrates the difference in the girls' involvement in school activities and the impact that their involvement had on their feelings about their teachers. Beatriz, who was involved in sports and the end-of-the-year school trip, immediately offered that she felt close to her teachers. Irma identified that it was through the activities of Y-Teens that she had felt close to Ms. Cowert in sixth grade. Rosalinda, then, articulated her wish that they had something like Y-Teens at Goodson. This was after she had spent 7 months looking for Y-Teens or other appealing teen clubs on campus. Then Sofía finished the conversation with her assessment that the clubs at Goodson were sorry, although she has not joined or even explored any clubs.

It is interesting to note that Beatriz was the first to speak about her positive feelings of closeness to the teachers. Beatriz had already been on one school-sponsored trip earlier in the year, organized and led by her history teacher who was also planning the end-of-the-year trip. She had also been involved in after-school activities for most of the year at Goodson, participating in volleyball and basketball. In her seventh-grade interview she talked about winning a trophy for both sports and mentioned that one of the coaches would come by and pick her up at home to take her to practice on weekends.

On the other end of the spectrum is Sofía. Ms. Cowert had told me that she thought Y-Teens had been very important to Sofía in sixth grade. Sofía had been in the country only 1 year when she began sixth grade. Y-Teens gave Sofía a way to get to know the other girls, to get to know her teachers, to practice her English, and to learn about the city. Because Sofía had a quiet and serious personality, and because her English was still quite limited, it would have been easy for her to be isolated from her peers or uninvolved in school activities. In sixth grade, Y-Teens seemed to help mediate that potential isolation; in seventh grade, she was not involved in any after-school activities, and she was quick to pronounce the school clubs as “sorry.”

Relationships with other significant adults. After school activities can also offer students a way to connect with outsiders such as community people, business owners, or in my case, a university researcher. Although the purpose of the research was to observe the study participants in their school setting and to discuss their views about school, it

became apparent that my research provided them a forum for making personal connections with each other on a regular basis, and a way to make a personal connection with me on a regular basis. During the focus group meetings, the girls would sometimes communicate their feelings about the meetings:

[Several are whispering and giggling among themselves—I think Irma and Josefina]

E: I don't know. I didn't get it.

R: It was funny. That um, there's a possibility or something but I don't know...

I: Of having meetings Monday and Tuesday.

E: On Tuesday or Thursdays instead of Monday?

I: No. Monday and Tuesday and Thursday.

E: You like the cookies?

(We all burst out laughing)

E: She really likes these cookies.

(MT04-27-98; 400:425)

Although I teased them that the only reason they wanted to have more meetings is that they really liked the cookies that I brought, it became clear that they were drawn to these meetings for more than food. A few minutes later as we discussed what they wanted to be when they grew up, one of them inserted in the middle of the discussion, the question "Can we talk tomorrow?" These exchanges took place later in the same meeting:

Y: When you were in sixth grade.

E: Uhhuh.

Y: Did you thought a lot about what you want to be when you grow up?

E: Not very much. Unhunh.

R: She does.

E: Uhuh. No I think y'all...I think y'all think about///

?: /// she wants to be a///

E: //those things more than than when we did when we were growing up. What do you, Rosalinda what do you want to do when you grow up?
(MT04-27-98; 805:823)

They nurtured the relationship between them and me in different ways, such as giving me a school photo, or making sure that I was going to come to a reception for Ms. Cowert, or timidly sharing their drawing pads and journals with me. In addition, Sofía took on a special role—that of a mediator between their language or school culture and me.

Because I understand some Spanish, I often understood much of what the girls were saying in their side conversations in Spanish in our group meetings. However, because their talk was laced with idioms, slang, and curse words, I just as often didn't get it. Sofía, who would participate in these side conversations, was most likely to monitor the frequency or the length of them, and abruptly and sternly announce "English!" or "Speak English for Miss Ellie." She also monitored the group's behavior and would also scold other group members when she thought they were unruly with a "Shhh!" or "Be Quiet!" or "Listen!"

Sofía took ownership of these meeting and tried to mold them in the ways that she thought best—keeping me in the circle of conversation and keeping the meetings relatively controlled. She did this throughout the course of our meetings spanning both sixth and seventh grade. She had excellent attendance, missing only 2 of the 16 meetings. Sofía had the time, interest, and need to participate in after-school group activities—in

sixth grade, she had participated in Y-Teens, but in seventh grade, she had not been able to negotiate such participation outside of our research group.

This feeling of connection to our focus group meetings extended beyond Sofía. Josefina also had excellent attendance at these meetings, missing only one meeting. Josefina often asked me for a ride home, I suspected, as a way to have time alone with me, since she lived within easy walking distance of school. We would talk as we drove to her house and then sit in front of her house and finish our conversation. Yolanda often asked what I did when I was their age, trying to establish a sense of mutual identity and deeper connection (Tannen, 1990). Sofía noted, in her interview, that the focus group meetings were helpful because they will “help me to not be nervous about Goodson” (IN Sofía1Sum; 35:45). And at the end of sixth grade, as we were preparing for our summer apart, Zulema clarified how I would find them next year at the Middle School:

- Z: How are you gonna know what classes are we gonna be in?
 E: I’m going to find you. I’ll be there on the first day and I’ll know.
 I’ll talk to the couns--I’ve already talk to them over at Goodson.
 And I’ll I’ll know where y’all are and your schedules.
 Several: Where am I?
 E: No, no, I don’t know now, but I will before y’all get there.
 (MT05-14-98; 742-748)

In seventh grade, the focus group meetings took on additional importance for the girls because the meetings were now a time to see the classmates with whom they didn’t share classes. The group meetings became forums to catch up on gossip, exchange stories, and in general, give progress reports about their school life. This was different

from sixth grade, where they were together all day sharing this kind of information in class and at lunch before I came in, as the outsider, to visit with them. Now the focus group meetings were the primary place for that kind of visiting for all of us.

In addition to expressing their attachment to each other, they also expressed their continued attachment to me as the convener of these meetings and as a sympathetic adult. Sofía who had acted as my mediator on many occasions, inquired, with a hint of jealousy, if I met with any other girls:

S: Do you give classes to other girls?

E: You all, you're the only ones.

I: Cool.

(Laughter)

E: I can barely keep up with you all, how could I handle another group of girls?

(Laughter.)

(MT10-28-98; 39:45)

This qualitative research project provided unexpected benefits to the study participants. It provided them a way to make connections with each other and with me on a regular basis during the life of the fieldwork spanning both sixth and seventh grades. In doing this, it provided them a space and a place to reflect upon their experiences.

Meta-awareness of Teaching and Learning Processes

Throughout sixth and seventh grade, the girls discussed their understanding of the process of teaching and learning in their two schools. Their discourse showed an increasingly sophisticated understanding of how teaching works, how their learning

worked, and how education and schools work. In fact, given the limited English of some of the participants, it might have been expected that their discourse would primarily be “She’s a nice teacher,” or “She’s a mean teacher.” However, as the examples below illustrate, their understanding and articulation of their awareness is far from simple generalizations.

In this section, I will explore four supporting themes: (a) the students’ reflections on teaching strategies, (b) the students’ reflections on teachers’ behaviors, (c) the students’ reflections on themselves within school, and (d) the students’ reflections on the state accountability tests and grades. In each supporting theme, sixth-grade discourse, then seventh-grade discourse will be examined, with concluding remarks about the similarities or differences between the two sets of discourse.

Reflections on Teaching Strategies

The study participants’ discourse was peppered with both informal, spontaneous assessments, as well as more thoughtful critiques of their teachers’ teaching. Such assessments were offered in the focus group meetings and in the one-on-one interviews. In this section, I will focus on the students’ assessment of their teachers’ explanations and their teachers’ use of academic language.

Teacher explanations. Nowhere does the sophistication and specificity of the girls’ meta-awareness of teaching show more than in their assessment of their teachers’

explanations. The study participants' discourse showed a keen awareness of the level and kind of explanations that their teachers used in the course of daily teaching.

In sixth grade, the girls were asked about their teachers in all of their interviews. Often their remembrances included assessment of their teachers as “good explainers”. Josefina, in explaining her regard for Mr. Gutiérrez, their fourth-grade teacher, noted that, “If you didn’t understand it, he’ll tell you again and he’ll do it until you understand it” (INJosefina1Sum; 72-75). Beatriz, in describing her sixth grade Science and Math teacher, noted:

[Ms. Presley] teach very good. I like the way she like ... she does it a week before we even supposed to study that. But she taught you like, you see this is not hard at all, she teaches. And then, whenever we get that homework, we already like have it in mind. And then she starts teaching us again.
(Beatriz1Sum; 143-156)

In her sixth grade interview, Sofía showed her keen awareness of how teachers explained and whether their explanations were effective. Teacher explanations were particularly important to her since she had been in the U.S. the least time of all of the participants—approximately 18 months at the time of her first interview. In that interview at the end of sixth grade, she spent a good deal of time reflecting on this issue of teacher explanations:

S: I don’t like the way they teach.
E: OK. And they’re ///
S: ///Cause they didn’t give us so much information. Like yesterday, they were saying that we have to write um like, they know, they xxx
E: The poems?

- S: Uh huh. But they didn't give us information how to do it. And I just ... something that I do.
- E: OK. So, it was hard for you. You didn't get enough information to know how to do it.
- S: She she just go like this. Write something about the xxx. And the first one is gonna be one, two words, three words, four words, ah six words, seven words, then eight words. And I didn't get it"
(IN Sofia1Sum; 118-140)

Later in the same interview, she offered this observation:

- E: Were there other things that you liked better about the schools in Mexico? That made it easier for you to be such a good student?
- S: I don't know. I ... like, when they teach you something [in Mexico], they say, "Did you understand it?" And when we say, "Yes." They tell us to go up in the [board] and to write we understand. And I think that that's real easy cause you're you're showing them how you understand. And they and here they just tell us, "Do you understand?" And we say "yes." [Then, they say] "OK, do your work."
- E: Ah. So, they don't know whether you really understand?
- S: Uh huh. We are lying and they don't know.
(IN Sofia1; 191-212)

Sofía is describing in detail the way that she thinks that she learns best. And she is not just reflecting on how she learns best, but pin pointing where she thinks her current instruction breaks down. For instance, in this exchange, she is describing her desire for an informal, on-going assessment of her understanding of new concepts. She was frustrated that she did not understand how to do the syllable poetry assignment and she was equally frustrated that Ms. Cowert did not check her understanding and then give her more help. This reflection shows a student who is thinking about her own learning, a student who

wants to learn and succeed, and a student who has valuable information on how she might learn better and how the teacher might be more effective.

In seventh grade, the girls had even more to say about their teachers' explanations. Their comments show a great deal of specificity about this issue. Interestingly, Beatriz, in the special education track, and Irma, in the mainstream track, both had positive remarks about their teachers' explanations. This first illustration comes from the fieldnotes taken during Beatriz's interview at the end of seventh grade.

She really liked her Math teacher this year. She [the Mathematics teacher] explained things one-on-one if Beatriz needed it. The Math teacher does whatever it takes to make them understand—sings, dances, jumps on tables. (INBeatriz2Sum; 65:68)

Irma also had positive comments about the instruction in some of her classes:

- I: [My teachers are] always repeating themselves. They're like, they're asking us, like, if [we] want for them to repeat themselves. Especially my pre-honors class—I think that they, they're the same.
E: You think it's the same as, as Williams?
I: Yeah.
(MT03-04-98; 1960-1966)

The 4 study participants who were taking mostly Sheltered ESL classes, Rosalinda, Sofía, Yolanda, and Zulema, and the other study participant who was taking primarily mainstream classes, Josefina, had a different view about their teachers' instructional explanations.

As is seen above, Sofía had a clear idea about her expectations for teacher explanations. In seventh grade, as in sixth grade, the teachers did not meet her standards for this basic classroom task:

- S: I think they don't explain, well, like, right.
 J: Mira xxx (*look*)
 E: They don't explain things right?
 S: No.
 E: You think they're telling you things that are wrong?
 S: They only say it one time.
 E: Oh, and then they don't say it again?
 (MT03-04-99; 1794-1806)

Josefina also commented on the lack of explanations by her Sheltered Language Arts teacher. Mr. Paxton gave them a lot of homework, “but he just tells us to take notes, but doesn't explain the material” (IN Josefina2Sum; 97-98). Even Beatriz who was generally happy with her teachers, mentioned that her “bad teachers” were her first year teachers who “didn't teach—they just make us take notes from the books” (IN Beatriz2Sum; 70-73).

Mr. Moreno, the Sheltered Science teacher, received a negative assessment by the girls for getting off-subject and failing to explain adequately:

- R: And then he goes and skips the subject and talks about when he was a young boy. “When I was a little boy, I went to college and then I xxx” and then he starts talking and xxx and then he goes “Now do the essay.” And he didn't do nothing!
 E: He didn't teach you?
 Y: Yeah, and xxx///
 ?: /// (Laughter) Not about what he thinks.
 (Laughter.)
 Z: xxx and I think that's why I failed his class.

- E: You think that's why you failed his class?
 Z: Sí (*yes*)
 Y: And, and, and when we told him like something he didn't, xxx he didn't put much attention.
 E: Uhuh.
 R: And he jokes too much. He jokes too much (Laughter).
 (MT03-04-99; 2017:2046)

During the last focus group meeting in seventh grade, the students spent a good deal of time reflecting on the differences between Williams Elementary and Goodson Middle School. Zulema noted “that over there [at Williams], they used to explain to you what. They explain more over there and more than that they explain here [at Goodson]” (MT03-04-99; 1839:1842). Rosalinda also felt there was a difference between the two schools. In comparing the schools she noted, “they help you more on the questions that you have, like if they give you an assignment” (MT03-04-99; 1723:1734). Josefina felt she had been given more and better assistance in preparing for the state accountability exams at Williams Elementary, “They explain, in Williams, more” (MT03-04-99; 1743:1745). Beatriz also noted that “this year [seventh grade] you have to depend on other students more to help you” (IN Beatriz2Sum; 84:89). Finally, Josefina and Yolanda summarized their frustrations with teachers at Goodson who did not give good explanations:

- E: I mean, does it affect the way you think about school, or wanting to come to school, or ///
 J: ///Like right here [Goodson], they don't really listen to you.
 E: They don't listen to you?
 J: No.
 Y: They don't care, they just go like “OK, fine.”

- E: Do you think they listened to you at Williams?
 Several: Yeah
 J: 'Cuz ///
 ?: ///More than here.
 E: More than here.
 J: Yeah, 'cuz, 'cuz if you don't understand a problem, they don't like to change their stuff.
 E: I'm sorry, if you don't understand the problem they, they///
 J: ///they won't, they don't like repeating.
 E: They don't repeat.
 (MT03-04-99; 1926:1949)

The girls' meta-awareness of instructional explanations was articulated both in sixth and seventh grade. In spite of their limited English language skills, the girls were able to communicate to me that they were paying attention to the instructional process, that they were analyzing the instructional process, and that they were able to evaluate its effectiveness for them as learners. Sofia, the participant with the most limited English language skills, led the way in her interview at the end of sixth grade, where she provided an analysis of the problems with the current instruction, a description of a more effective instruction model, and an explanation of why it would be better.

In seventh grade there was a larger body of discourse devoted to teacher explanations, partially because there were more teachers, there was more frustration, and there was the opportunity to make comparisons between their elementary experience and their middle school experience. Their seventh grade discourse showed a persistent awareness of the role that explanations played in their comprehension of new material and highlighted their assessment that, for the most part, their teachers would provide only

one explanation and that was all. The latter was particularly true for this group of 5 students who were “in the middle,” meaning they were not in pre-honors mainstream and not in special education. In fact, most of the complaints were about their sheltered content classes. Programmatically, these classes should be designed to provide rich language support, including multiple and varied explanations, for ESL students as they make the transition from ESL to mainstream classes (Freeman & Freeman, 1994). It is particularly ironic that it was these classes that were the focus of so much frustrated discourse.

Academic language. One issue that did not surface in sixth grade, but did in seventh grade, concerned the use of academic Spanish in Mr. Moreno’s Sheltered Science class. Academic language is that language a student needs to learn grade level content. This includes content vocabulary and the language of learning, such as the language of learning techniques and strategies needed to organize and understand new academic concepts. This discussion revealed their frustration with the way Mr. Moreno used academic Spanish and English in his class:

E: What do y’all think, do y’all like it that he teaches in Spanish?

Group: Nooo!

?: I don’t like it.

Z: I don’t understand him.

E: You don’t understand his Spanish?

Z: Uhhuh.

R: Neither in English.

E: You don’t understand his English or his Spanish?

?: Unhuh.

E: Oh this is interesting. Why?

Z: He talks tricky.

?: Yah.

- E: He talks tricky English? What is that?
- Z: Tricky, he talks it, but he...funny, you know. He don't talk it right. [Another discussion takes place, and then we return to this topic of Mr. Moreno's language in the classroom].
- E: And science is Mr. Moreno? And so does Mr. Moreno teach completely in Spanish? Or does he teach sometime in English?
- R: English and Spanish.
- E: So he switches between them?
- Z: He can talk English.
- R: Sometimes he talks Spanish and English at the same time.
- E: Uhhuh. He goes back and forth between them. Yah.
- Y: That's why you don't understand him!
- E: That's s-- so it would be easier for you if he talked just in English, or just in Spanish?
- Z: For me it would be easier if he talked just in English.
- E: Just in English. You're. It's been a...are you, do y'all speak Spanish at home?
- Z: Well, I talk English.
- E: You talk English. But your parents talk Spanish?
- Z: Uhhuh.
- E: Yah I understand. So, you're feeling rusty in your Spanish?
- Z: Yah.
- E: Yah. So, it's hard when he's talking that scientific language in Spanish to know what he's talking about. Is that's what's going on?
- Z: Yah.
- E: Does he know that's hard for you?
- Z: No. Cause I never said nothing to him.
- E: So, what would happen if you told him?
- Z: I don't know.
- (MT09-29-98; 806:862)

For some of the girls who had not been in school in Mexico, who had not developed grade-level literacy skills in Spanish in their U.S. bilingual classrooms, and whose parents had education limited to elementary school or less, academic Spanish was very difficult. Zulema, who fit this description, was frustrated all year with Mr. Moreno's

Sheltered Science class. For Yolanda, the difficult part of Mr. Moreno's language use was that he switched between the two languages. She had only been in the country 2 years, so the use of academic Spanish was not a difficulty, but switching between the two languages, sometimes in mid-sentence was difficult for her. The girls proved to be quite observant about Mr. Moreno's use of Spanish in the classroom and perceptive about what made his use of Spanish difficult for them.

Reflections on Teachers' Behaviors

The girls were keen observers of their teachers' moods, attitudes and behaviors. When I started the project with them in mid-year in sixth grade, they had already grown accustomed to their sixth-grade teachers. Still, they were quick to report events that made them angry or frustrated such as Ms. Presley's insistence that they use English when they were talking during their free time, or Ms. Cowert not taking their complaints about the boys' harassment seriously. Occasionally, they described their teachers as mean—"She was mean today"—which seemed to be a catch-all expression used when the girls thought a teacher was in a bad mood. In general, there were few complaints about teachers and teacher behaviors in sixth grade.

Seventh grade presented a very different picture. In seventh grade, the girls' discourse about their teachers' behaviors and attitudes became more descriptive and specific. Their descriptions were also more negative than in sixth grade. The girls often described teachers as mad and angry.

Throughout seventh grade, a few teachers were frequently the subject of conversation among the girls. This was certainly true for Ms. Sawyer, who taught Sheltered Social Studies. The girls were quick to describe their latest episode with her:

R: One day she got mad and she gave us a test to see if we were paying attention but she didn't teach us anything about those words. She was just teaching us different words and I got a five.
(MT09-08-98; 914:917)

Later, we were discussing my visits to their classrooms during the first few weeks of school:

E: Well Ms. Sawyer, when I've been in there, the room is awfully quiet. I mean y'all aren't ///
Z: ///She'll have a fit if you don't be quiet. She'll like "When do you want detention?"
(MT09-08-98; 937:941)

Then they described her impatience with them when they didn't answer her questions quick enough:

R: If you're studying and if we're studying for a test on next week and she asks you what's the meaning for a plus and if you don't answer it "I'm sick of this I'm not you're xxx you're on your own."
[Makes a sound effect.]
E: Ohhh
J: That's what Mr.Paxton does.
Z: And Ms. Sawyer.
(MT09-08-98; 1090-1094)

Ms. Sawyer was not the only teacher who was described as mad and angry.

Mr.Paxton, the Sheltered Language Arts teacher, was often described as mad as was Ms. Hedge, the Sheltered Reading teacher:

E: Three of y'all have Ms. Hedge. What do you think about her?

- R: MMmm she's OK. But sometimes she gets on my nerves.
 E: Uhhuh.
 R: She starts to scream at the boys and to the girls like DON'T. And
 and your ears go like... [Makes a sound effect].
 J: Then she slams the door.
 (MT09-08-98; 95-111)

It is interesting to note that almost all of the discourse about angry and mad teachers focused on the Sheltered Reading, Language Arts, and Social Studies teachers. These were some of the same teachers who frustrated the girls with their lack of explanations or their incomplete explanations.

This is in real contrast to the rest of the girls' teachers especially the special education teachers and some of the mainstream teachers. For instance, Beatriz had positive observations about her Special Education teachers. In a discussion about homework, Beatriz noted, "In my classes, like, if you don't do your homework once, they give you another chance" (MT03-04-99; 2070:2071). She also felt that she "had more time to learn things this year—like 1 or 2 weeks. They let us really learn it" (IN Beatriz2Sum; 86:88). Such comments about getting a second chance and having enough time to learn are quite different from comments about getting yelled at if you do not answer quickly enough.

The comparison between sixth and seventh grade reveals sixth-grade students who had some concerns about their teachers behaviors, but in general, did not pay a lot of attention to them because there were so few problems. Seventh grade, however, showed a core group of teachers, who often seemed to be angry or mad at their students. This was

not the behavior of all seventh grade teachers, but it was the behavior for some teachers, most of whom happened to be Sheltered ESL teachers.

Reflections on Themselves within School

The study participants' reflected on themselves within the school environment as they completed their elementary studies and moved into middle school. Examining their views of themselves provides us with a window on these girls' sense of self. In this section, I will describe the students discourse about themselves.

In sixth grade, much of the discourse about themselves at school reflected their identity as an English Language Learner. This identity was certainly not the first image of themselves that they presented, but it was present and referred to, especially in discussions about what kind of learner they were.

Josefina worried that sometimes she didn't get her class work completed because "I am too slow" (IN Josefina1Sum; 106:107). Sofia believed that she couldn't do well "cause I don't like to participate" (IN Sofia1Sum; 226:230). She also remembered her nervousness at the beginning of the year because she thought she did not know enough English. Beatriz remembered how hard it was to just be using English. She reminded me that her class last year was all in Spanish. And Yolanda often commented how much she did not like to read and how hard it was for her.

All of these concerns could be based on the fact that these girls were still learning English. Sofia's concern about not liking to participate and Josefina's concern about her

slowness are both concerns that may be a result of their role as language learners. It is common that English Language Learners would be uncomfortable participating in whole group discussions or in an initiation-response-evaluation exchange (Mehan, 1979) with the teacher. Keeping up is also an issue for language learners, especially in timed writing activities (Au, 1993). Yolanda's dislike for reading is common when the student doesn't read well yet.

In seventh grade, their discourse about themselves at school reflected a more complex understanding of themselves. It seldom reflected their status as language learners, although all of them, except Irma, were still classified as LEP during the school year. They also experienced seventh grade in very different ways. Beatriz, Irma, and Rosalinda, seemed to feel quite successful at the end of the year. On the other hand, Josefina, Sofia, and Yolanda seemed to have survived seventh grade but were still unsure of themselves as learners. And Zulema floundered all year

Beatriz reflected optimism about school all year. She liked her teachers, she liked how they taught and by the end of the year, she thought she was "smarter because I have learned so many things this year" (IN Beatriz2Sum; 4:4). Beatriz was active in sports and was taking part in school trips that one of her teachers organized.

Irma made a real journey during seventh grade. A few weeks after school had begun she began investigating how to get out of her Sheltered Language Arts class:

- I: In Mr.Paxton. I want to get out of it.
J: Especially Mr.Paxton.

- I: They say that you could get out of it. But you go through a test.
 E: For Mr.Paxton?
 R: Yah, but will they let you take the test?
 I: Uhhuh
 E: When?
 I: They say like in January or something like that.
 (MT09-29-98; 509:526)

This discussion continued with most of the girls listing one or two teachers whose class they would like to leave, but it was only Irma who actually succeeded. Within a month of this conversation, Irma had tested out of ESL. She was no longer classified as “Limited English Proficient” and had been moved out of Mr.Paxton’s class

A little later in the same semester, she almost lost her way. She was spending hours on the Internet each evening, part of it chatting with a guy much older than she, who became her boyfriend. She ignored many of her friends during this time and quit studying. Then in January, report cards came out at the end of the first semester. These are the fieldnotes taken as she reflected on that experience:

She made bad grades the first semester because of her boyfriend. Her grades helped her realize that she was in trouble. So she started working in Science and Language Arts and got an 89 or better. Her mom helped her realize that she didn’t need a boyfriend. She thinks her mom is a good role model. (IN Irma2Sum; 63:72)

At the end of the year, Irma was very proud of what she had accomplished: “[I] tried to do my best—to make my dreams come true to be the mayor of the city and to go to college.” (IN Irma2Sum; 4:7) She also reflected on her growth as a learner over the last two years by saying:

“I used to be dumb before Ms. Cowert and Ms. Presley [her sixth grade teachers] I really have to thank them for such good preparation. Maybe next year I will be in honors classes.” (IN Irma2Sum; 9:11; 41:44)

Rosalinda also passed some important milestones during seventh grade. She began the school year quite successfully. In the fall of seventh grade, the big news concerned Rosalinda winning the school-wide essay contest for Hispanic Heritage Month. This is how she broke the news to us at the focus group meeting:

R: I think that I felt very good because my teacher said that I get good grades and my parents were very proud of me when they, um, knew that I won a computer.

E: You won a computer?

R: Yeah.

E: Why?

R: I made an essay of Mexico. Mexican Heritage Month.

E: Oh, and who gave it to you, who gave you the computer? Who sponsored///

R: ///the principal.

(MT10-28-98; 797-819).

During the school year, Rosalinda had to grapple with how she was perceived by other students, noting “I don’t want to be a school girl either” (MT03-04-99; 1421). She was made fun of by other students for her studious manner. At the end of the year when Rosalinda reflected on herself as a learner, she was buoyant. She said that she was “doing great,” that she had brought home a certificate of accomplishment every 6 weeks, and that she had made the honor roll. In all, she felt more confident about herself after seventh grade.

Josefina had a rough school year. Her dad's job situation was not good and it put stress on the family. She reflected that in the concern she expressed about her family, especially her mom, who was working long hours. In addition to that, Josefina was very concerned about her friend Irma as she saw Irma abandon her school friends and school responsibilities. In spite of these serious distractions, Josefina managed to make a "B" average. She reflected on being successful at Goodson by noting that it was important to put "yourself in your work; and if you don't understand something, then don't be shy." (IN Josefina2Sum; 63:64). It was Josefina who identified that teachers at Goodson "do not really listen to you ... if you don't understand a problem they don't change their stuff ... they don't like repeating" (MT 03-03098; 1911-1956). At the end of the year, Josefina took a very reflective stance about life. Here are my field notes from that interview:

She wants to help her mom. When they go to Mexico, they could build their own house. Grandma could live with them in Mexico. Her mom wants to go back to Mexico—Aguas Calientes. She thinks she will graduate from here (U.S.); work and then go back to Mexico. When she grows up she wants to help the poor—be a teacher or a doctor in Mexico. (IN Josefina2Sum; 40:46)

Josefina emerged from seventh grade having handled her problems with care and with maturity and without losing her sense of herself as a student.

Sofia and Yolanda both struggled in seventh grade. They were the students who had been in the U.S. the least amount of time and hence had the least experience with English, especially academic English. They needed to have made substantial progress in seventh grade in their English language skills. However, given the state of their sheltered

content and ESL classes, it was dubious that they received the instruction and support that they needed. Neither Sofía or Yolanda liked having so many teachers in seventh grade. Neither of them made connections to the school through after-school activities. They were both in ROTC, which seemed to give them some sense of identity. They both made “B’s” and “C’s” during the year.

Sofía did not “like many things about this year” (Sofía2Sum; 32) except for ROTC and her Sheltered Reading teacher. Sofía was told by this teacher that she was smart but that she “didn’t like to do that much work” (IN Sofía2Sum; 68-70). My fieldnotes for the end of the year interview with Sofía noted that:

Mr. Perez says stuff to Mr. Moreno about Sofía. She doesn’t like Mr. Perez. She thinks her teachers do not like her. Sofía says she will argue with them. (IN Sofía2Sum; 72-74)

Yolanda thought it was important to spend more time studying and not skip, because then you get behind. In October she talked about homework:

E: In the whole 6 weeks? What did you get detention for?
 Y: Um I didn’t do my homework.
 E: Cause you didn’t do your homework? Are you having a hard time keeping up with your homework?
 Y: No.
 E: You just didn’t want to do it?
 Y: Yah.
 E: You just felt lazy?
 (MT 10-07-98; 356:371)

As the year progressed, Yolanda talked about poor grades and noted that she wasn’t doing well in Mr. Moreno’s class “cuz I don’t like him” (MT03-04-99;

1135:1141). At the end of the year, she was feeling more optimistic and successful and commented that she liked it that she was getting better grades now.

Zulema also struggled all year. She started the school year off with an energetic attitude. Here are my field notes from the first day of classes:

When I came in I saw Zulema. She had a big smile on her face when she saw me. She seemed very glad to see me. She was seated in the back of the classroom in the last row and I took the chair behind her. Zulema looks the same--only taller.

Ms. Sawyer has a pleasant smile and laugh. When the students introduced themselves, Zulema said she wanted to be a teacher. After everyone introduced themselves, Ms. Sawyer said she wanted to play the name game. She started on the opposite corner of the room from Z and I. But these students just couldn't get this name game thing and we couldn't hear. So Z says, without raising her hand, "Ms. this is going to be too hard—we can't hear." Ms. Sawyer says, "Yes, you can too do it". So, Ms. Sawyer started jumping around the room starting the game in different places. Zulema always raised her hand to volunteer to start, but never got called on. She also called out asking to start the game. As they played and messed up, the kids and Ms. Sawyer laughed.

[Observer Comment: I was impressed with Zulema's bravery—talking out of turn and disagreeing with her teacher.]

(FN08-11-98; 120-140)

Then, quickly as the semester progressed, she began to worry aloud about getting in trouble or and about her grades. After about three weeks in school Zulema had already decided on one response to the uncomfortable situations in Ms. Sawyer class:

Z: To me, I don't talk or nothing. I'm always getting in trouble in Ms. Sander's class. Cause I'll stay quiet and she'll ask me a question and I won't answer it.

J: Woo, that's how Mr.Paxton is.

Z: I'm like real real quiet. And then she'll///

R: ///And then she pops out her eyes like that. Like she looks like she///

Z: ///“I don’t have, I don’t have all day” and I just stay quiet. And then she gets tired of me and she asks another person.

(MT09-08-98; 1075:1088)

At the end of September, we had this discussion:

E: What happens with Ms. Sawyer? With you?

Z: She don’t like me.

E: She doesn’t like you? Why?

Z: She says that I’m a bad girl.

E: She thinks that you’re a bad girl? Well shame on her. Do any other teachers think that?

Z: (Nods no).

E: Just Ms. Sawyer. And why—but you don’t know why she thinks that.

Z: She thinks that I’m not want to be in her class.

(MT09-29-98; 923:936)

It took about 6 weeks for Ms. Sawyer to label Zulema as a bad girl. Although Zulema did not claim this to be her belief about herself, it does raise the issue of if and how students take on the beliefs of their teachers.

In mid-September we discussed all of the new issues that each of them was dealing with in middle school. It appeared that Zulema was already figuring out her way of doing school:

E: What about things outside of school? Like issues with boys and drugs and gangs and

Z: xxx

E: I’m sorry.

Z: I said I’m not in none of it.

E: You’re not in any of that. Good.

I: xxx were asking if I want to to go out and skip school. Unhuh.

Y: Oh yah.

- E: What happens if you skip school? Do they call your parents that day?
R: Big time trouble.
E: They do.
Z: Sometimes if you just don't go after lunch—it's OK.
(MT 09-15-98; 171:198)

It was also at this time that she identified the problem with the “tricky language” that Mr. Moreno used in his Science class. Then, she asked me to explain the various levels of ESL and how she could exit out of ESL. In the spring, she rather wistfully talked about “how they used to explain more over there [at Williams Elementary]” (MT 03-04-99; 1839:1842). Then as everyone was reporting their grades, she quietly reported “I got an “A” last year” (MT 03-04-98; 1119:1120). By the end of the year she was failing her Sheltered ESL classes and making plans to attend summer school. Zulema's discourse provides an incomplete picture of her, but it does sketch a picture of a learner who is struggling with her classes, her grades, and most importantly, with her own identify as a learner.

Reflections on Testing and Grades

The study participants spent a great deal of time discussing how their performance and achievements were being measured. In the spring of their sixth-grade year their discourse focused on the state accountability testing, TAAS, and in fall of their seventh-grade year their discourse shifted to focus on grades and grading. In this section, I will describe the students' discourse about both topics.

State accountability tests. In sixth grade, the state accountability tests, TAAS, loomed large over these girls. We spent a great deal of time discussing their feelings about the test both before and after it was administered. This test took center stage both in the classroom, as teachers spent a great deal of time preparing their students for it, in the girl's thoughts and discussions, and in their families' consciousness.

The school started preparation for the exams early in the year by administering practice tests in the fall. Many of the study participants did not do well on that first practice exam, including Sofía. Sofía's mother came to school and asked for extra work that Sofía could do at home to help prepare her for the test. It was the only time that year that Ms. Cowert saw Sofía's mom.

As the exams approached the girls talked about their nervousness about the exam:

E: It's kind, it can be a stressful, week. It doesn't have to be, but it can be kind of stressful for you guys I know.

Y: Really stressful.

E: Ya. So...

I: It's hard.

E: So you can you can write how. Tonight you can write how you feel thinking about going to TAAS.

Z: I used to get nervous xxx now I don't.

E: Now you don't get nervous. Cause you've done it so many times? You're an old pro.

Y: I still get goose spots.

E: You still get nervous?

Y: Right.

(MT04-27-98; 924:944)

At the end of the exam week, we met as a focus group and they spent a great deal of time in the meeting describing their reactions to the test taking and assessing their prospects for passing. First, Yolanda and I explored her reaction to the exam:

- E: Um, what did y'all think the night before TAAS? How were you feeling?
Y: I was feeling like nightmares.
E: Like what?
Y: I said like having nightmares.
E: Like nightmares, yea. What kind of night...what would your...what would be in your nightmares, Yolanda?
Y: TAAS.
E: Did you fail?
Y: Reading.
E: Mmm. And if you were in your nightmares, if you had failed TAAS, what would you look like? What would it look like?
Y: Unuh.
E: That'd be a good thing to draw. Did anybody draw this week?
(MT05-04-98; 26:49)

This prompted several of them to say that they had in fact drawn during the week. Rosalinda jumped in then to describe her drawing which depicted the nightmare she had during the testing week. Figure 2 is Rosalinda's depiction of the following dream:

- R: I had nightmares!
E: You had nightmares too?

This IS My dream of math!



Figure 2. Rosalinda's drawing entitled "This Is My Dream of Math!" depicting her dream about the state accountability test for Mathematics.

- R: I went to sleep with my dad and my mom.
 E: Mm huun. Well. What did it look like in your nightmares?
 R: That uh. This is gonna sound xxx but that um that there was this big big um booklet and it was the TAAS. And then it had little brothers and sisters and they were all following and I was running

all over the school and everybody thought that I was crazy. And and I went and I found Ms. Cowert's room, but she wasn't there.

E: Mmm.

R: And then I went to Ms. Presley's room and and she opened it

E: Mmm

R: And I got in. And and then she turned into a booklet with big teeth and big eyes and I just wanna yaaah.

E: Oh how fascinating.

R: And I wake up an I went OK, that's it. I'm leaving.

E: And was the booklet the TAAS test?

R: Ya.

E: Is that what that was?

R: And they had little TAAS brothers and sisters.

E: Oh, so the little people that were the little things chasing you around were little booklets? Or little brothers and sisters?

R: Little booklets.

E: Mmm.

R: But they were the brothers and sisters of the BIG booklet!

E: Wow! That is a, that is a, that is a very vivid dream.

(MT05-04-98; 80:138)

We continued talking about their feelings about the tests when Zulema offered this insight:

Z: When they were passing out the TAAS I was afraid. I'm not gonna pass.

E: Uh uh.

Z: And I was real nervous.

E: Were you afraid the night before too

Z: (Nods no)

E: No, you didn't think about it.

(MT05-04-98; 153:164)

Sofía, then, told us that she also didn't think about the test the night before, but her stomach had started hurting when they started passing the test out. Finally, Rosalinda described another dream she had after the reading portion of the exam:

- R: It was Lidia, she was with me and, and uh, when they give her the test, she just pull her hair and go like AHHH! And then she scared me. And then I just looked up and all of the teachers were like shoving work and work and then my brain was all... I couldn't do the test because they gave me so much homework that I just wasted it. And then I failed the test and I had to go to summer school and my mom and my dad went "See, now you're going to be an orphan" and they left me.
- E: And they went to Mexico?
- R: And my brothers and my sister.
- E: And you had to stay in [the city] over the summer and...
- R: And they took the keys and I had to sleep in the park!
- (We all laugh)
- (MT05-04-98; 313:336)

Figure 3 is Rosalinda's drawing of this dream.

After they shared these vivid reactions to the TAAS tests, I asked them to reflect on what the TAAS tests meant to them as learners:

- E: Do you judge yourself as what kind of student you are by whether you do good on TAAS or not?
- Y: I'm a bad student.
- E: Does TAAS, but do the grades on TAAS tell you, do you look at them and go "Oh, I'm a good student because I passed." or "Oh, I'm a bad student because I didn't"? Or, do they have any meaning to you, the TAAS test results?
- R: A lot.
- E: They have a lot of meaning to you other than not having to go to summer school? What about you, Sofia? Do they have any meaning to you?
- S: Oh. xxx if I pass um.
- E: Is it important to you? And, and Yolanda?
- Y: Unh-uh.
- E: Not important?
- Y: Well it is important, but not to me.
- E: And Zulema?

This is How I feel about
Reading test!

I faild my Parents leave
Me and go to MEXICO!



Figure 3. Rosalinda's drawing entitled "This Is How I Feel About Reading Test!" depicting her dream about the state accountability test for Reading.

- Z: xxx
- E: Is it, is the TAAS test important to you for any reason other than having to go to summer school?
- Z: Yes.
- E: How, how is it important to you?
- Z: Because then, after that we go to high school.
- E: Uh huh.
- Y: Middle school.
- Z: High School. Graduate
- E: And so what does TAAS have to do with going ... to middle school and high school?
- Z: Cuz I wanna get a nice job.
- E: Uh huh. And oh and so you're saying if you don't pass TAAS then you can't go to middle school and high school and get a///
- Z: ///nice job!
- (MT05-05-98; 422:464)

These state accountability tests were very stressful for these 7 girls. Several of them questioned their ability to succeed on the test. All of them described the nervousness and stress they experienced during testing week. In spite of this emotional investment in these tests, most of them did not see any purpose in these exams other than as a benchmark or sign of educational success—"if you pass, then you can graduate." It provided them no real information to use in assessing themselves as learners.

In seventh grade, there was little discourse about the state accountability testing. This could partially be due to the timing. Our one meeting in the spring in seventh grade was several weeks before the testing, and the seven one-on-one interviews were several weeks after the testing. Still, it is remarkable to note, that there were only two references to the testing: once in the fall as the girls reported that they had just had their first practice

test; and the other in an end-of-the-year interview where Josefina remembered that earlier in the spring that she didn't even know that it was time for the test. She said that she "preferred that way it was at Williams, where they practiced more for the exam" (IN Josefina2Sum; 87:93).

The differences in the discourse on testing between the 2 years is quite remarkable, even given the more limited opportunity to discuss the test while it was fresh in their minds in seventh grade. It appears that there had been a change in the emphasis on testing in the classrooms between sixth and seventh grades.

Grades. In sixth grade, the girl's discourse about themselves as learners very rarely centered on their grades. In those few utterances, the girls were generally responding to a question about how they were doing in school. They responded with a brief recitation of current grades, or a review of their grades from their last report card, or with a nondescript "dunno; kinda good; kinda bad" (In Yolanda1Sum; 214:216). When asked about the classes, in which they excelled or especially disliked, then a list of content subjects was usually identified and classified. Occasionally, there was a joyous proclamation about their abilities, such as this comment by Beatriz in her sixth-grade interview: "Math is my favorite subject. Got lots of good teaching about math in Mexico. I'M GOOD AT MATH!" (IN Beatriz1Sum; 166-168).

Seventh grade presented a very different picture about the study participants' focus on grades. In seventh grade, there was much discourse devoted to grades. Not only

did the amount of discussion about grades change, but the tone and tenor did also, as their first seventh grade discussion about grades reveals. It was a group telling of an incident in Ms. Sander's class.

- R: If you're studying and if we're studying for a test on next week and she asks you what's the meaning for a plus and if you don't answer it "I'm sick of this. I'm not your xxx. You're on your own." (Makes a sound effect.)
- E: Ohhh.
- J: That's what Mr. Paxton does.
- Z: And Ms. Sawyer.
- E: Mr. Paxton.
- I: Yah. I had nothing like that.
- Z: She like, "I'm sick of this. You're gonna end up. Close your books. Here's the test. I'm passing it out."
- Y: That's what Ms. Sawyer teach. We were here quiet and she xxx. And then she said, "I'm tired. I'm sick of this. We're gonna start the test and I don't care what you get. Whatever you get is gonna be your grade for the report card." And I got a 50.
- R: I got a five.
(MT 09-08-98; 1075:1115)

With that initiation into middle school grading, the girls frequently worried aloud during September and October about their daily grades and their report card grades.

- E: Who else is having a hard time with their grades?
- Group: Me!
- E: Now is this, is this different than last year? Did y'all make 50's and stuff, last year?
- ?; Yes.
- I: No I didn't make 50s last year.
- ?; I did.
- Y: I didn't that much. I three or four. Maybe three
- Z: I'm failing in Ms. Sawyer's class—Social Studies.
- R: Oh yah.
- Y: Me too.

- E: What do y'all gonna what are you gonna do about that? Are y'all talking to them?
- R: I'm not failing any class but I get 50s. I got a 19 on Ms. Sander's class.
- E: How do you know your failing? Did she send home a progress report?
- Z: She told us.
- E: What did she say you could do about it Zulema?
- Z: That for me work harder.
(MT9-15-98; 1819-1859)

Later in the same discussion, Rosalinda offered this:

- R: Everybody gets low grades in Ms. Sawyer.
- E: Is everybody making low grades in Ms. Sander's?
- Group: Yes.
(MT9-15-98; 1894-1900)

In late October, there were still many references to poor grades:

- Ellie: Anything else happened in terms of schedules or school, teachers? Are your teachers treating you any better?
- ?: Yeah
- Several: No
- Y: Ms. Sawyer gave me a zero.
(MT10-28-98; 320:328)

As the year progressed, some of them started reporting better grades:

- R: I made the "A" Honor Roll again.
(MT 11-17-98; 87)
- J: I got the "B" honor roll.
- E: Did you? That is wonderful.
- Y: I got xxx honor roll'///
- Z: ///I got an "A" last year.
- E: How'd you do on your report card?
- Y: I failed Mr. Moreno?
- E: Mr. Moreno, you failed him?
- Y: I got a 64.

E: Are you doing any better now?
Y: Yeah, it's cuz I don't like him.
(MT 03-04-99; 1109:1145)

It is interesting to note the difference between sixth and seventh grades in the simple frequency of discourse on this topic. In sixth grade, there was little discussion about grades in our meetings or interviews. In my classroom observations, I saw the students taking tests which were to be graded; I saw Ms. Cowert recording grades as the students called them out to her; and I saw them discuss the consequences of not making good grades. But obviously, changes occurred when they went to Goodson Middle School that heightened their awareness of grades. The majority of the talk about grades came from the four students who were in the sheltered content classes. Most of the comments about grades were about grades in Ms. Sawyer' class, the teacher who used grades as threats. It appears that the teachers' attitudes about grades changed in seventh grade and the girls' discourse reflected this change.

Summary

In this chapter, I examined the two major themes that emerged from an analysis of the 7 study participants discourse in sixth and seventh grade as they transitioned from elementary school to middle school. The two major themes focused on (a) the girls' relationships with teachers and other significant adults, and (b) the girls' meta-awareness of the teaching and learning environment and process.

Relationships

Relationships with teachers and other significant adults were analyzed using five supporting themes. The first supporting theme, connections through caring word or acts, revealed that the girls were engaged in a relationship with their primary sixth-grade teacher in which they experienced multiple expressions of care. However, their seventh grade experience revealed a paucity of connections being made with teachers through caring words or acts. This absence of care was simply indicative of the absence of personal relationships between the girls and their seventh-grade teachers.

Connections through humor and storytelling, the second supporting theme, disclosed that Ms. Cowert, their sixth-grade teacher, engaged her students regularly in humorous conversations or storytelling. In seventh grade, there was evidence of warm communication between selected teachers and the study participants. However, the amount of time spent with these seventh-grade teachers was far less than the amount of time spent with Ms. Cowert. The girls' discourse also reflected a decreasing awareness of interactions with humor or stories.

An analysis of the third supporting theme, connections through trust and confidence, showed that even though trust and confidence was imperfect in sixth grade, it far exceeded the expression of trust and confidence in seventh grade. In fact, the only real discourse about trust and confidence in seventh grade revealed a blanket lack of trust by some teachers after only one month of middle school.

The fourth supporting theme, connections through culture and language, revealed that in both sixth and seventh grade, the girls were quite aware of their own cultural heritage and the cultural heritage of their teachers, and that they identified with those teachers of similar ethnic background. Also in both grades, there were clear messages from teachers that the girls' native language, Spanish, was not appreciated.

An analysis of connections through after-school activities, points to the importance of after-school activities in providing a forum for building relationships, sharing stories, and building trust between students and teachers and other caring adults. Discussion about these after-school activities was present in sixth grade, but not in seventh grade.

Meta-awareness of Teaching and Learning

The girls' discourse about their meta-awareness of the teaching and learning processes and environment was analyzed with the help of four supporting themes. An analysis of the first supporting theme, the students' reflections on teaching, revealed that the girls were paying attention to and analyzing instructional processes, and were evaluating the effectiveness of these instructional strategies in both sixth and seventh grade. They found the teacher's explanations to be lacking in effectiveness at both grades but particularly in seventh grade. And uniquely, in seventh grade, the girls' discourse revealed their frustration with Spanish at an academic level for which they were not prepared.

The girls' reflections on teacher behaviors showed little awareness of teacher behaviors in sixth grade. There was an increased awareness of teacher behavior in seventh grade as they were exposed to teachers who used anger and threats as classroom strategies.

Their reflections on themselves within the school environment showed many of the girls were still experiencing school as English Language Learners during sixth grade. As they moved to seventh grade, their discourse reflected the more complex choices they faced in middle school.

Beatriz thrived in her special education track classes, which seemed to be more like her sixth-grade classes in the use of interactive teaching strategies and the practice of valuing personal relationships. Irma was successful in spite of becoming seriously distracted by chat rooms and boyfriends on the Internet for several months in the fall, before she recovered her focus and started working on homework again. Rosalinda began her year by winning a school-wide writing contest, continued the year by making the honor roll all year, and ended the year feeling confident.

Josefina had a trying year that she handled with care and maturity. Josefina managed to make a "B" average in spite of worrying about issues at home and worrying about her friend, Irma. Sofia and Yolanda both struggled in seventh grade as well. Of the 7 girls, they were the newest to the U.S. and hence still needed real language

development support. Given the state of the Sheltered ESL classes at Goodson, it is unclear whether they received any useful language development support.

Finally, Zulema survived the year but only after being labeled as a “bad girl” by her teacher after 6 weeks in school, after deciding to resist difficult teachers by not participating, and after failing many classes. Zulema was resigned to attend summer school after seventh grade. She did not make any strong personal connections to her teachers or any other school staff. She finished the year with few positive memories to connect her to school.

The last supporting theme, reflections on grades and testing, showed an acute awareness and heightened stress about the state accountability test in sixth grade. This was matched in intensity only by the girls’ discourse about their grades and the grading system in seventh grade.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS

This study analyzed the discourse of 7 Latina English Language Learners as they transitioned from elementary to middle school. Specifically, the research focused on the girls as they moved from a small, self-contained English as a Second Language classroom in an elementary school to a large middle school with multiple classes and teachers and reduced language support.

Summary

Overview

Specifically, this study focused on the girls' discourse, using it as a window into their thoughts and feelings about school during the transition from elementary to middle school. The research question that guided this study was:

1. What are the major themes that emerge from an analysis of the study participants' discourse about their school experience as they transition from sixth grade in elementary school to seventh grade in middle school and how is the discourse similar or different?

The rationale for this study first lay in the statistics. Census data (Hispanic Dropout Project, 1998) indicate that nationally, 30% of school-age Hispanic youth are dropping out. Texas Education Agency data (Supik & Johnson, 1999) tell us that state-wide 53% of the Hispanics who were enrolled in ninth grade in Texas 5 years ago did not graduate last year. The Hispanic Dropout Project concluded that there were many reasons for this problem. “Dropping out is not a random, casual act ... dropping out is the logical outcome of the social forces that limit Hispanics’ role in society” (Lockwood & Secada, 1999, p. 2). Another part of the rationale for the study was the documentation of serious gender inequities in education (AAUW 1991, 1992, 1993; Orenstein, 1994; Sadker & Sadker, 1994), and the impact of this inequity on girls, particularly middle-school girls.

The research was built around the actual discourse of the 7 study participants. Individual voices can most authentically chronicle lived experiences—in this case, the experience of transitioning from elementary to middle school as it happened. Many ethnographic studies preceding this research have documented the lack of voice that students traditionally have had within the educational system (Díaz-Greenberg 1997, Fine, 1989, Losey, 1997, Poplin & Weeres, 1992).

The underlying theory that informed this study largely came from the school of social constructivism. Vygotsky’s ideas (1978) about the human mind and higher mental functioning leads us to understand the importance of the teacher and mentor in helping their charges cross a “zone” to new knowledge and understanding. Likewise, Vygotsky’s

belief that higher mental functioning is mediated by tools and signs, gives us insight into the importance of language, not just as a tool for communication, but also for its mediating effect in actually shaping the mind. Finally, his belief that children spontaneously acquire everyday concepts, but that they must have assistance to build “scientific concepts” (Vygotsky, 1978, Wertsch, 1990), also gives us information about important aspects of schooling.

This way of looking at informal versus school-based concepts builds a foundation for the work of Gee (1987, 1988, 1996) who argues that there are two kinds of discourse—primary and secondary. Primary discourse is that of the home, secondary is that of school and work. It also is related to the work of Cummins (1986), who differentiated between social communication skills and cognitive academic communication skills. Gee (1996), Delpit (1988), and Heath (1983) assert that schools must teach students secondary discourse and also must have the students consciously study language so that they understand how it works, and how to use it. This knowledge about discourse can be a powerful ally for our students—particularly those from diverse backgrounds. Others (Goldenberg, 1991; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991) urge that we recast instruction so that it builds on the students’ discourse and uses the power of language to develop new knowledge and understanding.

Methodology

A pilot study was first undertaken to observe and study mainstream middle school teachers using exemplary instructional practices in classrooms with former ESL students. Not finding such practices in the observed classrooms at the middle school study site, the research was refocused on the students who were making the transition from a self-contained ESL classroom in elementary school to middle school with multiple teachers and reduced language support. Based on the research previously cited, the population was limited to Latina girls and the main source of data became their discourse about school as they made the transition from elementary to middle school. An elementary school and one of its sixth grade classrooms were selected as the site for the first phase of the research. I initially visited the classroom seven times to get to know the school, the class, the girls, and the teacher and to let them know me so we would have some familiarity with each other as we began the next stage of the research—meetings and interviews. All ten of the girls in the focal classroom were invited to participate in the study; 7 girls did so. I then met with the focal group eight times after school over 6 weeks. The purpose of the meetings was to talk about and explore their perceptions of school, their teachers, their classes, their peers, and themselves. I wanted to document their discourse about school as they were preparing for, but before they actually made the move into middle school in the fall. In addition, one-on-one interviews with each of the 7 study participants were conducted at the end of the sixth-grade school year.

In the fall of the next school year, the study participants began middle school, the same middle school where the pilot study had been conducted. As in the elementary school, I first observed some of their classes to get a better understanding of the particular teachers that the participants would be studying with in the coming months. We began meeting in our focus group again where they took the opportunity to share with each other and with me their perceptions about this new school, their teachers, their classes and themselves as learners. Seven focus group meetings were held in the fall semester and one was held in the spring semester. Five of the meetings were held during school, three after school. One-on-one interviews were also conducted at the end of the seventh-grade school year.

During observations, fieldnotes were taken and documents were collected. The meetings and interviews were audiotaped, transcribed and then coded and analyzed using ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software (Muhr, 1997) for topics and themes. From this wealth of rich data, themes and supporting themes emerged that provided a window into this process of moving from the support of a self-contained ESL classroom into the world of middle school with many teachers and many new challenges.

The Neighborhood, Schools and Participants

This study was set in a community that had experienced dramatic change in their population after World War II. The Williams' neighborhood, home to the two school sites, had gone from a population that was 99% White in 1960, to a population that was

68% Hispanic and 28% White in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1962, 1993). The neighborhood is a lively community filled with modest homes, shade-filled yards, cars parked on the streets, and people walking to stores, schools, and the bus stops. The two schools are just a few blocks from each other situated on the same secondary neighborhood thoroughfare.

Williams Elementary is a pre-kindergarten through sixth-grade campus with 879 students, 60% of whom were Limited English Proficient, 89% were on the Free or Reduced Lunch Program, and 96% were Hispanic. The classroom where the study participants were observed was their morning classroom where they studied reading, language arts, and social studies. The classroom was dripping with language and visual support related to academic themes and school life, such as posters with content vocabulary and learning strategies, photographs, signs, notices about school and class rules, and notices about upcoming events and projects. Part of the classroom was devoted to an in-classroom library separated from the desk area by large bookcases filled with a wide assortment of books. Additionally, one side of the room was devoted to computers.

Goodson Middle School is a much bigger campus than Williams Elementary, housing 1672 students, 35% of whom were classified as Limited English Proficient, 76% were on the Free or Reduced Lunch Program, and 78% were Hispanic, 11% were Black, 9% were White, and 2% were classified as Other. Goodson is marked by an open, airy feeling that is the result of the many atriums, open staircases, and light-colored walls and

hallways in its main building. Many of the classrooms are not in the main building but rather are in a small complex of portables, called the “Portable City of Learning” accessed from the back doors of the main building. Here, there are approximately 21 portable buildings holding 49 classrooms, one administrative office, and one set of bathrooms. It is in the portables that the 7 study participants took most of their classes. Typical of these portables was Portable H, where 4 of the girls spent a good deal of their day. The walls of the portable are tan, the lighting dull, and the floors are dark. All of this gives the impression of a dark and dingy environment. Many of the classrooms are minimally furnished and decorated—often with just a teacher’s desk, student desks, file cabinets, and a few posters on the wall.

The 7 study participants had varied backgrounds; 3 were born in the U.S., 4 were born in Mexico; and their average time in the U.S. was 7 years. All of them spoke Spanish with their parents; 3 of them also spoke Spanish with their siblings. All of them reported that they were literate in English except for the 2 newly arrived who had been in the U.S. 2 years or less; 4 of them reported that they were literate in Spanish. Of the 7, 3 had attended some grades in Mexico; all of the girls had attended some grades in bilingual classrooms in the U.S.; and all of them were currently in an ESL classroom in preparation for the transition to middle school. Of the 7, 5 lived with both parents, 1 lives with her mom and step-dad and 1 lives with her mom and an uncle. Many of their parents are trying to learn English by taking night classes. All of the fathers work outside of their

homes, most in a trade. Most of the mothers work full time or part time outside of the home, and one stays home with children. These are families that are building a new or better life, working one or more jobs, studying English, and raising children who are making their way through a complex school system.

Findings

From the analysis of 27,300 lines of text from 24 sets of fieldnotes, 16 sets of transcriptions from focus group meetings, 14 sets of notes or transcriptions from end-of-the year interviews, and various artifacts and documents, two overarching themes emerged. The two themes focused on (a) the girls' relationships with teachers and other significant adults, and (b) the girls' meta-awareness of the teaching and learning process. Each of these two themes were further analyzed and broken into supporting themes.

Relationships. Relationships with teachers and other significant adults was a major topic of the girls' discourse both in sixth grade and in seventh grade. This theme was divided into five supporting themes: (a) connections through caring words and acts, (b) connections through humor and storytelling, (c) connections through trust and confidence, (d) connections through culture and language, and (e) connections through after school activities.

The first supporting theme, connections through caring word or acts, and the second supporting theme, connections through humor and storytelling, revealed that the girls were involved in a relationship with their sixth-grade teacher in which they

experienced care, humor, and stories that provided personal connections. With the exception of a few teachers, their seventh-grade experience showed a paucity of such discourse and pointed toward an absence of personal relationships with teachers. The third supporting theme, connections through trust and confidence, showed that even though trust and confidence was imperfect in sixth grade, it was far better than what they experienced in seventh grade, where some teachers had articulated a blanket lack of trust in their students after only 1 month in middle school. Connections through culture and language, the fourth supporting theme, showed students across the grade levels who were quite aware of their own cultural heritage and the cultural heritage of their teachers, and were quite frustrated with some of their teachers' disdain for their native language, Spanish. Connections through after-school activities, pointed to the importance of after-school activities as a time and place for building relationships, sharing stories and building trust between students and teachers or other adults.

Meta-awareness of Teaching and Learning. Throughout sixth and seventh grade, the girls discussed their understanding of the process of teaching and learning in their two schools. Their discourse showed an increasingly sophisticated understanding of how teaching works, how their learning worked, and how education and schools work. This theme was analyzed using four supporting themes: (a) the students' reflections on teaching strategies, (b) the students' reflections on teachers' behaviors, (c) the students'

reflections on themselves within school, and (d) the students' reflections on grades and the state accountability tests.

An analysis of the first supporting theme, the students' reflections on teaching, revealed that the girls were thinking about and evaluating their teachers' instructional strategies and some of the girls found a lack of effectiveness at both grades, but particularly in seventh grade. The girls found that the teachers' explanations were insufficient—either because the teachers would not repeat explanations or because the explanations were ineffective. The girls were also frustrated that one of their teachers used a level of academic Spanish that some of them could not understand. The second supporting theme, the students' reflections on teacher behaviors, showed that the girls had little awareness of teacher behaviors in sixth grade, but an increased awareness of teacher behavior in seventh grade as they were exposed to teachers who used anger and threats as classroom strategies.

The third supporting theme, their reflections on themselves within the school environment showed many of the girls were still experiencing school as English Language Learners during sixth grade. As they moved to seventh grade, their discourse reflected the more complex choices they faced in middle school. Beatriz thrived in her special education classes, which seemed to be more like her sixth-grade classes in the use of interactive teaching strategies and the practice of valuing personal relationships. Irma was successful in spite of becoming seriously distracted by chat rooms and boyfriends on

the Internet for several months in the fall before she recovered her focus and started working on homework again. Rosalinda began her year by winning a school-wide writing contest, continued the year by making the honor roll, and ended the year feeling confident.

Josefina had a trying year that she handled with care and maturity. Josefina managed to make a “B” average in spite of worrying about issues at home and worrying about her friend, Irma. Sofía and Yolanda both struggled in seventh grade as well. Of the 7 girls, they were the newest to the U.S. and hence still needed substantial language development support. And given the state of the sheltered content and ESL classes at Goodson, it is unclear how much useful language development support they received.

Finally, Zulema survived the year, but only after being labeled as a “bad girl” after 6 weeks in school, after deciding to resist difficult teachers by not participating, and after failing many classes. Zulema was resigned to attend summer school after seventh grade. She did not make any strong personal connections to her teachers or any other school staff. She finished the year with few positive memories to connect her to school.

The fourth supporting theme, reflections on grades and testing, showed that the girls had an acute awareness and heightened stress about the state accountability test in sixth grade. This was matched in intensity only by their discourse about their grades and the grading system in seventh grade.

Discussion

As the themes and supporting themes emerged from the written text transcribed from the girls' discourse, three issues began to warrant further attention and discussion: (a) the power of the personal in school settings; (b) reading the world and the word; (c) mediated learning in the research process

The Power of the Personal

"You got me really disappointed." Yolanda's recounting of this statement by Ms. Cowert tells us that she remembered Ms. Cowert's words and that those words had meaning and significance because she cared about what Ms. Cowert's thought of her. At the beginning of the project, my expectation was that the study participants' discourse would be filled with talk about boys, friends, and social activities. Certainly, those were topics of discussion. However, the topic of discussion that clearly dominated the discourse was their relationships with their teachers. This was true in both grades.

In sixth grade, the personal relationship that the girls had with Ms. Cowert was the focus of important and telling discourse in meetings and in interviews. This relationship was built around the genuine care that this teacher extended to her students and the trust and care with which they reciprocated. This relationship seemed to permeate both the school day and the after-school activities that the girls and Ms. Cowert shared, as well as their discourse when they were away from her.

The data cited earlier show that 30% of our Hispanic youth nationally and up to 50% statewide are dropping out. The AAUW reports on girls (1991, 1992, 1993) indicate a crisis in self-esteem and confidence that girls face, particularly in their middle-school years. Finally, reports such as Voices from the Inside (Poplin & Weeres, 1992) showed how little voice and influence students feel they have in school. All of these factors make the relationship between middle-school Latina girls and their teachers critically important.

If we believe, as Lockwood and Secada assert, that “dropping out is not a random, casual act...dropping out of school is the logical outcome of the social forces that limit Hispanics’ role in society,” then Ms. Cowert’s role was one of opening doors for these Latina girls. She did this by building a relationship in her classroom that was based on care. This “ethic of care” (Noblit, 1993, p. 26) colored her classroom practice and in turn contextualized her power so that it supported her students rather than oppressing or defeating them.

This relationship was built within the school day, but it was enhanced in the course of the after-school activity that she sponsored. Y-Teens gave her and the girls a chance to strengthen their relationship through fun but purposeful activities. Planning, organizing, doing and interpreting their after-school activities furthered the bond between the girls and Ms. Cowert (Heath & McLaughlin, 1991). This enhanced the girls’

connection to school as a place that welcomed them, understood them, and wanted to help them succeed.

In the end, this sixth-grade experience contrasted sharply with what they experienced in seventh grade. The school structure of middle school, with many classes and many teachers, makes building strong relationships with teachers much more difficult. The study participants were seeing seven teachers every day; their teachers were seeing 100 or more students every day. Some of their teachers were excellent teachers who tried to build trusting relationships with their students. These were teachers who were sensitive to their students' cultural and language background and who used personal stories and humor to develop the relationships. These were teachers who were involved in after-school activities and encouraged their students to be as well.

Unfortunately, the majority of the study participants' teachers were not like that. The girls' discourse painted a picture of teachers who were raising their voices regularly, who were imposing strict controls that silenced the students' voices in their classrooms, and who were using testing and grades as threats and classroom management techniques. The girls' discourse also showed a lack of connection to their teachers outside of the one period per day they spent with them. Most of the girls were not involved in after-school activities in seventh grade. Several of the girls expressed their interest in joining after-school activities, but they never joined; they also never had a personal connection to after-school activities through their teachers as they had with Ms. Cowert.

In the end, middle school became a place where it was difficult to establish strong connections with significant adults in a caring relationship. The implications for this are disheartening. The wealth of studies cited earlier in this report point to the fact that it is the personal relationships with teachers who care about their students as individuals who can make the difference for students, especially when students are going through hard times. As the individual vignette of each girl showed, several of these girls were experiencing difficult times in seventh grade. These girls had no strong and personal relationship with teachers to sustain them during the rough times. They were clearly at risk for dropping out.

Reading the World and the Word

Building on Gee's (1996) work, each of the study participants came to school needing to learn new secondary discourse—the secondary discourse that applied to that particular school culture or grade level or content area. Cummins' (1986) idea about academic language is similar, except it is particularly targeted at the English Language Learner's unique need to learn academic English language skills in addition to social communicative language skills.

In addition to this new secondary discourse that the girls needed to learn and become proficient in, they also had a substantial body of new knowledge and concepts that they were challenged with at both grade levels.

In order to learn the appropriate discourse for their environment and to build new knowledge about grade-level concepts, the students depended on more knowledgeable others to assist them. Drawing on Vygotsky's work (1978), the girls needed their teachers to help them cross their "proximal zone" to new language in the form of secondary discourse, and new grade level knowledge and understandings. Leading a student to such new language and knowledge requires that the teacher (a) have a relationship with her students that allows this to happen, (b) understand the current knowledge of her students so that she understand the challenges the students face in developing new discourses and building new knowledge, and (c) know how to use language not only as a means of communication but also as a tool to mediate higher mental functioning in students.

"She says that I'm a bad girl." The participants in this study experienced some facets of this high level of instruction just described. Certainly Ms. Cowert established a close and trusting relationship with many of her students that allowed her to scaffold them to new understandings. Unfortunately, in seventh grade, this initial condition did not exist in many of the classrooms. In fact, the participants reported that the teachers were either telling them they were personally "bad" as evidenced by the above quote, or telling them that they were untrustworthy as a group and hence could not be trusted to do small group activities. In addition, classroom management techniques that were based on fear and reprisal further damaged the relationships that the teachers needed to lead others to new knowledge.

“We are lying and they don’t know.” With her limited English, Sofía worked hard to communicate her analysis of what she needed to be a better learner. She wanted me to know that her teachers in the U.S. believed that she understood the new concepts and language that they were teaching to the class, but that she didn’t. “Lying” represented her way of saying “we are fooling the teachers into thinking we understand”.

A teacher’s understanding of students’ current knowledge is critically important as they work together to build knowledge between them. Equally important is monitoring students as they move into new understandings. One of the frustrations that Sofía encountered in sixth grade was that she felt that Ms. Cowert did not monitor her progress effectively. She believed that Ms. Cowert did not know that she did not understand the classroom directions, and she sincerely wanted her teacher to understand her confusion, because she believed that if Ms. Cowert did, she would “explain better.” Sofía looked fondly back on her instruction in Mexico where she was called forward to demonstrate her knowledge by writing on the blackboard for all to see and for the teacher to evaluate her understanding of the new concepts that had just been presented. What Sofía was searching for in instruction here in the U.S. was one of the essential components of assisted learning—continuous monitoring.

“He talks tricky.” Zulema’s statement about a teacher talking tricky is representative of one of the major issues raised in this study—that of effective instruction particularly for English Language Learners. By employing a wide variety of teaching

strategies—direct instruction, small group instruction, cooperative learning, interactive activities, and group writing projects, Ms. Cowert effected instruction that used language both to communicate and to build higher level mental functioning. Through these classroom activities, the students were building the capacity for new knowledge and building the new knowledge itself. Irma reflected this when she mentioned in her interview at the end of sixth grade that she wanted “to talk about things about the Greeks and Romans” with her friend Josefina (IN Irma1Sum; 125) which had been the focus of Social Studies in sixth grade.

In seventh grade, in many of the classrooms, especially the Sheltered ESL classrooms, language was used as a tool to communicate rules, a form of secondary discourse but was not used to build higher mental functioning. In some of the classrooms the students’ voices were tightly controlled and instructional strategies that used their own language to mediate new knowledge, such as group discussions, cooperative group projects or even whole-class discussions, were seldom seen.

This was happening at the same time that as Beatriz noted, “you have to depend more on your friends for help this year.” This was true because the teachers provided few or ineffective explanations. Throughout the year, the study participants complained about these ineffective explanations. The group summarized their frustrations in the spring semester of seventh grade: “They don’t care, they just go like “OK, fine” ... ’cuz if you

don't understand a problem, they don't like to change their stuff ... they don't like repeating." (MT03-04-99; 1926:1949).

This set up a situation where students were receiving ineffective classroom explanations at the same time that they had fewer opportunities to discuss or clarify new concepts or new discourse through peer mediated activities. In fact, it could be asserted that one reason that the classroom explanations were ineffective was exactly because the students had no place to construct the new discourse together; no place to do the oral rehearsing that is so necessary for English Language Learners; no place to check understanding of the teacher explanations; in short, no place to build higher mental capacity in small, peer-mediated situations. At the time when there was an ever-increasing need, they had little or no access to the power of socially constructing knowledge between people (at the interpsychological level) so that they could then, in fact, construct knowledge within themselves (at the intrapsychological level).

Mediated Learning in the Research Process

"There's a possibility ... of having meetings ... on Monday and Tuesday and Thursday?" Irma's question, posed at the request of several of the girls, reflected their interest in having more focus group meetings. They regularly expressed their desire to meet more often. The focus group meetings provided important benefits for them.

One of the benefits of the meetings was that it provided the space and place for them to do the important work of reflecting on the experience of transitioning from sixth

to seventh grade as they lived through it. Through the language-based social interactions of the group meetings, they came to know and understand their experiences in a way that they could not have done alone. Vygotsky's work (1978) on the powerful and mediating effects of language on mental functions was evidenced by the experiences in these group meetings. As the discourse in Chapter V revealed, the study participants were seven girls who were quite aware of the teaching and learning environment around them, who could describe their experiences in a detailed manner, and who offered intelligent analysis and evaluation of their school experiences. Their discourse in the focus group meetings revealed substantive thinking and deep intelligence that, in all probability, were not revealed in many of their classes.

Another benefit of the group meetings was that it gave them a place and a space to reveal themselves and in doing so, to know that they were being heard and that their voices were valued. Such a forum can and did energize them. Sofia once remarked in a light, passing way, "I don't miss on days we have meetings." Though it did not happen as a part of this research project, the next step for it could have been to move from a forum for constructing understanding of the school process to a place for action research. This would have assisted them in becoming agents of change in productive and critical ways within their school environment (Friere, 1970).

In the end, this research process provided one model for assisting students to make the transition from elementary to middle school. It provided a forum where their

voices were heard and valued; it provided a connection with a capable, caring adult; and it provided a place to build knowledge and understanding about the experience of transitioning from elementary to middle school. These were all elements that the analysis of their discourse showed to be important to them.

“Look! This is all about the power of relationships on learning.” This exclamatory statement is representative of the collaborative process that supported my understanding of these research findings and more specifically is representative of the peer debriefing process that accompanied the fieldwork, coding, analysis and writing. The idea of publicly situating one’s self and situating others in one’s research is an idea that is evolving. As Alvermann (Alvermann, O’Brien, & Dillon, 1996) notes, “Situating myself in qualitative studies that I write up is not as straightforward or easy as it might seem” (p. 118). The same can be said for situating others.

Peer debriefing is a tool or process that is commonly recommended for building trustworthiness in the qualitative research process (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Peer debriefing played a large role as I attempted to construct my understanding of what I was seeing in the field, and what I was reading in the data. In the methodology chapter, I documented peer debriefings with colleagues. However, that small description only hinted at the important and necessary role that my colleagues played in this research. This research project stretched out over two-and-one-half-years, and in the end included 27,300 lines of data.

Neither the time frame nor the amount of data is unusual for research projects. Nevertheless, it is a substantial amount of discourse, in Gee's sense of the word, to analyze and interpret. Often I would come to the peer debriefings not understanding what I was seeing in the field or simply not seeing anything of importance in the transcripts. Then, my colleagues and I would submerge ourselves in reading the transcripts line-by-line, posing questions, challenging each other's assertions, suggesting possible emerging patterns, and finally inquiring about connections with theory and other research.

This is nothing more than should happen in any good research process, but because of the structure of dissertation research as an individual project, it often does not happen. What emerged from this collaboration with my colleagues was not just the framework for this study, but an experience in real time that illustrated some of the exact concepts that were emerging as the core of the framework for this research report.

First, even though I had lived the experience of collecting the data, processing the data, and coding and analyzing the data, often interpretations simply were not apparent to me without first dealing with them on what Vygotsky (1978) called the "interpsychological," the between-people level. Then, I could move to the "intrapsychological" level, the inside-me level, to write up our discussions, build on them, take them further and make new connections to other topics emerging from the data. Second, this growing knowledge was mediated by language-based social interaction. Language became more than a communication tool, it became a tool that

helped develop and shape my mind and understanding of this study. Finally, I had to learn how to organize my discourse about this project into scientific concepts and academic discourse, which is exactly what was happening as we waded through another transcript, suggesting topics that might form themes, and batting around the theory that might ground these emerging ideas.

I am making visible this usually invisible part of research because I know that it wasn't just a pleasant adjunct to the process but rather an integral part of the research design. Unfortunately, we often don't experience this, particularly in dissertation research, and when we do, we don't name it and certainly don't voice its importance. However, if we are going to act within a social constructivist framework for research, then it behooves us to identify our own social construction of knowledge.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Research

1. Further valuable insight could be gained by following this kind of cohort group from elementary school through middle school and into high school. This would provide a longitudinal view of the transitions they make between elementary and middle school and middle school and high school as well as provide us with their evolving perspective about school.

2. Research about how to mediate cultural and linguistic differences for non-Hispanic teachers teaching Hispanic students, particularly in middle school could be particularly helpful to teachers who want to effect change but don't necessarily know where to start.

3. Schools at all levels should form strong connections with the schools that feed into their campus, and with the schools that then receive their students. This is particularly true with middle schools. They form a critical link in the educational chain. Research on how middle schools can most effectively form and maintain policies and practices that help transitioning students could be enlightening to middle school administrators

4. Since after-school activities seem to be one important way that teachers build relationships with students, research on how to help teachers plan and implement effective after-school activities could be helpful.

Recommendations for Pedagogical Practice

1. Contextualize the instruction at middle school. When a visitor walks into many middle school rooms, there are few physical clues as to what is being taught or what is important for success in this classroom. Classroom walls are bare and the rooms are uninviting. The actual instruction is equally bleak. Very few visual aids, no "realia" or real props to aid understanding, and few hands-on experiences outside of science are witnessed. This is in marked contrast to what we know about the need to "rouse minds to

life” through mediated instruction (Au, 1993; Freeman & Freeman, 1994; Goldenberg, 1991).

2. Use learning strategies that build on and enhance the desire that many middle school students have to interact with peers. Using specific learning objectives and deliberative teaching strategies, take their need for interaction and use it to build knowledge and to challenge them to rigorous academic standards (Tharp & Gallimore, 1991).

3. Form mentor networks with middle school students so that each student in the school has a mentor who has been trained in how to mentor middle school age students and who is responsible for spending a minimum amount of time with the student each week. Every administrator, faculty, and staff person from the principal to the math teacher to the custodian and security staff could participate in this program (Lockwood & Secada, 1999).

Recommendation for Policy Makers

1. Reward cross-level collaboration among schools so that resources and attention will be invested to help students as they make this precarious journey between elementary and middle school.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Fieldnotes from the Elementary Site Selection Process

Fieldnotes from Elementary Site Selection Process

March 2, 1998 (notes taken at the time; notes typed 4/19)

Sometime over the weekend, I decided I should check out some of the 6th grade rooms in the other feeder schools to GMS. As I thought about Ms.C's room I was disappointed that it was so teacher-fronted and test prep focused. I also became worried that Ms.C didn't really want a researcher in her classroom. And finally it would be better methodology if I really surveyed the universe of schools available.

So today I called CL, the ESL/BL Specialist and asked him his advice about the six elementary schools that feed into GMS. I took a page and a half of background notes on five of these schools. He didn't give me any information on one of the schools. One of the schools that CL talked about was WE, which I've already visited. I called all of the remaining four schools and got to talk to someone at three of them today. I made appointments to come by and talk to administrators or teachers at each of these three schools during their planning period tomorrow.

March 3, 1998 (notes taken at the time; notes typed 4/19)

I made my rounds of schools today. I started at HE where the assistant principal used to teach 6th grade. When I talked to her on the phone she got very excited about my study and said it was really needed. At HE the ESL kids are dispersed to three teachers. One of them has some ESL training and I went over to see him in his portable. It was a very depressing room--dark, nothing on the walls, etc. He has 21 kids. When I talked to him, he said he didn't really use any ESL strategies with his kids and most of them had already moved from LEP status. His lack of energy and interest was in stark contrast to his assistant principal. It took about five minutes of visiting with him to know that this wasn't the room for me.

Next I went to RE where CL had told me there were a lot of problems. The principal had recently moved all of the 6th grade teachers to the second grade and moved the second grade teachers to the 6th grade. I went into the office and found out where the teacher was that I needed to talk to. I met him in the hall and we went into the library. I told him what I wanted to do and he said he didn't think he had the population I needed. When he looked at me he looked like a scared animal. I realized that this group of teachers had been through quite a disruption and that it wouldn't be a good site.

Next I went to LHE. After checking in at the office, I went into the "attendance office" which is a very large room where the teachers hang out during their planning periods. I asked for Mr. C. He was a youthful guy with a funky tie. He was very welcoming and

interested in my study. He talked a length about what they do to help the kids prepare for GMS. He talked about kids coming back to tell them what was happening at GMS and how they were doing there. He talked about how he would fuss at them if he heard they had been in trouble. He seemed to take a very fatherly approach with them. He said he would be glad for me to observe his class. He gave me his daily schedule (see field notes). I told him I would like that and we agreed that I would come on Thursday. I left there thinking I had found a new site, a better site than Ms.C's classroom at WE.

March 23, 1998 (typed 3/23)

I got a real sick feeling this morning as I was observing and talking with Mr. C at LHE. I realized that his classroom was not really an ESL room. He doesn't see himself as an ESL teacher and doesn't use any language learning strategies. Since seeing the transition from an ESL environment to a mainstream environment was an important focus for my study, I realized I had to move--quickly. So I mulled over my options. The best plan would be to call Ms.C at WE and see if I could observe her room tomorrow. This seemed like a fruitful option--she was the only teacher who had given me her home number and that seemed like a good omen. I decided that I might have judged her too quickly back in February. We'll see.

So I called Ms.C on Monday night (3/23). She said she was very glad to have me come tomorrow. They are working on some test prep things and still working on syllable poetry. She told me to come anytime in the morning.

March 24, 1998 (typed 3/24)

As I sat in Ms.C's room at WE slowly thinking about settling on an observation site, I first decided that I should definitely use this for one of my sites. I was considering whether I could do both WE and LHE. Within a few minutes I had come to the conclusion that that would be insanity trying to do two sites. As the morning progressed and I saw more of Ms.C's teaching I started to think this was where I should be. Finally when I had the chance to visit with her while the kids did their small group work and she seemed genuinely pleased to have me, I decided that I would change sites and do this one.

I drove over to LHE hoping to catch Mr. C before he went to lunch. But I missed him and it was time for me to go to make another appointment. I'll have to catch him later in the week.

Appendix B

Study Participants' Consent Letters

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you will not be harmed by your participation.

Your participation in this research and the results of your participation will be kept confidential. If you have any questions, please contact the principal investigator, Margaret Griffin, Ph.D., at [redacted].

Your participation is considered

Dear _____

My name is Ellie Hajek and I am a doctoral student, majoring in Reading and Bilingual Education, at Texas Woman's University in Denton. I am studying the experiences of Hispanic girls as they move from their elementary school to middle school. I am particularly interested in this experience for girls who are or were in Bilingual or ESL classes at their elementary school. I hope that this study will help us understand this experience better and show us how to make this transition to middle school easier.

In order to understand this experience, I would like to observe your daughter in her classes at Williams Elementary School this spring, and at Goodson Middle School next fall, and I would like to talk to her about her experiences several times during the course of this study. This might take thirty minutes to an hour each time we talk and might take a total of five hours outside of class time during the next six months.

I would like to audiotape some of the classes that I will observe at your daughter's schools and videotape the small group meetings or interviews of my conversations with her. All of the tape recordings, notes, etc. from this study will be strictly confidential. You, your daughter, the teachers, and the schools will remain anonymous in any discussions or writing about this research.

Your daughter's participation in this study is strictly voluntary. The decision whether to participate or not in this study will not impact her grades in any way.

I am excited about this research and the potential good it might do as we work to improve school for all of our children. If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at _____ or my research advisor, Margaret Griffin, Ph.D., at _____.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Ellie Hajek
Texas Woman's University

Estimados Padres de _____

Me llamo Ellie Hajek y soy estudiante de postgrado, especializándome en Educación Bilingüe y Lectura en Texas Woman's University en Denton. Estoy estudiando las experiencias de jóvenes hispanas en su transición de la escuela primaria a la secundaria. Tengo un interés especial en chicas que están o estuvieron en clases bilingües y de inglés como segundo idioma en la escuela primaria. Espero que este estudio nos ayude a entender mejor estas experiencias y nos muestre como llevar a cabo esta transición a la escuela secundaria de una manera más fácil .

Para poder entender esta experiencia, deseo observar a su hija en sus clases en la escuela Williams Elementary en esta primavera, y en la escuela Goodson Middle School este otoño. Deseo poder hablar con ella varias veces en cuanto a sus experiencias durante el transcurso de este estudio. Esto podría tomarnos de 30 minutos a una hora cada vez que hablemos y podría tomarnos un total de cinco horas fuera de clases durante los próximos seis meses.

Me gustaría grabar en cintas de audio algunas de las clases que observare en la escuela de su hija y grabar en video las reuniones de grupos pequeños o entrevistas de mi conversación con ella. Todas las cintas grabadas, notas, etc. de este estudio serán estrictamente confidenciales. Usted, su hija, los maestros y la escuela permanecerán anónimos en cualquier discusión o escrito de este estudio.

La participación de su hija en este estudio es estrictamente voluntaria. La decisión de participar o no en el mismo, en ninguna manera afectará sus calificaciones.

Me encuentro muy emocionada con este estudio y el potencial que el mismo pueda contribuir al trabajo para mejorar las escuelas de nuestros hijos.

Si tiene alguna pregunta por favor llámeme al: _____ o a mi asesor de investigación Margaret Giffin, Ph.D. al _____.

De antemano le doy las gracias por su cooperación.

Sinceramente,

Ellie Hajek
Texas Woman's University

Texas Woman's University
Subject Consent to Participate in Research

The Journey of English Language Learners from Elementary to Middle School

Eloise Hajek, Doctoral Candidate

Margaret Griffin, Ph.D., Research Advisor

The purpose of this study is to explore the transition that English Language Learners make as they move from elementary ESL classrooms into mainstream middle school classrooms. I will be involved in this study by (1) allowing the researcher to audiotape and to transcribe (to make a typed copy) of the audiotape of the classroom discussions, (2) by allowing the researcher to audiotape, videotape and transcribe small group discussions and interviews which will require about five hours outside of class and which will be held at the school that I am attending; and (3) furnishing the researcher with copies of some written school work.

My participation in this study is voluntary and I may stop participating at any time. Participation is not a school or class requirement. Ellie Hajek, the researcher will have no influence on my grades. My teachers will not be able to listen to the audiotapes or watch the videotapes or read the transcriptions. I understand and agree that Ellie Hajek, the researcher, and Sherry O'Connor, the transcriber will be the only people who listen to the audiotapes or watch the videotapes. Both the audio and videotapes will be kept until they are transcribed or the study is over and then will be erased. Copies of transcripts will be kept for five years after the study is complete (until May, 2004) then shredded. The audio and videotapes and transcriptions will be kept in a locked file. To assure that no one will be able to identify me by reading the transcripts or the study, the school and everyone in the transcripts will be given a false name and will be referred to by that false name at all times.

I might benefit by participating in this study by having other people to talk to about the changes I am going through, by becoming more aware of myself, by enjoying being with the researcher and my classmates, and by breaking away from my normal routine. I understand that I will receive a summary of the study and be invited to meet with the researcher to discuss the results of the study when it is completed. If I have any questions about the research or about my rights as a subject, I should ask the researchers: their phone numbers are at the top of this form. If I have questions later, or wish to report a problem, I may call the researchers or the Office of Research and Grants Administration at 940-898-3377.

The researchers will try to prevent any problem that could happen because of this research. I should let the researchers know at once if there is a problem and they will help me. I understand, however, that Texas Woman's University does not provide medical services or financial assistance for injuries that might happen because I am taking part in this research.

Any questions I have will be answered by the researcher and I will receive a copy of my signed consent form.

Guardian Signature

Date

Student Signature

Date

The above consent form was read, discussed, and signed in my presence. In my opinion, the person signing said consent form did so freely and with full knowledge and understanding of its contents.

Representative of Texas Woman's University

Date

Texas Woman's University
Permiso para participar en el Estudio

The Journey of English Language Learners from Elementary to Middle School

Alumna de Posgrado: Eloise Hajek

Asesor del Estudio: Margaret Griffin, Ed. D.

El propósito de este estudio es explorar la transición de aquellas que están en el programa de inglés como segundo idioma (ESL, por sus siglas en inglés) de la escuela primaria a ser parte de la población de la escuela secundaria. Mi participación consistirá de 1) Permitir la audio grabación y la transcripción de grabaciones de las discusiones en clase, 2) permitir la audio grabación, video grabación y la transcripción de las discusiones de reuniones de grupos pequeños y entrevistas las cuales requerirán aproximadamente cinco horas fuera de clase y serán en la misma escuela; y 3) facilitar copias de algunos de sus trabajos escolares.

La participación en este estudio es voluntaria y puede cesar en cualquier momento sin consecuencia alguna. Esta no es un requerimiento ni de la escuela, ni de la clase. La investigadora no tienen influencia en mis calificaciones. Mis maestros no podrán ni escuchar las audio grabaciones, ni ver las video grabaciones, ni leer las transcripciones. Para asegurar la confidencialidad, entiendo que Ellie Hajek, la investigadora y Sherry O' Connor, su asistente, serán las únicas personas que escuchen las audio grabaciones y ver las video grabaciones. Las audio y video grabaciones serán conservadas hasta que sean transcritas y después mecánicamente borradas. Por lo tanto doy mi permiso para tal uso. Las copias de las transcripciones se archivarán por cinco años después de que se termine el estudio (hasta mayo del 2004) y después serán destruidas. Mientras la investigadora posea las cintas y transcripciones serán mantenidas bajo llave, a fin de asegurar el anonimato de todos los participantes y las escuelas, les serán asignados pseudónimos con los cuales se referirá a ellos cuando las grabaciones sean transcritas.

Los beneficios para mi (estudiante) incluyen el tener con quien hablar de los cambios por los que estoy pasando, conocerme mejor a mi misma, poder gozar de la compañía de la investigadora y compañeros de clase, y de cambiar la rutina normal. Entiendo que recibire un sumario del estudio y una invitación para reunirme con la investigadora a fin de discutir los descubrimientos de la misma una vez que esta se haya completado. Si tuviese alguna pregunta en cuanto al estudio o mis derechos como sujeto de estudio, debere de preguntar a la investigadora al número de teléfono que se encuentra en el margen superior de esta forma. Si tuviese alguna pregunta relacionada con este estudio o desease reportar algún problema podre: llamar a la investigadora o a la oficina de

Administración de Investigación y Becas (Office of Research and Grants Administration) al 940-898-3377.

Los investigadores tratarán de prevenir cualquier problema que pudiera suceder por causa de esta investigación. Avisare a los investigadores inmediatamente si existe un problema y ellos me ayudarán. Sin embargo, entiendo que Texas Woman's University no provee servicios medicos o asistencia financiera por heridas que pudiesen ocurrir debido a que estoy tomando parte en este estudio.

Cualquier pregunta que tenga sera respondida por la investigadora y recibire una copia firmada del permiso por escrito.

Firma del padre o tutor

Fecha

Firma del estudiante

Fecha

La forma de permiso anterior fue leída, discutida y firmada en mi presencia. En mi opinión, la persona firmante lo hizo voluntariamente con pleno conocimiento y entendimiento del contenido.

Representante de Texas Woman's University

Fecha

Appendix C

Interview Guides

1. Tell me the history of your schooling. Where did you first go to school?

2. How did you feel about your first ESL class back then?

3. What are your first memories of WEP?

4. What were your first memories of 6th grade?

5. How did you feel about school?

6. How did you like it on school?

7. How did you do there?

8. What were your biggest problems back this year?

9. How did you feel in any after school activities?

Sixth Grade Interview Guide

Introductory Questions:

1. What do you think about our after school meetings?
2. What would you like to tell me about yourself?

Family History:

1. Tell me about your family.
2. Education of brothers & sisters.

Education of parents.

3. What language do you primarily use at home?
4. Where are you from?

How long have you been here?

Do you know why your family came here?

School:

1. Please tell me the history of your schooling. Where did you first go to school?
Get information on bilingual/ESL class background.
2. What are your first memories of WE?
What are your first memories of 6th grade?
3. How do you feel about school?
What do you like about school?
What do you dislike?
4. What have your biggest problems been this year?
5. Are you involved in any after school activities?

Efficacy:

1. Sometimes we talk about successful students.
Who are some successful 6th graders?
What did it take for them to be successful at WE?
2. How well are you doing in school? How do you know that?
How do your parents feel about your school performance?
3. How hard do you work on school?
What else could you do to be more successful at school?
What do people at school do to help you be successful?
What do your parents do to help you with school?
4. Who else do you turn to for help with school?
5. How much time do you study?
What subjects do you have to study the most?

Expectations:

1. How far do you think you will go in school?
How far do your teachers think you can go?
How far do your parents think you will go?
2. What do you want to be when you grow up?
3. Who do you talk to about your future?
4. Do you know kids who have dropped out of school?
Do you think you could drop out of school?

Reading:

1. What are your first memories of reading?
2. How did you learn to read?
3. Did an older child or adult read you to?
4. List all the times you read during the day?
5. Where do you read?
6. List all the types of things that you read.
7. Where do you get the material that you read?
8. Do you ever talk to other people about what you read?
9. What keeps you from reading?

Peers:

1. What kind of person do you want for a friend?
2. Who are your friends this year? Are they in the same class with you?
3. What do you like about them?
4. What do you do together?
5. How do your friends do in school?
6. How do your brothers and sisters do in school?
Do they want to graduate?

Teachers:

1. Who is a good teacher here at WE? Tell me about them.
2. Who is not a very good teacher? Tell Me about them.

Next Year:

1. What do think GMS be like next year?

Seventh Grade Interview Guide

Self

What would you like to tell me about yourself?

Friends

Who are your friends this year? Are they in the same class with you?

What do you like about them?

What do you do together?

How do your friends do in school?

Future

How far do you think you will go in school?

How far do your teachers think you can go?

How far do your parents think you will go?

What do you want to be when you grow up?

School

How do you feel about school?

What did you like about school this year?

What did you dislike?

What have your biggest problems been this year?

Are you involved in any after school activities?

What did it take to be successful at GMS?

How well are you doing in school? How do you know that?

How do your parents feel about your school performance?

How hard do you work on school?

How much time do you study?

What subjects do you have to study the most?

What will be the best part of being at GMS next year?

What will be the worst part?

Teachers

Who is a good teacher here at GMS? Tell me about them.

Who is not a very good teacher? Tell me about them.

Appendix D
Transcription Conventions

Transcription Conventions

- () Contains non-verbal action or gesture.
- [] Contain explanatory notes that allows the reader to better understand the speech event.
- ... Pause.
- xxx Unintelligible speech.
- CAPS Used for speech said with great emotion.
- /// Interrupted speech.
- Word not completed

[Faint, illegible text from a transcript page, possibly containing a list or table of contents.]

Appendix E

Sample Pages from a Coded Transcript

[Faint, illegible text from a transcript page, possibly containing a list or table of contents.]

0953 Y : Cause they say we copy.]
 0954
 0955 Ellie: That you copy.
 0956
 0957 J : We do that with Mr. Mc
 0958
 0959 Ellie: In Mr. M... 's class you're doing small groups.]
 0960
 0961 Y . I want to change my class xxx.
 0962
 0963 R : Did you know that Mr. M... can read your eyes?
 0964
 0965 J : I know.]
 0966
 0967 Ellie: Mr. Mc... can what?
 0968
 0969 R : He's kind of like a psychic and he can know what
 0970 you did when he's looks at your eyes.
 0971
 0972 J : Uhhuh. And he can tell who brought their
 0973 homework and who didn't.]
 0974
 0975 R : Yah my sister had him last year and she told me.
 0976
 0977 Ellie: Wow.]
 0978
 0979 R And he went like that to her, you didn't do your
 0980 homework right? No.
 0981
 0982 Ellie: You don't have Mr. Mc... hough do you?
 0983
 0984 J He's fun.
 0985
 0986 R : He has some nephews and they have blond hair and
 0987 green eyes and some of them have red eyes and
 0988 blond hair.
 0989
 0990 Ellie: Red eyes that's unusual. Wow.
 0991
 0992 ? : What.
 0993
 0994 R Cause they're African//
 0995
 0996 I : ///they have contacts
 0997
 0998 R : No they're natural.
 0999
 1000 J : They're like brown para xxx como xxx.
 1001
 1002 R : No some of them are red.
 1003
 1004 Ellie: Red eyes.
 1005

02J Mr. Mc
 11C Small group work~

41 Relational Events
 47 Adult-Student

01D R
 83 Storytelling

P45: MT09-08-98NM.txt

1006 R a: Yah.
1007
1008 I : I have no xxx
1009
1010 ? : It's weird.
1011
1012 R a: They're from Africa. That's why.
1013
1014 Ellie: Who else has small groups going on in their
1015 classrooms? Who does small..which
1016
1017 B I have xxx.
1018
1019 Ellie: Who's that?
1020
1021 Bl : Uh Ms.... I don't remember her name
1022
1023 (the girls are discussing this together and doing lots
1024 of code switching)
1025
1026 I We can only make about three or four.
1027
1028 Ellie: So you do small groups in Mr. A' 's room too?
1029
1030 I Yeah in Mr. M' 's we do and Mr.A'
1031
1032 Y ///and Mr. M'
1033
1034 Ellie: Mr. A' ?
1035
1036 ? : xxx
1037
1038 Ellie: What does he teach?
1039
1040 ? : Reading sometimes and xxx
1041
1042 Ellie: Yah I think it's A' l..
1043
1044 I A'
1045
1046 Ellie: A' : that's it. OK.
1047
1048 B : I do small groups in Science and Social Studies. We
1049 do small groups.
1050
1051 Ellie: I think that's Mr. St in Social Studies isn't it?
1052
1053 Y : Are you taping me?
1054
1055 Ellie: Uhhuh. that's OK. Honestly? Yarumi you know I
1056 tape every time. Listen dear nobody else listens to
1057 these but me. And I was serious about not telling
1058 about what y'all tell me. Well how what?

01A B
02I Spec.Ed.Tchrs
11C Small group work~

01B Ir
02E Mr. Ar
11C Small group work~

01A Blanca
02I Spec.Ed.Tchrs
11C Small group work~

Initial Code List

10. TEACHER

1001. A

1002. B

1003. C

1004. D

1005. E

1006. F

1007. G

1008. H

1009. I

1010. J

1011. K

1012. L

1013. M

1014. N

1015. O

1016. P

1017. Q

1018. R

1019. S

1020. T

1021. U

1022. V

1023. W

1024. X

1025. Y

1026. Z

1027. AA

1028. AB

1029. AC

1030. AD

1031. AE

1032. AF

1033. AG

1034. AH

1035. AI

1036. AJ

1037. AK

1038. AL

1039. AM

21. TEACHER PERCEPTION

21A. Teacher feelings regarding

21B. Teacher knowledge of students

21C. STUDENT TEACHER RELATIONSHIP

21D. Student learning of grammar

21E. Student behavior/attitudes

21F. STUDENT

21G. Adult attitudes about

21H. Teacher's role in classroom

21I. Student programs in teacher

21J. Student's personal goals

21K. STUDENT

21L. Study habits of student

21M. What they like about school

21N. What they don't like about school

21O. STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHER

21P. STUDENT

21Q. STUDENT

21R. STUDENT

21S. STUDENT

21T. STUDENT

21U. STUDENT

21V. STUDENT

21W. STUDENT

21X. STUDENT

21Y. STUDENT

21Z. STUDENT

21AA. STUDENT

21AB. STUDENT

21AC. STUDENT

21AD. STUDENT

21AE. STUDENT

21AF. STUDENT

21AG. STUDENT

21AH. STUDENT

21AI. STUDENT

21AJ. STUDENT

21AK. STUDENT

21AL. STUDENT

21AM. STUDENT

Appendix F

Initial Code List

31. STUDENT

31A. STUDENT

31B. STUDENT

31C. STUDENT

31D. STUDENT

31E. STUDENT

31F. STUDENT

31G. STUDENT

31H. STUDENT

31I. STUDENT

31J. STUDENT

31K. STUDENT

31L. STUDENT

31M. STUDENT

31N. STUDENT

31O. STUDENT

31P. STUDENT

31Q. STUDENT

31R. STUDENT

31S. STUDENT

31T. STUDENT

31U. STUDENT

31V. STUDENT

Initial Code List

- 01 PARTICIPANTS
- 02 STUDENTS
 - 02A Beti
 - 02B Irma
 - 02C Joy
 - 02D Rosa
 - 02E Isabel
 - 02F Yolanda
 - 02G Zeze
- 03 TEACHERS & OTHERS
 - 03A Ms. Cowert
 - 03B Ms. Presley
 - 03C Ellie
- 04 What others say about her
- 05 What she says about herself
- 10 CLASS & SCHOOL
- 11 CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES
 - 11A Teacher modeling
 - 11B Class practice
 - 11C Independent work in class
 - 11D Sm. group work
 - 11E TAAS
 - 11F Stdt-Tch collaboration
- 12 LANGUAGE
 - 12A Language development
 - 12B Calp
 - 12C English in class
 - 12D Spanish in class
- 13 CLASS MANAGEMENT
 - 13A School/class rules
 - 13B Discipline
- 14 Grades
- 15 Physical environment
- 16 Schedule
- 17 District Policy
- 18 CONTENT AREAS
 - 18A ROTC
- 19 Feelings about school
- 20 RELATIONSHIPS
- 21 TCHRS' PERSPECTIVE
 - 21A Tchr's feelings re students
 - 21B Tchr knowledge of student/s
- 22 STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVE
 - 22A Student feelings re teachers
 - 22B Students' feelings about stdnts
- 23 EVENTS
 - 23A Adult affirming stdt
 - 23B Tch-stdt talk re personal stuff
 - 23C Student response to teacher
 - 23D Sharing personal items
- 24 BOYS
 - 24A Boys' treatment of them
 - 24B What they like about boys
 - 24C What they don't like about boys
- 30 ASSESSM'NT: SELF/OTHERS
- 31 Intelligence
- 32 Classes/subjects
- 33 What is important at school
- 34 Role models
- 40 HOME/FAMILY
 - 41 Parents
 - 42 Language at home
 - 43 Responsibilities at home
 - 44 Discipline/punishment at home
 - 45 Family wishes for future
 - 46 Watching TV
 - 47 Summer
- 50 OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL
- 60 THE FUTURE
 - 61 When I grow up
- 70 HISTORY IN SCHOOL
- 80 METHODS
 - 81 Reactions to my study
 - 81A Teachers' feelings re my study
 - 81B Students' feelings re my study
 - 82 Rationale for choosing classroom
 - 83 My feelings about eachers/teaching
- 90 MISCELLANEOUS

- 00 PARTICIPANTS
- 01 Students
- 01A Beatriz
- 01B Irma
- 01C Josefina
- 01D Rosalinda
- 01E Sofía
- 01F Yolanda
- 01G Zulema
- 02 Significant Adults
- 02A Ms. Cowert
- 02B Ms. Presley
- 02C Ellie
- 02C Mr. Fountain
- 02D Mr. Paxton
- 02E Mr. Amway
- 02F Ms. Sawyer
- 02G Ms. Armstrong
- 02H Mr. Moreno
- 02I Spec.Ed. Tchrs
- 02J Mr. Moses
- 02K PE Teachers
- 02L Ms. Hedge
- 02M Mr. Skyler
- 02Y Administrators
- 02Z Misc. Tchrs

- 10 CLASS & SCHOOL
- 11 Classroom Activities
- 11A Teacher modeling
- 11B Whole class activities
- 11C Small group work
- 11D Independent work
- 11E Stdt-tchr collaboration
- 11G Hands-On Activities
- 12 Class Management
- 12A School/class rules
- 12B Discipline
- 13 TAAS
- 14 Grades

- 16 Content Areas
- 17 ROTC
- 18 School History
- 18A Learning to Read
- 19 Doing School
- 20 Summer School
- 21 After School Activities
- 22 Connections to Home
- 23 Homework
- 24 Sports

- 30 WAYS OF LOOKING AT WORLD
- 31 SP about school
- 32 Comparing Two Schools
- 33 SP about teachers
- 34 SP about other girls
- 35 SP about boys
- 36 SP about themselves
- 36A Good Girls
- 36B Bad Girls
- 39 Teachers' Perspectives
- 39A TP about school
- 39B TP about students

- 40 INTERACTIONS/RELATIONSHIPS
- 41 Relational Events
- 42 Friendships
- 43 Role Models
- 44 Sex & Sexuality
- 44A Harassment
- 44B Pregnancy
- 45 Girl-Girl
- 46 Boy-Girl
- 47 Adult-Student
- 48 Trouble
- 49 Trust & Confidence

- 50 LANGUAGE/CULTURE
- 51 Language Development
- 52 CALP
- 53 English in Class/School
- 54 Spanish in Class/School
- 55 Language at Home
- 58 Cultural Identity

- 60 HOME/FAMILY/COMMUNITY
- 61 Parents
- 61A Parents in School
- 62 Siblings
- 62A Siblings in School
- 63 Family History
- 64 Family Stories
- 65 Family Beliefs
- 66 Home Life
- 66A Responsibilities at Home
- 66B Discipline/Punishment at Home
- 66C TV/Video/Radio
- 66D Summer
- 67 The Neighborhood/Church/Community
- 68 Health

- 70 THE FUTURE
- 71 Preparing for Future School Career
- 71A Middle School
- 71B 8th grade
- 71C High School
- 71D College
- 72 When I Grow Up
- 73 Family's Wishes For Future

- 80 KINDS OF TALK
- 81 Relational Talk
- 82 "Doing Group"
- 83 Storytelling
- 83A Reacting to Stories
- 83B Group Story
- 84 "Tough Girl" Talk
- 85 Expert Talk
- 86 Affirming
- 87 Problem Solving
- 88 Explaining/Clarifying
- 89 Teasing/Playing
- 90 Getting the Floor
- 91 Taking Care of Business
- 92 Proposing Idea
- 93 Disagreeing

- 95 METHODS
- 96 Reactions to My Study
- 97 My Feelings

Appendix H

Frequency of Codes by Primary Documents

For Sixth Grade, Seventh Grade, and Totals

Frequency of Codes for Sixth Grade Documents

PRIMARY DOCS																										Total				
CODES		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	21	23	25	27	29	31	33	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43		
00	PARTICIPANTS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
01	Students	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
01A	Beatriz	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	4	0	0	0	3	1	19
01B	Irma	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	1	4	10	16	0	0	13	1	9	62	
01C	Josefina	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	0	1	4	8	11	0	7	8	10	3	62	
01D	Rosalinda	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	8	13	19	34	18	21	13	134		
01E	Soffa	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	1	9	8	6	8	7	9	7	63	
01F	Yolanda	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	2	0	1	1	9	7	18	23	14	12	10	107	
01G	Zulema	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	7	4	14	2	1	17	7	61	
02	Significant Ad	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02A	Ms. Cowert	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	1	1	3	2	1	1	4	1	12	0	0	2	3	6	4	2	1	52		
02B	Ms. Presley	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	0	1	0	3	0	3	1	0	22		
02C	Ellie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11	1	0	3	12	4	32	
02C	Mr. Fountain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02D	Mr. Paxton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02E	Mr. Amway	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02F	Ms. Sawyer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02G	Ms. Armstrong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02H	Mr. Moreno	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02I	Spec.Ed.Tchrs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02J	Mr. Moses	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02K	PE Teachers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02L	Ms. Hedge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02M	Mr. Skyler	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02Y	Administrator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02Z	Misc. Tchrs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	CLASS & SCHOOL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	Classroom Acti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11A	Teacher model	1	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
11B	Whole class a	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11C	Small group w	1	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
11D	Independent w	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11E	Stdt-tchr col	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11G	Hands-On Acti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	Class Manage	0	0	3	0	2	2	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	15	
12A	School/class	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	2	2	1	1	12		
12B	Discipline	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3	2	0	1	1	10		
13	TAAS	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	6	15	0	0	0	0	30	
14	Grades	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	
15	Physical Envi	3	0	0	0	0	1	6	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	17	
16	Content Areas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	ROTC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	7	

CODES	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	21	23	25	27	29	31	33	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	Total	
18	School Histor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	17	
18A	Learning to R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	16	
19	Doing School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	1	2	2	0	0	5	5	6	4	4	3	1	40	
20	Summer Schoo	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	10	
21	After School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	13	
22	Connections t	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	13	
23	Homework	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	
24	Sports	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
30	WAYS OF LOOKIN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
31	SP about schoo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	3	2	2	3	0	0	14	8	8	6	3	3	1	59	
32	Comparing Two	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
33	SP about teach	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	
33A	Mad or violent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
33B	Mean teachers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	
33C	Boring teache	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
33D	Don't teach t	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
33E	Misc. Neg. Pe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	5	
33F	Positive pers	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	2	0	2	4	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	20	
34	SP about othe	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	1	0	11	
35	SP about boys	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	3	1	0	14
36	SP about them	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	2	3	2	1	0	2	3	2	15	5	0	3	1	46	
36A	Good Girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	
36B	Bad Girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	4	
39	Teachers' Pers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
39A	TP about scho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	
39B	TP about stud	2	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	18	
40	INTERACTIONS/R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
41	Relational Eve	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	5	2	0	3	2	5	21	
42	Friendships	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	11	
43	Role Models	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	
44	Sex & Sexualit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	7	
44A	Harassment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	5	
44B	Pregnancy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	5	
45	Girl-Girl	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
46	Boy-Girl	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	10	1	1	1	19	
47	Adult-Student	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	1	0	5	9	0	0	25	
48	Trouble	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
49	Trust & Confid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
50	LANGUAGE/CULTU	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
51	Language Devel	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	1	9		
52	CALP	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	
53	English in Cla	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	
54	Spanish in Cla	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	6	
55	Language at Ho	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	13		
58	Cultural Ident	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	5	

CODES	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	21	23	25	27	29	31	33	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	Total	
60 HOME/FAMILY/CO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
61 Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	12
61A Parents in Sch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	12
62 Siblings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	8	
62A Siblings in Sch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	5	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	15	
63 Family History	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	11	
64 Family Stories	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	
65 Family Beliefs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	
66 Home Life	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
66A Responsibiliti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	1	0	8	
66B Discipline/Pun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	
66C TV/Video/Radio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	6	
66D Summer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3	1	7	
67 The Neighborho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	6	
68 Health	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
70 THE FUTURE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
71 Preparing for	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	
71A Middle School	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	11	
71B 8th grade	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
71C High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	
71D College	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	
72 When I Grow Up	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	11	2	0	2	0	0	19	
73 Family's Wishe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	10	
80 KINDS OF TALK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
81 Relational Tal	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	8	
82 "Doing Group"	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	8	
83 Storytelling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	3	2	3	17	
83A Reacting to S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
83B Group Story	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	
84 "Tough Girl" T	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	1	0	11	
85 Expert Talk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	10	5	17	
86 Affirming	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	8	
87 Problem Solvin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	4	0	9	
88 Explaining/Cla	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	1	2	0	9	
89 Teasing/Playin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	3	1	9	
90 Getting the Fl	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
91 Taking Care of	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3	8	
92 Proposing Idea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	
93 Disagreeing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	
95 METHODS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
96 Reactions to M	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	
97 My Feelings	2	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	
98 Procedures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	
Totals	14	3	16	2	6	38	26	10	7	18	8	47	24	39	41	35	51	36	36	18	91	176	142	164	144	171	105	1468	

Frequency of Codes for Seventh Grade Documents

CODES	PRIMARY DOCS																			Total			
	15	16	17	18	19	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	44	45	46	47	48	49		50	51	
00	PARTICIPANTS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
01	Students	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
01A	Beatriz	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	4	9	2	0	0	8	30
01B	Irma	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	36	4	12	12	3	5	9	3	87
01C	Josefina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	32	2	7	9	3	3	20	6	83
01D	Rosalinda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	13	24	14	8	7	12	3	85	
01E	Soffia	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	2	4	1	9	1	3	28
01F	Yolanda	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	6	10	15	6	8	0	5	55
01G	Zulema	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	11	15	13	4	3	1	6	57
02	Significant Ad	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02A	Ms. Cowert	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7
02B	Ms. Presley	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
02C	Ellie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	8
02C	Mr. Fountain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	5
02D	Mr. Paxton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	7
02E	Mr. Amway	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
02F	Ms. Sawyer	1	3	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	6	3	5	0	1	1	0	30	
02G	Ms. Armstrong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
02H	Mr. Moreno	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	3	15
02I	Spec.Ed.Tchrs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
02J	Mr. Moses	0	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
02K	PE Teachers	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
02L	Ms. Hedge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7
02M	Mr. Skyler	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
02Y	Administrator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
02Z	Misc. Tchrs	1	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
10	CLASS & SCHOOL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	Classroom Acti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11A	Teacher model	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
11B	Whole class a	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
11C	Small group w	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
11D	Independent w	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
11E	Std-tchr col	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11G	Hands-On Acti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
12	Class Manage	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
12A	School/class	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4
12B	Discipline	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5
13	TAAS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
14	Grades	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	5	7	4	3	1	5	34	
15	Physical Envi	0	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	8	
16	Content Areas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	7
17	ROTC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	4	0	4	1	4	20	

CODES		PRIMARY DOCS																	Total				
		15	16	17	18	19	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	44	45	46	47		48	49	50	51
18	School Histor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	
18A	Learning to R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
19	Doing School	0	3	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	16	3	7	8	1	3	2	1	54	
20	Summer Schoo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	
21	After School	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	5	1	0	3	3	21	
22	Connections t	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	16	
23	Homework	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	3	1	0	0	4	2	19	
24	Sports	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	2	1	7	
30	WAYS OF LOOKIN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
31	SP about schoo	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	2	1	1	0	4	3	9	5	6	2	0	42	
32	Comparing Two	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	4	1	0	22	
33	SP about teach	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
33A	Mad or violent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	9	
33B	Mean teachers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	
33C	Boring teache	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
33D	Don't teach t	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	6	
33E	Misc. Neg. Pe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	4	0	0	0	10	
33F	Positive pers	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	7	3	1	1	0	0	0	19	
34	SP about othe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	5	
35	SP about boys	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	5	1	2	1	1	15	
36	SP about them	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	13	
36A	Good Girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	
36B	Bad Girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	4	
39	Teachers' Pers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
39A	TP about scho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
39B	TP about stud	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
40	INTERACTIONS/R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
41	Relational Eve	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	2	1	0	11
42	Friendships	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	0	7	1	1	0	6	0	30
43	Role Models	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
44	Sex & Sexualit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	2	9	
44A	Harassment	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	7	
44B	Pregnancy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
45	Girl-Girl	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
46	Boy-Girl	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	4	1	1	1	2	18	
47	Adult-Student	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	4	1	0	13	
48	Trouble	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	
49	Trust & Confid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	
50	LANGUAGE/CULTU	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
51	Language Devel	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	
52	CALP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
53	English in Cla	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	
54	Spanish in Cla	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	9	
55	Language at Ho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	
58	Cultural Ident	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	2	0	0	0	15	

CODES		PRIMARY DOCS																				Total	
		15	16	17	18	19	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	44	45	46	47	48	49	50		51
60	HOME/FAMILY/CO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
61	Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	2	0	6	0	17
61A	Parents in Sch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
62	Siblings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
62A	Siblings in Sch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	
63	Family History	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	
64	Family Stories	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	
65	Family Beliefs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
66	Home Life	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	6	
66A	Responsibiliti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	6	
66B	Discipline/Pun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
66C	TV/Video/Radio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	
66D	Summer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	
67	The Neighborho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
68	Health	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	6	
70	THE FUTURE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
71	Preparing for	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
71A	Middle School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
71B	8th grade	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	
71C	High School	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9	
71D	College	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	
72	When I Grow Up	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	
73	Family's Wishe	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	
80	KINDS OF TALK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
81	Relational Tal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	4	1	8	
82	"Doing Group"	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	3	0	1	0	0	8	
83	Storytelling	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	2	0	8	
83A	Reacting to S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	
83B	Group Story	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	
84	"Tough Girl" T	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
85	Expert Talk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	4	
86	Affirming	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
87	Problem Solvin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
88	Explaining/Cla	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	
89	Teasing/Playin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	
90	Getting the Fl	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	6	
91	Taking Care of	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
92	Proposing Idea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
93	Disagreeing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
95	METHODS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
96	Reactions to M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
97	My Feelings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
98	Procedures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Totals		2	24	6	15	23	0	21	39	34	29	30	26	31	153	109	165	185	60	76	89	73	1190

Frequency of Codes for Sixth Grade, Seventh Grade, and Total

Codes	6th	7th	Total
00 PARTICIPANTS			
01 Students			
01A Beatriz	19	30	49
01B Irma	62	87	149
01C Josefina	62	83	145
01D Rosalinda	134	85	219
01E Sofía	63	28	91
01F Yolanda	107	55	162
01G Zulema	61	57	118
02 Significant Adults			
02A Ms. Cowert	52	7	59
02B Ms. Presley	22	5	27
02C Ellie	32	8	40
02C Mr. Fountain	0	5	5
02D Mr. Paxton	0	7	7
02E Mr. Amway	0	3	3
02F Ms. Sawyer	0	30	30
02G Ms. Armstrong	0	3	3
02H Mr. Moreno	0	15	15
02I Spec.Ed. Tchrs	0	4	4
02J Mr. Moses	0	11	11
02K PE Teachers	0	2	2
02L Ms. Hedge	0	7	7
02M Mr. Skyler	0	5	5
02Y Administrators	0	1	1
02Z Misc. Tchrs	0	12	12
SUBTOTAL	614	550	1164
10 CLASS & SCHOOL			
11 Classroom Activities	0	0	0
11A Teacher modeling	6	3	9
11B Whole class activities	1	3	4
11C Small group work	7	6	13
11D Independent work	1	3	4
11E Stdt-tchr collaboration	1	0	1
11G Hands-On Activities	0	2	2
12 Class Management	15	1	16
12A School/class rules	12	4	16

Codes	6th	7th	Total
12B Discipline	10	5	15
13 TAAS	30	4	34
14 Grades	6	34	40
16 Content Areas	0	7	7
17 ROTC	7	20	27
18 School History	17	4	21
18A Learning to Read	16	0	16
19 Doing School	40	54	94
20 Summer School	10	4	14
21 After School Activities	13	21	34
22 Connections to Home	13	16	29
23 Homework	7	19	26
24 Sports	0	7	7
SUBTOTAL	229	225	454
30 WAYS OF LOOKING AT THE WORLD			
31 SP about school	59	42	101
32 Comparing Two Schools	0	22	22
33 SP about teachers	36	50	86
34 SP about other girls	11	5	16
35 SP about boys	14	15	29
36 SP about themselves	46	13	59
36A Good Girls	3	2	5
36B Bad Girls	4	4	8
39 Teachers' Perspectives	0	0	0
39A TP about school	3	0	3
39B TP about students	18	1	19
SUBTOTAL	194	154	348
40 INTERACTIONS/RELATIONSHIPS			
41 Relational Events	21	11	32
42 Friendships	11	30	41
43 Role Models	2	1	3
44 Sex & Sexuality	7	9	16
44A Harassment	5	7	12
44B Pregnancy	5	0	5
45 Girl-Girl	1	1	2
46 Boy-Girl	19	18	37
47 Adult-Student	25	13	38
Codes	6th	7th	Total

48	Trouble	2	4	6
49	Trust & Confidence	1	3	4
	SUBTOTAL	99	97	196
50	LANGUAGE/CULTURE			
51	Language Development	9	3	12
52	CALP	5	1	6
53	English in Class/School	3	2	5
54	Spanish in Class/School	6	9	15
55	Language at Home	13	2	15
58	Cultural Identity	5	15	20
	SUBTOTAL	41	32	73
60	HOME/FAMILY/COMMUNITY	0	0	0
61	Parents	12	17	29
61A	Parents in School	12	1	13
62	Siblings	8	4	12
62A	Siblings in School	15	3	18
63	Family History	11	2	13
64	Family Stories	3	2	5
65	Family Beliefs	7	1	8
66	Home Life	0	6	6
66A	Responsibilities at Home	8	6	14
66B	Discipline/Punishment at Home	3	0	3
66C	TV/Video/Radio	6	2	8
66D	Summer	7	4	11
67	The Neighborhood/Church/Community	6	0	6
68	Health	0	6	6
	SUBTOTAL	98	54	152
70	THE FUTURE	0	0	0
71	Preparing for Future School Career	2	0	2
71A	Middle School	11	0	11
71B	8th grade	0	7	7
71C	High School	6	9	15
71D	College	7	5	12
72	When I Grow Up	19	6	25
73	Family's Wishes For Future	10	3	13
	SUBTOTAL	55	30	85

	Codes	6th	7th	Total
80	KINDS OF TALK	0	0	0
81	Relational Talk	8	8	16
82	"Doing Group"	8	8	16
83	Storytelling	17	8	25
83A	Reacting to Stories	3	1	4
83B	Group Story	3	2	5
84	"Tough Girl" Talk	11	0	11
85	Expert Talk	17	4	21
86	Affirming	8	1	9
87	Problem Solving	9	1	10
88	Explaining/Clarifying	9	2	11
89	Teasing/Playing	9	4	13
90	Getting the Floor	1	6	7
91	Taking Care of Business	8	1	9
92	Proposing Idea	5	0	5
93	Disagreeing	3	2	5
	SUBTOTAL	119	48	167
95	METHODS	0	0	0
96	Reactions to My Study	10	0	11
97	My Feelings	8	0	9
98	Procedures	1	0	4
	SUBTOTAL	19	0	24
	TOTAL	1468	1190	2658